

Orientis Aura
Perspectives in Religious Studies

**From the Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum
(1595) to the Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum (1870):
An overview of the revisions in Bernard Petitjeans' Lexicon**

Emi Kishimoto

Abstract

The *Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum* is a Latin-Japanese dictionary edited by Bernard Thadée Petitjean M.E.P. and printed by the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Petitjean, who was a Vicar Apostolic of Japan at that time, found a copy of the *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum* in Manila. This dictionary was printed by the Jesuits in Japan in 1595 and was based on Ambrogio Calepino's Latin dictionary. Petitjean revised this dictionary to be used for missionary work in Japan. No in-depth research exploring these revisions has been conducted. Thus, this study is aimed to provide an overview of the revisions applied to the *Lexicon*, with particular emphasis on the Japanese translations. This paper reveals that Petitjean not only translated the Portuguese parts of the original text into Latin or omitted them, but also made significant changes to the Japanese translations, such as rearranging the order of the entries and using new Christian terms that had not been used in early Christian documents. While it is well known that Petitjean continued to use early Christian terms of Latin or Portuguese origin, he had also begun to use new terms along with the old ones in the dictionary for priests, as well as in the three editions of catechism *Seikyō shogaku yōri* (1868, 1869 and 1872) for Japanese laymen. The research findings have implications with regards to the role of language in missionary works.

Keywords: *Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum*; *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*; Bernard Thadée Petitjean; Latin lexicography; Christian terminology; Japan

1. Introduction

After Francisco Xavier (1506-1552) came to Japan in 1549 to found the first Christian community, the Jesuits had printed several books for their missionary works, now known as the Jesuit mission press in Japan or *Kirishitan-ban* in Japanese, from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century.¹ The Jesuit mission press not only includes books on Christianity, such as catechism and volumes on rituals, but also practical books for learning languages, such as grammar books and dictionaries. The language books are mainly divided into two groups according to purpose: (1) for Japanese students to learn the Latin language at Jesuit schools, and (2) for missionaries to learn the Japanese language (Table 1).

Table1: *Kirishitan-ban* (Jesuit mission press in Japan) for learning languages²

For Latin language

1594 Amakusa De institutione grammatica libri tres (Latin grammar book)

1595 Amakusa Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum

For Japanese language

1598 (probably Nagasaki) *Racuyoxu* (Dictionary of Chinese characters)

1603-1604 Nagasaki *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* (Japanese-Portuguese dictionary)

1604-1608 Nagasaki *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* (Japanese grammar book written by João Rodrigues)

¹ The printing press was established in Kazusa in 1590. It was purchased in Lisbon in 1586 by the Jesuit Diogo de Mesquita (1551-1614), interpreter and mentor of the four Japanese boys of the Tenshō mission, at the behest of Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), visitor general of the East Indies. After some changes of location, the printing press was moved to Macau in 1614 under the persecution edict of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603-1867). Cfr. Diego Pacheco, S.J. – Diogo de Mesquita, S.J. and the Jesuit Mission Press. *Monumenta Nipponica*. 26 (1971) 431-443. On the first Japanese embassy to Europe see: Michael Cooper – *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582-1590: The Journey of Four Samurai Boys through Portugal, Spain and Italy*. Kent: Global Oriental, 2005.

² See “Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database,” Sophia University, <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/> (last accessed November 15, 2023).

The Jesuits established schools and began teaching Latin around 1580 in order to train Japanese priests. The *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*, a Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary, was edited by several anonymous Jesuits and printed in 1595, one year after the printing of the Latin grammar text *De institutione grammatica libri tres* originally written by Manuel Álvarez (1526-1583). It was meant for Japanese students to learn Latin and for missionaries to learn Japanese.

Soon after these books were published, Christianity was banned in Japan from the early 17th century almost to the end of the 19th century. The ban persisted even when the missionaries from the Paris Foreign Missions or Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP) arrived in Japan in the second half of the 19th century. Under such circumstances, one of the MEP priests, Father Bernard Thadée Petitjean (1829-1884), discovered hidden Japanese Christians (*kakure kirishitan*) in Nagasaki in 1865. Recognizing that these hidden Christians were able to maintain their faith since the 16th and 17th centuries without priests, Petitjean searched for and found old Christian materials they once used, one of which was the Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary found in Manila. Based on this ancient dictionary, Petitjean edited his own Latin-Japanese dictionary to resume missionary work in Japan. He published about 70 books — known today as the Restoration Press or the *Petitjean-ban* in Japanese — from 1866 to 1883 for the purpose of missionary work in Japan. However, the dictionary was the only publication that was printed under the auspices of the Propaganda Fide in Rome.

Table 2 lists the first several books of the *Petitjean-ban* during 1865-1870.

Table2: *Petitjean-ban* (the Restoration Press) 1865-1870³

1865 Yokohama *Seikyō yōri mondō* (catechism edited by Pierre Mounicou)

³ See Sophia University, “Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database”; Toshiaki Kso, *Kaisetsu. Petitjean-ban Shōsei: Honpō Kirishitan Fukyō Kankei Shiryō* (Tōkyō: Yūshōdō shoten, 2011). This table is limited to 1870, when the *Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum* was printed.

1866 Paris *Niffon no cotoba ni yo confesion* (reprint of a book on confession originally printed in Rome in 1632 by Diego Collado, a Spanish Dominican friar)

1868 *Seikyō shogaku yōri* (catechism edited by Petitjean)

1868 Nagasaki *Seikyō nikka* (book of daily prayers edited by Petitjean)

1868 (Probably Nagasaki) *Deus kōsei sen happyaku roku-jū-hachi nen saiji boshin senreiki* (liturgical calendar for 1868-1869)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Goshusse irai sen happyaku roku-jū-ku nen Meiji ni kishi-sai on iwai hizuke* (liturgical calendar for 1869-1870)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Mikurusu michiyuki no orashiyo* (book of prayers for the Way of the Cross edited by Petitjean)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Konchirisan no ryaku* (book on contrition originally printed in 1603 and re-edited by Petitjean)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Toga-nozoki kisoku* (book on confession originally printed in 1598 and re-edited by Petitjean)

1869 *Rozariyo kiroku* (book for prayers of the rosary originally printed in 1632 and re-edited by Petitjean)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Musei shinron* (apology of the Christian religion written by Shinzō Abe)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Misa haireishiki* (book on Mass)

1869 (Probably Nagasaki) *Seikyō shogaku yōri* (second edition of the catechism by Petitjean)

1870 Rome *Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum*

Previously, Petitjean's Latin-Japanese dictionary (hereafter, the *Lexicon*) has received relatively little attention. It has often been regarded as a secondary work derived from the Jesuits' trilingual dictionary, the *Dictionarium*. Similar to the *Dictionarium*, it uses only the Latin alphabet type, not *kanji* nor the Japanese *kana* type. Thus, the *Lexicon* received less attention than other *Petitjean-ban* printed in *kanji* and *kana*.

Only a few works have explored the Japanese translations in the *Lexicon*. In the book, *Rahonichi jiten no nihongo*, the entries and Japanese translations of which were taken from the *Lexicon*, notes where they differed from the *Dictionarium* for comparison of the texts between the

Dictionarium and the *Lexicon*. While the book is merely a parallel text, not a comparative study of the two dictionaries, it provides short insights on various differences such as types, spellings, and punctuation in the introductory notes. Moreover, Shinmura and Hiragui, and Nakamura point out the use of a new word *xinpu* in the *Lexicon*, which means priest, transliterated in kanji as 神父. The term, however, is not used in the *Dictionarium*. Apart from the aforementioned works, detailed studies on the other Japanese translations are lacking. Regarding the whole *Petitjean-ban*, Taema found that Petitjean used many new translated terms in Chinese characters as well as early Christian terms from the first edition of his catechism *Seikyō shogaku yōri* in 1868. Nakamura further reinforced Taema's theory using Petitjean's other documents; however, they barely discuss the *Lexicon*.

To fill in the research gaps, this article is aimed to provide an overview of the revisions in the *Lexicon*, particularly focusing on the changes in Japanese translations, and to show that Petitjean made extensive revisions, including revisions under each entry and structural changes.

2. Basic information on the Dictionarium and the Lexicon

This section presents the bibliographic information of the *Dictionarium* and the *Lexicon* and introduces former studies that have been conducted on those works. Below is the title of the *Dictionarium*, indicating the editors, purpose, and way of editing.

DICTIONARIUM / LATINO LVSITANICVM, AC / IAPONICVM EX
AMBROSII CALE- / *pini volumine depromptum: in quo omissis no- /*
minibus proprijs tam locorum, quàm homi- / num, ac quibusdam alijs
minùs usitatis, omnes vocabulorũ / significationes, elegantioresq̃; dicendi
modi apponuntur: / in vsum, & gratiam Iaponicae iuuentutis, quae Latino

idiomati ope- / ram nauat, nec non Europeorū, qui Iaponicū sermonem addiscunt. /

[The Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary, based on the book by Ambrogio Calepino, omits proper nouns, such as the names of places and persons, and infrequent vocabulary; it includes all the meanings of vocabulary along with elegant examples of usage, in order to serve and benefit not only young Japanese people studying the Latin idiom intensely, but also Europeans who want to further their study of the Japanese language.]

The *Dictionarium* is meant to help young Japanese students learn Latin and European missionaries learn Japanese. It was edited according to an edition of the polyglot dictionary *Calepinus* written by Ambrogio Calepio (c. 1440-1510), an Italian Augustinian lexicographer. The edition of the *Calepinus*, on which the *Dictionarium* seems to be based, was printed in Lyons in 1580. It contains 1,374 pages and includes Latin, Hebrew, Greek, French, Italian, German, and Spanish translations.⁴The *Dictionarium* in Japan contains 908 pages including a title page, preface, main body, supplement, and errata. Its main body has over 26,000 Latin entries and about 20,000 different Japanese words. The names of the editors are unknown, including European and Japanese Jesuits. The *Dictionarium* was edited as follows: the Latin entries from the original *Calepinus* were selected and arranged in alphabetical order. Then, the form of the entry was arranged, and the principal explanation was selected and translated into Portuguese and Japanese.⁵

Today, only a few copies of the *Dictionarium* exist in the world: one in the Bodleian Library in the UK, la Bibliothèque de l'Institut in France, Library of the University of Leiden in Holland, SOAS Library in

⁴ See Hiroshi Harada, *Kirishitan-ban Raponichi-jisho no genten Calepinus raten-go jiten no keihu* (Ōsaka: Harada Hiroshi, 2011); Emi Kishimoto and Takeshi Mitsuhashi, *France-gakushiin-bon Raponichi Taiyaku Jisho* (Ōsaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2017), 915-917.

⁵ See Emi Kishimoto, "The Process of Translation in *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*" *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 72, (2006):17-26; Kishimoto and Mitsuhashi, 921-924.

the UK, and two copies in the National Library in China.⁶ One more copy was reported in Saint-Petersburg⁷ but has never been confirmed in recent years.

Next, I introduce the *Lexicon*, whose title is as follows:

Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum depromptum ex opere cui titulus Dictionarium Latino-Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum typis primum mandatum in Amacusa in Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesu anno Domini M.D.XCV. Nunc denuo emendatum atque auctum a Vicario Apostolico Iaponiae Romae Typis S. C. de Propaganda Fide Socio Eq. Petro Marietti Admin. MDCCCLXX.

[Latin-Japanese dictionary based on the work entitled *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum ac Iaponicum*, first printed in Amakusa at the Japanese College of the Society of Jesus in the year of Our Lord 1595. It has been revised and expanded by the Apostolic Vicar of Japan, and published in Rome by the Printing Press of the Holy Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, in Collaboration with Mr. Pietro Marietti, Administrator, in 1870.]

The *Lexicon* contains a title page, two kinds of preface, the main body with 749 pages, and *imprimatur*. The first preface is based on the original *Dictionarium* with some additions, and the second preface was written by Petitjean. Several copies of the *Lexicon* are extant both inside and outside Japan today and the facsimile was printed in 1945 by Miyakoshi Shin-ichirō.

To understand the background of the *Lexicon*, it is necessary to be familiar with its editor, Father Petitjean.⁸ He was born in Blanzuy-sur-

⁶ There are three reproductions, one by Tōyō Bunko in 1953 (one copy in China), another by Benseisha in 1979 (one copy in the Bodleian Library), and the other by Seibundō shuppan in 2017 (one copy in La Bibliothèque de l'Institut in France).

⁷ See Shichirō Murayama, “Leningrad no Raponichi-jiten” *Juntendō Daigaku Taiiku gakubu kiyō* 8, (1965): 138-189.

⁸ I referred to J. B. Chaillet, *Mgr. Petitjean, 1829-1884, et la résurrection catholique du Japon au XIXe siècle* (Montceau-les-mines: Chaillet, 1919); Koso; Institut de recherche France-Asie (IRFA), “0759 – PETITJEAN Bernard.” <https://irfa.paris/en/missionnaire/0759-petitjean-bernard/> (last accessed November 15, 2023).

Bourbince in France and ordained a priest in 1853. He joined the Missions Étrangères de Paris in 1859 and was sent to Ryukyu (the kingdom of southern islands of Japan in those days) the following year. He moved to Yokohama and Nagasaki, where he met hidden Christians in March 1865—this is known as the “discovery of the hidden Christians” today. He became Vicar Apostolic of Japan and Titular Bishop of Myriophytos in 1866 and worked hard as a representative of the Japanese Catholic Church to protect Japanese Christians from persecution by the Japanese government. Petitjean discovered that the hidden Christians had inherited several old terms of Portuguese and Latin origin, such as *Deus* for God and *anima* for soul, which were used in the Jesuit mission press. He actively sought out early Christian documents that used these terms both domestically and internationally.⁹

When the Jesuits preached to the Japanese people during the early Christian era, they did not use many translated words for important concepts. Instead, they tried to explain such concepts using Latin or Portuguese words. As these words were handed down from their ancestors, the hidden Christians kept them even though their forms had changed during the transmission from generation to generation and their meanings were no longer precisely understood without priests.¹⁰

Petitjean insisted on using the old terms to convey to the hidden Christians that MEP fathers were the official Catholic successors because he strongly expected the hidden Christians to return to Catholicism. However, some of his confreres, missionaries of the MEP in Japan, opposed his policy on the use of the Christian terms. Rather than the Portuguese or Latin terms, which were understood only by the hidden Christians of the old faith in Nagasaki, they insisted on using new translated words that were easily understood by the Japanese

⁹ On the terminology of the *Petitjean-ban*, the following studies are known: Johannes Laures, “Petitjean shikyō to Kirishitan dentō,” *Catholic Kenkyū* 20, no. 2 (1940): 85-98; Mitsuyo Taema, “*Seikyō shogaku yōri ni miru gairaigo: Kirishitan dentō-go kara kango e,*” *Tokyo Junshin Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kiyō* 1 (1984): 27-74; Hiromu Nakamura, *Senkyō to Juyō: Meiji-ki Kirisutokyō no Kiso-teki Kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2000).

¹⁰ Images from several manuscripts written by the Christians of Urakami, Nagasaki, which existed in the 19th century, were published in 2019 by Catholic Urakami kyōkairekishii iinkai.

intelligentsia. One of those who opposed Petitjean, Father Pierre Mounicou (1825-1871), even published the *Seikyō yōri mondō* in 1865 in Yokohama. The *Seikyō yōri mondō* is a Japanese translation of Chinese catechism published in Sichuan, China that includes many Chinese translated words.¹¹ In spite of such oppositions, Petitjean continued to pursue a policy of preserving old Christian terminology until his death in 1884. In contrast, the Protestant missionaries who came to Japan at about the same time as the Catholics used many of the same translated terms as those utilized in the Chinese missions from the beginning of their missionary works.¹² However, as mentioned earlier in: [1](#). The Introduction, it is also evident from a study of the three different editions (1868, 1869 and 1872) of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri*, the basic doctrinal Japanese text, that Petitjean did not always use traditional terminology, but also used terms applied in Chinese and Japanese translations.¹³ This paper will follow the fact by indicating several such terms in the *Lexicon*.

Here, a short description of the three editions of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri*, edited and published by Petitjean, are presented since they are considered the most basic material in the *Petitjean-ban*. Terms used in the *Seikyō shogaku yōri* will later be compared with those that appear in the *Lexicon*. The *Seikyō shogaku yōri* includes the basic doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, such as the Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Seven Sacraments. All three editions were printed exclusively in Japanese *hiragana* and *kanji* (Chinese characters). Notably, *furigana*, which is small *kana* written next to Chinese characters, is heavily used to show the pronunciation of *kanji*, especially in the first edition.

In all three editions, many old Christian terms are written in *hiragana*. The first edition explains these terms in the headnote, while the

¹¹ See Sung Keun Kim, “Nichi, Chū, Kan ni okeru Catechism no juyō to hensen: 3-koku ni okeru Catechism no hikaku wo chūshin ni” (Doctoral thesis, Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University, 2020).

¹² There have been several studies on their translations. For example, see Masaharu Yoshino, *Meiji motoyaku seisho Seiritsu-kō* (Ōsaka: Izumi shoin, 2020).

¹³ See Taema.

second and third editions use them in conjunction with *kanji*. For example, as shown below, in the first edition, *anima*, a loanword from Latin meaning soul, is explained as 靈魂[soul, spirit] in the headnote with a byline in the text. The term 靈魂 was not used in Japan among older adult Japanese Christians. In the second edition, 靈魂 is written with *furigana* あにま (*anima*). The third edition is the same as the second with regard to word for spirit, though *kanji* is utilized to express Jesus Christ. Thus, the old terms were not as commonly used in the revision of the second and third editions; however, Petitjean did not stop using them. The *Lexicon* was printed between the second and third editions

Ex. 1

Seikyō shogaku yōri 1st 1868 vol. 1, 4r.

御主ぜすきりしとは○我等われらと同おなじく○あにま○肉にく身しんをば○御身おんみに○取合とりあわせ

(On aruji *zesusu kirishito wa warera to onajiku anima nikushin woba onmi ni toriawase*)

[Our Lord Jesus Christ, like us, had a spirit and a body together]

(head note) あにま 靈魂と同じ [*Anima*: the same as *reikon*(soul, spirit)]

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 vol. 2, 3v.

御主ぜすきりしとは我等われらと同おなじく靈魂あにまと肉にく身しんとをば御身おんみに取合とりあわせ

(On aruji *zesusu kirishito wa warera to onajiku anima to nikushin to woba onmi ni toriawase*)

Seikyō shogaku yōri 3rd 1872 15v.

御主おんあるじ耶蘇ぜすす基利斯督きりしとは我等われらと同おなじく靈魂あにまと肉にく身しんをば○御身おんみに○取合とり

あわせ

(On aruji *zesusu kirishito* wa warera to onajiku *anima* to nikushin woba onmi ni toriawase)

Going back to the edition of the *Lexicon*, according to Petitjean's letter written in Nagasaki on August 12, 1865,¹⁴ one of his confreres, Father Pierre-Xavier Cazenave (1834-1912), who stayed in Shanghai, told him the news of several old Japanese books in a Franciscan library in Manila. One of these books was a dictionary. It seems that this is the earliest document about the *Dictionarium* that Petitjean wrote.

Moreover, according to the preface of the *Lexicon* written on the way to the First Vatican Council in December in 1869, Petitjean stopped in Manila in June and was offered a copy of the *Dictionarium* by the Franciscans. In a letter written on January 6, 1870, to Father Henri Armbruster (1842-1896), who was one of Petitjean's MEP confrere in Japan, Petitjean mentioned that he was busy editing the *Lexicon* and was occupied with the Council in Rome. Cardinal Alessandro Barnabó (1801-1874), who was the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide from 1856 to 1874, said that the Propaganda Fide will pay for the cost of publishing the *Lexicon*. We can confirm the fact by the preface of the *Lexicon*, which states that Petitjean received the Cardinal's endorsement and support for its publication. Petitjean hoped that the publication would be useful for conducting missionary work in Japan. Unfortunately, the copy of the *Dictionarium* that Petitjean was referring to has not been seen after the fire that occurred in December of 1874 in Yokohama.¹⁵

In the preface, Petitjean clearly indicates the purpose, which, as mentioned earlier, was to help students learn Latin and missionaries learn Japanese, and the way of editing. The first purpose is consistent with the

¹⁴ The Japanese translation based on manuscripts written by Soeur Sainte Elie appear in Nagasaki Junshin Daigaku Nagasaki-gaku Kenkyū-sho, ed.

¹⁵ Francisque Marnas, La "Religion de Jésus" (Iaso ja-kyō) ressuscitée au Japon dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle (Paris et Lyon: Delhomme et Briguët, 1897), vol. 2, 330-331.

historical facts of MEP in Japan. Soon after Petitjean and his confreres found the hidden Christians, they chose three Japanese students to become native priests in the future and began to teach them Latin.¹⁶

The way of editing the *Lexicon* was as follows: after translating the Portuguese text into Latin, Petitjean transcribed and enlarged the Latin parts as accurately as possible. He mentioned in the preface that Giovanni Agrestini, a young man (probably one of the printers) in Rome, also assisted him during this process. He also copied the Japanese text written based on the Portuguese pronunciation in Roman letters. Afterwards, he numbered and organized all Latin entries. He also explained his wish to add Chinese characters and the Japanese syllabary *kana* in the future, but this was never accomplished.

There is no clear evidence that the editors included native Japanese at the last stage of editing and printing in Rome; however, a Japanese Christian in Manila, Mori Matsujiro, is known to have helped transliterate the *Rosariono qio*¹⁷ into *kanji* and *kana*. This was originally printed in Roman type in 1623 in Manila and was found there. Morimay had helped Petitjean with the *Lexicon* as well. Mori was a leader of the hidden Christians in Kamigotō in Kyushu. He stayed in Hong Kong and Luzon with Petitjean from about May to November 1869.¹⁸

According to Hidenoshin Ariyasu, one of the first three native Japanese priests in 1882 after the Restoration, 20 to 30 volumes of the *Lexicon* were used in a seminary in Nagasaki until about 1930 after printing. The *Lexicon* played a valuable role in the study of Latin of the seminary students, including Hidenoshin. However, Hidenoshin also noted that it was difficult for the students to understand the Japanese parts

¹⁶ Masatoshi Nakajima, *Fukuin dendō-sha no naedoko: Nagasaki kōkyō shingakkō-shi* (Nagasaki: Nakajima Masatoshi, 1977), 13-14.

¹⁷ See Sophia University, ed. "Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database." JL-1623-KB53-52-41. The transliterated version is the *Rozariyo kiroku* printed in 1869, which is shown in Table 2.

¹⁸ See Chaillet, 256; Yoshishige Mori, "Mori Matsujirō-ō Shōden," *Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyūkai Kaihō*, no. 7 (1958): 3-8.

because, first, they were written in the alphabet based on Portuguese pronunciation, which was unfamiliar to them, and second, they included several Japanese words that were too old for them to understand. Nevertheless, the *Lexicon* was used for Latin study in seminaries until 1934, when a new Latin-Japanese dictionary was published by Sauveur Candau (1897-1955), MEP.¹⁹

3. A comparison of the Lexicon and the Dictionarium

Before making a detailed comparison of the text of the *Dictionarium* and the *Lexicon*, this section shows two of the simplest examples detailing the process of editing the *Lexicon*. The *Lexicon* omits the Portuguese part “Lus. Beber tudo” and “Iap.,” and printed the Japanese part, whose spellings were not changed, in Italic.

Ex. 2

Dictionarium p. 563

Perbibo, is. [to drink in] Lus. Beber tudo.[to drink all] Iap. Nomifosu. [to drink all]

Lexicon p. 454

Perbibo, is. *Nomifosu*.

In the *Lexicon*, Latin explanations were often used instead of omitting the Portuguese translation as shown in Ex. 3.

Ex. 3

Dictionarium p. 316

Gramma, atis. [letter] Lus. Letra. [letter] Iap. *Monji*. [letter, character]

Lexicon p. 249

¹⁹ Nakajima, 163-164.

Gramma, atis. Littera. *Monji*.

Except in the Portuguese translation, the *Lexicon* seemed to copy directly from the *Dictionarium* in these examples. However, there are many differences in the structures as well as in the translations under the entries, which will be shown in Section 3.1.

3.1 Differences of strictures

The following represent the differences of strictures: (1) the addition to the explanatory notes at the beginning, (2) selection of entries, and (3) arrangement of entries and subentries.

In the explanatory notes in the *Dictionarium*, the title is “*Ad huius dictionarij ordinem intelligendum, aduerte ea, quae sequuntur*” [To understand the rule of this dictionary, be careful **with** the following] with four articles as follows in the English translation:

1. Many nouns derived from verbs are explained with the infinitive form “verb + *coto nari*.”
2. Other nouns not found in Japanese are explained by infinitives with *cotouo yū*.
3. Latin words are given various translations, both to explain the rich meanings of Latin and for Japanese-language study.
4. In order to explain the Latin meaning more precisely, the Japanese wording does not always appear precise.

These four articles are all about the ways of the translation from Latin to Japanese in the *Dictionarium*, which is also cited in the *Lexicon*. However, a big difference can be found between the title and the fifth article. The title is “*Quoad huius Dictionarii ordinem scribendique rationem, sive, ut vocant, orthographiam, adverte ea, quae sequuntur*” [Regarding the rule and way of writing in this dictionary, or what they call orthography, be careful with the following], which refers to the additional

long article of the orthography. The fifth article is seen which is original part of the *Lexicon* regarding the pronunciations of the letters A, E, I, O, U, Y, Ai, F, H, R, CH, X, and Tçu in Japanese in the 19th century, not in the 16th century. The Japanese translation of the *Lexicon* uses almost the same Romanized spelling as the *Dictionarium*, but since it was based on the Portuguese pronunciation in the 16th century, the editor thought it necessary to explain it to the French and Japanese users of the *Lexicon*. Since the fifth article is not related to the translation but needs more consideration on the pronunciations and romanization of the Japanese language, I am currently preparing another paper on the explanatory notes.

The major difference between the spelling used in the *Dictionarium* and that in the *Lexicon* is that there was no distinction between I and J (capital letters), V and U, and v and u (capital letters and small letters) in the former compared to in the latter. This reflects the clear distinction between these letters in Latin as well as in French in the 19th century, whereas there was no distinction between them in the 16th century. Thus, the *Lexicon* has the J and U entries that did not exist in the *Dictionarium*.

Regarding the selection of the entries, the *Lexicon* omits entries in the *Dictionarium* written only in Latin explanation from the original *Calepinus*, such as *Lines* in Ex. 4 below.

Ex. 4

Dictionarium p. 423

Lineo, as. [to reduce to a straight line] Lus. ... Iap. ...

Lines, vasa videntur fuisse ad fontes pertinentia.[vessel that appears to be related to the fountain]

Lineus, a, um. [of flax] Lus. ... Iap. ...

Lexicon p. 334

Lineo, as. ...

Lineus, a, um. ...

The other characteristic of the selection of entries is that more than half of the supplement of the *Dictionarium* is omitted in the *Lexicon*. Moreover, several of the subentries and parts of the Japanese translation are also omitted in the *Lexicon*. In the following example, the second subentry “Item, per transl. Cousa grãde, ou demasiada. ...” is entirely omitted. While the reasons for these selections are not entirely clear, they may have been considered less necessary by Petitjean.

Ex.5

Dictionarium p. 640

Profundus, a, um. [profound] Lus. *Cousa muito funda.* [to be very deep] Iap. *Icanimo fucaqi coto.* [to be very deep] Quq; (*quandoque*) [some time]. *Cousa alta.* [to be high] Iap. *Tacaqi coto.* [to be high] Item, per transl.[the same word in figurative meaning] *Cousa grãde, ou demasiada.* [to be large, or too much] Iap. *Vôqinaru coto, caguiri naqi coto.* [to be large, infinite] *Nox profunda.* [late night] Lus. *Alta noite.* [late night] Iap. *Fuqetaru yo.* [late night]

Lexicon p. 521

Profundus, a, um. Icanimo fucaqi coto. Res alta [to be high]:tacaqi coto. Nox profunda: fuqetaru yo.

Another big systematic change is the reordering of entries and subentries. In Ex. 6 below, the entries of the *Dictionarium* were rearranged to follow an alphabetical order in the *Lexicon*.²⁰ While the order of entries in the *Dictionarium* is alphabetical, this is not always the case, as seen in Ex. 6. It seems there was an attempt to arrange the entries in alphabetical order as much as possible.

²⁰ In the original 1580 Lyons *Calepinus*, the order is as follows: *Pilula* (p. 955), *Pilum*, and *Pilus* (p. 956). Petitjean seemed to correct the order in the *Dictionarium* without referring to the original *Calepinus*.

Ex. 6

Dictionarium p. 589

Pilum, i. [heavy javelin of the Roman infantry, a pounder] Lus. *Arma de arremesso como dardo.* [throwing weapon like a javelin] Iap. *Nagueuçu bugu.* [throwing weapon] ¶Item, *Maõ do gral.* Iap. [the same word, a pounder] *Nhübõ.* [a pestle]

Pilus, i. [hair] Lus. *Pelo, ou cabelo.* [hair, or hair on the head] Iap. *Qe.* [hair] *Pili non facere.* [to consider insignificant] Lus. *Estimar em nada.* [to consider insignificant] Iap. *Monouo cazutomo vomouazu.* [to consider insignificant]

Pilula, ae. [a little ball] Lus. *Pela pequena.* [a little ball] Iap. *Chijsaqi temari.* [a little ball] Item, *Pirola.* [same word, a pill] Iap. *Guanyacu.* [a pill]

Lexicon p. 476

Pilula, ae. ...

Pilum, i. ...

Pilus, i. ...

The editors of the *Lexicon* reordered some entries and often changed many Japanese translations according to the revision. One of the revisions with the highest number of examples concerns *miguino*.

The *Dicitionarium* has many examples of *miguino*, which originally means “on the right side” in Japanese and by extension “mentioned above,” indicating what has been written before, because the Japanese traditional writing style is from right to left vertically and the right part is what has already been written. The *Dictionarium* is written horizontally, left to right, but in the Japanese translation, *miguino* is used as an idiomatic expression meaning “already mentioned.” The *Lexicon* basically follows the expression *miguino* from the *Dictionarium*.

Ex. 7

Dictionarium p. 868

Vérum, i. [a dart, javelin] Lus. *Zarguncho, ou dardo cujo ferro he da feição de espeto.* [a short lance, or dart whose iron is like skewer] Iap. *Xicacuni togaritaru yarino mino taguy.* [a kind of square-shaped spear]

Vérum, a, um. Lus. *Armado com zarguncho.* [armed with a javelin] *Miguino yariuo taixitaru mono.* [armed with the javelin as mentioned]

Lexicon p. 730

Vérum, i. *Telum in fomam veru.* [weapons in the form of spears] *Xicacuni togaritaru yarino mino taguy.*

Vérum, a, um. *Veruto armatus.* [armed with a javelin] *Miguino yariuo taixitaru mono.*

However, after rearranging the order of the entries, the *miguino* often times becomes unnecessary in the *Dictionarium*. The following *Summoenium* is a noun and *summoenianus* is the adjective. As a result of the rearrangement in the *Lexicon*, *miguino* in the Japanese translation of *summoenianus*, which means “mentioned above,” needs to be omitted.

Ex. 8

Dictionarium p. 793

Summoenium, ij. [a brothel in Rome near the wall]

Lus. *Hum lugar junto dos muros no qual estão molheres publicas.* [a place near the walls where there are public women]

Iap. *Iōtono camayeno qiواني aru qeixeiya.* [a brothel by the wall]

Summoenianus, a, um. [adjective of *summoenium*]

Lus. *Cousa pertencente a este lugar.* [to belong to the place above]

Iap. *Miguino tocoroni ataru coto.* [to belong to the place above]

Lexicon p. 657

Summoenianus, a, um. *Quod pertinet ad summoenium.* [to belong to *summoenium*] *Qeixeino aru tocoroni ataru coto.*

Summoenium, ii.

Locus prope moenia ubi sunt publicae mulieres. [a place near the walls where there are public women] *Iótono camayeno qiuani aru qeixeiya.*

This is another example of the result of the rearrangement of entries. Instead of using *miguino* as in the translations of *duumuiratus* and *duumuiralis* in the *Dictionarium*, the *Lexicon* uses *fidarino*, which means “mentioned below,” to indicate the root word *duumui* which is put under its derivatives *duumuiralis* and *duumuiratus*.

Ex. 9

Dictionarium p. 229

Duumui. [two officials in ancient Rome] Lus. *Dous officiais que governauam certas cidades.* [two officials who govern certain cities] Iap. *Aru zaixouo vosamuru riôqendan.* [two officials who govern certain cities]

Duumuiratus. [position of *duumui*] Lus. *O cargo destes dous officiais.* [position of these two officials] Iap. *Miguiuo riôqêdanno xocu.* [position of these two officials]

Duumuiralis, e. [to belong to *duumui*] Lus. *Cousa que pertence a este officio, ou homẽ q̃ teue este officio.* [to belong to this official, or a person who has this position] Iap. *Miguino qendãno xocuni ataru coto, l, sono xocuuo mochitaru fito.* [to belong to this official, or a person who has the position]

Lexicon p. 184

Duumuiralis, e. Fidarino qendanno xocuni ataru coto, vel, sono xocuuo mochitaru fito. [to belong to the position below, or a person who has the position]

Duumuiratus. Duumvirorum dignitas. [position of *duumui*] *Fidarino riôqêdanno xocu.* [position of two officials below]

Duumui. Magistratus romani. [Roman magistrates] *Aru zaixouo uosamuru riôqendan.*

3.2. Differences of individual translations

The *Lexicon* corrected several errors according to the errata of the *Dictionarium*; however, it ended up with more errors than the latter. Most of these errors are thought to simply be due to incorrect transcription or typographical errors because there are many instances where the shapes of the letters in the *Dictionarium* and in the *Lexicon* are similar, and the same words are often printed correctly in instances in the text. For example, *Cosoqu* on p. 467 of the *Lexicon* is clear error. However, the correct form *sosoqu* appears in other places, though *sosocu* had already been changed to the modern form *sosogu* until the 19th century.

Ex. 10

Dictionarium p. 578

Perspergo, is. [to besprinkle] Lus. *Rociar, ou aspergir.* [to spray or sprinkle] Iap. *Sosoqu, mizzuuo caquru.* [to pour or sprinkle water]

Lexicon p. 467

Perspergo, is. *Cosoqu, mizzuuo caquru.*

Dictionarium p. 694

Respergo, is, si, sum. [to splash] Lus. *Espargir.* [to sprinkle [\[MOU28\]](#)] Iap. *Sosoqu.* [to pour water]

Respersio, onis, l, Respersus. [splashing] Lus. *O espargir, rociar.* [sprinkling, spraying] Iap. *Sosoqu coto nari.* [pouring water]

Lexicon p. 567

Respergo, is, si, sum. *Sosoqu.*

Respersio, onis, l, Respersus. *Sosoqu coto nari.*

In addition, there are examples where several Japanese phrases or subentries in the *Dictionarium* do not appear in the *Lexicon*. It is difficult to determine whether these are errors or intentional omissions, but many

of them seem to be oversights during transcription as follows: it is difficult to determine whether these are errors or intentional omissions. For instance, the reason behind why *Lexicon* lacks the phrase *xôsui xitaru mono* is not clear. However, many of such instances seem to be oversights during transcription.

Ex. 11

Dictionarium p. 469

Monogrammi. [a skeleton, shadow] Lus. *Homens magros, & descôrados*. [thin and bare-chested people] Iap. *Yaxete irono axiqi mono, xôsui xitaru mono*. [thin, pale, and emaciated people]

Lexicon p. 373

Monogrammi. *Homines macri et incolores*. [thin and pale people] *Yaxete irono axiqi mono*.

On the contrary, the *Lexicon* intentionally changed several Japanese translations in the *Dictionarium*, mainly omitting Portuguese and Latin loanwords or retranslating them to Japanese.

For example, the phrase *Azeitonatu yû* [...], which includes the Portuguese word *azeito* [olive oil], in the *Dictionarium* was omitted from the *Lexicon* when a Latin explanation could have been included instead.

Ex. 12

Dictionarium p. 585

Phauliae. [a kind of olive] Lus. *Hum genero de azeitonas*. [a kind of olive] Iap. *Azeitonato yû conomino na*. [a name of nut called *azeitona*]

Lexicon p. 473

Phauliae. *Olivarum genus*. [a kind of olive] *Conomino na*. [a name of nut]

Interestingly, there are many examples where Portuguese and Latin words, many of which are related to Christianity, have been changed to translated words.

It is clear that Petitjean wanted to preserve several traditional loanwords such as *Kirishitan*. Nine examples of the term found in the *Dictionarium* were retained in the *Lexicon* as shown in Ex. 13.

Ex. 13

Dictionarium p. 106

Catechesis, is. [catechism] Lus. *Catechismo*. [catechism] Iap. *Christamni naru beqi mononi cotobauo motte goxōno michiuo voxiyuru cotouo yū*. [teaching would-be Christians about later life with explanations]

Lexicon p. 88

Catechesis, is. *Christamni naru beqimononi cotobauo motte goxōno michiuo voxiyuru cotouo yū*.

However, many traditional Christian terms were changed to translated words. Table 3 shows how the Christian terms that appear in three or more instances in the *Dictionarium* are used in the *Lexicon*.²¹ Table 3 clearly shows that many, but not all, terms have been changed in the *Lexicon*. Under the column “Degree of Revision,” ○ indicates that all loanwords in the *Dictionarium* have been retranslated in the *Lexicon*, △ indicates that some of the words have been retranslated, and × indicates that all loanwords remained. The difference between the changed and unchanged terms is not clear. A term is sometimes changed in one entry but remains unchanged in another, even though its meanings in both instances appear to be the same. This is probably because of a change in the policy of translation or in the editors during the compilation of the work, which occurs over several months.

²¹ Fewer than two examples such as *anjo* [angel] and *missa* [mass] were omitted.

Table3: Japanese translations of Christian terms in the *Lexicon*

Term in the Dictionarium	English translation	Number of examples	Details in the Lexicon	Degree of revision
Anima	soul	10	(no change) 4, tamaxii/tamaxi 4, cocoro 1, (omission) 1	△
Bispo	bishop	6	xuqiǒ/xuqio 3, qiǒxu/qiǒxǔ 2, (omission) 1	○
Christam/ Christan	Christian	9	(no change) 9	×
deus/deos/ de'no	God	56	(no change) 50, tenxu 5, deus to yǔ tenxu 1	△
Fides	faith	6	(no change) 6	×
igreja/ecclesia	church	14	(no change) 2, sancta ecclesia 1, tenxudǒ 9, xeiquai 1, (omission) 1	△
sacerdote	priest	24	(no change) 7, xinpu 15, xucqe 1, (omission) 1	△
sanctos/beato	Saint(s)	4	xei-jin 3, xeijin1	○
virgem/virgen	virgin	10	(no change) 2, fubon 6, (omission) 2	△

Among the revision of terms, the new words that were never used in the early Christian period are *xinpu*, *xuqiǒ* (*xuqio*/*qiǒxu*/*qiǒxǔ*), *xei-jin*, *xeiquai*. All of these are originally Chinese words and were probably introduced from Chinese doctrinal texts. Ex. 14 shows how Petitjean clearly stopped using the Portuguese terms *sanctos/beato* and *bispo* in the

Lexicon, instead replacing them with *xei-jin* and *xuqiō*. Examples of the three editions of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri* are also shown in Ex. 14.

Ex. 14

Dictionarium p. 54

Apotheōsis, is. [deification] Lus. *Canonização, ou cōsagração dos sanctos*. [canonization or consecration of saints] Iap. *Voconai vomotte Sāctosno cazuni junji, l, cuuaye tamō cotouo yū*. [to be canonized as a saint for one's deeds]

Lexicon p. 45

Apotheōsis, is. *Canonizatio*. *Voconai vomotte xei-jin no cazuni junji, vel, cuuaye tamō cotouo yū*.

Seikyō shogaku yōri 1st 1868 vol. 2, 11r.

べあとすの位 (*Beatosu no kurai*) [position of saints]

(head note) べあとす聖人と同じ [*Beatosu*: the same as *seijin*]

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 vol. 2, 10r.

聖べあとすの位くらい (*Beato no kurai*)

Seikyō shogaku yōri 3rd 1872 15v.

聖べあとすの位くらい (*Beato no kurai*)

In the entry of *Apotheōsis* in the *Lexicon*, *xei-jin* is used instead of *Sāctos* from the *Dictionarium*. The usage of the new term also appears in the *Seikyō shogaku yōri*: Petitjean started using 聖人 (*xeijin* according to the Portuguese spelling = *seijin* according to the English spelling today) in the first edition, though most examples are べあとす (*beatosu*), which is a traditional word of Portuguese origin meaning saints. The first edition uses many traditional Christian terms, with the explanations using new translations in the headnotes. The second and third editions use new

translations, and the readings of traditional words are often indicated in small Japanese letters.

Ex. 15 shows the change from *Bispo* to the new words.

Ex. 15

Dictionarium p. 53

Apex, icis. [extreme end of a thing, etc.] ...Item, Mitra. [in the same word, a mitra] Iap. *Bispono fōjino toqi, cazzuqi tamō zzuqin, bōxi.* [a cap in which bishop wears at ritual]

Lexicon p. 44

Apex, icis. ...Mitra: xuqiōno fōjino toqi, cazzuqi tamō zzuqin, bōxi.

Dictionarium p. 245

Episcopiū, ij. [bishop's residence] Lus. *Morada, ou habitação do bispo.* [bishop's residence] Iap. *Bispono gozadocoro, giūxo.* [bishop's residence]

Episcopus, i. [bishop] Lus. *Bispo.* [bishop] Iap. *Bispono coto nari.* [bishop]

Lexicon p. 1967

Episcopiū, ii. *Episcopi residentia.* [bishop's residence] *Qioxūno gozadocoro, giūxo.*

Episcopus, i. *Qiōxū.*

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 4-23

主教 えびすこほ (with reading in Japanese letters えびすこほ *episukopo*)

Petitjean stopped using the Portuguese terms *bispo* and instead used *xuqiō* or “*qioxū / qiōxū.*” *Xuqiō* is thought to be written as 主教 (*xuqiō* according to the Portuguese spelling = *shukyō* according to the English spelling today) in Chinese characters and appears in the *Seikyō shogaku yōri* (2nd ed.). However, whether the use of *qioxū / qiōxū* is intentional or whether it is a typographical error for *xuqiō* has not been confirmed by

other examples. While Petitjean used new terms for bishop in the *Lexicon*, ㇿびすこほ (*episukopo*), which is of Latin origin, is used in the three editions of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri* in most examples. Petitjean's policy does not appear to be fixed between 主教 (*xuqiō*) and ㇿびすこほ (*episukopo*).

Here, I introduce the most important Christian concept of “God.”²²The early Christian word meaning “God” is almost exclusively fixed at *Deus*, as in the *Dictionarium*, although *tenxu* is also used in exceptional cases. However, the distinction between *Deus* and *tenxu* is not clear in the *Lexicon*. In the entry of *Religio*, the word *Deus* is unchanged but was replaced with *tenxu* in another entry *Theológia*.

Ex. 16

Dictionarium p. 686

Religio, onis. [religion] Lus. *Religião*, & *reuerencia que se tem a Deos*. [religion and reverence for God] Iap. *Deus ye taixitatematçurite motçu xinjin, l, vyamai*. [Faith and reverence for God] ...

Lexicon p. 560

Religio, onis. *Cultus et reverential Deo debita*. [faith and reverence for God] *Deus ye taixitatematçurite motçu xinjin, l, vyamai*. ...

Dictionarium p. 822

Theológia, ae. [theology] Lus. *Theologia*. [theology] Iap. *Deusno von cotoni tçuiteno gacumon*. [studies on God]

Lexicon p. 683

Theolōgia, ae. Scientia quae de Deo agit. [studies on God] *Tenxuno von cotoni tçuiteno gacumon.*

Moreover, we should look at the entry *Deus* itself, which has more equivalents than *tenxu*. The *Dictionarium* has four Japanese translations *tentō*, *tenxu*, *tenson*, and *tentei*, all of which are much less common than *Deus* in the early Christian documents. These four were not necessarily used to represent Christian deities in Japan at that time.²³ *Tentō*, for example, was widely used in Japan to describe heavenly deities even before the arrival of Christianity. In the *Lexicon*, two words *tenxu* and *tentei*, were chosen from the four terms that were used in the *Dictionarium*. Both of those terms were used in the Chinese Catholic Church. The three editions of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri* all have the readings *Deusu* (=Deus) in *hiragana*. The Chinese characters *tentei* with the reading *Deusu* is only used in the first edition, while *Tenshu* (=tenxu) is used in all editions. Thus, the *Lexicon* and *Seikyō shogaku yōri* suggest that Petitjean respected the old term *Deus* but also accepted the use of *tenxu* and *tentei*.

Ex. 17

Dictionarium p. 206

Deus, i. Lus. *Deos*. [god] Iap. *Tentō*, *tenxu*, *tenson*, *tentei*.

Lexicon p. 166

Deus, i. *Tenxu*, *tentei*.

Seikyō shogaku yōri 1st 1868 vol. 1, 1r.

天帝てうす (*tentei* with the reading *deusu*) [emperor of heaven]

(headnote) 天帝天主也 (*tentei tenshu nari*) [*tentei* is the same meaning as *tenshu*]

²³ See Emi Kishimoto, “Senkyō wo ishiki shita Raponichi-jisho no nihongo-yaku,” *Kuntengo to Kuntēn Shiryō*, no. 121 (2008): 106–95.

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 vol. 1, 1r.

天主てうす(*tenshu* with the reading *deusu*)

Seikyō shogaku yōri 3rd 1872 1r.

天主てうす

The translation attitude differs in the case of *tenxudō*, which is a compound word for *tenxu* and *dō* (hall), meaning church (both as the building and as group of Christian people); most examples of *igreja* in Portuguese and *ecclesia* in Latin are replaced with *tenxudō*. [d](#)We can also confirm the fact that the new word began to be used from the perspective of Japanese architectural history, as the Catholic church building built in Nagasaki in 1865 had plates with 天主堂(*tenxudō*) on the front of the building.²⁴

Ex. 18

Dictionarium p. 622

Praestes, titis. [protector, president] Lus. *Prelado, ou presidente.* [dignitary, or head] Iap. *Ecclesia niteno tçucasa zzucasa, l, tôriō, caxira.* [dignitaries of church, or chief, leader]

Lexicon p. 506

Praestes, titis. Praelatus, praeses.[dignitary, or head] *Tenxudō niteno tçucasa zzucasa, l, tôriō, caxira.*

In one example, the Portuguese term *igreja* was replaced with *xeiquai*, meaning the government of the Roman Catholic Church. Apart from the one instance where *xeiquai* was used in the *Lexicon*, the term had never been used in the early Christian period. Petitjean also used the word

²⁴ See Yasuhiro Wakita, *Ōuratenshu-dō monogatari* (Nagasaki: Seibo no kishisha, 2016).

as a synonym for *Sancta Ecclesia* [Saint Church] in the second edition of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri*.

Ex. 19

Dictionarium p. 257

Excōmunicatio, onis. [excommunication] Lus. *Excōmunhão.* [excommunication] Iap. *Igrejano cãqiuo cõmuru cotouo yũ.* [to receive condemnation from the Church]

Lexicon p. 204

Excommunicatio, onis. *Xeiquaino canqiuo cõmuru cotouo yũ.*

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 1-7

御主おんあるじの宗徒あぼすところ御弟子みでし達たち又また其その御指南ごしなんに懸かゝりたる人ひととはかとりかにて...さんたゑけれじやとて聖会せいくわいの始はじまりなり

(On aruji no Apostolo mideshi tachi mata sono go-shinan ni kakaritaru hitowa Catholica nite ... Sancta Ecclesia tote seikai(=xeiquai)²⁵ no hajimari nari).

[The Jesuit apostles and those who were taught by them were Catholic, and this is the origin of the Saint Church].

In the *Lexicon* and *Seikyō shogaku yōri*, the words 聖人(*seijin*) and 聖会 (*seikai*) were used, though the Chinese character 聖 was not used in Christian terminology in the 16th and 17th centuries in Japan. For example, the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam* printed in Nagasaki in 1603 and 1604 includes more than 32,000 Japanese entries. Six Chinese words begin with 聖 (*xei*), that is, 聖智 (*xeichi* [wisdom of great people]), 聖君 (*xeicun* [virtuous monarch]), 聖人 (*xeijin* [man of virtue]), 聖賢 (*xeiqen* [virtue and wisdom]), 聖王(*xeivō*

²⁵ *Seikai* is a modern transcription for 聖会.

[virtuous and wise king]), and 聖主 (*xeixu* [virtuous and wise monarch]).

However, these are not Christian terms but are borrowed words from the Chinese language which mean to be holy.²⁶ It was only in modern times that the Chinese character 聖 came to be used in Christian books in Japan.

Notably, Petitjean chose 聖教 for the title of his most basic doctrinal book.

The term was probably borrowed from Chinese Christian books such as 天主聖教啓蒙 written around 1598 to 1623 and several editions of 聖教要理問答,²⁷ which was not used in the early Christian period in Japan.

Here, I show another example of *anima* [soul, spirit] to represent the shifting terminology of this period. When comparing the *Lexicon* with the *Dictionarium*, there were instances where the use of *anima* was retained in the *Lexicon*, such as in the entry *Pronúbo* [preside the wedding]. However, in other instances, the translation *tamaxii/tamaxi*²⁸ [soul, spirit] was used, such as in the entries *Inanimus* [lifeless] and *cocoro* [mind] in the *Exággero* [heap]. Both instances are Japanese original words and not of Chinese origin. Moreover, there are no examples for the translated Chinese word *reikon* [soul, spirit] in the *Lexicon*, but the term is commonly used in the three editions of the *Seikyō shogaku yōri*. It appears that Petitjean had not yet decided whether or not to continue using the old word *anima* and which word to use as a Japanese translation.

Ex. 20

Dictionarium p. 356

Inanimus, a, um. [lifeless] Lus. *Cousa sem alma.* [being without soul] Iap. *Inochi naqi mono, l, Anima naqi mono.* [One without life or soul]

²⁶ 聖人 was not used in the sense to mean saint in the Christian books, but it was originally used in Chinese volumes, especially Confucian books, to describe a virtuous person. In Jesuits' Japanese-Portuguese dictionary, the term appears as follows: “*Xejjin.* Homem excelente, & de grandes dotes, & virtudes, republico, & amigo do bẽ cõmum” [An excellent man of great gifts and virtues, public-spirited and familiarity with the common good].

²⁷ See Kim. There are several books with the same title 聖教要理問答.

²⁸ *Tamaxi* is probably a misprint for *tamaxii*.

Lexicon p. 280

Inanimus, a, um. Inochi naqi mono, vel tamaxi naqi mono. [One without life or soul]

Dictionarium p. 253

Exággero, as. [heap] ... *Exaggeratus virtutibus animus.* [soul with accumulated virtues] Lus. *Alma chea de virtudes.* [a soul full of virtues] Iap. *Xojěno cōuo tçumitaru anima.* [soul with accumulated various virtues]

Lexicon p. 202

Exagerro, as. ... *Exaggeratus virtutibus animus: xojenno cōuo tçumitaru cocoro.*

Dictionarium p.644

Pronûbo, is. [preside the wedding] Lus. *Presidir no casamento, ou ser padrinho, ou madrinha dos casados.* [preside at the wedding, or be best man or best woman to the married couple] Iap. *Casũno xũguino toqi monono saibãuo xi, Animano voyatonaru.* [preside the wedding and support the couple]

Lexicon p. 524

Pronûbo, is. *Matrimoniis assistere, vel pronubi munere fungi.* [support, or preside the wedding] *Casũno xũguino toqi monono saibãuo xi, animano voyatonaru.*

Seikyō shogaku yōri 1st 1868 vol. 1, 4r.

あにま (anima)

(head note) あにま 靈魂と同じ [*Anima*: the same as *reikon*]

Seikyō shogaku yōri 2nd 1869 vol. 2, 3v.

靈魂あにま

Seikyō shogaku yōri 3rd 1872 15v.

靈魂あにま

The *Seikyō shogaku yōri* is a basic catechism printed in Japanese letters mainly for Japanese Christians, whereas the *Lexicon* is a Latin dictionary printed in Roman types for seminary students and foreign missionaries. The revision of the *Lexicon* indicates that Petitjean intended to convey new translations to seminary students, foreign missionaries, and laymen.

4. Conclusion

When editing the *Lexicon* based on the *Dictionarium*, Petitjean not only made structural changes, such as rearranging the entries, but also modified the Japanese translations of individual entries. It is clear that he had already started using the newly translated terms among the old terms of Portuguese and Latin origin with his seminary students and the missionaries. Future research should compare the *Lexicon* with other works edited by Petitjean around 1868-1869 in order to consider the reasons for the revisions and inconsistencies in the Japanese translations in the *Lexicon*.

Primary sources

- Anonymous. *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*. Amacusa: Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesu, 1595.
- Candau, Sauveur, ed. *Lexicon Latino-Japonicum*. Kōkyōshin gakkō, 1934.
- Mounicou, Pierre. *Seikyō yōri mondō*. Yokohama: (Yokohama Tenshudō), 1865.
- Petitjean, Bernard-Thadée. *Seikyō shogaku yōri*. 1st ed. (Nagasaki), 1868.
- Petitjean, Bernard-Thadée. *Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum*. Rome: Typis S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1870.
- Petitjean, Bernard-Thadée. *Seikyō shogaku yōri*. (2nd ed.) (Nagasaki), 1869.
- Petitjean, Bernard-Thadée. *Seikyō shogaku yōri*. (3rd ed.) (Yokohama), 1872.

Secondary sources

- Catholic Urakami kyōkai rekishi iinkai, ed. *Urakami Kirishitan shiryō*. Tokyo: Ribun shuppan, 2019.
- Chaillet, J. B. Mgr. Petitjean, 1829-1884, et la résurrection catholique du Japon au XIXe siècle. Montceau-les-mines: Chaillet, 1919.
- Harada, Hiroshi. *Kirishitan-ban Raponichi-jisho no genten Calepinus raten-go jiten no keihu*. Osaka: Harada Hiroshi, 2011.
- Institut de recherche France-Asie(IRFA). “0759 – PETITJEAN Bernard.” <https://irfa.paris/en/missionnaire/0759-petitjean-bernard/> (last accessed November 15, 2023).
- Kanazawa daigaku hōbungakubu kokubungaku kenkyūshitu, ed. *Rahonichi Jiten no Nihongo*. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2005.
- Kim, Sung Keun. “Nichi, Chū, Kan ni okeru Catechism no juyō to hensen: 3-koku ni okeru Catechism no hikaku wo chūshin ni.” Doctoral thesis, Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University, 2020.

Kishimoto, Emi, and Takeshi Mitsuhashi. *France-gakushiin-bon Raponichi Taiyaku Jisho*. Ōsaka: Seibundō shuppan, 2017.

Kishimoto, Emi. “The Process of Translation in *Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Iaponicum*.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 72 (2006): 17–26. <https://doi.org/10.15026/28712>.

Kishimoto, Emi. “Senkyō wo ishiki shita Raponichi-jisho no nihongo-yaku.” *Kuntengo to Kuntan Shiryō*, no. 121 (2008): 106–95.

Kōso, Toshiaki. *Kaisetsu.Petitjean-ban Shūsei: Honpō Kirishitan Hukyō Kankei Shiryō*. Tokyo: Yūshōdō shoten, 2011.

Laures, Johannes. “Petitjean shikyō to Kirishitan dentō.” *Catholic Kenkyū* 20, no. 2 (1940): 85–98.

Marnas, Francisque. *La “Religion de Jésus” (Iaso ja-kyō) ressuscitée au Japon dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle*. Paris et Lyon: Delhomme et Brigueat, 1897.

Mori, Yoshishige. “Mori Matsujirō-ō Shōden.” *Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyūkai Kaihō*, no. 7 (1958): 3–8.

Murayama, Shichirō. “Leningrad no Raponichi-jiten.” *Juntendō Daigaku Taiiku gakubu kiyō*, no. 8 (1965): 138-189.

Nagasaki Junshin Daigaku Nagasaki-gaku Kenkyū-sho, ed. *1865-nen Petitjean Shokan: Genbun, Honkoku, Honyaku: Elie-Shahon yori*. Nagasaki: Nagasaki Junshin Daigaku Hakubutsukan, 2015.

Nakajima, Masatoshi. *Fukuin dendō-sha no naedoko: Nagasaki kōkyōshingakkō-shi*. Nagasaki: Nakajima Masatoshi, 1977.

Nakamura, Hiromu. *Senkyō to Juyō: Meiji-ki Kirisutokyō no Kiso-teki Kenkyū*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2000.

Carlo, Pelliccia. “The translation of God’s name in Cochinchina: the *Trattato del nome Thienchu* (1622) by Francesco Buzomi.” *Orientis Aura: Macau Perspectives in Religious Studies* 4 (2019): 34–63.

Shinmura, Izuru, and Genichi Hiragi eds. *Kirishitan-bungaku-shū*. Vol. 1. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1993.

Sophia University, ed. “Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database.” <https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/> (last accessed November 15, 2023).

Sophia University, ed. “Virgen S. Mariano tattoqi Rosariono jardin tote fanazononi tatoyuru qio.” Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database, https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/view/kirishitan_bunko/JL-1623-KB53-52-41 (last accessed November 15, 2023).

Sophia University, ed. “Lexicon Latino-Iaponicum ...” Laures Kirishitan Bunko Database, https://digital-archives.sophia.ac.jp/laures-kirishitan-bunko/view/kirishitan_bunko/JL-1870-KB72-71-811 (last accessed November 15, 2023).

Suzuki, Norihisa. *Seishono Nihongo*. Tōkyō: Iwanami-shoten, 2006.

Taema, Mitsuyo. “Seikyō shogaku yōri ni miru gairaigo: Kirishitan dentō-go kara kango e.” *Tokyo Junshin Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kiyō* 1 (1984): 27-74.

Yoshino, Masaharu. *Meiji motoyaku seisho Seiritsu-kō*. Ōsaka: Izumi shoin, 2020.

Wakita, Yasuhiro. *Ōura tenshu-dō Monogatari*. Nagasaki: Seibo no kishisha, 2016.

Acknowledgment

This work was supported by KAKENHI Grant Numbers 23K00547 and 22H00698.