

# **Fields of Contention: Philology (*Bunkengaku*) and the Philosophy of Literature (*Bungeigaku*)**

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It is not uncommon to find in Japanese universities today a mutual suspicion between scholars of “national literature” (*kokubungaku*), whose field of expertise is mainly the Japanese “classics,” and the more philosophically-oriented scholars of “aesthetics” (*bigaku*), who are trained in Western philosophy and often write on the Japanese “classics.” The first dismiss the latter as abstract thinkers who do not ground their speculations in the “science” of philology, while the aestheticians attack the literature scholars for their alleged short-sightedness and obsession with textual detail that allegedly make them lose sight of the larger, philosophical implications of textual production and consumption. This struggle is then reproduced in American and European academic institutions concerned with Japanese studies, where scholars are asked to join a specific camp, either Japanese literature or Japanese thought, sending to comparative literature those who have been rejected by both the hard-line “philologists” and the hard-line “philosophers” (mainly “Buddhologists”).

In this paper I want to outline the major issues related to this struggle by focusing on the formation of the Japanese field of classical literature that to this day is dominated by “the philological approach” and yet heavily borrowed from the aestheticians’s vocabulary to talk about the “classics.”

## **PHILOLOGY: INTEGRATION AND SPECIALIZATION**

Since most of modern Japan was built on German models, we must inevitably begin by mentioning German philology, a field that reached its peak with August Boeckh (1785-1867)—professor of philology at the University of Berlin from 1811 to 1865—who constructed classical philology as a science in his monumental work *Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Philological Sciences* (*Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften*, posthumously published in 1877). Here philology was made equivalent to historical knowledge, a privileged access to the truths of the past.<sup>1</sup>

In Japan the notion of philology found its most zealous supporter in the work of the literary historian Haga Yaichi (1867-1927), a student of Konakamura Kiyonori at

Tokyo Imperial University and, later, a professor of Japanese literature at the same university from 1898. Haga spent a year and a half at the University of Berlin from 1900. As he noted in his *Journal* (entry 12/14/1901), he purchased the two volumes of the *Outline of German Philology* (*Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, 1889-1893) edited by Hermann Paul, which contains a famous quotation from Boeckh: “Philology is the knowledge of what is known [Philologie ist das Erkennen des Erkannten] and, therefore, a recognition of a knowledge which is already given. But to recognize what is known means to understand it.”<sup>2</sup> Other entries from the same journal (7/1/1902, 9/16/1902) attest to the fact that Haga spent several months familiarizing himself with the work of Boeckh, finally completing his readings on the night of September 18, 1902.<sup>3</sup> As for which work by Boeckh Haga was reading, we might infer from his article “What is Japanese Philology?” (“Nihon bunkengaku to wa nan zo ya”) that it was Boeckh’s *Encyclopedia*, which we find quoted there together with the work of another famous classical philologist, Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), the author of the *Description of the Science of the Study of Antiquities* (*Darstellung der Altertums-Wissenschaft*, 1807).<sup>4</sup>

Boeckh divided his major work into two parts: (1) the formal theory of the science of philology (“Formale Theorie der philologischen Wissenschaft”), subdivided into (a) the theory of hermeneutics or “Theorie der Hermeneutik” (further subdivided into grammatical interpretation, historical interpretation, individual interpretation, and generic interpretation), and (b) the theory of criticism or “Theorie der Kritik” (likewise further subdivided into grammatical criticism, historical criticism, individual criticism, and generic criticism); (2) the material disciplines of the study of antiquity (“Materiale Disziplinen der Alterthumslehre”), subdivided into (a) generic antiquity or “Allgemeine Alterthumslehre” (further subdivided into national life, private life, religious art, sciences), and (b) specific antiquity or “Besondere Alterthumslehre” (further subdivided into the public life of the Greek and Romans, their private life, their religious art, and the sciences of ancient times).<sup>5</sup> According to Haga, the first part of Boeckh’s work was meant as a methodological ruse to recover the concrete reality of antiquity which was described in the second part, so as to “know once again at the present time what was known to ancient peoples in the same manner as it was known to them.” The work of the philologist consists of inquiring scientifically into all facets of ancient cultures as a first step toward the understanding of ancient languages. Quoting from a commentator of Boeckh, Karl Elze (1821-1889) and his *An Outline of English Philology* (*Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, 1887), Haga argued that philological knowledge comes about through a process of “reconstruction of the political, the social, and the literary, a construction by a given people.”<sup>6</sup> This last sentence was of monumental importance for Haga since it clarified for him the starting point of the hermeneutical process, by allow-

ing him to recognize that all acts of reconstruction of the past are actually acts of personal construction. This is an inescapable law since, as Haga argues—and these are his own words and not a quotation from a German source—“the eyes which contemporary people turn towards the past must differ from the eyes of the people of old.”<sup>7</sup> This recognition is meant by Haga as an invitation to his fellow Japanese scholars to keep this distance in mind in order to be, first of all, good historians.

Haga also mentions the definition of philology given by Gustav Körting (1845-1913), the author of *The Encyclopedia and Methodology of English Philology* (*Encyklopädie und Methodologie der englischen Philologie*, 1888) and *The Encyclopedia and Methodology of Romance Philology* (*Encyklopädie und Methodologie der romanischen Philologie*, 1884-88). The purpose of philology is, according to Körting, a means “of understanding the life of a specific people or a specific racial group, within the limits of what is discovered and can be discovered, by examining their language and their written records.”<sup>8</sup> Haga draws the conclusion that the purpose of philology is not the knowledge of language for its own sake, but rather a means of explaining the national character through etymological research; or, to use Karl Elze’s words, “a construction by a specific people.”<sup>9</sup> This concept of philology was common currency at the time Boeckh was teaching in Berlin, insofar as Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), a colleague of Boeckh, the head of the Prussian Department of Education and the founder of the University of Berlin, argued that philology was “the science of the nation.” Haga had no problem identifying the German version of this science with the Japanese movement of Nativism (*kokugaku*).

From the very beginning of his inquiry into what he calls “Japanese philology” (*Nihon bunkengaku*), Haga states that this science is certainly not unknown to Japanese scholars, since it was practiced all along by Nativists. The study of German philology, however, led Haga to take a complex position towards Nativism which, on the one hand, he accepted for its potential to make the classics relevant to the political development of the Japanese nation but, on the other, criticized for being blind to its cultural past, particularly the Chinese (*kanbun*) experience that the *kokugaku* movement had erased from the literary canon. Haga was critical of the rigid ideological agenda of Nativists like Motoori Norinaga, who in their zeal to attack a long tradition of interpretation rooted in Confucian and Buddhist theology—such as, for example, the 31 syllables of a Japanese poem being made to correspond to the 32 marks of the Buddha—grounded their scholarship in a prejudice that totally excluded China from their studies. The knowledge of the spiritual life of a people—Haga argued—could only be brought to life by a historical study of that people’s language and literature, as well as by comparative studies.<sup>10</sup>

Haga introduced two key concepts which are at the center of Boeckh’s definition

of philology, “criticism” (“Kritik / *hihan*”) and “interpretation” (“Interpretation / *kaishaku*”). While criticism is entrusted with the search for the intrinsic historicity of the text (its real author, date and place of composition, authenticity, etc.), interpretation investigates the text’s “true meaning”—*shin’i* in Haga’s words—by relating it to other texts which belong to the same epoch or to the same genre.<sup>11</sup> In order to be a good critic and a good interpreter, the philologist can count on the help of several disciplines that Haga listed as follows: (1) “bibliographical studies” (*Bücher-kunde / shoseki kaidai*); (2) “studies of manuscripts” (*Handschrift-kunde / komonjogaku*); (3) “paleography” (*Paläographie / komojigaku*); (4) “epigraphy” (*Epigraphik / kinseki mojigaku*); (5) “prosody” (*Metrik / onritsugaku*); (6) “grammar” (*Grammatik / bunpōgaku*); (7) “archeological material” (*Materielle Disziplinen der Altertums-Wissenschaft / kōkogaku shiryō*); (8) “ancient geography” (*Alte Geographie / kodai chirigaku*); (9) “chronology of ancient history” (*Alte Geschichtschronologie / kodaishi nendaigaku*); (10) “weights and measures” (*Metrologie / doryōkōgaku*); (11) “antiquities” (*Altertümer / kodai no ibutsu*); (12) “mythology” (*Mythologie / shinwagaku*); (13) “archeology of the fine arts” (*Archäologie der Kunst / geijutsu ni kansuru kobutsugaku*); (14) “ancient philosophy” (*Alte Philosophie / kodai tetsugaku*); (15) “literary history” (*Literaturegeschichte / bun-gakushi*); (16) “numismatics” (*Numismatik / kosenkagaku*).<sup>12</sup>

Haga recognized that Japanese philology did not need to be as complicated as its European counterpart since the linguistic systems used in Japan—Haga referred to classical Japanese, Chinese (*kanbun*) and the Ainu language—were relatively simple when compared to the linguistic reality of Europe (Gothic, Nordic, German, Dutch, English, French languages in Paul’s system, and French, Catalonian, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Romanic, Rumanian languages in Körting’s system).<sup>13</sup> In view of this fact, and in view of the earlier scholarship of the Nativist movement, Haga reduced the sixteen categories, which in his earlier opinion constituted the Western system of philology, to the following five: language (*gengo*), literature (*bungaku*), law (*ritsurei, hōsei*), ancient customs (*yūsoku*), and Shintoism (*shintō*).<sup>14</sup> Each field—linguistic studies, literary studies, legal studies, studies of literary histories—is explained according to a specific methodology in a concerted effort “to increase the specific national beauty of our country and to stimulate the perfect development of our people”—what Haga called “national science” (“Nationale Wissenschaft”), and “the ideal and destiny of Japanese philology.”<sup>15</sup>

The end result of Haga’s hermeneutics brings him in line with the mainstream literary historians of German Romanticism from whom he derived the very definition of science: the subsumption of particularity under the all-encompassing category of the absolute, the restoration of partition and division into an organic, relational body culminating in the absolute of an Idea, Literature. The particularity of the dismembered text

must be reinserted into the body of its system, since “the task of literary history”—Haga argues—“is primarily to look at isolated texts and bring them into relationship with each other.”<sup>16</sup> However, such a process of synthetic recomposition (*sōgōryoku*) is unattainable without a thorough analysis (*bunsekiryoku*) of particular texts. Textual criticism (*tekisuto kurichikku*), then, becomes a major task of the philologist who is confronted with clarifying the four major elements of “time” (*toki*), “space” (*basho*), “personhood” (*hito*), and “work” (*sakuhin*).

The recovery of the “time” of composition is essential for taking the pulse of the “epoch’s intellectual sentiments” (*jidai no shisō kanjō*) and for establishing transformations occurring between different epochs as well as within the same epoch.<sup>17</sup> However, Haga maintains the notion of an epoch’s “characteristics” (*seishitsu*) that, although changing in time, preserve a core of ideality without which the vocabulary of Idealism would become meaningless.<sup>18</sup> While “time” keeps an epoch stitched together vertically—Haga continues—the notion of “place” unites it horizontally, inasmuch as it helps clarify the cultural differences among peoples, as derived from different climatic / geographic environments (*fūdo*). Such differences work not only at the level of different countries but also between different areas of the same country—Haga gives the example of Sparta and Athens in Greece.<sup>19</sup>

The notion of “personhood” has psychological and social implications. On the one hand the biography of an author helps clarify “the mental characteristics” (*shinsei*) that for either genetic (*iden*) or educational (*kyōiku*) reasons have had an impact on the author’s imagination and, consequently, on the production of the text. On the other, Haga argues, it is important to know what kinds of readers the author was addressing, so as to better understand the “circumstances” (*jijō*) and the “motives” (*dōki*) of composition. A formalistic analysis of the “work”—rhetoric, vocabulary, syntax, metric, rhythm—will help to establish the text’s “originality” by comparing the specific text to others belonging to similar genres. The study of a text’s external (form) and internal (content) characteristics elicits a judgment on the part of the philologist who, at the end of his research, should be able to acknowledge the presence or absence of “aesthetic value” (*biteki kachi*).<sup>20</sup>

Haga described the process of aesthetic judgment as an “extraction of the text’s essence (*essensu o saishu suru*), “a distinction of jewel from stone” (*hōseki o wakachi*)—expressions which imply a process of comparison eventually leading “to the discovery (*hakken*) of the hidden thread which ties together on the underside (*ura ni*) the literary development (*bungaku hattatsu*),” “the discovery of Being (*Sein*) from within Becoming (*Werden*).”<sup>21</sup> The recovery of the text’s essence allows the “understanding of the general characteristics of specific peoples, as well as of the culture and intellectual

history which are reflected in them.” As in the case of the Romantics who were searching for a literary absolute located beyond the specificity of place, time, and race, Haga warned philologists not to stop at the level of mere subjectivity (*jiko*), but to “proceed towards the study of the literature of humanity at large.” Literary history has now become the absolute, while the philologist, by “knowing the past, being able to foresee the future, and guiding the people,” plays the role of the Creator who brings the word (= the world) into being.<sup>22</sup>

Haga’s insight into the scholarly shortcomings of the Nativist school—blindness to ideology—and his attention to hermeneutical strategies which allowed him to establish a totally new ground for the study of Japanese literature, did not open to view the strong underpinnings of Romantic ideology which would set the tone for much interpretative work on Japan for years to come. On the one hand, Haga clearly saw the “religious” function played by the Nativists—“in a sense they were men of religion”—whose Shintō background made them reject as impure whatever they felt was mixed with the culture of an allegedly original, pristine past. As a result, Haga argues, they fell into the trap of the hermeneutical circle since “as this was their point of departure, this also was their point of arrival.”<sup>23</sup> Haga noticed that by positing an original world free from foreign influence at the beginning of Japanese civilization, and by inventing an allegedly pure Japanese language (“the language of the gods” based on the theory of the fifty sounds or *gojūon-setsu*<sup>24</sup>), the philologists of the Edo period proceeded with their search by placing at the beginning of their inquiry the results that their belief in the Shintō gods made them willing to find. Naturally, they could only find what they felt they would undoubtedly encounter. While uncovering the Nativists’ prejudice and inviting scholars to adopt a more fair and objective viewpoint, however, Haga was creating a hermeneutical circle of his own. He encouraged scholars to accept “everything, even things coming from the outside” as a kind of necessary knowledge without which the philologist could not fulfill his task, as long as such knowledge fit into the categories of “beauty and good” (*zen / bi*), in order for the philologist to make his mark in “the development of a healthy nation.”<sup>25</sup> Haga was projecting onto Japan the Romantic myth of *kalokagathia* which took Greece—the imagined world of beauty and justice—to be the ideal world of which Europe had been robbed by division and separation.

By following Boeckh’s synthetic approach in which a variety of scholarly disciplines were reintegrated under the umbrella of the general and broad category of “philology,” Haga was presenting to Japan a humanistic version of scholarship. A scholar was required to possess a detailed knowledge of all possible disciplines—including philological knowledge in a strict sense—so as to be able to recuperate the past (philology in the broad, Boeckhian sense) through a “scientific” analysis of the text.

The philological activity in the narrower sense enabled the scholar to understand “the spirit of an age”—which was the ultimate achievement of the philologist who was aware of the true (= broad) meaning of philology. The ambivalence of such an approach in which particulars were constantly confronted with universals, was at the root of the different approaches taken by later scholars of Japanese literature who either privileged the narrow sense of philology as textual analysis (which I will call the textual approach), or rejected it in favor of an allegedly more universal category, be this called beauty (the aesthetic approach) or the social reality (the ideology critique approach).

The narrow approach of specialization was well known to Haga who, in a lecture at the Kokugakuin University which he published in the university journal *Kokugakuin zasshi* in 1903, mentioned specialization as the inevitable result of the quickly developing pace of scholarship. Haga associates this movement in philology with the name of Hermann Usener (1834-1905) and his *Philology and the Science of History (Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft)*, 1892). While rejecting Usener’s method, Haga took the path of August Boeckh, who had encouraged the integration of all “knowledges.” This implied not only the combination of different fields such as Japanese literature, art, history, law, etc. (what he called “the horizontal approach” or *yoko ni tsuite no ron*), but also the knowledge of the same field in different countries such as, for example, Japanese, Chinese, and European law (“the vertical approach or *tate ni tsuite no ron*) so as to acquire the most perfect knowledge by a method of comparison.<sup>26</sup>

According to Haga, the dismembered disciplines must find a point of reunion within the philologist because of the very nature of his job, which is the recovery of the specificity of a particular people in a particular time. Such a specificity—which Haga calls “one heart” (*hitotsu no kokoro*)—will become apparent no matter what kind of document the scholar uses—literary, historical, or legal. The reintegration of the severed disciplines within the scholar’s cognitive horizon is for Haga a means to recuperate “scientifically the living conditions and the activities of a whole society making up one people.” It is, therefore, the philologist’s duty to bring about this reintegration that Haga considered to be already at the center of the activities of Nativists such as Kada no Azumamaro (1669-1736). “Where is the field of Nativism (*kokugaku*)”—Haga asks—“if scholarship must become a specialized enterprise? If the scholar of law deals with the law, the historian with history, the literary scholar with literature, the linguist with linguistics, the art historian with the fine arts, the field of Nativism dies out. At the same time that scholarship falls into the hands of different specialists, what becomes of Nativism?”<sup>27</sup>

Since when Haga talks about Nativism he actually has “the philological method” in mind,<sup>28</sup> the answer comes from the role that he assigns to the philologist whose field

—he says— “is not the knowledge of ancient words, since to know words is just a simple means. To do research in ancient languages and to understand those words are both tools for studying ancient societies.”<sup>29</sup> And in order to do so, the philologist must be equipped not just with the sum of the severed cognitive parts, but also with the ability of finding relationships between these parts. The ultimate purpose is the understanding of “the specific characteristics of a people” (*kokumin no tokusei o shiru*) which must be searched in the past, since with the process of modernization engulfing the world and readily available communications between countries—Haga concludes—such characteristics are becoming increasingly diluted. The equation of people with nation led Haga to further specify the purpose of philology / Nativism as “the understanding of the national polity” (*kokutai o shiru*).<sup>30</sup> The method had to be “synthetic (*sōgōteki*), critical (*hihan-teki*), comparative (*hikakuteki*), and analytical (*bunkaiteki*).”<sup>31</sup>

Haga’s “synthetic approach” found a major obstacle in the reorganization of the University, when in 1901 Japanese language and literature became an independent entity within Tokyo Imperial University. As a matter of fact, the previous courses in “national language, literature, and history” were reestablished as two groups of two courses each, one in “national language and literature” (*kokugogaku kokubungaku*)—Haga himself was the first professor to hold the second course after he came back from Europe in 1902—and the other as “national history.”<sup>32</sup> The university was marching towards further specialization and professionalization in spite of Haga’s remarks that “the university is divided into specialized disciplines such as literature and history, but at the Kokugakuin we should practice what Boeckh preached, and have a chair in all learning with at the center one nation, as the name “Science of Nativism” (*kokugaku*) indicates.”<sup>33</sup>

A tendency towards specialization in the departments of Japanese literature is noticeable both at the Imperial University of Kyoto (Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku), where in 1906 the first course in “national language and literature” was taught by Fujii Otoo (1868-1946) and the University of Tokyo, where Fujimura Tsukuru (1875-1953) had succeeded Fujioka Sakutarō (1870-1910) after the latter’s premature death. While Fujioka proceeded along lines which were still very close to Haga’s project, privileging the importance of literary history and of the contextualization of particulars within a unified framework, with Fujii and Fujimura annotations and textual studies became increasingly the privileged activity of the literary scholar. Rather than centers struggling to produce “enlightened ideas,” as was the case in early and mid-Meiji, Japanese universities after the Sino-Japanese (1894) and Russo-Japanese (1905) wars became more and more autonomous entities, producing specialists who tended to reproduce themselves. As Osamu Shū (1917-1993) has observed, the Kantō earthquake of 1923 further increased the emphasis on textual studies among literary historians, as the massive loss of docu-

ments required a specialized effort to create new annotated copies of the classics.<sup>34</sup> Among the major efforts in this direction were *The Philological Study of National Literature* (*Kokubungaku no bunkenteki kenkyū*, 1935) by Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963) and *A Study of the Critical Treatment of the Classics* (*Koten no hihanteki shochi ni kansuru kenkyū*, 1941) by Ikeda Kikan (1896-1956).

This is not to deny that, in spite of the increased specialization in the field of classical Japanese literature, scholars such as Sasaki Nobutsuna still located the purpose (*mokuteki*) of the field outside the immediate concerns of philology, finding it in “the understanding of the essence of the spiritual life of our ancestors, and its transformations, through the many literary works born to the Japanese folk (*Nihon minzoku*) since ancestral times.”<sup>35</sup> The underlying notion of Sasaki’s literary project was a belief in the incremental development of the human spirit, a development that supposedly built upon the past in an uninterrupted process of self-amelioration. However, Sasaki argues, the major role of literary history (*bungakushi kenkyū*) is the analysis of the literary work (*bungaku sakuhin*) as an example of “cultural reality” (*bunka jijitsu*). On the other hand, “literary criticism” (*bungaku hihyōteki kenkyū*) was entrusted with the decision over the “literary value” (*bunka kachi*) of the work, which was thus positioned in a hierarchical space. Neither one nor the other of these two approaches could take place—Sasaki continues—without what he called “methodological reconsideration” (*kenkyū hōhō no hansei*), which is a “philological study” (*bunkengakuteki kenkyū*) of the text privileging the authenticity and the historicity of the literary work. In a word, the marriage between “the literary text” (*kokubungaku no sakuhin*) and the context consisting of “historical records” (*rekishiteki kiroku*).<sup>36</sup>

Sasaki did not depart from Boeckh’s definition of philology, inasmuch as he viewed it both in the narrow sense as textual study, and in the larger sense as “science for the elucidation of the characteristics of the spiritual life of a folk.” He also adopted the categories of “criticism” (*hihyō*) and “interpretation” (*kaishaku*) which Boeckh made famous in his *Encyclopedia*. However, Sasaki’s inability to accept the Boeckhian’s theory of philology as mere tool, and his inclination to actually consider it more as an end in his daily practice as philologist of the Japanese classics, made him confront the paradox of having “philology” (*bunkengaku*) defined as both the very object of the study of literature, and the method through which literature as object should be clarified.<sup>37</sup> This paradox resulted from Sasaki’s privileging the need for a textual criticism which was based on the philological reconstruction of a text into “a definite edition” (*teihon*) that should be as close as possible to the original—an activity which required the study of the time of the work’s composition, of the circumstances surrounding textual production, as well as biographical information on the text’s author.

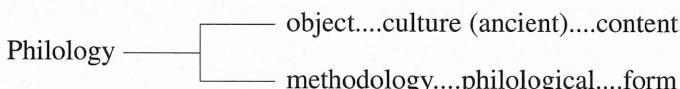
The philological approach upheld by Haga and Sasaki became the major methodological path for graduates of the department of “national literature” (*kokubungaku*) of Tokyo Imperial University (Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku) which is known today as Tōdai. One of its most illustrious graduates, Hisamatsu Sen’ichi (1894-1976), who later became a professor at the same university and was probably the major voice of the Shōwa period (1926-1989) in the field of the Japanese classics, wrote his B.A. thesis on “The Philology of Keichū” (*Keichū no bunkengaku*, 1916).<sup>38</sup> Once he became a graduate student, Hisamatsu worked on “Studies of the History of Japanese Philology” (*Nihon bunken-gakushi no kenkyū*). Although, when he first entered the University of Tokyo as an undergraduate, Haga Yaichi was travelling around the world, Hisamatsu could count on an array of teachers deeply trained in philology: Ueda Mannen (1867-1937) was in charge of Japanese linguistics; Fujimura Tsukuru (1875-1953) was lecturing on Saikaku and Chikamatsu; Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963) held courses on the *Man'yōshū* and the history of waka; Kaito Matsuzō (1878-1952) taught the history of Japan’s ancient usages and customs (*yūsoku kojitsu*), as well as literary methodology.

The scholarship of Hisamatsu Sen’ichi was sustained from the beginning of his career by the categories of “critical text” (*honbun hihyō*) and “annotations” (*chūshaku*) which he applied to the publication of a *Critical Edition of the Man'yōshū* (*Kōhon Man'yōshū*, 1924-25) and *The Collected Works of Keichū* (*Keichū zenshū*, 1929). The role played by German historicism in the formation and training of Japanese scholars of the literary classics is apparent in Hisamatsu’s endeavor to explain the texts in terms reflective of the history of hermeneutics, which would forbid literary historians from discussing any text independently from the history of its reception. The history of literature became the history of its history, as we see from the attention that Hisamatsu paid to the linkages between the *Man'yōshū* and its appreciation during the Edo period in the book *Studies of the Man'yōshū* (*Man'yōshū kōsetsu*, 1934). We also see it in the monumental work that Hisamatsu dedicated to *The History of Japanese Literary Criticism* (*Nihon bungaku hyōronshi*, 1932-1947),<sup>39</sup> one of the very few works published in Japan on literary hermeneutics, which was the outcome of a series of lectures that Hisamatsu gave starting in April 1914, as soon as he became an Associate Professor of Japanese literature at the University of Tokyo.

As Hisamatsu himself later wrote in a book of reminiscences, he had been influenced to write such a history while reading a manuscript of Fujioka Sakutarō (1870-1910), who had lectured at the University of Tokyo from September 1908 until February 1910 on “the history of Japanese criticism” (*Nihon hyōronshi*). The manuscript, however, ended with the end of the seventeenth century, the Genroku period, due to the premature death of the author. Spurred to continue the work of Fujioka, Hisamatsu searched

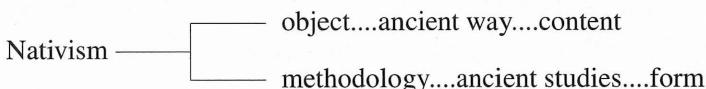
for analogous books dealing with Western criticism during his trips to Europe and the United States. He was surprised to find so few surveys of the history of literary hermeneutics, with the exception of George Saintsbury's (1845-1933) *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day* (1900-1904).<sup>40</sup>

The fact that Hisamatsu's acquaintance with the German field of philology began early in his career is attested to by his *Biography of Keichū* (*Keichū den*), which he started writing in 1917 and published two years later. In a chapter on "The Concept of Classical Studies and its Methodology" ("Kotengaku no gainen to sono hōhōron") he followed the same route traced by Haga Yaichi, first stating that, according to Hermann Paul, the first appearance of the word "German philology" occurred in the title of Harsdorffer's *Specimen Philologiae Germanicae (An Example of German Philology)* of 1646.<sup>41</sup> He then introduces August Boeckh's notion of philology as the knowledge of what is already known, further elaborating upon it with the explanations given by Karl Elze (philology is the reconstruction of the political, social, and literary structures of a given people), Hermann Paul (philology is knowledge of what has been produced by the human spirit<sup>42</sup>), and Gustav Körting (the purpose of philology is the understanding of the life of a specific racial group through the analysis of speech and writing). Following Karl Elze, Hisamatsu argued that rather than being an autonomous science with its end in itself, as is the case with linguistics, philology is a means towards understanding the cultural phenomena of a specific people.<sup>43</sup> Hisamatsu, then, concludes that philology is essentially a means to understand "a people's culture (*kokumin bunka*) as seen through its language," as well as "the cultural spirit (*bunka seishin*) flowing into that culture." "Philology," Hisamatsu states, "is essentially the science of culture (*bunkagaku*)," but—and here he borrowed from Hermann Paul—of ancient culture, "at the exclusion of the modern one." By translating the German concepts of "national science" (*National Wissenschaft*) with the word *kokugaku* (or Nativist studies) and of "the science of antiquity" (*Altertumswissenschaft*) with *kogaku* (or ancient studies), Hisamatsu came up with a diagram that explains philology (*bunkengaku*) in terms of (1) its "object" (*mokuteki*) or "content" (*naiyō*), i.e. "ancient culture," and (2) its "methodology" (*taido hōhō*) or "form" (*keishiki*), i.e. "philological" (*bunkenteiki*). The discipline of national science has for its object the study of its ancient culture, and it must be conducted with an archeological / philological method.<sup>44</sup>



The similarities that Hisamatsu perceived between the German science of philology and

the Nativist School of Learning (*kokugaku*) are apparent when we compare this diagram with the one that Hisamatsu created to explain the Nativist movement, in which its “purpose / content” was “the ancient way” (*kodō*)—by which he meant essentially Shintoism—and its “methodology / form” was “ancient studies” (*kogaku*)—by which he meant the archeological methods of disciplines such as ancient history, poetics (*kagaku*), and the traditional study of ancient practices and usages (*yūsoku kojitsu*).<sup>45</sup>



The methodologies of philology and Nativism, Hisamatsu argues, are “exactly the same”—a combination that we find in Keichū’s “studies of the classics” (*koten-gaku*). The difference resides in the target object of the two approaches, inasmuch as Hisamatsu perceives the Nativist object as more dogmatic in its attempt to present ancient studies as a religion (Shintoism), particularly with the work of Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843). At this point Hisamatsu seems to be unaware of the ideological implications of historicism, and of its successes in translating into a secularized language an idiom which is very much religious. Hisamatsu seems to prefer the word “*kotengaku*” (“classical studies”) as a counterpart of the German “*Philologie*” because of its broader implications that branch off to different disciplines making up the notion of “culture.” “*Bunkengaku*,” in his opinion, is too restrictive inasmuch as it limits the study of “philology” to the history of texts—something that would be better described by the word “*shoshigaku*” (“bibliographical studies” that include paleography, epigraphy, etc., but exclude concerns which are not specifically textual).

The methodology employed by Hisamatsu in his “studies of the classics” (*koten-gaku*) or philology is indebted to all the German authors mentioned above, starting with August Boeckh’s division of the disciplines making up philology into “formal theories” (hermeneutics and criticism) and “material theories” (generic and specific antiquity). As Hisamatsu argues in “The Concept of Classical Studies and its Methodology,” further subdivisions were made by Karl Elze, who added to hermeneutics and criticism the disciplines of geography (*Geographie*), history (*Geschichte*), the private life in ancient times (*Privatalterthümer*), literary history (*Literaturgeschichte*), and the history of language (*Geschichte der Sprache*).<sup>46</sup> Hermann Paul—Hisamatsu continues—mentioned interpretation, criticism, the history of language, and literary history, and he also talked about mythology, legends, poetics, economy, law, military matters, customs, the arts, and German folklore. As for the category of criticism, Hisamatsu reminds his reader of Paul’s division between “textual criticism” (*Textkritik*) and “aesthetic criticism” (*Aesthetik Kritik*).<sup>47</sup> Once applied to the Japanese context, the German categories are reduced

to the following six which, according to Hisamatsu, should take care of every category of study where the classics are concerned: the three basic disciplines of “bibliographical studies” (*shoshigaku*), “textual criticism” (*honbun hihyō*), and “explanation by annotation” (*chūshaku*), as well as the disciplines of “linguistics” (*gengoteki kenkyū*), “literary criticism” (*bungaku hihyōteki kenkyū*), and “cultural history” (*bunkashiteki kenkyū*).

Hisamatsu uses the expression *chūshaku* (“explanation by annotation”) as the equivalent of Elze’s *Auslesung* (“explanation, exegesis”), arguing that Elze distinguished between a linguistic aspect (study of lexicon, grammar, style, and meter), and a content aspect of exegetical activity. The latter was supposed to start once the linguistic analysis was completed, so as to proceed from the parts to an understanding of the meaning of the whole.<sup>48</sup>

Still quoting from Elze, Hisamatsu defines “textual criticism” as what Boeckh called “the criticism of authenticity and inauthenticity” (“Die Kritik des Echten und Unechten”). Such a critical enterprise is aimed at restoring the “original text” from the accretions resulting from the process of the text’s circulation, by procedures of *recensio* (the comparison of copies and their relationship to printed texts) and *emendatio* (restoration of lost words and sentences in the text). This activity requires the comparison of all available circulating editions (Jp. *rufubon*) and variants (Jp. *ihon*) as well as detailed studies of the vocabulary, grammar, style, and prosody used in those texts. The physical restoration of a text is also part of “textual criticism,” inasmuch as a text can be damaged by (1) external factors such as decay or worms, (2) mistakes on the part of a copyist, and (3) a wrong ordering of parts of the text as a result of a faulty transcription.<sup>49</sup>

“Aesthetic criticism” implies a comparison of the text with other texts belonging to the same genre and, as a result, a positioning of the text within the hierarchy of literary history. This requires a knowledge of the historical circumstances surrounding the work and its author.<sup>50</sup>

In conclusion, Hisamatsu rehearses the notion that the purpose of philology is to explain and clarify the “essential flow of cultural developments.” Quoting again from Elze, Hisamatsu states that “the consciousness and thought of a people which are implicitly powerful in that people’s political and cultural history, are expressed in literature in a direct and explicit manner.” Literary history conveys the spiritual characteristics of a people which vary with time, and are contingent upon the specificity of a place’s climate and of a people’s racial characteristics.<sup>51</sup> This last remark will later take Hisamatsu into an analysis of literature based on the notion of “geographic climate” (*fūdo*).<sup>52</sup>

Hisamatsu does not take issue with the “cultural-history-oriented” approach of German philology. The only reservation expressed in the article concerns the order of the

three major steps of philological activities, (1) *chūshaku* (“explanation by annotation”), (2) “textual criticism,” and (3) “aesthetic criticism;” Hisamatsu argues that “explanation by annotation” should actually follow the activity of “textual criticism.” Moreover, he notices a major discrepancy between textual and aesthetic criticism—a fact that must be due to the difference between Elze and Hisamatsu’s interpretations of “aesthetic criticism.” Hisamatsu perceives “textual criticism” to be much closer to the exegetical enterprise of annotation, so that he seems to privilege the following sequence: “bibliographical studies” (*shoshigaku kenkyū*), “studies on text-critique” (*honbun hihyōteki kenkyū*), “annotations” (*chūshakuteki kenkyū*), “critical studies” (*hihyōteki kenkyū*), “linguistic studies” (*gengoteki kenkyū*), and “cultural studies” (*bunkateki kenkyū*). He calls the first three “basic studies” (*kisoteki kenkyū*) and the latter three “essential studies” (*honshitsuteki kenkyū*), arguing that they all appear in some form in the works of Keichū (1640-1701), the forerunner of the Nativist movement.<sup>53</sup>

In the case of Hisamatsu the mediation of German scholarship in the molding of his theoretical framework was double layered inasmuch as, in addition to the impact that the “philological school” had on his work, he also turned to the work of aestheticians such as Ōnishi Yoshinori (1888-1959) and Okazaki Yoshie (1892-1982), whose scholarship was heavily influenced by the vocabulary of German idealism and phenomenology. We see it, for example, in articles such as “The Types of Beauty in Ancient Japanese Literature” (“Nihon kodai bungaku ni okeru bi no ruikei,” 1953) in which “literary beauty” is formalized according to Japanese aesthetic categories which are actually adaptations of Western discourses on beauty. Here we see the impasse that resulted from an encounter between the philological and the aesthetic methods, given the antithetical nature of the two approaches, the first one being historical, the second, philosophical. The method employed by aestheticians in bracketing history and reducing the multiplicity of becoming to the alleged universality of an idea is apparent in Hisamatsu’s description of Japanese literary history in terms of the categories of “humor,” “sublimity” (*sōbi*), and “elegance” (*yūbi*) which he consistently applied to the five major historical ages of Japan: the “ancient period” (*jōdai* / Nara period), “middle antiquity” (*chūko* / Heian period), “the medieval period” (*chūsei* / Kamakura and Muromachi periods), “the early modern period” (*kinsei* / Edo period), and “the modern period” (*kindai* / Meiji period). By finding for each epoch an aesthetic category that would match the three major categories—*choku*, *okashi*, *mushin*, *kokkei* being subcategories of humor; *mei*, *taketakashi*, *yūgen*, *sabi/karumi*, *shajitsu* being examples of sublimity; and *sei*, *aware*, *ushin*, *sui/tsū/iki*, *rōman* belonging to elegance—Hisamatsu struggled to mediate the gap between history and philosophy by “showing historical patterns in Japanese aesthetics.”<sup>54</sup>

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF LITERATURE

No one spoke out more than Okazaki Yoshie (1892-1982) against what he considered to be the stagnation in the field of classical studies. A philological approach to this field, in his opinion, was excessively restrictive in that it reduced this artistic field to the positivism of the natural sciences (*shizen kagaku*). In an article originally published in 1920 in the *Kokugakuin zasshi*—the same journal in which Haga Yaichi had presented his philological program twenty years earlier—Okazaki criticized the tendency towards specialization embraced by scholars of classical literature, particularly their propensity for considering the activities of textual criticism and annotation to be the main purpose of the study of the classical literary arts (*koten bungei kenkyū*). According to Okazaki, professional scholars have lost the intuition and insight shown by writers and poets of the Meiji and Taishō periods in critiquing and appreciating literary texts. He urged, however, to combine the critical acumen of the Meiji artists with the professional scholars' ability to conceive of the works in terms of their structure, since fresh insights can be marred by the fragmentariness of opinions that are destined to remain simple impressions unless organized into logical and scientific patterns.<sup>55</sup>

Okazaki's reaction to the philological leanings of the University of Tokyo can also be seen by his resignation in December 1919 from both that university and the Kokugakuin University, where he had been employed as a lecturer (*kōshi*) of the history of Japanese classical literature since September of the same year. He returned to his home village of Kōchi in the island of Shikoku, after extending his "farewell to the world of national literature."<sup>56</sup>

The opening of the field of literature to an approach informed by aesthetics was elicited by the unusual training that Okazaki received as a student at the University of Tokyo, where he was instructed by the philologist Haga Yaichi and the aesthetician Ōtsuka Yasuji (1868-1931). The title of his B.A. thesis, "Symbolic Mood in Japanese Poetry" ("Nihon shika no kibun shōchō," 1917), attests to the new angle from which Okazaki intended to analyze the Japanese literary tradition. *Kibun shōchō* ("symbolic mood") was actually the Japanese translation of the German term *Stimmungssymbolik* as this word was employed by the aesthetician Johannes Volkelt (1848-1930) in his *System of Aesthetics* (*Das System der Ästhetik*, 1905-1914) to indicate the feelings of objects which usually do not possess any feeling and yet are able to find expression as living beings through aesthetic appreciation.<sup>57</sup>

Okazaki's interest in issues related to aesthetics was further nurtured by his appointment to Tōhoku University in 1923 where he lectured on classical Japanese liter-

ature, surrounded by outstanding scholars such as the English literature specialist Doi Kōchi (1886-1979), the scholar of German literature Komiya Toyotaka (1884-1966), the linguist Yamada Yoshio (1873-1958), the aesthetician Abe Jirō (1883-1959), the intellectual historian Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1884-1946), the Chinese literature specialist Aoki Masaru (1890-1961), and the art historian Kojima Kikuo (1887-1950).

Kikuta Shigeo argues that the popularity in Japan of the *Literaturwissenschaft* (*bungeigaku* or “science of literature”) method spread at the beginning of the Shōwa period as a reaction to the philological approach taken by literary scholars during the Meiji period, and as a result of the introduction from Germany of publications dealing with this kind of methodology. The translation of the following books into Japanese had a major impact in this area: Werner Mahrholz’s (1889-1930) *Literargeschichte und Literarwissenschaft* (*Literary History and Literary Science*, 1923), which was translated in 1930, and the articles included in Emil Ermatinger’s (1873-1953) *Philosophie der Literaturwissenschaft* (*The Philosophy of Literary Science*, 1930), which appeared in Japanese in 1932-33.<sup>58</sup>

Among scholars of Japanese literature, Kaito Matsuzō (1878-1952) was among the very first to apply the notion of phenomenology to the analysis of literary texts, insisting on the importance of formalistic issues.<sup>59</sup> Kazamaki Keijirō (1902-1960) attacked as too facile the appreciation of the classics provided by scholars of the philological school, advocating instead the importance of the intrinsic value of a text and the need for adequate studies to clarify this value.<sup>60</sup> In 1934 the journal *Bungaku* (*Literature*) dedicated the entire October issue to the topic of “Japan’s literary science” (*Nihon bungeigaku*), in which Okazaki Yoshie presented his specific brand of analysis based on aesthetic inquiries into the formalistic aspects of literary texts—a brand whose originality is attested by the fact that it came to be known as “the Okazaki literary science” (*Okazaki bungeigaku*).<sup>61</sup>

Okazaki began his major work on the subject, *Bungeigaku* (*The Science of the Literary Arts*, 1935) by specifying a need to approach the field of literature from a metalinguistic perspective. In order to transform literary studies into a science, scholars had to find a way to create a scientific method that would study literature in the same way that the physical sciences questioned nature. A “science of literature” (*bungakugaku*) had to be formulated, starting with the designation of a name for it. According to Okazaki, the awkwardness of the double sound / character *gaku* (“science”) in *bungakugaku* justified the use of the word *bungeigaku* instead, which well expressed the idea of a science (*gaku*) that was responsible for the study not just of “literature” (*bungaku*) but of all the “literary arts” (*bungei*).<sup>62</sup>

Okazaki described literature as one of the arts whose essence was “beauty” (*bi*)

and whose expression made itself visible as form (*yōshiki*). He argued that in addition to the need to pursue the study of literature from a philological perspective that was basically grounded in historical research, a different approach was needed in order to examine categories of universal validity whose use was not restricted to any specific literary tradition, such as, for example, the notion of the “literariness” (*bungeisei*) that made a text literary. In the case of the Japanese literary tradition, however, the universal category of “literariness” that made the work accessible to everyone all over the world, also had a specific characteristic that distinguished the local literary product from non-Japanese works. Okazaki called such a distinctive pattern “the form of the Japanese literary arts” (*Nihon bungei yōshiki*)—a form that was allegedly common to all artistic expressions produced in Japan.<sup>63</sup>

While the fields of “aesthetics” (*bigaku*) and of “the science of art” (*bijutsugaku*) were mainly entrusted with the “general” (*ippan*) aspects of universal categories, the field of the “science of the literary arts” (*bungeigaku*) confronted the specificity of the literary product. Since the universal notion of beauty resides within the works of individual writers, Okazaki argued, the work of the aesthetician was to focus on beauty itself, while the scholars of *bungeigaku* were invited to analyze the manifestations of beauty from within concrete and specific examples. The latter played the role of mediators between the historian and the philosopher, insofar as they needed to pay attention to the historicity of the specific and individual characteristics, from within which originated the “universal / specific” artistic form. Such historicity was found in the racial and cultural specificity of individual peoples (*minzoku*), who are all endowed with specific and distinguishing “racial forms” (*minzokuteki yōshiki*). These, in turn, were the products of several inner forms, including geographical, social, historical, and individual forms as they found expression in the specifically Japanese version of the literary arts (*Nihon bungeigaku*).<sup>64</sup>

Okazaki was well aware of the potential for contradiction that was found in the formula *Nihon bungeigaku* in which the particular (Nihon or Japan) and the universal (*gaku* or science) struggled for recognition. He proposed a synthesis of the two by collapsing specificity and universality into one single science (*ikka no gaku*), a middle ground between history and epistemology, between “Japan’s literary arts science” (*Nihon no bungeigaku*) and “the science of the Japanese literary arts” (*Nihon bungei no gaku*). The result was what Okazaki called “the grasping of the unified aesthetic meaning” (*tōittentaru biteki igi no haaku*) of the literary work—a task that helped distinguish the activity of the “literary scientist” from that of the literary historian.<sup>65</sup>

Okazaki argued that spirit was a “form” (*yōshiki*) of human life and that “beauty” (*bi*) was a form of the spirit. Art (*geijutsu*) was “the phenomenalization of the aes-

thetic spirit” (*biteki seishin no jitsugen*) through language, in whose imaginative power beauty resided. He defined form as “the essence that is perceived as specificity in its external manifestations, and as generality in its interiority.” Forms, in Okazaki’s vocabulary, were manifestations of life in the progressive shapes of spirit (*seishin*), beauty (*bi*), the arts (*geijutsu*), and the literary arts (*bungei*) which, in turn, manifested themselves in smaller forms such as the lyrical (*jōjōteki*), the narrative (*jojiteki*), and the dramatic (*gikyokuteki*) forms.<sup>66</sup>

Okazaki distinguished “external forms” (*gaibu shoyōshiki gun*) centered around the notions of “space” (*tokoro*), “person” (*hito*), and “time” (*toki*), from “internal forms” (*naibu shoyōshiki gun*) such as *waka*, *renga*, *haikai*, and all that distinguishes formally the Japanese literary production from the non-Japanese. He argued that research related to the former categories—historical analyses of authorship, time and place of composition, etc.—were preparatory stages towards the realization of the actual goal of *bungeigaku*, which was essentially a clarification of the “aesthetic styles of representation” (*biteki hyōgentai*) that were specifically present in Japanese works. By analyzing historically the changes in style (*fūtei*), Okazaki believed that it was possible to recover what was specifically local (*Nihonfū*). Okazaki identified this “local artistic will” with the notion of “way” (*michi*), which was brought into being, he argued, by the styles as these were expressed as “artistic forms” (*bungeiteki shoyōshiki*). The study of specific styles was entrusted with the recovery of the general style that Okazaki perceived to be common to the entire local artistic production, a “non oppositional style.”<sup>67</sup>

Kikuta Shigeo has noticed how indebted to Okazaki’s theory of “non-opposition” is the work of the contemporary scholar of classical Japanese literature Konishi Jin’ichi (b. 1915), who applied it to the theoretical introduction to his monumental *History of the Japanese Literary Arts* (*Nihon bungeishi*, 1985).<sup>68</sup>

A strong polarization between the “philological” (*kokubungaku*) and “aesthetic” (*Nihon bungeigaku*) approaches took place as a result of disparate notions of “history” held by the participants in the debate. Orthodox literary historians trained in academies where truth was mainly equated with historical reliability were—and still remain to this day—skeptical about the possibility of creating philosophy out of literary texts. Even the supporters of *bungeigaku* disagreed on the degree to which a scholar should be allowed to indulge in poetic license. Ishiyama Tetsurō (1888-1945), for example, a professor of Japanese classical literature at Hokkaido Imperial University who wrote, in 1929, the first book on the notion of *bungeigaku*, was quite critical of what he perceived to be Okazaki’s lack of attention to the historicity and social implications of the literary arts. We must not forget that Ishiyama had brought aesthetics into “national literature” by remarking in his *An Outline of the Science of Literature* (*Bungeigaku gaisetsu*, 1929)

that “the literary arts are the aesthetic expression of human consciousness through language.”<sup>69</sup> Ishiyama voiced his reservations towards “the Okazaki literary science” in an article that he wrote in 1936 as a response to the publication in the previous year of Okazaki’s *Nihon bungeigaku*.<sup>70</sup>

Ishiyama stressed the concreteness of the artistic product that by being immersed in historical circumstances can never be perceived as a simply abstract, formal object. According to Ishiyama, the specificity of the characteristics of the Japanese literary arts requires scholars to pursue their research along the lines traced by the “philologists,” thus paying attention to all the works of a specific author and a specific period, as well as to comparisons of works written in different periods.<sup>71</sup> Ishiyama was dubious as to Okazaki’s success in fulfilling the promised union of “the historical and logical approaches,” arguing that Okazaki wrongly favored a “psychological aesthetics” (*shirrigakuteki bigaku*) of an idealistic nature that neglects history in the treatment of the literary arts.<sup>72</sup> Ishiyama criticized Okazaki’s embracing a metaphysical system that positions the object of “the science of literature” in an allegedly abstract idea called “the Japanese literary arts” (*Nihon bungei*) which would encompass different works from different historical periods. Okazaki called this idea “literariness” (*bungeisei*), one which found expression in what he labeled “Japan’s artistic form” (*Nihon bungei yōshiki*). The latter provided a common ground shared by all artistic works produced in Japan that, while giving a distinctive shape to the work, also allowed the recognition of that work as part of a specific canon which was made understandable by the universal character of form. Being posited as a transcendental a priori, Okazaki’s paradoxical notion of form—Ishiyama continues—dehistoricizes the representation of a product that is essentially historical, imposing onto it “from above” (*Aesthetik vom oben* or “aesthetics from above”) a preestablished formal scheme. Ishiyama called Okazaki’s metaphysics “medieval theology” (*chūseiteki shingaku*). Although Ishiyama did not deny the need for different approaches where the study of history and the study of *bungeigaku* were concerned—a topic on which he agreed with Okazaki—he stressed the need for a phenomenological examination of the latter, a topic which deserves further study.<sup>73</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 See on this topic Maurizio Ferraris, *Storia dell’Ermeneutica (History of Hermeneutics)* (Milan: Bompiani, 1988), pp. 144-145.
- 2 This quotation appears at the beginning of Paul’s book, in the chapter “The Notion and Task of German Philology” (“Begriff und Aufgabe der germanischen Philologie”). Hermann Paul, *Grundriss der Philologie* (Strassburg: Karl. J. Trübner, 1981),

p.1.

- 3 For the biographical information on Haga Yaichi I relied on Fukuda Hideichi, “Haga Yaichi: seiyō riron ni yoru Nihon bunkengaku no juritsu” (“Haga Yaichi: The Establishment of Japanese Philology according to Western Theories”). In *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 57:8 (August 1992) (A special issue on “Portraits of Scholars of the Classics, Continued: from Meiji to the Shōwa Period Prior to the War”), pp. 19–24.
- 4 “What is Japanese Philology” was originally the text of a series of lectures that Haga gave at Tokyo Imperial University in the 1907 academic year. It was published posthumously in 1928 by students of Haga, eventually becoming the first chapter of *Bunkengaku no teishō: Nihon bunkengaku* (Lectures on Philology: Japanese Philology). See *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1 (Selected Works by Haga Yaichi) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku, 1994), p. 67.
- 5 August Boeckh, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Philologischen Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1886). For a partial English translation of the work see, August Boeckh, *On Interpretation and Criticism*, trans. John Paul Pritchard (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).
- 6 *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1, p. 67. The original sentence appears in Karl Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1889), p. 9.
- 7 *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1, p. 67.
- 8 Gustav Körting, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der romanischen Philologie* (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1884), p. 82.
- 9 Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, p. 9.
- 10 *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1, p. 76.
- 11 Kurt Mueller-Vollmer provides the following explanation of these two terms as they are used by Boeckh: “In his *Encyclopedia* Boeckh introduced another important distinction, namely, the distinction between interpretation and criticism which E. D. Hirsch in his book *Validity in Interpretation* has recently resurrected. Boeckh argues that all acts of understanding can be viewed in two ways. First, understanding may be directed exclusively toward the object itself without regard to its relationship to anything else; and second, it may be directed only toward the relationship in which the object stands to something else. In the first instance, understanding is absolute and functions solely as interpretation; that is, one concentrates on comprehending the object and its meaning on its own terms, that is, intrinsically. In the second instance, ones understanding is purely relational: one concentrates on the relationship which the object entertains with other phenomena, such as its historical circumstances, the linguistic usage of its time, the literary tradition in which it stands, and the value sys-

tems and beliefs which are contemporary to the interpreter. In his actual work the philologist must continually rely on both interpretation and criticism. His understanding would be uncontrolled and unmethodical if he were not always aware of the interrelationship between the two.” Kurt Mueller-Vollmer, *The Hermeneutics Reader: Texts of the German Tradition from the Enlightenment to the Present* (New York: Continuum, 1992), pp. 22-23.

12 *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1, pp. 77-78.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 64 and 144.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

17 Haga was very sensitive to the arbitrariness of the division of history into epochs and invites his readers to avoid considering them hardened clusters of time. This, in his opinion, would be a mistake since it would not do justice to the notion of change that is the major characteristic of time. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-141.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 142-144.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

24 See the enlightening pages that Haga wrote on this topic in *ibid.*, pp. 84-93.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

26 “Kokugaku to wa nan zo ya” (“What is the Nativist Science?”), in *ibid.*, pp. 157-158.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

28 Haga makes the remark that Wilhelm von Humboldt used the expression “science of the nation” (*Wissenschaft der Nationalität*) to indicate philology, which has the same meaning as *kokugaku* (the science of the nation or Nativism). This is important insofar as it allows us to see the impact that the German discourse on the nation had on the Japanese expression at the beginning of the twentieth century. *Ibid.*, p. 159

29 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 161-162.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

32 See Mori Shū, *Bungakushi no hōhō* (*The Methodology of Literary History*) (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1990), pp. 68-69.

33 *Haga Yaichi senshū* 1, p. 163.

- 34 Mori Shū, *Bungakushi no hōhō* p. 73.
- 35 Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Kokubungaku no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), p. 1.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
- 37 “Literature studies philology itself; at the same time it clarifies the characteristics of national literature through philology—a worthwhile purpose in itself.” Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Kokubungaku no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, pp. 13-14.
- 38 For biographical information on Hisamatsu Sen’ichi I am indebted to Shida Nobuyoshi, “Hisamatsu Sen’ichi: bungakushi to bungaku hyōronshi” (“Hisamatsu Sen’ichi: The History of Literature and the History of Literary Criticism”), *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 57:8 (August 1992), pp. 96-101.
- 39 In 1932 the first volume appeared, *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: keitairon no sōgō kankei wo chūshin to shite* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism, with an Emphasis on the Interrelationships of Formalism*). In 1936 he published the two volumes *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: kodai chūsei hen* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism: Volume on the Ancient and the Middle Ages*) and *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: kinsei saikinsei hen* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism: Volume on the Early Modern and Modern Periods*). In 1939 appeared the volume *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: sōron karon hen* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism: Volume of General Remarks and on Poetic Treatises*). The first volume was revised after the war in 1947 when it appeared as *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: keitairon hen* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism: Volume on Formalism*). From 1968 to 1969 the entire work made up five of the twelve volumes of *Hisamatsu Sen’ichi chosaku shū* (*Collection of the Works of Hisamatsu Sen’ichi*). Three volumes were published under the sub-headings of *Sōron karon keitairon hen* (*Volume of General Remarks, on Poetic Treatises, and on Formalism*), *Kodai chūsei hen* (*Volume on the Ancient and the Middle Ages*), *Kinsei kindai hen* (*Volume on the Early Modern and Modern Periods*). The fourth volume was entitled *Nihon bungaku hyōronshi: Shikaron hen* (*The History of Japanese Literary Criticism: Volume on Poetics*). The fifth was given the subtitle, *Rinen hyōgenron hen* (*Volume on Ideas and Theories of Expression*). The same organization was maintained in the 1976 printing of the eight volumes *Hisamatsu Sen’ichi senshū* (*A Selection of Hisamatsu Sen’ichi’s Works*).
- 40 Hisamatsu, *Watakushi no rirekisha* (*My Curriculum Vitae*) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1970); Hisamatsu, *Kokubungakuto no omoide* (*The Recollections of a Companion in National Literature*) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1969), p. 210.
- 41 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1969), p. 251. For Paul’s statement see Hermann Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, p. 3.

- 42 "Philologie ist das Erkennen des vom menschlichen Geist Producirten." Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 43 "The difference between linguistics and philology is that the former is based on the study of language 'for its own sake', whereas the latter has the purpose of 'essentially learning the cultural conditions of a specific people as these are represented in that people's entire literature'. For the former, speech is the purpose, while for the latter it is a means." Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, p. 6.
- 44 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, p. 253.
- 45 Ibid., p. 250.
- 46 Ibid., pp. 253-254. As a matter of fact all these categories quoted by Hisamatsu are easily found in Boeckh's *Encyclopedia*, a fact that makes one wonder whether Hisamatsu actually consulted Boeckh's work.
- 47 I have been unable to locate this division in Paul's work. It appears instead in Elze's *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, pp. 82-85, which is most probably Hisamatsu's source.
- 48 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, pp. 254-255; Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, pp. 41-49.
- 49 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, pp. 255-256; Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, pp. 60-74.
- 50 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, pp. 256-257; Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, pp. 82-85.
- 51 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, p. 258; Elze, *Grundriss der englischen Philologie*, p. 232.
- 52 See, for example, Hisamatsu, *Kokubungaku* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1954).
- 53 Hisamatsu, *Keichū den*, pp. 258-259.
- 54 For a summary in English of Hisamatsu's work in aesthetics see, Hisamatsu, *The Vocabulary of Japanese Literary Aesthetics* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1963). The quotation in question comes from p. 8.
- 55 The article, entitled "Kobungaku no shinkenkyū ("A New Study of Ancient Literature") and published in the April 1920 issue of *Kokugakuin zasshi*, was later revised, retitled "Koten bungei kenkyū no taido" ("Attitudes Towards the Study of the Ancient Literary Arts"), and included in Okazaki's *Nihon bungeigaku* (The Science of the Japanese Literary Arts, 1935). For an overview of this article, and for biographical information on Okazaki, I am indebted to Kikuta Shigeo, "Okazaki Yoshie: Nihon bungeigaku no teishō" ("Okazaki Yoshie: An Advocate of the Science of the Japanese Literary Arts"). In *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 57:8 (August 1992), p. 124.

- 56 Ibid., p. 124.
- 57 Takeuchi Toshio, *Bigaku jiten* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1961), pp. 75-77.
- 58 Kikuta Shigeo, “Okazaki Yoshie: Nihon bungeigaku no teishō,” p. 125.
- 59 Kaito Matsuzō, *Nihon bungaku kenkyū hōhō: jō (Research Methods in the Study of Japanese Literature*, 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1931), and his *Bungaku riron no kenkyū (A Study of Literary Theory)* (Tokyo: Furōkaku Shobō, 1932).
- 60 Kazamaki Keijirō, “Nihon bungeigaku no hassei” (“The Genesis of Japan’s Literary Science”). In *Kokubungakushi* (October-November 1931).
- 61 Okazaki’s article, originally entitled “Nihon bungeigaku no juritsu ni tsuite” (“On the Establishment of Japan’s Literary Science”), was retitled “Nihon bungeigaku juritsu no konkyō” (“The Foundation of the Establishment of Japans Literary Science”) and used as the first chapter of his *Nihon bungeigaku*.
- 62 Okazaki Yoshie, *Bungeigaku*, pp. 4-5.
- 63 Ibid., pp. 14-15.
- 64 Ibid., pp. 16-18.
- 65 Ibid., pp. 22-29. See also Okazaki’s article “Bungei yōshiki no honshitsu” (“The Essence of the Forms of the Literary Arts”), originally published in the January-March 1938 issue of *Bungaku*, and later included in his *Nihon bungei no yōshiki (The Forms of Japan’s Literary Arts*, 1939) with the revised title, “Yōshiki ron” (“Formalism”).
- 66 See the chapter “Gaku no taishō to shite mitaru Nihon bungei” (“The Japanese Literary Arts as Objects of Science”) in *Nihon bungeigaku*, especially pp. 43-47.
- 67 Ibid., pp. 56-58.
- 68 Konishi argues that a major characteristic of Japanese literature is the lack of “stark oppositions” such as “1) the lack of an opponent and systematic oppositions; 2) the lack of distinction between the human and the natural; 3) the nonexistence of class barriers in literary kinds; 4) the tendency to harmonize the individual with the group; 5) the relation of mutual dependence between author and audience.” Jinichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature, 1: The Archaic and Ancient Ages*. Trans. by Aileen Gatten and Nicholas Teele (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 12. The original text appears in Konishi’s chapter “Taishō to shite no Nihon bungei” (“The Japanese Literary Arts as Object”), in his *Nihon bungei shi (A History of the Japanese Literary Arts)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), pp. 35-36. For Kikuta’s remarks, see Kikuta Shigeo, “Okazaki Yoshie: Nihon bungeigaku no teishō,” p. 127.
- 69 Ishiyama Tetsurō, *Bungeigaku gaisetsu* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1929). Quoted in *Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten (Dictionary of Modern Japanese Literature)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984), p. 117.

- 70 Ishiyama Tetsurō, "Bungeigaku to Nihon bungeigaku," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 13:12 (1936), pp. 1-13.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 72 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 9-11.