

FSCN Discussion paper No.15-2, 22 December 2015

Living Enlightenment and Society Building

Suggestions from Grundtvig's Philosophy of "Folkelig High School"

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Portrayed by P. Ch. Skovgaard in 1847.

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Summary

This commentary addresses Japanese readers of Grundtvig's texts on High school (Højskole) for their comprehending an outline of his political and social thought. Almost 100 years since the first introduction of the name of Grundtvig in Japan, there is still very little influence of his work to Japanese society. However, today his philosophy of alternative education, especially the one that concerns the style of Folk high school has attracted an increasing number of people who are interested in changing the idea of obsolete educational system that seems to be exclusively designed for economic-centered developmentalism. In this paper, therefore, I attempt to reintroduce Grundtvig as a decisively influential figure of the Danish nation and society building and suggest a linkage between him and the Little-land policy in Japan.

Firstly, I regard Grundtvig as an intellectual reformist primarily approved the immediacy in separating secular knowledge from Christian religious faith. He also distinguished between the immediacy and analytical knowledge in general, criticized the latter for itself as dead, and tried to embed it into the organic living world by advocating Living Enlightenment (Livs-Oplysning). This enlightenment not only offered the intellectual foundation for his High school, but also ideologically pioneered so-called dialectic of enlightenment.

Secondly, I describe his reformation having led the Danish nation building based on the ideal of the Common Best (det Fælles Bedst) bridging divided intellectual circles. He was such a "folkelig" liberal against both the conservatives and the liberals from educated citizenry that his heart did not always go out to representative democracy, but rather to an "opinion guided absolute monarchy" combined power of king with public voice.

Thirdly, I describe his philosophy penetrated into Danish social context in a unique form such as co-operative affinitive market, consensus democracy, and welfare state etc. He has provided inspirations and ideological resources for a series of Danish reformations inclusive of today ongoing ones.

Finally, I associate Grundtvig's philosophy with the Little-land policy in Japan. In particular after the disasters called "3.11", I argue that this viewpoint has really been actual with reference to K. Uchimura's widely known lecture of "A Story of Denmark".

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Introduction

In this paper I reintroduce to Japanese readers N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872), who is a legendary figure whenever referring to the Danish nation and society building. As there is not always a strong interest in him among Japanese readers today, the papers, reports, and books discussing on him are merely of small number. But approximately 100 years ago, the name of Grundtvig first introduced into Japan, where there arose a large agricultural movement named “Janpan-Denmark”. Of course, there were lots of farmers and peasants who strived to imitate and implant the successful Danish dairies in order to create wealthy rural areas (Okada 1992). Although I cannot argue that this viewpoint of research has now completely disappeared, it sounds me a good old day’s story. In reality, almost eighty years later Grundtvig was rediscovered in Japan, where he was not any longer a peasant ideologue, but a philosopher of alternative education, antinuclear movement, and renewable energy. I have frankly been inspired from this viewpoint and decided to involve in studying his philosophy.

Now I also know that Grundtvig is essentially considered a liberal fighter in Danish historical context, although I myself somewhat hesitate to undertake this angle for introducing to Japanese readers. It is partly because in our cultural context, there is no religious tradition of Lutheran state church Grundtvig sought to liberalize, and partly because a varieties of liberalism has already prevailed before his reintroduction. At any rate I cannot deny that the confidence in liberalism in Japan is now relatively injured owing to engaging in the crude neoliberalism, whose influence has transformed the Japanese egalitarian society built after 2nd world war into the one with polarity and poverty. It is, according to my opinion, necessary that our liberalism should criticize itself toward a more confidential or social form, for which I often employ the concept of social humanism. However, without arguing it in detail here, I implement an overview of Grundtvig’s political and social philosophy, especially focused on his secular influence in order that we could significantly learn from him.

Incidentally, a liberal welfare reformation in 1990s' Japan, called "Long-term care insurance system" was also a trigger of my involving in Danish research. Although I was (am) not a specialist of insurance or welfare system research, the reformation produced a vast number of discussions and research projects among social scientists and policy makers to argue about which kind of welfare models should be taken into consideration. For instance, I memorize, there at that time bred such a symbolic notice of developed Danish system that "in Denmark there are no aged people constantly tied down to their own beds at all" (Okuma 1991). These discussions stirred me to be interested in and visit Denmark, at any rate.

However, after first visiting Denmark my research interest changed from the insurance issues to seeking for her social development in itself, and then started studying into Grundtvig, which I formerly described elsewhere (Koike 2005a, 2010). Only one thing to here add is that it seems me the idea of "negotiated economy" having given me a leading thread to keep studying into modern Denmark (Pedersen 1993, 2011; Pedersen et al. 1994). After its suggestion, I continue to trace into Danish institutional and ideological history by ascending to the era of Danish constitutional change. My Japanese translations of "*Grundtvig's Philosophical, Educational and Literary Writings*" are of the small result ⁽¹⁾.

And in 2011 there stroke the earthquake and tsunami in the East Japan, and the nuclear power accidents in Fukushima. In fact these disasters and accidents normally called "3.11" keep influencing us to review the Japanese model of modernization, and bringing lots of serious messages to change, no matter how aggressive the current neo-conservative government might persuade us to forget them. Thereafter I have come to deliberately deal with a question: what significant lessons from the Danish modern path we should learn at this historical turning point. This commentary is, nevertheless, only a provisional report for it, but shows a guideline of my research in future.

Now, let's start in the commentary in itself. N. F. S. Grundtvig

(1783-1872) I here reintroduce to readers was indeed famous only in Nordic countries before 21st century, but now the name begins to be spotlighted all over the world, because his ideas have in a decisive way contributed to building the nation of Denmark, “the happiest country in the world”, and been acknowledged as the philosopher of Danish heart among almost Danes, whatever political or ideological position (s)he may take (Pedersen 2010; Korsgaard 2012; Hall et al. 2015). In fact, his philosophy was at first renowned for the liberal peasant one, and then transformed itself to the national guideline in the first half of 20th century on account of contribution to building a social economy, a consensus democracy, and a democratic welfare state. In addition, under the German occupation during the 2nd world war, Grundtvig’s national legend spiritually underpinned the mobilization for managing Denmark as an independent country.

Furthermore, this legend has been widened, as he is considered a philosopher both of endogenous development in developing countries and of social education in European Union with the naming of “Grundtvig Programm”. In spite of having passed more than 140 years since his death, this philosopher is still cited from and referred to by many authors and politicians ⁽²⁾. And as for me, I have a presentiment that there arises a possibility of interpreting him as a philosopher not only for Danes, but also for humankind. Therefore I really hope that my translated texts acquire much more notice of Japanese readers.

In any case, it is undoubted that the projects researching into him are vigorous nowadays, even if putting aside the annual journal of “*Grundtvig Studier*”. In addition, some interpreted texts such as German and English versions are latest published. These are actually renewing Grundtvig’s image one after another. It looks as if present days may engage in tailoring Grundtvig from a marginal priest in 19th century’s Europe widely to a philosopher for humankind as I repeatedly stress. By coincidence I collaborate with such “tailors”.

Nevertheless, it is still a real situation that almost Japanese readers question, who Grundtvig is. More precisely, he has utterly

been forgotten in our national context since the Great depression in 20th century, although some small academic circles such as in Tokai University have only transmitted him and his story from generation to generation. I know that there lie such many obstacles to separate Grundtvig from Japanese readers as geographical distance, difference of languages and cultural contexts, esoteric style of his texts due to unknown genealogy of his idea, and so forth. Whereas, there rises also a hope to regain him, especially owing to the Danish Folk high school movement. Officially, it is announced that approximately 75 Folk high schools are running in Denmark (AFHD 2012). These continuously transmit Grundtvig's name and philosophy into our cultural contexts.

Yet, this commentary could not give a full account of him due to the limit of my study. I only attempt to overview his intellectual and political philosophy in general, without sticking to details. Hence, I briefly refer to some themes such as his intellectual reformation, political philosophy and influences to society. Finally, I try to link these themes with Japanese historical context by introducing our Little-land policy for closing this commentary.

1. “Living Enlightenment” as intellectual reformation

As mentioned above, Grundtvig was a philosopher who discussed about all sorts of secular matters, while he was a priest from both the Danish state and national churches, about which I have little knowledge to describe. The point I stress here is that he elaborately distinguished religious “faith (Tro)” from “immediacy (Anskuelse)” of the secular world. Especially the latter was considered open and accessible not only for Christians, but also for naturalists and heathens. Therefore, Grundtvig always respected immediacy when he comprehended the secular world and discussed about the basic element of knowledge in school. Then he sometimes employed the words of “Mosaic-Christian Immediacy” or “Historical-Poetic Immediacy” etc., which essentially constituted the intelligence of “Folkelig high school (Folkelig Højskole) ⁽³⁾”. As today's Japanese interests in Grundtvig are likely

to converge on school discussion, I first and foremost attempt to posit his intellectual philosophy in the genealogy of modern Western thought ⁽⁴⁾.

Now, when discussing the modern way of thinking originated from Europe, one normally refers back to R. Descartes' philosophy on account that his celebrated principles such as "cogito ergo sum" and "clear and distinctive" deduction conspicuously reinforce a reliable subjectivity. Here I call this subjectivity the principle of human reason, which has developed a philosophical main stream and globally prevailed up to today. It is often pondered that this stream surpassed the classic arts at the end of 17th century owing to a strong support by mathematical natural sciences, and bloomed the golden era of enlightenment in 18th century's Europe. This enlightenment is literally defined as lightening darkness by virtue of reason. It obtains in its action an enormous amount of knowledge and findings, and transmits these to public sphere, even if it has a distinction of methods between the continental deductive and the British empiricist ways. In any case, the principle of subjective reason works forward as a successive process as long as the darkness exists, consequently brings not only an intelligent reformation, but also a social revolution according to it such as in France, and still now continues dissolving the mysterious or irrational ways of thinking and system. In comparison with political and industrial revolutions, one can ponder this enlightenment as an eternally successive process, or as a process of philosophical revolution.

By the way, it is well-known that such an enlightenment is self-referentially discussed in the Kantian thesis, stating that enlightenment is the exit from one's own dependence and the awakening of one's autonomy to have the courage to employ one's own understanding (Kant, I.: *Answer to the Question of What Enlightenment is*, 1784). Naturally this reference has linked to one's subjectivity and promoted to establish new schools instead of churches. The historical productivity of these new institutions are both cognitively and practically so evident that anyone could not totally deny it now.

However, if further reflecting over the historical process until the latest situation in 21st century, it is also apparent that the reversal process from rationality to irrationality is identified. In other words, the rational enlightenment embraces some dangerous elements to and pressures against human nature, on which, for instance, German philosophers, Adorno and Horkheimer once took into consideration in their collaborated work in 1947 under the title of *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.

With regards to modern sciences in particular, this reversal is poignantly clear for us from the Atomic bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the nuclear power plant disasters in Fukushima in 2011, and the like. As for Grundtvig, on the one hand he recognized the principle of human reason and its enlightenment as historical necessity, on the other, he already in 19th century discerned and accused the paradox or toxicity in it. Hence, his philosophy of “Living Enlightenment (Livs-Oplysning)” engages in both developing the immune body against toxicity and lightening a path of far sounder modernity with the aid of intelligence symbolized by “Sunshine (Solskin)”. In other word, it is committed in weeding out the abuses of rational enlightenment, and in an organic way embeds the direct actions of subjective reason into people’s social lives for relaxing them. I assume that this philosophy has successfully influenced to the Danish path since the second half of 19th century and crystallized Denmark herself as if she were an art by “Life”.

Incidentally, as regards the toxicity of subjective reason, it is natural that a romantic thought should be discussed, because the latter resists against the former by stressing anti-atomism, anti-uniformity, individuality, sentiment, life, harmony, and so on. Considering Grundtvig’s philosophical genealogy, it is probably decisive that the romantic naturalism by F. W. J. Schelling, who had translated and systemized a pantheism from B. Spinoza’s metaphysic of “deus sive natura” into German idealist context, was introduced to Nordic countries through a Norwegian-Danish philosopher H. Steffens’ *Introduction to Philosophical Lectures* in Copenhagen in 1802-03. In fact, he violently pushed Nordic

romanticism to bloom ⁽⁵⁾. Of course, Grundtvig attended the lectures, acknowledged them as great events, and even regarded his own cousin Steffens (1773-1845) as a philosophical originator of Grundtvig's High school (Koch 1959).

However, Grundtvig does not immediately accept the romanticism inspired by Schelling, who was one of standard-bearers of German idealism and stressed the philosophical principle of "the Absolute Identity" between spirit and nature, while this principle was considered only capable to comprehend with immediacy of genius, consequently useless of educating it to common people (Scharling 1947; Koike 2009). On the one hand, Grundtvig severely criticized a scientific way of thinking such as merely employing analysis and taking dead or divided things into consideration, on the other, he also pondered it possible for people to access the truth through the historical process of analysis, discussion, and integration by immediacy, even if not complete for reaching the absolute truth. In short, his principle was so historical that it linked the romanticism with enlightenment. Therefore, his "Living Enlightenment" can embrace discovery and organize some productivity in the process.

In reality, Grundtvig presumes the rational enlightenment in a dual way, namely it is inevitable, but relatively "more superficial" and dangerous without detoxification. Therefore, he makes it a rule not always to refuse rational cognition in general, but to detoxify and embed this in its organic or living social context, which is why he also calls his "Living Enlightenment" "more radical" or deeper one (Grundtvig 1983). Cognitively, his view of truth is neither summarized to the empirical identity between human understanding and its object, nor to the rational construction of it. Employing these methods are indeed preconditions of recognizing some truth, but after Grundtvig, one simultaneously and basically must depend on judgements by common subjectivity temporally generated through vivid verbal interactions. Hence, truth comes into existence until it is integrated in the process of making "Common sense (sund Menneske-Fornunft)". Somewhat rudely to say, it comes into being

only by reaching people's consent from below (Grundtvig 1905).

Consequently, such a truth can be neither simply symbolized by abstract concepts and numerical formulas, nor transmitted only through the universal language such as Latin into some academic circles. Rather, it is acquired only through the process of "the Living Word (det Levende Ord)", in which it ferments by virtue of a historical and interpersonal process, i.e. interactions among individuals, groups, classes, and nations, where dialogues, discussions, conflicts, and even wars are included, although the last must be avoided in any case. In this process, a given common sense beyond any doubt develops and deepens itself to an intellectual common asset for humankind ⁽⁶⁾. I conceive it not as a product of abstract inter-personalization, but as the one of historical democratization of intellectual sphere. Therefore, on the one hand I associate it with dismantling the classic humanism with authoritarian order, on the other, with objection against the new authoritarianism inherent in modern rational subjects, for examples excessive meritocratic way of thinking, specialist worship, and classist reorganization of society after them, into which the public in Japan are now incline to fall. At any rate, it must be confirmed that Grundtvig's intellectual reformation necessarily accompanies with such a political dimension.

2. Redistribution of intellectual and political resources for human education

In this section I discuss about three traits of the intellectual reformation of Living Enlightenment by turns, that is, wisdom to bridge crevasses, education for national and human subjects, and intellectual custom in High School.

First of all, I consider the wisdom to bridge crevasses, namely to combine separated things with intercourse. For example, in some texts of Folkelig high school, Grundtvig often employs the expression of "Enlightenment and Education (Oplysning og Dannelse)", through which he suggests that the transmission of some knowledge should essentially accompany not only with personal awareness, but also with communalization or

socialization. The bottom line for him is to achieve a human-hearted growth by accepting knowledge or information. Generally, church is linked with Christian faith essential to confidence and devotion for the absolute, while school has something to do with acquiring knowledge and awaking self, in other words, school is more or less an institution for individualization.

However, when Grundtvig refers to High school as “Enlightenment and Education”, it means not only a superficial transmission of knowledge, but also the transmission is simultaneously implemented through a linguistic “Interaction (Vexsel-Virkning)”, therefore the acquaintance of participant’s individuality or the awareness of her/ his uniqueness is attained in a human way or in a relatively fraternal community. In other words, human growth is necessarily considered involved in both individualization and communalization. In Japan, the latter is normally supposed as the ones of family, neighborhood, school, and workplace, which are more or less vertically organized. Whereas in Grundtvig’s Folkelig high school the “Enlightenment and Education” create a different communality from the Japanese ones, because the High school’s relationship is as the one of equal and mutual fellows Aristotle called “philia”. After all, all of High school’s activities cannot be separated from building the relationship necessarily linked with a democratic citizen or nation building, indeed.

Besides, there is another word of education called “Uddannelse”, which means that one acquires some special knowledge or skill for one’s own growth in order to gain chances in future. In Japanese context, the public tend to consider this form of education as if it were one and only, although Grundtvig names it “more superficial” or “dead”. This “Uddannelse” for itself divides and differentiates individuals from one another without any interaction. Thus, we always need to remind that Folkelig high school aims at always combining “Uddannelse” with “Dannelse”, namely awareness of individuality with interaction, in order to build the personality in civil society as Grundtvig’s texts repeatedly stress.

Therefore, his “civil society” exists neither in castle in the air, nor in the “republic of scholars” completely taken off from human nature and ethnicity. It does not adopt Latin, mathematics, and universal signs as ruling media, either. Instead, the “civil society” comes into existence through communication primarily by employing one’s mother tongue as “the Living Word”. In short, it consists in the element of national community called “Folkelighed”. This explains why Grundtvig called his idea of citizen’s school Danish high school or Norwegian high school etc.

Indeed, an ethnic language as communication medium excludes peoples employing the other ethnic languages, which is on the one hand a problematic truth, although I do not deal with it here. On the other, this language makes it possible to bridge lots of mental divides in the one and same national community. In 19th century, as nation building was generally an urgent business, in which according to Grundtvig lied many divides and dualistic ways of thinking to overcome such as between logos and pathos, mind and body, reason and emotion, the foreignness and indigenusness, men and women, rulers and subjects, independence and dependence, academic learning and enlightenment, civilization and savagery etc. Hence, the crucial point for him was to redistribute intellectual resources and institutions for achieving the goal of rearrangement of superstructure in the one and same community.

Certainly this logic may provide the possibility of intellectual and political equality, but there still remains a variety of real imbalances and inequalities to resolve, especially the economic imbalance. In contrast, socialist movements and welfare institutions regard it the basic task to redistribute material resources so as to overcome social gaps, and then to change the existing obsolete superstructure. In comparison with this, repeatedly Grundtvig’s reformation is in the first place set for redistributing intellectual human resources and changing politics, whereas the problems of economic basis still leaves uncovered. In such an ideological contrast, I recognize that there lies a “Grundtvig and Marx” problematic, which I mention to later

briefly.

In any case, Grundtvig primarily tackled the problem of reforming superstructure by inventing a new institution of people's higher education called "Folkelig Højskole". According to his texts, his reformation attempted to institutionalize both "academic learning (Videnskab)" and "civic building (Bogerlig Dannelse)" not only in each way, but also in the reciprocity of these two after the "Nordic illuminating thought". Here I refer to this reformation further.

Firstly as regard to the "academic learning", we must take notice of his plan of "Academic high school (Videnskabelig Højskole)", i.e. Nordic University of Gothenburg in Sweden. As well-known, indeed Grundtvig called Folkelig high school in Søre "the School for the life (Skolen for Livet)", where a national circle was assumed to establish, and almost participants were supposed peasantries as well as the applicants for jurists, governmental officials, and clergymen, who could join the school as same fellow citizens, or as members of the one and same folk without any entrance examination.

However, he also designed for the plan of Nordic University called "School for Pleasure (Skole for Lyst)", having two main pillars of physical and historical sciences and aiming at investigating into the universal-historical truth of human nature (Menneskelighed) in the common academic custom in Nordic three countries, i.e. Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Beside, this custom assumed to have a mission of abolishing the rule by analytical knowledge, establishing the real learning, recovering the human nature suppressed under the ongoing superficial modernization. Therefore it had a historical mission of releasing the real academic learning from the alienation of spirit with the guiding thread of the Nordic immediacy associated with a mythical figure, Heimdallr.

In reality, Grundtvig based on the immediacy underlines the distinction between religious faith and human knowledge, in which the latter is valid for the common intelligence without regarding religious or cultural differences, even if the immediacy

called “Mosaic-Christian” originally stemmed from Christianity (Grundtvig 1907).

But I reserve here to argue about his view of academic learning in detail. Rather, I must be satisfied with shortly reconfirming several points as follows. 1) According to Grundtvig’s original idea of High school, there is the distinction between Folkelig and Academic high schools, in which the former has something to do with education for citizen and nation building, the latter aims at searching into universal history of humankind and clarifying human nature in and for itself. 2) With regard to students’ visiting, the former necessarily invites people who hope to be citizens, the latter scientists. 3) The education for jurists or governmental officials are assigned not to the Academic high school, but to the Folkelig one, through which they are educated as neither subjects of royal sovereignty nor ruling aristocrats and large landowners, but as intrinsic democratic public servants closely associated with and served for citizens or normal people in general. 4) Both forms of High school should interact and complement with each other.

Secondly, I mention to the theme of nation building as his goal of intellectual reformation. In truth, Grundtvig stresses to build a nation without any slavery in the last part of text of “The School for Life”, and simultaneously persuades governmental officials, scholars, and clergymen into contributing to freedom toward “the Common Best (det Fælles Bedste)”, which signifies his own political philosophy corresponded to the revolutionary era (Birkelund 2000, 2001a, 2008). Needless to say, the European world after the French Revolution in 1789 was generally involved in the transformation of polities from an absolute monarchy to a parliamentarianism. Particularly in Denmark, the turbulence of the reactionary Vienna Settlement caused by the July Revolution in France resulted in establishing 4 provincial advisory parliaments in the United Kingdom of Denmark (Helstat) in 1830s, Grundtvig promptly responded to.

Hence, two of advisory parliaments inside Denmark began acting from 1835 in Viborg in Jutland and in Roskilde on Zealand.

Grundtvig himself was incidentally a supporter of absolute monarchy as was regulated by Ruling Law (Lex Regia), governed by public opinion, and implemented several radical reformations from above. Although he had been skeptical about the parliamentarianism and rather considered it too early to well function owing to people's inexperience, such a skepticism was dismayed at their fair actions, which persuaded him to eliminate his skeptical attitude and to understand the necessity of democratization, where common people should take over political institutions and discuss with learned citizens. Grundtvig more than before convinced of the urgent need of people's education for parliamentarianism. In this meaning, he had priority of nation building or citizen building over state or institutional building relatively separated from nation, and therefore eagerly petitioned the king Christian VIII for establishing Folkelig high school in Søre on Zealand.

Incidentally, a Danish word "Almue (common people)" seems me quite interesting. It literally means common properties underlain as passive labor forces and political subjects to ruling class. Although they were substantially peasants at that time, it was needed for them to break away from themselves as they were, toward modern subjects, "Folk" or "citizens" in order to well function democracy and parliament system. The Folkelig high school planed in Søre should assist this project of citizen's building, and moreover guide and provide "common properties" for paving away for a path to develop themselves as total humans.

Hence, the human growth from "Almue" to "Folk" probably sums up Grundtvig's own intellectual and political project. It in an adequate and successful way builds and underpins the Danish version of nation linked with ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity French Revolution declared and tried to embody, although did not always achieve successfully. I suppose that such a human growth must bring some character of "Danishness (Danskhed)" into nation state, democratically institutionalized welfare state, and half-politicized social economy.

Thirdly, I discuss about some traits of Folkelig high school. As

referred above, this high school often called “the School for the Life (Skolen for Livet)” is considered an alternative to “School for Death”. Namely, when referring to the “dead” education, Grundtvig always kept in mind the traditional humanistic education based on unusual language such as Latin. It was regarded compelling pupils mechanical studies and trainings such as committing spells, phases, and grammar to memorize only for examinations, where a wrong version of meritocratic system becomes far more essential than the combination of personal identity and communalization or socialization. Oppositely, Grundtvig puts up this combination with the widely known key word of “Interaction (Vexsel-Virkning)” through “the living Word (det levende Ord)” for aiming that school works not only to stimulate sorely for the autonomy of our understandings or reasons, but also to shake our confined souls and hearts and develop us to the “total humans”, of course with both sober understandings and warm hearts. Songs or poems, histories, and even myths by employing oral method vigorously supported such a personal developing project.

In addition, it is necessary for us to know Grundtvig’s principal idea that “Life (Liv)” is more than reason, while poetry and imagination already include understanding or reason. To begin with, “Experience (Erfahrung)” cannot be deduced to a cognitive meaning, rather, this is subsumed into a historical experience consisting of personal, social, and universal human lives. Consequently, Grundtvig’s Living Enlightenment cannot not be resumed by the brilliance of cool-headed reason, but symbolized by the warm sunlight releasing total humanity from freezing. In reality, his poem addressed to the opening of Marielyst High school simply declared it (Grundtvig 1956):

As Sun shines in the Spring Season,
And as it warms in Summer Days,
All intrinsic Enlightenment is mild and gentle,
So our Hearts must well be pleaded;
Despite Resentment of the Darkness

In Sunbeam's Arms
Out of Light and Warmth
Breeds Joyfulness of the Hearts

The High school in which Grundtvig's philosophy of Living Enlightenment was embodied should lighten the darkness of the world in virtue of sunshine, and rejoice our hearts. The Enlightenment should open the dimension of intellectual cure and care for the abuses of spiritual divisions, for instance, between "Head" and "Heart" or mind and body, shortly between "spirit" and "dust". Employing a concept of Danish philosopher K. E. Løgstrup (1905-81), High school should release the place of "sovereign expressions of life", i.e. courage, delight, trust, warmth and hope in our lives (Birkelund 2001b). Therefore it reproduce some mechanized and alienated relation into a natural and decent human community.

One may say that such concept of school is coming hard to imagine in current Japan, where the rude version of neoliberalist competition and the excessive state control from our authoritarian tradition cooperate together for removing spiritual freedom. Our educational system tends to be, whether it is lower or higher, designed for producing hierarchy and built as an apparatus without communalization. Although I have no room to discuss about this further, the point is to suggest a large distance of the Japanese educational system from the Danish one greatly influenced by Grundtvig and Grundtvigian tradition such as by Ch. Kold (1816-1870)⁽⁷⁾.

Incidentally, I can imagine that as the Japanese type of modernity once had collapsed because of the defeat of the Second World War, the "Sunlight" similar to Danish type temporarily peeped out between the dark clouds, indeed (Koike 2005a). But soon another version of "School for Death" reappeared. However, I believe that the intrinsic ways of schooling combined acquisition of knowledge and skills with pleasure of life, awareness of citizenship, and human community are not totally abandoned even in our social context. Hence, there is still a hope for regaining as a

meaningful intellectual reformation as the Danish one, which motivates me keep continuing my Danish study for some basic contribution to it.

3. “The Common Best” and its embodiment

Thus, although Grundtvig is generally renowned as a priest, a hymnal writer, and a historian etc., here I basically take him into consideration as an intellectual reformer with political perspective. Relevantly, it is pointed out that the viewpoint of considering him a secular and original political philosopher rather than a theologian or a religious leader, lately is becoming more and more popular (Pedersen 2010), which I also have taken part in unintentionally.

Additionally, I have already introduced to Japanese readers Grundtvig as a symbol of national solidarity under the Nazi occupation of Denmark during the 2nd World War, about which I showed them several years ago by translating into Japanese Hal Koch’s excellent work, *N. F. S. Grundtvig*. It is well known that in the beginning of 19th century the tension between Denmark and Germany started getting more and more serious especially around the Schleswig and Holstein, and even the wars broke out twice. During the time, Grundtvig joined the national meeting on Skamlingsbanken in Jutland in 1843 to uplift Danish nationalism and encourage “Danishness (Danskhed)”. Then he began to publish *A Weekly Journal The Danish People (Danskeren Et Ugeblad, 1848-51)* so as to stress and maintain the independence of his fatherland and the right of mother tongue, although he himself simultaneously approved the independent rights of other nations and their mother tongues. Therefore, he never employed any expansionist or imperialist discourses, which I consider as showing us his own Little-land policy.

Relevantly, briefly referring to the national defense debate in his “Address in Danish Parliament against the so-called general conscription”, Grundtvig regarded official armament and conscription as oppressing people, and stated the defense of fatherland as an essential task of national voluntarism relying on

people's heart. Such a defense guideline was moreover developed to the pacific neutralism by P. Munch (1870-1948), an excellent political readers of the Radical Liberals, whose idea, I dare to write, also links to the current Japanese pacifist constitution. In reality, according to Munch, the people of fatherland could without fail revive from some occupation by some invading country, consequently from suspending their state apparatus, if they did have maintained their national-cultural unity (Korsgaard 2004, 2006). Such kind of pacifism was succeed by Hal Koch who was a professor of Church history at the university of Copenhagen, a chairman of the Danish Collaborative Associations of Youth, and a political leader of pacifist resistance against Nazi occupation. As mentioned before, just after German occupation began in 1940, Koch held a series of lectures on Grundtvig as a symbol of national solidarity (Koch 1959), and in a different way from Munch, stressed the political unity rather than the cultural (Koch 1942).

Now I return to Grundtvig himself and take out the essence of his political philosophy. As the enlightenment era was generally considered at the peak era from 18th century to the beginning of 19th century, the constitutional change from absolute monarchy to modern civil society based on liberty, equality, and fraternity was vigorously promoted all over Europe, and then social contract theory began to work practically. In reality, although Grundtvig supported the Danish absolute monarchy, he came to understand the necessity of the change and look for a Danish successful transformation in contrast with the serious errors and confusions of the French Revolution. As regards this historical context, I discuss, it is decisively necessary to focus on the concept of “the Common Best (det Fælles Bedste)” Grundtvig adopts as the principle of his philosophy. This concept could be associated with “phronēsis” different from “epistēme”, if employing the words in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. The latter refers to theoretical truth, which must be defined only one meaning, whereas the former referring to practical truth tied with the best meaning or decision making, even if there could be other possibilities.

For Grundtvig, therefore, “the Common Best” is basically

given not by any metaphysics a priori, but through some historical experiences a posteriori inclusive of theories, and drives existing knowledge to be refined and deepened not by violence or physical power, but by intrinsic political power of “logos”, i.e. dialogues, discussions, and even conflicts after rules, namely in general by linguistic interaction. One may normally presume that on the one hand, the Common Best should “from above” be interpreted rationally by high-ranking bureaucrats, on the other, the parliament majority could decide what it is. In contrast, Grundtvig’s approach is characteristic, or in a third way. He wished to make a decision of “Common Best” different from both rationally enlightened absolutism and majority principle of parliamentarianism. Rather he was engaged in so-called “the opinion-guided absolute monarchy” by referring to the combination of “freedom of king” with freely expressed “people’s voice” (Grundtvig 1968a; Birkelund 2008; Damsholt 2015).

In truth, he considered this combination as creating the intrinsic freedom and even the introduction of absolute monarchy in 1660 as a kind of “revolution” on account of being a step toward the combination, although being a “dangerous betting”. Grundtvig understood that in case of the French absolute monarchy in 18th century the power block of privileged ruling classes consist of king, nobles, and priests cruelly oppressed the ruled classes of bourgeoisie and common people present almost 96 percent of all population, and that the revolution turned to violently rebelling against the ruling block and also brought lots of failures and turbulence.

Differently, the absolutism in Denmark came into existence because king and priests allied with both bourgeoisie and people tried to institutionally remove the decentralized powers of local nobilities and settle urgent matters both domestic and foreign, so interpreted Grundtvig (Grundtvig 1877, 1968). Although I cannot judge immediately and exactly, whether this view of Danish absolutism is appropriate or not, there are likely some supportive discussions which describe it as having based on the Ruling Law (Lex Regia) and relatively been fair, rational, and uncorrupt

system (Knudsen 1993). As some texts such as “The Danish Four-leaf Clover” refers, the Danish polities always retain some tradition of “the Great Thing” from Viking era, namely a tradition of combining one dimensional rule by law and leader with people’s freedom, which is modified to the linkage of simple political center with public opinion and multiple negotiation networks, or the linkage of the unity of constitutional state with highly liberal civil society. The bottom line is, how to connect these factors and reach “the Common Best”.

As for Grundtvig, he, on the one hand, seemed to have kept some mental support for the Danish monarchy in all his life, on the other, could not approve a rent-seeking by bourgeoisie through the parliament majority. On the contrary, the successful embodiment of “the Common Best” was regarded decisively dependent on well-functioning people’s voice when establishing the local advisory parliaments in 1830s, through which the state power and the people’s voice were to collaborate together. At this point, the important thing is not only that people’s voice should grow, among others, that common people almost consist of peasants should awake themselves to citizen or “Folk”, assert their own sense of values and interests next to officials, scholars, and landowners, and arrive at “the Best” in virtue of discussions and negotiations etc. But also that the educated citizenry in Denmark should share the feeling and heart of the people and take part in a horizontal people’s community or “Folkelighed”. In this meaning, one can easily understand that Folkelig high school in Sorø had to be the institution of nation or “Folk” building inclusive of popularization of the educated citizenry, which could produce the condition of special Danish polity, the political center guided by public voice.

Supplementally, I shortly mention to the terminology of “Folk”, “folkelig”, and “Folkelighed” instead of “Nation”, “national”, and “National-hood” ⁽⁸⁾. Needless to say, “Nation” was a symbolic word in the French Revolution in late 18th century, while it came to be employed in Denmark as a political slogan by educated citizenry. In fact, these named themselves “National Liberalism”, which was

a less strict political network of elite circles with Latin or German cultural background and had a strong self-awareness of guardianship for politically inexperienced common people. For instance, O. Lehmann (1810-70), one of most influential figures among the citizenry, persistently stressed the power shift in Denmark from absolutist to parliament system as the one from king to social elites. He openly professed that the constitutional change “never entrusted the state governance to the uneducated people” (Korsgaard 2012, s.55). In this discourse, so-called the principle of “government for the people” was certainly declared, but neither the government “by the people” nor the one from the bottom.

Reversely, Grundtvig’s view of people or people-hood requires the common people or peasants (Almuen) in old corporative state to clear their old identity toward self-awakening people of “Folk” through enlightenment and human education. “Folk” cannot be delegated passively by elite circles, rather, they can be the political citizens only by growing from the below, in which one easily imagines the decisive role Folkelig high school plays. Even if its real plan in Sorø was to be lost, a large number of small private “Folk high schools (Folkehøjskoler)” managed by Grundtvigian grew densely especially after the bitterly defeat of the war in 1864, and Grundtvig’s philosophy was succeeded to them in a unique way. Relevantly, in the United Liberal party (Det Forenede Venstre) was established in 1870, activated vigorously and achieved “the System Shift (Systemskiftet)” in 1901 many party leaders hailed from High schools, and among the others, J. Ch. Christensen (1856-1930), having hailed from Marielyst High school (Grundtvig’s High school), was inducted to a Danish prime minister from the Liberals.

4. Building of “Samfund”

In this section, I discuss about Danish modern society, which, I assume, includes not only human relation, but also the one combined with a material (re)distribution⁽⁹⁾. Taking the gist before others, Grundtvig devoted himself to an intellectual-political

reformation as mentioned above, whose ideology has been greatly influential not only to the characteristic social process of Denmark called “Samfund”, but also to the democratic welfare state since the beginning of 20th century, and to the national negotiated system recently developed.

In the first place, as respects one of basic characters of Danish market economy, it is already well-known to Japanese readers that the cooperatives, Grundtvigian Folk high school movement had produced a plenty of talents for, gave a large influence to Japanese agricultural reformation, particularly to the “Japan-Denmark” movement in early 20th century, to which I refer briefly.

In 19th century the exports of grain to Britain and continental Europa was the highly important part of Danish economy. But as the developments of means of transportation such as steamship and railway network made it easier to transport grains from other continents to Europe, Danish agriculture met with a large difficulty. Then the people engaging in agricultural sector regained from it by switching the staple of production, exporting from grains to daily products, whose management was charged to cooperatives, and starting up banks and insurance system by themselves, where the legend of wealthy agricultural country of Denmark generated. Indeed these cooperatives were private and independent economic units from state, but simultaneously ran through with the democratic management after the Rochdale model in UK, for example, the principle of one person one vote by disregarding scale of one’s estate or number of livestock. Here one may identify such Danish market economy as highly liberal, politically self-regulated, and religiously or ideologically linked (Michelson 1969).

Secondly, I discuss about what sort of relation there is between Grundtvig and welfare state. It is not necessarily positive, although some Japanese references describe that Grundtvig is a guiding thinker of welfare state (Andersen 1999). As for this question, I cannot help but find some complication and confusion. In truth, Grundtvig himself was not always a supporter of state intervention. Since Danish economy collapsed after the Napoleonic

war, he considered a welfare settlement essentially taken over by family and local community except for an intellectual institution such as High school (Philip 1947; Korsgaard 2012). Besides, it is also pointed out that he relatively relied on the optimistic view of liberal utopia on the harmony between market and “Common Best”, as well as A. Smith did on his “invisible hand” (Vind 2015).

Incidentally, Grundtvig made four voyages to 19th century’s England and admired of both a large factory “to acquire freedom with iron gloves” and a din and bustle of parliamentarianism, in which he rediscovered the old Nordic fighter’s spirit (Grundtvig 1968b; Koch 1959). Hence, he does not seem to sufficiently recognize the capitalistic reality of large-scale emergence of proletariat and their suffering serious social problems (Tjørnehøj 2004). Indeed he accused large factories of making persons thoughtless, expelling artisan skills from work place, insulting workers as slaves of machinery, and poor relieves implemented in Britain inhumanly etc. (Grundtvig 1877). But the resolution of these problems were not discussed appropriately for the scale. Grundtvig’s texts certainly witness that he was a freedom fighter for religion, publication, and even female release. But it is also true that he still embraced a kind of liberal utopia previous to the industrialization due to such a historical restriction as an early 19th century man had, which one cannot overlook.

Nevertheless, I do not at all have any intention to number him an unsocial or anti-welfare writer. As a matter of fact, his famous egalitarian thesis has been seen as a significant principle to resolve social problems brought by industrialization, offered a guiding thread to the Nordic universal welfare model of redistributing social resources in a large scale, and gained many followers of him not only among liberalists but also social democrats. As for Japanese readers, they practically responded susceptibly when I introduced this thesis to them (Koike 2005b, 2011; Kike and Nishi 2007), because today’s Japanese society has fiercely transformed from an egalitarian to a class divided form in decades. In any case, he stresses as follows,

There lies our wealth on this tenet we draw,
That few are too rich, and still fewer too poor
(Far greater Mountains, 1820)

Concerning the idea of public welfare, it seems me necessary to briefly mention the social philosophy of H. L. Martensen (1808-84), who was once a bishop of Zealand. Actually, he straightly faced the social problems caused by modern industrialization, criticized both classic liberalism and utopian or revolutionary socialism, and advocates an “Ethical Socialism” linked with Christian spirit, by which he bitterly attacked on liberal ideologues such as A. Smith and Th. Malthus, positively quoted from some texts by K. Marx and F. Engels, shared the awareness of issues of fighters in the Paris Commune, even though with some reservations, and approved the important role of public welfare next to private one. It looks me one of guiding plans of Danish social reform in 20th century, in which amazingly the idea of active labor market policy called “Flexicurity” is involved in a sprouting way (Martensen 1784; Knudsen 2000). Frankly I do not take it obsolete at all. Probably, Martensen is greatly influenced from Grundtvig because he cites Grundtvig’s egalitarian thesis mentioned above at the starting point of his consideration. One can therefore discuss that Martensen stands in the sphere of interaction between Grundtvig’s philosophy and socialism, or between the viewpoints of people and elite.

Relevantly, here generates a possibility to search into the ideological penetration of Grundtvig into Danish socialism. Historically this was started up by L. Pio (1841-94) and others in 1871 as the Danish branch of the International Workingmen’s Association (The First International, 1864-76), which at the beginning adopted a hard revolutionary line toward socialism. However, around the turning point to 20th century socialists had step by step changed the line and consequently adopted the reformist policy of combining their class struggle with parliamentarianism. Especially, it is here necessary to pay attention to their significant achievements such as “the

Kanslergade-compromise (Kanslergadeforliget)” initiated by Th. Stauning (1873-1942), the comprehensive social lawgiving in 1930s lead by K. K. Steincke (1880-1963), and the adoption of Socialdemocrats’ program in 1934, named “Denmark for the People (Danmark for Folket)”.

These shows that Danish socialists changed from the party only of working class to the one not only of working class but also of, by, and for the nation (Folket), since they integrated into themselves the three ideological principles, namely national solidarity (Folkelighed), democracy, and socialism, that after all succeeded in guarding Danish working class from the pests of totalitarian ideologies such as Fascism, Nazism, or Stalinism in the crisis around the World War era (Korsgaard 1999, 2004, 2015).

Thirdly, I here take an opportunity to introduce to Japanese readers something on the Danish negotiated economy. Even if Grundtvig’s most conspicuous political contribution is the nation building based on the principle of “Common Best” during 19th century, the history after 20th century shows that this principle is embodied and widened not only to the cooperative movement, but also to social economy in general.

In short, one can see that there is an interaction between differently directed dual movements in modern Denmark, namely on this side the movement from ideological or political to material structure, on the other the one from material basis to superstructure. It could also be identified that the former is symbolized in the Danish ideological context as liberalism or Grundtvigianism, the latter as social democracy or labor movement. These two indeed struggled with each other severely at the end of 19th Century, but they consequently reached the basic compromise in “the September Agreement (Septemberforliget)” in 1899, that, I interpret, installed the institutional foundation of modern society called the Danish “Samfund”.

Simply, “the September Agreement” laid the cornerstone of Danish neo-corporatism, in which competing partners of labor and management should recognize each other and settle conflicts linked to wages and working conditions etc. in labor market, in

some cases through the autonomous negotiations between these two, in others through the tripartite negotiations inclusive of state⁽¹⁰⁾. The negotiated relation was extended after the 2nd World War, generated the idea of economic “Common order (Samordning)”, i.e. of Denmark as economic organism, and even developed the means of exchanging information, discussion, dispute, mutual learning, and joint management of national economy with the help of “civilized” conflicts among social partners. It is still today alive, although the relation has further been expanded concerning both themes and actors, beyond labor market to economic or financial policy, environmental policy, technological innovation, and so on. Thus, in a relatively independent way the Danish social economy has incorporate a certain negotiated economy (Forhandlings-økonomi) as coordinating tool next to market and mixed economies. Besides, the participants in negotiation recognize not only to pursuit their own rights and advantages, but simultaneously to be horizontally joint responsible for interpretations and resolutions of social economic problems, as if they were all crews of the one and same ship (Pedersen 1993, 2011; Pedersen et al. 1994).

Hence, the Danish “Samfund” gains such kind of organic character that it can neither be explained only with a contracted relation, nor understood with a liberal dichotomy between state and civil society. As mentioned above, the starting point of this type of social relation definitely dates back to “the September Agreement” in 1899. Nonetheless, if one focuses on the ideological origin, i.e. on the exchange of intellectual resources, it is unquestionable that it should further go back approximately 50 years and reach Grundtvig’s Living Enlightenment and its institution of Folkelig high school. In short, his philosophy was structured to the characteristic Society (Samfund) at the end of the 19th century, developed to the social economy in 20th century, and is still evolving into a knowledge-based society in 21st century by virtue of the organic dynamism of informing, arguing, learning, and innovating⁽¹¹⁾.

However, we know there emerge some problems today, which are the results of this society enlarged over highly homogenous

nation state. Namely the society has far developed to a different stage from the one in the period of ethnic nation building. Indeed Denmark has managed an open economy in centuries, but this accelerates and is widespread in transnational and global relations, so that her homogeneity as before is not always normal. In fact, today the people having non-Danish cultural background number approximately 10 percent of all the population, in which a variety of new conflicts especially between indigenous and immigrant citizens generate and are challenging to 19th and 20th centuries' model of national "Samfund". Here I cannot discuss about this in detail. But I am obliged to add that in this context the slogan of "Danishness (Danskhed)" Grundtvig once stressed is employed in a xenophobic way as a shield against the heterogeneous society. The problem is that from this context "Grundtvig" naturally comes to be criticized by another side (Larsen 2015). Probably, the xenophobic interpretation of Grundtvig brings the largest misfortune and trial for his philosophy.

Nevertheless, it is greatly significant to ensure "the good life" based on social citizenship and to stably manage decent economy, which requests to succeed the institutions of social economy, democratic political culture, and well developed welfare state. Therefore it is expected to forge the social tie to be more political than cultural as H. Koch once argued under the German occupation (Koch 1942). In other words, it can be expected to interpret the "Danishness (Danskhed)" not as genuinely cultural, but rather as more politically integral by interacting with a plural of "the Living words", and also as mooring globalized economy to it. Concerning this point, we may remember Grundtvig's famous text of *Nordic Mythology* in 1832 manifesting his progressive spirit, according to which humankind is "not an ape, destined first to ape the other animals and then themselves until the world's end", rather (s)he is as a "divine experiment, in order to show how spirit and dust can permeate one another and transfigured into a common divine consciousness" (Grundtvig 1907).

Ending remark — Between Grundtvig and Japan

In the end, I introduce my long-term research prospect lying between Grundtvig and Japan. Although Denmark is as large as Kyushu in Japan and has approximately 5.6 million inhabitants. She is namely a small country, maintains the highly developed welfare system, succeeds in economy, and is celebrated for the pillow word: “the happiest country of the world”. Nonetheless in Japan, there is also a general excuse that the Danish success merely derives from being a “little land”, which tends us to stop further considering and searching into her own ontology. On the contrary, for example, the current neoconservative Japanese government takes proud in having gained for over hundred years a successful economic power among the Great Powers of the world, and now eagerly desire to regain as huge military status as once had. In this tenacious pursuit of policies for great powers, however, the desire of the ruling class is conspicuous, but there is no hope for democratic political economy (Watanabe et al. 2014).

However, the prosperous existence of “little” Denmark seems to give a question mark over the policies of the Great Powers and rather irradiate their paradox. To which I beg readers pay attention here is that the resemble reservations about and criticism against the Great Powers have been innate in sensible persons since the starting point of Japanese modernization dating back to about 150 years from now. Indeed, the Japanese modernization at the beginning promoted to imitate a strong militaristic power such as Prussia-Germany had before the World War, and then changed its path toward imitating the “Wealthy America” so as to tremendously push on developing economy-centric policies.

However, behind such a tenacious pursuit of the Great Powers, we can significantly find and focus on the alternative path of anti-Great Powers called “Syokokusyugi (Little-land policy)”. In truth, the former has either been in a strained relation with, or been promoted powerfully through suppressing the latter. From this viewpoint, an alternative Japanese modern history could also be described as a ceaseless flow of Little-land policy, either as an

underground stream or a main course, with which my research interest in Denmark and Gundtvig is incidentally linked together.

For instance, it is often referred that the Iwakura Mission ⁽¹²⁾ in their round trip to America and Europe in order to look for some models of Japanese modernization in 1871-72, turned their enthusiastic gazes not only on the countries of the Great Powers, but also on some European little countries such as Belgium, Switzerland, and Denmark. The experiences of the latter countries came to fruition of Little-land policy by ideologues and journalists such as Emori Ueki (1857-1892) and Chōmin Nakae (1847-1901) in the era of Freedom and People's Rights Movement as well as Tetsutaro Miura (1874-1972) and Tanzan Ishibashi (1884-1973) in the Taisho Democracy era. And then after the 2nd World War, instead of the Constitution of Empire of Japan the Japanese Constitution was established, in which the ideals of pacifism, democracy, and social welfare were newly manifested as the main path of country (Tanaka 1999).

As far as this matter concerned, here I must at least remark on a pioneering lecture entitled "A Story of Denmark" hold in 1911 by Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930), who was a well-known pacifistic Cristian thinker in Japan. The lecture was subtitled by "a story of relieving country by Christian faith and trees", which introduced to Japanese readers the effort by E. Dalgas (1928-94) et al. having gained the fertile farm from heathland in Jutland through planting Norwegian fir trees since Denmark had been defeated by Germany, lost the territory, and raised the spirit of national revival by the symbolic slogan of "What is lost outwards, must be wined inwards". There are indeed such criticism by historians as a created description by hearsay and a typical phenomenon of Japanese acceptance on Danish information far different from historical truth (Momose and Murai 1996; Murai 2010). This criticism in itself is appropriate and historically no choice but to follow. Nonetheless, Uchimura's lecture seems me to obtain a general significance on the ideological context, on which I cannot argue here in detail. But in order to stimulate readers to take it into consideration, I here describe three points of the conclusion

Uchimura reaches in the lecture.

Namely, he stressed about the lessons from Little-land policy of Denmark as follows: in the first place that the fate of country should not depend on warfare, but on education in every days life, i.e. enlightenment and communal character building, secondly that nature in itself could potentially embrace limitless energy and production craft, and thirdly that the true strength of a country could neither be measured by military power nor by scale of economy, but it had to rely on the strength of “faith”, which I myself dare to interpret as widely meaning of “philosophy” in secularized times. These points definitely make us associate with the Little-land policy, although Uchimura wrongly idolizes and beautifies Dalgas and does not at all refer to Grundtvig. In principle, Uchimura was a Lutheran Christian from so-called Non-Church Movement, in which baptism and communion were considered hindrances to true faith, contrary to Grundtvig’s “the Living Word”. Therefore he might not have been heard of Grundtvig at all (Murai 2010).

However, each of these points is really an essential factor of Grundtvig’s philosophy. For instance, as regards the first point, he rejects in his texts a national policy of aggression and expansion, rather approves the rights of other countries as well as of his own, and even states to be satisfied with a little-land of Denmark. In this meaning, as Uchimura discussed, the country should neither be like the United Kingdom which “occupied a sixth of land in the world” in 19th century, nor like German Empire, which promoted an aggressive militarism, Japan learnt a lot from before the World War period. In the historical context after the World War, the country should neither imitate an authoritarian socialism like in former USSR, nor a market fundamentalism like in the neoliberal and neoconservative United States.

Concerning the second point, it is celebrated that Denmark has promoted to develop a varieties of renewable energies, while making the decision of leaving nuclear power plant in the Danish parliament prior to The Chernobyl disaster. But as to wind power, astonishingly the pioneering experiments already started in 19th

century by Poul la Cour (1864-1908) et al. from Askov Folk high school, and approximately 100 years later, people turned a vast number of plants to practical use. Concerning this incidentally, I once paid attention to a bricolage-like innovation by making interaction of nature in itself with human “hand and mouth”, and pointed out that Grundtvig’s Living Enlightenment could play the significant role of the abandonment of nuclear power, i.e. of the antidote of modern sciences (Koike 2013).

Finally, as regards “philosophy” I acknowledge that Grundtvig supported the nation building of little-land Denmark. His ideas have materialized a social economy, a democratic welfare state, a pioneering energy innovation, and knowledge-based society etc., through which the universal significance of Living Enlightenment is nowadays recognized by increasing number of people globally. Thus, Grundtvig’s philosophy has on the one hand directly illuminated a path to secure and wealthy nation state, on the other, it indirectly revealed itself as a philosophy of universal humanity (Menneskelighed), although started so late. At any rate, Denmark seems me a work of art by such kind of Little-land philosophy.

Notes:

- (1) In 2010-15 I translated Grundtvig’s philosophical works into Japanese in 3 volumes: consisted of 1) *The Human in the World* in “*Dannevirke*”, 2) several texts for *Living Enlightenment*, and 3) essays and materials on his idea of *High school*.
- (2) There were a lot of Danish politicians referred to Grundtvig in former decades. It cannot be denied that among them, there included those who made him into a stubborn nationalist for adoring “Danishness” and protecting Christianity against paganism (Larsen 2015). Indeed as a man of 19th century and a thinker of nation state, he did such discourses in the historical contexts. Nevertheless, Grundtvig was not so xenophobic that he also acknowledged the rights of each ethnicity, religion, and national independency. He also stressed a universal humanity as the goal of ethnic development, which explains why I as a non-

Dane am greatly inspired from Grundtvig, while refusing to accept the narrow-minded nationalist “Grundtvig”. This meaning of “Grundtvig” apparently overlooks both his universality and viewpoint of humanity.

(3) Here I describe to the history of modern idea only concerned with the continental Europa on account of my limit of study. But I agree with the necessity of comparative studies between Grundtvig and the British modern ideas, i.e. the Scottish enlightenment and utilitarianism (Vind 2015).

(4)The word usage of “Højskole” or “Folkehøjskole” is normal now. But originally “Højskole” meant university on account of the large influence from Germany. Contrastively, Grundtvig employed the word positively restricted with national languages, for instance, “Dansk Højskole”, or “Norsk Højskole”, and called them in general “Folkelig Højskole”, which, needless to say, meant an institution of learning based on mother tongues such as in Sorø Academy and planned as a large scale of national institution, where every student, whether (s)he is common or elite, as a citizen with equal membership was expected to visit. Different from it, as shown in the text of “On the Union of Learning in the North”, Grundtvig harbored another plan of the Nordic University in Gothenburg in Sweden, which was, contrast with Folkelig Højskole, called “Videnskabelig Højskole (Accademic high school)”, where participants should search into universal humanity under the guidance of Nordic light. At any rate, through these terminologies we can comprehend the original plan of Grundtvig’s High school.

Incidentally, I could not find any Danish word of “Folkehøjskole” in his texts at all, rather I always found the word of “Folkelig Højskole”. The origin of the word usage of “Folkehøjskole”, according to Danish historian R. Skovmand, dates back to “Rødding Folkehøjskole”, i.e. the first Folk high school established by Ch. Flor (1792-1875) et al. in 1844 (Skovmand 1944, 1983). It means that although Grundtvig’s original plan had defeated, his ideas has instead been embodied in a lot of small private “Folkehøjskoler” and maintained, even

though some minor changes.

(5) This concept is well-known owing to the work by Th. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, but the similar content with them was observed in the era of the French Revolution. This exactly brought the great ideas of freedom, equality, and fraternity in the world. But the problem was that the great revolution reverse itself to the terrorism of absolute freedom, whose paradox German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel already pointed out in his work, *Phenomenology of Spirit*. More or less, the resemble phenomena were repeated for example, in ones of the Weimar Republic regressed into Nazi Germany and the Russian Revolution overturned into the dictatorship by J. Stalin. Grundtvig as well as Hegel, had a similar insight into the reversal of the French Revolution and forged his own social and political philosophy through his historical experiences (Grundtvig 1877; Birkelund 2001a, 2008). Thus, he became a reformist with reservation. In any case, this links to the context why Grundtvig defined his Living Enlightenment as a “more thorough enlightenment” than “the superficial” one.

(6) Here common sense must more appropriately be defined a dynamic process of common sense, whose idea I learnt from a Japanese excellent Marxist philosopher, J. Tosaka (1900-45), who clarified the self-improvement function of common sense as a “standardizing common sense” distinctive from the ordinal or superficial common sense (Tosaka 1997). This distinction explains why Tosaka did not limit the analysis of common sense to the one of non-political life world, rather combined it to the process of social and historical changing process, which makes me easy to understand Grundtvig’s concepts of enlightenment and common sense.

(7) On this issue it is necessary to compare Grundtvig’s philosophy with Yukichi Ukuzawa’s. Incidentally the latter is regarded the most influential figure of enlightenment philosophy in modern Japan, whereas Japanese readers deplorably tend to overlook his Desiring the Great Powers, contempt for Asian countries, and even imperialist discourses.

- (8) It is difficult to suitably interpret Danish words such as “Folk”, “folkelig”, and “Folkelighed” into Japanese. At any rate, I always keep in mind rather political meaning of these than cultural, which H. Koch suggested us over 70 years ago (Koch 1942, 1945).
- (9) The Danish word “samfund” may translated into English, normally as society. Therefore, the word is employed in various ways, for example, “standssamfund (standing society)”, “samfundsklasse (social class)”, and so on. But I here refer to the “Samfund” in a special way characteristic to the Danish modern society developed after the end of 19th century on account of typically embodying the ideals of freedom, equality, and fraternity.
- (10) The relation of social partners started with September Agreement in 1899, in which the foundation of national cooperative and conflicts settling system between employers and employees was established. But we need to carefully distinct it from the “cozy” employer-employees relationship inside each corporation. The former relationship helped to build a universal welfare system typically in Nordic countries, while the latter found in now obsolete Japanese corporative management, that might embody a social insurance system such as influenced from Bismarckian welfare model, whose demerits as we now know, were to reinforce excessive allegiance to one’s belonging corporation, to make workers excessive motivated competitors, to exclude females from labor market or discriminate them in the same workplace, to destroy both national and international levels of worker’s solidarities, and accordingly to aggravate their own working and living conditions and create so polarized society as in 19th century capitalism.
- (11) Such society is in reality an important part of my research plan. Additionally, in our sociological discussions the well-known German sociologist F. Tönnies’ concepts of “Gemeinschaft” as community tied by blood or shared local bond, and “Gesellschaft” as functional relation created by contract are often contrasted still now. Besides, the liberal dichotomy between state and civil society is always employed. However I do not recognize the concept of “Samfund” understandable in such framework of dichotomies.

Beyond the state-society dichotomy, it is very impressive for me, for example, to refer to “state-friendly society (Kuhnle et al., 1992)”, about which is also an important part of my research.

(12) Iwakura Mission is the first Japanese diplomatic travel around the world in 1871-72, in which a lot of young leaders at that time joined and decisively influenced to developing the later path for Japanese modernization.

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