

# Nineteenth-Century Japanese Translations of the New Testament

Miyachi Yaeko

THE FIRST MAJOR biblical translation projects in Japan were undertaken during the Meiji period (1868–1912), with Protestant missionaries playing a central role. There had been earlier attempts, however, toward the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate—attempts to translate into Japanese the Chinese editions already produced by Protestant missionaries in China under the auspices of the London Missionary Society (LMS). These early versions, done outside Japan, were later consulted by biblical translators in Japan and also served as teaching materials for Japanese language study in Europe.

The missionaries most closely connected with the translation work are shown in table 1. From Robert Morrison (1782–1834) to Walter H. Medhurst (1796–1857), the individuals listed were not directly involved in Japanese translation themselves, but they are worth noting because they paved the way for later projects. Robert Morrison, who went to Canton in 1807, translated the *Shinten Bible* (神天聖書), published in 1823, together with William Milne (1785–1822). At that time it was the policy of Morrison and his fellow LMS members to spread the gospel using written materials in what is known as “literature evangelism” (文書伝道). This consisted of publishing and introducing both the Bible and Western cultural texts in Chinese translation. Many publications were issued, and some of these were imported into Japan and disseminated throughout the

country in the last years of the Edo period (1603–1867). One volume in particular, *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary*, compiled by Medhurst in 1830, was actively utilized as a language textbook by missionaries who hoped to work in Japan.

As can be seen in table 1, although the LMS headed the early evangelical efforts in China, it was American missionary societies that were the most active in Japan. However, many of those who served in Japan had previously spent some time in China and thus would have been familiar with the literature evangelism practiced so industriously by the LMS members. They would have had firsthand knowledge of the society’s methods of propagating the faith and its Bible translation work, and they would no doubt have drawn on this knowledge during their own work in Japan. In this article, I would like to present an overview, based on existing studies, of the Japanese translations of the Bible, especially the New Testament, that were made during the late Edo and Meiji periods. In addition, I would like to introduce the people who cooperated in the translation of the Bible into Japanese.

## THE MISSIONARIES’ TRANSLATION PROCESS

There have been numerous studies on the history of Japanese biblical translation. Instead of discussing each version in detail,

I would like to introduce some milestones in this history during the late Edo and Meiji periods, while touching on the relationships among the missionaries involved.

Table 2 lists Japanese translations of the New Testament published during this time frame. Those that appeared during the late Edo period (nos. 1–4) were all published outside Japan and printed by presses that had been established to support literature evangelism in China. The first partial Japanese translation, by Karl Friedrich Augustus Gützlaff (1803–1851), was produced using Morrison and Milne's Shinten Bible and Medhurst's dictionary as references. The LMS's literature evangelism in China therefore helped expedite the translation of the Bible into Japanese.

Gützlaff's pioneering endeavor was then taken up by, among others, Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884), Bernard J. Bettelheim (1811–1870), Jonathan Goble (1827–1898), James Curtis Hepburn (1815–1911) and Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880), within the network of personal friendships outlined in figure 1. That is, Gützlaff was a member of the LMS, like Morrison and Medhurst, and he became friendly with Bettelheim in Hong Kong. With Williams in Macao, he looked after the welfare of Hara-da Shōzō (庄藏), a shipwrecked fisherman from Higo, present-day Kumamoto Prefecture. The other missionaries are all connected indirectly with Gützlaff and Goble through the former's association with Bettelheim, and S. R. Brown and Hepburn through Williams. The seeds of biblical translation sown by Gützlaff can be said to have borne abundant fruit thanks to wide contacts among the missionaries.

In addition to these LMS-centered publication activities outside Japan, there were also those already in Japan who undertook translations of their own. The Dutch missionary Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830–1898), who arrived in Nagasaki in 1852, was appointed principal of the

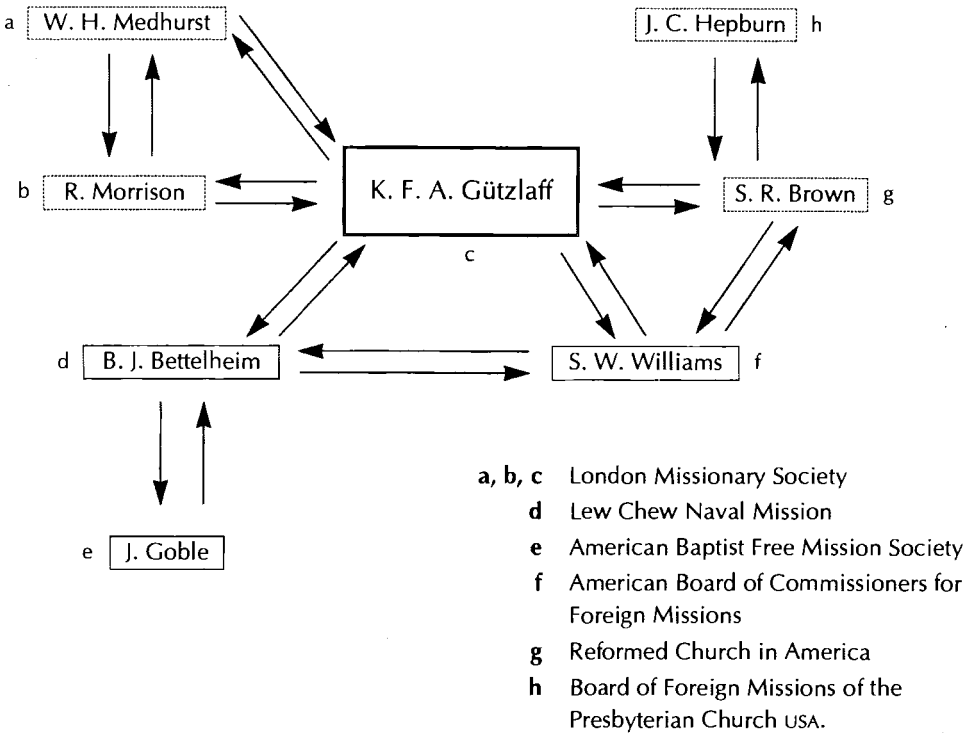
Seibikan, a school under the direct jurisdiction of the shogunate's commissioner in Nagasaki. Verbeck also supervised the Chienkan, the academy of the Saga feudal domain. While performing these duties, he also engaged in Christian missionary work. Among the large number of students taught by Verbeck, there were many who would later play active roles in the Meiji Restoration government. In particular the chief retainer of the Saga domain, Murata Masanori (村田若狭守政矩), lord of Wakasa and his brother were baptized by Verbeck in 1866 while Christianity was still officially proscribed. Murata's conversion was later discovered by the Saga daimyo, Nabeshima Naohiro (鍋島直大). Murata then retired from political life and devoted himself to translating the Bible from Chinese into Japanese. Verbeck undertook a similar project himself in 1869, with the assistance of his Japanese students.

The biblical translations of the later Edo period had a major influence on Japanese studies in Europe. The French Japanologist Léon de Rosny (1837–1914) issued a hand-engraved edition of Gützlaff's Bible in Paris in 1854. After Bettelheim's death, his translation was also published in 1873–1874 by the Austrian Orientalist, August S. Pfizmaier (1808–1887), using type that he made himself.

The first biblical translation published in Japan was Goble's *Gospel According to St. Matthew* (table 2, no. 5). Because the religious sanctions were still in force, a willing publisher could not be found, and the fact that it was a Christian book had to be concealed. Goble's edition of Matthew's gospel was followed by a series of joint translations by Hepburn and S. R. Brown, who resided in Kanagawa (now part of Yokohama) since the late 1850s; these included the gospels of Mark and John (nos. 7, 8, 11).

In 1872 there was a move to publish a joint translation of the Bible, rather than a number of versions by individual missionaries.

FIGURE 1



The first interdenominational missionary meeting, held at Hepburn's house in Yokohama, adopted a proposal to make a joint translation of the New Testament. A Bible Translation Committee (翻訳委員社中) was duly established and the seven members and their Japanese collaborators set to work. The committee's translation was originally issued in a series of volumes, reaching completion on November 3, 1879, and was then published as *The Complete New Testament* (新約全書) in 1880 (no. 17).

This major milestone in the history of Bible translation in Japan was not attained without considerable difficulty. Conflicts within the committee, especially over terminology, resulted in the resignation of one member, Nathan Brown (1807–1886). With the help of Kawakatsu Tetsuya (川勝鉄弥), Brown subsequently pursued his own

translation project and arranged for his son, who had joined him in Japan, to take on the printing. They issued a partial translation of the Epistles in 1876 (no. 15) and a New Testament in 1879 (no. 16). Nathan Brown's original edition was later revised by Kawakatsu (no. 21).

While Protestant translations had appeared overseas as early as 1837 and were prepared actively in Japan from the early 1870s, a Roman Catholic translation of the Bible was not started until later in the Meiji period. A Catholic missionary, Theodore-Augustin Forcade (1816–1885) of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP), arrived in 1844 in the Ryūkyū Islands, which were partially opened to the West at that time—a decade earlier than Japan's main islands. While in the Ryūkyūs, he studied the Japanese language in preparation

for a mission to Japan. With the opening of the treaty ports, Bernard Thadée Petitjean (1829–1884), Joseph Marie Laucagne (1838–1885) and others members of the MEP settled in Nagasaki. However, because the Christian communities, which had preserved their faith in secret for more than two centuries, were beginning to come out of hiding in Urakami and nearby areas, the instruction of those who rejoined the Catholic Church and the publication of doctrinal materials took precedence over translation of the Bible. For this reason, it was not until mid-Meiji that portions of the New Testament were published in Japanese by the Catholic Church in a translation by Takahashi Gorō (高橋五郎) (nos. 22 and 24).

A complete Catholic New Testament had to await Raguét's translation of 1910 (no. 27). Emile Raguét (1852–1929) arrived in Japan in 1879 and set to work translating the Bible while serving in Kagoshima. There he found many able Japanese collaborators and pursued his task with their cooperation.

Like the Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church was also late in producing a Japanese Bible. The Orthodox faith had been introduced to Japan by Ioann Nikolai (1836–1912), a Russian priest who went to Hakodate in 1861, where he was chaplain to the Russian Consulate. There he engaged a Japanese tutor and studied the language. After returning home for a time, Nikolai moved to Tokyo in 1871; in 1884 he began building the Cathedral of the Holy Resurrection (popularly known as the Nikolai Cathedral). On its completion in 1891, he established a seminary to train indigenous priests. He published various translated works on church history and theology from about 1877 onward, but with growing church membership there was an increasing need for a Bible translation. There were, of course, a number of individual versions done in the Orthodox Church also (nos. 18, 20), but in 1901, with the cooperation of Nakai Tsugumaro (中井菟麻呂), Nikolai pub-

lished the standard New Testament of the Orthodox Church in Japan (no. 26).

The above is a brief review of the missionaries' biblical translation work. In addition, John Batchelor (1854–1944), an Anglican missionary to the Ainu people, dedicated his life to Ainu studies and published an Ainu-language Bible in 1897 (no. 23). In Seoul, Herbert George Brand (1865–1942) and the Japanese missionaries who worked with him in the Korean mission published a revised version of the Bible Translation Committee's *The Complete New Testament* (no. 25).

Besides these translations, made for purposes of evangelism, Japanese translations of the Bible were also published as texts for moral training (nos. 6, 9, 10), as historical narratives (no. 10) and for the purpose of denouncing Christianity (nos. 12 and 14).

#### JAPANESE COLLABORATORS IN TRANSLATION

Many of the missionaries who went to Japan studied Japanese intensively. Most engaged a Japanese tutor upon arrival and prepared for the project of Bible translation while applying themselves to their language studies.

The Japanese who played the most important roles are shown in table 3 (publications are numbered as in table 2). During the late Edo period, the Japanese who assisted in biblical translation overseas were shipwrecked fishermen who, having landed on foreign soil, were forbidden by the shogun's edict from returning to Japan. Although we have only fragmentary evidence to indicate the extent of their involvement, we can deduce the level of their linguistic ability from the contents of the biblical translations. In addition to the castaways, other Edo-era collaborators included the interpreter who helped Bettelheim with his translation and the retainers of the Saga domain who had contact with Verbeck.

After Commodore Perry's visits led to the lifting of the ban on commerce with the West, a number of missionaries took up residence in the treaty ports, found Japanese tutors and began learning the language. Among them were Hepburn and S. R. Brown in Kanagawa who, while pursuing their studies with the help of a tutor, began making draft translations of scriptural passages.

The Meiji collaborators can be grouped as follows: 1) the group centered on Hepburn and S. R. Brown; 2) the Baptist group; 3) the Orthodox group; 4) the Catholic group; and 5) others.

The most active members of Group 1 included Okuno Masatsuna (奥野昌綱), Matsuyama Takayoshi (松山高吉) and Takahashi Gorō.

Okuno Masatsuna (1823–1910) was born in Edo (present-day Tokyo), the third son of Takeuchi Gozaemon, a direct retainer of the Tokugawa Shogunate. At the age of eleven, he entered Shunsei-in, a part of Kan'eiji, to study Buddhism and classical Chinese and Japanese literature. In 1847 he was adopted into the Okuno family. At the time of the Meiji Restoration he was in the service of an imperial prince who was priest of Rinnoji. In the Boshin Civil War (1868–69) he joined the Shogitai, a pro-shogunate military unit headquartered at Kan'eiji, and after its defeat lived in despair. In 1871, Ogawa Yoshiyasu (小川義綏), a member of the Yokohama Band (a group of Japanese converts pledged to spread their faith) who was an acquaintance of Okuno's son-in-law, arranged for him to become Hepburn's Japanese tutor. After taking on the task of marking the characters in a Chinese Bible to indicate their Japanese reading order, he became a collaborator in the work of Japanese translation.

Matsuyama Takayoshi (1846–1935) was the son of a town elder of Itoigawa in Echigo (present-day Niigata Prefecture). He went to Kyoto and studied Japanese history

and codes of law and conduct at the Shirakawake Gakukan, as well as classic Confucian texts under Kamiyama Shiro. He then went to Edo and studied classical literature under Kurokawa Mayori and Chinese and Japanese historical texts under Ino Hidenori. A supporter of the "revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians" movement (尊皇攘夷運動), he became Japanese tutor to D. C. Green in Kobe, intending to learn about Christianity in order to denounce it. Instead he became a convert and collaborated in the translation of the Bible.

Takahashi Gorō (1856–1935) was the son of the village headman of Shindenbatake-mura, Kariwa-gun, Echigo. He went to Takasaki and studied Confucianism under Ichikawa Sakon, Buddhism under Makino Sairyū and Japanese classical literature under Tanaka Keno. He later became interested in Western studies and entered Ogata Koan's school of Dutch studies in Osaka. Kanagaki Robun, a well-known writer who had been his mentor in Takasaki, introduced him to the church leader and writer Uemura Masahisa (植村正久); he entered S. R. Brown's school and there became involved in translation work.

The fact that all three men had a strong background in both the Chinese and Japanese classics would obviously have had a considerable influence on the style of the Japanese translations.

Group 2 is represented by Kawakatsu Tetsuya (1850–1915). Kawakatsu was a retainer of the Ōmura family and during the Boshin Civil War took part in the attack on Aizu. He later took up Western studies and learned English at the Ballaghs' school. The meeting with Nathan Brown led to his involvement in Bible translation. He was the first Japanese to be ordained a Protestant minister (in 1879) and thereafter devoted himself to Baptist missionary work in Kyushu.

In Group 3, Nakai Tsugumaro (1885–1943) deserves special mention. Nakai was

a scholar, the sixth-generation master of the Confucian Kaitokudō School in Osaka. Many points remain unclear concerning the events that led to his conversion to the Orthodox faith. After becoming a member of the Osaka Church, he was named assistant preacher in 1879. He helped Nikolai, who became bishop in 1880, undertake the Bible translation project.

Group 4 includes Kako Yoshikazu (加古義一), Ono Tōta (小野藤太), Mukasa San (武笠三) and Yamada Jun (山田準), all collaborators of Raguét in Kagoshima.

Kako Yoshikazu's father, a domain retainer in Banshū, now part of Hyogo Prefecture, taught *kanji* (Chinese characters) to the French Catholic missionary Aimé Villion. Yoshikazu (1853?–1924) was baptized by Villion while employed in the editorial department of the *Kyoto Shinbun*. He later worked as an assistant to Villion and, after moving to Kagoshima, helped Raguét by dictating a Japanese translation of the Bible.

Ono Tōta (1870–1916) was born in Hachiman-mura, Usa-gun, Bungo (present-day Oita Prefecture). He studied under the scholar Kumanomidō Shinsai in Usa and in 1895 took up a post at the Kajiki Prefectural Middle School in Kagoshima. There he became acquainted with Raguét, and together they compiled the *Dictionnaire Français-Japonais précédé d'un Abrégé de Grammaire Japonaise*. While Raguét was translating the Bible, Ono was teaching mathematics at the Zoshikan Seventh Higher School, but because he was well-versed in classical Chinese and Japanese, he undertook the editing of the text.

Mukasa San (1871–1929) was the son of the priest of Hikawa Shrine, the principle shrine of Musashi, the province encompassing most of present-day Greater Tokyo. He attended Kyōritsu School, now Kaisei Senior High School, and then entered the classical Japanese literature course at Tokyo Imperial University. There he studied under Mikami Sanji, Kurokawa Mayori,

Konakamura Kiyonori, Monodaka Takami and, in particular, the renowned scholar Haga Yaichi. After graduation in 1895, he held teaching posts in various districts and in 1902 was appointed to the Seventh Higher School. There he met Raguét and became a key member of the Bible translation team.

Yamada Jun (1867–1943) was born in Kōgachō, Takahashi in Bitchū (now part of Okayama Prefecture); the third son of Kimura Yutaka, he headed the Yushūkan, the academy of the Bitchū Matsuyama domain. Because the domain had supported the deposed shogun during the Boshin Civil War, the Kimura family led the life of impoverished former samurai. Jun moved to Tokyo and attended the Nishō Gakusha School of classical Chinese studies. Its founder, Mishima Chūshū, came from the same domain. In 1884 Mishima and the domain's former daimyo Itakura Shōsō arranged for Jun to become the adopted grandson and heir of Yamada Hōkoku. Jun took up a post at the Kumamoto Fifth School in 1899 and two years later transferred to the Seventh School as head of the classical Chinese department. Although it is not clear when he first met Raguét, it seems that Ono Tōta's family, among others, was instrumental in their meeting. Yamada collaborated in Raguét's project in his capacity as a classical Chinese scholar.

Most notable of the men that constitute Group 5 are Ishikawa Tsune (石川 彝) and Nagata Hōsei (永田方正), who attempted to translate the Bible as a morals text or a historical record; Tajima Shōji (田嶋象二), who translated from a standpoint of hostility to Christianity; and Norimatsu Masayasu (乗松雅休) and Shudō Shinzō (首藤新蔵), who cooperated in revision work while serving as missionaries in Korea.

Ishikawa Tsune (dates of birth and death unknown) was a scholar of English studies in the early Meiji period. A friend of Sanami Ginjurō, an interpreter and court

translator in Kanagawa Prefecture, he ran an English school on Bentendōri Street in Yokohama. Nagata Hōsei (1844–1911) was born Udaka Tatsujirō at the Saijō domain estate in Iyo (present-day Ehime Prefecture) and adopted by Nagata Yoshihira. He studied Chinese classics at the government school Shōheikō and taught this subject at the Saijō domain academy. After the domains were abolished and the prefectural system was established, he resigned and moved to Osaka, where he wrote textbooks for the Ministry of Education. His *Western Moral Teachings* (西洋教草) was published with ministry approval. He later worked in the Yamanashi Prefecture Educational Affairs Section, then joined the Hokkaidō Colonization Office. In Hokkaidō he administered educational affairs at the Hakodate Teachers' College, Hakodate Mercantile Marine School, the Sapporo Agricultural School and other institutions. He also made a study of the Ainu language.

Tajima Shōji (?-1909), born in Kyoto, was the author of anti-Christian books. He excelled in classical Chinese studies and the writing of satirical verse, issuing *A Fine Miscellany* (妙々雜俎) in Tokyo. He formed the Ninten Shoin to publish anti-Christian materials. In his later years he entered Nanzenji and then moved to Ikegami Honmonji.

Norimatsu Masayasu (1863–1921) was born a retainer of the Iyo Matsuyama domain in present-day Ehime Prefecture. He was one of the first students of Matsuyama Middle School. In 1880 he entered the former Matsuyama domain's student dormitory in Tokyo and later found employment with the Kanagawa prefectural government in Yokohama. Having come into contact with Christianity in Yokohama, Norimatsu entered the divinity school of Meiji Gakuin. While there he met Brand in Nihonbashi; they later went together as missionaries to Korea and collaborated on a full revision of

*The Complete New Testament* by the Bible Translation Committee.

Shudō Shinzō (1863–1912) was the son of the shogunate's commissioner in the Usuki domain in Bungo. He went to Tokyo around 1877 and entered Mitsubishi Commercial School. He later transferred to the Mitsubishi Mercantile Marine School, but after graduation a certain incident led him to enter the religious life. He first encountered Brand at almost the same time as Norimatsu and later worked on the revised edition as well as traveling extensively to preach the gospel.

As is clear from these brief biographical sketches, most of the collaborators in the Meiji period were deeply versed in the Chinese and Japanese classics. This background can be said to have both facilitated translation of the Scriptures into Japanese and encouraged the adoption of a high literary style. There is, however, another aspect of the collaborators' background that seems significant in considering the reception of Christianity in the early Meiji period: the fact that many were of samurai descent. That is to say, they belonged to a social class forced to undergo dramatic changes during the upheaval accompanying the collapse of the old Tokugawa order and the advent of the modernizing Meiji Restoration.

## CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the above summary that the translators had in mind three different purposes for their Bibles: 1) evangelical use by missionaries; 2) use in general cultural education or as historical texts; and 3) use in denouncing Christianity. In the first type of translation, the foreign missionaries played a central role in projects that involved their Japanese language teachers, Japanese converts or groups thereof, while the second and third types were pursued by Japanese alone. In many cases the original Greek

texts were used, and Chinese translations were consulted for reference.

During the centuries of national seclusion, information from abroad generally reached Japan by one of two routes: the Dutch or the Chinese. In the history of Japanese Bible translation, the arrival of information via China played a key role. The Dutch route also figured in, of course: for example, Murata Masanori found his religious calling after picking up a Dutch Bible that was floating in Nagasaki harbor. Moreover, some Edo scholars who studied Western science via the Dutch language had already attempted partial translations from either Dutch or Chinese editions brought by ship.

But it was the literature evangelism practiced in China, especially by missionaries who went there around the time of the Opium War, that was to prove particularly influential. The Western cultural texts that were translated into Chinese as part of this movement were imported into Japan as Chinese books, in spite of their Western origins, and were actively utilized in the late Edo period. Further, after the initial Japanese translations of the Bible were done in China (via the Morrison-Gützlaff connection), the work was then carried on in the late Edo and early Meiji periods until two versions of the New Testament were completed. The Catholic and Orthodox Churches did not take part in this process but published their translations later, through the efforts of numerous Japanese collaborators.

As mentioned earlier, many of the Japanese involved in the projects were scholars of classical Chinese or Japanese literature. In these classicists' hands, the prose of biblical translation, which had begun with Gützlaff's vernacular rendering,

was transformed into a dignified literary style. A prose suitably elevated for scripture that was also faithful to the original Greek was created through the missionaries' efforts, with the support of their Japanese collaborators.

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TABLE 1  
FOREIGN MISSIONARIES WHO COOPERATED IN THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO JAPANESE

ARRIVAL	PLACE	NAME (CHINESE NAME)	MISSION ASSOCIATION	REMARKS
1807	Canton	Robert Morrison (馬礼遜)	London Missionary Society	Never came to Japan
1813	Macao	William Milne (米麟)	London Missionary Society	Never came to Japan
1817	Malacca	Walter H. Medhurst (麥都思)	London Missionary Society	Never came to Japan
1827	Batavia	Karl Friedrich Augustus Gützlaff (郭實獵)	Nederland Zendeling Genootschap —London Mission Society	Never came to Japan
1833	Canton	Samuel Wells Williams (衛三畏)	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	
1846	Lew Chew	Bernard J. Bettelheim (伯德令)	Low Chew Naval Mission	
1859	Nagasaki	Channing Moore William	Episcopal Church U.S.A.	
	Kanagawa	Guido Fridolin Verbeck	Reformed Church in America	
		James Curtis Hepburn (平文)	Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.	
		Samuel Robbins Brown	Reformed Church in America	
1860	Kanagawa	Jonathan Goble	American Baptist Free Mission Society	
1861	Hakodate	Ioann Nikolai	Eastern Orthodox Church	
	Kanagawa	J. H. Ballagh	Reformed Church in America	
1863	Kanagawa	D. Thompson	Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A.	
1873	Yokohama	Nathan Brown	American Baptist Missionary Union	
1879	Nagasaki	Emile Raguet	Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (Roman Catholic)	

TABLE 2  
JAPANESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN LATE EDO AND MEIJI PERIODS

NUMBER	YEAR TRANSLATED	TRANSLATOR	MISSION GROUP	BOOKS TRANSLATED	PUBLISHER	TEXTBOOK	REMARKS
No. 1	1837	Gützlaff	LMS	Gospel of St. John (約翰福音之伝) 1,2,3 John (約翰上中下書)	Kenkashoin Singapore	Shinten Bible Medhurst's Dictionary	Vernacular rendering of the oldest Japanese Bible original ed., 1st ver. ed., 2nd ver. ed.  original text destroyed; only copy remains
No. 2	1840?	Williams	American Board	Gospel of St. John (約翰福音之伝) Gospel of St. Matthew (馬太福音伝)			
No. 3	1855	Bettelheim	Lew Chew Naval Mission	Gospel of St Luke (路加伝福音書) Gospel of St. John (約翰伝福音書) Acts of the Apostles (聖差言行伝) Epistle to the Romans (保羅寄羅馬人伝)	Lew Chew Naval Mission in Hong Kong	Medhurst's Dictionary Gützlaff's St. John	<i>katakana</i> of Ryūkyū dialect
No. 4	1858	Bettelheim	as above	Gospel of St. Luke, Chinese and Japanese edition (漢和対訳路伝福音書)	Great Britain Bible Society in Hong Kong	as above	Chinese and Japanese <i>katakana</i>
No. 5	1871	Goble	Baptist	Gospel of St. Matthew (摩太福音書)	Published in Yokohama	Revised English Scriptures with notes, American Bible Union; re- vised version of Matthew, 2nd ed.	Vernacular ren- dering in style of Ise calendar

NUMBER	YEAR TRANSLATED	TRANSLATOR	MISSION GROUP	BOOKS TRANSLATED	PUBLISHER	TEXTBOOK	REMARKS
No. 6	1871	Ishikawa	scholar in English studies	Western Night Story, vol.1 (西洋夜話初集)	Kinokuniya, Tokyo		Translation of selected passages from Old Testament
No. 7	1872	Hepburn & S. R. Brown	Board of Foreign Missions and Reformed Church	Gospel of St. Mark (新約聖書馬可伝) Gospel of St. John (新約聖書翰伝)	American Bible Society, Yokohama		
No. 8	1873	Hepburn & S. R. Brown	as above	Gospel of St. Matthew (新約聖書馬太伝)	as above		
No. 9	1873	Nagata	scholar in Chinese studies	Western Moral Teachings (西洋教草, 一名愛敬編)	Bun'eidō & Gungyokudō, Osaka	Old and New Testaments published in 1816	Translation of selected passages
No. 10	1873	Ishikawa	scholar in English studies	Western Night Story, (西洋夜話第二~第五集) Vols. 2-5	Chūgaidō and Kanrindō		Translation of selected passages. Second and third volumes sequel to to first; fourth and fifth are history of ancient Persia and Arabia
No. 11	1875	Hepburn & S. R. Brown	as in No. 7	Gospel of St. Luke (新約聖書路可伝)	as in No. 7		
No. 12	1875	Tajima	anti-Christian	Refutation of New Testament (新約全書評駁)	Ninten Shoin, Tokyo	Shanghai ed. of New Testament	Translation of St. Matthew
No. 13	1875	Katō		Brief Explanation of Gospel of St. Matthew (略解新約聖書馬太伝) Brief Explanation of Gospel of St. Mark (略解新約聖書馬可伝)			Based on English translation of Bible with reference to Greek and Chinese eds.

NUMBER	YEAR TRANSLATED	TRANSLATOR	MISSION GROUP	BOOKS TRANSLATED	PUBLISHER	TEXTBOOK	REMARKS
No. 14	1875	Higashi	anti-Christian	Differences with the Bible (阿約全書自語相違)	Yokairō, Tokyo	Contradictions to the Bible, Shanghai & Hong Kong eds.	
No. 15	1876	N. Brown	Baptist	1 & 2 Peter and others (辺天呂乃不美)	Yokohama Bible Press, Yokohama		
No. 16	1879	N. Brown	Baptist	New Testament (志無也久世無志与)	as above	Greek copies in Vatican	First complete translation of New Testament
No. 17	1880	Bible Translaton Committee	Ecumenical	Complete New Testament (新約聖書)	American Bible Society, Yokohama	original Greek sources; 1611 King James ed.	
No. 18	1880	Nikolai	Orthodox	Chinese Bible with kana (訓点付漢訳聖書); Japanese translation of Bible (日本語訳聖書元訳)			
No. 19	1880	Kojima	Roman Catholic	Stories of the Old & New Testaments (旧新両約聖書伝)	Ryūshōdō, Osaka	History of Bible, French ed., 1848	Combined story of OT, 1879, and NT ed., 1880
No. 20	1892	Ueda	Orthodox	Gospel of St. Matthew (馬太伝福音書)			First Orthodox translation
No. 21	1894	N. Brown & Baptist Kawakatsu	Baptist	kana edition of New Testament (新約全書かな版)	American Baptist Mission Press, Yokohama		
No. 22	1895	Takahashi	Roman Catholic	Holy Gospels, Vol. 1 (聖福音書上巻)	Tsukiji Catholic Church, Tokyo & Honchō Catholic Church, Yokohama	Latin Bible based on conversations with Michael Steichen	Only Gospels of Matthew & Mark translated

NUMBER	YEAR TRANSLATED	TRANSLATOR	MISSION GROUP	BOOKS TRANSLATED	PUBLISHER	TEXTBOOK	REMARKS
No. 23	1897	Batchelor	Episcopal	Ainu language edition of New Testament (アイヌ語新約聖書)	Bible Society Committee, Yokohama	Based on Greek sources	
No. 24	1897	Takahashi	Roman Catholic	Holy Gospels, Vol. 2 (聖福音書下巻)	see No. 22	see No. 22	
No. 25	1899	Brand, Norimatsu, & Shūdō	Protestant	New Testament, Epistle to the Romans, new ed. (新約聖書羅馬書新訳)	Ueda Teijirō, Osaka		<i>The Complete New Testament</i> , revised
No. 26	1901	Nikolai	Orthodox	New Testament (我主イイススハリストスノ新約)	Tokyo Orthodox Church, Tokyo	Based on Greek, Slavic, & English eds.	Eastern Orthodox Japanese translation
No. 27	1910	Raguet	Roman Catholic	New Testament (我主イイズスキリストの新約聖書)	Kagoshima Catholic Church, Kagoshima	Based on Latin and Greek sources	First complete Catholic translation

## REFERENCES

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 市民グラフ横浜—特集へボント横浜 (*Citizens' Yokohama Graph—Special Issue: Hepburn and Yokohama*). No. 31, 1979.

TABLE 3  
JAPANESE COLLABORATORS

NAME	BIRTHPLACE	TRANS. NO.	COLLABORATED WITH	TEACHERS	FRIENDS
Iwakichi 岩吉, Otokichi 音吉 & Hisakichi 久吉, the <i>Sankichi</i>	shipwrecked fishermen from Owari	No. 1	Karl Friedrich Augustus Gützlaff		
Shōzō	shipwrecked fisherman from Higo	Nos. 1,2	Gützlaff & S. W. Williams		
Jusaburō 寿三郎	shipwrecked fisherman from Higo	No. 1	Gützlaff		
Kumatarō 熊太郎, Rikimatsu 力松	shipwrecked fishermen from Hizen	No. 1	Gützlaff		
Sentarō サム・パッチ・仙太郎	shipwrecked fisherman from Banshū		Jonathan Goble		
Interpreter in Lew Chew	Lew Chew	No. 3	Bernard J. Bettelheim		
Murata Masanori	Saga domain		Guido Fridolin Verbeck		
Ōba Sessai 大庭雪斎	Saga domain		Verbeck		
Niijima Jō 新島襄	Annaka domain, Edo		Ioann Nikolai	Soekawa Rensai Tajima Junho Sugita Gentan ? Kōga Gengojuke Sanami Ginjiro	Takeda Hisaburō Suganuma Seiichirō Sawabe Takuma
Ishikawa Tsune	Edo		Nos. 6, 10		
Yano Mototaka 矢野元隆	herbal doctor		James Curtis Hepburn, S. R. Brown, & J. H.		

NAME	BIRTHPLACE	TRANS. NO.	COLLABORATED WITH	TEACHERS	FRIENDS
Okuno Masatsuna	Tokugawa retainer	Nos. 7-8, 11, 17	Hepburn, S. R. Brown, Ballagh & D. C. Green and others	Shunsei-in, Kan'eiji	Ogawa Yoshiyasu
Matsuyama Takayoshi	Itoigawa, Echigo	No. 17	Hepburn, S. R. Brown, Ballagh & Green & others	Hirata Kanetane Gonda Naosuke Kamiyama Shirō Kurokawa Mayori Ino Hidenori	Konakamura Kiyonori
Takahaashi Gorō	Shindenbatake-mura Kariwa-gun, Echigo	Nos. 17, 22, 24	Hepburn, S. R. Brown, Ballagh, Green & others	Ichikawa Sakon Tanaka Keno Makino Sairyū Ogata School	Kanagaki Robun Uemura Masahisa Michael Steichen
Ibuka Kajinosuke 井深梶之助	Aizu	No. 17	Hepburn, S. R. Brown Ballagh, Green & others	Nishinkan Senmura Gorō Numama Morikazu Shōheikō	
Nagata Hōsei	Saijō domain	No. 9	Batchelor?	Nanzenji	
Tajima Shōji	Kyoto	No. 12		Ikegami Honmonji	
Katō Kuro 加藤九郎	Tokyo	No. 13			
Higashi Kan'ichi 干河岸貫一	Omura family	No. 14			
Kawakatsu Tetsuya	Omura family	Nos. 15-16, 21	N. Brown & Ballagh	Ballagh's school	Ibuka Kajinosuke
Kojima Junji 小嶋準治	Tosa domain	No. 19			
Ueda Susumi 上田 将	Morioka	No. 20	Nikolai	Theological school of Eastern Orthodox Church	
Suzuki Shigetaka 鈴木重威	Takatomi domain	No. 21	N. Brown		
Norimatsu Masayasu	Iyo Matsuyama domain	No. 25	H. C. Brandt	Matsuyama Middle School, Meiji Gakuin	Murata Yūzō
Shudō Shinzō	Usuki domain	No. 25	Brandt	Mitsubishi Commercial School, Meiji Gakuin	Iwasaki Hisaya Boku Eiko

NAME	BIRTHPLACE	TRANS. NO.	COLLABORATED WITH	TEACHERS	FRIENDS
Nakai Tsugumaro	Osaka	No. 26	Nikolai		
Kako Yoshikazu	Banshū	No. 27	Aime Villion & Emile Raguet		
Ono Tōta	Hachiman-mura, Usa-gun, Bungo	No. 27	Raguet	Kumanomido Shinsai	Mukasa San Yamada Jun
Mukasa San	Musashi	No. 27	Raguet	Mikami Sanji Kurokawa Mayori Konakamura Kiyonori Monodaka Takami Haga Yaichi	
Yamada Jun	Bitchū Matsuyama	No. 27	Raguet	Nisho Gakusha Mishima Chūshū Yamada Hōkoku	Kumada Kei Matsumoto Sue