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Monuments to Worship and Warfare: The Intricate Relationship between Religions and Modernities in Japanese Monuments

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Abstract

This essay explores a relationship between religions and modernities through monuments in Japan. We point out two significant arrivals of monuments in Japan.

Firstly, they were introduced from China around the 7th century and spread with Buddhism. They were regarded as a type of outdoor Buddhist statues and therefore as religious. They were erected for such reasons as salvation, consolation, purification and so forth. Until the 19th century, popularization and diversification of them proceeded across the country.

This long-standing tradition was shaken by the second arrival of monuments after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Secondly, monuments were reintroduced from western nation states as an urban, public and non-religious way to mobilize state integrity by honoring national heroes. The new-born government struggling for justification of its sovereignty but with chronic financial troubles preferred monuments in this second sense as a means to bolster reverence for the emperor within the limited budget. On the other hand, monuments in the first sense were basically banned as "superstitious practices," which seemed incompatible with the image of Japan as an emerging civilized nation.

However, religious monuments were never eradicated. In fact, the number of such newly constructed monuments grew rapidly. What then prompted their "revival"? It was the prevalence of wars. As the scale of the wars expanded, the number of victims increased. However, the government found it difficult to respond to the growing desire to commemorate the victims mainly for financial reasons. The creation of religious monuments was then demanded in order to fill this vacuum. Most of them were requested by colleagues and relatives in order to console the war dead. Additionally, memorial services around monuments were often conducted by both Buddhist and Shintoist priests and were attended by military officers and public servants. Ultimately, the increasing number of such monuments and services eroded the regulations of the government and came to serve the needs of those promoting militaristic propaganda after the 1930s.

Introduction

From the 18th to 19th century, a significant number of monuments were erected mainly in the urban public spaces of western countries. They were always in memory or honor of "national heroes" such as kings, politicians, soldiers, entrepreneurs, academics, and artists. We regard them literally as symbols of the formation of nation-states in modern times.[1] In addition, these monuments often appropriated religious symbols, for example crucifixes or sacred icons. This was mainly due to the cultural dimension of religions. In the West, Christianity remains a rich reference source for mobilizing the national integrity emotionally and aesthetically.[2] In sum, western monuments have connected modernity with religiosity in order to bolster nationalism. As a result, when some monuments happened to survive the afterlife of the political organizations that produced them, their "religiosity" was sometimes interrogated from today's perspective. For example, it was often questioned whether they were compatible with the constitution that stipulated separation of church and state.

Figure 1 *Chukon-hi*
(Photographed by the author)

The situation has been largely the same in Japan. In particular, *Chukon-hi* 忠魂碑, a monument devoted to the victims of the wars in which the Meiji government (1868-1945) engaged, has been regarded as problematic as testified to by the many lawsuits associated with it. One of the points in dispute has been whether the public endorsement of *Chukon-hi* and the memorial services conducted around it might violate the religious freedom guaranteed by Article 20 of the Constitution, which has been valid since 1945. Some insist that it should be unconstitutional because "praying" at such monuments was previously encouraged in pre-war public education as a means of bolstering nationalism and militarism.[3]

However, we should refrain from comparing monuments in pre-war Japan with western ones. In contrast to the latter, which could make use of religious symbols, Japanese monuments that had even a slight reference to religiosity were strictly prohibited by the Meiji government, as we will discuss in detail below. This fact is interesting in two senses. First of all, this seems in direct opposition to a still prevailing discourse that the "State Shinto" was the coercive politico-religious

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1 Sous la direction de Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 1, 2 et 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

2 In 2011, the European Court of Human Rights described crucifixes in Italian schools as cultural instead of religious. *Lausti and Others v. Italy*, ECHR 2011.

3 See Yasuo Ohara, *A Study on Chukonhi* (Tokyo: Akatsuki-shobo, 1984).

ideology endorsed by the government. If "State Shinto" had been an established religion, why would the government have hesitated to build Shintoistic monuments? Secondly, repeated official bans indicates that some monuments in Japan still carried religious meanings in violation of the government's will. Why did the government refrain from erecting religious monuments and who still needed them?

Figure 2 *Chukon-hi*
(Photographed by the author)

This essay shall answer these questions by pointing out the two different arrivals of monuments at Japan. The first of these occurred in the 7th century and spread across the country with Buddhism. Until the 19th century, it was taken for granted that monuments were erected to support salvation or offer consolation. They were regarded as a kind of outdoor Buddhist statue and therefore as religious in the first place. However, this long-standing tradition was unsettled by the second arrival of monuments after the Mei-ji Restoration in 1868. This time, they were reintroduced from western countries as modern, public and non-religious installations designed to praise national heroes. This essay shall depict the intricate story of this complex relationship between religions and modernities by exploring the dialectics of these two different types of monuments in modern Japan.

Ⅰ. First Arrival of Monuments in Japan

It goes without saying that monuments were not "invented" in modern times. We can find monuments anywhere and at anytime if we define them as "a statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a noble person or event."[4] Pre-modern Japan also had its own history of monuments.[5]

Figure 3 Buddhist Monuments
(Photographed by the author)

Monuments were firstly introduced to Japan from Tang era China via Korea around the 7th century. However, it was Buddhism that caused them spread across the country. Buddhist priests built them as Stupa, or a small stone tower to enshrine sacred relics or texts. In the 12th to the 13th century, not only priests but also the laymen of the ruling

4 *Oxford Dictionary of English: Second Edition Revised* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

5 See Itaru Chidiwa, *Pray of Stone Tablets and Towers* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2007).

classes such as the nobles, warriors and wealthy farmers, began to erect monuments for fear of frequent disasters and the prevailing theory of *Mappo* 末法, or the latter days of Buddhism. They believed that they could gain deeds and console the dead by building stone monuments with sacred images or Sanskrit words carved on the surfaces, which referred to Buddhist deities and saints such as *Dainichi Nyorai* 大日如来, *Amida* 阿弥陀仏 and *Jizo* 地蔵菩薩 . Around the 15th century, peasants and townsfolk also began to erect them. Monuments became popular across class difference by the end of the 17th century when the literacy rate increased, networks of stone transportation were established, and organizations of masons developed. At the same time, ordinary people began to build family tombstones. One scholar holds that "the culture of stone monuments" formed itself in the Edo period.[6]

Figure 4 *Koshin-to*
(Photographed by the author)

Such popularization of monuments went with their diversification. Monuments were erected not only on orthodox Buddhist teachings but also on other beliefs and practices. For example, ones called *Koshin-to* 庚申塔 were often built on the outskirts of villages in order to celebrate the completion of *Koshin-machi* 庚申待, or an all-night service (and party), which was based on a myth mixing Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism, and other agricultural folk rituals.[7] Repeated disasters also prompted the creation of various monuments. A significant number of monuments remain among those erected from the 17th to the 19th century in memory of eruptions, fires, earthquakes, shipwrecks and so forth in the precinct of *Eko-in* 回向院, a Buddhist temple in Tokyo that was built as a burial place for the dead by the fire in 1657.[8] Sekine counted approximately 100 monuments commemorating those killed by the frequent famines in Aomori Prefecture, the northern area of the main island of Japan.[9]

In sum, we can point out the following three things regarding the first arrival of monuments at Japan: 1) the culture of erecting monuments outside became popular across class differences until the 18th century; not only clerics but also laymen built them; 2) the reasons why monuments were needed were basically religious; the purposes behind erecting them varied and included the desire to gain merit, console the dead, remove something evil, and pray for a huge harvest; and 3) large-

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6 Sugi Hitoshi,"Village Culture as Seen in Non-literary Materials: Distribution of Monuments with Verses by Basho and the Information Network of Regional Haiku Circles," in *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History*, Vol. 97, 2002, pp. 35-6.

7 Hiroyuki Ishigami, *The archaeology of Koshinto in the Edo Period: A typological and epigraphical analysis of stone monuments in Japanese folk belief* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2013), p. 1.

8 Eko-in (ed.), *The History of Eko-in* (Tokyo: Eko-in, 1992), pp. 36-52.

9 Tatsuhito Sekine, "The Society of the Northern Extremity of the Japanese Main Island in the Edo Period, seen through Famine Monuments," in *History*, Vol. 105, 2005, p. 50.

scale disasters often prompted a significant number of monuments to be erected in a short period; building small monuments seemed to be a way for a community to respond to the unexpected death toll that was often massive in scale.

In addition to their popularity, however, we shall indicate the vulnerability of such monuments. They easily became neglected and obsolete because they were not necessarily affiliated with established religions. To make matters worse, the growing anti-Buddhism movement after the 19th century often caused the destruction of outdoor monuments that had Buddhist images.[10] The new government established in 1868 had to deal with such a situation as one of the first tasks of its religious policy. At that time, monuments began coming from abroad again.

Ⅱ. Second Arrival of Monuments in Japan

The second arrival of monuments was from western countries after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.[11] At this time, they were introduced as urban installations in order to honor national heroes publicly without any associated to religious practices. For example, Fumio Murata, a journalist, went to London and reported about monuments from there, such as "The Monument" (completed and opened in 1677), "Nelson's Column" (in 1843), and "Crimea and Indian Mutiny Memorial" (in 1861). According to him, monuments were non-religious because they coexisted with Christianity, which in theory rejected idolatry. Monuments were public because they were erected for the kings and servants honored by the nations. Monuments were urban because they were installed in the midtown area. Murata was surprised that they allowed for commemoration without any rituals or offerings, which Japanese shrines took for granted.[12]

The first reference to western monuments in the official documents of the Meiji government was also related to the policies regarding shrines. On November 18, 1876, the Ministry of Religion and Education sent an inquiry to the Grand Council of State related to whether it would permit a plan for "erecting a stone or bronze statue of a deity in the manner of western monuments" on the grounds of a public shrine that was dedicated to "a meritorious servant," rather than extending its buildings. On January 25, 1877, the Council approved the plan, which failed to be realized in the end.[13] This was not exceptional but one of a number of similar plans proposed in those days.[14]

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[10] Kunihiko Shimizu, "The Meiji Era Anti-Buddhist Movement as Seen from the Removal and Destruction of Jizo Statuary," in *Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.92, Issue 2, 2018, pp. 329-352.

[11] The term *Kinen-hi* 記念碑 in itself was coined as the Japanese equivalent for the English "monument" or "commemoration" in the 1870s. Shirou Onodera, "Semantic Change of *Kinen* 記念 in the Japanese and the Chinese language in the End of the 19th century," in Yoshihiro Ishikawa et al. (ed.), *Development in Translation of Concepts in Modern East Asia* (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2013), p.173.

[12] Fumio Murata, *Travels to the West*, Book I, Vol. 2 (Hiroshima: Izutsuya Katsujiro, 1869), pp. 22-23.

[13] "The inquiry about erecting stone or bronze statue in the precinct of an official shrine", as of November 18, 1876, in *Collections of Official Documents: the Inquiries from the Ministry of Home Affairs (II) in January 1877,* possessed in National Archives of Japan.

[14] Shigeatsu Shimizu, "A Study on the Inquiry about Erecting Stone or Bronze Statue in the Precinct of an

It is important to examine the historical background if we are to understand why such plans were proposed. After the Restoration, the new government had to justify the coup against the Tokugawa Shogunate and establish the legitimacy of its sovereignty by mobilizing reverence for the emperor. As a solution, several shrines for past loyalists were built[15] as "exceptional official shrines," which had been legislated to be supported financially by the government since 1871.[16] As a result, grassroots movements emerged across the country that sought to promote local loyalists and demand official endorsements for them. However, plans to build exceptional official shrines for them were always refused mainly because the government was afraid of expenditures expanding too much.[17] On August 31, 1872, the Ministry of Finance, which took charge of funding official shrines, prohibited the new construction of shrines without permission in order to tighten expenses for the official supports of them.[18] Accordingly, erecting western-style monuments became an attractive choice for those who wanted to commemorate someone or something within these limited budgets.

There was another reason to recommend monuments. Such monuments were regarded as a means of separating Shinto rituals from "superstitions" and developing the former as a kind of "national ceremony." Such anti-superstition and pro-monument sentiments often appeared in newspapers and journals in the early Meiji period followed by the official regulations on popular rituals and practices such as those related to shamans or diviners.[19] Some writers held that the construction of monuments to national heroes was good but enshrinement of them as gods was bad because the latter was incompatible with the process of modernization and civilization that the Japan of that day had to undertake.[20] Others indicated that monuments were rather desirable because building shrines would only result in feeding Shinto priests and indulging under-educated people.[21] However, such discourses comparing monuments with shrines served to not only denounce but also support the latter. One writer suggested that Shinto shrines should be "purified" from something religious because they were in practice national monuments in order to conduct public ceremonies rather than

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Official Shrine: Established Shrines in Kyoto and the Concept of Monument in the Early Meiji Period," in *The Journal of Association of the Study of Modern Japanese Art History*, Vol 22, 2013, pp. 112-129.

[15] For example, *Minatogawa Shrine* 湊川神社 was established in Kobe, Hyogo Prefecture in 1872, which was dedicated to Masashige Kusunoki (1294-1336), a warrior who joined the troop of the Godaigo Emperor (1288-1339) against the Kamakura Shogunate.

[16] The Information Department of the Cabinet (ed.), *The Complete Collection of Laws and Regulations in 1872* (Tokyo: Hakubunsya, 1887), p. 199.

[17] The total number of them was 28 at last. See Yoshikawa Kobunkan (ed.), *Handbook of History of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2007), pp.436-7.

[18] Research Institute on Japanese Classics (ed.), *Current Laws and Regulations on Shrines* (Tokyo: Mizuhokai, 1907), p. 515.

[19] A Notice issued by the Ministry of Religion and Education as of January 15, 1873, in Yoshio Yasumaru and Masato Miyadi (ed.), *Religion and State*, Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, 1988, p. 452.

[20] "Expelling the Idolatry," in *the Choya Paper* as of November 11, 1876.

[21] "Readers' letters," in *the Tokyo Daily Paper* as of January 4, 1874.

religious rituals.[22] A higher official justified a policy supporting shrines on public money without violating the freedom of religion by underlining similarities between monuments and shrines. That official insisted that shrines should work in the same way as monuments and therefore not be religious at all.[23]

On the other hand, pubic endorsement of "imported" monuments often caused oppression to "indigenous" monuments, which had been basically erected in a Buddhist way as we mentioned. On October 4, 1884, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued an official instruction, which defined monuments as "something to inspire the people by honoring someone's deeds during their lifetime" and prohibited monuments from being erected on public lands except for "ones to those who did great achievements for the nation."[24] Based on this instruction, the ministry checked all plans to erect monuments on public lands and evaluated whether they should be permitted, which resulted in a ban on all monuments with even a slight reference to religiosity in their practice. Let us examine some examples from Saitama Prefecture, a central region in the mainland of Japan. On February 12, 1898, some inhabitants in *Tansyo* Village 丹荘村 inquired about their plan to erect a monument that incorporated a Buddhist ritual in order to console the victims of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The ministry rejected it insisting that it was not permitted to erect monuments for religious use.[25] This rejection demonstrated an indifference the type of religious monument concerned. Both proposals from the Buddhist priests of the *Myoan* Temple 妙安寺 in *O'oka* Village 大岡村on October 27, 1895[26] and from the parishioners of the *Tsukinowa* Shrine 月輪神社in *Miyamae* Village 宮前村 on January 28, 1897[27] were rejected. The inclusion just once of the phrase "erecting to mourn for the dead" in an application was enough to be scrutinized and judged too religious to be permitted.[28]

In sum, monuments were reintroduced from western countries to Japan in the Meiji period as modern, public and nonreligious installations, which could replace or renovate Shinto Shrines, and which would have been against the process of modernization and civilization if their religious (or superstitious) dimensions remained. Therefore, "imported" monuments were deemed suitable as a means for mobilizing nationalism and enlightenment within the limited budgets if they were without any religious elements. On the other hand, all "indigenous" monuments were practically banned since they had been

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[22] "An opinion on separation of ceremony from religion," in *the Tokyo Daily Paper* as of September 23, 25, and 26, 1890.

[23] "Amendment proposed by the second department of the Grand Council of the State," as of June 19, 1885, in "Revision of Shrine Policy," *Supplementary Volume of Official Documents*, Vol.1 (1886-1897), held in National Archives of Japan.

[24] The Police Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs (ed.), Collection of Police Laws and Regulations (Tokyo: The Police Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs, 1893), p. 355.

[25] Reference Number: 2372-2 in *Official Documents of Saitama Prefecture in the Meiji period (ODSP),* held in Saitama Prefectural Achieves.

[26] Reference Number: 2353-3 in *ODSP*.

[27] Reference Number: 2354-4 in *ODSP*.

[28] Reference Number: 2377-10 in *ODSP*.

basically erected for religious purposes.

Ⅲ. "Revival" of Religious Monuments in Modern Japan

However, "religious monuments" continued to be erected despite the official prohibition on them. In fact, the number of them rapidly increased after the 20th century. Who built them and why? We point out that the increasing number of wars and war dead accounted for their proliferation.

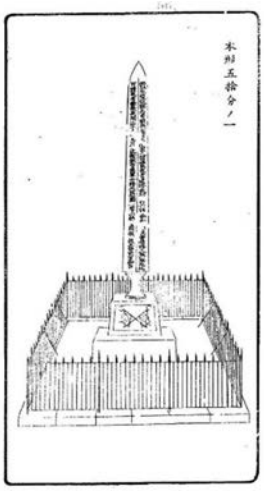

Figure 5: The Monument to the Imperial Guards, Cited from *The Monument to the Imperial Guards* (Aichi: Yosuke Sato, 1884)

It is true that the Meiji government had already began to conduct a memorial service for the victims who had joined the national army since 1868.[29] This was mainly done in the Shintoist manner. Shrines dedicated to the war dead were called *Shokonsya Shrine* 招魂社. One of them was built on *Kudanzaka* Hill Road 九段坂, Tokyo in 1869 and was renamed the *Yasukuni Shrine* 靖国神社 in 1879. Since then, in principle, all soldiers who were killed on the battlefield were enshrined there.[30] However, *Yasukuni Shrine* was dedicated neither to civil victims nor those military ones who had died not on duty but from diseases or accidents during their service, despite the fact that these victims accounted for most of the war dead.[31] It was true that there were other Shokonsya Shrines under prefectural management, but they were only funded in a limited fashion.[32] In sum, the government failed to satisfy all the demands to commemorate the war victims sufficiently. Therefore, a significant number of small monuments were erected in order to fill this vacuum.

Although the victims in the Seinan War (1873) were enshrined to the *Yasukuni Shrine* on November 13, 1877, monuments to them were also erected across the country. For example, the garrisons of Shiga, Osaka and Aichi Prefecture built ones in their own districts in 1878, in Kumamoto and Tokyo in 1879, and in Osaka in 1883[33]. It is interesting to note that the erecting of these monuments was often accompanied by memorial services conducted with the help of priests, although they were often designed in a conic or pointed form emulating western monuments. On November

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[29] Decree 385 and 386 of the Grand Council of State as of May 10, 1868, in the Information Department of the Cabinet (ed.), *The Complete Collection of Laws and Regulations in 1867* (Tokyo: Hakubunsya, 1887), pp. 159-160.

[30] Yasukuni Shrine (ed.), *History of Yasukuni Shrine*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1983), pp. 1-313.

[31] For example, about 90% of all the victims were from disease in the Sino-Japanese War. Akira Nakatsuka, "Sino-Japanese War", in *Encyclopedia of Japanese History* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1979-1997).

[32] Koremaru Sakamoto, A *Study on the Formation of the State Shinto* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), pp. 396-401.

[33] *Records of Imperial Prize (1878-1886)*, possessed in Archives of Imperial Household Agency.

24, 1878, a commemoration of Seinan War took place around the monument erected on the land of the *Onjoji Temple* 園城寺, Shiga. The commander of O'otsu Station of Shiga Garrison asked the chief priests of the *Hiejinja Shrine* 日枝神社 to conduct a Shinto ritual. Four days later, Buddhist priests were also invited from the *Higash-honganji Temple* 東本願寺 in order to chant sutras.[34] In 1879, the governor of Wakayama Prefecture planned to erect a monument to honor residents who had died in recent battles. Memorial services had been regularly practiced around it until the *Wakayama Shokonsya Shrine* was built in 1928.[35] A tie between erecting monuments and conducting rituals can also be noted as having occurred on the battlefield. On December 21, 1894, the Japanese army conducted a memorial service at a public cemetery near the Jinzhou District of China, where the army had advanced during the Sino-Japanese War. At the ritual, a monument was erected as an altar with prayers and offerings dedicated by the military officers. Several newspapers and journals later reported these events in detail.[36] Finally, the construction of such monuments became more organized when the Association of Imperial Reservists was formed on November 3, 1910, which ultimately had more than three million members. One of the main duties of the association was to conduct memorial services for the war dead. Most of its local branches chose to erect a monument as a reasonable way to practice such rituals.[37]

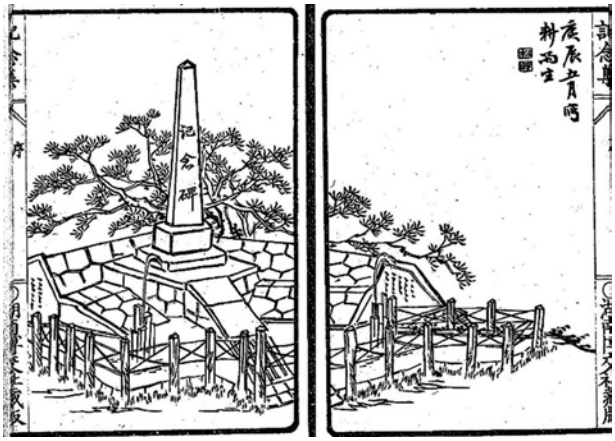

Figure 6: A Monument to Seinan War in the Onjoji Temple, Cited from Konanhakukosya (ed.), *Memorial Collection*, Vol.1 (Shiga: Konanhakukosya, 1880)

At first, the government did not distinguish such war monuments from the religious ones. It preferred restricting itself from encouraging them, even if they were supposed to mobilize nationalism and help conscription by glorifying the war dead. On April 22, 1898, the Ministry of Home Affairs rejected the plan to erect a monument to "those who died in battle conquering China" in Saitama Prefecture because "monuments were not to allow worship either in a Buddhist or Shintoist way."[38] However, the increasing number of wars and war dead forced the government to ease its regulations.

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34 Toshiko Kyoroku (ed.), *Materials of Prefectural Governor Yasutada Kagote,* Volume. I (Tokyo: Marunouchi Publisher, 1985), pp. 222-3.

35 The Editorial Committee of the City History (ed.), *History of Wakayama City*, Volume. 3 (Wakayama: Wakayama City, 1990), pp. 166-7.

36 *Graphic Magazine on Manners*, Issue 86, Toyodo Publisher, 1895, pp. 9-10.

37 Tadatoshi Fujii, *The Association of Imperial Reservists* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), pp. 54-6, 79-80.

38 Reference Number: 2372-2 in *ODSP*.

A turning point came with the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), in which approximately 84,000 Japanese people were reported to be killed.[39] There remain two official documents suggesting a change in the government's policy on monuments. In the notification as of December 26, 1904, the Minister of Home Affairs expressed sympathy for the first time with popular sentiments to mourn the war dead by erecting monuments, although there were still grave concerns about having too many monuments constructed.[40] The following instructions issued by the Minister on June 15, 1906 enabled prefectural governors to judge applications for monuments without inquiring about them with the Home Minister. Under these instructions, which replaced the above-mentioned instructions issued on October 4, 1884, one monument to one person or event in one city was officially permitted unless it resembled a tombstone.[41] From this time forward, monuments were checked not in terms of their purpose and function, but rather based on their number and design. As a result, religious monuments were not denied *qua* religious. On October 8, 1906, the first war monument in Saitama Prefecture was approved.[42] In 1916, the government withdrew its decision of 1897 and permitted erecting war monuments on a schoolyard for the first time.[43] It was not until the 1930s that the government endorsed some local elementary schools making their students salute these monuments as a part of educating "Japanese Spirits."[44]

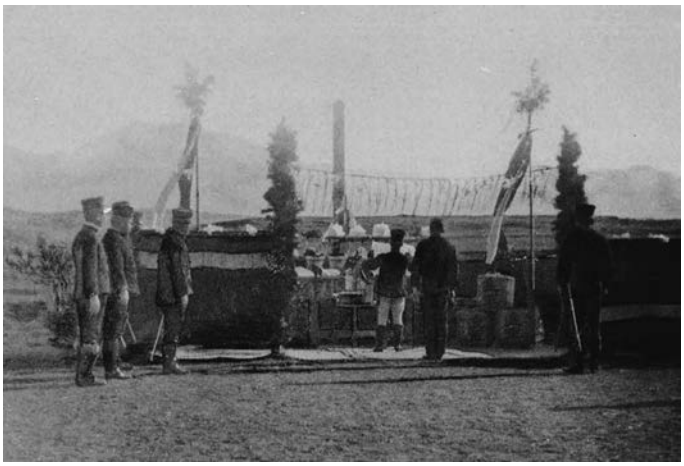

Figure 7: Memorial Service in Jinzhou District of China in 1894, Cited from Koreaki Kamei, Collection of Photographs on Warfare in 1894-1895, Vol.2 (Koreaki Kamei, 1897)

In sum, not only "under-educated peasants" and "superstitious figures" but also military officers and civil servants who were trained in a modern way needed religious monuments in order to meet the growing desire to commemorate the war dead, which the government failed to satisfy sufficiently. Therefore, the more wars were intensified, the more monuments were erected with simplified but regular memorial services conducted around them. However, it was not the case that the government took the initiative in erecting monuments in memory of war victims. On the contrary,

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39 Tetsuo Huruya, "The Russo-Japanese War" in *Encyclopedia of National History.*

40 Jiro Kagotani, *Thought on State and Education in the Modern Japan* (Kyoto: Aunsya, 1994), pp. 350-1.

41 Ibid, pp. 352-2.

42 Reference Number: 2399-36 in ODSP.

43 Tokyo Academic Society on Public Administration (ed.), *Source Book of Regulations Recently Established by the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo: Genbunsya, 1938), p. 79, 82.

44 Kagotani, *Thought on State and Education*, pp. 355-361.

it often denied such monuments because they were regarded as too religious even if they were supposed to help with mobilizing nationalism or militarism. In fact, the accumulation of religious monuments undermined the official regulations and set the stage for the appropriation of them by those seeking to educate "Japanese Spirits," especially from the 1930s.

Ⅳ. Conclusion

This essay explored a relationship between religions and modernities through monuments in Japan. We pointed out two significant arrivals of monuments in Japan. Firstly, they were introduced from China around the 7th century and spread with Buddhism. They were regarded as a type of outdoor Buddhist statues and therefore as religious. They were erected for such reasons as salvation, consolation, purification and so forth. Until the 19th century, popularization and diversification of them proceeded across the country.

This long-standing tradition was shaken by the second arrival of monuments after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Secondly, monuments were reintroduced from western nation states as an urban, public and non-religious way to mobilize state integrity by honoring national heroes. The new-born government struggling for justification of its sovereignty but with chronic financial troubles preferred monuments in this second sense as a means to bolster reverence for the emperor within the limited budget. On the other hand, monuments in the first sense were basically banned as "superstitious practices," which seemed incompatible with the image of Japan as an emerging civilized nation.

However, religious monuments were never eradicated. In fact, the number of such newly constructed monuments grew rapidly. What then prompted their "revival"? It was the prevalence of wars. As the scale of the wars expanded, the number of victims increased. However, the government found it difficult to respond to the growing desire to commemorate the victims mainly for financial reasons. The creation of religious monuments was then demanded in order to fill this vacuum. Most of them were requested by colleagues and relatives in order to console the war dead. Additionally, memorial services around monuments were often conducted by both Buddhist and Shintoist priests and were attended by military officers and public servants. Ultimately, the increasing number of such monuments and services eroded the regulations of the government and came to serve the needs of those promoting militaristic propaganda after the 1930s.

The case of Japanese monuments tells an intricate story of a complex relationship between religions and modernities, in which traditional rituals and practices supported mainly at the grassroots level unexpectedly resulted in emotionally compensating for an insufficiency in Japan as an emerging modern and civilized nation. This was done by not obeying but rather undermining the coercive policies of the government, which basically had denied them as "out of date" and "superstitious."

Acknowledgement

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