ALMA M. KARLIN’S VISITS TO TEMPLES AND SHRINES IN JAPAN

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Introduction

Alma M. Karlin (1889-1950), born in Celje, went on a journey around the world between 1919 and 1928, and stayed in Japan for a little more than a year, from June 1922 to July 1923. There is a large collection of postcards from her journey archived in the Regional Museum of Celje. Among them are quite a number of postcards from Japan (528 pieces), and among these, about 100 of temples and shrines, including tombs of emperors and other historical persons - i.e., postcards related to religions and folk traditions of Japan. Karlin almost always wrote on the reverse of these postcards some lines of explanation about each picture in German. On the other hand, the Japanese part of her travelogue is very short, only about 40 pages of 700. (Einsame Weltreise / Im Banne der Südsee, both published in Germany in 1930). In order to understand Alma Karlin’s observation and interpretation of matters related to religions in Japan and beliefs of Japanese people, we depend on her memos on the postcards and her rather subjective impressions in her travelogue. This paper presents facts on the religious sights which Karlin is thought to have visited, and an analysis of Karlin’s understanding and interpretation of the Japanese religious life based on her memos on the postcards and the Japanese part of her travelogue.

In the following section, Alma Karlin and her journey around the world are briefly presented, with a specific focus on the year of her stay in Japan, 1922-1923.
In the 3rd section of the paper, characteristics of religions in Japan and the religious life of the Japanese people at the beginning of the 20th century are summarised, particularly of the Taishō period (the reign of Emperor Taishō, 1912-1926).

The 4th and the central section of this paper presents the Japanese postcards related to religions, particularly those of temples, shrines and tombs, found in Karlin’s collection in the Regional Museum in Celje.

Wherever possible, Karlin’s memos on the reverse of these postcards and her mention of these religious sights in her travelogue are connected and analysed. In the process of analysis, these places were geographically identified and located on maps. (Maps 1 and 2)

In conclusion, Karlin’s observation and understanding of Japanese religious sights and people’s religious life is summarised.
Alma M. Karlin and the Taishō era

Alma Maximiliana Karlin, a writer, journalist, world traveller, amateur researcher, polyglot and theosophist, was born to Slovene parents in the provincial town of Celje in Austria-Hungary. She was the only daughter of a retired Austro-Hungarian military officer and a teacher in a German girls’ school, and raised strictly using the German language although both parents were of Slovene origin. After learning several European languages in England and Scandinavia, she returned to Celje and opened her own language school, but after a few years decided to go on a journey around the world. Her journey, Celje - Genoa - Peru - Panama Canal - Hawaii - Japan - Korea - Peking - Australia - New Zealand - Fiji - New Guinea - Indonesia - Siam - India and back home, lasted from 1919 to 1927. Her original aim was to travel first to Japan, but as a result of circumstances - lack of money or the wrong papers - she instead took passage at Genoa on a ship bound for Mollendo, the southernmost port in Peru, reasoning that “if all roads lead to Rome, sooner or later they will surely lead me to Japan”.

From Peru, she travelled to Panama, the United States and Hawaii, and finally, she arrived in Yokohama on a ship in June 1922 and stayed in Japan till the first days of July, 1923. That was the 11th and 12th year of the Taishō era in Japan. The Meiji era ended in July 1912, with the death of Emperor Meiji, and his son, Emperor Taishō, succeeded him to reign over Imperial Japan. Around the beginning of the Taishō era, the Japanese people probably still lived in the fresh memory of the victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese war which was fought in 1904-05 in Manchuria and the Japanese Sea. Japan was the first Asian nation to fight and defeat one of the greatest powers of the world at

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1 Barbara Trnovec et al., Azija me je povsem uročila [Asia Utterly Bewitched Me], Catalogue of the Temporary Exhibition Marking the 130th Anniversary of Alma M. Karlin’s Birth and the Centenary of Her Departure on Her Journey Around the World. Celje (Ljubljana: Regional Museum Celje and University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, 2019), 8.
3 Trnovec, Azija me je povsem uročila [Asia Utterly Bewitched Me], 8-9.
that time, and therefore, many western nations began observing Japan differently.  

The Taishō era is known in the history of modern Japan as a period of liberal movements and often remembered as a period of “Taishō democracy.” Liberal movements meant to safeguard the Constitution, realize popular elections and observe workers’ rights. The period of Taishō democracy is usually distinguished from the preceding chaotic Meiji period and the following militaristic-driven first part of the Shōwa period. The great Kantō earthquake occurred on September 1st, 1923, several weeks after Karlin left Japan, so we can imagine that she experienced a rather peaceful and happy period for the Japanese people during her stay.

The Taishō era is also often associated with cultural freedom. It was a period of drastic changes in fashion, art, and popular culture in Japan. Japanese people began wearing Western clothes and hairdos in the former Meiji period, but that was still limited to a smaller circle. Together with the development of mass communication and democracy, the general public, including the working classes, started to enjoy the new waves of fashion, music, and similar facets of popular culture, mainly influenced by the western part of the world. Towards the end of the Taishō and in the beginning of the following Shōwa era, the words “moga” (モガ =modern girl) and “mobo” (モボ =modern boy) came into use in relation to clothing and modes of urban life. A typical “moga” wore a medium long skirt (which was still shorter than kimono length) with a simple top, a cloche hat and a short-cut hairdo.

A lady from Europe, and from an insignificant provincial city, but with knowledge of many languages and cultures (although fragmentarily), and full of curiosity about local folklore elements of each visited region, Karlin was surely welcomed by intellectuals in Japan. A rather small-built woman with a very “modern” hairdo – from the viewpoint of women in Taishō democracy, she could have been the real “moga”. (cf. Photos 1, 2 and 3)

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5 See for example, Aleš Gabrič, “Slovenian Familiarization with Japan and the Japanese,” in The 20th Century through Historiographies and Textbooks, Zbirka Vpogledi 21, eds. Žarko Lazarević, Nobuhiro Shiba and Kenta Suzuki (Ljubljana: INZ, 2018), 167. “After the war, Japan became a country that could not be simply overlooked, not even in Slovenia.”

6 This labeling of the period in Japanese history was coined by Shinobu Seizaburō around 1950.
Photo 1: Alma Karlin (Source: Spletni biografski leksikon celjskega območja in zasavja).

Photo 2: An interview with Alma Karlin in Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun 1922.
Religions in Japan and changes in the 19th and 20th centuries

It is generally known that Shintoism, Buddhism, Christianity and new religions coexist in Japanese society. The respected representative of the first pioneers of Japanese religious studies, Anesaki Masaharu (1873-1949) states:

The history of Japanese religions and morals shows [...] the interaction of various forces which manifested their vitality more in combination than in opposition. A saying ascribed to Prince Shōtoku, the founder of Japanese civilization, compares the three religious and moral systems found in Japan to the root, the stem and branches, and the flowers and fruits of a tree. Shinto is the root embedded in the soil of the people’s character and national traditions; Confucianism is seen in the stem and branches of legal institutions, ethical codes, and educational systems; Buddhism made the flowers of religious sentiment bloom and gave the fruits of spiritual life.7

Shintō is primarily found in Japan, whereas Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced to Japan from China in the 6th century. Christianity was introduced to Japan much later, by the Jesuit missionaries in the middle of the 16th century. In the middle of the 17th century however, the Japanese government (shogunate) issued a total ban on Christianity and “all Japanese were compelled to produce certificates of temple registration (寺請証文 terauke shōmon)”8. “[The] practice of temple-parishioner registration became normative in all regions of Japan, [and] the nature of Japanese Buddhism changed significantly. [...] Many of [...] new parishioners chose their temple affiliations without doctrinal or faith considerations, but based on geographical proximity to a temple”.9 Today, “most Japanese view temples simply as places where they hold funerary and memorial services.”10

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9 Ibid.: 21.
10 Ibid.: 25.
duction of Article 28 of the Meiji Constitution in 1873, the Japanese people were guaranteed the freedom of religion.

Added to the situation described above, “a new religion”\(^{11}\) was invented in the beginning of the 20th century in Japan. According to Shimazono, a researcher in the field of modern history of Japanese religions, this was around the year 1912 and subsequent years, in the beginning of the Taishō era. Shimazono points out among others:\(^{12}\)

- an article entitled “The Invention of a New Religion”, published in 1912 by Basil Hall Chamberlain, a Japanologist who resided in the Meiji Japan for 38 years. Chamberlain points out the veneration of Emperor Meiji by the Japanese people as a new system of religious practice;
- the death of Nogi Maresuke, a general of the Japanese Imperial Army, who followed Emperor Meiji by committing suicide (See also section *Fushimi Momoyama* on p. 31 in relation to General Nogi);
- use of the word *seitoku* 聖徳 (=emperor’s virtue) and the construction of the Meiji Shrine between 1915 and 1921. Both the word and the construction of a shrine are limited to Emperor Meiji and do not apply to later emperors.

Alma Karlin stayed in Japan from June 1922 to July 1923. This was the 11th and 12th year of Taishō. Karlin brought back many postcards of temples and shrines, as well as some picture postcards of objects related to the Emperor Meiji (cf. *Meiji Shrine* on p. 19; *Heian Jingū* on p. 31 on Sōkaren, *Fushimi Momoyama* on p. 31 for Nogi Jinja).

**Postcards in Alma Karlin’s Collection in Celje**

Among the picture postcards from Japan archived in the Alma Karlin Collection in the Celje Regional Museum, the following shrines, temples and similar religious sights were identified. They are presented

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\(^{12}\) Shimazono, “Taishō Shōwa zenki no shūkyō to shakai.”
in several groups according to their geographical locations: in the city of Tokyo, where she resided for most of her stay in Japan (pp. 12–19); Tochigi Prefecture and Kanagawa Prefecture in the Kantō region (pp. 20–28); the Kansai region (pp. 28–40); and other individual places farther southwest from Kansai (pp. 40–47).

Please also refer to two maps, one of Tokyo (Map 1 on page 4) and another of the Japanese Archipelago (Map 2 on page 5). Map 1 shows all the religious sights in Tokyo where Karlin visited in Japan, together with her residence and workplaces (a university, a machine factory and an embassy). Map 2 shows place names in Japan where Karlin visited individual temples, shrines and tombs. The arrows in the map show shorter trips from Tokyo and back (to prefectures Tochigi and Kanagawa), and her journey in July 1923 after she left Tokyo, towards the western part of Japan, and the last arrow shows the direction of the boat to Korea where she continued with her journey around the world.

In Tokyo

Karlin lived for most of her stay in Japan in the centre of the city of Tokyo (former Edo)\(^{13}\), the capital of Japan since the beginning of the Meiji era. It is known that she worked for the Meiji University, a machine factory\(^ {14}\), and the German Embassy, all of which were not far from her small rented room. The streetcar in Tokyo was a very common means of transport in the city at that time. She could reach all the following temples and shrines in Tokyo on foot or by streetcar. The first five sights (a. to e.) are in the so-called downtown “Shitamachi” 下町, the following two (f. and g.) are in the uptown “Yamanote” 山手 (today’s Shibuya-ku and Minato-ku) of the city of Tokyo. (See also Map 1)

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\(^{13}\) Her address was Yūrakuchō 3-chôme 有楽町3丁目 (Karlin, *Samotno potovanje v daljne dežele*, 226). For the New Year of 1923, she received a postcard at this address.

\(^{14}\) This is most probably Leybolds GmbH, a company for vacuum and gas management engineering. In Japanese: レーボールド商會 (Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun, “うら若い女の身で冒険の世界無銭旅行 [Urawakai onna no mi de bōken no seikai musen ryokō],” in *Getsuyo Furoku*, 31. 7. 1922: 1).
a) Asakusa Kanzeon 浅草観世音, also called Sensōji 浅草寺 [526/527]

This is the oldest Buddhist temple in Tokyo, believed to have been established in the Heian period, in the year 942. Its existence is recorded in Azumakagami 吾妻鏡, a historical record edited in the Kamakura era (1185-1333). When the shrine in Kamakura (Tsuruoka Hachimangū, see page 25) was constructed in 1181, carpenters specialized for shrines and temples (in Japanese miyadaiku 宮大工) were summoned from Asakusa. The principal object of worship in Asakusa Kanzeon is Kanzeon Bosatsu 観世音菩薩 (Avalokiteśvara). On the hand-tinted photo of the postcard brought back by Alma Karlin, it is interesting to observe the visitors’ clothes and hairdos of the time. Karlin is interested in the

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15 The postcards (photos 4 to 32) are from Alma Karlin Collection at the Regional Museum of Celje.
16 The numbers in square brackets, all through this paper, are the numbers in the photo file of picture postcards archived and offered by the Celje Regional Museum.
stone lanterns on both sides in front of the main hall of worship and the red roofs of the souvenir stalls.\footnote{17}

b) Kanda Myōjin 神田明神 [786/787], formal name Kanda Jinja 神田神社

This is an old Shinto shrine believed to have been established in the 8th century. Japanese mythical deities, Ōnamuchi no mikoto 大己貴命 and Sukunahikona no mikoto 少彦名命, as well as the historical figure Taira no Masakado 平将門 (? - 940) are enshrined. It is known for the festival Kanda Matsuri 神田祭 which started as a display of the prosperity of the Tokugawa shogunate in the 17th century, and now unites the 108 neighbourhood associations of the downtown. Karlin’s postcard is a hand-drawn depiction of the festival with a smaller photo of the neighbourhood and a printed Japanese explanation. On the re-

\footnote{17} Her remarks on the reverse (all Alma’s remarks on the reverse side of her postcards will appear in her language - German - throughout the paper.): Laternen vor dem Tempel (Schrein) Verkaufsbuden mit roten Dächern aus Stoff.
verse, we see her great interest in the festival, particularly the floats: the remarks are first in pencil, later added in ink.\textsuperscript{18} We can imagine that Karlin herself was present at this festival.

c) Yushima Tenjin 湯島天神 or Yushima Tenmangū 湯島天満宮 or Ochanomizu Seidō 御茶ノ水聖堂 [854/855]

Also an old Shinto shrine, believed to have been established in the time of Emperor Yūryaku in 458. Since 1355, the historical figure Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), a great master of classical Chinese as the patron deity of literature, has been enshrined. Karlin's postcard from this shrine is also hand-drawn with printed explanation in Japanese.\textsuperscript{19} Karlin wrote on the reverse what she heard in Japanese,

\textsuperscript{18} Kanda Miojin / Mikoshi oder getragener Gott / Dashi mit Kriegsgott nur Schmuck / Ein Mikoshi & alles was dazu gehört kostet bis zu 30,000 yen.

\textsuperscript{19} Seido Koshi / Confuciustempel in Ochanomitsu (Kōshi 孔子 means Confucius in Japanese.)
then added explanation in German, which was meaningful for her and perhaps also for the publishing houses to whom she wrote later.

d) Kameido Tenjin 亀戸天神 or Kameido Tenmangū 亀戸天満宮
[708/709]
As the name indicates, this is also a Shinto shrine to worship the scholar and poet, Sugawara no Michizane (=Tenjin, the deified spirit of Sugawara no Michizane). It was established in 1661 in the Edo era in the time of the 4th Tokugawa shōgun. The precincts of the shrine are famous for the plum trees, wisteria flowers, and the drum bridge often depicted by Hiroshige, Hokusai, and others. Sugawara no Michizane was born in the year of the ox 丑, and thus related to oxen in several episodes. Karlin’s postcard is a photo of the stone ox in the shrine garden. 20

20 Tenjin, der Gott der Schulkinder, einst ein … Minister. Kameido.
e) Yoshiwara Jinja 吉原神社 [810/811]

After the great fire in 1657 in Edo, all licensed brothels in the city were put together in one area, so-called Shin Yoshiwara (the new Yoshiwara) near Asakusa. Five former shrines worshipping the god of harvest Uganomitama no kami 倉稲魂神 were combined, and Benzaiten 弁財天 (Sarasvati, the Hindu goddess of music, eloquence, wealth and wisdom) is enshrined as well. The shrine is visited particularly by women who train in singing, dancing, and other arts. The shrine is also said to help improve business and art.

Karlin in her explanation on the reverse calls it “Love temple”.\footnote{Liebestempel im Yoshiwara.}

Also in her travelogue, she describes Benzaiten (Sarasvati) as the god of wealth and art.
f) Takanawa Sengakuji 高輪泉岳寺 [770/771, 772/773, 774/775, 858/859]

A Buddhist temple in the upper town of Tokyo, today’s Minato-ku, was constructed by the 1st Tokugawa shōgun, Ieyasu, in 1612. It is known for the tombs of 47 masterless samurais Akōrōshi, who planned and succeeded to avenge their master’s honour in the year 1703, but then later had to kill themselves by the shogunate’s order. This story became popular among the Japanese, being symbolic of loyalty, sacrifice, and honour - i.e., the Japanese samurai spirit - adapted into plays in the bunraku and kabuki theatres. Karlin brought back three postcards of the photo of the graves of 47 warriors, and one showing dolls of the warriors probably exhibited within a temple building.22

22 Die Gräben der 47 tapferen Ronin. / Die 47 tapferen Ronin.
This Shinto shrine was built after the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912. He was buried near Kyoto (his mausoleum is mentioned on page 31), but people decided for the construction of a shrine in the uptown section of Tokyo, today’s Shibuya-ku. The shrine is dedicated to the spirits of Emperor Meiji and his wife. Nowadays, the Meiji Shrine is the most popular place to be visited by Japanese for New Year. Karlin brought back a set of several postcards from the Meiji Shrine. When she stayed in Tokyo, it had been only 10 years since the shrine was completed and we may guess that the citizens often visited or talked about the shrine. Her explanations on the reverse of these postcards go into some detail.

23 Der ganze Tempel, an dem 9 Jahre gearbeitet wurde. / Von den Priestern allein betreten. (Mikedono 神饌殿, the building in which offerings are prepared) / Das Museum des Meiji Tempels (des vorherigen Mikados), das wir einmal im Jahr (d.h. heute, den 30. VI.) geöffnet ist. / Haupteingang zum Museum das im Grunde ein Steintempel in Form ist. Ganz eigenartig
In the Kantō region

Both Tochigi and Kanagawa Prefectures are located in the Kantō region. We can suspect that Karlin visited the following sights on shorter trips from Tokyo on some occasions when she had free days away from her work, and her acquaintance(s) invited her for such trips.

**Tochigi Prefecture**

h) **Nikkō Tōshōgū 日光東照宮** [748/749, 910/911, 912/913, 914/915, 918/919, 920/921, 922/923]

Nikkō is located about 130 km north of Tokyo, in Tochigi Prefecture. The shrine Tōshōgū 東照宮 was established in 1617 to worship the deity of the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Ieyasu, and is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This shrine has been and still is a very popular tourists’ destination because of the brilliant gates, walls, buildings and the surrounding forests. Karlin brought back a series of postcards, together with the envelope for the set with the title *Nikkō Meisho 日光名所* (= Nikko’s Notable Sights). Karlin’s memos on these postcards are quite detailed. In her travelogue, she mentions that she was invited to Nikkō by a famous English poet and teacher by the name of E. Speight. He and others who accompanied her would likely have been aware of the details and described aspects to her; however, her comment on the reverse of the postcard 910/911 that there is Russian influence to the temple-interior decoration sounds strange. Was it her own impression, or someone’s suggestion?

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25 This must be Ernest Edwin Speight (1871-1949), who taught at the Tokyo Imperial University and the Fourth High School in Kanazawa. He was awarded the Fifth Class of the Order of the Rising Sun by the Emperor of Japan for services to teaching.
Photo 11: Nikkō Tōshōgū.
She also mentions in her writing that her trip to Nikkō by train took about 4 hours. She also mentions the importance of Japanese mythology to understand the history of rulers of Japan, and mentions names such as Ashikaga, Fujiwara, Heke (sic: Heike), Toyotomi, and Tokugawa (the names of the first two shoguns, Ieyasu and Iemitsu).
i) Ashikaga 足利 [642/643, 648/649, 654/655]

The city of Ashikaga is also in Tochigi Prefecture, about 70 km southeast of Nikkō. Ashikaga, as the name suggests, is the home of the Ashikaga clan and famous for the Ashikaga School, the oldest academic institution in Japan, from the Middle Ages, to study Confucianism and Chinese medicine. The Buddhist temple Bannaji 鑁阿寺 was built on the site of the former Ashikaga residence in 1197. The three picture postcards are all black and white photos.27

j) Ōhirasan 太平山 [574/575, 620/621]

Between Nikkō and Ashikaga in Tochigi Prefecture is the Shinto shrine Ōhirasan Jinja 太平山神社 for which there are two postcards in

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27 Landhaus der Priester, wörtlich: “Haus der Betrachtung” (行道山) / Banaji Tempel gegründet von Takamura Ono … (Heian Periode) 800 N.C. (足利鐔阿寺) / Kirschblüten vor dem Banaptempel (鐔阿寺山門)
The shrine is said to have been established by the monk Ennin 円仁 (794-864) in 827 before he was sent to China during the Tang dynasty. Ninigi no mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊, Amaterasu ōmikami 天照大神 and Toyouke bime 豊受け姫 are worshipped, and the thousand steps are known to lead the visitors to the main building with the hall for worship. Karlin pays attention to the simple decoration of Shintoism with white paper slips on a rope, *gohei* 御幣. (See the later section *Ishiteji* on page 43)

**Kanagawa Prefecture**

Kanagawa Prefecture, next to Tokyo Prefecture, is also very convenient for a short trip from the metropolis. Since the area is on the south side of Tokyo and faces the Pacific Ocean, it is known for its mild climate also in winter.

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**28** Tempeltor mit Gohei (den weißen Papierstreifen) und der Pest …Schnur. / Soldatengrab bei Kagenai (?)
k) Kamakura 鎌倉 [596/597, 650/651, 676/677, 678/679, 680/681]

The Shinto shrine Tsuruoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮, called also Kamakura Hachimangū, established in 1063 to protect the samurai warriors in the Kamakura era, is about 60 km south of Tokyo. Kamakura is also known for the great Buddha in the temple Kōtokuin 高徳院, which was, according to the historical records in Azumakagami, established in the 13th century. The shrine and the temple are about 2 km apart from each other. Karlin’s postcard collection includes two photos of the Buddha, two of a cave in Kamakura, only 900 meters away from the Hachimangū and 3.5 km from Kōtokuin, where in the year 1335 Prince Morinaga (護良親王, also called Moriyoshi, 1308-1335) was supposed to have been imprisoned by Ashikaga Takauji’s order for 9 months. Karlin’s comments on the postcard’s reverse is rather focused

29 Der Buddha zu Kamakura / Seitenansicht des Buddha zu Kamakura. Ginko, im Hintergrund, Teehaus.
on the Shinto decoration, and not on the legend.\textsuperscript{30} In her travelogue, she mentions Kamakura in the earlier part where she describes the history of the town and the statue of Buddha.

\textbf{1) Enoshima 江ノ島 \[670/671\]}

If one goes farther from Kamakura along the seaside to the west for about 10 km, the popular small off-shore island Enoshima can be reached. Its naturally formed caves used to be a place of training and meditation for monks from around the 11th century onward. Karlin mentions monks on one of the postcards, though such an explanation is not originally printed.\textsuperscript{31} Some person with knowledge of religious history must have commented on this sight. Karlin mentions in her travelogue Enoshima immediately after Kamakura. She must have visited these places on the same trip, or at least with the same accompanying person.

\textsuperscript{30} Die geisterverscheuchende Schnurr vor dem Grabe Tsuchiros. / Die Schnurr dem halten di böse Geister ab.

\textsuperscript{31} Hier steigte sich die Priestern der Iwamoto - in Tempels in das Meer.
m) Sagami Ōyama 相模大山 [644, 645, 652, 653]

Sagami Ōyama 相模大山 is also in Kanagawa Prefecture and one of the sacred mountains in Japan. Sagami Ōyamadera 相模大山寺 is popularly known as Ōyama Fudō 大山不動. The mountain top is given a sacred meaning and worshipped developing a special place for training and mysticism for the mountaineer priests32, yamabushi 山伏.

32 The expression and further explanation in Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, 139.
Since there is usually much rain in this area, the mountain is also called Aburisan 雨降山 to worship the god of rainmaking. On one of the postcards, Karlin mentions Ashikaga, but the Ashikaga clan is not related to this temple.  

In the Kansai region

As can be observed on Map 2 (see page 5), there are still many postcards in Karlin’s collection that show temples and shrines situated away from Tokyo, in the Kansai region; i.e. Kyoto, Osaka, Nara, Ise (today’s Mie Prefecture) and Kobe. Based on Karlin’s writing, we can guess that she visited these places, as well as other places in the southwest regions of Japan after saying goodbye to the German Embassy and acquaintances in Tokyo. It may be that someone accompanied her on this

33  Ryo Bendo / Die Bronzepagode oder der Schatzturm von Ashikaga.
34  Karlin, Samotno potovanje v daljne dežele: tragedija ženske [Einsame Weltreise, Tragoedie einer Frau], 269.
journey and farther on to the Korean Peninsula. In Seoul, she was a guest of a Japanese family, perhaps a Japanese diplomat or some official of the Japanese colonial government at that time.

Kyōto [945/946, 949/950, 951/952, 953/954, 955/956], Imperial Museum [664/665, 666/667]

The number of temples in Kyoto is the largest in Japan due to the fact that the city was the nation’s capital for a longer time in the periods important for the development of Japanese culture. In Karlin’s postcard collection, there is again a series of picture postcards from Kyoto for which also the envelope is archived, titled “Kyoto Viewes (sic)”.

n) Higashi Honganji 東本願寺
Often called casually O-higashi-san お東さん, this is the main temple for the Buddhist sect Shinshū Ōtani-ha 真宗大谷派 with the principle object of worship Amitabha Tathagata, in Japanese Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来. The temple was established in 1602. Most of the buildings were rebuilt during the Meiji period after a fire.

o) Kiyomizudera 清水寺
This temple with the formal name Otowasan Kiyomizudera 音羽山清水寺, is said to have been established in 798. It is particularly famous for the construction of the main hall of worship called butai, “stage”, constructed by the order of the 3rd Tokugawa shōgun, Iemitsu, in 1633.

p) Kinkakuji 金閣寺
The real name of this temple is Rokuonji 鹿苑寺. It is Zen Buddhist, originally built as the summer residence of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408). Called the Golden Temple since the whole three-storied building is gilded, the original building was burnt in a fire in 1950. Karlin, if she visited it, must have seen the original building.
Photo 19: Kinkakuji (the Golden Pavilion) in Kyōto.

Photo 20: Kyōto National Museum - Sōkaren.
q) Ginkakuji 銀閣寺
The real name of this temple is Jishōji 慈照寺. Built by Ashikaga Yoshimasa towards the end of the 15th century. The building is in the shoin zukuri style (書院造; i.e., traditional Japanese residential architecture) and the garden is in white sand, typical of Zen Buddhism.

r) Heian Jingū 平安神宮
Built in 1895 (the 28th year of Meiji) to commemorate the 1100th year of the establishment of the old capital, Heian-kyō 平安京. It is a partial replica of the original Heian Palace called Daidairi 大内裏.

Karlin’s memos on these postcards from Kyoto are meagre. It may be that she acquired these postcards without actually visiting the sights.

There are also two picture postcards from the Kyoto Imperial Museum (today’s Kyoto National Museum), showing objects related to religious rituals. A picture of Sōkaren 葱花輦, the special palanquin for the emperor which was used in the first year of Meiji, and another showing a room in the Museum with statues of the Kamakura era, known for excellent wooden sculptures of Buddhism represented by Unkei 運慶 (?-1223). These two postcards are stamped with the date Taishō 12, July 2nd.

There are also postcards of Fushimi Momoyama and Hieizan, both of which are near Kyoto.

s) Fushimi Momoyama 伏見桃山 [584/585, 590/591, 734/735, 736/737, 738/739, 740/741, 742/743, 744/745]
The mausoleum of Emperor Meiji (cf. Meiji Shrine on page 19) is in Fushimi Momoyama, about 10 km south of the city centre of Kyoto. In Karlin’s collection, no postcard of Emperor Meiji’s mausoleum is found, but instead there is one showing the mausoleum of Emperor Kanmu, who died in 806, which is located about 4 km south from Emperor Meiji’s. There is also an interesting postcard showing a small exhibition in Nogi Jinja 乃木神社 located next to Emperor Meiji’s mausoleum.

35  Wieder ein Tempel. / Auch ein Temple in Kioto. / Kinkaku-tempel / Der Heiantempel in Kioto.
36  Grab des Kaisers Kanmu Gründer der Heianperiode.
Photo 21: Mausoleum of Emperor Kanmu.

Photo 22: Depiction of Family Nogi in Nogi Jinja.
lem. The shrine was established in 1916 by a parliament member and entrepreneur. The black and white photo on the postcard shows a scene of family education when Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912) was a young boy, using dolls in a typical Japanese room. General Nogi was raised in a strict family of samurai tradition and was commander in chief during the Russo-Japanese War. He (and subsequently his wife) committed suicide on the day Emperor Meiji passed away. Karlin was in Japan only six years after the establishment of this shrine. Her acquaintance in Japan must have explained the history in detail.


Fushimi Inari Jinja 伏見稲荷神社
Five postcards, all black and white but later hand-tinted, are of a series to show Fushimi Inari Jinja 伏見稲荷神社, about 5 km south of the mausoleum. This shrine became the object of imperial patronage in the Heian period. The main god of worship is Ukanomitama no kami 倉稲魂神, also called Inari Ōkami 稲荷大神, god of five grains
Photo 24: Hieizan.

Photo 25: Shitennoji in Osaka.
and rich harvests. The fox is considered to be the messenger of Inari Ōkami. The shrine is also known for the mountain path with its many torii gates. Karlin colloquially names the shrine “the fox shrine”. She also mentions in her travelogue the Inari shrines which she saw many times in many places. Her understanding of the fox as messenger of the god for rich harvests and good business is quite appropriate. Here, too, the existence of some well-educated person in her company can be felt.

u) Hieizan 比叡山 [646/647]
Mount Hiei or Hieizan 比叡山 overlooking the city of Kyoto is known for the temple Enryakuji 延暦寺, the monastery of the Buddhist school Tendai 天台, established in 788 by Saichō 最澄 (767-822), who was later dispatched to the Tang dynasty in 804-805. Karlin's postcard from Hieizan is in the same format as those of Kanda Myōjin (see page 14), a drawing depicting an event with a longer explanation in Japanese, accompanied by a small photo of the surrounding scenery. The Japanese explanation is about yamabōshi 山法師, the monk warriors, who were particularly active in the Heian period. Karlin's memo on the reverse is limited to the float which the monks are carrying in the drawing. She may not have understood the description of the postcard.

Osaka [498/499]

v) Shitennoji 四天王寺
Among the picture postcards of several city landmarks of Osaka in Karlin's collection, the temple Shitennoji 四天王寺 is found. This is one of the oldest Buddhist temples in Japan built by Prince Shōtoku, established in 593, originally of the Tendai sect. The temple suffered many fires and today's buildings were rebuilt after the Second World War. This means that Karlin saw the former buildings which stood there in the Taishō period. Her memo is brief and of little interest.

38 Erinnerungshalle u. Templeamt. / Eine Straße von gewidmete Torii. / Kleiner Fuchsnäben- schrein. / Honden oder Hauptfuchsschrein.
40 Berühmter Tempel.
Nara is the oldest capital of Japan (between 710-740 and 745-84) and known in relation to the first legal and political organization of the nation based on the Chinese model of Chang’an 長安 of the Tang dynasty. In Karlin’s collection, a set of postcards is found again, this time of black-and-white photos with Japanese explanations in the classic Japanese language.

w) Kōfukuji 興福寺

This temple was founded as the temple for the Fujiwara clan in the year 710 by Fujiwara Fuhito. In Karlin’s collection, there is one scene of the pond Sarusawaike 猿沢池 beyond which the pagoda of the temple is viewed. Another postcard is also a black-and-white photo showing a

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41 Arusawateich und dahinter die Pogode des Tempels Nara.
national treasure from this temple, Kagen no Hei 華原ノ磬, a musical instrument for religious ceremonies.

x) Shōsōin 正倉院

This was also built in the 8th century in the building complex of the temple Tōdaiji 東大寺 (known for the great Buddha in another building) and is actually a storehouse of the imperial treasures from the 8th century.\(^{42}\)

There are also postcards showing the deer in and around the shrine Kasuga Taisha 春日大社, established in 768. These deer are believed to be secret messengers of Shinto gods.\(^{43}\) In her travelogue, Karlin\(^{44}\) also mentions the deer in relation to the shrine and temples in Nara. Her

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\(^{42}\) Shosuin kaiserliches Schatzhaus Nara.

\(^{43}\) Rehe im Schatten. Nara. / Abschneiden der Hörner des Wildes als jährliche Zeremonie Nara.

\(^{44}\) Karlin, Samotno potovanje v daljne dežele: tragedija ženske, 1929 [Einsame Weltreise, Tragoedie einer Frau], 267.
description of how the sacred animal comes close to the visitors is almost identical to the relationship between tourists and the deer in today’s Nara.

Ise 伊勢 [892/893, 894/895, 896/897, 898/899, 902/903]

y) Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮

The Shintō shrine Ise, in Japanese Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮, is popularly called Oisesan お伊勢さん and believed to have existed since the time of the 10th Emperor of Japan, Emperor Sujin 崇神天皇 (97 BC-30 BC). The present area of this shrine is about 5,450 ha, including various buildings in the traditional Shinto style using the best timber from this region. The Inner Shrine Naikū 内宮 is dedicated to Amaterasu 天照大神 “the Sun-goddess”, and the Outer Shrine Gekū 外宮, which is about 8 km apart from the Inner Shrine, is dedicated to Toyouke no Kami 豊受大神, the Abundance-Bounty Goddess45. During the Edo

45 Translation/interpretation of these goddesses by Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, 29, 32.
period, the Ise Shrine became extremely popular among ordinary people from all over Japan for pilgrimage, and “remains the holy of holies of the Shinto cult”\(^{46}\). In Karlin’s postcard collection, an envelope for a set of postcards from Ise is archived with the title Ise and Futami. Five hand-tinted postcards were found in this series.\(^{47}\) We can discern that Karlin was particularly impressed by, or her attention was intentionally directed by some accompanying person to, the forests of Cryptomeria japonica (\textit{sugi} 杉 in Japanese), and the wooden constructions of the Shinto buildings.

\(^{46}\) The domination of the Sun-goddess over the numerous local deities and miscellaneous spirits. (Anesaki, \textit{History of Japanese Religion}, 32)

\(^{47}\) Berühmter Torii aus duftendem Holze in Ise, der berühmtesten Tempelstadt. / Polizeihäuschen, Torii & Brücke zur Kirschblutenzeit. / Die Riesencedern vor dem Isetempel. (Cryptomeria) / Tempeldächer von Ise. / Das Museum von Ise.
The city of Kobe is not far from Osaka and Kyoto. It was one of the first ports to be opened to the western powers. In the context of religion, similar to Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara, there are many shrines and temples in Kobe. In Alma Karlin’s postcard collection, however, there is only one religious sight from Kobe.

z) Minatogawa shrine (Minatogawa Jinja 湊川神社)
This shrine is popularly called Nankōsan 楠公さん, where the historical figure Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336) is enshrined. He fought against Ashikaga Takauji in the year 1336, but was defeated here in Minatogawa. The shrine was later established in 1872 (the 5th year of Meiji) according to the order by Emperor Meiji. Two postcards from this shrine are black-and-white photos.48

Karlin seems to have continued her journey farther to the southwest from Kansai, stopping at Miyajima, Iyo (today’s Ehime prefecture), and Nagasaki.

Miyajima, also called Aki no Miyajima 安芸の宮島 [91/92, 788/789, 882/883, 884/885, 900/901]

aa) Itsukushima Jinja 厳島神社
This shrine is located about 330 km west of Kobe. It is built on the sacred island Miyajima, off the coast of Hiroshima, and believed to exist since the 6th century. In the year 1168, the powerful head of the Taira clan, Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛, who was eager to trade with the Chinese Song dynasty, ordered the construction of Shinden-zukuri 寝殿造, the Japanese aristocratic architecture of the Heian period, which seems to float on water in high tide. The shrine is also considered the patron of the Taira clan. This shrine is often seen on photographs of

48 Das Grab Nankos / Nankotempel.
There are five hand-tinted postcards from Itsukushima Jinja in Karlin's collection. With regard to her particular comments on the reverse, Karlin must have visited this shrine personally. She comments on the traditional arched bridge, and also adds some basic information about odd numbers used in Japanese tradition.

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49 For example, see Bogdana Marinac, Čez morje na nepoznani daljni vzhod: potovanja pomorčakov avstrijske in avstro-ogrške vojne mornarice v Vzhodno Azijo (Piran: Pomorski muzej Sergej Mašera, 2017), 153 (a photo of a group of seamen at Itsukushima in May 1914).

50 Die Pagode, deren Stockwerke immer ungerade Zahlen sein müssen. / Die berühmte Inlandsee (Miyajima, die Insel auf der niemand sterben und geboren werden darf.) / Die Galerie und der Eingang. / Einfahrt zur Tempelstätte. / Eine echt japanische Brücke, über die man nur schwer geht.
Photo 31: Yu Jinja in Iyo.
Iyo 伊予 [508/509, 510/511]

The oldest spa in Japan, Dōgo onsen 道後温泉, is on the island of Shikoku, vis-à-vis the city of Hiroshima on the main island Honshū. Karlin may have visited Iyo, today’s Ehime Prefecture, using one of the ferryboats between places facing the Japanese inland sea, Seto.

ab) Yu Jinja 湯神社
This Shinto shrine is located on the top of the hill Kanmuriyama 冠山, and is said to have existed from ancient times. As the name already suggests (“yu” means hot or warm water), it is a Shinto shrine closely related to the hot springs in the area. The main gods of worship are Ōnamuchi no mikoto 大己貴命 and Sukunahikona no mikoto 少彦名命.

ac) Ishiteji 石手寺
This is a temple which is only 1 km away from Yu Jinja, established in the 8th century by Gyōki 行基, later converted to the Shingon school of Buddhism by Kūkai 空海, another prominent figure in Japanese Buddhism known also as Kōbōdaishi 弘法大師 (774-835). It is Temple no. 51 of the Shikoku 88 temple pilgrimage.

Among several postcards from Iyo in Karlin’s collection, one shows the stone stairs from the entrance to Yu Jinja, and another the temple Ishiteji, both black-and-white photos. On the former, Karlin's memo is concentrated on the ritual decoration used in Shinto, shimenawa 注連縄 and gohei 御幣, a straw rope to ward off evil influences, and strips of white paper hung from a branch or a pole, also for the purpose to cleanse or bless places or objects. Karlin uses the word “gohei” for both. She mentions these ritual decorations in her memos on the reverse of the postcard from Ōhirasan (see page 23) and Kamakura (see page 25).

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51 Strohschnur mit Gohei vor Schrein Iyo. / Pagode in Iyo.
52 Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, 42. For the straw rope, also see footnotes 24 and 26.
It is known that Alma Karlin continued her journey around the world by a boat from Nagasaki to Busan, the southern-most port of the Korean Peninsula. (See Map 2 on page 5) Nagasaki is the old and only port which was open to Christian missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries. Karlin most probably made but a brief stop in Nagasaki, but was eager enough to bring back postcards of two important religious sights.

ad) Nagasaki Suwa Jinja 長崎諏訪神社
This Shinto shrine was established in the 16th century.

ae) Nagasaki Kōfukuji 長崎興福寺
This is one of the old Chinese Buddhist temples worshipped by the Chinese inhabitants in Nagasaki. It was established in 1624 by Shin’en 真円 (Zhenyuan in Chinese), a Buddhist monk from China. This temple is the oldest Chinese-style temple in Japan.
Karlin’s memos on both postcards are brief, but the collection includes other postcards from Nagasaki, the port, hot springs, and so on. If Karlin left Tokyo on July 1st and visited Kansai and other places, we may guess that she actually left Japan, precisely Nagasaki on a boat, around July 10th. She sent a postcard from Seoul to Celje on July 11th.

Conclusion

By going through Karlin’s postcards and travelogue in relation to shrines, temples and other religious objects and places, we have at least partly reconstructed her sojourn in Japan. By geographically grouping the religious sights depicted on picture postcards, and trying to match the descriptions of these places in the travelogue, we could also reconstruct her living style in Tokyo and her journey from Tokyo towards the West and subsequently to Korea. The results are shown on Maps 1 and 2 (see pages 4-5).

We extrapolate from her memos on the reverse of numerous picture postcards the presence of a middle-class intellectual or intellectuals, perhaps experts on Japanese matters, or Japanese guides who spoke German or English, who provided her information about Japanese culture, customs, religions and ways of living. In her travelogue, she mentions several individuals, Japanese and foreigners residing in Japan, with whom she came into contact during her stay in Japan.

In fact, we can read in the travelogue that she was invited to Nikkō by Mr. Speight, poet and teacher from England, and it was a com-

53 Der Suwashrein. / Haupteingang zum Sofukutempel Nagasaki auf der südlichsten Insel Kyushiu.
55 In her travelogue, sections “In Kyoto” and “Nara” come after the section “Sayonara”.
56 Viscount Sh (Karlin had a recommendation letter to visit him), a German lady Dr. B (introduced Karlin to the newspaper Asahi Shimbun), Mr. Ishimoto (wrote a New Year’s card to Karlin), Mrs. M (who grew up in France), Mrs. K, Mrs. F (an American acquaintance), court actress Suzuki, language learner Ito, Mr. A. All mentioned in Karlin, Samotno potovanje v daljne dežele: tragedija ženske, 1929 [Einsame Weltreise, Tragoedie einer Frau], 225-271.
pany of several people with whom Karlin could discuss the Japanese culture, history and religious customs. Her description of Kamakura and Enoshima in her writing are also lengthier and include history and folklore, most probably offered by some accompanying person.

It is worth mentioning once again, that Karlin visited the Golden Pavilion, Kinkakuji in Kyoto, before it was burnt down in 1950, and the temple Shitennōji in Osaka before its destruction by a typhoon in 1939. Both are now rebuilt, but the postcards in the Regional Museum in Celje show their older images at the time of Karlin’s visit.

Aside from these visits of religious sights, Karlin in her travelogue describes the festival obon, the Buddhist day for reunion with deceased family members, which she probably experienced in August 1922 with her acquaintances and neighbours in Tokyo.

Though not related to any certain place or person in history, particular practices were important for Karlin, and she observes carefully. In her writing, she mentions her language-teaching method. For conversation, she often suggested Japanese topics; for example, Japanese seasonal events and customs about which the students were already well informed, providing additional motivation to speak the studied language. Those are the seven autumn flowers (秋の七草 aki no nanakusa), the chrysanthemum competition in Hibiya Park, preparations and decorations in and around the house for New Year, and so on. She also mentions the traditional custom for the beginning of spring, setsubun 節分, which she seems to have experienced in the temple Gokokuji. In the rainy season - i.e., in late May and June - she seems to have visited Yushima Tenjin and the graves of 47 rōnins in Takanawa. The short sections at the end of Karlin’s writing about the Kansai area of Japan (Kyoto and Nara) are impressionistic, without mentioning any name of a shrine or temple. Only the deer, the sacred animal in Nara, is mentioned at length.

As characteristics of the Taishō era, there are many postcards of the Meiji Shrine and objects related to the deceased emperor: sōkaren (the palanquin) from the Kyoto National Museum, and the depiction of

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57 Karlin, Samotno potovanje v daljne dežele: tragedija ženske [Einsame Weltreise, Tragedie einer Frau], 243.
General Nogi’s family in the shrine Nogi Jinja. Most of the other temples and shrines in Karlin’s postcard collection are of lasting importance and are visited by Japanese and foreign visitors even today in the 21st century.

Karlin was lucky enough to experience a rather peaceful and liberal period of interwar years in Japan, being able to associate with some individuals who were eager to offer help and information for these visits to temples and shrines. Picture postcards were practical means for travellers like Karlin to bring back memories from far places.

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