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THE FOURTH SAGE OF TOYO UNIVERSITY (I)



KANT 300
カント誕生300周年

KANT'S THEORY OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE IDEAS OF THE PHILOSOPHY ACADEMY

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- ⁰ Rainer SCHULZER, Toyo University, Editor of International Inoue Enryo Research. The picture of Kant is part of an engraved image of the Four Sages in the library (Citadel of the Absolute) of the Temple Garden of Philosophy. The Nakano Museum of History and Folklore generously digitized its rubbed off copy (拓本) out of which Kant's portrait was cut and reproduced here, courtesy of the Museum.

Introduction: The Fourth Sage of Toyo University

Had INOUE Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) confined his choice of the sages Socrates (d. 399 BCE), Confucius (d. 479 BCE), and Buddha (c. 5 cent. BCE) as representatives of the great philosophical traditions of the world, it would most likely not have provoked many questions. However, the fact that he also included an early modern philosopher with the ancient sages is not only in itself curious, it also begs the question of why he chose Immanuel KANT (1724–1804) rather than René DESCARTES (1596–1650), or Georg W. F. HEGEL (1770–1831) as the fourth sage.

I believe that Enryō's inclusion of an early modern philosopher as one of his sages was, above all, an expression of his strong sense that the whole world was undergoing unprecedented changes—that it was no longer enough to live by drawing exclusively from the fountains of ancient wisdom. "Modern times" meant a difference in quality that had to be taken into account by recognizing the progress made in scholarship and science.

But why Kant? The fact that Enryō selected his Four Sages just after his graduation from Tokyo University in 1885 reduces the possible influences on his choice to his student years. There is no evidence that Enryō had acquired a deep understanding of Kantian philosophy while studying at the university. The philosophy curriculum of Tokyo University did not yet emphasize reading original texts as we are used to doing today. As is also discernible from Enryō's early work, *Epitome of Philosophy* 『哲学要領』 (vol. 1),¹ Western philosophy was approached mainly from a historical or developmental perspective. One of the works on the history of Western philosophy that was used as a textbook in the early years of Tokyo University was written by the German scholar Albert SCHWEGLER (1st. Germ. ed. 1848).² As we know from his student notes, Enryō used the translation by James H. STIRLING titled *Handbook of the History of Philosophy* (1st. Eng. ed. 1867)³—in which Schwegler's evaluation of Kant reads as follows:

¹ IS 1: 87–149. The writings of INOUE Enryō are cited according to the 『井上円了選集』 [Inoue Enryō selected writings] (Abr. IS), 25 vols. (Tokyo: 東洋大学, 1987–2004). All translations are by the author.

² SHIBATA Takayuki 柴田隆行. 『哲学史成立の現場』 [Where the history of philosophy developed] (Tokyo: Kōbundō 弘文堂, 1997), pp. 57–76.

³ Rainer SCHULZER. 「井上円了『稿録』の研究」 [Research on Inoue Enryō's "Notebook"], *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryō Center* 19 (2010): pp. 270–319.

But now Kant appeared, and again united in a common bed the two branches [of idealism and realism] that, isolated from each other, seemed on the point of being lost in the sands. Kant is the great restorer of philosophy, again conjoining into unity and totality the one sided philosophical endeavours of those who preceded him. (209)

It is almost a certainty that Enryō read this very passage. Schwegler's perspective on the history of philosophy as developing in dialectical patterns and progressing to ever more encompassing philosophical systems is Hegelian in character and coincides very much with the views of Earnest F. FENOLLOSA (1853–1909), Enryō's philosophy teacher at Tokyo University. In his lectures, Fenollosa emphasized the historical importance of the *Critique of Pure Reason* as groundbreaking for German Idealism, and he also referred to Kant as "the sage of Königsberg."⁴

At that time Enryō himself was electrified by the discovery that similar dialectical patterns as seen in Western philosophy could be extrapolated from Buddhist intellectual history. If Buddhism could be reconstructed on its own terms according to the model of "existence, emptiness, and the mean" 有空中, in the same way that Western philosophy exhibited the structure of "thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis" 正反合, it would then prove the genuine philosophical, evolving character of Buddhism.⁵ Therefore, at this time of his career, Enryō did not need to know more about Kant than the fact that he had developed a philosophical synthesis that was regarded as epoch making in paving the way for even more elevated and encompassing speculative thought.

For this reason, I am rather skeptical towards the somewhat forced attempts to find traces of Kantian thought in Enryō's philosophy.⁶ In fact, I believe that even Enryō himself would not have appreciated such research, but rather would have dismissed it as "dead learning" 死学. Enryō did not set up his Four Sages for us to inquire why he did so and what he meant by it. I believe that Enryō created the image of the Four Sages mainly as an encouragement for learning. The Four Sages are his framework of comparative philosophy. Enryō wanted us to discuss the heritage of world philosophy

4 MURAYAMA Yasushi 村山保史 et al., eds. *Fenollosa's Lectures on History of Philosophy* 「フェノロサ哲学史講義：高嶺三吉フェノロサ講義自筆ノート・清沢満之フェノロサ講義自筆ノート」 [Handwritten notes of Fenollosa's lectures by Takamine Sankichi and Kiyozawa Manshi] (Otani University, 2016), vol. 2, p. 133. Vol. 1 ed. by IKEGAMI Tetsuji 池上哲司 et al. (Otani University, 2013).

5 Rainer SCHULZER. *Inoue Enryō: A Philosophical Portrait* (SUNY Press, 2019), pp. 98–101.

6 SHIBATA Takayuki 柴田隆行. 「井上門了とカント、再考」 [Inoue Enryō and Kant reconsidered], *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryō Center* 20 (2011): pp. 3–25. MURAYAMA Yasushi 村山保史. 「井上門了とカント」 [Inoue Enryō and Kant], *International Inoue Enryō Research* 8 (2020): pp. 187–210.

in a constructive, forward-looking, and potentially innovative way. This is the very approach Enryō himself followed, and which he expressed with his keyword *katsuron* 活論 ("living" or "animating discourse").

The same applies to all the other thinkers, philosophers, and sages who can be found in the Temple Garden of Philosophy. Enryō did not choose the prolific writers HIRATA Atsutane 平田篤胤, HAYASHI Razan 林羅山, and Shaku Gyōnen 釈凝然 as the Three Japanese Erudites because he himself had read all of their books. He pointed us to the fact that there is indeed a lot more to discover. Therefore, I regard Enryō as a *gakuso* 学祖 (founder of learning) in the very precise sense of the word—that is, he created a groundwork for further philosophical research. The mission Enryō bequeathed to us is that we examine—in a philosophically constructive way—what can be made of the global horizon of world philosophy he opened up, instead of confining ourselves to analyzing his own writings to the last detail.

With regard to Chinese thought, Western philosophy, and, of course, Buddhism, there is certainly high quality research being pursued at Toyo University today. Yet, most of this research is conducted within the narrow focus of a mainly philological or historical perspective. Enryō probably would not have been happy about this tendency. He wanted us to keep a broad outlook that would enable us to select—and focus our discussions on—ideas that could be seminal for future philosophy. So I very much believe that Toyo University should be a place where the various philosophical traditions are not only researched, but compared and critically evaluated. Enryō founded a school with a remarkable mission—a mission that, despite its relevance, is underrepresented in global academia today.

I decided to write a series of essays about Kant because even today some scholars at Toyo University appear somewhat puzzled by his presence among the ancient sages. The upcoming 300th anniversary of Immanuel Kant's birthday in 2024 provides a good opportunity to give some reasons for considering Kant as a great asset of this university. To that end, rather than recommending to read his notoriously difficult *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781/87), I would like to point out some less well known aspects of Kant's writings in order to enrich our understanding of the singular founding spirit of Toyo University. I am convinced that Enryō did his school a huge favor by following his intuition in selecting Kant as representative of the modern era in world philosophy.

My contribution to the Kant Anniversary at Toyo University comes in three parts:

- 1) Kant's Theory of the University and the Ideas of the Philosophy Academy⁷
- 2) Enlightenment and Superstition: Kant on Ghosts⁸
- 3) Eternal Peace: Immanuel Kant vs. Katō Hiroyuki

Kant's Theory of the University and the Ideas of the Philosophy Academy

In the first of my KANT 300 anniversary essays, I want to shed light on Kant's theory of the university and its significance with regard to the founding ideas of the Philosophy Academy (as was the name of Toyo University before 1906). The epoch-making character of Kant's theory of the university in his 1798 work, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, will become clear by looking at the relationship between philosophy and the European university. Therefore, before discussing that work I will briefly outline the history of the philosophical faculty in European academia. Based on Kant's understanding of the position of philosophy in the university, I will continue with a few observations about the foundation of the University of Berlin and of the University of Tokyo. After this "tour" through the history of the university, I will conclude with five points reflecting on Enryō's founding ideas of Toyo University in light of the preceding outline.

I. The Emancipation of Philosophy in the History of the European University

The Origin of the European University

It cannot be said that the European university was born out of the spirit of philosophy in any direct way. Universities in medieval Europe were originally founded as legal entities. The underlying legal idea was the concept of the *corporation*—the idea of grasping and treating a certain group of people as if they were one person. In explicit form, this idea of thinking of an institution as being analogous to a single person is first seen in Plato's dialogue, *Republic* (368e–369a). Plato's political considerations in the *Republic* start out from the idea that the individual virtue of justice can best be understood by thinking of the *polis* (city-state) as a great human being—that is, as a subject on a higher level. In Roman law, Plato's analogy between the individual and the state came

⁷ Revised lecture given at the Philosophy Shrine Ceremony 哲学堂祭 (*Tetsugaku-dō-sai*) in November 2014.

⁸ Revised text of the special lecture given at the 11th Conference of the International Association for Inoue Enryō Research (Toyo University, September 2022).

to be applied not only to city-states and colonies, but also to professional, religious, or political associations, thereby giving rise to the Latin terms *corpus*, *collegium*, and *universitas*. The term "corporation," derived from *corpus* (body), still contains the original idea in that its multiple members are treated as being one single entity.⁹

The Roman legal concept of the corporation was received and refined by medieval European jurisprudence, before it became the legal basis for the university. A corporation established by a plurality of individuals transcends them by being treated as a *legal entity* (or a *juristic person*) in its own right, with its own obligations. Having a meaning similar to corporation, the Latin word *universitas* etymologically signifies "[a plurality] turned into one," thereby reflecting the idea of a "whole." This whole, or this single entity, could refer to associations of various kinds; it was not restricted to learned societies.

It was at the turn of the 12th to the 13th century in Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, among others, that students and teachers were united into *universitates* for the first time. Students and teachers were united in civic corporations in the same way as the professional guilds of artisans and merchants. The common denominator of the university was that its members were learning and learned people. This marked the actual birth of the European university as a legal institution. By 1300, fifteen universities had been founded in Italy, Spain, France, and England. And by 1500, over sixty universities existed across most parts of Europe.¹⁰

The network of universities in medieval Europe not only used Latin as their common scholarly language, they also recognized each other's academic degrees. The institution of the university could thereby transcend not only the life of its individual members, but also the lineages of teachers and students. If one school of thought or field of knowledge had no successor at a certain university, it was possible to bring in scholars with degrees from other universities in order to continue a particular strand of studies. In this way, the university had not only survived for more than 800 years as a legal entity, but, by the 20th century, had become a *global* institutional network.¹¹

This is not to say that the level of scholarship and the range of disciplines pursued in the early medieval European universities were particularly advanced when com-

⁹ W. KRAWIEZ. "Körperschaft" in vol. 4 of *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 12 vols. ed. by Joachim RITTER et al. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1971–2007).

¹⁰ Jaques VERGER. "Grundlagen," in vol. 1 (Mittelalter), pp. 49–79 in *Die Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. by Walter RÜEGG (München: Beck, 1993). See pp. 50–51, 70–72.

¹¹ Edwards SHILS and John ROBERTS. "Die Übernahme europäischer Universitätsmodelle," pp. 145–195 in vol. 3 (*Vom 19. Jahrhundert zum Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1800–1945*) of *Die Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. by Walter RÜEGG (München: C.H. Beck, 1996).

pared with similar institutions in India, China or the Islamic civilization. The Buddhist monastery Nālandā in north-eastern India—founded around the end of the Gupta period (ca. 320–550), thriving for several hundred years—is often cited as the world's first university. In the huge monastic complex, not only Buddhist scholasticism and Sanskrit grammar, but also medicine and artisanry were cultivated and taught.¹² The imperial university of the Táng dynasty (618–906) comprised colleges for literature, calligraphy, mathematics, and law, and also established separate institutes for medicine and astronomy.¹³ Europe was also not aware of the knowledge accumulated in the fields of science, geography, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, and engineering in Baghdad during the 9th and 10th centuries at the library and academy of the Abbāsid caliphs that is known as the House of Wisdom (Bayt al-Hikma).¹⁴ Academic studies in the early medieval European universities were neither more diverse nor more advanced than those in institutions of learning in earlier periods and other civilizations of the world.

Then why was the European university so successful—particularly regarding its longevity—when compared with earlier and even more advanced scientific institutions? For obvious reasons this question cannot finally be answered here, but I would like to offer one hypothesis. Could it be that MaX WEBER—when pointing to the lack of legal provisions and securities in Chinese civil law as a hindrance for a continuously developing capitalist economy—observed something that is also applicable to the continuity and growth of academic institutions? Weber mentions the lack of "reliable legal foundations for a free, cooperatively regulated constitution of industry and commerce" (298), and also the absence of "the cooperative autonomy of cities as political entities" (391).¹⁵ In other words, Weber suggests that the crucial idea of the *legal entity*—which in Europe not only provided the foundation for free cities, trade enterprises, and guilds, but also afforded the autonomy of the university—was missing in early modern Chinese law.

¹² Hartmut SCHARFE. *Education in Ancient India* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 148–153. Birgit KELLNER. "Sind Logik und Erkenntnistheorie buddhistisch? Über Selbstverständnis und Rolle der erkenntnistheoretisch-logischen Tradition des Buddhismus," in *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 9: *Facetten des Buddhismus: gibt es einen gemeinsamen Kern?* ed. by Lambert SCHMITHAUSEN (Universität Hamburg, 2004), pp. 153–170.

¹³ Thomas H. C. LEE. *Education in Traditional China: A History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 41–81.

¹⁴ Jim AL-KHALILI. *Pathfinders: The Golden Age of Arabic Science* (London: Penguin, 2010), chap. 5.

¹⁵ MaX WEBER. *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen: Vergleichende religionssoziologische Versuche* in vol. 1 of *Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920). Translation by the author.

The Faculty Order

In the beginning, medieval European university culture had no direct relationship with the philosophical spirit of ancient Greece, and there were no philosophical departments. In the 13th century, the University of Paris, which consisted of four faculties—Theology, Law, Medicine, and Liberal Arts—became the model for many universities in northern and central Europe. The Faculty of Theology, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Medicine were called the upper three faculties. The so-called lower one was the more diverse Faculty of Liberal Arts.

Theology, Law, and Medicine were advanced studies because they were professional in character: the Faculty of Theology gave degrees to become a theologian or priest, the Faculty of Law trained lawyers and judges, and a degree in medicine allowed one to practice as a medical doctor. The Faculty of Arts, on the other hand, had a preparatory function for the higher departments. As a rule, everybody had to complete the basic studies in the lower Faculty of Arts in order to proceed to one of the three upper faculties. The Arts Faculty therefore naturally exceeded the other faculties in size. This was also the reason why—despite its seemingly subordinate position—the Arts Faculty held sway in the universities in Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge during the Middle Ages.¹⁶

It goes without saying that the Christian religion was taught in the Faculty of Theology, law in the Faculty of Law, and medicine in the Faculty of Medicine. The educational content of the Faculty of Arts, however, was more diverse and complex. In the beginning, the basic curricula taught in the Faculty of Arts were, above all, the seven "liberal arts" (Lat. *artes liberales*) handed down from Late Antiquity. These seven studies consisted of three (*trivium*) pertaining to literature, that is, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and four more (*quadrivium*), which were geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. The Romans labeled these seven arts "free" (*liberalis*) because they were unrelated to specific professional training. Being free from any economical purpose, they were seen as being most appropriate for a free Roman male citizen. This higher evaluation of the liberal arts over professional studies in antiquity had thus been reversed by medieval times.

The seven liberal arts were already studied in Christian monasteries before the university was born. However, another epoch-making development took place at the

¹⁶ Gordon LEFF. "The *Trivium* and the three Philosophies," in *A History of the University in Europe*, pp. 307–336 in vol 1. of *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. by H. de RIDDER-SYMOENS (Cambridge University Press, 1992), see p. 333.

time of the founding of the first European universities. Thanks to contact with the Islamic cultural sphere, European scholars became aware of Aristotle's philosophy—which had been transmitted from antiquity to medieval Europe only in fragmentary form.¹⁷ By the end of the 13th century, not only valuable Arabic commentaries (particularly those of Averroës), but almost the complete Aristotelian corpus had been translated into Latin—not from Arabic, but from ancient Greek manuscripts that had been copied and transmitted in the Arabic world.¹⁸ The reception of Aristotle—which initially was not without opposition—was to change the course of the European university.

While Aristotelian thinking exhibited great influence on Christian theology, the reception of the Aristotelian paradigm in the arts faculties was of even greater historical significance. The three Aristotelian disciplines of natural philosophy, ethics, and metaphysics were to become part of the curriculum in the arts faculties in universities all over Europe. Textbooks of natural philosophy taught basic ideas about physics, astronomy, meteorology, biology, and psychology. The Aristotelian paradigm of separating and systematizing the individual fields of knowledge and proceeding in each science with adequate empirical methods was to profoundly change the outlook of the arts faculties over time.¹⁹

During medieval times, however, even after the integration of Aristotelian thought into Christian theology by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), philosophy remained academically in a subordinated position. Philosophy, as the famous medieval adage has it, was seen as the "handmaiden of theology" (*ancilla theologiae*).²⁰

Early Modern Developments

During the 16th century, education in liberal arts developed in different directions in western European and central European universities. In western European universities (i.e. Spanish, French, British), basic education in subjects like Latin rhetoric and grammar as well as logic and mathematics moved away from the main faculties and came to

¹⁷ Charles BURNETT. "Arabic into Latin: the reception of Arabic philosophy into Western Europe," pp. 370–404 in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. by Peter ADAMSON and Richard C. TAYLOR (Cambridge University Press, 2055).

¹⁸ G. LEFF. "The *Trivium* and the three Philosophies" (see note 16), p. 317. Christof RAPP and Klaus CORCILIUS, eds. *Aristoteles Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2011), p. 429.

¹⁹ G. LEFF. "The *Trivium* and the three Philosophies" (see note 16), pp. 289–294

²⁰ W. KLUXEN. "Ancilla theologiae" in vol. 1 of *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 12 vols. ed. by Roachim RITTER et al. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1971–2007). KLUXEN gives Petrus Damiani (1007–1072) as possible origine of the phrase.

be taught as secondary education in preparatory schools. Such preparatory schools and their dormitories were the origin of the colleges which were to supersede the medieval faculty structure—particularly so in Oxford and Cambridge, but also in Paris. Due to this development, the liberal arts lost their status as an independent faculty in many western European universities. Philosophy as such came to be pursued primarily as part of Christian theology.²¹

Due to the influence of Humanism and the Reformation, the arts faculties in central European universities (i.e. German, Dutch, Polish, etc.) took a different course. In order to integrate Greek, Hebrew, and other humanist studies into the curriculum, a chair system was established that approximated the structure of the arts faculty to that of the upper three faculties. One consequence of this development was that in the 16th and 17th centuries, especially in Germany, the arts faculty was renamed *Faculty of Philosophy*.²²

Before the 18th-century Enlightenment movement openly advocated the primacy of philosophy over theology, the Scientific Revolution took place. The revolutionary advances in the natural sciences of the 17th century did not necessarily take place in the universities. Many of the pioneers of the Scientific Revolution, such as Galileo GALILEI (1564–1642), Francis BACON (1561–1626), and Isaac NEWTON (1643–1727) did not teach at universities and were critical of the ossified Aristotelian orthodoxy cultivated there. Among the hundreds of scholars who made revolutionary discoveries during the 17th century many were members of learned societies or scientific academies like the Royal Society of London. This being said, it is also true that very few of them had no university education. Furthermore, the disciplines in which unprecedented scientific progress was achieved by way of the new methods of experimentation and empirical observation were none other than the Aristotelian natural studies of physics, astronomy, and biology taught in the preparatory university curricula since the Middle Ages.²³

²¹ G. LEFF. "The *Trivium* and the three Philosophies" (see note 16), pp. 333–335.

²² Arno SEIFERT. "Das höhere Schulwesen: Universitäten und Gymnasien," pp. 197–374 in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 1: 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert: Von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe, ed. by Notker HAMMERSTEIN (München: C.H. Beck 1996), see pp. 258–262. Rainer A. MÜLLER, "Zu Struktur und Wandel der Artisten- bzw. Philosophischen Fakultät am Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts," pp. 143–159 in *Artisten und Philosophen: Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Rainer C. SCHWINGES (Basel: Schwabe 1999) (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 1).

²³ Roy PORTER. "Die wissenschaftliche Revolution und die Universitäten," pp. 425–449 in vol. 2 (1500–1800: Von der Reformation zur Französischen Revolution) of *Die Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. by Walter RÜEGG (München: Beck, 1993).

The 17th century Scientific Revolution was an important historical prelude to the 18th century Enlightenment movement. Considering that the revolutionary discoveries were made in fields of studies that were located in the lower arts colleges rather than in the upper three faculties, one can understand the new confidence of philosophy in the Enlightenment Age. Philosophy was now finally challenging the leading role of theology in academia. One motif of the Enlightenment thinkers was to emphasize philosophy's role as the science of science. Based on the ontological classification of all phenomena as seen in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (Met. 1064), philosophy provided the principles, or starting points, of each discipline. The tree diagram in the introduction to the *Encyclopédie* (vol.1, 1751), compiled by Denis DIDEROT (1714–1784) and Jean le Rond D'ALEMBERT (1717–1783), prominently expresses this paradigmatic status of philosophy. As the science that classifies and synthesizes all other disciplines, philosophy is placed at the top of the academic tree. Indeed, this function of philosophy as the science of science was the same idea that Enryō put forth in the 1887 founding text of his Philosophy Academy when he called philosophy the "central government of academia."²⁴

Other than, for example, the French and Scottish Enlightenment, whose key figures were outsiders to the institutionalized academic world, the German Enlightenment was a university movement. Here in particular, the Enlightenment critique of religion took on the form of challenging the dominant position of the theological faculty in the university. Even before Kant, Christian WOLFF famously criticized the traditional order of the three higher Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine presiding over the lower Philosophical Faculty. Arguing for the independence of philosophy, Wolff reversed the medieval saying about philosophy as the "handmaiden of theology" by quipping that "the maiden [philosophy] illuminates the way of the lady [theology]."²⁵ This very quotation was taken up by Kant in his 1798 work, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, by saying that one might allow theology her "boastful claim" that philosophy is her maiden, "though the question remains whether she [philosophy] goes in front of her lady *holding her the torch or behind wearing her train*."²⁶

²⁴ Rainer SCHULZER. "The Founding Documents of Toyo University," *International Inoue Enryō Research* 2 (2014): p. 156.

²⁵ Regina MEYER. "Das Licht der Philosophie: Reformgedanken zur Fakultätshierarchie von Christian Wolff bis Immanuel Kant," pp. 97–124 in *Universitäten und Aufklärung*, ed. by Notker HAMMERSTEIN (Göttingen: Wallsstein, 1995).

²⁶ AA 7:28. Kant's works are cited according to the German Akademie-Ausgabe Kant's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Abr. AA) (1900–2024). Translations are by the author.

II. Kant's Theory of the University

Kant's later period work, *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1798), was the most influential call for a reform of the faculty order during the Enlightenment era. The book begins by giving the general concept of the university: A university is an institution that brings together all disciplines. In this organization, as in a factory, labor is divided, so that there are as many teachers as there are forms of study (AA 7:17). In other words, the structure within the university should correspond to the variety of disciplines. But although the interior of the university is divided into multiple chairs, departments, and faculties, there is also a principle that unifies the university as whole. This principle, as Kant declared, is the truth. The truth is the "essential and first condition of scholarship in general," whereas the interests of the State, professional training, or any other utilitarian considerations are only secondary points of view (AA 7:28).

This primacy of truth in the university is the basis for its autonomy—the autonomy as a corporation. The State may dictate what was to be taught in the Faculty of Law, and the church may dictate the doctrines that should be administered in the Faculty of Theology, but whether these contents are true or not cannot be determined by decrees:

It might happen, that a practical teaching is followed out of obedience. Yet, accepting it as true because it is ordered [...] is not only objectively (as a judgment that *should* not be), but also subjectively (such that no human *can* pass) utterly impossible. (AA 7:27)

The final judgment about the truth must therefore be made within the university, independent of external orders. The same applies to decisions about the meaningfulness of research or the competence of the scholars. The basic position of Kant's theory of the university was that a university should be a free legal entity with the right of autonomy in all matters of administering the truth, without depending on state power.

Kant was not an intellectual advocating revolution in politics or in academia; he was, rather, a philosopher who proposed reforms based on the given historical and institutional circumstances. This pragmatic tendency of Kant's thinking can be seen in the fact that he sought improvements based on the traditional four-faculty order, instead of devising a new faculty structure from scratch based on his own system of sciences.

Kant was born in 1724, in Königsberg, the second largest city in the Kingdom of Prussia—second only to Berlin, its capital. He entered the protestant University of Königsberg (Albertina) in 1740, at the age of sixteen, and was a member of the Univer-

sity of Königsberg until his death. In legal terms this meant that Kant did not hold the citizenship of the city of Königsberg, but instead spent his life as a citizen of the autonomous corporation of the university—at that time, such autonomy even included the right to execute its own jurisdiction.²⁷ In 1770, thirty years after his admission, Kant formally became a professor, and ten years later, in 1780, he became a permanent member of the university's senate. He was dean of the Faculty of Philosophy six times, and he served as the elected rector of the university for two terms, in 1786 and 1788. Kant experienced various problems during this long period, among them the lack of religious freedom within the university. There was also censorship from official side, including a personal reproach from King Friedrich Wilhelm I for his own writings on religion.²⁸ His *The Conflict of the Faculties* is based on his experiences in the administration and politics of the University of Königsberg.

These biographical circumstances provide important background for our understanding of Kant's cautious university reform proposal. Kant expressed his own theory of the university by redefining the existing structure of faculties, that is, the relationship between the "upper" three faculties and the "lower" philosophical one. According to Kant, the distinguishing features of the upper three faculties were their utilitarian purposes and social benefits: medicine had its purpose in human health, jurisprudence in the stability of society, and theology was responsible for human peace of mind. Each of these three disciplines played such an essential role in society that the State could not be indifferent towards them. Kant fully admitted that the adequate education of doctors, lawyers, and pastors in the universities was a legitimate concern of the government. This meant that the contents of lectures and examinations in the upper three faculties faced the possibility of official intervention and regulation. But, as stated before, in scholarship and science (Germ. *Wissenschaft*) as such, utility is a secondary point of view. Kant clarified this in the following words:

For the scholarly community there also must be another faculty in the university which—independent in its teachings from governmental orders—has no right to give [orders], but still has the freedom to judge all of those that are related to the academic interest, that is, related to the truth; [a faculty] in which

²⁷ Reinhard BRANDT. "Kant in Königsberg," pp. 273–322 in *Studien zur Entwicklung preußischen Universitäten*, ed. by Reinhard BRANDT und Werner EULER (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), see p. 290.

²⁸ Gideon STIENING. "Die 'Freiheit der gelehrten Feder' und der 'Strich des Censors': Immanuel Kant und die Universitätszensur," pp. 163–201 in *Studien zur Entwicklung preußischen Universitäten*, ed. by Reinhard BRANDT und Werner EULER (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999). Manfred KÜHN. *Kant: Eine Biographie* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003), pp. 438–443.

reason must have the authority to speak publicly, because without such a faculty the truth (to the damage of the government itself) would never see the light of day. (AA 7:19–20)

Kant distinguished the Faculty of Philosophy as the only faculty that is truly free—free to speak the truth, including speaking truth to power. Instead of the old top-down relationship of the faculties, Kant therefore proposed to redefine their relationship according to the right-wing vs. left-wing order. As a political spectrum, the right-left order originated during the French Revolution of 1789—the historical event which Kant, nine years before publishing his *Conflict of the Faculties*, observed with great hopes and excitement.²⁹ In the revolutionary national assembly of France, the faction loyal to the king came to sit on the right side of the chair of the assembly's president, while the advocates of the revolution sat on the left side.³⁰ Within the university, Kant proposed to likewise situate the faculties that functioned according to State orders on the right, and the Faculty of Philosophy on the left. As the only left-wing faculty, philosophy would be free to interrogate and criticize in the interest of truth alone (AA 7:35). Philosophy's role would be to critically examine the practical sciences, whose claims to validity were always in danger of being distorted by the benefits they expected to have. Kant imagined a university constitution with checks and balances. Thus, in the long run, the critical checks by philosophy could benefit the function the university has for society at large.

At the same time, the debates about educational policy in the Prussian government went in the complete opposite direction. Some officials, saying that administrating all disciplines in one single organization is inefficient, argued that the universities should be stripped of their corporate autonomy and dissolved into multiple vocational academies.³¹

Kant's theory of the university, I believe, provides an argument for the comprehensive university that encompasses all the sciences: The principle of scholarship itself is

²⁹ Manfred KÜHN. *Kant: Eine Biographie* (München: C.H. Beck, 2003), pp. 393–396, 435. Although denying a right to revolt or rebellion based on his concept of law ("On the common saying: That may be correct in theory, but it is of no use in practice" (1793), AA 8:299–302), in his political theory, KANT was a republican (*Towards perpetual Peace* (1795), AA 8:356).

³⁰ The French Wikipedia [accessed January 18, 2023] links as source the memoirs of Louis-Henri-Charles de GAUVILLE, a member of the assembly (*Journal du Baron de Gauville, député de l'ordre de la noblesse, aux Etats-généraux depuis le 4 mars 1789 jusqu'au 1er juillet 1790*, Paris, 1864, p. 20). The digitized text is accessible in Gallica (digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k46771p>.

³¹ Ulrich MUHLACK. "Die Universitäten im Zeichen des Neuhumanismus und Idealismus: Berlin," pp. 299–340 in *Beiträge und Probleme deutscher Universitätsgründungen der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Peter BAUMGART und Notker HAMMERSTEIN (Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1978), see pp. 300–303.

the truth. Yet, philosophy alone has the freedom to ignore utility and pursue science for its own sake. The scholarly integrity of the practically oriented sciences can be ensured only if they are united in one organization with philosophy on their side. In other words, philosophy is an essential voice within the university because it guarantees that the free spirit of research is not subdued by governmental interference. In explicit analogy to economic liberalism, which demands nothing beyond legal security with as little governmental regulation as possible, Kant's advice to the government was "*Leave it to us! [...] Simply do not hinder the progress of knowledge and science.*" (AA 7:19, Fn. 2)

To summarize the admittedly reductive historical narrative stated so far: In the medieval universities, faculties which provided professional education in medicine, theology, and law were regarded as the final purpose of the university, while the faculty of letters had a merely preparatory role in providing basic education in literature and the arts. The introduction of the Aristotelian writings into the lower faculty served, at the same time, as a catalyst that gradually led to the development of the spirit of investigation eventually bringing about an explosion of knowledge. The Scientific Revolution revealed the latent power of the Aristotelian ideal of research for its own sake.³² Philosophy became the paradigmatic academic discipline because only within its confines free research and investigation irrespective of vocational purposes was possible. Driven by the Aristotelian paradigm, this 500-year emancipation process of the Philosophy Faculty came to its conclusion with Kant's Enlightenment theory of the university.

III. Three Universities after Kant

The University of Berlin

Kant died in 1804, six years after the publication of *The Conflict of the Faculties* (1798). At about the same time, the direction of discussions about educational reforms in the Prussian capital had changed, and the idea of founding a central university in Berlin gained ground. Conceived by Friedrich SCHLEIERMACHER (1768–1834) and commissioned by Wilhelm von HUMBOLDT (1767–1835), the University of Berlin, founded in 1810, became a university based on Kant's Enlightenment ideas. In the University of Berlin (the predecessor of the present-day Humboldt-University), in addition to the Faculty of Philosophy being positioned on an equal footing with the other faculties, the spirit of philosophical research was also extended to all disciplines.³³ In the course of

³² Aristotle, Met. 982a, "cognizing for its own sake" (Gr. *epistasthai di' hautou*).

³³ Walter RÜEGG. "Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse," pp. 17–41 in vol. 3 (*Vom 19. Jahrhundert zum*

the 19th century, the fields of medicine, biology, physics, psychology, and history at the University of Berlin progressed to such a degree that it became a model for modern research universities around the world.³⁴

However, the accelerated research activities, particularly in the natural sciences, no longer required philosophy as basic education. The leading role that it had finally gained during the Age of Enlightenment was about to be lost again due to the developments that philosophy itself had helped to initiate. In Germany, however, the voice saying that a broader philosophical education was necessary particularly in response to the rapid development of scientific specialization did not go silent so quickly. Since character cultivation through the investigative spirit of research was, precisely, Humboldt's humanistic ideal of *Bildung*, there was a strong concern that if the natural sciences were separated from philosophy, research would lose its educational function. Thus it was not until 1936, in Nazi-Germany, that a separate faculty for the natural sciences was established at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University (as Berlin University was named between 1828 and 1945). The University of Cologne and the University of Marburg (a partner university of Toyo University) kept the natural sciences integrated in their philosophy faculties until the 1960s, and the University of Vienna did so even until 1975.³⁵

The University of Tokyo

Compared to the situation in Germany, the fact that a Faculty of Science was established with the very foundation of Tokyo University in 1877 is significant. In Germany, for the above mentioned reason, only the Universities of Tübingen (1869) and Strasbourg (1872) had established an independent Faculty of Science by that time.³⁶ Moreover, like the progressive impetus of establishing a separate faculty for the natural sciences, the naming of the faculties at Tokyo University also shows no German influence. Next to the Faculties of Science, Medicine, and Law, a Faculty of Letters was established instead of a Faculty of Philosophy. The philosophical ideals of the research university were nevertheless present since the time of its founding. Evidence of this is

Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1800–1945) of *Die Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. by Walter RÜEGG, (München: C.H. Beck, 1996), see pp. 25–29.

³⁴ Edwards SHILS and John ROBERTS. "Die Übernahme europäischer Universitätsmodelle," pp. 145–195 in vol. 3 (*Vom 19. Jahrhundert zum Zweiten Weltkrieg, 1800–1945*) of *Die Geschichte der Universität in Europa*, ed. by Walter RÜEGG (München: C.H. Beck, 1996). Rainer C. SCHWINGES, ed. *Humboldt international: Der Export des deutschen Universitätsmodells im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001).

³⁵ W. RÜEGG. "Themen, Probleme, Erkenntnisse" (see note 33), p. 31.

³⁶ See preceding note.

found in a lecture by the first president of the university, KATŌ Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836–1916), the leading figure during the university's early years. The lecture, titled "What is Science?" presents a vivid impression of how much Katō stressed research as the genuine task of the first modern Japanese university.³⁷

When the Imperial University Ordinance was issued in 1886, Katō opposed the utilitarian restrictions on the universities set forth in the law and stepped back as president of the university. The first article of the Ordinance states: "Imperial Universities shall have for their objects the teaching of such arts and sciences as are required for the purpose of the State, and the prosecution of original research in such arts and sciences."³⁸ In a later essay, titled "The Purpose of Science," Katō made his reasons for opposing the law very clear:

Considering the nature of science as such, it is a big mistake to think that science pursues research only for social utility. Especially philosophy and the natural sciences are fields that research the truth itself for its own sake. Their purpose is definitely not utility. Galileo and Copernicus in astronomy, Newton in physics, Lamarck and Darwin in biology certainly did not pursue research mainly for its concrete application. They exerted themselves for the progress of truth as such. Although their discoveries benefited society not to a small degree, this was not the original purpose of their research. Instead, utility should rather be called the by-product of the continual revelation of truth.³⁹

Research can be defined as the search for new knowledge. It is not possible to know in advance whether the "yet to be discovered" will have social or technical benefits. It is therefore an essential principle of the research university to not limit investigations to utilitarian purposes from the start. Instead, the university needs the freedom to seek truth for its own sake. Katō had grasped the Aristotelian idea of research for its own sake and the academic freedom it demands.⁴⁰ Kant had claimed freedom of inquiry for the Faculty of Philosophy for exactly the same reason. The understanding of this principle and its institutionalization in Japan can be considered a great achievement of Katō. He therefore might well be called the founder of Tokyo University, and by extension, even of modern Japanese academia in general.

37 KATŌ Hiroyuki 加藤弘之. 「何ヲカ学問ト云フ」 [What is science?], 『学芸志林』 [Grove of academic endeavor] (1885) 16: 488–512.

38 Tōkyō Daigaku, pub. *The Calendar (1907–1908)*, pp. 18–21.

39 KATŌ Hiroyuki 加藤弘之. 「学問ノ目的」 [The purpose of science] (before 1900), pp. 409–412 in vol. 3 of 『加藤弘之文書』 [Writings of Katō Hiroyuki], 3 vols. ed. by ŌKUBO Toshiaki 大久保利謙 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同朋舎, 1990).

40 *Metaphysic* 982a, "cognizing for its own sake" (Gr. *epistasthai di eauto*).

Although Katō was not ignorant of the fact that the principles of the European research university originated in ancient Western philosophy, what has been said about Humboldt-University—namely, that "no other European university [...] was conceived, operated and realized under philosophical auspices"⁴¹ like the University of Berlin—cannot be said about Tokyo University. Yet, there is another university to which the same words apply in the Japanese context, and that is Toyo University.

Toyo University

In the last part of this essay, I want to discuss INOUE Enryō's views of philosophy in education and research as seen in the founding documents of the Philosophy Academy. By summarizing Enryō's views into five points and relating them to what has been stated so far, I want shed some light on the unique philosophical spirit of Toyo University.⁴²

(1) In the announcement of founding the Philosophy Academy, Enryō referred to philosophy as the "highest" form of learning that "integrates" and "rules" 統轄 all knowledge and functions as "the central government of academia."

Philosophy is the science that searches for the principles behind all things and determines their laws. From the heights of politics and law down to the numerous sciences and technologies, they all receive their principles and laws from this science, philosophy. Therefore, one certainly does not praise philosophy too much, if one calls it the central government in the world of science, the learning which rules [統轄] the myriad forms of learning.⁴³

The idea that philosophy provides a framework on which the other disciplines operate by determining the principles of each science is essentially Aristotelian. As previously explained in the discussion of the tree diagram in the introduction to Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, this organizing role of philosophy was reclaimed during the European Enlightenment. Kant had the same idea in mind when, in the introduction to the first edition of his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), he reminded the reader that metaphysics—Aristotle's First Philosophy—used to be regarded as the "Queen of all the sciences" (A viii). Although Kant did not intend his First Critique to be a complete "system of science," he still wanted to outline the "limits," the "contour," and the inte-

⁴¹ Volker GERHARDT, Reinhard MEHRING, Jana RINDERT. *Berliner Geist: Eine Geschichte der Berliner Universitätsphilosophie bis 1946* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), p. 19.

⁴² For a more extended discussion see Rainer SCHULZER. "Inoue Enryo Research at Toyo University," *International Inoue Enryo Research* 2 (2014): pp. 1–18.

⁴³ R. SCHULZER. "The Founding Documents of Toyo University" (see note 24), p. 159.

rior "build" (Germ. *Gliederbau*) of such a system (B xxii–xxiii). Yet, as we have seen in his theory of the university, Kant did not claim for philosophy the power to organize the university according to his own system. Philosophy first acquired such a leading role with the founding of the University of Berlin.

(2) Although Toyo University is one of the ten largest private research universities in Japan today, in his announcement to establish the Philosophy Academy, Enryō made clear that he planned to found a school primarily for educational purposes rather than for research. In his address at the opening ceremony of the Academy, he went into detail about philosophy as basic education for other vocational studies. Enryō believed that a logical way of thinking and a general understanding of human nature through philosophical education will benefit all professions—be it for young monks aiming to become a Buddhist priest, or for students who want to become lawyers, educators or medical doctors (IS 2:55–59).⁴⁴ This understanding of philosophy as basic education corresponds well with the preparatory role of the arts faculty in European medieval universities. Present-day Toyo University, by offering courses in philosophy in all faculties for all students, keeps this important idea alive.

(3) The *Short Introduction to Philosophy* 『哲学早わかり』, published by Enryō in 1899, is possibly one of the first works of its kind by a Japanese scholar. In it, Enryō further stressed philosophy as a form of mental education beneficial not only for specific professional roles, but also for the character of the individual. By refining the intellect and widening the imagination, the individual is directed to higher goals and ideas. Averting ones gaze from the material world, the temptations of bodily desires are weakened and refinements of the will and emotions are promoted. Even a certain peace of mind may be afforded by philosophy through reflection on the ultimate or the Absolute (IS 2:55–59). This ideal of a holistic human self-cultivation had been taught in Confucianism ever since Chinese antiquity. But it also corresponds well to the German notion of *Bildung* that, through the humanism of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was influential in the founding of the University of Berlin.

(4) Although the fourth point is one that I have not yet touched upon, when speaking of philosophy, it is as important as it is obvious. Despite Enryō's emphasis on the educational purpose of his Academy, in the aforementioned address at the opening ceremony, he also made several points about the philosophical idea of research. He criticized tra-

⁴⁴ R. SCHULZER. "The Founding Documents of Toyo University" (see note 24), pp. 163–64.

ditional East Asian scholarship because the scholars tended to "arbitrarily revere [尊信] an imaginary antiquity" and therefore "they were not able to promote progress in science."⁴⁵ In the preface to one of his most important writings, the *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* 『仏教活論序論』 (1887), Enryō makes philosophy's "critical" 批評 approach even more explicit: "I do not promote Buddhism, because I love Buddha [...]. The only thing I love is the truth" (IS 3:327). Elsewhere, I argued that this is very likely Enryō's version of the famous words of Aristotle, transmitted in Latin as, *Plato amicus magis amica veritas* (Plato is amiable, but more amicable is the truth).⁴⁶

In his "Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?" (1784), Kant famously formulated the slogan of enlightenment as, "Have the courage to use your *own* reason!" (AA 8:35). Citing Horace rather than Aristotle in his work, *Anthropology*, Kant explicates the imperative, "Think FOR ONESELF!" with the Latin phrase, *nullius addictus iurare in verba Magistri* (AA 7:228), which translates as, "No one is forced to swear [allegiance] to the words of [one's] teacher."⁴⁷ Today, the Four Sages of world philosophy selected by Enryō are an important symbol of Toyo University. But they should always be remembered in combination with this genuine stance of philosophy. Neither the Four Sages nor Enryō himself are to be followed uncritically. The only thing that matters at the university is the truth.

(5) The last of the five points is the most intricate. After professing his unqualified allegiance to the truth in its preface, Enryō begins the main part of his *Prolegomena* by establishing his lifelong principles: "The Protection of Country and the Love of Truth" 護国愛理. As he explains in detail, the two are essentially one—there is no tension between them. The practical purpose to contribute to nation and society is in full harmony with the theoretical duty of the scholar to love the truth (IS 3:330–32). Enryō might well have made this statement with the debate about the Imperial University Ordinance promulgated one year earlier, in 1886, in mind. KATŌ Hiroyuki had opposed the law because he regarded the interests of the State as a threat to the freedom of research. The university, Katō argued, needs to be free from pragmatic considerations in order to adhere to its sole principle of seeking the truth. This was in line with the thinking of Kant, who also regarded the reason for the freedom of philosophy that its purpose was not the pursuit of utilitarian ends.

⁴⁵ R. SCHULZER. "The Founding Documents of Toyo University" (see note 24), p. 165.

⁴⁶ R. SCHULZER. "Inoue Enryo Research at Toyo University" (see note 42), see chap. 4.

⁴⁷ Horace. *Epistles*, bk. I, epistle I.

Enryō believed that by adhering to the value of truth, scholars would thereby also benefit the nation in the long run. Kant would have agreed with this, too. Even without consideration of possible technological benefits, it is true that understanding the world correctly is an indispensable condition for successful action—not only in politics, but in all other practical regards as well. Letting the university do its business should therefore be in the best interest of the government. Or, using in Enryō's words: *Loving the Truth was a scholar's contribution to the Protection of Country* (cf. IS 3:332). But what about Enryō's equation observed from the other side? Are the needs of the State to protect itself always in harmony with the truth? I believe the Philosophy Academy Incident of 1902/03 proved Enryō wrong and meant a concrete clash of his two basic principles.

The Philosophy Academy Incident occurred because of a question in the graduation examination of the ethics department. The problem raised in the test was whether or not it could be legitimate to assassinate an evil tyrant or an oppressive king. A student answered affirmatively, citing the utilitarian argument put forth in the textbook written by the English philosopher John H. MUIRHEAD (1855–1940). However, the Ministry of Education considered such discussion to be dangerous to the State. It not only withdrew the license of the Academy to grant teaching certificates for governmental middle schools, it also forced the responsible professor to resign and threatened to shut down the Academy if its orders were not followed.⁴⁸

Although from today's point of view, the withdrawal of the Academy's license to certify governmental school teachers is wrong, from a legal point of view, it was legitimate for the Ministry to do so if it considered the ethics curriculum at the Philosophy Academy to be deficient. It is another matter, however, to force the professor of a private college to resign by threatening to close down the whole school. Such measures by the Ministry could be seen as an infringement of the academic freedom implied in Article 29 of the Meiji Constitution: "Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy the liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meetings and associations."⁴⁹

The ethical problem broached here is surely not an easy one. Kant, who did not acknowledge a right to revolution, also denied the legitimacy of a political assassination.⁵⁰ In post-Hitler Germany, public opinion tends to the opposite side. As a promi-

⁴⁸ For a more detailed account see R. SCHULZER, *Inoue Enryō* (see note 5), chap. 20.

⁴⁹ English translation by Itō Myōji 伊東巳代治 (1889). National Diet Library (www.ndl.go.jp), Birth of the Constitution of Japan.

⁵⁰ I. KANT, "On the common saying: That may be correct in theory, but it is of no use in practice" (1793), AA 8:299–302. *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), AA 6:320–321n.

ment example, the leading figure of the failed 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler, Claus SCHENK Graf von Stauffenberg (1907–1944), is honored today by various memorial sites and exhibitions. By naming schools and streets after him, he became part of the collective memory of German society as one of the few heroic figures of resistance against the Nazi regime. In the case of killing Hitler, the end seemingly justifies the means. This is not to draw any superficial historical parallels between German and Japanese crimes against humanity during the Second World War, but serves only to illustrate that there is a real moral dilemma here about which one can have different opinions.

Yet, in legal terms, it might still be said that in a political system whose "Emperor is sacred and inviolable" (Article 3), the question of regicide itself is not "within the limits of law" (Article 29), but already beyond what can be legally verbalized. The protection of the Emperor—the embodiment of the State—was *not* in harmony with the Love of Truth. The Constitution of the Empire of Japan could not grant philosophy the freedom it demands. And although Kant would have denied the question regarding the legitimacy of regicide, he certainly would have defended philosophy's right to critically examine it.

The Philosophy Academy Incident of 1902/03 not only triggered a personal crisis for its founder, it also plunged the Academy into a financial one. Apart from the withdrawal of the license to grant teacher certificates, the public controversy about the Incident likely damaged the name of the Academy and led to a decrease in student enrollments. Struggling with health problems, Enryō eventually retired as principal of his school at the end of 1905. The restart of the school in 1906, including the reapplication for the license to certify middle school teachers, was then pursued under the new name, "University of the East," or Toyo University.⁵¹

⁵¹ R. SCHULZER. *Inoue Enryō* (see note 5), chap. 21.