

INOUE ENRYO IN RETIREMENT

PHILOSOPHY AS SPIRITUAL CULTIVATION

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INOUE Enryō 井上圓了 (1858–1919) lived a remarkably rich life, filled with numerous accomplishments. He was a pioneer in the field of philosophy and in the field of education. As a philosopher he was a founding member of the Philosophical Society 哲学会 (1884) and he globalized philosophy by providing it with a new historical framework that encompasses Asia and Buddhism. As an educator he founded an institute of higher education, the Philosophy Academy 哲学館 (1887), as well as the Capital North Middle School 京北中学校 (1899). Under Enryō's leadership the Philosophy Academy grew into a college (Tetsugaku-kan Daigaku 哲学館大学; 1903) and eventually became Tōyō University 東洋大学 (1906). His most significant accomplishments, though, consisted of his contributions to the intellectual life of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Japan — not just as a philosopher or educator, but especially as a lecturer and best-selling author. He published some 180 books and more than 800 shorter works.¹ In these

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¹ MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫, 「井上円了と著述: 井上円了略年譜・井上円了著述目録・『井上円了選集』目次」 [Inoue

works he engaged in debates over "philosophy" 哲学, "religion" 宗教, "Japanese cultural knowledge" 日本固有の学, and became especially famous for his denunciations of "superstitions" 迷信 and "apparitions" 妖怪 (*yōkai*). These debates occurred at a crucial time when Japanese leaders struggled to chart a new role for Japan as a self-consciously modern nation in an international arena.

This paper will focus on the last period of Enryō's life, after 1906 when he retired from his positions as head of the Philosophy Academy and the Capital North Middle School. This is the period when Enryō constructed the Philosophy Hall 哲学堂 (Tetsugakudō) as a "public park for spiritual cultivation" 精神修養的公園. I will examine the notion of spiritual cultivation at the Temple Garden of Philosophy 哲学堂公園 (lit. Philosophy Hall Park) in terms of its agenda of self cultivation, its model as the practical application of philosophy, its setting or environment, its ritual practices, and its intellectual resources (especially its library). I will approach these topics from the perspective of religious studies—not from the perspective of philosophy or intellectual history. The intellectual and social transformations of the Meiji period present too many complex issues that cannot be considered adequately in this short paper.

Nonetheless, I must say a few words about Enryō's career prior to his retirement. Enryō seems to have decided on his life's ambition while still a youth. From a young age he applied himself toward his ambition with unwavering diligence. As a result we can see a clear arch of intention that runs from his first accomplishments through his middle career and concludes at the Temple Garden of Philosophy. This arch first appears in the graduate thesis he wrote in 1884 as a student at Tōkyō Daigaku 東京大学 (i.e., the origin of Tokyo University), which is titled "Reading Xúnzǐ" 「讀荀子」.²

Reading Xunzi

Most people know the Chinese book *Xúnzǐ* 『荀子』 (Jp. *Junshi*) only for its notorious assertion that "[human] nature is evil" 性惡 (chap. 23). Needless to say, this assertion contradicts the mainline Chinese view expressed in the *Mencius* 『孟子』 (Ch. *Mèngzǐ*, Jp. *Mōshi*) that human nature is good. Enryō begins his thesis by pointing out that both

Enryō and his writings: Abbreviated biographical record, catalog of writings, index of the 'Inoue Enryō Selected Writings', *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryo Center* 『井上円了センター年報』 13 (2004): 79.

² Work titles and proper names in East Asian script are cited in the respective character variants used in the original source materials. In the appendix, which gives an overview of the Philosophy Hall Library, all categories and titles are cited according to the forms in 『哲學堂圖書館圖書目錄』 [Catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library] from 1916.

Xúnxǐ and Mencius represent "one-sided arguments" 僻論 that deviate from the statement in the *Analects* 『論語』 (Ch. *Lúnyǔ*, Jp. *Rongo*; 17.2) that people are "alike by nature, [but grow] distant by practice" 性相近, 習相遠 (25:278). Yet precisely because the *Xúnzǐ* regards people as flawed, it advocates that in a "Prosperous Land" 富国 (chap. 10) people must pursue a program of education (勸学; chap. 1), "Personal Cultivation" 修身 (chap. 2), and the practice of ritual norms (礼論; chap. 19) to restrain improper behavior. It goes on to argue that because the natural world conforms to constant principles, the correct performance of rituals or prayers cannot bring heavenly rewards or punishments (天論; chapt. 17).

Enryō freely discards the many weak points in the *Xúnzǐ*. At the same time he finds much of inspirational value in its concrete agenda of education and self improvement. He interprets this agenda by citing its parallels with a wide variety of European scholarly positions, such as David HUME's (1711–1776) theory of human nature and John LOCKE's (1632–1704) empiricism (25:731), the struggle for existence described by Robert MALTHUS (1766–1834) and Charles DARWIN (1809–1882) (25:738), as well as the descriptive sociology of Herbert SPENCER (1820–1903) (25:739). He admonishes traditional scholars for labeling the *Xúnzǐ* as heterodox because of its minor deviations from the statements of Confucius 孔子 (Ch. *Kǒngzǐ*; Jp. *Kōshi*) and Mencius without recognizing the many places where the text conveys veritable truth (25:744).

Already in Enryō's very first academic essay, therefore, we can see many of the distinctive features that characterized his entire career. He embraces a social agenda of promoting education and self cultivation, adherence to ritual norms, while rejecting false religions and superstitions. He rejects the one-sided in favor of the comprehensive. He argues for the contemporary value of traditional Asian texts by interpreting those texts eclectically in terms of modern scientific and philosophical principles. He attempts to show how the most recent knowledge imported from European sources reinforces and revitalizes learning based on traditional Asian texts—but cannot supplant them.

Japanese Learning

This last point is very significant. Enryō strove to elevate his Philosophy Academy to a college because he envisioned a very different approach to learning than the one then currently available in Japan's existing institutions of higher education. Enryō's vision is best expressed in his own words:

In our country there exists one imperial college [帝国大学] as well as plans for one or two private colleges. All of them follow a Western model. Their academic curriculums are Western, their professors look up to the West, and their textbooks are the same as the ones used in the West. They should be called Western Colleges. We do not yet have a Japanese College. [...]

When I toured American and Europe I was surprised that the college, middle schools, and elementary schools of every country are based on their country's own particular traditions of learning. They study the learning of other lands in relation to it. [...]

Herein lies the necessity of establishing a college based on Japanese principles [日本主義]. Such a university will be based on Japan's own particular traditions of learning [日本固有の学問] with Western learning as a supplement. Its goal must be the independence of the Japanese nation, the independence of Japanese people, and the independence of Japanese learning. [...]

Its curriculum will have both a Western Division and an Eastern Division. Within the Eastern Division there will be Japanese learning, Chinese learning, and Indic learning. Japanese learning will consist of simultaneous training in history, literature, religious studies, and philosophy. Chinese learning will consist of simultaneous training in literature, religious studies, and philosophy. Indic learning will consist of simultaneous training in religious studies and philosophy. Nonetheless, instruction in Chinese learning and Indic learning will focus entirely on the Chinese and Indic traditions transmitted to Japan. For this reason, while their names refer to foreign learning their content consists of Japanese learning.³

It is possible to gain a rough sense of how this curriculum looked in practice. The Philosophy Academy was one of the first educational institutions in the world to offer courses to students who could not enroll in regular classes. It did so by pioneering the practice of distance learning via correspondence courses.⁴ These correspondence courses could not offer the same level of advanced instruction as found within the Philosophy Academy itself, but they nonetheless reflect the basic contours of its general curriculum. "Transcriptions of the lectures" 講義録 given by instructors at the Philosophy Academy served as textbooks for the new correspondence courses.

The textbooks for correspondence courses at the Philosophy Academy evolved through several different series. In 1905 they consisted of the following three cur-

³ INOUE Enryō 井上圓了. 『歐米各國: 政教日記』 [Travel diary about religion and politics in the Western countries] (1889), vol. 2, in IS 23: 147–148.

⁴ OGURA Takeharu 小倉竹治. 『井上円了の思想』 [The thought of Inoue Enryō] (Tokyo: 校倉書房, 1986), 20–23.

riculums: Upper Level 高等科, Chinese Learning 漢学科, and Buddhist Learning 仏教科.⁵ Upper Level refers to secondary or intermediate level courses between the primary and college levels. Textbooks for these courses appear to be entirely thematic. Chinese Learning focuses almost exclusively on reading and interpreting major classical texts of China. Buddhist Learning consists of a combination of thematic overviews as well as the more traditional style of textbooks that explain how to read and interpret major Buddhist texts.

Lecture Textbooks

Here is a list of the titles of the textbooks (i.e., courses) offered in 1905.

A. Upper Level Curriculum: 23 textbooks

- "Lectures in Aesthetics" 「美學講義」 (*Bijutsugaku kōgi*)
- "Outline of Ethics" 「倫理學概論」 (*Rinrigaku gairon*)
- "Study of the Japanese Language" 「國語學」 (*Kokugogaku*)
- "Chinese Philosophy" 「支那哲學」 (*Shina tetsugaku*)
- "History of Contemporary Philosophy" 「最近哲學史」 (*Saikin tetsugaku shi*)
- "Logic" 「論理學」 (*Ronrigaku*)
- "Supplement to a History of Western Philosophy" 「西洋哲學史補遺」 (*Seiyō tetsugaku shi hoi*)
- "History of Modern Ethics" 「近世倫理學史」 (*Kinsei rinrigaku shi*)
- "Outline of Psychology" 「心理學概論」 (*Shinrigaku gairon*)
- "History of Japanese Art" 「日本美術史」 (*Nihon bijutsu shi*)
- "Sociology" 「社會學」 (*Shakaigaku*)
- "Main Themes of the Constitution" 「憲法大意」 (*Kenpō daii*)
- "Philosophy of Religion" 「宗教哲學」 (*Shūkyō tetsugaku*)
- "Chinese Literature" 「支那文學」 (*Shina bungaku*)
- "Terms and Principles of Philosophy" 「哲學名義考」 (*Tetsugaku meigi kō*)
- "History of Modern Educational Theory" 「近世教育學史」 (*Kinsei kyōikugaku shi*)
- "Japanese Philosophy" 「日本哲學」 (*Nihon tetsugaku*)
- "Handbook of Epistemology" 「認識論提要」 (*Ninshikiron teiyō*)
- "Ethics" 「倫理學」 (*Rinrigaku*)
- "Linguistics" 「言語學」 (*Gengogaku*)

⁵ OGURA 小倉. 『井上門了の思想』 (see note 4), 26–29.

B. Chinese Learning Curriculum: 18 textbooks

- "Classic of Poetry" 「詩經」 (Ch. *Shījīng*; Jp. *Shikyō*)
- "Analects of Confucius" 「論語」 (Ch. *Lúnyǔ*; Jp. *Rongo*)
- "Book of Laozi" 「老子」 (Ch. *Lǎozǐ*; Jp. *Rōshi*)
- "Book of Mencius" 「孟子」 (Ch. *Mèngzǐ*; Jp. *Mōshi*)
- "Eight Writers of the Tang and Song Dynasties" 「唐宋八家文」 (Ch. *Táng Sòng bājiā wén*; Jp. *Tō-Sō hakkabun*)
- "Tang Dynasty Poetry" 「唐詩」 (Ch. *Tángshī*; Jp. *Tōshi*)
- "Great Learning" 「大學」 (Ch. *Dà xué*; Jp. *Daigaku*)
- "Commentary of Zuo" 「左傳」 (Ch. *Zuǒ zhuàn*; Jp. *Sa den*)
- "Japanese Texts Written in Classical Chinese" 「日本文典」 (*Nihon bunten*)
- "Book of Changes" 「周易」 (Ch. *Zhōuyì*; Jp. *Shūeki*)
- "Book of Zhuangzi" 「莊子」 (Ch. *Zhuāngzǐ*; Jp. *Sōji*)
- "Book of Xunzi" 「荀子」 (Ch. *Xúnzǐ*; Jp. *Junshi*)
- "Book of Leizi" 「列子」 (Ch. *Lièzǐ*; Jp. *Resshi*)
- "Book of Rites" 「禮記」 (Ch. *Lǐjì*; Jp. *Raiki*)
- "Doctrine of the Mean" 「中庸」 (Ch. *Zhōngyōng*; Jp. *Chūyō*)
- "Book of Han Feizi" 「韓非子」 (Ch. *Hán Fēizǐ*; Jp. *Kan Pishi*)
- "History of Chinese Literature" 「支那文學史」 (*Shina bungaku shi*)
- "Guide to the Classic of Poetry" 「詩經解題」 (*Shikyō kaidai*)

C. Buddhist Learning Curriculum: 19 textbooks

- "Sanskrit Lexicography" 「梵語辭典」 (*Bongo jiten*)
- "Lectures in Sanskrit" 「梵學講義」 (*Bongaku kōgi*)
- "Buddhist Logic" 「佛教論理學」 (*Bukkyō ronrigaku*)
- "Buddhist Science" 「佛教理科」 (*Bukkyō rika*)
- "Buddhist Ethics" 「佛教倫理」 (*Bukkyō rinri*)
- "Lectures on the *Jùshè lún* [or *Abhidharma kośa*]" 「俱舍論講義」 (*Kusharon kōgi*)
- "Buddhist Psychology" 「佛教心理學」 (*Bukkyō shinrigaku*)
- "Lectures on the *Yìbùzōng lún* [or *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*]" 「異部宗論講義」 (*Ibushū ron kōgi*)
- "Lectures on the *Wéishí lún* [or *Vimśatikāvṛtti*]" 「唯識論講義」 (*Yuishikron kōgi*)
- "Lectures on the Essay regarding Five Teachings of Huànyán [or *Wǔjiāo zhāng*]" 「五教章講義」 (*Gokyōshō kōgi*)

- "Lectures on the Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch [or *Liùzǔ tánjīng*]" 「六祖壇經講義」 (*Rokuso dankyō kōgi*)
- "Essentials of Tendai Doctrine" 「天台宗綱要」 (*Tendaishū kōyō*)
- "Lectures on the Jeweled Key to the Secret Teachings" 「祕藏寶鑰講義」 (*Hizō hōyaku kōgi*)
- "Philosophy of Mahāyāna Buddhism" 「大乘哲學」 (*Daijō tetsugaku*)
- "Main themes of Pure Land Buddhist doctrine" 「淨土宗大意」 (*Jōdoshū daii*)
- "Lectures on the Awakening of Faith [or *Qǐxìn lún*]" 「起信論講義」 (*Kishinron kōgi*)
- "Lectures on the *Shígōuyì lún* [or *Vaiśeṣikadaśapadārtha*]" 「十句義論講義」 (*Jikkugi ron kōgi*)
- "Lectures on the Hidden Meaning of the Three Treatises [or *Sānlún xuányì*]" 「三論玄義講義」 (*Sanron gengi kōgi*)
- "Main Themes of True Pure Land Buddhism" 「眞宗大意」 (*Shinshū daii*)

The above list of textbooks represents just one moment in time.⁶ It cannot provide a fully satisfactory overview of the curriculum of study at the Philosophy Academy during its early decades. Nonetheless even this limited information raises several significant points worth mentioning.

First, the titles of the textbooks for the Upper Level Curriculum reflect academic disciplines and categories that were developed first in Europe, disseminated around the globe, and which are still in use today. A mere fifty years prior to 1905, their vocabulary, their methods, and their contents would have been completely unknown in Japan. Their implementation at the Philosophy Academy, therefore, constitutes a significant chapter in the process by which Japan and the Japanese became participants in global intellectual exchanges.

Second, the titles of the textbooks for the Chinese Learning Curriculum and for much of the Buddhist Learning Curriculum reflect traditional modes of learning to read ancient texts according to traditional interpretations. This style of education has not changed for hundreds of years. It still exists today, not just in Asia but wherever traditions of classical learning still persist.

Third, a few of the textbooks in the Upper Level Curriculum and in the Buddhist Learning Curriculum represent radical new developments. The texts in Chinese Philosophy and Japanese Philosophy, as well as the Buddhist textbooks on Buddhist logic, science, ethics, psychology, and philosophy constitute new hybrid fields of knowledge.

⁶ OGURA 小倉. 『井上門了の思想』 (see note 4), 26–29.

They invent new subjects of study by using vocabulary, methodologies, and concepts imported from abroad to reconceptualize, reconfigure, and reinterpret previously existing traditions. They bring these traditions into dialog not just with the world outside of Japan but also with the new worldviews of modern Japanese. It is not necessarily apparent to us today, but it seems reasonable to assume that the content of these new fields of study would have been unrecognizable to earlier generations. The birth of new Buddhism and new Buddhist studies created a rupture with the past.

The Philosophy Academy Incident

The Philosophy Academy faced its most serious challenge in 1902 when an inspector of schools from the Japanese Ministry of Education objected to a student's answer on a graduation exam question concerning "regicide" 弑逆 (*shigyaku*). The exam cited a passage from a book titled *The Elements of Ethics* (1892) by the English philosopher John H. MUIRHEAD (1855–1940). The Ministry of Education objected not just to the student's answer but also the exam question, to the use of a textbook written by an Englishman, and to the Philosophy Academy's approach to teaching ethics. They threatened to close the school unless changes were made to the curriculum. Soon this "incident" 事件 became the subject of public debate. In the end the Ministry of Education backed down from its threat to close the school, but it revoked the ability of the Philosophy Academy to issue teaching certificates to its graduates for the next five years.

The Philosophy Academy Incident is an important topic that I cannot address here. I mention it only because immediately afterwards, during the period of probation when the Philosophy Academy strove to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the government, Enryō became increasingly worn out. It also marks a turning point in his life. The following year, in 1903, he founded a Church of Self Cultivation, known in Japanese as a *Shūshin Kyōkai* 修身教会. One year later, 1904, the Ministry of Education permitted the Philosophy Academy to expand into a college. That same year Enryō founded the Temple Garden of Philosophy to commemorate the attainment of recognition as a college as well as to commemorate the Philosophy Academy Incident. Enryō increasingly complained of "nervous exhaustion" 神経的疲労. Finally, in 1906 he retired from his position as head of Philosophy Academy College. The Temple Garden of Philosophy, his public park for spiritual cultivation, became the center of both his retired life and of his Church of Self Cultivation.⁷

⁷ MORIKAWA Takitarō 森川滝太郎, 「事績が示す井上門了の意図」 [Inoue Enryō's intentions as indicated by

The Church of Self Cultivation

For a modern audience it is necessary to explain the words *kyōkai* 教会 (church) and *shūshin* 修身 (self cultivation). Nowadays many people, especially people outside of Japan who study its society, tend to associate the word "church" exclusively with Christianity as an organized religious institution. In common usage among scholars who write in English about Japan the word "church" suggests Christianity, while the word "temple" suggests Buddhism and the word "shrine" suggests Shinto. Moreover, in the minds of many the word *shūshin* has become synonymous with the 1930s and 40s indoctrination in ultra-nationalistic ideology. It is important to note, therefore, that during the period under consideration here, neither of these words carried the same associations as they sometimes do today.

Kyōkai (lit. assembly for teaching) translates the English word "church" in the sociological sense of a moral community formed for a common purpose. The term was widely used during the Meiji period, especially by Japanese Buddhists, to refer to societies of lay people, which were new and differed from the existing religious organizations that centered around priests or clergy.⁸ In other words, for Enryō the word "church" implies a lay organization that is not controlled by the Buddhist clergy.

The word "self cultivation" originally represented a Confucian concept. It is a key term in the opening section of the *Great Learning* 『大學』 (Ch. *Dà xué*, Jp. *Daigaku*), which says: "From the Son of Heaven down to the common people, all must regard self cultivation as the basis" 自天子以至於庶人，壹是皆以修身為本. In the early Meiji period Fukuzawa YUKICHI 福沢諭吉 (1835–1901) adopted the word *shūshin* to translate the concept of "moral science" as used by the American educator Francis WAYLAND (1796–1865) in his extremely influential textbook *Elements of Moral Science* (1835). Fukuzawa's approach to morals appeared in print in 1900 as the *Essentials of Self Cultivation* 『修身要領』. This short tract is notable for its emphasis that morals derive from one's self reliance, self respect, equality of men and women, and so forth. Fukuzawa did not use the term *shūshin* to promote a Confucian perspective and certainly not an ultranationalist one. Even in Enryō's day the concept of self cultivation had not yet assumed any fixed agenda. The term remained vague and undefined.

his achievements], *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryo Center* 『井上円了センター年報』 14 (2005): 34.

⁸ IKEDA Eishun 池田英俊, 『明治の新仏教運動』 [The Meiji movement of New Buddhism] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976). Idem. "Teaching Assemblies and Lay Societies in the Formation of Modern Sectarian Buddhism," trans. by Clark CHILSON, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25.1–2 (1998): 11–44.

Maybe Enryō himself felt uneasy about the terms "church of self cultivation." We do not know the reason why, but eventually he re-named his organization the Society for Promoting Virtue Among the People 国民道德普及会.

Practical Philosophy

Regardless of its name, Enryō envisioned his campaign to promote self cultivation and virtues as a practical application of philosophy. In his 1915 *Guide to the Philosophy Hall* 『哲學堂案内』 Enryō explains that "Western philosophy has a one-sided emphasis on theory and neglects [疎外] its practical side." For Enryō, however, "practical application is the ultimate purpose of philosophy" (appendix p. 8). He goes on to assert that philosophy is learned best "by studying its application to practical problems [実行問題]." This is the purpose of his public park for spiritual cultivation called the Hall of Philosophy. Enryō explained that externally it has the features of a religion, but internally it differs from the other religions that exist today. The difference is that religions derive from faith while philosophy derives from knowledge. "Or, in other words, it is a difference between reliance on faith [仰信] and faith in reason [理信]" (appendix pp. 8–9).

In his *Guide to the Philosophy Hall* Enryō does not identify specific kinds of practical problems to which philosophy should be applied. From his *Outline of a Church of Self Cultivation* 『修身教會要旨』 (1906) it is clear that those problems include ones of public virtues. Enryō comments that Japan's rapid economic and political progress has been accompanied by a widespread "decline of virtue and integrity" 徳義の衰ふる (p. 1). Enryō notes that the Japanese school curriculum includes lessons on the "principles of the way and virtuous behavior" 道義徳行, but the lessons are too simple and lack reinforcement. No one else—not families, not social organizations, and not religious organizations—provide any moral guidance (pp. 3–5). He explains that Buddhist temples fail to provide moral direction because they usually focus only on the afterlife and ignore the concerns of the living. And when they do address daily concerns, they tend to offer only charms for good fortune that will if anything lead people to superstitions (pp. 7–8). These are the reasons why it is necessary to try a new approach.

Between 1909 and 1918 Enryō conducted lecture tours across Japan to promote his ideas for a Church of Self Cultivation. He wanted people in every town and village to form their own lay associations based on the model that he developed at the Temple Garden of Philosophy. He kept a detailed record of his lecture topics and his audiences. During this period he addressed more than 1.3 million people. His lectures focused on the following topics: the Imperial Edict on Education (41%), ghosts and superstitions

(24%), philosophy and religion (15%), education (8%), industry and economics (7%), and other topics (5%).⁹ Perhaps we can infer that these topics constitute the kinds of practical problems that Enryō thought philosophy should address.

At the same time it is important to note that Enryō's vision of the practical application of philosophy extended beyond the types of topics or problems it might address. By practical application he refers not just to the topics of philosophy, but also to its form and context. He wanted to give philosophy a tangible presence that people could see and feel. His Temple Garden of Philosophy provides philosophy with a concrete environment, with physical ritual practices, and with intellectual resources in the form of a library.

The Temple Garden of Philosophy as Environment

Enryō designated the Temple Garden of Philosophy as a "public park" 公園. He does not explicitly explain his reasons for doing so (Ideno 2011).¹⁰ When he founded the Philosophy Hall in 1904 public parks were rare in Japan. In 1873 the government created Japan's first public parks by confiscating lands from Buddhist temples. In Tokyo this policy produced Ueno Park 上野公園 (from the grounds of Kan'ei Temple 寛永寺), Asakusa Park 浅草公園 (from the grounds of Sensō Temple 浅草寺), and Shiba Park 芝公園 (from the grounds of Zōjō Temple 増上寺).

The fact that Japan's first public parks came from Buddhist temples alerts us the role that Buddhist temples traditionally played as scenic grounds and places of recreation. The Sanskrit terms (*vihāra*; *ārāma*) used to designate Buddhist sites actually refer to gardens and pleasure ground.¹¹ In East Asia temples and monasteries likewise are known by many similar terms, such as "crane garden" 鶴苑 (*kakuon*), "clerical garden" 僧園 (*sōon*), "deer park" 鹿苑 (*rokuon*), "garden of purity" 清浄園 (*shōjō on*), "Zen grove" 禅林 (*zenrin*), and so forth. Moreover, Buddhist scriptures teach that these temples should be beautiful, with ornamental foliage and attractive architecture. The structures should be decorated with "attractive paintings" 彩画 and "icons" 形像. The ornamental and recreational features of the temples were not intended for the clergy

⁹ MIURA 三浦. 「井上円了と著述」 (see note 1), 80.

¹⁰ IDENO Noaki 出野尚紀. 「哲学堂八景」 [The eight views of the Philosophy Hall], *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryō Center* 『井上円了センター年報』 20 (2011): 119–146.

¹¹ Gregory SCHOPEN. "The Buddhist 'Monastery' and the Indian Garden: Aesthetics, Assimilations and the Siting of Monastic Establishments," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 126.4 (2006): 487–505.

alone, but were explicitly designed to attract lay people who would come to admire them.¹²

Evidence for these circumstances remain perfectly abundant in Japan today, where there exist so many Buddhist temples that function as recreational sites for people who wish to relax at their gardens and admire their artistic treasures. And it has always been so. This is the reason why, for example, the walls of Phoenix Hall 鳳凰堂 (Hōōdō) of the Byōdō Temple 平等院 in Uji 宇治 preserve the earliest examples (ca. 1053) of Yamato-style landscape painting (*yamato e* 大和絵). Also note that the names of the Buddhist temples and their various buildings frequently express Buddhist concepts (e.g., "equality" 平等) drawn from Buddhist scriptures.

Enryō constructed his Temple Garden of Philosophy along similar lines. In Enryō's case, however the name of the park—"Philosophy Hall Park"—clearly indicates a different orientation. He assigned each feature of the park, some 77 locations, names drawn not from Buddhist scriptures but from the treatises of philosophy. Thus, it has a Garden of Materialism 唯物園 in one direction and a Garden of Idealism 唯心庭 in the other direction. The first has such features as the Slope of Experience 經驗坂, the Cavern of Mysteries 神秘洞, and the Channel of Evolution 進化溝. The latter has the Path of Intuition 直覺徑, the Cliff of Psychology 心理崖, and the Pool of Ethics 倫理淵. Enryō asserted that he devised names so that one could come to comprehend the main points of philosophy merely by explaining each one of them (2:73).

At the center of this nomenclature stand the Hall of the Four Sages 四聖堂. It is a shrine to the four philosophers whom for Enryō represent the entire universe of philosophy, East and West, ancient and modern. They are Śākyamuni, Confucius, Socrates, and Immanuel Kant.

Enryō had singled out these four philosophers very early in his career long before he decided to found the Temple Garden of Philosophy. Taken together they symbolize his notion of a round or circular (*en* 円) and complete (*ryō* 了) philosophy.¹³ The best account of the Four Sages appears in *Record of an Imaginary Tour of Other Planets* 『星界想遊記』, which Enryō wrote in 1890. It is a fictional account of his dream journey to imaginary worlds, such as a world of business, a world of women, a world of the eld-

¹² Alexander C. SOPER. "Early Buddhist Attitudes Toward the Art of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 32.2 (1950): 147–151. Gregory SCHOPEN. "Art, Beauty, and the Business of Running a Buddhist Monastery in Early Northwest India," in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Paper on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 19–44. Idem. "The Buddhist 'Monastery' and the Indian Garden" (see note 11).

¹³ Gerard C. GODART. "Tracing the Circle of Truth: Inoue Enryō on the History of Philosophy and Buddhism," *The Eastern Buddhist*, new series, 36.1–2 (2004): 121–122.

erly, a world of science, and so forth. The journey concludes with a visit to the world of philosophy. In this world the narrator first encounters Śākyamuni. Then Confucius, Socrates, and Kant each emerge as emanations of Śākyamuni. Each one speaks in turn, conveying to us the message that they want deliver to our world:

Śākyamuni [釈迦牟尼] says [...] Your world is a land of suffering. But that suffering is the roadway that leads to the land of bliss. You must remember: Suffering is the raft that ferries people to the other shore of bliss. [...] Announce [this message] to the multitudes.

Confucius [孔夫子] says: While I was in your world, I observed that the worldly ways failed to control human hearts. I taught the way of self cultivation and harmonizing families, and I preached the virtues of humane righteousness. But later people pursued private profit and petty desires, eventually forgetting the Great Way. [...] A virtuous family is a garden [園池] of happiness. If people wish to tour this garden of happiness, first they must belong to a virtuous family. [...]

Socrates [墳夫子] says: While I was in your world I wanted to correct the abuses of that age, clarify the content of knowing virtue, and explain the necessity of investigating it. Acting in my stead, you must propagate this path.

At the end Kant [韓夫子] says: I saw that the theories of the world's scholars had the defect of being one-sided. As a comprehensive anti-thesis, I proposed an impartial and complete philosophy. You must continue my ambition and correct the defective scholarship of today. (24:61–62)

By placing a shrine to these four philosophers at the center of the Temple Garden of Philosophy, Enryō provided its somewhat bewildering jumble of philosophical nomenclature with an agenda. Each of the four philosophers pursued the same goal of correcting the defects of the age and directing the people toward a better future. The park's environment of philosophical terminology leads people to understand the message of the four philosophers and the four philosophers lead people to an impartial and complete philosophy.

Ritual Practices

When Enryō insists that philosophy must have a "practical side" 実行方面, he means not only that it must address practical problems but also that it should include ritual practices to help people confirm their commitment to philosophy. The Hall of the Four Sages, for example, is designed as a shrine where ritual veneration of philosophy can be practiced. In particular it should be the site of an annual ritual conducted on October

27 for memorializing the four philosophers and for dedicating oneself to the ideals of philosophy. Enryō first performed this memorial ritual in 1885. By 1897 he had standardized the text of the ritual and included that 1897 version in several subsequent publications. It reads as follows:

The late-learner Enryō and companions reverently hoist the icons of the Four Sages in the lecture hall. We present before them copies of the *Great Learning* [大學], the *Doctrine of the Mean* [中庸], the *Analects* [論語], the *Book of Changes* [易經], the *Lotus Sūtra* [法華經], the *Threefold Pure Land Sūtras* [淨土三部經], the *Biography of Socrates* [ソクラテス傳記] and the *Critique of Pure Reason* [純理批判哲學]. Looking up we bow to their countenances, looking downward we ponder their bequeathed teachings and thereby memorialize [祭る] them as the four great masters, the past sages Śākyamuni, Confucius, Socrates and Kant. Śākyamuni represents Indic philosophy, Confucius represents Chinese philosophy, Socrates represents Greek philosophy, and Kant represents modern philosophy. Therefore, to memorialize the Four Sages is to memorialize Philosophy itself.

Philosophy is its own separate world. Within it there exists heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, winds and rain, mountains and seas. Śākyamuni's knowledge constitutes its sun and moon. Confucius's virtue constitutes its rain and dew. Socrates's intellect constitutes its mountains and hills. Kant's learning constitutes its seas and oceans. Its knowledge enlightens us, its virtues enrich us, its intellect protects us, and its learning embraces us. It is our father, our mother, our lord and our teacher. Day and night it nurses and nurtures us.

Fortunately we have now become members of this world of philosophy. How can we ever repay our debt of gratitude? [...]

Due to the nurturing of the past sages, we have become young adults. Henceforth as our duty to the past sages we will guide our younger brethren, inviting them into this world of philosophy, so that they might swim throughout the mountains and seas, winds and clouds of this separate realm. From this year forward the unworthy Enryō and companions [不肖圓了ら] will conduct an annual Philosophy Ceremony [哲学祭] as a small token of our prayers for the promotion of philosophy. For we are not just memorializing the Four Sages, but are memorializing Philosophy itself.¹⁴

The participants in this ceremony dedicate themselves to promoting philosophy by paying homage to four philosophers. For Enryō at least, this ritual action also involves

¹⁴ INOUE Enryō 井上圓了. 『南船北馬集』 ['South by boat – North on horse' collection] (1908–09), vol. 3, in IS 12: 554–555. See also 『哲窓茶話』 [Philosophical tea talks among classmates] (1916), in IS 2: 110–111.

dedicating oneself to the intellectual agenda of the four philosophers as described in the passage from his *Record of an Imaginary Tour of Other Planets* translated above.

To attain the vigor required for this task, Enryō advocated chanting a phrase in which one ritually "takes refuge" 皈依 in the absolute infinite that is the ultimate truth of existence. The chanting of this phrase is modeled on Buddhist chants, such as "Namaḥ Amitābha Buddha" 南無阿彌陀仏 (*namu amida butsu*), but avoids the explicit invocation of a deity.¹⁵ Enryō explains his chant and its efficacy as follows:

I consider the ultimate attainment of philosophy to be none other than the opening of the path that leads to a human life of heavenly bliss by means of a reasoned investigation into the actual circumstances of the origins of the universe and actually entrusting [結託] one's heart to it. I refer to it as the Venerable Absolute Infinite. That which penetrates space without limits is the absolute. That which spans all time without breaks is the infinite. That which vastly transcends time and space with immeasurable grandeur is venerable. The technique I propose for entrusting one's heart to it lies in wholeheartedly and repeatedly intoning *Namu zettai mugen son* [南無絶対無限尊, "Namaḥ Venerable Absolute Infinite"]. When a person chants it but once, their worries instantly dissipate, their painful afflictions disappear, the hundred false palpitations settle down of themselves, the thousand false clouds naturally become calm. At once one's heart blissfully unfolds the world [乾坤], one's vigor joyfully greets the appearance of the sun and moon in the heavens. With every square inch one eventually feels the marvelous light of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty. At the same time, the majestic energy radiating forth from the universe's true origins gushes up from the bottom of one's heart. The efficacious merit [功德] [of this chanting] is ineffable and inconceivable.¹⁶

Intellectual Resources

The final essential element in Enryō's design of the Temple Garden of Philosophy is its library. In his *Outline of a Church of Self Cultivation* 『修身教會要旨』 (1906, p. 14) Enryō explains that easy access to newspapers, magazines, and books not only advances knowledge but also plays a major role in spiritual cultivation. He recommends every local church to at least maintain a reading room if not a library. Enryō provided much more than a reading room for the Temple Garden of Philosophy. He donated his private collection of books, which he had been collecting since around 1885 when he gradu-

¹⁵ INOUE Enryō 井上圓了. 『奮闘哲學』 [Philosophy of struggle] (1917). Reprint IS 2: 440.

¹⁶ INOUE Enryō 井上圓了. 『哲學堂案内』 [Guide to the Philosophy Hall], rev. 3rd ed. (Tokyo: 哲学堂事務所, 1915), 11.

ated from college. In 1916 he compiled a detailed catalog of the book collection, which he then published along with a set of rules to be followed by patrons of the library.

A summary of Enryō's 1916 catalog is provided in the appendix at the end of this paper. The collection consists of two main divisions: (a) Japanese and Chinese (non-Buddhist) Literature 国漢書; and (b) Buddhist Literature 仏書 of China and Japan. Each division consists of more than ten thousand volumes. (Enryō reports a total of 21,193 volumes, but my Excel datasheet reports 21,227.) It is a comprehensive library that covers all aspects of Asian learning (Japanese, Chinese, and Indic) traditionally taught in Japan. The books were not collected at random. A close inspection of the catalog reveals that a clear systematic design guided the selection of books. The library contains all the major works and most of the important books on every subject or genre covered.

Apart from its comprehensive scope and vast size, the most remarkable feature of the library is that it contains only *kosho* 古書 or antiquarian books. With only a few exceptions—such as reference works and the "small-type edition" 縮刷 of the Buddhist Canon¹⁷—the collection consists entirely of books produced prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868. It departs completely from the model that Enryō established at the Philosophy Academy where newly imported Western academic disciplines were combined with previously existing traditions of Asian learning. Although this library serves a public park named the Hall of Philosophy, not a single book in the collection contains the word "philosophy" 哲学. That word is a neologism coined after 1868 when Japan opened itself to the importation of Western culture. Because the collection contains only pre-Meiji books and because of its systematic structure, it offers us a rare and in some ways invaluable overview of what kinds and quantities of books that constituted traditional learning in premodern Japan. At the very least it show us what kinds of books one well-educated and discerning intellectual (as INOUE Enryō) was able to collect at the turn of the century.

Almost all the books are printed. Printing has a long history in Japan, but a vigorous publishing industry did not take root until the middle of the seventeenth century. From that point forward, printed books became readily available.¹⁸ Nonetheless the Philosophy Hall collection also contains hand copied manuscripts. Approximately 3

¹⁷ FUKUDA Gyōkai 福田行誠, SHIMADA Bankon 島田蕃根, SHIKIKAWA Seiichi 色川誠一, eds. 『大日本校訂大蔵経』 [Corrected great Japanese Tripitaka], small-type ed., 418 vols. (Tokyo: 弘教書院, 1880–1885). Item B-50 in the *Catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library*.

¹⁸ Mary Elizabeth BERRY. *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

percent of non-Buddhist literature and 6 percent of Buddhist literature was copied by hand. Manuscript culture seems to have been especially common in Buddhist circles. Hand written copies appear in almost every Buddhist subject area and are especially numerous for the subjects of Bongaku 梵学 (Sanskrit), Kusha 俱舍 (Abhidharma), and Hossō 法相 (Yogācāra). Among non-Buddhist subject areas manuscripts are especially common in the areas of Shintō, government, history, ghost stories, and essays.

The great majority of the books are printed in Japan, but quite a few books (16 percent) in the non-Buddhist collection were imported from China. These books primarily consist of Chinese classics, writings by Chinese Confucian scholars, Chinese history, anthologies of Chinese literature, and Qing dynasty works concerning Chinese philology. The existence of these works testify to the continual inspiration that Chinese publications provided for Japanese scholars. The situation in regard to Buddhism, however, was very different. Almost none of the Buddhist books were imported from China. Even though the authorship or translations might have been by people in China, the printing occurred in Japan.

Enryō arranged the categories in his catalog according to his sense of academic importance, with the most fundamental works listed first. In the case of non-Buddhist literature, for example, books about gods and mythology come first, followed by the Chinese classics, with Confucian books next (see the appendix). If we rearrange the categories, placing the ones with the largest number of "volumes" 冊 first, a very different order appears as in the table below (with the genres of anthologies, catalogs, and reference works omitted).

**Catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library, Part A:
Japanese and Chinese (non-Buddhist) Literature**

Category	Genre	Titles	Volumes
19–21	Chinese History & Biography	62	925
3–4	Chinese Classics	134	891
16–18	Japanese History & Biography	65	789
22–25	Literature of Japan	138	621
41–43	Essays by Chinese & Japanese Authors	134	622
27–30	Literature in Chinese by Chinese and Japanese	120	595

38–40	Ghost Tales of China & Japan	160	576
6–8	Confucian Authors of China & Japan	118	454
11–12	Military & War Tales	46	423
1–2	Theistic Religions: Shinto & Christianity	111	384
33–34	Moral Tales of China & Japan	164	375
26	Minor Tales of China & Japan	23	342
5	Ancient Chinese Authors	54	271
31–32	Poetry in Chinese by Chinese & Japanese Authors	84	253
9	Medicine & Pharmacology	41	165
13	Government & Economy	33	168
15	Geography & Travel	34	160
14	Astronomy & Seasons	53	136
10	Longevity & Hygiene	29	125
37	Arts & Crafts	33	100
44	Miscellaneous	27	56
36	Physiognomy & Divination	27	48
35	Traditional Textbooks	37	45

The categories containing more than 200 volumes consist of the following (in order): Chinese History and Biography (925 volumes), Chinese Classics (891), Japanese History and Biography (789), Literature of Japan (621), Essays by Chinese and Japanese Authors (622), Literature in Chinese by Chinese and Japanese Authors (595), Ghost Tales of China and Japan (576), Confucian Authors of China and Japan (454), Military and War Tales (423), Theistic Religions: Shinto and Christianity (384), Moral Tales of China and Japan (375), Minor Tales of China and Japan (342), Ancient Chinese Authors (271), and Poetry in Chinese by Chinese and Japanese Authors (253). This list consist of fourteen categories, of which ten (about 70 percent) consist either in whole or part of works written in Chinese. No doubt this preponderance of Chinese literature reflects Enryō's own very special educational background and interests. Beginning at the age of eight Enryō received a very thorough education in reading the Chinese clas-

sics and the books of Confucianism.¹⁹ Throughout his life he composed poetry in Chinese to express his sentiments. Clearly Chinese literature was of great value to him.

I suspect, however, that the preponderance of Chinese literature in this list accurately reflects the importance of Chinese learning in pre-Meiji Japan. Japanese texts written before 1868, even if written in Japanese, frequently allude to episodes in Chinese history, refer to biographical details of Chinese individuals, and use the vocabulary and concepts of the Chinese Classics. This kind of knowledge is no longer common, not even among professors who study premodern Japan — at least not among professors in the United States. In this sense the Philosophy Hall Library collection forces us to reflect on how much of traditional Japanese culture — and its particular ways of reinterpreting Chinese sources — is no longer easily accessible to us.

If we rearrange the categories of Buddhist literature according to the same criteria, placing the ones with the largest number of volumes first, we get the following table (again with anthologies and reference works omitted):

**Catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library, Part B:
Buddhist Literature of China and Japan**

Category	Genre	Titles	Volumes
12–21	Mahāyāna Sūtras and Commentaries	508	2,573
35–38	Pure Land (Jp. Jōdo)	312	921
3–5	Histories and Biographies	183	736
24–27	Tendai (Ch. Tiāntái) Lotus	517	689
30–32	Shingon Esoteric	174	687
22–23	Hossō (Sk. Yogācāra)	113	574
9–11	Vinaya (Jp. Ritsu) & Monastic Discipline	184	455
33–34	Zen (Ch. Chán)	192	453
7–8	Abhidharma kośa (Jp. Kusha)	59	360
39	Nichiren Lotus	70	275
41–42	Disputations & Polemics	115	257

¹⁹ MORIKAWA 森川, 「事績が示す井上門下の意図」 (see note 6), 20–21.

28–29	Kegon (Ch. Huà yán) Flower Garland	87	239
45	Teachings for the Laity	73	234
43	Poetry	50	185
44	Essays	45	182
46	Miscellaneous	101	168
1	Sanskrit Learning	56	124
6	Non-Buddhist & Hīnayāna Texts	53	92
24	Sanron (Sk. Madhyamaka)	23	71
40	Other Teachings & Overviews	32	65
2	Logic	26	58

The categories containing more than 200 volumes consist of the following (in order): Mahāyāna Sūtras and Commentaries (2,573 volumes), Pure Land 淨土 (Jp. Jōdo) (921), Histories and Biographies (736), Tendai 天台 (Ch. Tiāntái) Lotus (689), Shingon Esoteric 真言密教 (687), Hossō 法相 (Sk. Yogācāra) (574), Ritsu 律 (Sk. Vinaya) and Monastic Discipline (455), Zen 禪 (Ch. Chán) (453), Kusha 俱舍 (Sk. Abhidharma kośa) (360), Nichiren 日蓮 Lotus (275), Disputations and Polemics (257), Kegon 華嚴 (Ch. Huà yán) Flower Garland (239), and Teachings for the Laity (234). This list consist of thirteen categories, all of which primarily consist of literature written in Chinese. Once again the preponderance of certain types of literature might reflect Enryō's own unique background. He began life as a Buddhist affiliated with the True School 真宗 (Shinshū) denomination of Pure Land Buddhism. It is only natural, therefore, that Pure Land literature ranks near the top of this list, just behind the category of Mahāyāna Sūtras and Commentaries.

Nonetheless once again I am impressed by how closely this ranking reflects my own, admittedly imperfect, impression of the relative influence of these categories in Japanese religious history. Certainly Pure Land Buddhism in its various forms has exerted a pervasive influence on Japan across its entire history. In the chart above, Pure Land is followed by Tendai, Shingon, and Hossō. These denominations (Tendai, Shingon, and Hossō during the medieval period; or Tendai, Shingon, Hossō, and Pure Land during the early modern period) were the ones with temples of royal status (*monzeki* 門跡). In other words, they enjoyed the closest ties to the ruling elites and exerted the strongest influence over traditional centers of cultural production. The numerous books

concerning "disputations" 論議 also is noteworthy. The presence of these books testifies to the strong sectarian orientation of Japanese Buddhism and the frequent rivalries that characterize its history.

The categories reveal other unique features of Buddhism in Japan. In India, China, Korea, and Tibet the texts associated with the Sanron 三論 school (Sk. Madhyamaka) seem to have been more influential than those of the Hossō (Sk. Yogācāra) tradition. In Japan this situation was reversed. The Hossō tradition played a major role in Japanese Buddhism and Japanese intellectual and religious history. Likewise, in China and Korea the Flower Garland (Ch. Huà'yán; Kr. Hwaeom) teachings seem to have been more influential than those of the Tendai school. Japan, once again, went its own way. Prior to 1868 the Japanese Tendai school constituted one of the mainstreams of Buddhism in Japan. It was never overshadowed by Kegon.

These statistical comparisons actually miss the most valuable feature of the Philosophy Hall Library collection. It contains many books, especially Buddhist books, that have become very rare. Many of its books have never been reprinted. Only a few other copies exist within Japan. For this reason certain aspects of pre-Meiji Japanese culture and history cannot be studied without access to the Philosophy Hall Library collection. We do not know exactly why Enryō excluded Meiji-period books from this collection. We can be certain, though, that he wanted to preserve and promote "Japan's own particular traditions of learning" 日本固有の学問. By preserving this library he at the very least ensured that future generations would have access to the possibility of that learning.

Finally I wish to conclude on a personal note. I was able to conduct my research for this article only because the Tōyō University Repository for Academic Resources 東洋大学学術情報リポジトリ (Tōyō Daigaku Gakujutsu Jōhō Ripojitori: <https://toy-o.repo.nii.ac.jp>) provides on-line digital access to the *Inoue Enryō Selected Writings* 『井上円了選集』. I am very grateful for this wonderful service.

I wish to suggest, though, that the true legacy of INOUE Enryō consists not just of his own writings but is found also in the other writings that he preserved in his Philosophy Hall Library collection. The Tōyō University Library already has created microfilm photographs of these books. It would be wonderful if the Tōyō University Repository for Academic Resources could also provide on-line digital access to these texts.

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Appendix: Overview of the Philosophy Hall Library

Part A: Japanese and Chinese Literature 國漢書 (except Buddhism)

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Theistic Religions: Shinto & Christianity							
1	神教部一、神書	70	389	293	6	11	
2	神教部二、教書	41	132	91	8	15	
Chinese Classics							
3	經書部一、四書及孝經	70	423	309	1	1	1 20
4	經書部二、五經	63	1,071	582	1	1	2 32
Ancient Chinese Authors							
5	諸子部	54	624	271	1	1	10 45
Confucian Authors of China & Japan							
6	儒書部一、支那 性理	19	540	235			4 68
7	儒書部二、支那 雜著	34	199	106			2 2

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
8 儒書部三、日本 諸家	65	141	113	1	1		
Medicine & Pharmacology							
9 醫書及本草部	41	228	165	1	1		
Longevity & Hygiene							
10 仙書及養生部	29	173	125			2	10
Military & War Tales							
11 兵書部一、兵法	27	180	123	5	7		
12 兵書部二、軍談	19	338	300			1	20
Government & Economy							
13 政法經濟部 <small>附農業</small>	33	201	168	4	29		
Astronomy & Seasons							
14 天文歲時部	53	164	136	1	1		
Geography & Travel							
15 地理紀行部	34	193	160	1	1		
Japanese History & Biography							
16 史傳部一、日本通史	11	386	195				
17 史傳部二、日本別史	23	724	382	2	13		

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
18 史傳部三、日本傳記	31	431	212	1	15		
Chinese History & Biography							
19 史傳部四、支那通史	18	819	440			5	94
20 史傳部五、支那別史	13	1,088	383				
21 史傳部六、支那傳記	31	155	102	2	3		
Literature of Japan							
22 文學部一、日記物語	32	232	201				
23 文學部二、國文法	21	96	84				
24 文學部三、和歌	53	430	253	2	5		
25 文學部四、俳句	32	83	83	3	3		
Minor Tales of China & Japan							
26 文學部五、小説 (和漢)	23	421	342			1	1
Literature in Chinese by Chinese & Japanese Authors							
27 文學部六、漢文 (支那人一家文)	30	350	186			1	4
28 文學部七、漢文 (支那人諸家集)	27	371	206			1	28
29 文學部八、漢文 (日本人作)	22	114	67				
30 文學部九、作文 (漢文)	41	171	136			2	3

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Poetry in Chinese by Chinese & Japanese Authors							
31	文學部十、詩集	65	331	182		1	3
32	文學部十一、詩作	19	105	75		1	20
Moral Tales of China & Japan							
33	修身道話部一、國文	141	409	335	5	5	
34	修身道話部二、漢文	23	48	40	1	1	
Traditional Textbooks							
35	民間讀本部	37	49	45			
Physiognomy & Divination							
36	相法卜筮部	27	53	48	2	2	
Arts & Crafts							
37	書畫技藝部	33	103	100	3	3	
Ghost Tales of China & Japan							
38	怪談草紙部一、國文版本	103	493	398			
39	怪談草紙部二、漢文版本	12	536	69		2	2
40	怪談草紙部三、國漢文寫本	45	151	109	45	109	

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Essays by Chinese & Japanese Authors							
41	隨筆部一、國文版本	107	528	426			
42	隨筆部二、漢文版本	24	225	112		3	10
43	隨筆部三、國漢文寫本	31	113	84	31	84	
Miscellaneous							
44	雜書部	27	79	56	4	4	1 6
Anthologies of China & Japan							
45	類書叢書部一、日本人編述	23	329	227			
46	類書叢書部二、支那人編述	15	907	218		10	137
47	類書叢書部三、文獻通考·淵鑑類函·佩文韻府	4	1,033	475		4	475
Dictionaries & Book Catalogs							
48	字書目錄部	31	373	210			
Anthology of Chinese Philology (Ch. <i>Huángqīng jīngjiě</i>)							
49	皇清經解	1	1,304	360		1	360
Small-Size Books Imported from China							
50	小形唐本	32	1,682	404		32	360

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Small-Size Books written in Japanese & Chinese							
51 國文小本 (縱綴)	90	187	143				
52 國文小本 (橫綴)	15	56	56				
53 漢文小本	56	218	56				
totals	2,021	20,179	10,677	131	291	33	1,695
			100%		2.7%		15.9%

Part B: Buddhist Literature 佛書 (Chinese and Japanese)

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Sanskrit Learning (<i>bongaku</i>)							
1 梵學部	56	143	124	13	38		
Logic (<i>inmyō</i>)							
2 因明部	26	63	58	3	3		
Histories & Biographies by Chinese & Japanese Authors							
3 史傳部一、支那選述	42	495	250			1	1

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
4	史傳部二、日本選述普通	50	541	314	3		
5	史博部三、日本選述特殊	91	219	172	7		
Non-Buddhist & Hīnayāna Texts							
6	外道及小乘諸宗部	53	133	92	9		14
Abhidharma kośa (Jp. Kusha)							
7	小乘俱舍部一、論釋	29	327	228	9		43
8	小乘俱舍部二、雜著部	30	151	132	9		17
Vinaya & Monastic Discipline							
9	小乘律部	23	151	132			
10	大乘律部	51	174	147	5		11
11	大小兩律雜部	110	198	176	9		12
Mahāyāna Sūtras							
12	大乘經釋部一、淨土經	76	263	243	4		15
13	大乘經釋部二、維摩楞嚴等	71	487	430	3		6
14	大乘經釋部三、孟蘭盆勝曼[鬘]等	46	187	177	3		4
15	大乘經釋部四、般若經仁王經	59	116	106	2	2	2
16	大乘經釋部五、法華經三大部	64	463	515	3		20

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
17	大乘經釋部六、法華經他釋	53	320	308	2	7	
18	大乘經釋部七、涅槃經	15	189	150	3	16	
19	大乘經釋部八、華嚴經	14	264	138	2	5	
20	大乘經釋部九、大日經	46	457	333	2	10	
21	大乘經釋部十、 <small>真言諸經及雜經</small>	64	199	173	2	10	
Hossō (Sk. Yogācāra)							
22	法相部一、論釋部	45	562	389	8	91	
23	法相部二、宗意 <small>及</small> 雜著部	68	205	185	25	50	
Sanron (Sk. Madhyamaka)							
24	三論部	23	77	71	4	7	
Tendai (Ch. Tiāntái) Lotus							
25	天台部一、論釋部	7	129	86	3	3	
26	天台部二、宗意部	85	296	264	5	14	
27	天台部三、雜著部	126	432	339	5	6	
Kegon (Ch. Huà yán) Flower Garland							
28	華嚴部一、論釋部起信 <small>及</small> 原人	44	151	125	4	5	1 1
29	華嚴部二、宗意 <small>及</small> 雜著部	43	124	114	9	16	

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Shingon Esoteric							
30	眞言部一、論釋部	15	142	142			
31	眞言部二、宗意部	51	371	249	3	15	
32	眞言部三、雜著部	108	366	306	8	8	
Zen (Ch. Chán)							
33	禪家部一、宗意部	85	368	240			
34	禪家部二、雜著部	107	251	213	4	4	
Pure Land (Jp. Jōdo)							
35	淨土部一、論釋部	69	351	305	1	1	
36	淨土部二、淨土宗宗意部	46	207	161			
37	淨土部三、淨土宗雜著部	134	345	276	7	11	
38	淨土部四、眞宗	63	217	179	1	1	
Nichiren Lotus							
39	日蓮部	70	280	275	3	3	
Other Teachings & Overviews							
40	餘宗及八宗ノ部	32	75	65	5	5	

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Disputations & Polemics							
41	論議部、對内	55	140	126	8	8	
42	論議部、對外及天文	60	159	131	2	2	
Poetry							
43	詩文部	50	301	185	1	1	
Essays							
44	隨筆部	45	209	182	2	2	
Teachings for the Laity							
45	通俗部	73	258	234			
Miscellaneous							
46	雜書部	101	211	168	12	12	
Anthologies							
47	類書叢書部	19	364	220	1	4	
Glossaries							
48	法數及音義	30	350	200	5	21	
Catalogs							
49	條目及目錄	85	213	222	33	45	

類	種	卷	冊	写本	写本冊	唐本	唐本冊
Complete Buddhist Canon							
50 藏經部 [縮刷大藏經]	1,916	8,534	419				
Small Size Books							
51 小本部	35	161	75	3	3		
totals	4,759	21,389	10,544	255	582	4	4
			100%		5.5%		0.0%

Columns:	類	categories	種	individual texts
	卷	parts (lit. scroll)	冊	volumes
	写本	hand-copied manuscripts	写本冊	volumes of hand-copied manuscripts
	唐本	books printed in China	唐本冊	volumes of books printed in China

Source: 『哲學堂圖書館圖書目錄』 [Catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library] (1916).
 Reprint 『新編哲學堂文庫目錄』 [New catalog of the Philosophy Hall Library] (Tokyo: 東洋大学附属図書館, 1997).