

# Literature as the Interface Between the Foundation of Modern Japanese Culture and Christianity

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## 1. Introduction

The penetration of Christianity into modern Japan has often been largely attributed to contributions in fields such as school education, welfare, and health care, rather than to the direct impact of missionary activities of the church. Although I just mentioned “penetration,” according to the latest 2018 edition of the *Shūkyō Nenkan* [Religion Yearbook] compiled by the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Christians constitute only about one percent of the whole Japanese population. Therefore, “penetration” is far from reality. Christianity, however, has had a not negligible impact on modern Japanese society in many ways, both in tangible and intangible terms. To put it in extreme terms, the modernization of Japan was achieved based on the model of Western society, which cannot be considered without reference to Christian culture. Hence, we cannot consider the modernization of Japan without reference to Christian culture.

Of course, an in-depth discussion of this would require us to examine the position of Christianity in Europe and America at the time when Japanese society opened itself to the world from its long isolation during the Edo period and started to adopt a Western social system centered around the new Meiji government.

To cite one example: Joseph Hardy Neesima (Niijima Jō), founder of Doshisha, breached the shogunate’s law in the late feudal period and visited America. During his stay of almost ten years, Neesima interacted with Christianity and became a Christian, later returning to Japan as a priest and missionary. After returning, Neesima tried to rebuild Japanese society to fit a new era through the propagation of Christianity and the establishment of a university.

Neesima placed the Christian spirit he had learned in America at the center of his education. However, in the university education that Neesima received in New England just after the Civil War, Christianity had already been liberated from radical Biblicalism and was undergoing a transformation into a form of liberal arts education that aimed to indirectly attain the truth of God through exploring humanity itself.<sup>1</sup> As a result of the long dispute that lasted from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, the very nature of Christianity in modern society underwent change.

Whether Japanese society—whose feudal age had just ended—understood such subtle changes in the position of Christianity in Western society is hard to say. In any case, some wanted Christianity to give them impetus for social reform, while others saw in Christianity, which sought liberation from the absolute control of religion, an ideal model for modern society. Thus we must consider afresh how modern Japanese society learned about and was impacted by Christianity.

Today, I would like to focus on the fact that Christianity came about in Japan not only through the formation of the church as a community but also through literature as a form of expression. Much research has been dedicated to this theme, and the present discussion is mainly intended to offer a summary of previous scholarship. Touching on my own experience in Christian and biblical education in liberal arts university education in Japanese society, I would like to revisit the position of Christianity in modern Japanese society from the perspective of literature.

## 2. Idea of the individual

Back in 2017, Doshisha Women's College Archives Center, where I work, asked me to give a talk about the Reformation and the history of Doshisha Women's College. As you know, 2017 marked the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the *Ninety-five Theses* by Martin Luther (October 31, 1517). Since Doshisha's founder Jo Neesima studied Christianity in New England, America, in the Puritan tradition known as Congregationalism, attempting to consider the founding spirit of Doshisha from a Reformation perspective was indeed a significant undertaking. However, although I touched on the history of the Congregational church that had its roots in reformist Christianity, the main focus of my talk was the Fourth Council of the Lateran held in 1215, about three centuries before the Reformation.

The Fourth Council of the Lateran was an ecumenical council convoked by Innocent III, and is known for its agendas such as the establishment and protection of the Catholic faith, elimination of secular authority from clerical appointments, and reorganization of the Crusader army. Of the many decisions made, however, the decision requiring all residents, without exception, to confess their sins once every year seems to be the most significant in terms of its impact on posterity. Confession was made an obligation. People were required to acknowledge their sins that could not be concealed from God, who was considered omniscient, by thoroughly reflecting on their internal sins that had manifested in the form of behavior.

Though this may seem to be a jump in logic, one could say that in this sense Christianity is a religion that demands a very tough mentality. Confronting one's own sins is no simple task, but this is from where the European mentality of respecting the individual took form. This also means that it

took a long time – the whole period preceding the 13<sup>th</sup> century – for European society to develop a critical awareness of the issue concerning sins that lie deep within the individual.

Moreover, where there is light there is darkness. The Fourth Council of the Lateran restricted exchange and contact with pagans and also prohibited marriage with Jews or Muslims. We must not forget that the establishment and protection of the Catholic faith was embodied through such means. In an age when Christianity gained increasing influence, the existence of people opposed to this influence became exposed. In other words, an external Christian society was formed within Christian society itself. One could say that Christian society strengthened its interior structure by establishing an external existence.

Leaving aside whether this was a good or bad thing, 1215 was the moment when the power structure of Christianity discovered the individual as the basic unit constituting society. It was at this moment that the ideas of citizenship and democracy that served as the foundation for the modern political system were inscribed in history.<sup>2</sup>

The relationship between the formation of the idea of the individual and the Reformation is a very big issue. But that is not today's main theme. I prefer to focus on the relationship between the idea of the individual, which was developed and established throughout the long history of Christianity, and modern Japanese society.

### **3. The Bible in modern Japanese society**

I would first like to emphasize that the modern literary works produced in the Meiji period and thereafter by Japanese writers who were greatly influenced by the Bible and translated literature encouraged Japanese society to look at the inner feelings of individuals. One major difference between the feudal era and modern society was the existence of the idea of the “individual.” Stimulated by the Bible and other translated literature with a Christian background, the idea of the “individual” in modern Japanese society was formed through developing an awareness of one’s internal sins and sharing them with others. This literature is considered to have had an impact on even Soseki Natsume, who is generally not classified as a Christian writer in literary history, and Takeo Arishima, who is also known as an “apostate writer,” among others.

Why was it that Christians, who today only constitute about one percent of the total population, were able to play a significant role in the formation of the modern idea of the “individual”? An answer to this big question lies in a certain text, the Bible. Rather than understanding the Bible as the canon of Christianity or a source of Christian doctrine, modern Japanese society has tried to read it as literature. Unlike religious standards or doctrine, an understanding of the Bible as literature can

be developed without being bound by church or faith.

I would like to share a personal, albeit small, experience with you. Raised in a non-Christian family, my first encounter with Christianity was with a book on my father's bookshelf, none other than the Bible. It was this black-covered book that represented my first encounter with Christianity. I was in junior high school at the time. Looking back now, it is doubtful whether this can be considered my entry into Christianity. However, I think many people have experienced a similar encounter with the Bible.

"I read the Bible but don't go to church".<sup>3</sup> This is a famous passage from an essay by Osamu Dazai, one of the leading writers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This passage is a great expression of the relationship between Japanese society and Christianity. This is because it expresses concisely the fact that Japanese society has interacted with Christianity through freely reading, interpreting, and digesting the Bible, not through the mediation of the church as a religious community.

I would like to cite another famous passage by Dazai. In October 1936, Dazai was all but forced into hospitalization at Musashino Hospital in Tokyo to receive treatment for addiction to a narcotic painkiller called Pabinal. He received psychiatric treatment there. After leaving the hospital, Dazai wrote the following words in a diary-style work titled *HUMAN LOST* (1937): "It has taken me three years to get to the end of Matthew Chapter 28. Mark, Luke, John. Alas! How long will it be till I get to understand John?" I do not know how Dazai understood the inner world of the Christian faith, but we can infer from these words his obsession with the Bible, even though he may have been exaggerating a little.

However, *HUMAN LOST* cites the following passage from Matthew Chapter 5:25-26:

Settle matters quickly with your adversary who is taking you to court. Do it while you are still together on the way, or your adversary may hand you over to the judge, and the judge may hand you over to the officer, and you may be thrown in prison. Truly I tell you, you will not get out until you have paid the last penny.

To me, rather than indicating Dazai's religious understanding, this quote seems to show an attempt to project his own situation onto the process of the passion of Jesus, who was handed over to the judge and then the officer and eventually incarcerated. Dazai did not consider Jesus as someone to worship. Rather, maybe he tried to understand his own life by projecting his own situation onto Jesus' life and his suffering on the cross.<sup>4</sup> The Bible was a mirror that reflected Dazai's mind.

Many Japanese people were able to learn about the spirit of Christianity by accessing the Bible as literature, without being bound by faith or the church. Even a reader with no understanding of Christian doctrine or ethical values would inevitably recognize the ethics and fundamental questions

about existence that are presented in the Bible. If this is a valid hypothesis, one could argue that Christianity has had a huge impact on modern Japanese society, an impact that reaches far beyond Christians themselves who only make up about one percent of the population.

As Christian literature, including the Bible, started to come into contact with the foundation of Japanese culture, it further stimulated the sense of sin of the individual, while also gradually undergoing a transformation into I-novels and *Buraiha* (“Decadent School”) literature. Dazai also read the Bible, and he produced many great works around the theme of human falsehood and integrity as well as the egoism and inferiority complex that lie behind.

In literary history, Dazai is considered one of the foremost writers of the *Buraiha*. This transformation of Christian literature may have been made possible because of the fact that Japanese society as a whole was not deeply engaged in faith per se or the church as a community. In this sense, literature served as a catalyst between Christianity and modern Japanese culture, while, conversely, it also played a role in preventing direct contact between Christianity as a religion and Japanese culture.

#### **4. Bible and hymn translations and their impact**

I would next like to briefly consider how the Bible was introduced to Japanese society as a literary work, and also touch on the impact it had.

It is well known that the first Japanese edition of the Bible was the *Yakukan Fukuin no Den* (1837), which was translated and published in Macau. This edition is commonly known as the “Gützlaff Bible,” named after Karl F. A. Gützlaff who translated it. It was in this year that the Oshio Rebellion occurred in Japan. The missionaries J. C. Hepburn, C. M. Williams, J. Goble, and others who later settled in Japan all attempted to translate the Bible into Japanese individually. But soon the New Testament Translation Committee was formed, leading to the publication of the *Shinyaku Seisho Rukaden* [Gospel of Luke of the New Testament] (1875). The Old Testament was translated in a similar process, and it was in 1888 that both testaments became available in the form of a single book.

We will not look into the circumstances surrounding these translations and later biblical translations in depth today. But one thing I would like to point out is that the translation project of the Bible into Japanese was launched over 30 years before the establishment of the new Meiji government and the subsequent lifting of the ban on Christianity (1873), in a foreign location outside the surveillance of the shogunate.

Hymns were also introduced from a very early stage, although we do not have enough time to

cover this topic in detail today either. The history of Gregorian chants stretches back 450 years, since they are known to have already been introduced to Japan in the early days of Japanese Christianity.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, hymns predated biblical translations by three centuries.

Christianity was still banned during the first few years of the new Meiji government. Records show that in 1872, when the ban was still in place, the missionary J.H. Ballagh translated two English hymns into Japanese.<sup>6</sup> One of these hymns was translated as “Jesus Loves Me, the Bible Tells Me So.” Today, this hymn is included in *Sanbika 21* [Hymns 21] as no. 484, and is well known by the name of “Jesus Loves Me.” Furthermore, the melody of *Shabondama* (1923; written by Ujo Noguchi and composed by Shinpei Nakayama), a nursery rhyme that was popular throughout Japan in the Taisho period, is said to be based on this hymn.

It has often been pointed out that *Shinsen Sanbika* [Newly Selected Hymns], compiled by the Protestant Church in 1888, had a huge impact on modern Japanese poetry and literature. However, not only the lyrics but also the melodies of such hymns have profoundly inspired Japanese musical sensitivity. A similar process of reusing hymn lyrics and melodies has been identified in *Musundehiraite, Hotaru no Hikari*, and other songs that were adopted in *Shōgaku Shokashu Shohen* [Elementary School Songs: First Volume] (1884), Japan’s first ever music textbook.<sup>7</sup>

Another quote from Dazai: “The Bible has divided Japanese literary history into two distinctive parts with unprecedented vividness” (*HUMAN LOST*). Dazai was specifically referring to the field of literary history, but we could follow his suit and say that Christianity has divided the spiritual foundation of modern Japanese society into two distinctive parts.

## 5. Sense of sin and the individual as depicted in literature

Earlier on I talked about the Fourth Council of the Lateran. If Christianity in 13<sup>th</sup> century Europe discovered the idea of the individual as well as the sense of sin underlying it, modern Japanese society too encountered the sense of sin and the idea of the individual through the Bible and Bible-inspired literature.

There is a particular work that I often mention in class from this perspective. Katai Tayama was one of the leading writers of the naturalist school during the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century. We can consider the naturalist school as a sort of foundation for the emergence of Dazai and others of the *Buraiha. Futon* (1907) is one of Tayama’s masterpieces, but when I was in high school, I could not understand why this work was given such a place in Japanese literary history. I tried reading the book, but it was just boring and not at all interesting. Now, I understand why I was not interested in it at the time. As a high school student, all I could grasp was that the work was a pioneering example

of naturalist literature and I-novels. The work's profoundness was beyond my comprehension.

The plot goes like this. "The protagonist is a roughly middle-aged writer. A female apprentice of his quits to get married to her boyfriend. The writer breaks down into tears, with the bedclothes she used at the time in his arms." The scene of him "breaking down into tears with a young woman's bedclothes in his arms" vividly depicts the hidden inner feelings of the writer and the conflict within.

A few years ago, I had the chance of reading the book again. The young female apprentice graduated from Kobe College. Kobe College is a mission school founded by an American Congregational missionary group that had deep ties with Doshisha. This I already knew. Rereading through the book, however, I realized that the female apprentice's boyfriend was a student at Doshisha's School of Theology. And what is more, the couple met in Kobe Church, another place with deep ties with Doshisha.

A book on the history of Kobe Church,<sup>8</sup> includes a description and picture of the actual couple on which the characters were based. The couple went on to get married, but, unfortunately, later got divorced. I would like to look at a passage from the novel. Yoshiko Yokoyama, the female apprentice who appears in the novel, was based on a lady named Michiyo Okada. Below is a passage describing the mission-school-educated female protagonist trying to live freely in a way that symbolizes the closing years of the Meiji era.

Both her mother and father were devout Christians. Her mother, an especially zealous believer, had studied at Doshisha Girls' School. Her elder brother, the eldest son of the family, traveled to England and, after returning to Japan, became a professor at a certain public school.

I may have skipped over this passage had I not been careful. Michiyo's actual brother was named Jitsumaro Okada, who studied at both Doshisha and Keio. What surprised me was the part saying that her mother (a devout Christian) had studied at Doshisha Girls' School. As far as I know, the name "Doshisha Girls' School" only appears once in the book. But this passage gives us an insight into how society viewed girls' education at Doshisha in Tayama's time. Doshisha Girls' School appears in Tayama's novel as a school that educates and produces devout Christians. We can at least infer from this that Doshisha Girls' School was recognized by society in general as a classic example of devout Christianity.

What then are the implications of this novel? One possible implication is that in modern Japanese society, or in its intellectual history, Japanese society shared the mentality of the Fourth Council of the Lateran. The novel went as far as to depict the trivial desires that a middle-aged writer wanted to conceal. This is why the novel is generally considered a masterpiece of naturalist literature, but is also considered by some as a work that unnecessarily focuses on the protagonist's faults. Therefore,

the work is a pioneering example of the subsequent unique genre of modern Japanese literature known as I-novels, and the Buraiha is considered to have been a branch that grew from this trunk.

The writer, the protagonist of the story, describes his inner feelings and conflicts by confessing matters that he does not have to confess and does not want others to know about. In other words, it was because the Christian mentality of observing and confronting all one's own personal inner feelings had been introduced to modern Japan that the story could be written in the first place. Such a theme would have been unthinkable in the popular literature of the golden age of culture in the Edo period, or the period from the late 18th century to the early Meiji era. Popular literature was so appealing to readers because of its preposterous scenario, poetic justice, and witty and unconstrained style, not because of its depiction of the inner feelings of individuals.

Katai Tayama had clearly been influenced by the idea of the individual and the sense of sin that had arisen within the inner dimension of individuals, as well as the asceticism of modern Protestant Christianity that had developed from such concepts. The writer suffered from a guilty conscience. Through this work, many readers have confronted the issue of sin in Christianity and the awareness of the individual without even knowing it. According to my interpretation, *Futon* is testimony to the fact that literature served as an interface between modern Japanese culture and Christianity.

## 6. Biblical literature in the educational field

Let us change our perspective a little. I would like to share with you an example of how people of the younger generation in particular interact with Christianity in Japanese society today. I am referring to the theatrical play titled “Inori [Prayer]”,<sup>9</sup> which was created as part of a graduation production at Doshisha Women’s College of Liberal Arts and performed on campus last autumn.

The plot goes as follows: a member of a group of friends, who graduated from a Christian, and probably girls-only, high school a few years back, hits a dead end in life and takes her own life. Trying to find out the truth behind her death, her friends think back to their high school days many times and share their memories in the hope of identifying any traces of their late friend’s thoughts. In the process, the friends find the meaning of their own lives. The play is full of perplexing lines, and is like a thought experiment. What especially interested me was the scene where the group looks back on their high school days, for it includes numerous quotes from the Bible as well as hymns. Many of their memories were depicted in relation to the morning chapel hour and words from the Bible.

An important turning point in the play also featured a passage from the Bible, a passage that the late friend used to love singing in her high school days. “No test is given to you except what

is common to mankind. And God is faithful; he will not test you beyond what you can bear. But when you are tested, he will also provide a way out so that you can endure it" (New Testament, 1 Corinthians 10:13).

The word "test" is repeated three times in this short passage from the Bible, accompanied by a short explanatory sentence that reads "he [God] will also provide a way out so that you can endure it [the test]." The passage serves as an important foreshadowing in the play. Guided by these words from the Bible, or through experiencing the defamiliarization of everyday life (i.e., realizing the essence hidden in the everyday life), the friends as well as the audience start to proactively ponder what the tests in life are; why does God test us when we are supposed to live happily, can we endure such tests, what is the meaning of such tests if we can endure them, and what is the relationship between such tests and happiness, among other questions. *Inori* is carefully structured down to the smallest details, both in terms of its theatrical features and theme.

The Christian influence on the play is overwhelming. Whether the play's interpretation of Christianity hits home or is appropriate according to traditional Christian doctrine, teachings, and values is not an issue here. Although the student responsible for the planning, script, and production was a graduate of a high school affiliated to Doshisha, she neither had a Christian upbringing nor developed a special interest in Christianity during her school life at Doshisha.

But the play clearly considers the meaning of life with reference to the words of the Bible. It has nothing to do with the conventional question of what it means to live as a Christian in Japan, a pagan society. The characters engage in their pursuit of the truth while referring to the words of the Bible in a very natural way. The play unconsciously employs a Christian framework to imagine a world with a value that does not fit in the framework of reality. In the play, this transcendence that can only be imagined outside of reality is referred to as God, and the characters as well as the audience are led toward their inner dimension through dialogue with God.

## 7. Interpretation of biblical literature as a creative act

Outlining how modern Japanese literature confronted, adopted, and rejected Christianity would require us to discuss the works of numerous modern and contemporary writers, such as Tōkoku Kitamura, Roka Tokutomi, Tōson Shimazaki, Ryūnosuke Akutagawa, Rinzō Shiina, Shūsaku Endō, Yoshiro Ishihara, and Ayako Miura. But you do not have to be a great writer to be able to confront the fundamental questions raised by the Bible's textuality, literality, linguistic artistry, and ethicality; any normal young person is capable of this too.

Of course, the Bible is by no means an easy-to-read work of literature. Although this may be

in part due to the nature of the Japanese translation, the difficult-to-read nature of the Bible is manifested in the difference and opposition between the mythical worldview transmitted by the Bible and the scientific worldview developed in the modern era. For example, Genesis Chapter 2:7 states that “the Lord God formed a man from the dust of the ground.” This is completely different from the process of human evolution hypothesized according to findings of natural science. A person reading the Bible for the first time, without any knowledge of the history of biblical interpretation, may not be satisfied with this explanation. They may also think that Christian believers must be people who reject scientific knowledge and believe such an explanation of human origin.

In response to such a basic misunderstanding, and with regard to the meaning of reading the Bible, the biblical scholar Takashi Onuki once presented a redefinition around the keyword “empathy”:

However, the term ‘empathy’ here does not mean to blindly accept each sentence and description of the Bible as truth. Still less does it mean to adhere to the interpretation of a particular sect. Rather, it refers to the process where a person reads the Bible and rediscovers himself or herself as well as the world (P. Ricoeur).<sup>10</sup>

In other words, Onuki suggests that reading the Bible enables us to rediscover ourselves and the world. I would like to interpret this as meaning that we can create a new world within our inner selves. Let us recall, for example, the opening passage of Genesis:

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth (Genesis 1:1).

Even those not familiar with the Bible have probably at least heard this passage, as a statement representing the worldview of the Bible. Does this idea pose a contradiction to the current worldview based on natural science? I will not go into the details of the hypotheses concerning the Old Testament (in Hebrew) as a source here. But it is believed that the passage was written against the backdrop of the Babylonian exile (6th century B.C.), a traumatic ethnic experience involving the institutional disintegration of the Southern Kingdom of Judah. The leaders of the Southern Kingdom of Judah were taken captive by the Neo-Babylonian Empire, which had taken control after the Assyrian Empire, and forced to move to a foreign (and pagan) land. This was nothing but a tragedy—the collapse of the Southern Kingdom of Judah and the fall of Jerusalem. Biblical writers had to rebuild their faith in the Creation standing on those ruins, and perhaps thinking back to the city of Jerusalem and homeland they had lost.

In the following passage of Genesis, light is the first to be created:

And God said ‘Let there be light,’ and there was light (Genesis 1:3).

I think it is noteworthy that God’s creation of the world was implemented through the speech act

“Let there be light.” Standing on the ruins of Jerusalem, which had been totally destroyed by the Neo-Babylonian Empire, the biblical writers did not place their hope in the physical cosmos or the politics, military affairs, or institutional structures of the real world. The passage hints at the anguish and profound theological contemplation of the biblical writers, whose witnessing of the collapse of the real world had left them no choice but to seek stability in their conviction in a world that worked according to the segmentation function and creative function of language. This was a religious idea stating that the natural world in which people are meant to live is one where not violence or destruction but language serves as means of communication.

Light, which was summoned by God’s speech act, came into existence through its own responsibility and response. This is what can be called a “responsive relationship,” a relationship involving calling and responding. The phrase “heavens and the earth” that appears in the Bible is intended as a metaphorical expression of an inclusive totality. This all-inclusive world is founded on the “responsive relationship” of the communication between God and people or between people. This relationship is the sphere that should be called the spontaneity of this world.

Narration as a linguistic construct, and the world of the Bible as literature. These are what evoke the natural world, and induce people to approach it. The reader will start questioning why unjustness and unhappiness exist in a world that was supposed to have been created by God, and what is the relationship between the heavens and the earth that the Bible mentions “in the beginning” and the reality where he or she lives in the “now.” These questions can provide the reader with ample inner inspiration of the most fundamental kind.

“I believe what is written in the Bible.” One could, of course, opt for this way of believing. But the Bible can inspire us in a way that allows us to reinterpret the real world. One of the major functions given to literature is to reinterpret reality.

Rather than simply representing and being the source of Christian doctrine, the Bible itself has developed through confronting the realities of the human world filled with hardships. If we can consider this to be one of the literary characteristics of the Bible, then we could say that modern Japanese society, including the church as well as those outside the Christian community, have understood and familiarized themselves with the Bible in terms of its literary characteristics and been profoundly inspired by it.

## 8. Conclusion

A famous leader of social activities in Japan once told me that “One thing I can say from my experience in engaging in various social issues is that many Christians were involved in the effort.”

Though not a Christian himself, the leader had always kept the Bible and Japanese and foreign Christian literature at his side as points of reference through which to examine and relativize his own activities.

I would like to conclude by raising two points. The first is that modern Japanese society has assessed itself and learned the idea of the individual through Christian literature in a broad sense, including the Bible. This was the main topic of today's talk.

The other is that literature offers readers broad-ranging and empathic perspectives, while also being full of potential to create a freely-accessible community and society.

Although Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are all monotheistic religions originating from Abraham, their approach to and interpretation of canons are different. However, each of these cultures created a rich literary world based on canonical inspiration. I strongly believe that interdisciplinary research on monotheism with reference to literature will yield many meaningful and interactive results.

Our theme today was a broad one; there are many other related topics that I have not been able to cover. But I am very grateful for having been given the opportunity to revisit the profound extent to which the foundation of modern Japanese culture has interacted with Christianity through the medium of literature in a broad sense. Thank you for listening.

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## Notes

- 1 Cf. Yahiko Ito, "Jo Neesima to Ryoshin [Jo Neesima and Conscience]," in Doshish University Center for the Study of Conscience (ed.), *Ryōshingaku Nyūmon* [Introduction to Conscience Studies], (Iwanami Shoten, 2018).
- 2 Kinya Abe, *Yoroppa wo Miru Shikaku* [Perspectives for Viewing Europe], (Iwanami Shoten, 1996).
- 3 *Ichimon Itto* [Dialogues], 1942.
- 4 Kazuo Nohara, *Dazai Osamu to Seisho* [Osamu Dazai and the Bible], (Shinchosha, 1998).
- 5 Tatsuo Minagawa, *Orasho Kiko* [Oratio Journal], (The Board of Publications, The United Church of Christ in Japan, 1981).
- 6 Norihisa Suzuki, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōshi Nenpyō de Yomu* [History of Christianity in Japan: A Chronological Table], (Kyobunkan, 2017).
- 7 Suzuki, *op. cit.*
- 8 United Church of Christ in Japan Kobe Church (ed.), *Kindai Nihon to Kobe Kyōkai* [Modern Japan and Kobe Church], (Sogensha, 1992).
- 9 Script by Remika Yoshimura (Department of Media, Faculty of Liberal Arts), October 11, 2018.
- 10 Takashi Onuki, *Seisho no Yomikata* [How to Read the Bible], (Iwanami Bunko, 2010), 10.