

Rituals performed at mines - a study of the history of rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi

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Abstract

This paper consists of two parts. The first part introduces the Taiwan Governor- General's Office's religious policies during the Japanese colonial period and discusses about matters pertinent to the Deities of the Mountain Shrine (which is also known as Ogon Shrine or Gold Temple) in the policies. The second part analyzes the special characteristics of rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi based on the historical records in the Taiwan Daily Newspaper, observes the delicate changes on rituals of mountain deities in the context of the aforementioned

religious policies. By comparing Jinguashi Mine with Ruifang Mine, as well as by presenting the case of ritual of mountain deities of Hitachi Mine in Japan, this paper further explicates the special position of ritual of mountain deities in the entertainment life of the mining communities.

Keywords: the deities of the mountain shrine in Jinguashi, rituals of mountain deities, religious policies of the Taiwan Governor- General's Office

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1. Introduction

The mention of the existing Japanese shrines in Taiwan would mostly make people think of the Kominka Movement at the end of the Japanese colonial period. The Kominka is a means adopted by the Japanese government at the end of the Japanese colonial period in an attempt to transform the people in terms of belief to pledge loyalty to the Emperor of Japan by building numerous shrines making the people of Taiwan be used to worshipping Jingu Taima². However, some of the shrines constructed in Taiwan during the early Japanese colonial period (1895-1919) are in fact equivalent to the temples built by early Taiwanese immigrants and are financed and constructed by the nongovernmental Japanese based on the demands of life etiquettes and customs for birth, marriage, belief and festival as well as ceremonial activities³. Characteristic of small size and low shrine rank, these shrines built by the folks worship the deities whose spirits are divided from those in the hometowns of the Japanese immigrants, which are quite different from the shrines constructed by the government during the period of Kominka Movement.

Shinto belief in the Japanese colonial period was the main belief of the Japanese in Taiwan. During the latter stage of the Japanese colonial period, despite of the strong promotion of turning Shinto into the state religion and the Kominka Movement, the Shinto's belief has never been able to be successfully implemented in the belief life of the people of Taiwan. With the end of the war and the Japanese evacuation, Shinto belief has disappeared in Taiwan. Various sizes of ceremonies and festivals previously held around the shrines each year are no

longer remembered because of lack of successors, except for a few old images left in the old photos. After Taiwan's Recovery, most of the remaining Japanese shrines across Taiwan were reconstructed into martyr's shrines; the lands of some shrines have been used as schools, parks, restaurants, temples or others; and a small number of shrines were designated as the county/city-level historical sites. The generations born after the Recovery generally are very unfamiliar with these remaining shrines if not for the oral accounts by the elder people.

Among the discussions concerning the subject of shrines during the Japanese colonial period and in addition to the shrine building study and the study on spatial characteristics of shrine, the previous studies associated with the contents explored in this article also included the Planning and Study Proposals for the Revitalization and Reuse of Jinguashi Shrine (unpublished) developed under the direction of Cheng-wei Lin and the entrustment by the Gold Museum in 2012. Moreover, the discussion can be divided into two aspects: religious policies and social integration. The book entitled Taiwan's Religious Policies under the Japanese Imperialism by Chin-tang Tsai provides very insightful analysis and descriptions specific to the different stages of the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese religious policies stipulated by Japanese government, existing religion attitudes in Taiwan and background as well as success and failure of Kominka. In the Spatial Characteristics of Shrine in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period, in addition to pointing out the spatial characteristics of shrines in Taiwan, Luan-feng Chen also made a specific introduction of the laws

² "Jingu Taima" refers to the kamifuda issued by the Ise Grand Shrine in Japan. In 1937, Taiwan Clergy Council promulgated the "Key Elements in Implementing the Main Hall Improvement", persuading the people to replace the ancestral tablets in the center of their family halls with the "Jingu Taima" in the hope of changing the beliefs of the people of Taiwan. Supervised by Mi-cha Wu, edited by Yuanliu Taiwan House, 2000. Profile of Taiwan History, 152.

³ The three shrines of Hualien Harbor Subprefecture, namely, Yoshino Shrine (1912), Toyota Shrine (1915), Hayashida Shrine (1915), are all unranked shrines built in the villages of Japanese immigrants; and Taihoku Inari Shrine (1911) is a village shrine at the Japanese settlement in Taipei City. Chin-tang Tsai (1994), Taiwan's Religious Policies under the Japanese Imperialism, 20, 351(Appendix 3).

related to the shrine construction across Taiwan and the number distribution of shrines. Kai-wen Chen's Ceremonial Activities of Keelung Qingan Palace during Japanese Colonial Period – Main Reference from the Taiwan Daily Newspaper analyzes the process of the local representative temples influenced by the shrine ritual ceremonies under the colonial rule.

In 2012, assisted by the team led by Cheng-wei Lin, the Gold Museum tried to recover the segments of the ritual of “carrying mikoshi” in the past ritual of mountain deities and planned a spectacular activity in the theme of “Brotherhood from ties formed-looking after Jinguashi Shrine”, winning the unanimous praise of the participating public. In thinking about the significance of this activity, the author of this article deeply felt that it needs a holistic understanding of the subjects like the religious policies and shrine construction during the Japanese colonial period and the position of the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi in people's life in mining communities in the past to reproduce the significance of this intangible cultural asset and convey it to the public participating in the activity correctly. Therefore, based on the studies by the aforementioned researchers, this paper will introduce the construction background of Jinguashi Shrine under the religious policies of the Governor-General's Office in order and will analyze and clear up the appearance changes of rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi and the position of the ritual in people's life in mining communities through the relevant reports by the Taiwan Daily Newspaper and the comparison of relevant cases in mining communities.

2. Religious policies and shrine construction during the Japanese colonial period

The Taiwan Governor-General's Office didn't actively promote the religious policies of colonial Taiwan in the beginning. According to the studies as stated in the Taiwan's Religious Policies under the Japanese Imperialism by Chin-tang Tsai (1994:10-12), the religious policies applied in Taiwan by the Japanese government during the Japanese colonial period can be divided into three stages: the first stage is from 1895, the start of Japanese rule, to 1914, characteristic of a loose and gentle attitude; the second stage is from the occurrence of the Xilai Temple Incident⁴ in 1915 to 1930, when the Governor-General's Office began to conduct religion investigations in Taiwan and reorganize the religious affairs; and the third stage is from 1931 to the end of the war, the period when the national Shinto's belief was emphasized; shrines were built and worship of Jingu Taima was carried out. This paper will provide a brief introduction of the background of the shrine construction in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period based on the aforementioned three stages, as well as the major religious policies and achievements of the Governor's Office (Table 1).

The first stage (1895-1914), from 1895, the start of Japanese rule, to 1914, is also the “period of special statism” as generally recognized by the historians⁵. During this period, due to the still frequent anti-Japanese actions by the Han and aboriginal people, the military officers and governors assigned by the Japanese government to station in Taiwan mostly adopted the conciliating policy to seek

security and stability. In 1896, Kabayama Sukenori, the first Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan issued the “Order with Regard to the Protection of Existing Shrines and Temples on the Island”⁶, with the contents indicating as, “... on the occasion of pressing military affairs, the existing temples, palaces and monasteries on the island provided for the military use shall be kept in their original appearances with no damage to them, especially to the divine statues or disturbance to the divine utensil allowed. Attention shall be paid to preserving their old states, which shall be restored at the end of the provision to the military ...”. The announcement of this noticed reduced cases of temples occupied by the Japanese civilians and soldiers and damage to the divine statues as many happened in the early period of Japanese occupation of Taiwan.

Excluding the sporadic and small-scale “no-wish shrine” built by the Japanese⁷, the acknowledged shrines under the management by the Governor-General's Office are only 14 (Tsai, 1994:19-20). Among which, except for the county shrines holding mountain shrines and the Kanpei-taisha of Taiwan Shrine, other shrines are mostly the non-rank shrines financed, constructed and maintained by the folk Japanese staying in Taiwan⁸. The shrine construction is entirely out of the need of Japanese belief with the shrine locations mostly in the Japanese-concentrated living areas or the Japanese immigrant villages. The Japanese government at this period paid attention not to causing the rebounding of Taiwan people. They did not deny the existence of the existing temples and monastic dining halls and also didn't show active attitude in preaching Taiwan people's religion although they expressly stipulated the contents of the shrine and

temple construction and investigated the property holding status of the existing temples. (Tsai, 1994:19-20).

After the occurrence of the 1915 “Xilai Temple Incident”, the Governor-General's Office began to conduct investigations on the existing religions in Taiwan, marking the entry of the second stage of religious policies. This stage roughly overlaps the “Mainland Extension Policy” recognized by the general academic circles (1920-1937). 1919, the Governor-General's Office published the Report of the Investigation into Religion in Taiwan, Volume I. The book's attitude toward the religion in Taiwan is that, as long as it does not product prejudice to the national interests and create security problems, even if it is superstitious, it shall not be interfered. At the meanwhile, the shrine and temple classes held in 1919 started planning how to teach the people of Taiwan proper the correction belief. Since 1921, the shrine and temple classes instructed and helped the public religious groups in Taiwan to carry out the religious education one after another. Chin-tang Tsai However, since the instruction and education have not been popularized, the inherent belief of the people of Taiwan remains. In Chin-tang Tsai's opinion, this is one of the reasons why the Kominka Movement can not be thoroughly implemented later.

The regulations formulated during 1922 and 1924 provide detailed standards, including specific regulations on the construction of shrines below the county level as well as the and Remote-worship locations. The regulations included construction requirements, number of believers, shrine expenses, subsequent maintenance, and the cases of future merger or abolishment if any.

⁴ “Xilai Temple Incident” is the last and also the biggest armed anti-Japanese protest incident launched by the Han people in Taiwan after Japan occupied Taiwan.

⁵ The “Period of special statism” refers to the colonization policy implemented during the early Japanese colonial period where systems different with Japanese systems were developed to accommodate the special circumstances of Taiwan by taking the colony as a different legal field. Entry from the website of Encyclopedia of Taiwan, Retrieved on July, 2013, from: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/index>

⁶ “Order with Regard to the Protection of Existing Shrines and Temples on the Island” (January 20, 1896), compiled official document of Taiwan Governor-General's Office and its affiliation authorities, the Taiwan Historica of Academia Historica.

⁷ “no-wish shrine” refers to the shrines of extremely simple forms erected by the Japanese on the newly-expanded lands to worship the deities brought from their hometowns and are not recognized by the government.

⁸ After the Meiji Restoration, the shrines are ranked as Jingu (outranking all shrines), Kanpei-taisha, various shrines (government shrine, county shrine, tributary shrine, township shrine, village shrine) and non-rank shrine. Although the non-rank shrine is incorporated in the shrine list with its existence acknowledged, it has no rank. The ranking regulation of Japanese shrine was abolished after the World War II.

However, there were still no Taiwanese-constructed shrines at this stage. Despite of the demand of New Year and festival homage for Japanese in Taiwan, there was no significant increase in the number of shrines for the construction and maintenance costs were very high due to the regulations on shrine size. Instead, the construction of “She” with very low

shrine ranks or “no-rank shrine” started to increase, mostly in eastern Taiwan, the focus of active development by the Governor-General's Office, especially in Taitung prefecture, the “aboriginal” land of aborigines (Chen, 2007:114).

In 1931, the 918 Incident between Japan and

【Table 1】 Religious Policies and Important Regulations during the Japanese Colonial Period

Japanese Colonial Period	Stage of Religious Policies	Important Religious Regulations and Conducts of Governor-General's Office	Remarks
Period of special statism (1895-1919)	First stage (1895-1914)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1896, “Order with Regard to the Protection of Existing Shrines and Temples on the Island” 1899, “Regulations on construction, abolishing and merging of temples, religious affairs sites and preaching sites” 1899, “Formalities for remaining customs as well as construction, abolishing and merging of shrines and temples” 1901, “Matters concerning the disposal and distribution of the properties of relevant (shrines) temples or temples established per the old practices of this island” 	
Period of Mainland Extension Policy (1920-1937)	Second stage (1915-1930)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1915~ 1918, the investigation of Taiwan religions was completed 1919, the Report of the Investigation into Religion, Volume I was published 1919, Governor-General's Office established an “unit in charge of shrine and temple affairs” 1923, “Rules concerning establishment, relocation, abolishing and merging of shrines below the county level” 1923, “Relative matters concerning She and remote worship sites” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1915 “Xilai Temple Incident”
Period of Kominka Movement (1937-1945)	Third stage (1930-1945)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1934, the Program of Indoctrination in Taiwan Society was issued 1934, “Key Items Concerning Shrine Construction” 1935, “Matters Concerning Shrine Establishment” 1938, “Important Documents on She Clearing-up” 1939, Kobayashi Seizo, the 17th Taiwan Governor-General, proposed the three policies of “Kominka, industrialization and southing base initiative” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1931, 918 Incident 1931, Governor-General's Office launched the “Tribal Revitalization Movement” and “Social Indoctrination Movement” 1937, Marco Polo Bridge Incident April 1, 1941 “Law-abiding Society of People of the Emperor” was established to actively promote the “Kominka Movement”. October 27, 1941 Governor-General's Office held a “temporary economic review session”, making the decision to change the status of “agricultural Taiwan and industrial Japan” and move forward to the goal of “agricultural South Sea and industrial Taiwan”. <p>Japan", towards "industrial agriculture Nanyang Taiwan's" goal</p>

Source: Shine and Religion in Taiwan (1940), Profile of Taiwan History (2000), website of Encyclopedia of Taiwan (<http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/index>), Taiwan Historica of Academia Historica “Compiled official document of Taiwan Governor-General's Office and its affiliation authorities”

9 Different with the shrine and in addition to the low shrine rank and small size, a “She” refers to a simple place enshrining the deities out of the need of public homage. Moreover, this “She” is easily confused with the “She” of the aboriginal communities. Therefore, it is referred to as “Ci” at the aboriginal communities. Relevant Matters Concerning the Shrine and She (April 28, 1924), Article 11.

China broke and the political changes also affected the religious policies, marking the entry of the third stage. In 1934, the Governor-General's Office issued the Program of Indoctrination in Taiwan Society where Article I “Reverence of shrine” under the item of “Indoctrination facilities” made it clear that “Jingu Taima and abstinence shall be universally promoted by taking the shrines as the indoctrination centers”. The Key Items Concerning Shrine Construction issued in the same year provided that “Each street or village must establish a shrine with one shrine for one street or village only, prohibiting random construction”. In 1938, the Governor-General's Office provided further standards for the low-rank shrines specific to the “Matters concerning the shrine clearing up”, stipulating that the She on a location having a shrine already must be abolished.

In 1937 and after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Governor-General's Office launched the “Kominka” movement out of the need for war mobilization. One of the means of Kominka is the religious belief transformation. The Shinto's belief was actively implemented across Taiwan in the hope that the people of Taiwan Island could become the true emperor's people, pledging loyalty to Japan. At this stage, the “shrines” were used as the indoctrination sites in promoting the aggression ideas and militarism. During 1936-1940, the number of shrine constructed increased rapid and reached about 30 (Chen, 2007:109, 116).

In summarizing the “shrines” and “social temples” constructed across Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), the total number of shrines is 68 as recognized by the Japanese government and around 200 if including other unofficially recognized shrines. Calculating with the then administrative division, it only reached about 1/3 of the target of “one shrine for each street or village” (Chen, 2007:113-114, 120). Chintang Tsai pointed out that, as for the reasons of the total disappearance of the national Shinto's belief held by the Japanese government and Japanese native religious

beliefs during the Japanese colonial period after Taiwan's Recovery, in addition to the removal and reconstruction of the shrines by the national government after the Recovery to eliminate matters representing the ideology of Japanese imperialism, making it difficult for the spread of Shinto ideology, another important reason is that the national Shinto's belief and Japanese native religious beliefs have not been rooted in the hearts of the people of Taiwan and put into the place of the belief life successfully during the 50 years under Japanese rule.

The history of Ōgon Shrine, Ruifang Shrine, Kiron Shrine and Zuihō Shrine will be accounted in the following text so as to have a clearer understanding of the similarities and differences of the shrines constructed at stages of different religious policies.

It is known from the construction period, the deities worshipped and the purpose of construction that the Ōgon Shrine and Ruifang Shrine in Table 2 belong to the shrines built in the aforementioned first stage of religious policies, namely, the shrines built by the then Japanese mine operators when they first arrived in Taiwan in view of the poor public security in the mine and the demand of the belief of the Japanese staying in Taiwan. However, because its size did not meet the officially recognized standard, it was only ranked as “She”. The expenditures in construction, maintenance and ritual ceremonies of the shrine were all financed by the mining company.

The Zuihō Shrine was obviously constructed under the standard of “one shrine for one street or village”. The construction of the shrine was to inspire the folk customs of worshipping the deities by the Ruifang village people as the basic conservation of national morality. The deities were divided spirits from Taiwan Shrine. Since it was only ranked as the “non-rank shrine”, its construction costs were financed by administrative units of the local streets and villages.

A special one among them is the Kiron Shrine, which

【Table 2】 Table of Comparison of Ōgon Shrine, Ruifang Shrine, Kiron Shrine and Zuihō Shrine

Shrine Name	Ōgon Shrine	Ruifang Shrine	Kiron Shrine	Zuihō Shrine
Date of construction	March 2, 1898	May 28, 1906	March 9, 1912	July 10, 1936
Location	Jiufen, Ruifang Village, Keelung, Taipei	No. 163 Fandi Gengziliao, Ruifang Village, Keelung, Taipei	Yizhong Ting, Keelung, Taipei	102-7 Longtandu, Ruifang Village, Keelung, Taipei
Shrine rank	She	She	County shrine	Non-rank shrine
Deities worshiped	Ōkuninushi no Mikoto, Kanayamahiko no Mikoto, Sarutahiko no Mikoto	Kanayamahiko no Mikoto, Kanayama Hikonokami	Emperor Sutoku, Ōmononushi no Mikoto, Amaterasu, Prince Yoshihisa, Three Kami Deities of Cultivation ¹⁰	Amaterasu, Prince Yoshihisa, Three Kami Deities of Cultivation
Date of routine rituals	June 28	May 28	June 3	July 10
Remarks	Given that the employees were uneasy about the frequent haunt of bandits at the beginning of the business of Jinguashi Mine, a shrine was built especially in 1897 for reassuring the employees. The shrine was built at the eastern end of Jinguashi Benshan to worship Ōkuninushi no Mikoto.	At the beginning of the developing business of Ruifang and Jinshan by Fujita group, most Japanese employees lived in the mine. To meet the needs of employees in belief and soul, they followed the example of Japan's mines and constructed a shrine in May 1906 and held the construction rituals to worship Kanayamahiko no Mikoto and Kanayama Hikonokami	In 1912, Sawai, a Japanese in Keelung, divided the spirits from the deities worshiped at Kotohiragu Shrine in Sanuki to be enshrined at the present site of Keelung Shrine, which was known as the Kotohiragu Shrine by the time of its construction. In April 1914, Amaterasu, Prince Yoshihisa and Three Kami Deities of Cultivation were included into shrine, which was renamed as the Keelung Shrine. It was ranked as a county shrine on March 25, 1936.	The deities were divided spirits from Taiwan Shrine. The construction of the shrine was to inspire the folk customs of worshiping the deities by the Ruifang village people as the basic conservation of national morality. The Zuihō Shrine was constructed at the back of Rueifang Primary School in Longtandu, Ruifang Village.

Sources: Keelung Shrine Gazetteer (1934), Overview of Ruifang Village (1935), Shine and Religion in Taiwan (1940)

was first known as “Keelung Kotohiragu Shrine” and financed and constructed by a then powerful Japanese living in Keelung based on the needs of holding ceremonies for Japanese weddings and funerals with the deities worshipped are the spirits divided from the Kotohiragu Shrine for guarding the navigation in Kagawa of Japan. In 1914, it was renamed as “Kiron Shrine” under the application by the believer representatives from the shrine to the Governor-General’s Office and worshipped the spirits divided from Taiwan Shrine. As pointed out by Kai-wen Chen in his study that “After it was renamed as Kiron Shrine, the fundraising targets extended from the Japanese to the whole Keelung people, and the Keelung Kotohiragu shrine used to be worshiped by the Japanese only was nominally converted to Kiron Shrine for

the overall street people of Keelung” (Chen, 2010:85). The main purpose of the renaming and later ranking upgrading process of Kiron Shrine was to increase the fundraising sources of shrine and solve the trouble of shortage of funds. However, worshiping the divided spirits of Taiwan Shrine and Amaterasu additionally has potentially increased the colors of the Shinto. On the other hand, the Governor-General’s Office, while recognizing the demand of the Japanese in Keelung, requested for the self-financing by the civil societies before the “one shrine for one street or village” policy and did not show a positive attitude to assist the ranking upgraded. This also corresponded with the non-positive fact of the religious policies at the aforementioned beginning of the government by the Governor-General’s Office.

¹⁰ Three Kami Deities of Cultivation: Okuni tama no mikodo, Onamuji no mikodo and Sakunihikona no mikodo.



【Figure 1】 Wedding held in a shrine [Provided by Yamaguchi Yoko (Born in 1942 in Shueinandong). The groom (Kimura Kaname) and bride (Kimura Matsuko) in the photograph are his parents. It was taken in a Taiwan’s shrine, which looks like the then Kiron Shrine speculated by the author. The year of the photograph taking is unknown, presumably to be the late 1930s or early 1940s]

3. Records of rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi

Jinguashi Shrine is a “She” financed and constructed by civil societies. Although located in the famous Jinguashi Mine producing gold and copper in the Japanese colonial period, relevant historical introduction about Jinguashi Shrine and its ritual ceremonies are not many. This section intends to explore whether the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi Mine also showed different faces during the changes of the Governor-General’s Office’s religious policies from the related news reports scattered in the Taiwan Daily Newspaper.

As for the time of ritual ceremonies held by the Jinguashi Shrine in the Japanese colonial period, in addition to the annual routine “rituals of mountain deities”, the “Grand Ceremony of the Coronation” or simple “report rituals” would be held in Jinguashi Shrine if the year coincided with the emperor’s enthroning or the owner changing of the mining company. Taking “rituals of mountain deities” in Jinguashi as the main content to

search, currently a total of 11 relevant reports (Table 3) in different years have been retrieved.

It was known from Table 3 that although no related reports concerning the “rituals of mountain deities” in Jinguashi Shrine in an annual basis were found and whether they were held annually as scheduled is unknown, but judging from the three major operation periods spanned by Jinguashi Mine, this tradition has lasted at least more than 36 years. It can also learn from the content that the traditions of holding the rituals of mountain deities on the same day by the Japanese and Taiwanese and welcoming Goddess Matsu have lasted for 18 years at least. The contents of typical reports at different operating periods of the mine are listed below to be analyzed one by one.

1. The period of Tanaka Group and Tanaka Mining Corporation (1896-1925)

Report entitled “Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi” in the journal of July 3, 1919 of Taiwan Daily Newspaper (Chinese Edition)

It reported that:

“The rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi Mine were held at 10 o’clock in the morning of June 28 as usual. The deputy director Ishigami, deputy Keelung branch officer Niida, as well as officials, the public and elementary school pupils of Ruifang Shuangdingxi attended the rituals seriously. Then the Tamagushi offering ritual was performed where the elementary school pupils played singing and the nectar was shared followed by various activities after the rituals. There was a ritual for Goddess Matsu held on the same day in the same place. Many divertissements were also performed by Taiwanese, creating a remarkable degree of buzz and excitement.”

During the period of Jinguashi Mine operated by

【Table 3】 Reports in Taiwan Daily Newspaper Concerning the Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi

No.	Date of Report	Category of Publication	Title of Report	Date of Rituals	Operator of Jinguashi Mine
1	1903.06.13	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Tanaka mine	6.15	Tanaka Chobei (Tanaka Group) 1896-1918
2	1907.06.26	Daily	Guarding Ritual in Jinguashi Mine	6.28	
3	1919.07.02	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi	6.28	Tanaka Chobei (Tanaka Mining Corporation) 1918-1925
	1919.07.03	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi	6.28	
4	1926.06.27	Evening	Rituals being Postponed	7.10	Ushiroku Shintarou (Jinguashi Mine Corporation) 1925-1933
5	1929.07.29	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi Held on the 29th and 30th	7.29-7.30	
6	1932.07.27	Evening	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi Mine ●● Three ●●●	7.29-7.30	
	1932.07.30	Evening	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi Mine	7.29	
	1932.07.31	Evening	Jinguashi Mountain Deities Ritual Gazetteer ●● Three ● Goddess Matsu	7.29	
7	1934.07.15	Evening	Rituals of Jinguashi Shrine Held on 15th and 16th	7.15-7.16	Japan Mining Corporation (Taiwan Mining Corporation) 1933-1945
8	1935.07.17	Daily	Rituals of Jinguashi Shrine	7.15-7.16	
9	1936.07.15	Daily	Routine Rituals in Jinguashi Shrine for Two Days since Today	7.15-7.16	
10	1937.07.15	Daily	Shrine Rituals	7.15-7.16	
11	1938.07.14	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi Shrine Held on 15th and 16th	7.15-7.16	

※ ● Unrecognizable in the original document

Tanaka Chobei (1896-1925), there were three reports concerning the rituals of mountain deities totally. The above report on July 3, 1919 going that “There was a ritual for Goddess Matsu held on the same day in the same place. Many divertissements were also performed by Taiwanese.” was the first record describing the fact that the local Taiwanese people also worshiped the Goddess Matsu on the same day. The rituals of mountain deities during this period were held on June 15 or June 28 when the mine was shut down for the day and the miners would provide food and drink to miners in recognition of the services rendered. In addition to the representatives of operators of the mining companies, those attending the ritual ceremonies held in the morning in the shrine

also included the local officials of Ruifang Shuangdingxi and pupils of the elementary school where the Japanese children attending. Divertissement activities were carried out after the rituals. It seems from the newspaper reports that, the Japanese and local Taiwanese held on the same day but different ceremonies, namely, the shrine rituals and the celebration rituals of Goddess Matsu, with even the divertissement activities were carried out separately.

2. The period of Jinguashi Mine Corporation (1925-1933)

Report entitled “Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi Held on the 29th and 30th” in the journal of July

29, 1929 of Taiwan Daily Newspaper, it reported that:

“The rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi Mine of Ruifang Village, Keelung, Taipei, was held on July 27-28 in the previous years and is held on July 29-30 this year, postponed for two days for it falls right on the settlement days of the mining company this year. Due to the good business of the mining company, the “Shogyokusai” (Japan’s famous magic performance group) was invited to perform in the mine for two consecutive days as a reward to the mine employees and their families. Other activities included the amateur wrestling, Taiwanese drama and events photo exhibition. The rituals of mountain deities that day were especially lively with the good atmosphere.”

During the period of Jinguashi Mine operated by Ushiroku Shintarou (1925-1933), there were three reports concerning the rituals of mountain deities. The aforementioned report is the first record of changing the time of rituals into two days (the time in the previous reports was one day). According to the records of the Shine and Religion in Taiwan (Social Study of Cultural and Educational Bureau of Taiwan Governor-General’s Office, 1940), the annual “routine rituals” of Jinguashi Shrine was on June 28. It cannot see from this report in 1929 why the ritual holding date was changed to July. But it can be seen that the rituals of shrine could be postponed because of the company’s operating conditions or held in a grand manner because of the improvement of the mining conditions, changing with various situations. It can be seen from the fact of the Goddess Matsu celebration rituals held on the same day being postponed also that although it was not documented in the report whether the local residents were opposed or unhappy to the postpone, it can be reasonably assumed that to the majority of Taiwanese people living in the mine, the mine operation was closely related to their interests and the whole mine settlements formed a common community of destiny virtually, with the source of income and the life stability

of local Taiwanese affected by the mining company. Although the temple ritual was one of the focuses of the belief life of the local Taiwanese, but, if the company had to change the date of ritual based on some just causes, it was acceptable to the local Taiwanese.

During this period, though the Japanese shrine ritual ceremonies and Goddess Matsu worshiping by the local Taiwanese were held separately, but the divertissement activities seemed to be able to be participated by both.

3. The period of Taiwan Mining Corporation (1933-1945)

In 1933, Jinguashi Mine was acquired by Japan Mining Corporation to be established as Taiwan Mining Corporation. There are 5 records concerning the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi during this period and 8 in total if including the relevant reports of the new shrine and Kominka Movement. Although the practice in this time followed the former examples that the local residents could also hold the rituals of Goddess Matsu at the same time of the rituals of Jinguashi being held, but the date of the rituals was adjusted again to the two days of July 15th and 16th. It is speculated that this is because the dates are the same as the dates of the rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine, the origin of the Japanese mines.

Report entitled “Shrine Chambers to be Constructed in Jinguashi Mine” in the journal of April 8, 1936 of Taiwan Daily Newspaper

“There is always a simple shrine for worship ritual in Jinguashi Mine of Taiwan Mining Corporation. In order to change the shrine into the religious center of the company employees and the only amusement park of the mine, it is planned to spend 15,000 JPY specially to build shrine chambers, worship chambers and other facilities including planting ornamental plants and setting leisure

facilities. The location is in the vicinity of Benshan and the construction commences on the 20th.”

Report entitled “Shrine Chambers to be Constructed in Jinguashi Mine” in the journal of April 9, 1936 of Taiwan Daily Newspaper (Chinese Edition):

“Jinguashi Mine of Taiwan Mining Corporation intends to build shrine chambers and worship chambers with a nearby amusement park to plant ornamental plants and set leisure facilities in the vicinity of Benshan. The cost is 15,000 JPY and the construction is scheduled to commence on the 20th. ”

The above is the report about Taiwan Mining Corporation building Jinguashi Shrine chambers and setting nearby leisure facilities in 1936 in order to make the shrine into the religious center of the mine company employees and the only amusement park of the mine.

It is known from the organization of the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi in Table 3 that Jinguashi Shrine has been the religious center of the mining company and at least the Japanese employees. The shrine expansion and leisure facilities addition in 1936 may be performed by the Japan Mining Corporation acquiring the operation right of Jinguashi Mine in 1933 purely for the purpose of expanding the shrine. But it is assumed by this article that it should be for the main purposes of enhancing the degree of belief of the Taiwanese employees and increasing the visits to it by the Taiwanese. The first reason is that Jinguashi Shrine is located at the mountainside with a not low terrain, and close to Benshan 4th and 5th Tunnels of densely distributed with transport routes in the surroundings. So, it

is not a safe place for recreation for the general public and even mine employees except for the occasions when the activities like rituals of mountain deities are held and the mine is shut down for two days. The second reason is that the facilities like the National Language Training Institute and Youth Training Group¹¹ started to be established in Jinguashi Mine since 1936 and whether the tribal revitalization movement¹² before the Kominka Movement has already gradually affected the settlements in Jinguashi Mine is the reason assumed by this article, worthy of further exploration.

As described in the previous section, the Governor-General’s Office issued the “Key Items Concerning Shrine Construction” in 1934, with the content stressing the construction of the shrines into the indoctrination centers and the implementation of the “one shrine for one street or village” policy. On July 10, 1936, the construction ritual was held at the Zuihō Shrine constructed by Ruifang Village. Not long after the report of the shrine building in Jinguashi Mine, the report entitled “Routine Rituals in Jinguashi Shrine for Two Days since Today” appeared in the journal of July 15, 1936 of Taiwan Daily Newspaper, reporting the routine rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi Shrine as follows:

“Grand routine ritual ceremonies were held in Jinguashi Mountain Shrine in the Jinguashi Mine of Ruifang Village in Keelung on the 15th and the 16th. The contests of wine bottle mikoshi (Japanese mikoshi carrying wine bottle) among the junior groups and sumo, judo and Kendo among the adult groups were carried out on the day as parts of the rituals worshipping the deities.

11 According to Shimada Rikichi in the Overview of Jinguashi Mine (1936, Scientific Taiwan), a “Public National Language Training Institute” and a “Private Youth Training Institute” already appeared in then Jinguashi Mine. However, these two facilities have not yet appeared in the Taiwan Mining Corporation in the Overview in November in 1935.

12 “Tribal revitalization movement” is a social movement promoted by the societies composed by tribes in the Japanese colonial period. Generally known as the society of promotion after 1934. Its purpose has many different aspects with the implementation focus in the educational indoctrination promotion to be “respecting deities and emperor” and “popularizing national language”. The latter is to improve the popularizing rate of Japanese, requiring the national language training institute to be set up in each place to allow the people not fluent in Japanese above the school age to learn Japanese. “Entry from the website of Encyclopedia of Taiwan”, website: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw> (Read Date: 2013/08).

The Taiwanese in the mine also performed the rituals of meeting Goddess Matsu at the “Quanji Hall” to welcome Goddess Matsu back on the same day. More than a dozen stages were set up in various villages for the performance of Taiwanese opera and other divertissement activities. This initiative will help the integration of the Japanese and Taiwanese. One can easily imagine how spectacular the event was.”

It is unknown whether the reference of “...contribute to the integration of the people of Taiwan...” is a comment added by the newspaper in feeling the changes in the environment for there are not much relevant historical materials available.

The Marco Polo Bridge Incident erupted in July 1937. With the expansion of the war situation, the requirements by the Governor-General’s Office for “respecting deities and emperor” by the Taiwanese people grew more intense. In May 1939, the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office announced the three policies of Kominka, industrialization and southing base initiative. The report entitled “Jinguashi Club Built to Reward Employees and Began Operations before Rituals in July” in Taiwan Daily Newspaper on April 26, 1940 went that “... in order to promote the Kominka Movement by most Taiwanese employees ... the employee club is constructed ... is under expedited construction in order to be completed before the rituals of mountain deities on July 15”

The Governor-General’s Office established the Law-abiding Society of People of the Emperor in April 1941 to actively promote the Kominka Movement with the Governor-General as the president. Although as mentioned in the “Matters concerning the shrine clearing up” by the Governor-General’s Office in 1938 that “the She on a location having a shrine already must be

abolished”, there were still reports concerning Jinguashi Shrine in 1940 showing that Jinguashi Shrine was not abolished because of the construction of Zuihō Shrine in Ruifang Village. But, no reports concerning the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi have been seen from 1941 until the end of World War II.

4. Rituals of mountain deities of Ruifang Shrine

The Mountain Shrine of Ruifang Mine near Jinguashi (today’s Jiufen District) Mountain Shrine, as described in Table 2 in the previous section, was constructed by Fujita Densaburo (Fujita Group), the mine owner, in 1906 to meet the needs of employees in belief and soul. 3 reports concerning the rituals of mountain deities can be found in different years in Taiwan Daily Newspaper totally. The report entitled “Rituals of Mountain Deities in Ruifang” in Taiwan Daily Newspaper on May 30, 1920 says that:

“In addition to the directors of mining company in Taiwan, the students from the elementary and public schools attended the rituals too, which were followed by a banquet and divertissement activities like Chinese opera, being remarkably bustling.”

The contents of the report indicates that the rituals of mountain deities were held in each year with the participants including the directors of the mining companies, local officials, the public and students from the elementary and public schools and a small banquet and divertissement activities like Chinese opera after the rituals.

Ruifang Mine was bought and operated by the Taiwanese Yun-nian Yan in 1918. Taiyang Mining Corporation (hereinafter referred to as “Taiyang”) was founded in September 1920. Although Yan is a Taiwanese

and the employees of Ruifang Mine are mainly of Taiwanese people, the directors of mining companies were assumed by Japanese under the Japanese colonial environment. Yan, having good political and business relations, still held shrine rituals by following the former examples after the establishment of the new company. The report entitled “Rituals of Mountain Deities in Ruifang” in Taiwan Daily Newspaper (Chinese Edition) on Aug. 6, 1934 said that:

“The rituals of Mountain Shrine at Jiufen Mine in Ruifang Village of Keelung is scheduled to be performed from 10:00am on the 7th by setting up a ● temporary altar before the shrine. The mining company is in good shape and the event would surely be lively and spectacular.”

(※ ● Unrecognizable in the original document)

The date of rituals in 1934 was changed to August with unknown reasons. In 1933, the Japanese government announced to purchase the gold with the market price, having promoted the gold production increase. The business situations of Ruifang Mine and Jinguashi Mine were therefore greatly enhanced and the rituals of mountain deities also turned out to be a spectacular event in that year.

The rituals of mountain deities were restored to be held on May 27 in 1936 and a clergy of Kiron Shrine was invited to preside over the rituals. A special feature is the some contents

of the report entitled “Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jiufen Mine” in Taiwan Daily Newspaper on May 26, 1936:

“... therefore the two rituals of deities ... rituals and the routine rituals of mountain deities in Jiufen Mine were held together. The first joint rituals were held on 26th and 27th, turning the whole mine into a lively festival.”

Xipi and Fulu, the two orchestras in Ruifang Mine ended the long-standing discord and formed a group together in 1936, starting to perform jointly for the rituals of deities used to be serviced by the orchestras separately before. This item of rituals was combined with the rituals of mountain deities in that year, which was the first time for the three items of rituals to be held jointly. As the divertissement activity at that evening, Taiyang, as the mine owner, treated 700 employees contracting the mining with a theatergoing at the Shengping Theater, which received enthusiastic response. It is speculated from the above description that the rituals of mountain deities in Ruifang Mine and related activities have always been the activities solely shared among the Japanese. It was the first time to hold the rituals jointly in combination with the local religion in 1936 and open to the local Taiwanese contracting the mining to participate as well. Although the two mines are adjacent, the interesting differences between them still could be seen from the planning of the rituals of mountain deities.

【Table 4】 Reports Concerning Rituals of Mountain Deities of Ruifang Shrine by Taiwan Daily Newspaper

Item	Date	Category of Publication	Title	Date of Rituals	Operator of Mine
1	1920.05.30	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Ruifang	5.27	Yun-nian Yan and Yunquan Chamber of Commerce
2	1934.08.06	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Ruifang	8.07	Guo-nian Yan (Taiyang Mining Corporation)
3	1936.05.26	Daily	September Rituals of Mountain Deities in the Mine	5.26-5.27	Guo-nian Yan (Taiyang Mining Corporation)
4	1936.05.29	Daily	Rituals of Mountain Deities in Ruifang Mine	5.27	

5. Characteristics of rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi

In summary, the characteristics of the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi can be summarized as follows:

- (1) The ritual activities were mainly participated in by the Japanese employees. The period from 1903 to 1938 as recorded in the news right spanned the three operating periods of Jinguashi Mine, suggesting that this tradition lasted for at least 36 years.
- (2) The local Taiwanese people also organized activities related to worshipping the Goddess Matsu on the same day of the rituals of mountain deities. If calculated from 1919 to 1936 according to the newspaper's records, this item had a history of at least 18 years or so. The neighboring rituals of mountain deities in Ruifang Mine was mainly participated by the Japanese and were only recorded to start to have joint rituals with the local religion since 1936.
- (3) The date of the rituals of mountain deities was subject to change and postpone due to the temporary needs of the mining company or the change of mining right. The date of the Goddess Matsu worshipping activities also would be changed or extended at the same time.
- (4) It was a tradition in the mining industry to praying for fortune and blessing. It is the continuation of the Japanese tradition to set up a mountain shrine in a mine to worship the mountain deities. In praying for “a gold harvest of crops”, the safety of employees were prayed for as well.
- (5) It is for rewarding employees and temple

entertainment. Due to holding the rituals of Mountain Shrine, the mining company would have one to two days off, allowing the employees to take a rest. Meanwhile, the mine owner would provide food, drink and towels to reward the employees. After the festival, a number of competitions, divertissement performances and activities were provided as planned to reward the employees and their families.



【Figure 2】 Rituals of Mountain Deities in Jinguashi (Provided by Zhang Yingjie, assumed to be late 1930s)



【Figure 3】 Jinguashi Sports Meeting (Provided by Zhang Yingjie, assumed to be late 1930s)

4. Ritual of Mountain Deities in Hitachi Mine

In the report related to rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi in Taiwan Daily Newspaper on July 15, 1937, it mentioned that the entertainment on the day of the festival was “the unique dance of ghost festival in Hitachi area of Japan”. “Hitachi” is Ibaraki in Japan and the location of the Hitachi Mine of Japan Mining Corporation (JMC). “Bon Odori” is the dance in “Obon Festival” of the Japanese on 15 July. From 1933, the Jinguashi Mine was owned by Japan. According to the report, it is inferred that after the Jinguashi Mine was transferred to Japan Mining Corporation, the technicians and miners immigrated from Ibaraki of Japan performed traditional dance of Ibaraki as the entertainment of annual ritual of mountain deities to celebrate the holiday. It was the only report which showed the hometown of mining manager in ritual of mountain deities.

Due to the limitation of space, according to record of Hitachi smelting plant of Japan Mining Corporation, this paper only introduces one report concerning the rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine on July 16, 1934. (Sato, 1982, general affair division of Hitachi smelting plant, Story of Mountain Shrine of the Hitachi Mine):

It was rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine of the Hitachi Mine. At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, when the fire of signal rose, director Suzuki, mining chief Nakazawa, other members and fire brigade stood orderly in Mountain Shrine of the mountain. Abbot Setani and other priest held the sublime ritual. Director Suzuki and others worshipped god with wine in order to pray for the peace of the mine. The entertaining activities were then held. Around 10 o'clock in the morning, on the stages of

Da Xiong Yuan, Wan Chen and poon field of the mountain, the lively entertaining activities were launched (skipped). Stream of people crowded in. At night, it was brightly lit on the mountain. The fireworks of popular stands, activity exhibition and young people's well-known “Hitachi dance” attracted numerous visitors and neighbors. The mountain became the paradise of happiness. The mining streets of Hitachi and Sukegawa were crowded all day. On two days of festival, besides the policemen delegated in the district, Sukegawa police station asked the support of policemen from Matsubara and Ota in order to help ban and deal with the chaos of the crowd.

Rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine was held annually on the 15th and 16th of July. According to the previous record, from 8 to 10 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, director of the mine, chief of mining department, employees, fire brigade and priest of Mountain Shrine participated in the sublime ritual with worship of wine. From 10 o'clock in the morning to the whole next day, there were various temple activities, including traditional dance and performance of music. At night, the illumination was lit on the mountain with firework. The mine and the residents in the neighboring villages were joyful in the atmosphere. In order to avoid the chaotic behavior, the mining manager asked for the support from the police to ban the disorder.

Rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine was held on July 15. It was said to match “Obon Festival” of Japan. Every year, on this day, the villagers and students would return home to sweep the tombs and offer sacrifices to their ancestors. Ritual of mountain deities was on the 15th and 16th of July. The mining employees and families could have reunion on the holidays for not only worshipping the ancestors, but also praying for peace of the mine and

endless mining sources. They thus enjoyed the annual and occasional temple activity.

Every year, the Hitachi Mine holds regular rites such as new year ritual, safety ritual, ritual of prayers, ritual of death of duty and spirit, grand ritual in Mountain Shrine. However, since the operation of the mine changes, it becomes the employees' worship and the joyful atmosphere of the mine in the past disappears.

In the past, rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine resembles the entertaining activity for employees in modern companies. The core meaning matches the spirit of ritual of mountain deities of Jinguashi held before the Kominka Movement.

5. Religious policies and shrine construction during the Japanese colonial period

In the introduction of Taiwan under the Japanese Imperialism, Tadao Yanaihara stated, “the policies of the Japanese governance in Taiwan were based on economic development. Besides, economic demand of Japan from Taiwan was the most powerful factor to determine the policies in Taiwan.” The most important purpose of Japan to govern Taiwan was the economic demand. The issues directly or indirectly related to economic benefits were what Japan tried hard to control in early colonial period in Taiwan. 10 years after the Japanese colonization (1896-1906), it had land survey (1898), planned transportation routes of southern and northern Taiwan and construction of Keelung Harbor (1899), survey on traditional customs in Taiwan (1901), household census (1905) and forest survey (1910), etc. Primary report on investigation on

religion in Taiwan was accomplished in 1918. According to Taiwan governance of Governor-General's Office and different stages of religious policies in Section 2, at the end of 1930s, because of the war between China and Japan, Governor-General's Office at the time actively promoted the Kominka Movement and developed extreme policies different from the past on construction of temples and religion.

The most significant difference of operation between the Jinguashi Mine and Ruifang Mine in the Japanese Colonial Period was that the former has been operated by the Japanese and the latter was controlled by Yun-nian Yan, the Taiwanese, after 1918. Besides the characteristics mentioned in Section 3, in the rituals of mountain deities in Jinguashi, the Japanese miner owner did not prohibit Mazu religion of local Taiwanese. The Jinguashi Mine has been responsible for Quanji Temple, the religious center of Mazu festival. After several times of moving with the change of village, it was reconstructed in 1935 in current location. Nowadays, on the wall in the temple, we can still find the record of donation of the mine owner, Taiwan Mine Corporation, in 1936 to ban Tien Li Chi of the island.

According to Mr. Chin-mu Cheng of Quanji Hall, in the Japanese Colonial Period, when the mine company held ritual of mountain deities, Quanji Hall would have rite of Guangong's anniversary and Mazu parade. It was the meeting of gods and similar to the activity to welcome Mazu in modern time. After Restoration, Mazu welcoming of Quanji Hall was held in April and afterwards, it was changed to March 23 on lunar calendar as present time. In “Study on Construction and Promotion of Kiron Shrine in the Japanese Colonial Period”, Kai-

wen Chen suggested that “after the construction of Kiron Shrine, parade route of Ching An Temple of Keelung Mazu Temple was expanded to the front of Kiron Shrine for the reason of worshipping. Several years ago, traditional temples in Keelung were asked to hold the parade on the same day of the rite of Kiron Shrine. ...the semi-compelling united parade only lasted for 4 years and it ended since the temples claimed that the activity did not match traditional custom and it influenced the business of the stores” (Chen, 2010:90).

In comparison to complicated social interaction environment between the Taiwanese and the Japanese in Keelung area in the Japanese Colonial Period, relationship in the Jinguashi Mine was simpler. Festival or rites in the temples prayed for the prospect of the mine. Upon the mutual benefit, Jinguashi festival reflected the connection of life of the mine. Founder of Quanji Hall was the family of Huang Jen-xiang, the leader of labor in Jinguashi. The Japanese mine owner needed great amount of the Taiwanese labor and depended on the offering of labor leaders. Regarding long-term stability of operation or respect for religion, ritual of mountain deities of Jinguashi was held at the same time of the Taiwanese’s Matzu welcoming for at least 18 years. It became the unique tradition.

In 1936, according to the record of rituals of mountain deities in Hitachi Mine, the formal signal of annual festival was when the sound of motor in smelting factory which operates all year round stopped and the big chimney stopped smoking. All miners and villagers started enjoying the precious time of drinking and party without the work. As most of temples in Taiwan in the Japanese Colonial Period, Jinguashi temple is the religious transplant of the

Japanese mining immigrants. Ritual of mountain deities is the traditional worship in mining life. According to the content of ritual of mountain deities, the main purpose is to entertain the employees annually. Regarding the mine which continuously operates all year round, ritual of mountain deities reflects the unique entertainment.

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