The Birth of Philosophy as 哲學 (*Tetsugaku*) in Japan[1]

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Abstract: Philosophy was introduced into Japan as 哲學 (tetsugaku) in the form of the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte in the latter half of the 19th Century, just around the time when the same philosophy was introduced into Latin America. Despite various similarities surrounding the birth of 'philosophy' in these two regions, there is one crucial difference. In Japan there was a long tradition of Chinese learning, which not only encouraged Japanese scholars avidly to absorb new ideas, when it opened itself to the Western world after the long period of national seclusion (1639-1854), but also created in their minds some inner conflict as to which way to proceed. One of the scholars who tried to establish 'philosophy' at that time was NISHI Amane, a Japanese enlightenment thinker. The word 哲學 (tetsugaku) representing philosophy was his coinage. Although it occurred at first to him to translate Greek philosophia *more literally as 希哲學 (kitetsugaku), with 希 (ki, love) corresponding to* philo- *and 哲 (tetsu, wisdom) to* sophia, *he immediately discarded it and made Japanese 'philosophy' into 哲學 (tetsugaku, learning/science of wisdom), a far cry from the Socratic concept of philosophy, which is 'love/pursuit of wisdom driven by the awareness of ignorance'. Nishi wanted to have a new concept, which is both different from Chinese thought and serviceable as 'the science of sciences' to be taught at university-level education, in which he was deeply involved from the start when Japan began to learn from the Western world.*

His coinage was adopted by his friend, KATŌ Hiroyuki, as the name under which philosophy was to be taught at Tokyo University, when it was opened with Katō as its superintendent in 1877. It was from the curriculum of Tokyo University that the term 哲學 (zhexue in Chinese) entered the Chinese lexicon, so that it became established as the name for 'philosophy' throughout East Asia.

1. NISHI Amane and Philosophy as 希哲學 (Learning/Science of Loving Wisdom)

The Chinese and Japanese word representing 'philosophy', 哲學 (Cn. *zhexue,* Jn. *tetsugaku*),[2] which literally means 'learning/science of wisdom', is different from the Greek *philosophia* in its omission of *philo-* (love) and inclusion of 學 (Cn. *xue*, Jp. *gaku*, learning/science).[3] It was a coinage by a Japanese enlightenment thinker, NISHI Amane (西周, 1829-97), who coined many of the basic philosophical terms now in use on the basis of his understanding of Chinese classics. He studied in Holland in 1863-65 at the end of the Edo period (1603-1867), intending to introduce in Japan the whole system of Western studies.

He was one of the main members of 明六社 (*Meirokusha*), an enlightenment group established in 1873 (明治 6),[4] which was later developed into 東京學士會院 (*Tokyo gakushikaiin*, 1879, 明治 12), the predecessor of the present 日本学士院 (*Nihon gakushiin*), Japan Academy. Seven of the ten members of *Meirokusha* became leaders of *Tokyo gakushikaiin*: NISHI Amane, TSUDA Mamichi (津田眞道, 1829-1903), who studied in Holland with Nishi, FUKUZAWA Yukichi (福澤諭吉, 1834-1901), the first president of *Tokyo gakushikaiin* and the founder of Keio

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[2] Pronunciations are added mainly in the Japanese way (Jp.), except when specified as Chinese (Cn.).

[3] According to the data base of 西周『百學連環』 (NISHI Amane, *Hyakugaku renkan*) by 袁広泉 (Yuan Guangquan), provided by nDP, the English word that most commonly corresponds to 學 (*gaku*), independently employed, is 'science'. Although 學 is also used as the translation of 'knowledge', it is only once in translating "the branches of the knowledge' (Ōkubo (ed.) (1981) 191). The fact that Nishi defines philosophy in *Hyakugaku renkan* (Ōkubo (ed.) (1981) 146) as 'the science of sciences' with the gloss 學上諸學 suggests that 哲學 should be translated as 'science of wisdom'. But 學 can be used as the verb meaning 'to learn'. This is why I have decided to adopt 'learning/science' as the translation of 學, even though it is rather clumsy.

[4] The name 明六社 (*Meirokusha*) comes from its establishment in the 6th year (*roku nen* (六年)) of the *Meiji* (明治) period, with 社 (*sha*) meaning 'society' or 'club'.

University, KATŌ Hiroyuki (加藤弘之, 1836-1916), the first superintendent of Tokyo University, and three others.[5] They had encyclopedic knowledge, not only of Chinese classics but also of Western human as well as natural sciences, which they had avidly absorbed through their command of Dutch and other European languages. They laid the foundation of Japanese philosophical studies with the help of their grounding in Japanese, Chinese, and Western studies.[6]

As to the word 哲學 (*tetsugaku*), what first occurred to Nishi as the Chinese characters to represent philosophy was not 哲學, but 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*).[7] 希哲學, which literally means 'learning/science (學) of loving (希) wisdom (哲)', appears two times in Nishi's work: (1) in his short afterword to Tsuda's essay, entitled 性理論 (*Seiriron*), itself rather short, consisting of around two thousand characters, written in 1861 (文久 1), and (2) in a fragmentary draft for his lecture on the History of Western Philosophy, written before June of 1862 (文久 2), or sometime later.[8]

In the former he says that in contrast to the achievements in physics, chemistry, geography, instruments, etc., during the last one hundred years or so in Japan, the subject of 希哲學 (glossed as ヒロソヒ (*hirosohi*, philosophy)) has been neglected by Japanese people, so much so that they mistakenly say that although the West is advanced in natural sciences, it is lagging behind in human sciences; but Tsuda's understanding is such that he could develop a theory that surpasses Western wisdom.[9]

In the latter he says:[10]

… is the name started by a 賢人 (*kenjin*, wise person) called Pythagoras … after he first used the word ヒロソヒ (*hirosohi*, philosophy),[11] the word being

[5] They were KANDA Takahira (神田孝平, 1830-98), NAKAMURA Masanao (中村正直, 1832-91), MITSUKURI Shūhei (箕作秋坪, 1825-86).

[6] Asō (1942) 1-8.

[7] The information provided by Asō (1942) is most substantial.

[8] Asō (1942) 41-43 puts it before June, Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 611-613 a little later.

[9] In *Seiriron* Tsuda develops his materialistic view of the world and human nature (性, *sei*) and principle (理, *ri*), on the basis of 気 (*ki*), identified with Western ether, which fills the universe and constitutes the soul (魂, *tamashii*), residing in the brain (Tsuda (2001), vol.1, 3-22, Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 12-15). Cf. Hazama (2011) 602 [139], (2012) 4-5. 理 is transliterated as '*li*' in Chinese, but as '*ri*' in Japanese (in Japanese both *li* and *ri* sounds are represented as り in kana).

[10] 西洋哲學史の講案断片 (*Seiyō tetsugaku-shi no kōan dampen*) in Ōkubo (ed.) (1960),16-17 and in Asō (1942) 40-1. The subject of the first sentence is missing.

understood to mean 'to like 賢 (*ken*, wise)'. Around that time there was a 賢人 (*kenjin*, wise person) called Socrates, who also employed this word, while 賢者 (*kenja*, wise people)[12] around that time who engaged in this 學 (*gaku*, learning/science) called themselves Sophists, whose meaning is 賢哲 (*kentetsu*, wise), this being a very prideful title, while Socrates modestly called himself a ヒロソフル (*hirosofur*, philosopher). This word means a person who loves (愛する, *aisuru*) virtue of wisdom (賢徳, *kentoku*), and is supposed to be the same in meaning as 希賢 (*kiken*, loving wisdom).[13] This very philosopher (ヒロソフル, *hirosofur*) was indeed a great person, worthy to be called the founder of 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*), comparable in that region [in Greece] to our Confucius (吾孔夫子).

2. From 希哲學 (*Kitetsugaku*) to 哲學 (*Tetsugaku*)

However, Nishi soon stopped using 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*), already in his letter to MATSUOKA Rinjirō (松岡鏻次郎, 1820-98), written about one month *before* he left for Holland (1862, 文久 2).[14] In this letter he uses the transcription of 'philosophy' with the addition of 學 (*gaku*, learning/science), and says: 'ヒロソヒ之學 (*hirosohi no gaku*, learning/science of philosophy) is superior to the Confucianism of 程朱 (*Teishu*, Ch'eng brothers and Chu-tzu)[15] in explaining 性命之理 (*seimei no ri*, the principle of the nature of each thing)'. He continued to use the transcription until his work 開題門 (*Kaidaimon*), written sometime between 1863 (文久 3) and 1865 (慶應 1), during his study in Holland or just after returning to Japan. There he employs 斐盧蘇比 (*hirosohī*). The very first words of *Kaidaimon* are 東土謂之儒、西洲謂之斐盧蘇比、皆明天道而立人極、其実一也, meaning that 'Confucianism in the East and Philosophy in the West both clarify 天道 (*tendō*,

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[11] Nishi erased 'after he called his comrade ヒロソフル (*hirosofur*, philosopher)' and changed it into 'after he first used the word ヒロソヒ (*hirosohi*, philosophy)'.

[12] 人々 (*hitobito*, people) is erased and changed into 賢者.

[13] As I point out later, 希賢 comes from 通書 (*Tongshu*) of 周茂叔 (Zhou Maoshu = 周敦頤 Zhou Dunyi, 1017-73).

[14] 西洋哲學に對する關心を述べた松岡鏻次郎宛の書翰 (*Seiyō tetsugaku ni taisuru kanshin wo nobeta Matsuoka Rinjirō ateno shokan*, Letter to Matsuoka Rinjirō concerning my interest in Western Philosophy) in Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 8. It was written on the 15th of May, 1862.

[15] Namely, Neo-Confucianism (宋明理學, or 理學).

the way of heaven) and establish 人極 (*jinkyoku*, human principle/standard). Thus they are in reality one'.[16]

But Nishi was more inclined to the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte in the West than to Confucianism in the East. Although Chinese classics supplied him with a few words as candidates for the translation of philosophy, he rather evaded such words tinged with Confucian influence, for example, 理學 (*rigaku*), 窮理學 (*kyūrigaku*), and 希賢學 (*kikengaku*).

Nishi's final choice was 哲學 (*tetsugaku*). He returned from Holland in December of 1865 (慶應 1), and the next year in September he was called by Shōgun TOKUGAWA Yoshinobu (徳川慶喜, 1837-1913) to Kyoto. There he was asked by his friend, KIMURA Sōzō (木村宗三), to teach a small number of students Kimura had, while he was away as a member of the delegation to the Paris International Exposition of 1867. After Nishi moved his residence in Kyoto to Kyōjakuji temple in February of 1867 (慶應 3), the number of students increased so that nearly 500 retainers of feudal lords gathered to listen to his lectures on Western law and philosophy.[17] But on the 9th of November, 1867, Shōgun Yoshinobu proposed to return political power to the Emperor, and the Meiji period started in 1868. So the time Nishi could teach in Kyoto was very short, but notes and memos he prepared for this 1867 series of lectures resulted in his 百一新論 (*Hyakuichi shinron*), published in 1874 (明治 7), in which the word 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) appeared for the first time in a published form. Thus, in spite of its appearance in 1874, the time when he decided on 哲學 as the translation of *philosophia* was much earlier, 1867 at the latest.

In 復某氏書 too, written in February, 1870 (明治 3), 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) was employed.[18] He used 哲學 also in a series of lectures entitled 百學連環 (*Hyakugaku*

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[16] Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 19.

[17] Ōkubo (ed.) (1966) 757-759. Cf. Asō (1942) 109ff.

[18] 復某氏書, which means 'in reply to somebody' is a document, written in his hometown, Tsuwano, as a criticism against the learning/science of Japanese classics (國學, *kokugaku*). There he says that the 道 (Cn. *dao, tao*, Jp. *michi, dō*, way, road) of Confucius and Mencius is almost the same as the 哲學 (philosophy) of the West, and that this is naturally the case because they both come from 人理 (*jinri*, human principle), which is the same all over the world. The word 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) appears in Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 305, and also in 302 and 307; 西哲の學ヒ (*Seitetsu no manabi*, meaning 'learning/science of Western Philosophy') appears in 299.

renkan) given from 1870 (明治 3) to 1871 (明治 4) at his private school, 育英舍 (*Ikueisha*), established in November, 1870.[19]

Thus Nishi's change of mind from 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*) to 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) was very quick. 希哲學 was short-lived (alive in 1861-62), followed by some period of indetermination (1862-65), suggested by his use of transcriptions of 'philosophy', and it was in 1867 or earlier that he adopted 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) as his final choice.

It is interesting that in contrast to Nishi, Tsuda continued to use 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*) even in his 開化を進る方法を論ず (*Kaika wo susumuru hōhō wo ronzu*), published in 1874 (明治 7). Tsuda was Nishi's close friend. They joined 蕃書調所 (*Bansho shirabesho*, Institute for the Study of Western Documents) together in 1857 (安政 4), went together to Holland in 1863-65, and were fellow-members of 明六社 (*Meirokusha*). Tsuda may have wanted to cherish the memory of their friendship going back to 1857, when they invented together the new word 希哲學.[20]

But what Nishi sought after was different. As mentioned above, when he tried to find an appropriate word for *philosophia*, it was possible for him to adopt some words already in use in Confucianism. But he refused them. This refusal seems to come from the same motive as his discarding of 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*). He concludes 百一新論 (*Hyakuichi shinron*) with the following remark:[21]

> The thing that clarifies 天道人道 (*tendō jindō*, the way of heaven and the way of humanity) and establishes the method for teaching is ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*, philosophy), which I translate as 哲學 (*tetsugaku*), the subject discussed since antiquity in the West. I have so far talked about teaching (教, *oshie*) under the title of 百教ハ一致也 (*hyakkō wa icchi nari*, a hundred teachings become one),

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[19] Cf. Asō (1942) 240. The school was closed around 1873 (明治 6).

[20] Cf. Asō (1942) 46-47. Between 1854 and 1874 Tsuda seems to have groped for appropriate words for philosophy. Toward the end of his unpublished essay, 天外獨語 (*Tengai dokugo*), written around 1861 (文久 1), four Chinese characters appear in three places: (1) 求 (seek); (2) 聖 (sacred) written on top of 知 (knowledge) (probably rather than '知 on top of 聖'); (3) 學 (learning/science). Along (1) to (3) on the right side there is a gloss, サトリヲモトムルマナビ (*satori wo motomuru manabi*, learning/science seeking *satori*), but there is another gloss, ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*, philosophy), on the left side along (1) and (2). Ōkubo (1997) 10 sees here Tsuda's adoption of 求聖學 as the translation of philosophy. But it is uncertain which combination of characters was actually intended by Tsuda as the translation of philosophy, 求知, 求知學, 求聖, or 求聖學. 求知 and 求聖 remind us of 希賢 and 希聖 employed by Zhou Maoshu (n.26 below), and both 知 and 聖 can be read as サトリ (*satori*).

[21] Nishi (1874); Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 289.

and if you look for its kind, 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) is indeed this very kind. Concerning other teachings, it is usually the case that one teaching's adoption is another's rejection, and in order to survey 百教 (*hyakkyō*, a hundred teachings) and to clarify that they boil down to the same thing, you need to have a very elevated viewpoint and look down over them. Thus in this kind of philosophical (哲學上ノ, *tetsugaku jō no*) argument you have to argue about both 物理 (*butsuri*, nature of things) and 心理 (*shinri*, nature of mind), but while arguing about them together, you must not confound them.

百一新論 (*Hyakuichi shinron*) means 'New Essay on One Hundred as One', and 'one hundred' appears also in the title of his 百學連環 (*Hyakugaku renkan*), whose literal meaning is 'One hundred learnings/sciences cycle'. That is to say, this work was intended as an 'Encyclopedia', *Enkyklios paideia* in Greek.[22] In this work he contrasts Common Science (普通學, *futsūgaku*), like History, Geography, Literature, and Mathematics, with Particular Science (殊別學, *shubetsugaku*), which consists of Intellectual Science (心理上學, *shinrijōgaku*) and Physical Science (物理上學, *butsurijōgaku*), and regards Intellectual Science as consisting of three disciplines, Theology (神理學, *shinrigaku*), Philosophy (哲學, *tetsugaku*), and Politics & Law (政事法律, *seiji hōritsu*).[23] His evaluation of Philosophy is very high. At the beginning of the part entitled 'Philosophy 哲學' he says as follows, after explaining the etymology of philosophy:[24]

Some people call 哲學 [glossed as ヒロソヒー *hirosohī*, philosophy] by the name of 理學 (Cn. *lixue*, Jp. *rigaku*) or 窮理學 (*kyūrigaku*).[25]

The person who called this 學 (*gaku*, learning/science) ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*) was Pythagoras, and the name comes from adoring (愛し, *aishi*) and loving (希ひ, *negai*) 賢 (*ken*, wise), and wishing oneself to become 賢.

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[22] Ōkubo (ed.) (1981), 11 and 41. I referred to two passages, because there are two sets of 百學連環 (*Hyakugaku renkan*), both of which are notes taken by NAGAMI Yutaka (永見裕, 1839-1902), Nishi's disciple and son-in-law. They are somewhat different, and in my translation I consulted both of them.

[23] Ōkubo (ed.) (1981), 111.

[24] Ōkubo (ed.) (1981), 145-146.

[25] Concerning the use of 理學, 窮理 and some other words like 愛知學 (*aichigaku*) to represent philosophy in China and Japan, with the earliest cases by missionaries in both countries, and concerning the use and establishment of 哲學 in China, and also the preference of 理學 to 哲學 by 中江兆民 (NAKAE Chōmin) and 三宅雪嶺 (MIYAKE Setsurei), cf. Saitō (1977) 327-331, 345-348; Yamamuro (1988); Chen (2011).

Later on there appeared people who engaged in this 學 (*gaku*) and who called themselves 'Sophists', implying that they have become 賢者 (*kenja*, wise people) so as to be able to teach (學ふ, *manabu*) this subject, being actually 'Sophists' [glossed as 僞學者, *nisegakusha* (impostors of learning/ science)]. However, there was a person called Socrates in Greece, and he was content with engaging in what is called ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*), and continued to do so.

Because ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*) means 聖希天 賢希聖 士希賢,[26] to quote from 周茂叔 (Zhou Maoshu), it would be possible to translate ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*) literally and say 希賢學 (*kikengaku*, learning/science of loving wisdom).

In England they use ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*) in various senses; thus, to call 格物學 (*kakubutsugaku*), they use the name of 'Natural Philosophy' or 'Philosophy of Mechanical',[27] though this is only in England.

The definition of ヒロソヒー (*hirosohī*) is 'Philosophy is the science of sciences (也學上諸學)',[28] meaning 'science (學) standing over (上たる, *uetaru*) the sciences (諸學, *shogaku*)'.

Here, in spite of his reference to Socrates, philosophy is no longer simple Socratic love or pursuit of wisdom driven by the awareness of ignorance.

It is noteworthy that when Nishi refers to Socrates in *Hyakugaku renkan*, he no longer mentions Confucius, as he did in the fragmentary draft for his lecture in 1862 (文久 2). He wants to separate philosophy from Confucianism. Although he refers here to the possibility of translating philosophy as 理學 (Cn. *lixue*, Jp. *rigaku*), 窮理學 (*kyūrigaku*), or 希賢學 (*kikengaku*), he refers to them just to reject them. The same attitude is observable in his 生性發蘊 (*Seisei hatsuun*, 1873, 明治 6),[29] where he adds a note to the word 哲學 (*tetsugaku*). In this note after explaining the etymology of philosophy he elucidates its meaning by referring to 士希賢 as he did

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[26] Jp. *seikiken kenkisei shikiken*, meaning 'Sacred loves Heaven, Wise loves Sacredness, Gentleman loves Wisdom'. These words come from 通書 (*Tongshu*) of Zhou Maoshu.

[27] 'Natural Philosophy' and 'Philosophy of Mechanical' are Nishi's own expressions.

[28] The English sentence 'Philosophy is the science of sciences', glossed as 也學上諸學, is Nishi's own.

[29] This essay consists of his summary of 性理ノ學 (*seirinogaku*, psychology) and the explanation of Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte (墺胡斯, 坤度), based on George Henry Lewes, *Biographical History of Philosophy*, and *Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences*, including his translation from these two works.

so in *Hyakugaku renkan*, and says that although this subject, which deals especially with 理 (*ri*, principle), can be translated as 理學理論 (*rigakuriron*), he translates it as 哲學, evading the misleading translation and separating it from the Eastern Confucianism.[30] Of course even after these works he now and then employs, for example, 理學 in his writings, but it is just to explain the meaning of 哲學 by relating it to Chinese tradition.

理學 (*rigaku*) is a word that has a complicated background. Although it was used in the tradition of Confucianism, especially in Neo-Confucianism, it was also employed to designate the newly introduced study of Western sciences.[31] For example, the introductory note of volume 1 of 気海観瀾廣義 (*Kikaikanran kōgi*) by KAWAMOTO Kōmin (川本幸民, 1810-71), which is based upon the translation of such works as Johannes Buijs, *Natuurkundig Schoolboek*, begins with the following remark:

> ヒシカ (*hisika*, physica) is ナチュールキュンデ (*Nachuurkunde* [Natuurkunde]) in Dutch, and our predecessors translated it as 理學 (*rigaku*). It is the 學 (*gaku*, learning/science) that exhausts (窮ムル, *kiwamuru*) 理 (*ri*, principle) of 天地萬物 (*tenchi bambutsu*, all things in heaven and earth).

There were people who regarded the Western 窮理學 (*kyūrigaku*) or Natuurkunde as mundane. In their attempt to set Confucianism as the proper location of the genuine 窮理學, they chose 理學 (*rigaku*) as the translation of philosophy, arguing for the superiority of the pursuit of the Eastern 理 (*ri*, principle) over the Western 理 (*ri*).[32] For example, NAKAE Chōmin (中江兆民, 1847-1901), a political theorist who introduced the thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Japan, continued to use 理學. He published in 1886 (明治 19) two books, whose title contains 理學, that is to say, 理學沿革史 (*Rigaku enkakushi*), which was his translation of A. Fouillée, *Histoire de la Philosophie* (1879, 2nd ed.), and 理學鉤玄 (*Rigaku kōgen*). In the latter, at the very beginning of Chapter 1,[33] he says that although it is possible to translate it as 哲學 (*tetsugaku*), he rather follows 易經窮理 (*ekikyō kyūri*) and translates it as 理學.

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[30] Ōkubo (ed.) (1960) 31. On Nishi's attitude to 理 (Cn. *li*, Jp. *ri*) in Neo-Confucianism, see also Lin (2013).

[31] Yamamuro (1988); also cf. Watanabe (2008) 29-30.

[32] Cf. Yamamuro (1988) 469: Watanabe (2008) 30.

[33] Chapter 1 is entitled 理學 [glossed as フィロソフィー (*phirosophī*)] ノ意義並ニ旨趣 (*rigaku no igi narabini shishu*, the meaning of philosophy and its contents).

However, even Nakae came to employ 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) at the end of his life. In 一年有半 (*Ichinen yūhan*), which means 'one and a half years', the remainder of his life suggested by his doctor, he says as follows:[34]

> There has been no 哲學 in Japan, MOTOORI Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801) and HIRATA Atsutane (平田篤胤, 1776-1843) being mere archaeologists with no understanding of the 天地性命の理 (*tenchi seimei no ri*, the principle of the nature of heaven and earth), ITŌ Jinsai (伊東仁斎, 1627-1705) and OGYŪ Sorai (荻生祖徠, 1666-1728) being mere philologists, and some original Buddhist monks being religious figures, not genuine philosophers. As to people today, although KATŌ Hiroyuki and INOUE Tetsujirō (井上哲次郎, 1855-1944) profess to be 哲學家 (*tetsugakuka*, philosophers) and are regarded as such by people in general, they actually do nothing but introduce the doctrines they have learnt from the West.

Although Nakae and Nishi were different in their appreciation of the traditional Chinese and Japanese wisdom in comparison with the Western wisdom, they had in common the attitude to regard 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) as some elevated learning, in whose new wineskin something marvelous and profound should be put. This common attitude made them drop 希 (*ki*, love) from 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*, learning/science of loving wisdom), turning philosophy, whose literal meaning is 'loving wisdom', into 哲學 (*tetsugaku*, learning/science of wisdom), a far cry from the modesty of Socrates, who steadfastly remained a 'philosopher' (a person loving wisdom). Some may regard it as a deterioration into the pride of the Sophists, and others as an elevation to 'the science of sciences'. However it may be, we can say that philosophy was destined to lose the topmost part 希 (love), when Nishi added to its essential body, 希哲 (*kitetsu*, love of wisdom), an extraneous element, 學 (*gaku*, learning/science), which seems incompatible with 希 (love) as it is understood, for example, in Plato's *Symposium* (200a-204c).

In the second section (學術技藝, *gakujutsu gigei*, science and arts) of the Introduction (總論, *sōron*) of *Hyakugaku renkan*, Nishi comments on the character 學 (*gaku*, learning/science) as follows:

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[34] The work was published in September of 1901 (明治 34), about three months before his death. The following is a summary translation.

> The character 學 (*gaku*) is in its nature originally a verb, 道を學ふ (*michi wo manabu*, learn the way), … thus representing action, and rarely employed as a noun, for which the character 道 (Cn. *dao, tao*, Jp. *michi, dō*, way, road) is mainly used. The character 學 used to mean 'a master's teaching a child', the shape of 學 representing 'a master's guarding and teaching a child'.[35] In ancient China they employed two characters 道藝 (*dōgei*, way-art), and later used 術 (*jutsu*, skill), which comes from 行 of 'goes (行く, *iku*) the way (道)'. 學 and 道 belong to the same group (and the character 術 belongs to the same group as 藝 (*gei*)), …[36]

Whether Nishi's etymology of 學 (*gaku*, learning/science) is correct or not, it is certain that what Nishi and others tried to find in philosophy was some established learning/science (*gaku*), and when Nishi decided on the translation of philosophy as 哲學 (*tetsugaku*), he was thinking of philosophy as the way (道, *michi*), or the art (術, *jutsu*), or the learning/science (學, *gaku*), to be reached as the result of investigation, rather than as the love of wisdom (*philosophia*), which consists in the very act of investigation.

3. 哲學 (*Tetsugaku*) and the University

It may be interesting and instructive here to compare Latin America and Japan, located on the opposite sides of the globe, but equally distant from Portugal and Spain, the most powerful countries at the time when both regions were first exposed to Western philosophy. It was around 1550 that Jesuit missionaries arrived in each region and tried to teach Christianity. However, the ways each region went on after that were different. Latin America was colonized and conquerors founded schools and openly taught philosophy there.

In Japan the Portuguese first arrived in 1543 (at the island of Tanegashima), followed in 1549 by Francis Xavier, who tried to teach Christianity as the first Jesuit missionary. The spread of Christianity would have been accompanied by the spread of philosophical ideas. However, a series of events shut off that possibility: the edict expelling missionaries (1587) by TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉, 1536/7-98); persecutions that followed it, including the execution of twenty six Catholics (1597);

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[35] The lower part 子 stands for a child.
[36] Ōkubo (ed.) (1981) 12 and 42.

the Shimabara Rebellion (島原の乱, 1637) and its suppression; and finally *Sakoku* (鎖国, Policy of National Seclusion, 1639-1854). Only a small door remained open as an entry point for practical sciences at Hirado (平戸) in Nagasaki, where Holland was allowed to trade with Japan.

It was the arrival of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) with the Black Ships (黒船) in 1853 (嘉永 6) that forced Japan to stop the seclusion policy. Shocked by the advancement of Western technologies, the Tokugawa Shogunate immediately decided to enlarge its small office of translation (established in 1811, 文化 8) into 洋學所 (*Yōgakusho*, Institute for Western Studies) in 1855 (安政 2). In the next year (1856, 安政 3) it started to expand *Yōgakusho*, renaming it 蕃書調所 (*Bansho shirabesho*, Institute for the Study of Western Documents), and it became a centre of learning after its opening in January, 1857 (安政 4), with 191 Shogunate-related students, two professors and several people to assist them, including KAWAMOTO Kōmin. It was further strengthened in May with the addition of three assistants, including Nishi and Tsuda. The name 希哲學 (*kitetsugaku*) must have been born through the friendship of these two talented scholars at *Bansho shirabesho*, which was virtually a university-like institute, where research as well as translation of Western texts was intensively conducted.[37]

As was mentioned above, the kind of philosophy Nishi put most emphasis on was the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte, which sought to achieve order and progress on the basis of scientific developments. In Latin America too, around the same time Comte's philosophy, which was totally different from the kind of philosophy taught during the colonization period, was introduced and became influential, as is clear from the flag of Brazil officially adopted in 1889, with a white equatorial band containing the motto 'Ordem e Progresso', which was inspired by Comte's positivism slogan, 'L'amour pour principe et l'ordre pour base, le progrès pour but'.

Philosophy as the pursuit of wisdom is closely related with education, which in turn is related with politics, especially in countries trying to achieve order and progress, making use of philosophy. The people who got involved in 明六社 (*Meirokusha*) and 東京學士會院 (*Tokyo gakushikaiin*) were also deeply involved in politics at that time.[38] For their purpose of modernizing Japan, the mere pursuit of wisdom was not enough. They needed such teaching as might enable Japan to emulate Western countries. They tried to educate Japanese young people through

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[37] Asō (1942) 21-26, 45-48.
[38] Asō (1942) 7-8.

what they had learnt from the West. Fukuzawa engaged in teaching in a 蘭學塾 (*Rangakujuku*, Dutch Learning School) in 1858 (安政 5), and, in order to enlighten young people further, developed it into 慶應義塾 (*Keiōgijuku*), so named because it was opened in 慶應 (*Keiō*) 4 (1868), and it later became Keio University. When Tokyo University was opened in 1877 (明治 10), with the offspring of *Bansho shirabesho* constituting part of it, Katō became its superintendent, and he borrowed the coinages of Nishi, and thus established 哲學 (*tetsugaku*, philosophy), 心理學 (*shinrigaku*, psychology), and 論理學 (*ronrigaku*, logic) as the names of the subjects to be taught at university.[39] When Tokyo University published in 1881 (明治 14) *the Dictionary of Philosophy* under the title of 哲學字彙 (*Tetsugaku jii*), 'philosophy' and 'philosopher' were given the names 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) and 哲學士 (*tetsugakushi*) as their equivalents.[40] 哲學 was also used for 経験哲學 (*keiken tetsugaku* = Empirical Philosophy), 獨斷哲學 (*dokudan tetsugaku* = Dogmatic Philosophy), and 實驗哲學 (*jikken tetsugaku* = Positive Philosophy). However, 理學 (*rigaku*) was also still in use to represent philosophy, as we can see in 批評理學 (*hihyō rigaku*) for Critical Philosophy, 實踐理學 (*jissen rigaku*) for Practical Philosophy, and 懷疑理學 (*kaigi rigaku*) for Sceptical Philosophy.

The term 哲學 (Cn. *zhexue*, Jp. *tetsugaku*) entered the Chinese lexicon from the curriculum of Tokyo University. 日本新政考 (Cn. *Riben xinzheng kao*, Jp. *Nihon shinsei kō*, 1888) by 顧厚焜 (Gu Houkun), and 東遊日記 (Jp. *Tōyū nikki*, 1894) by 黃慶澄 (Huang Qingcheng) mention 哲學. But it must have been especially 日本國志 (Cn. *Riben guoshi*, Jp. *Nihon kokushi*), 40 volumes, by 黃遵憲 (Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905) that was decisive. When Huang worked as a clerk at the first Chinese Legation in Japan, for 4 years from November of 1877 (明治 10), which was the very year when Tokyo University was opened, he collected materials and wrote notes for this voluminous work. He completed its 40 volumes in May, 1887, and had the first print made in 1890, with the official publication appearing in 1895.[41] Volume 32 of 日本國志 deals with the studies of Chinese classics (漢學, *kangaku*) and of Western learning (西學, *seigaku*) in Japan, and talks about the introduction of *seigaku* into Japan, including the study abroad of Tsuda and Nishi in Holland, and the study of 哲學 at Tokyo University.[42]

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[39] Asō (1942) 315-317. 哲學 (*tetsugaku*) as a subject had another name 道義學 (*dōgigaku*), probably because the term 哲學 was still unfamiliar to many people. Nishi himself employed 道義學 to represent ethics, not philosophy.

[40] *Tetsugaku jii* (1881) 66-67.

[41] Cf. Zhang (1999) 183, 234 n.1.

[42] Cf. Huang (1898), vol. 32, 17-18.

This was how 哲學 came to be employed to represent philosophy throughout East Asia.[43]

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[43] Cf. Bian (2008) 146; Kōsaka (2008) 160.

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