

Kierkegaard's Reception in Japan.

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Today I will present my paper entitled Kierkegaard's Reception in Japan. I did not choose this title for my paper, it was presented to me by the organizers of this conference. To begin with, I would like to consider the significance of this title. My own English ability is somewhat limited, so that is probably part of the reason that I find this title to be so confusing, but I do not believe that it is a complete explanation. I wish to invite you all to join me in puzzling over the meaning of this title, Kierkegaard's Reception in Japan. Start by glancing through the titles of the other papers at this conference. Of course Kierkegaard's name appears in practically every case, but we don't find another title similar to mine--Kierkegaard's Reception in Germany, for example, or Kierkegaard's Reception in Brazil. The interest or the kind of question that is implied by this title is of a different nature than that of the other titles.

We all know that there are many different kinds of questions, some easier to answer than others. Most of the questions involved with the other titles in this program are quite specific: What did Kierkegaard think of the Aesthetic, or what is the relation between Kierkegaard and Wittgenstein. But the question I am to deal with involves Kierkegaard's relation to the entire country of Japan, and it seems I am expected to explain *why* Japanese people study Kierkegaard. Now this *why* kind of question is one of the most difficult kinds for anyone to answer, even in their native language, so I hope you will forgive me if I confess that I expect to be unable to answer it to your complete satisfaction. With regard to the relationship between Kierkegaard and Japanese thinking, we may generally distinguish three standpoints. First is a consideration of what influence Kierkegaard may have had upon the development of Japanese thinking or Japanese philosophy. This is to critically investigate Japanese thinking from the standpoint of Kierkegaard. Second is the reverse, which considers how Japanese ideas can contribute to an understanding of Kierkegaard, or to study and criticize Kierkegaard from a Japanese perspective. Finally to synthesize these two methods, we may consider both sides impartially, not using one to judge the other, but dealing with both on equal terms. This approach does not stop at interpretation, but deals with living issues in philosophy and ethics or religion, bringing questions to us in a direct way, so that we become involved in the existential dilemma.

Although I cannot offer an answer to the question of *why* Kierkegaard is popular in Japan, any more than Prof. Donnelly could tell us *why* Kierkegaard is popular in America, I can tell you something about *how* Kierkegaard came to be known in Japan, that is to say, a little bit of Japanese intellectual history. And naturally, I shall start from the beginning, during the Meiji Period in Japan (1868-1912), when Japan was open to foreign influence of the first time after centuries of self-imposed isolation. In the course of preparing this paper, I have discovered that the date usually given for the first appearance of Kierkegaard's name in print in Japan is wrong. I would like to share this discovery with you.

Let me start by giving a brief chronology of Kierkegaard studies in Japan. We can divide the history of Kierkegaard research in Japan in the following way:

1. the dawn (until 1906)
2. first period---introduction of Kierkegaard to Japan (1906-1914)
3. second period---Watsuji's Kierkegaard (1914-1920)
4. third period---Assimilation and Kierkegaard Renaissance (1920-45)
5. forth period---existentialism becomes popular (1945-1970)
6. declining interest (1970-present)

Let us describe each of these periods briefly.

1. The Dawn

Kierkegaard's name was already known in Japan by the late 1880's. This was mainly through two routes. First was ONISHI Hajime's introduction of Danish philosophy, and especially of H. Høffding, and the other was through G. Brandes's study of Ibsen. First let us trace the route of Høffding.

In the early Meiji Era (from the end of the 1860's to the 1880's), Anglo-american utilitarianism or positivistic thinking and French free thinking were introduced into Japan. These were useful for the practical formation of the new Japanese Nation in Meiji, but in ruling the nation, the government chose to follow the German model. This policy was expressed by the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 and the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. It is at this same time that the Japanese imperial system was established.

From this point Japanese philosophy tends to become introspective and avoids criticism of the government. Japanese philosophy develops its own style based on the introduction of foreign philosophy. Logic, psychology and ethics are especially popular and there appears interest in the history of philosophy.

Høffding's works gained a wide readership. This awoke an interest in Danish philosophy. Høffding himself wrote "Die Philosophie in Daenemark im 19. Jahrhundert" in Meiji 22 (1889) (on the base of this article Kobayashi Ichiro wrote "Modern Philosophy of Denmark" in Meiji 44 (1911)). In this situation ONISHI Hajime (1864-1900) makes an important contribution to the introduction of Høffding. ONISHI becomes a teacher at Tokyo Senmon Gakko (afterwards Waseda University) while he is still a graduate student at Tokyo Imperial University, and lectures on ethics, psychology and logic. His psychology text is by Høffding. In 1891 he also translates Knud Ibsen's article "Die daenische Philosophie des letzten Jahrzehnts" (Philosophische

The other route is Brandes's introduction of Ibsen. In the same time, Ibsen's name was known to Japanese in the late 1880's. TSUBOUCHI Shoyo (1859-1935), who employs ONISHI at Tokyo Senmon Gakko, introduces Ibsen twice in 1892 in "Waseda Bungaku"(the Waseda Literary Magazine). He relies on Brandes.

He says that according to Brandes, Ibsen is an indignant pessimist and that the development of individualism is the best protection for society. After this introduction TSUBOUCHI translates the plot of "A Doll's House". In 1893 "An Enemy of the People" and "A Doll's House" are translated. In 1894 KANEKO Chikusui also gives a detailed introduction to Ibsen in his article "Ibsen, a New Great Man of Letters in Norway" in the "Waseda Literary Magazine". But he seems not to rely on Brandes in this article because there is a comment that "Brand" must be an imagination of the author." Anyway, in the last part of this article KANEKO writes that Ibsen denounced Christianity as lifeless, criticized traditional Christianity and rejected old corrupt thought.

Eight years later, in 1905, a Kierkegaard entry appears in TOMONAGA Sanjuro's (1871-1951) "Dictionary of Philosophy". TOMONAGA says that he relies on Hoeffding for ethics and psychology and he already has Hoeffding's first German edition of "Soeren Kierkegaard als Philosoph". This Kierkegaard's entry is translated from J.M.Baldwin's "Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology. vol. 1, 1901". Despite this being merely a translation, it also reveals TOMONAGA's intentions. In this way, Kierkegaard's name appears in print at this time, but no article is written with Kierkegaard's name in the title. But it seems that Kierkegaard's name as such is known in Japan.

2. first period---introduction of Kierkegaard to Japan(1906-1914)

In the 1890's the consciousness of nation becomes raised according as form as the state is in good order and the conquest of Sino-Japanese War spurs on this tendency. But in the 1900's public opinion is divided and many problems appear in Japan. In this period romanticism arises and individualism is rampant.

In 1900 Nietzsche dies, and for the next year the Japanese literary world talks only about Nietzsche. Young people, feeling a kind of spiritual starvation, turn their attention to their inner life and ethics becomes popular in the world of philosophy. Moreover, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) strengthens this tendency.

WATSUJI Tetsuro (1889-1960) who later publishes a big book on Kierkegaard, was a high school student at the time, reminisces about this period,

"It was as a model of Ibsen's "Brand" that I first heard Kierkegaard's name. When Ibsen's works appeared in our country, I was a high school student. I found Brandes's "Ibsen and Bjoernson" in English and read the part on Ibsen. It was after the Russo-Japanese War, from 1906 to 1909, when I was in high school, and there was a fairly discernible religious strain among the youth, so I was keenly conscious of the problem of Brand's 'Either-or' and Kierkegaard's name as the model remained in my heart with much fascination. When I read Nietzsche and Kierkegaard, as above mentioned, the world of Christianity was more discernible than now, and because of this the thought of Anti-Christ or Attack upon Christendom gave us young people a considerable shock."

In this situation, in 1906, when Ibsen dies, the Waseda Literary Magazine devotes a special July issue to him. An Article by UEDA Bin (1874-1916) entitled "Ibsen" discusses the relationship between Ibsen and Kierkegaard. This article entirely follows Brandes's "Ibsen" and mentions, for example, that Kierkegaard is a model for Brand. Then in September KANEKO Chikusui publishes an article on "Kierkegaard's View of Life". This is the first time that Kierkegaard's name appears in the title of an article. Kaneko writes this article based on Hoeffding, introducing Kierkegaard's thinking in detail. It ends with the statement that "There is much that could be criticized. Not a few weak points are contained in epistemological relativism or subjectivism, ethical individualism or subjectivism. But his thought has something merit in advocating a kind of pessimistic religion against modern civilization." About one week later, a review of this article appears in a Christian newspaper "Fukuin Shinpo" (Evangelical Newspaper).

Also in the year there appears a third route for the introduction of Kierkegaard to Japan. This is "the Great Ambition", written by the founder of the non-ecclesiastical movement in Japan, UCHIMURA Karzo (1861-1930), which appears one month before UEDA's article on Ibsen. It is very interesting that the first route is philosophy or ethics, the second is aesthetics and the third is religion or Christianity. UCHIMURA saw Kierkegaard as a forerunner of UCHIMURA's own non-ecclesiastical movement. It is not certain how UCHIMURA knows of Kierkegaard. Perhaps he read Hoeffding and Brandes. There is a possibility, however, that UCHIMURA saw Kierkegaard only as an opponent of the church and regarded him as his forerunner. UCHIMURA is baptized at Sapporo NO Gakko (Sapporo Agricultural School, afterwards Hokkaido University), beginning his career with bachelor degree in agriculture but goes to America in search of the solution to his religious problem. He entered Amherst College and converted by President Julius Hawley Seelye (1824-1895) in 1886. After graduation, he enters Hartford Seminary in 1887, but the conditions of the priests and theology cause him to leave this Seminary after one year. After he comes back to Japan, in 1890 he gets a job at Dai Ichi High School but next year he is removed from his teaching position because of the famous event of his disrespect for the Emperor. Just after this his wife dies. In 1893 he finishes "How I became a Christian". INOUE Tetsujiro (1855-1944) writes an article on "The Relation between Religion and Education" in 1892 and asserts that Christianity contradicts the national constitution. Several months later UCHIMURA criticizes this article. In 1898 he begins publishing "Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi (The Tokyo Independent)". In 1900 he stops publishing this magazine and publishes "Seishonokenkyu (The Biblical Study)". Afterwards he makes the study of the Bible his lifework. In 1903 he opposes the Russo-Japanese War and develops an absolute objection against war. Some even say that there is no need to give legal protection to such as UCHIMURA. At last one of his disciples is prepared for death in order to teach the Bible instead of the Imperial Rescript on Education. In such a situation

little book would be read in Thorvaldsen's, H. C. Andersen's and Henrik Ibsen's language."

In 1912 W. Rudin who writes "Soeren Kierkegaads person och författarskap", compares UCHIMURA to Kierkegaard in a letter to UCHIMURA, and C. Skovgaard- Petersen, a minister visiting Japan, also compares UCHIMURA to Kierkegaard. Many persons saw Kierkegaard in UCHIMURA's "How I became a Christian". Kierkegaard's task was "How I become a Christian". The fact that there was someone to practise this task in a small distant country moved people. UCHIMURA himself explains not *why* but *how*. This shows that the way is truth. And how symbolic it is that UCHIMURA chooses the pseudonym Jonatan X! He wanted this book to stand on its own.

Gundert comes to Japan in April in 1906 and lives next door to UCHIMURA. "The Great Ambition" is written in June. From these circumstances it is probable that Gundert himself taught Kierkegaard. Afterwards UCHIMURA refers to Kierkegaard's name more than ten times, but there is no trace that UCHIMURA studied Kierkegaard. He refers only to Kierkegaard as a forerunner of his non-church Christianity. But later, he makes one of his disciples translate "the Moment" and tries unsuccessfully to have Gundert introduce Kierkegaard. UCHIMURA, advocating non-church Christianity and regarding Kierkegaard as his forerunner, is critical of society and makes much of social activity. Does not this fact suggest something about the interpretation of Kierkegaard? Moreover, in November in this year the well known NISHIDA Kitaro (1870-1945), Japan's most famous contemporary philosopher, refers to Kierkegaard along with Ibsen in a remarkable short essay entitled "Principle of self consciousness ". (This essay was thought to have been written in 1904, thus being the first in which Kierkegaard's name appears.) In this essay NISHIDA grasps new trend in Europe after Schopenhauer as 'principle of self consciousness' attaching importance to the will, and thinks that the truth of this principle of self consciousness goes deeper than epistemology and he regards this kind of truth as one which Buddha and Socrates searched for. He says that "Kierkegaard in the vanguard of this principle regards only knowledge about personal existence as true one". And he regards Ibsen's Brand as a proper example for one who follows this principle. He comments that if there is no clear ideal to take the place of old morals, it will end up as pessimism. NISHIDA's principle of self consciousness, however, is neither mere egoism nor sentimentalism nor pessimism, but is based on pure and direct religious experience and is linked with the principle of self consciousness which is his lifelong standpoint. This idea is connected with his maiden work "The Study of the Good" published in 1911.

Following this, several articles are written about Kierkegaard, but all of them are based on either Hoeffding or Brandes. In accordance with the prevailing intellectual atmosphere of the time, Kierkegaard is regarded as an extreme individualist. Let us mention some of these articles. In 1907 ABE Jiro (1883-1959), a representative humanist in the Taisho Era, summarizes Brandes's "Ibsen and Bjoernson"(Henrik Ibsen. Bjoernsterne Bjoernson. Critical Studies, trans. by Jessie Muir, intro. by William Archer.Heinmann. 1899) and writes an introduction. In this article, relying on Jaeger's "Henrik Ibsen", he criticizes Brandes for regarding Kierkegaard as a model for Brand, and ABE points out that the model for Brand is rather Lammers from the same province as Ibsen. In 1910 BESSHO Umenosuke (1871-1945), a famous translator of hymns, relying on Martensen's "Christian Ethics", writes "The Gospel of Suffering-- Vigny and Kierkegaard" in UCHIMURA's "The Biblical Study". And in 1911 KOBAYASHI Ichiro (1876-1944), a famous member of NICHIREN Sect, writes "Modern Philosophy of Denmark" in "Big Dictionary of Philosophy" vol.5. His brief introduction to Kierkegaard is very precise in that he grasps Kierkegaard's criticism against Hegel's system, faith in the absolute, paradox and the leap of faith.

In 1911, a small part of Kierkegaard's "Either-Or" is translated into Japanese by KAICHOON, probably UEDA Bin. This is the first Japanese translation of Kierkegaard's writings.

3. The Second Period---Watsuji's Kierkegaard(1914-1920)

The end of 1914 and the beginning of 1915 marks the beginning of World War I. UCHIMURA's student ISHIKAWA Tetsuo translates into Japanese a pamphlet entitled "Moment" which includes Kierkegaard's attack upon Christendom. October 1915 sees the publication of a Memorial Work in Kierkegaard study in Japan, which is the book by WATSUJI Tetsuro, entitled "Soeren Kierkegaard". This is the first original Kierkegaard research in Japan. In his introduction to the 1947 edition, WATSUJI recognizes the limits in his own book, saying, "As for Kierkegaard's thinking, I didn't stress his attack upon Christians or his faith in Jesus, but I was equally interested in every moment, so I ended up assuming that Kierkegaard's philosophy was ethics." It is indeed astonishing that WATSUJI was able to grasp Kierkegaard's thinking in its entirety despite his limited access to Kierkegaard's complete works, which were just then beginning to be published in German. In later years WATSUJI, who became Japan's sole systematical ethical philosopher, but he recalls that his starting point as an ethical philosopher lay in this pioneering study of Kierkegaard. It so happens that 2 years prior to writing his Kierkegaard book, he authored a "Study of Nietzsche, and although he has said that he saw his own problems in Kierkegaard, there is not even a trace of Kierkegaard's influence in his later development of ethical thought, which is characterized as ethics as science of human being or ethics of Aidagara; Aidagara is the relation between human being, and it is not Kierkegaardian relation in "Sickness unto Death". WATSUJI's Understanding of Kierkegaard is based on the Japanese humanism, the introspective nonpolitical Taisho humanism in those days, in the course of refining his own ethics, the meaning of Kierkegaard for him gradually lessened.

Despite the publication of WATSUJI's book, few articles are written about Kierkegaard in the several years that follow. The full range of Kierkegaard's thinking is not yet appreciated in Japan.

4. Third period---assimilation and Kierkegaard renaissance (1920-45)

written just as TANABE was preparing to return to Japan, MIKI says that Hegel merely plays with concepts, but Kierkegaard is much more dialectical. Such a criticism of Hegel is repeated in his "Ontological Explanation of Dialectics" (1931), where he says that Hegel's dialectics is aesthetic, but Kierkegaard's is qualitative, and this difference arises because Kierkegaard grasps religious ideas correctly. MIKI later recalls that along with his careful reading of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche (in which he was greatly influenced by Karl Loewith), Heidegger's philosophy is an expression of dread following the end of World War I.

After returning to Japan, MIKI wrote "Contemporary Thought"(1928), "Kierkegaard and the Present Age"(1931), and "The Thought of Dread and its Conquest"(1933). He regarded Kierkegaard as a forerunner of Heidegger, Jaspers, and dialectical theology. In 1935, for the first time in Japan, MIKI supervised the publication of "Selected Works of Kierkegaard". This is much praised by NISHIDA, and collected in three volumes: Volume 1 contains "The Concept of Anxiety", "The Present Age", and "Sickness unto Death"; Volume 2 has "Practice in Christianity", "Fear and Trembling", and "Diary of a Seducer"; Volume 3 has "The Concept of Irony", "Repetition" and "The Moment". At this time, in 1931, occurred the Manchuria Incident, and in 1937 the Roko Bridge Incident was provoked. The developing war between Japan and China gave rise to widespread feelings of anxiety among Japanese intellectuals.

Some people consider MIKI's feelings as similar to Kierkegaard. For example, at the age of 23, MIKI writes in his "Inexpressible Philosophy" that "Inexpressible philosophy searches for a truth that the whole person can with great pleasure affirm and obey -- a living truth." Or, "What is important in our lives is not we experience but we experience it." In summer of 1924 he moved to Paris and studied Pascal. His first work is "A Study of Humanity in Pascal"(1926). After returning to Japan (1925), he became involved in a debate concerning the interpretation of an historical view of Marxist materialism, which led him to develop an interest in religion. While he was engaged in writing his final work, on SHINRAN (1173-1265; the Founder of Shin-Buddhism, a branch of the Pure-land sect) he was arrested and held in jail and died in prison right after the end of the war. MIKI wrote only one article in which Kierkegaard's name appears, the above-mentioned "Kierkegaard and the Present Age", but considered from a Kierkegaardian standpoint, he appears as an existential thinker, which makes possible a new understanding of MIKI. However, Kierkegaard's position in the history of philosophy as given by MIKI causes people in Japan to understand Kierkegaard only in the context of German philosophy or theology.

Also during this period, NISHIDA refers to Kierkegaard during a discussion of Hegel's dialectics. His comments are made against the background of the Kierkegaard renaissance in Germany. These comments appear, in 1931, in "My View of Hegel's Dialectics", "Absolute Nothingness as Determined through Self-Consciousness or Self-Determination through Self-Consciousness of Absolute Nothingness" and "Self-Determination of the Eternal Present". It is in this period that his philosophical system was established and his philosophical principles began to be applied in many spheres. "The logic of place", which was established in his "From that which acts to that which sees"(1927), has developed into the thought of "self-determination through self-determination of absolute nothingness", and this is reconfirmed in Kierkegaard's concept of "paradox" and "moment". In the above-mentioned three articles, a following expression appears repeatedly "the self determination of absolute nothingness" as "the self determination of the eternal present" is similar to Kierkegaard's "paradox".

NISHIDA's thinking, developing through ideas such as "Act-Intuition" (handelnde Anschauung) and "the historical corporeal self", crystallizes two years later in what NISHIDA himself regards as his fundamental idea, "absolute- contradictory self-identity". NISHIDA applies this thought concretely to the sphere of practice and develops this application in his "Introduction to Practical Philosophy". In this article he analyzes the self as the subject of practice, during the course of which he wholly appropriates Kierkegaard's argument in the "Sickness unto Death" that the self is a relationship, which he uses as an example of his own idea.

Such a close relationship between NISHIDA and Kierkegaard is also seen in NISHIDA's last article, "The Logic of Place and the Religious World View". This article contains two key concepts. First is the concept of "inverse correspondence (kontraere Entsprechung)", which refers to the absolute- contradictory self-identity of the self and the absolute. This self-identity has two phases. One is self denial on the part of the absolute when confronted with the individual, and the other is self denial on the part of the individual when confronted with the absolute. An example is given from "Fear and Trembling" of God and Abraham confronting each other. Namely, the latter denial is grasped as the single individuality of the individual or death of the individual, and the former grasped as the death of God or God's appearance as ethical evil. The other key concept is that of "the Ordinary or everydayness", which is prominent in Zen Buddhism, by means of which NISHIDA wants to develop a logic of religion which will include Christianity. In this way, "Kierkegaard had an important influence on the development of NISHIDA's view of religion. Despite this influence, though, NISHIDA's view of religion which describes an inverse correspondence between humanity and God is different from that of Kierkegaard, and is fundamentally linked with NISHIDA's earliest view of religion." (NISHITANI Keiji).

The last two of the above-mentioned three articles of 1931, in which NISHIDA appropriates Kierkegaard's thought into his own philosophical system, were actually written as a response to a criticism from TANABE Hajime (1885-1962) contained in "An Appreciation of Professor NISHIDA, a Response to his Teaching" (1930), and his last article, "The Logic of Place and the Religious World View" is the final answer to TANABE's criticism. At any event TANABE's criticism of NISHIDA emerged from a stalemate in TANABE's own thinking. Thus Kierkegaard had a great influence on the progress of TANABE's original philosophy, formed in the midst of criticizing NISHIDA. In his preface to "Hegelian Philosophy and Dialectics", written in November 1931 and published in January of the following year, TANABE describes his escape from his own intellectual deadlock.

"For me, what became a positively new organon is the dialectics of corporeality (bodiness), which has developed from the problem of the mind-body relation that has become the object of my personal interest since last year. I tried to understand the thesis of dialectical materialism, that existence determines consciousness, not causally but ontologically, to recognize it well and to teleologically establish moral practice on that basis. ...For me, the

1946 after Japan's defeat, TANABE used such Kierkegaardian concept as "moment" and "repetition", and said that naturally his metanoetic way fits well with Kierkegaardian faith. He even said that "as Kierkegaard said, the only true teachers are found in religion. That is to say, God is a teacher, or Christ is a teacher."

Through his encounter with Kierkegaard, several articles which could be said to be existential dialectical interpretations of Kierkegaard were published. They are "The Individuality of Existence and Sociality of Nothingness" and "Obligations of Love and Social Practice". In these articles the significance of popularity of Kierkegaard's philosophy is clarified, and "trinity of love" (that God is love, love of God, and love of one's neighbor) is not only argued, but Kierkegaard is criticized insofar as his obligations of love set foundation for cooperative existence, but lack the viewpoint of social practice. Thus he strove for a synthesis of Kierkegaard and Marx.

In his later years TANABE wrote "Memento Mori", and "Either Ontology of Life or Dialectics of Death" and developed a "philosophy of death". These articles explain love and communion of existence. It seems that the ideas developed here are related to the death of his beloved wife Chiyo in 1951, and the argument used are associated with "The Work of Love in Remembering One Dead" in "Works of Love". The inscription of his tombstone reads "I search for nothing other than truth."

In the case of NISHITANI Keiji, who took over the debate between NISHIDA and TANABE and developed his own religious philosophy, the relation to Kierkegaard is very deep. NISHITANI's fundamentally critical consciousness, in contrast to NISHIDA and TANABE, clearly tends toward the problem of nihilism. In probing the essence of nihilism to the limit and overcoming it, NISHITANI is engaged in profound study of Christian mysticism from the standpoint of Zen-Buddhism. His fundamental attitude is realization of reality, but it should be noted that realization is not philosophical cognition, but also has the meaning of actualization as well as Kierkegaardian appropriation or apprehension. In analyzing the structure of this appropriation, NISHITANI makes the use of Kierkegaard's existential analysis of human being in "The Sickness unto Death". And NISHITANI uses this concept of appropriation in the explanation of NISHIDA's "pure experience".

"We can see the same thing in the case of Kierkegaard, when he derived his standpoint of "existence" as "a single individual" who included the dimension of transcendence from the traditional concept of existence. He emphasized the kind of thinking that is recognized only when it becomes one's own (through appropriation, *Tilgelse*, in Japanese *mi ni toku*, or embodiment) and that which gives birth to such thought. And such a standpoint caused a confrontation with Hegel's philosophy, and had a deep influence on contemporary philosophy, religion, and literature. The importance of the problem can be seen from just this one case. In addition to which the importance of this problem has been realized in the East since antiquity.

Let us return again to the 1930's, when through the introduction and importation of dialectical theology from Germany, Japanese Christianity at last began to study Kierkegaard. We must refer to the following people which contributed to the study of Kierkegaard. First the Protestants, UOKI Tadakazu (1892-1954), KUMANO Yoshitaka (1899-1981), KUWATA Hidenobu (1895-1975), HASHIMOTO Kagami (1903-1943), HARADA Nobuo (1909-1945), and next a Catholic YOSHIMITSU Yoshihiko (1904-1945) and finally from the non-ecclesiastical movement, AZEGAMI Kenzo (1884-1938, a disciple of UCHIMURA, and HUIJIMOTO Masataka (1904-1967). YOSHIMITSU writes "Poem, Love and Existence" in 1940, HARADA writes "Christian Thought of Kierkegaard" in 1941, HUIJIMOTO translates "The Moment" which is included in "Selected Works of Kierkegaard" edited by MIKI, and writes "Kierkegaard's attack upon Church" in 1937.

Regarding translations, besides the "Selected Works of Kierkegaard", a part of "Either/Or" under the title "The Philosophy of Melancholy", by MIYAHARA Koichiro (1882-1945), a scholar of North European literature, the first translation directly from Danish in 1930, a part of "Concluding Unscientific Postscript" by KITO Eiichi (1908-1969) in 1938, who was a Heidegger researcher and killed himself during the student movement at the end of 1960's, and "The Sickness unto Death" by SAITO Shinji (1907-1977) in 1939, who was a non-ecclesiastical Christian and wrote "Socrates and Kierkegaard --- The Concept of Irony" in 1955, was included in Iwanami Bunko. Other translations include a part of "Practice in Christianity" by KUWATA in 1940 and "The Difference between Genius and Apostle" by HASHIMOTO in 1941. And in 1935 Hoeffding's "Soeren Kierkegaard as a Philosopher" was translated by TORII Hiroo (1911-1953).

At this time several of the leading scholars of postwar Kierkegaard studies in Japan began to present articles or books on Kierkegaard. For example, ISHIZU Teruji (1903-1972) published "The comparison between Hegel and Kierkegaard" in 1930, MASUDA Keizaburo (1904-1990) presented "Kierkegaard's fundamental thought" in 1936 and OTANI Masaru (b. 1911) wrote "Pre-"Before God"--A Poor Sym-pathy with Kierkegaard" in 1937.

ISHIZU taught at the University of Tohoku in Sendai, a city in north eastern Japan and formulated his own religious philosophy. Kierkegaard research forms an important part in his work. His Kierkegaard research is compiled in "Kierkegaard Study" (1974). MASUDA is a disciple of MIKI and made a great contribution to the spread of Kierkegaard studies in postwar Tokyo. His translation of "Repetition" (1949) is the first complete translation from original text. He tried to translate Kierkegaard's complete works, but ended up publishing only four volumes since 1962. OTANI, in Kyoto and Osaka, organized Kierkegaard Society in 1937 and became deeply involved in studying Kierkegaard. In 1963, marking Kierkegaard's 150th anniversary, he restored Kierkegaard Society. The society has continued to issued its "Kierkegaard Studiet" since then, the most recent issue being number 18. He himself has published "The Dialectic of Communication and Re-ception in Kierkegaard" (1953, 1981), "The Concept of Truth and Reality in Kierkegaard" (1963) and "Freedom and Un-freedom in Kierkegaard" (1977), and has translated several of Kierkegaard's works, among which the "Concluding Unscientific Postscript" is especially notable. OTANI and Kierkegaard Society in Osaka began to issue "Kierkegaard's Complete Works" in 1988 in commemoration of Kierkegaard's 175th anniversary.

contained the possibility for creating a modern civil society which combined national independence and individual consciousness. However, under the imperial system which came into effect in 1890, those who demanded the development of individual consciousness simply became introspective and lost their connection with society. The correspondence between individual consciousness and modern civil society remained unfulfilled, which has had a decisive influence on the character of Japanese philosophy since the Meiji period. Philosophers such as NISHIDA and TANABE strove for the establishment of independence and self-consciousness, and tried to adopt an absolute standpoint which avoided the traditional Western opposition between subject and object. In the course of this process, they appropriated Western philosophical terms and started using them. However, while trying to overcome the subject-object dichotomy prior to establishing an identity as in the modern West, it seems they were finally forced to fall back on Japanese Buddhism, which had been politically ineffective since the Edo period. For this reason, Japanese philosophy is powerless against totalitarianism. NISHIDA found his own mission in the systematization of his own religious experience, which had no relation to national problem. TANABE's situation was more complicated since he was aware of national problem, and developed the logic of species, but his philosophy was not effective in solving practical problems and he was unable to adopt a definite course of action. MIKI displayed an interest in Marxism, but ended up by coming back to SHINRAN. Even in the area of literature, NATSUME Soseki (1876-1916) wrote a work entitled "Individualism", but was eventually forced to endorse the slogan "Become one with Heaven, Liberated from the Self". The same situation also appears on the Christian side. UCHIMURA, who was fired from his job for disrespect to the Emperor in 1891, wrote "Observations of Contemporary Trends" in 1896 in which he acknowledged his mistake that he regarded the Sino-Japanese War as a holy crusade. At the time of the Russo-Japanese War he proclaimed his opposition to the war. Thus he functioned as a social critic, but such an attitude was extremely unusual. UCHIMURA was not accepted by Japanese Christians, which led him to advocate non-church Christianity, which is simply a symbolic expression of the same condition.

However, in the midst of the strong imperialistic aggression which was then being displayed by the West, Japan finally established its own national system, and explicit criticism of that system, given the conditions at that time, was probably impossible. Japan as a nation had to at least give an appearance of national unity as quickly as possible, under slogans such as "rich country, strong army" and "Japanese soul with Western learning". Even in today's Japan, which is of course an independent nation with one of the strongest economies in the world, this problem is not merely a thing of the past, but its influence can be felt even now, as is clearly shown by the recent death of the Showa Emperor.

When we consider the reception of Kierkegaard in Japan since Meiji Era against this background, he was well received in Japan, but his reception naturally had limits. These limits appear in the view that Kierkegaard lacked social dimension. Such a view arises not from Kierkegaard himself but from Japanese intellectuals. The understanding of Kierkegaard since the war has been based on this distorted view.

5. forth period---existentialism becomes popular(1945-1970).

After World War II, all the prewar system of values in Japan was destroyed. Japanese philosophers reflected on the fallen totalitarian and a trend aimed at establishing individual subjectivity can be discerned. From 1946 to the beginning of 1949 there arose a very heated controversy concerning the relation between the subjectivity of the individual and society. Kierkegaard was often read in connection with this controversy. Given this situation, the first postwar "Selected Works of Kierkegaard" was published (1948-49). Approximately 50 articles on Kierkegaard presented in the latter half of 1940's.

This postwar current essentially continued throughout the 1950's. Then in 1955, on the occasion of the Kierkegaard centenary, two journals each published a special number. In the centenary year more than 45 articles (including translations of foreign monographs) appeared in print in Japan.

In the 1960's, because of the political situation in Japan, Kierkegaard was confronted along with Marx, and then people used as frame of reference the choice between "either existentialism or marxism". At this time, "Kierkegaard's Writings (vol.21)" were already published (1962-67). Then, above mentioned, in Osaka in 1963, the Kierkegaard Society renewed its activity, moving fast and steadily. its organ, "Kierkegaard Studiet", began publication also in 1964. By the way under the influence of H. Diem's critique against E. Hirsch and others, the discussing on the method of Kierkegaard study was brought about. OGAWA Keiji: The problem of the interpretation of Kierkegaard in 1964. MASUDA Keizaburo: The meaning and method of Kierkegaard study -- one apology in 1965.

In the 1970's, the period following the upheaval in Japanese universities, partly owing to the economic prosperity of Japan, and partly owing to the increase in Japanese philosophical circles of interest in phenomenology, hermeneutics and analytical philosophy, people could openly speak of "the end of existentialism". On the other hand just in this very situation, the first real possibility of understanding the true Kierkegaard now appeared and it was possible to confirm the depth and width of his thought.

In this situation, we can see three main trends in recent Kierkegaard studies in Japan. The first is to understand Kierkegaard in his own terms, the second is a reappraisal of Kierkegaard in the contemporary context, and the last reflects on the meaning of Kierkegaard within Japanese culture. Included in the final trend are many who study the relationships between Kierkegaard and HONEN (1133-1212, the founder of the Jodo-shu, Pure Land Sect in Japan, whose main practice consists of repeating the sacred name of Amitabha, and whose chief tenet is salvation by faith in Amitabha), Kierkegaard and SHINRAN (1173-1265), Kierkegaard and DOGEN (1200-1253; the founder of Soto-shu, a branch of Zen Buddhism in Japan), and Kierkegaard and NISHIDA Kitaro. We may also mention ISHIZU Teruji, who is well known as a scholar both of Kierkegaard and of Tendai Buddhism (founded by SAICHU(775-822). Tendai is one of the earliest sects of Japanese Buddhism, and all of

Works of Kierkegaard", SHIINA wrote, "Kierkegaard's characteristic words permeated may very soul." This influence appears in his "Journey in Melancholy Fog". Recalling his literary activity right after the war, he went so far as to say that "My early works were much influenced by Kierkegaard....How much agony I endured on account of Kierkegaard cannot be really known." Despair, melancholy, and how to overcome them, not only form the key notes of his novels but we can also define his style as "the literary method of relativity".

To consider again the reception of Kierkegaard in Japan reveals an understanding of Kierkegaard which is different from that of his countrymen and other Europeans. It not only presents a new way of understanding Kierkegaard, but also deepens our way of understanding ourselves. I hope that this different way of understanding Kierkegaard will be illuminating to other scholars as well. I suppose this is what you have been expecting from my paper. But today's presentation is merely a starting point.

note

Meiji: the period from 1868 to 1912.
Taisho: the period from 1912 to 1926.
Showa: the period from 1926 to 1989,1.

Meiji(m.)
1868 m.1
1873 m.6 Prohibition of Christianity is lifted.
1877 m.10 Establishment of philosophy faculty at Tokyo Imperial University.
1879 m.12 Georg Brandes: Soeren Kierkegaard. Ein literarisches Charakterbild.
1880 m.13 The height of the movement for the free civil rights.
1881 m.14 Kierkegaard: Die Krankheit zum Tode. von A.Baerthold. (1906, 2.Auf.)
1882 m.15 Kierkegaard: Furcht und Zittern. von Kettels.
1885 m.18 Kierkegaard: Entweder-Oder.
1886 m.19 Kierkegaard: Stadien auf dem Lebensweg. von A.Baerthold.
1887 m.20 Hoeffding: Psychologie in Umrissen auf Grundlage der Erfahrung.
1888 m.21 Hoeffding: Ethik. Eine Darstellung der ethischen Prinzipien und deren Anwendung auf besondere Lebensverhaeltnisse. translation of Emperor's Clothes of H.C.Andersen from French edition.
1889 m.22 2 promulgation of the Meiji Constitution.
MORI Ogai refers to Ibsen.
1889 m.22 INOUE Tetsujiro, who establishes decisively the character of Japanese Philosophy, visits Hoeffding.
1890 m.23 Kierkegaard: Leben und Walten der Liebe. von Albert Dorner.
Psychologie der Suede (Philosophische Brocken, Begriff Angst). von Schrempf.
November, the Imperial Rescript on Education. (教育勅語).
1891 m.24 Martensen, H.: Christian Ethics. (Vol.1 General, vol.2 Individual; vol.3 Social, 1892.) Trans. from the Danish with the sanction of the author by C. Spence. Edinburgh: Clark, 217-236. (Clark's Foreign Theological Library, series 3, vol.39).
UCHIMURA Kanzo removed from his teaching position.
Translation of "Die daenische Philosophie des letzten Jahrzehnts. von Knud Ibsen. Philosophische Monatshefte, Bd. XXVII, 1891." by ONISHI Hajime. in Tetsugakuzaizasshi (the Journal of the Society of Philosophy) no.54, 55.
Hoeffding; Outlines of Psychology.
1892 m.25 September, introduction of Ibsen by TSUBOUCHI Shoyo.
Translation of The Improvisatore by MORI Ogai. (published 1901).
1893 m.26 Translation of The Enemy of Society and A Doll's House Ibsen by TAKAYASU Gekko.
June, Koeber comes to Japan to be professor of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University. He makes a decisive role to determine the character of Taisho Era's philosophy.
1894 m.27 8~1895, 3 The Sino-Japanese War.
1895 m.28 October, Translation of the first 5 chapters of Hoeffding's Psychology by ISHIDA Shintaro.
~1896 Hoeffding: Geschichte der neueren Philosophie.
1896 m.29 Hoeffding: Soeren Kierkegaard als Philosoph.
ONISHI takes a note of Hoeffding's Soeren Kierkegaard als Philosoph.
Soeren Kierkegaards agitatorische Schriften und Aufsaezte. 1851 -55. Uebers. von A. Dorner und Chr. Schrempf. Stuttg. 1896. Fr. Frommann. [Ogs. m. Tit.:] Soeren Kierkegaards Angriff auf die Christenheit. Von A Dorner und Chr. Schrempf. I. Bd.: Die Akten, ibid. eod. - XXIV + 631pp. II. Bd. ikke udk., cfr. S K: Der Augenblick, 2. Aufl. 1909 (Ges. Werke, Bd. 12, Jena (Diederichs)) - *Idem, 3. Aufl. 1923.
1897 m.30 Revised edition of Hoeffding's Psychology.
1898 m.31 Seventy anniversary of Ibsen's birth.
BRANDES, G.: The Third Impression of Ibsen.
1899 m.32 BRANDES, G.: Ibsen and Bjoernson (Henrik Ibsen. Bjoernsterne Bjoernson. Critical Studies), trans. by Jessie Muir, intro. by William Archer. Heinemann.
1900 m.33 The death of Nietzsche.
1902 m.35 April, "I refer to the present situation of our literature through treating the Romantic movement." by OHTSUKA Yasuji. in Taiyo, vol. 8, no. 4.
1904 m.37, 2~1905, 9 The Russo-Japanese War.
1905 m.38 January. TOMONAGA Sanjuro's Dictionary of Philosophy. (the entry of Kierkegaard is translated from J.M. Baldwin: Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology. vol.1, 1901).
1906 m.39 Rudolf Kassner: Soeren Kierkegaard. in Neue Rundschau. April, W. Gundert, a famous German Japanologist, comes to Japan. May, The death of Ibsen.
(following, the title of articles or books in which appears Kierkegaard's name.
June, "Great Ambition" by UCHIMURA.
July, "Ibsen" by UEDA Bin.
"Who is Ibsen?" by SAITO Shinsaku. in Toa no Hikari (The Light of Eastern Asia) vol. 1, no. 3.

- 1909 m.42 June, Encyclopedia of Japan. vol.2.
October, "Anti-ecclesiasticism in the World" by UCHIMURA.
Gottsched and Schrempf begin to translate the works of Kierkegaard.
December, Encyclopedia of Literature.
- 1910 m.43 March, Big Dictionary of Philosophy. vol.2.
June, "Uzumaki"(Whirlpool) by UEDA Bin.
September(November?), "The Gospel of Suffering -- Vigny and Kierkegaard" by BESSHO Umenosuke with additional remarks by UCHIMURA.
December, "To Pray for Torstol" by UCHIMURA.
- 1911 m.44 January, "The Study of the Good" by NISHIDA.
June, "Love Diary of Kierkegaard" translated by ZE Kageo (ABE Jiro).
August, "Big Dictionary of Philosophy". vol.5. "Modern philosophy of Denmark", p.2106-2108. by KOBAYASHI Ichiro.
October, "The Story of Denmark" by UCHIMURA. This book was adopted as a text at the elementary school after World War II.
"The Door of Happiness" translated by KAICHOON (probably UEDA Bin).
December, "Kierkegaard" in "Biography of Great Men in Modern Europe" vol.5
- 1912 m.45 April, "I won't abandon non-ecclesiasticism" by UCHIMURA.
July, "Short Independent words" by UCHIMURA.
translation of Hoeffding's "Philosophy of Religion" from German edition by SHIMIZU Bunjiro and SUZUKI Soen.
November, from W. Rudin, writing to UCHIMURA, compares him to Kierkegaard.
C.Skovgaard Petersen; Aus Japan, wie es heute ist ---Persoenliche Eindruecke. uebersetzt von H. Gottsched (1912, Basel). Skovgaard also compares Uchimura to Kierkegaard.
Rudolf Eisler; Philosophen-Lexikon.
- ONISHI Hajime(大西祝):1864-1900; philosopher, critic and poet. 1878, baptized by NIJIJIMA Jo, founder of Doshisha University and a friend of UCHIMURA Kanzo. 1889, graduated from Tokyo Imperial University. 1891, a lecturer at Tokyo Senmon Gakko (afterwards Waseda University). He has many pupils and disciples at Waseda University. 1897, teacher of ethics at Tokyo Teacher Training High School. 1897, starts Teiyu Society of Ethics, which has a great influence on later ethical studies in Japan. 198, pending appointment as Dean of Humanities at Kyoto Imperial University, is sent on an inspection of Europe, but becomes ill and returns home. Dies before appointment is finalized.
- ISHIDA Shintaro(石田新太郎):1870-1927; educator. The founder of adult education in Japan. 1893, graduated from Keio Gijuku University.
- TSUBOUCHI Shoyo(坪内逍遙):1859-1935; novelist, critic, educator. one of the leaders of literary movements in Meiji Era. Founder of Humanities at Tokyo Senmon Gakko (afterwards Waseda University) and founder of "Waseda Bungaku".
- TOMONAGA Sanjiro(朝永三十郎):1871-1951; philosopher. 1898, professor at Shin-Buddhism University. 1913, professor at Kyoto Imperial University. He decided to study philosophy by the influence of UCHIMURA at Dai Ichi Kotogakko (No. 1 High School). His most famous book is "The History of Self-consciousness of the Self in Modern Philosophy."
- WATSUJI Tetsuro(和辻哲郎):1889-1960; Only one systematical researcher of ethics in Japan. 1931, professor at Kyoto Imperial University. 1934, professor at Tokyo Imperial University.
- UEDA Bin(上田敏):1874-1916; Critic, poet and translator. Foster father of symbolic poem.
1909, professor at Kyoto Imperial University. 1905, a collection of translated poem "Kaichoon"(Sound of the Tide)(海潮音).
- UCHIMURA Kanzo(内村鑑三):1861-1930;a Meiji era (turn of the century) intellectual leader,
influential to this day, who advocated a non-church (non-ecclesiastical) Christianity, taking Kierkegaard's "Attack Upon Christendom" as his lead. His English books,"How I Became a Christian" and "Japan and the Japanese" (revised title: "Representative Men of Japan") were translated into Danish by Maria Wolff and published as "Hvorledes Jeg Blev En Kristen" in 1906 and "Karakterbilleder fra det Gamle Japan" in 1907, by Det Schoenberske Forlag. He had numerous disciples who became leaders in Japanese society. When we look at these intellectuals, novelists and playwrights, we can say that Kierkegaard had at least an indirect influence on recent Japanese cultural life.
- Sapporo NO Gakko (Sapporo Agricultural School, afterwards Hokkaido University); many students who later became famous Japanese Christian leaders were baptized and influenced by William Smith Clark (1826-1886)
- Clark, William Smith:1826-1886;American educator. 1876, president at Sapporo No Gakko. His famous word is "Boys be ambitious."
- Seelye, Julius Hawley:1824-1895; 1852-53, studies in Halle University which is established by Spener and Franke. 1876, president at Amherst College.
- INOUE Tetsujiro(井上哲次郎):1855-1944; nationalist. From 1884-1889 goes to Germ any. He determines decisively the character of Japanese Professor at Tokyo Imperial University.
- GUNDELT, Wilhelm:1880-1971;Famous as a translator of "The Blue Cliff Record" into German and famous German Japanologist. A cousin of Hermann Hesse. 1906, comes to Japan as a missionary. 1920, goes back to Germany. 1922, comes back to Japan.1925, Dr.phil. Univ. Hamburg. 1936, full professor for Japanese language and culture at the University of Hamburg.1938-41, Rektor of the Univ.
- NISHIDA Kitaro(西田幾多郎):1870-1945; Japan's most famous contemporary philosopher,
- ABE Jiro(阿部次郎):1883-1959; Representative humanist in Taisho Era. His "Santaro no Nikki (Santaro's Diary)" published in 1911 becomes a best seller.

philosopher. His book "What is Religion?" (Religion and Nothingness, Translated with and Introduction by Jan Van Bragt, University of California Press 1982) is deeply connected with Kierkegaard.

UOKI Tadakazu (魚木忠一): 1892-1954.

KUMANO Yoshitaka (熊野義孝): 1899-1981.

KUWATA Hidenobu (桑田秀延): 1895-1975.

HASHIMOTO Kagami (橋本鑑): 1903-1943.

HARADA Nobuo (原田信夫): 1909-1945).

YOSHIMITSU Yoshihiko (吉満義彦): 1904-1945

MIYAHARA Koichiro (宮原晃一郎): 1882-1945; Scholar of North European literature.

KITO Eiichi (鬼頭英一): 1908-1969; Heidegger researcher.

SAITO Shinji (斉藤信治): 1907-1977.

TORII Hiroo (鳥井博郎): 1911-1953.

ISHIZU Teruji (石津照重): 1903-1972.

MASUDA Keizaburo (榎田啓三郎): 1904-1990.

OTANI Masaru (大谷長): b. 1911.

Honen (法然): 1133-1212; the founder of the Jodo-Shu, Pure Land Sect in Japan, whose main practice consists of repeating the sacred name of Amitabha, and whose chief tenet is salvation by faith in Amitabha),

DOGEN (道元): 1200-1253; the founder of Sodo-shu, a branch of Zen Buddhism in Japan

SAICHO (最澄): 787-822; Tendai is one of the earliest sects of Japanese Buddhism, and all of the above mentioned founders of other sects first studies at the Tendai headquarters on Mt. Hiei in northeastern Kyoto.

SHINAI Rinzo (椎名麟三): 1911-71; Novelist. Known as "the writer of despair".

name 2.

NISHI Amane (西岡): 1829-1897; He established the word TETSUGAKU as Japanese translation of philosophy.

TOYAMA Masakazu (外山正一): 1848-1900; The first Japanese professor of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University.

NAKAE Chomin (中江兆民): 1847-1901; philosopher and materialist. Leader of the movement for the free civil rights.

FENOLLOSA, Ernest Francisco: 1852-1908; he arrives in Japan in 1878 and teaches philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University. Afterwards he becomes interested in Japanese art and establishes Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko (The Art University of Tokyo) and lectures on aesthetics.

INOUE Tetsujiro (井上哲次郎): 1855-1944;

Ludwig Busse: 1862-1907; The next professor of philosophy after Fenollosa at Tokyo Rudolph, Hermann. He teaches Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" at the University, and explains the importance of the study of the history of philosophy.

Imperial University. He is influenced by the philoso

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KANEKO Chikusui (金子筑水): 1870-1937; disciple of ONISHI Hajime. the first man who professor of philosophy at Waseda University.

writes an article about Kierkegaard in which Kierkega

NISHIDA Kitaro (西田幾多郎): 1870-1945; Japan's most famous contemporary philosopher,

SHINRAN (親鸞): 1173-1265; Founder of Shin-Buddhism, a branch of the Pure-land sect.

TANABE Hajime (田辺元): 1885-1962; Professor at the University of Kyoto following NISHIDA.

NATSUME Soseki (夏目漱石): 1876-1916; Biggest novelist in Meiji Era.

EGUCHI Satoshi <eguchi@fine.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp>

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