

Pauline Tenet Echoing in an Unlikely Place: Judaism and Christianity in High School Textbooks in Japan

Hisao Takagi

1. Introduction

According to some Japanese high school history textbooks, Judaism denies the salvation of gentiles, and Jewish Law brought about formalized faith that had to be overridden by Jesus. To the extent that it is mentioned at all, Judaism is generally portrayed as a stepping stone prepared for Christianity and an inherently defective religion awaiting necessary corrections. Today this perspective on the past, largely repeating that of early Christian apologetics, insults, perhaps unknowingly, one particular religious group. Moreover, this perspective has been used historically to erroneously justify persecutions and religious conflicts. The same textbooks also fail to explain the rich history of Judaism after the lifetime of Jesus, and of its interaction, both fruitful and tragic, with Christianity and Islam.

Such a sectarian bias, amidst otherwise generally objective, value-neutral historiography in modern-day public education, calls for an examination, an explanation and a remedy, particularly in a country where the state and the religion are officially separated.¹

Our three-fold hypothesis is that, firstly, biased descriptions of Judaism are not anomalous but widespread in textbooks in use today, as well as in the past. Secondly, such descriptions were imported from European-language publications into early Japanese textbooks. Thirdly, uncritical scholarship and rigid structures of educational institutions, as well as the relatively small social presence of both Christianity and Judaism in the country,² have made rectification of such anachronistic views difficult, and fossilized the prejudice. The present survey deals mainly with examination of descriptions in history textbooks, and is required to examine the first two hypotheses.

Like their colleagues in many fields, Japanese academic experts on Judaism have been reluctant to fault high school textbooks; indeed, none has published any critique.³ Even the late Professor Masanori Miyazawa, who dared to elucidate problems with the Jewish image in Japan, did not tackle the textbook problem comprehensively.⁴

The task fell to Satoko Fujiwara, professor of comparative religion at the University of Tokyo, to elucidate the peculiar tendency in Japanese high school textbooks to overtly undervalue Judaism and

Hinduism in contrast to Christianity and Buddhism.⁵ Fujiwara's book, *Religions in the textbooks: A strange reality* (in Japanese), discusses several such cases in current high school textbooks of World History and Ethics, based on an extensive comparison with school textbooks from other countries.⁶

The present study expands and complements Fujiwara's work with additional examples in a diachronic perspective. By identifying typical instances of problematic characterizations of Judaism, this study aims to prompt further research into religious bias in the Japanese secondary curriculum, and to discuss some opportunities for remedial action.

2. Materials

This review examines 20 high school history textbooks, one in seven editions, with dates of publication ranging from the 1870s to the present. Copies of each textbook are accessible at one or more of the following libraries: Kyōkasho Library (教科書図書館), Tokyo; the Kyōkasho Collection at Hiroshima University Library; and, the National Diet Library Digital Collection.

This study examines seven World History B textbooks, from four publishers, in current use. Each passed the 2016/17 round of authorizing process by the government.⁷ Each title includes the subject name “World History” 世界史, and each is intended for 10th to 12th grade high school students. Among the seven current texts, *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* published by Yamakawa Shuppansha dominates the combined market share of all the others.⁸ Seven editions (1952-2016) of *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* were examined to identify transitions in the treatment of Jews and Judaism in the post-war period. See [Table A-1](#).⁹

Although textbooks for World History A, the shorter course, and for Ethics, an elective subject, also include descriptions of various religions, the focus on World History B textbooks allows for a more concise argument and, more importantly, to examine material studied by more than one quarter of high school students.¹⁰ Moreover, most universities offer no admission examination in World History A for applicants to humanities and social-science departments.

The assessment also includes 13 other titles (1876-1951; hereafter referred to as “historical textbooks”), neither in current use nor an edition of *Shōsetsu Sekaishi*. Twelve textbooks were published before the introduction of the 1948 authorization procedures (1876-1947),¹¹ and only *Sekaishi Jōkan* was authorized by the procedure (1951).¹²

The two oldest, published in the 1870s are translations of popular histories by Westerner authors, while subsequent books have Japanese authors and were intended solely for use in schools. The three textbooks published prior to 1890 include the archaic idea of “Universal History” 万国史／万国歴史 in their titles. The more recent titles include “Western History” 西洋史／西洋歴史, reflecting

the 1894 separation of Japanese, Western and Eastern history in the high school curriculum, which lasted until 1948.¹³ Also, in the pre-war period, both the titles and publishers were relatively short-lived. Consequently, comparison among editions of a long-standing title, like *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* in the post-war period, was not possible. See [Table A-2](#).

Reference is also made (Extra2008 and Extra2014 in Appendix II) to Yamakawa Shuppansha's glossary, *Sekaishi Yōgoshū*, the only non-textbook material surveyed.¹⁴

3. Methods

Each textbook was examined to identify its treatment of Jews, Judaism and, more specifically, what critical historians today call “the religion of ancient Israel.” Such occurrences were found intensively in chapters on the ancient Orient and on the Roman period. They occur more frequently in post-war textbooks. Focal topics in the ancient Orient chapters are: Chosen People; exclusivism (especially regarding the salvation of the gentiles); the Law/legalism (specifically, formalized character in the observance of the Law¹⁵); relations with Christianity; and influences on European culture. Those in the Roman period are: the Law/legalism (specifically, formalized character in the observance of the Law); exclusivism (particularly in contrast with Christianity as a religion of universal salvation or love); socio-economic structure in Judea (specifically, relations between the Jewish religious authority and the populace); accusations against Jesus by the Jewish authorities; and expectations of the Messiah (particularly, this-worldly/materialist hopes).

Occurrences of these topics were compiled in the form of brief quotes or paraphrases.¹⁶ Findings from ancient Orient chapters and Roman period chapters are listed in [Table O/J](#) and [Table R/J](#) respectively. Tentative, literal renderings by this author are listed in [Table O/E](#) and in [Table R/E](#), with the exception of the English paragraphs from X1878 and Y1876, which are quoted from the original English publications. In order to offset possibly erroneous impressions from fragmentary quotes in the Tables, and to place problematic words and phrases in context, some typical paragraphs are quoted in full from a few titles (Appendix II).

Comparison of descriptions in the lists reveals which expressions tend to appear in a given topic and how often a particular expression or idea occurs in a given period. Based on such comparisons, we examined our first hypothesis (that biased descriptions against Judaism are dominant in textbooks). We also established, provisionally, the first or last occurrence of an expression, trends of a particular period, and tendencies intrinsic to a title, which help test our second hypothesis (the influence from European-language publications).

4. Results

a) Historical textbooks

Of the 13 historical textbooks, we confirm instances of “Chosen People” 選民 in five titles in 1925 or later. Instances of the term “exclusive” 排外(的) / 排他的 are confirmed in three titles in 1929 or later, which without exception accompany “Chosen People.” Occurrence of the “formalized” character was confirmed only once, in H1951. The word “the Law” 律法 or “Legalism” 律法主義 in a denouncing context is absent in all but one of the 13 historical textbooks.¹⁷ In none of the six titles before 1925, are there instances of “the Law” in relation to exclusivism or formalism. While all the titles of the group give some account of the trial of Jesus according to the Gospels, only I1947, which names “the priests” 僧侶 as adversaries of Jesus, suggests hostilities specifically from the Jewish religious authorities against Jesus.

Diachronically, three subgroups are of particular note among the 13 historical textbooks. In the first subgroup are two translations published by the Ministry of Education within 10 years after the Meiji Restoration: *Parley Bankokushi* (Y1876) and *Taylor Bankokushi* (X1878). See Quotes [X1878](#) and [Y1876](#) in Appendix II.¹⁸ Neither characterizes the Jewish religion with such ideas as Chosenness or exclusivism.¹⁹ Nor do they even provide a brief, theoretical abstract characterizing the religion of ancient Israel, unlike all subsequent textbooks by Japanese authors. They make massive references to Biblical names and events simply as historical facts with strikingly little scholarly criticism.

The second subgroup (N1925 and M1929) includes the first references to the “Chosenness” in *Shintai Seiyō Rekishi* (1925) by Noburu Ōrui (1884-1975), and the first characterization of that idea as “exclusivist” in *Chūtō Seiyō Rekishi* (1929) by Kengo Murakawa (1875-1946).²⁰ The authors belong to the first generation of Japanese positivist historiographers, graduates of the first Western history department in Japan at Tokyo Imperial University (class of 1906 and 1898, respectively). This suggests that the department was one probable source of bias, e.g. labeling Judaism as “exclusivism.”

The Imperial University (called Tokyo Imperial University, 1897 onwards) established the nation’s first western history department in 1888, the year Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) first brought the positivist *Historizismus* to Tokyo.²¹ Professor Riess studied at Berlin University under Hans Delbrück, the academic heir of Leopold von Ranke, and had great respect himself for Ranke, whom he helped make manuscript copies for the printers.²² According to Katsuyo Okazaki, professor emeritus of the History of Thought at Saitama University, Riess shows a clear departure from the then dominant race theory, perhaps due to his Jewish background.²³

Many early authors on our list – Asajirō Honda (Q1900; class of 1893), Kurakichi Shiratori (P1905; class of 1890) and Ginjirō Ogawa (O1912; class of 1891?), as well as earlier-mentioned Murakawa – were taught by Riess at Tokyo Imperial University.²⁴ This generation of historians quickly established an academic machinery to train Western-standard researchers. Their achievements reflect a rapid and extensive expansion of their reference libraries. And this fact might tell us where to start a more extensive search for European-language sources of these biased descriptions against Judaism, and at the same time show how vast the sources of such influence might have been.²⁵

The third subgroup (I1947 and H1951) includes two textbooks published in occupied Japan by Chūkyō Shuppan. Both works escalated the criticism against the idea of a “Chosen People,” and suggested, a claim unprecedented in the materials examined in this survey, that Jews rejected Jesus because of their materialist, this-worldly tendencies. *Sekaishi Jōkan*, makes the first reference among the surveyed textbooks to the “formalized” characteristics of the Law and the phrase “Chosen-People ideology” 選民思想.²⁶ See Quote H1951 in Appendix II. As editorial works of history textbooks in Occupied Japan were under the close inspection of the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, it is tempting to ask whether such negative characterizations of Judaism were endorsed, or simply overlooked by the staff of Douglas MacArthur.²⁷

b) *Shōsetsu Sekaishi*

All the seven editions of the influential *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* (A1952-2016) employ such typically problematic expressions as “Chosen-People ideology” 選民思想／選民の思想 and “formalized” 形式化した faith. They also stated with a never-changing vocabulary that Jesus criticized “the Pharisees” パリサイ派 for their “formalism” 形式主義 or “disciplinarianism” 戒律主義, and “breathed new life” 新しい生命を吹き込んだ into their formalized faith.

Another invariant peculiarity of *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* is that it denounces the Law mainly in the chapter on the ancient Orient, not on the Roman period. Thus it refers to the Pharisees in the chapter alongside pyramids and the code of Hammurabi. No other publisher transgresses the standard periodization. The others end the chapter on the ancient Orient at around the Persian period. By this anachronistic reference to the Pharisees, *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* gives the impression that the Law was pre-destined to be “formalized” from the start, only to be overturned by Jesus.²⁸ It is notable that their most positive remarks about the Jewish scriptures are made in connection with Christianity and European culture.

While their editorial policy on the whole remained conservative, a comparatively major revision is observable in the edition of 2006. The Yamakawa team of authors seems to have noticed the bias

in their words at one point. In the major revision, implemented in one of the editions between 1998 and 2006, they redacted such offensive vocabularies as the “exclusivist” 排他的な and “hypocrisy” 偽善 of the Pharisees. The authors removed the label “Legalism” 律法主義, and abandoned the denial of salvation of the gentiles in the same revision.²⁹ Compare Quotes [A1997] and [A2016] in Appendix II.

The authors switched to a socio-economic explanation to justify the secular role of Jesus in [A2006] and [A2016] in a class confrontation between the Jewish religious authorities and the multitude.³⁰ The Pharisees are depicted among the wealthy upper class of Judea, and collaborators in the Roman oppression. This change occurs simultaneously with the elimination of earlier texts asserting that Jesus disappointed the populace.

c) Other Current Textbooks

Examination of six other textbooks in current use confirms that the dubious characterizations of Judaism in *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* are no anomaly, although these six exhibit fewer problematic topics compared to the recent editions of *Shōsetsu Sekaishi*.

The topic of “Chosenness” appears in all six, although none describes it as “exclusivist.” References to “Chosenness” in three textbooks accompany explanations denying the salvation of the gentiles as a whole.³¹ All the six refer to the criticism by Jesus of “the Law” 律法 or “the Commandments” 戒律, and four of them describe his criticism of the Law with the word “form” 形式 or “disciplinarianism” 戒律主義. These words occur more frequently in the textbooks compared to more common terms and events. Of the seven current textbooks, the six plus *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* (A2016 to G2016), only three mention the prophets, two take up “the Ten Commandments,” and one refers to the two Jewish Wars against Rome.

Consistent with *Shōsetsu Sekaishi*, four of the six claim that a skewed distribution of wealth or a confrontation of the classes among the Jews was behind popular support for Jesus. Two clearly combine this class struggle theory with Jesus’ emphasis on God’s love being indifferent as to whether someone is rich or poor. Such remarks can give the impression that Judaism itself rejected poor people.

An accurate approach to Jews and Judaism is also evident in some of the latest textbooks. Jikkyō Shuppan’s *Sekaishi* (G2016) makes clear that the term “Old” testament itself conveys a Christian bias. Tokyo Shoseki’s *Shinsen Sekaishi* (F2017) notes that later oral traditions and commentaries were essential in the formation of Judaism.

5. Conclusion

This survey confirmed our first hypothesis that biased descriptions against Judaism are widespread among Japanese high school World History textbooks in use today, as well as in the past. All the 15 textbooks published after 1945 and examined in this survey refer to the idea of “Chosenness,” 11 of them add overtly negative descriptions related to exclusivism, and seven clearly deny salvation of the gentiles. Among the same 15 textbooks, nine refer to the Law, of which seven criticize formalized tendency in the Jewish faith, while two others criticize the formalized faith without reference to the Law. Moreover, these problematic topics are often referred to as rationales for, and justifications of Jesus’ teachings. Besides, the textbooks often refer to Biblical events simply as historical facts with little scholarly criticism.³²

On the other hand, there are indications of gradual improvement. The expression “exclusive” has become extinct in descriptions of the Chosenness in all the history textbooks in use.³³ The authors of influential *Shōsetsu Sekaish* retracted their long-held text on denial of the salvation of gentiles. One textbook in use declares that for Jews the Hebrew Bible is not the “Old” testament, and another refers to the role of oral traditions and exegeses in the establishment of Judaism.

This survey does not provide a definitive test of our second hypothesis that prejudicial characterizations of Judaism were imported from European-language publications into early Japanese textbooks. Indeed, biased topics were not found in the two history textbooks translated in the 1870s, the only foreign-language material in this survey. A separate, extensive survey would be necessary to explore the influence of foreign-language texts, either religious or scholarly, on Japanese authors of history textbooks, such as Orui and Murakami.

Our third hypothesis on factors behind the fossilization of the prejudice against Judaism, is not directly tested by this survey. However, evidence in support of this hypothesis is provided as notes. An intrinsic difficulty in revising textbook descriptions in Japan lies in that they are also a benchmark for college admission examinations. Professors face disapproval if they ask questions at variance with Yamakawa’s glossary, *Sekaishi Yōgoshū* in admission exams. It is also easy to imagine that publishers are closely watching what others are doing because of government authorization procedures, and that everyone hesitates to become the first author to change a standard textbook theory.

6. Discussions

Peer pressure can also work positively once the dominant starts to change, and today textbook authors seem to be increasingly aware of what has been wrong. Thus, for instance, it is quite likely

that the three publishers still denying the salvation of gentiles will soon follow suit of *Shōsetsu Sekaishi*. And when the last occurrence disappears, the glossary, *Sekaishi Yōgoshū* will also delete such descriptions, in the same way that the word “exclusivist” lately disappeared. As yet, there is no clear indication that *Shōsetsu Sekaishi* will omit such problematic topics as “formalism” or rectify descriptions about “Chosenness.”

A natural question would be whether these are *sine qua non* for a concise textbook description of Judaism, or whether such explanations are still accepted in countries with a predominantly Christian population. The aforementioned study by Fujiwara says that it seems to be “common sense” in the U.S., UK, Germany and France today, to withhold the use of word “Legalism” or “Chosenness” in textbook accounts of Judaism.³⁴ In a way, Japanese textbooks have been preserving a set of biases that history textbooks in the Western or Christian nations have already rejected. Japanese textbook authors can do the same, if they judge positive and critical descriptions could be too complicated for high school students.

For a fairer understanding of the problems, we should also pay attention to what is missing in the textbooks. There is no reference to Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple, and no historical event is related to Jews before Zionism or the Holocaust, except for a few lines on the Medieval persecution. An average Japanese will never hear of what Mishnah, Talmud or Midrash are, or who Hillel, Akiva or Maimonides were. As they know nothing about Rabbinic Judaism, their entire “knowledge” of Judaism ends absolutely with those highly Christianity-centric dogmas.

Removing bias is not only socially responsible and required by law, but it is a requirement of sound historical reasoning. Explanation of an earlier event in light of a later has no place in any rational history textbooks. Teleological arguments need not be adduced to explain the emergence of Christianity as an offshoot of first-century Judaism.

Acknowledgment: The author would like to thank Dr. Earl Saxon and Mrs. Esther Saxon for their thoughtful advises and ungrudging assistance in editing this paper.

Appendix I: Debatable characterization of Judaism in Japanese high-school history textbooks

Table A-1 Textbooks examined: 1) Titles in current use and editions of *Shosetsu Sekaishi* (copies confirmed at Kyokasho Library, Tokyo)

subject	High school World History (B)					
publisher <publisher code*>	山出版社 Yamakawa <81>	帝国書院 Teikoku	東京書籍 Tōsho <2>	実教出版社 Jikkō <7>		
title [textbook code 2016/17**]	詳説世界史 <i>Shōsetsu Sekaishi</i> [B310]	高校世界史 <i>Kōtō Sekaishi</i> [B314]	新世界史 <i>Shin Sekaishi</i> [B313]	新編世界史 <i>Shinshō Sekaishi</i> [B312]	世界史 <i>Sekaishi</i> [B308]	新選世界史 <i>Shinsen Sekaishi</i> [B311]
2010s	A2016***	B2017	C2017	D2017	E2016	F2017
2000s	A2006					
1990s	A1997					
1980s	A1982					
1970s	A1972					
1960s	A1963					
1950s	A1952					

*MECSST textbook publisher code(発行者の番号); **MECSST textbook code(教科書の記号・番号)

Table A-2 Textbooks examined: 2) Historical textbooks (published in 1951 or earlier)

	index	auth	publisher	Title	author/translator/editor/library†
1950s	H1951	1951	中教出版Chūkyo <5>	世界史 <i>Sekaishi</i> 上巻 <i>Jōkan</i> [1113]	三上次男, 尾鍋輝彦 Tsuguo Mikami, Teruhiko Onabe/-/KL
1940s	I 1947	1947	中等學級教科書Chūkyo <5>	西洋の歴史 <i>Seiyō-no Rekishi</i> (I)	-/-/KL
	J 1943	1943	三省堂Sanseidō <15>	新編中等西洋史 <i>Shinpen Chūtō Seiyōshi</i>	村川堅固 Kengo Murakawa/-修正 4 版/KL
1930s	K1938	1933	福山房Fuzanbō <20>	中等西洋歴史 <i>Chūtō Seiyō Rekishi</i>	瀬川秀雄 Hideo Segawa/-訂正再版/HU
	L1930	1930	帝國書院Teikoku Shoin<46>	新編西洋歴史 <i>Shinpen Seiyō Rekishi</i>	山崎忠雄 Tadao Yamazaki/-/-/HU
1920s	M1929	1929	寶文館Hōbunkan	中等西洋歴史 <i>Chūtō Seiyō Rekishi</i>	村川堅固 Kengo Murakawa/-/人訂/KL
	N1925	1925	福山房Fuzanbō <20>	新體西洋歴史 <i>Shintai Seiyō Rekishi</i>	大類伸 Noburu Ōrui/-/-/KL
1910s	O1912	1910	六曜館Rokumeikan	最新西洋史 <i>Saishin Seiyōshi</i>	小川鎮次郎 Ginjiro Ogawa/-9 版/HU
	P1905	1900	福山房 Fuzanbō <20>	新撰西洋史 全 <i>Shinsen Seiyōshi</i>	白鳥庫吉 Kurakichi Shiratori/-/10 版/HU
1900s	Q1900	1900	開誠堂Kaiseidō	新體西洋歴史教科書 <i>Shintai Seiyō Rekishi Kyōkasho</i>	本田淺治郎 Asajirō Honda/-/訂正 3 版/HU
1880s	R1888	1888	福山房Fuzanbō <20>	萬國歴史 <i>Bankoku Rekishi</i>	天野為之 Tameyuki Amano/-5 版/NDL
1870s	X1878	na.	文部省Ministry of Education	低洛爾氏萬國史 <i>Taylor Bankokushi</i> 卷一 volume 1	William Taylor/ 木村一步 Ippo Kimura/卷一/HU
	Y1876	na	文部省Ministry of Education	巴來萬國史 <i>Parley Bankokushi</i> 上巻 volume 1	Samuel G. Goodrich/牧山耕平 Kōhei Makiyama/上巻 /HU

† The library where a copy of each edition was confirmed is is abbreviated as follows:

KL = Kyōkasho Library (教科書図書館), Tokyo; HU = Kyōkasho Collection at Hiroshima University Library

NDL = National Diet Library Digital Collection

Table O (J) Debatable characterization of the religion of ancient Israel (in chapters on ancient Orient history)
 Note: *Italics* denote quotes

index	choseness/ "exclusivism"	legalism/ "formalized" character	other notable descriptions
B2017	神により選ばれた民族としての自覚を強調		ヨーロッパの人々による思想・芸術活動の大きな源泉 (旧約)
C2017	彼らだけが選ばれた民として教えられると信じ		
D2017	ヘブライ人だけが神によって選ばれた民として教えられるという選民思想		
E2016	ユダヤ人だけが救われるという選民思想		「ヘブライ諸国」のちのキリスト教やイスラム教にも受けつがれたキリスト教では「新選民論」と呼ばれる
F2017	みずからを神に選ばれた民とする前定を形成した	ヤンウェと約束した戒律を守り	ユダヤ教と新選民論をもとに「旧約新約を分けておいた」
G2016	強選民思想によって結ばれていた		「新選民論」とはキリスト教の創り出しの呼称
A2016	ユダヤ人、ヘブライ人の選民として神の恩恵をあたえられていたという選民思想	信仰は神話化すると	「新選民論」は... ヨーロッパによる思想・芸術活動の大きな源泉となった
A2006			
A1997	ユダヤ人だけが「その神」に救われるという排他的な選民思想	のちに神内生活の規範である律法を標榜し重んずるヘブライ人はあらわれ	新しい生命を吹きこまされたバプティズム (＝キリスト) 救世主キリスト
A1982		形成した信仰	ヨーロッパの精神の糧となり
A1972		狭い、規則である律法	旧約
A1963	神に選ばれたユダヤ人のみが救われるという排他的な選民の思想	狭い、規則を重んずる	彼らの宗教的行事は今日まで繰り返している
A1952	排他的な選民の思想		
H1951	選民思想、排他性でまた神聖な使命を担う前定		
I 1947	まわって偏狭な一神論的で、神の選民をもって在り地を定めようとした		宗教的文学が社会の柱となるものがある
J 1943	自ら神に選ばれることを信じていた		今日ユダヤ人は種族なにも、なほ世界各地で散居して命脈を留めてゐるのみ...
K 1938	異民族との結婚を禁じて血統の純血を保ち		新選民論はユダヤ教の最も重要な要素である基督教の発展となった
L1930			
M1929	自ら神に選ばれるを信じ、排他性でまた神聖な使命を担う前定		
N1925	深く自ら厳格な選民であることを信じ		後世の基督教はすべて神をここに發したものである
O1912			
P1905			
Q1900			後世のユダヤ教たる「新選民論」の元となり
R1888	「象徴的」な法に「新選民論」の外人の宗教を「象徴」する「新選民論」		其「新選民論」の元となり「新選民論」の元となり

Note: *Italics* denote quotes

index	choseness/ "exclusivism" enhanced awareness as people Chosen by God	legalism/ "formalized" character	other notable descriptions [OT] a great source of thought and artistic creation for the Europeans
B2017	believed that <i>they alone will be saved</i> as the Chosen people		
C2017	<i>Jews will be saved</i> as the people chosen by God		
D2017	the Chosen-People ideology that <i>only Jews will be saved</i>		
E2016	<i>Jews will be saved</i>		[Hebrew Bible] later passed on to Christianity and Islam / called the "Old Testament" in Christianity
F2017	formed the faith in claims that they are a God-Chosen people	observed the commandments covenanted with Yahweh	the teachings of Judaism were formed, based on the Bible, by adding oral traditions and interpretations
G2016	bound up in the strong Chosen-People ideology		the "Old Testament" is an appellation from the side of Christianity
A2016	the Chosen-People ideology, which claims that Jews [Hebrews] have been given special benefits as the Chosen people of God	as their faith grew formalized	[OT] became a great source of thought and artistic creation for the Europeans
A1997			
A1982	the <i>exclusivist</i> Chosen-People ideology that Jews alone will be saved [by God]	the Pharisees, who placed extreme value in the Law, which are rules of the faith and daily life, appeared later	into which Jesus [Christ/ Christ, the Savior] breathed new life
A1972	the <i>exclusivist</i> Chosen-People ideology that Jews alone, being Chosen by God, will be saved	the Law which is [a body of] <i>bothersome rules</i>	[OT] became food for the inner man of the Europeans
A1963		placed value in [a body of] <i>bothersome rules</i>	their political sufferings continue to date
A1952	the <i>exclusivist</i> Chosen-People ideology		
H1951	the Chosen-People ideology / an <i>exclusive and extremely nationalistic faith</i>		
I 1947	<i>very parochial and exclusionist</i> , self-proclaiming the God-Chosen people, and despised other nations		
J 1943	believed themselves to be the God-Chosen people		their religious literature was phenomenal
K1938	prohibited marriage with different nations to safeguard the purity of their lineage		this is why Jews to date, without a state of their own, are still in diaspora in various parts of the world and hold monetary power
L1930			the Old Testament became the base for Christianity, which has greatest connection to the Western civilization

Table R (J) Debatable characterization of Judaism around the lifetime of Jesus (in chapters on Roman history)

Note: *Italics* denote quotes

index	legalism/"formalized" character	class gap/materialism/choseness/"exclusivism"	accusation against Jesus	other notable descriptions
B2017	律法の形式をまもることのみを重んじ	祭司たちは支配層として... 貧困層を重視せず	ローマ	貧富の区別なくおおよぼされる神の絶対愛
C2017	厳格な戒律主義を説くパリサイ派	民衆は... ユダヤ人パウロ... はユダヤ人以外... 生活が強いられたにも教えを広め	ヘレ	貧富の差を超えた神の愛
D2017	律法にこだわることを鋭く批判	ヘレド王家の一族やイエエルサレム神殿の大祭司を指導者とする祭司たちが富を独占し	の反逆者として	20世紀...まで離散(ディアスポラ)の境遇におかれた〔ユダヤ戦争後〕
E2016	権威主義と戒律主義におおらっていたユダヤ教		祭司とパリサイ派が告発	...祭司たちが、大土地所有者として富を独占し
F2017	イエスはユダヤ教を戒律の形式的側面を重んじすぎていると批判	〔イエスは〕... 社会的立場を超えた「神の愛」を説いた	総督に訴え	
G2016	ユダヤ人の間では教義が複雑化し貧富の差が拡大していた／イエスは、ユダヤ教の律法主義と祭司たちの墮落を批判し		パリサイ派など支配層がイエスを扇動者として危険視し	
A2016	祭司やパリサイ派の形式主義／祭司やパリサイ派を形式主義として批判し	祭司や、律法の実行を重んじたパリサイ派は、ユダヤ支配層としてローマ支配を受け入れ、貧困に苦しむ民衆の声にこたえようとしなかった 祭司やパリサイ派は律法を形式的に守ることを重んじ、重税に苦しむ民衆の声にこたえようと	バウロは、神の愛は異邦人にもおよぶと訴え	貧富の差を超えた〔区別なくおおよぼされる〕神の絶対愛〔をイエスが説いた〕 民衆〔彼に従う者〕はイエスを救世主〔メシア、ギリシア語でキリスト〕と信じて、彼の教えに従うようになった
A1997		民衆もまたかれの考えがあまりに内面的である（現世的な救いをもたらすものではない）ことに失望		
A1982				
A1972				
A1963				
A1952				

Table R (E) Debatable characterization of Judaism around the lifetime of Jesus (in chapters on Roman history)

Note: *Italics* denote quotes

index	legalism/"formalized" character	class gap/materialism/chosenness/"exclusivism"		accusation of Jesus	other notable descriptions
B2017	<i>placed value only on observing the Law in its [outward] form</i>	the Priests in power neglected the poor			God's absolute love offered without difference between the rich and poor
C2017	Pharisees who taught austere disciplinarianism	the populace... was forced to lead a hard life under the Jewish establishment	Paul propagated teachings [of Jesus] to the non-Jews		God's love beyond the difference of the rich and poor
D2017	Jesus astutely criticized their insistence on the Law	Herod's family and the Priests, led by the High Priest of the Jerusalem Temple, monopolized wealth as great landlords,		Jesus was accused before Prefect Pilate of rebellion against Rome	they were placed in a condition of diaspora until the 20th century [after the two Jewish wars]
E2016	Judaism prepossessed in authoritarian-ism and disciplinarianism			the Priests and the Pharisees accused	the Priests monopolized wealth since they were large landowners
F2017	Jesus... criticized Judaism for placing too great a value on the formal aspect of the commandments	[Jesus] taught "Love of God" beyond social status			
G2016	among Jews tenets have become complicated and the gulf between the rich and poor wider/ Jesus criticized the legalism of Judaism and the corrupt Priests			the establishment such as the Pharisees considered Jesus as a dangerous agitator	
A2016	Jesus... criticized the Priests and the Pharisees for their formalism	the Priests... and the Pharisees who placed value on the practice of the Law... accepted Roman rule, and failed to respond to the voice of the poverty-stricken populace	Paul claimed that the love of God reaches also to the gentiles		Jesus... taught absolute love of God, which is offered regardless of the difference between the rich and poor
A2006		placed value on observance of the Law formally, and failed to respond to the voice of the populace suffering from heavy taxes		the Pharisees accused Jesus of [plotting] a rebellion [against Rome] before the Prefect [Pilate]	
A1997	Jesus harshly criticized the hypocrisy and disciplinarianism of the Pharisees and the like	the populace also was disappointed that his idea was of such an inward nature (as it does not provide this-worldly salvation)			The populace [his followers] regarded Jesus as the Savior (Messiah, or Christ in Greek), and followed his teachings
A1982					
A1972					
A1963					
A1952					

Table R (J) continued

index	legalism/"formalized" character	class gap/materialism/ chosenness/ "exclusivism"	accusation of Jesus	other notable descriptions
H1951	狭い民族主義の立場をとり、形ばかりにとらわれているユダヤ教を手きびしく批評した	魂の救いはかりでなく現実の生活の救いを望んでいた人々	若手のユダヤの有力者／ローマへの反逆を企てる	
I 1947		地上の王国と神の選民という利己的・物質的な信仰を持つユダヤ人	彼の革命的な説教にあわてた富者・僧侶	イエスをめぐる聖書外史料の不在も指摘
J 1943			イエスはユダヤ人に憎まれ	ユダヤ教にもとづき一神教を説
K1938			ユダヤ人はこれを喜ばず	ユダヤ教の教義を改善して仁愛を旨とする世界的の一神教を創
L1930	舊法に頑固なユダヤ人		自ら神の子といたつたので… イエスは國人に宣告させ	悪まれ／総督に迫って罪な
M1929			ユダヤ教徒に讒せられ	ユダヤ教を改善して博愛仁慈を旨とする基督教を説いて
N1925				
O1912			自ら救世主と稱し… 舊來の教旨を攻撃して十字架上に磔殺せられたり	
P1905			時人の容るゝ所とならず 反逆の証告をうけ	猶太の勝利は政治界にあらずして精神界にありといひ
Q1900			代官ピレートの爲に磔刑にせし天使の如くならず	猶太の勝利は政治界にあらずして精神界にありといひ
R1888				其のイエスこそ舊一神教ヲ開キ古來ノ迷霧ヲ破リ新世界ノ思想風俗ヲ一新セントス
X1878			猶太人基督教ヲ証告スルニ密ニ不軌ヲ図ルノ事アルヲ以テシテ猶太人其教ヲ信セス却テ殺サント謀ル者多シ	
Y1876			羅馬の鎮臺ポンテウス、ピレートの裁判所ニ送り	猶太ハ兼テ己レ等ヲ統轄スベキ國君ヲ渴望セルヲ以テ此卑賤ナルジェンユスヲ見テ大ニ之ヲ賤シミ且惡ミタリジェンユスノ自ラ吾ハ救世主ナリト告ルニ至リ遂ニ其生命ヲ害セントセリ

Table R (E) continued		legalism/ "formalized" character	class gap/materialism/ chosenness/ "exclusivism"	accusation of Jesus	other notable descriptions
index					
H1951		Jews unsparingly criticized Judaism for taking a narrow-minded stance of nationalism and being constrained by the formalities	people who were seeking not only spiritual salvation but also for wellbeing in real life	a few Jewish magnates accused Jesus of plotting a rebellion against Rome	
I 1947			Jews who had self-serving, materialist faith in the ideas of the earthly kingdom , and of the Chosen People	the affluent and the priests unnerved by his revolutionary preaching	[Note: On the other hand the chapter points to the total absence of non-Biblical record about the life of Jesus]
J 1943				Jesus, being hated by the Jews,	[Jesus] taught monotheism based on Judaism
K1938				Jews were unpleasant about this	[Jesus] founded a world religion upholding benevolence by improving the teachings of Judaism
L1930		Jews who cling to the traditional Law		he was hated as he called himself the son of God	[Jews] applied pressure to the prefect to force him to sentence Jesus to death without guilt
M1929				Jesus was abhorred by his countrymen	
N1925				falsely accused by the Jews	[Jesus] taught Christianity, which upholds philanthropism and benevolence by improving Judaism
O1912				[Jesus] proclaimed himself the Savior... attacked traditional doctrines, and was crucified	
P1905				[Jesus] failed to persuade his contemporaries and was falsely accused	[Jesus] claimed that Jewish triumph resides not in the political domain but in the spiritual one.
Q1900				crucified by the Roman governor Pilate	[Jesus] was not like the divine messenger whom the Hebrews anticipated
R1888				the man [Jesus] intended to start a new religion by severing with the dense fog of the past, and to thoroughly renew the thoughts and customs of the world	
X1878				The Jews falsely accused him before Pilate of plotting to subvert the government; the main body of Jews refused to believe in his mission and plotted against his life	
Y1876				They brought him before the Judgment-seat of Pontius Pilate, who was then the Roman governor of Judea.	They had been looking for an earthly potentate; and when they beheld the meek and lowly Jesus, they despised and hated him. From the time that he proclaimed himself the Messiah, they sought to take his life.

Appendix II: Paragraphs from selected editions in parallel text

A2016a (Yamakawa)

【地中海東岸の諸民族】... (p.22)...

1ヘブライ人は唯一の神ヤハウェへの信仰を固くまもり、やがてこの全能の神によりユダヤ人（ヘブライ人）は選民として特別の恩恵を与えられているという選民思想や、救世主（メシア）の出現を待望する信仰がうまれた。2ユダヤ人は約50年後にバビロンから解放されて帰国すると、イエルサレムにヤハウェの神殿を再興し、ユダヤ教を確立した。3しかし、やがてその信仰が形式化すると、これに新しい生命を吹き込んだのがイエスであった。4ユダヤ教の教典『旧約聖書』は、イエスの教えを伝える『新約聖書』とならんでキリスト教の教典となり、のちのヨーロッパ人による思想・芸術活動の大きな源泉となった。

A2016b

(p.47) 【キリスト教の成立】1キリスト教は1世紀にローマ支配下のパレスチナからうまれた。2当時ユダヤ教を指導していた祭司や、律法の実行を重んじたパリサイ派は、ユダヤ支配層としてローマ支配を受け入れ、貧困に苦しむ民衆の声にこたえようとしなかった。3やがてパレスチナの民衆は、このような現状からの救済を期待するようになった。

4この地にうまれたイエスは祭司やパリサイ派を形式主義として批判し、貧富の区別なくおよぼされる神の絶対愛と隣人愛を説き、神の国の到来と最後の審判を約束した。5民衆はイエスを救世主（メシア、ギリシア語でキリスト）と信じて彼の教えに従うようになった。6祭司やパリ

A2016a

【Nations on the East Mediterranean Coast】

1The Hebrews firmly placed their faith in the only one God, Yahweh, and [among them] the Chosen-People ideology, which claims that the Jews have been given special benefits as the Chosen People of this God almighty, appeared later, as well as the belief in the coming of the Savior (Messiah). 2After being liberated about 50 years later from Babylon and repatriated, the Jews rebuilt the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem and established Judaism. 3However as their faith subsequently became formalized Jesus breathed new life into it. 4The Jewish biblical canon, “the Old Testament,” became [a part of] the Christian biblical canon, alongside “the New Testament,” and became a great source of thought and artistic creation for the Europeans.

A2016b

【Establishment of Christianity】1

Christianity emerged in Palestine under Roman rule in the first century. 2In the ruling echelon of Judea at that time were Priests who were leading Judaism and the Pharisees who placed value on the practice of the Law, both of whom accepted Roman rule, and failed to respond to the voice of the poverty-stricken populace. 3The populace of Palestine sought salvation from these conditions.

4Jesus, who was a native of the land, criticized the Priests and the Pharisees for their formalism, taught absolute love of God, which is given regardless of the difference between the rich and poor, and neighborly love, and promised the coming of the Kingdom of God and the Last Judgment. 5The populace regarded Jesus as a

サイ派はイエスをローマに対する反逆者として総督ピラトに訴えたため、彼は十字架にかけられ処刑された（30年頃）。⁷しかしその後、弟子たちのあいだにイエスが復活し、その十字架上の死は人間の罪をあがなう行為であったとの信仰が生まれ、これを中心にキリスト教が成立した。...

A1997a (Yamakawa)

【地中海東岸の諸民族】... (p.20)

¹ヘブライ人は、古代オリエントで一神教をかたく信じた唯一の民族で、彼らが信仰したのはヤハウエの神であった。²彼らは出エジプトや亡国、バビロン捕囚などの民族的苦難をうけても信仰をかえず、やがてこの唯一全能の神によりユダヤ人だけが救われるという排他的な選民思想や、救世主の出現を待望する信仰がうまれた。³ユダヤ人はバビロンから解放されて帰国すると、イエルサレムにヤハウエの神殿を再興し、儀式や祭祀の規則を定めてユダヤ教を確立した。⁴そこに説かれた最後の審判や天使・悪魔の思想には、ゾロアスター教の影響がみられる。⁵彼らのあいだには、のちに信仰や日常生活の規則である律法を極端に重んずるパリサイ派があらわれたが、この形式化した信仰にあたらしい生命をふきこんだのがイエスであった。⁶なお、ユダヤ教の教典は、『旧約聖書』として、イエスの教えを伝えた『新約聖書』とならんでキリスト教の教典となり、のちにギリシア・ローマの古典とともにヨーロッパ人の精神の糧として、思想・芸術活動の大きな源泉となった。

Savior (Messiah, or Christ in Greek), and followed his teachings. ⁶As the Priests and the Pharisees accused Jesus of rebelling against Rome before the Prefect Pilate, he was crucified (ca. 30). ⁷Soon after that, however, a belief emerged among the disciples that Jesus had resurrected, and that his death on the cross was a deed to redeem human beings from sin, around which Christianity was established.

A1997a

【Nations on the East Mediterranean Coast】

¹ The Hebrews were the only nation in the Ancient Orient that firmly placed their faith in monotheism, and the God Yahweh was [the God] in whom they had faith. ² Their faith remained unchanged throughout ethnic suffering such as the Exodus, the total devastation of their kingdoms and Exile. Later **the exclusivist Chosen People ideology developed, which claims that the Jews alone will be saved** by this one and only God almighty, as well as the belief in the coming of the Savior. ³ After being liberated from Babylon and repatriated, the Jews established Judaism by rebuilding the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, and setting up rules for ceremonies and rites. ⁴ The ideas taught therein of the Last Judgment, the Angels and the Satan manifest influences from Zoroastrianism. ⁵ Appearing among them later were **the Pharisees, who placed extreme value on the Law**, which consisted of rules concerning faith and daily life, and it was Jesus who breathed new life into **this formalized faith**. ⁶ Incidentally, the Jewish biblical canon became [a part of] the Christian biblical canon as “the Old Testament,” alongside “the New Testament,” and

A1997b

(p.38-39) 【キリスト教の成立】¹ローマの属州となったパレスチナでは、ローマ帝政のはじめころ、ヘブライ人の一神教から発展したユダヤ教が信仰されていた。²伝えによれば、この地にうまれたイエスは、ユダヤ教の一派であったパリサイ派の人たちの偽善と戒律主義を激しく批判し、身分や貧富の差をこえた神の絶対愛を信じ、おのれを愛するように隣人を愛すべきことを説いた。³この教えは神の国は信ずる人の心のなかにあること、それは最後の審判によって完成されること約束した。⁴イエスに従うものは、彼を神のつかわした救世主（メシア）、すなわちキリストとみなしたが、ユダヤ教の祭司やパリサイ派の人々は彼を敵とし、民衆もまた彼の教えが内面的で、現世的な救いをもたらすものではないことに失望した。⁵反対派はイエスをとらえ、彼をローマに反逆をくわだてるものとして総督ピラトに訴えた。⁶イエスはイェルサレムの郊外で十字架の刑に処せられた（30年ころ）。⁷まもなく弟子たちのあいだに、イエスは復活したとの信仰がうまれ、十字架上の死は、神のひとり子が人間にかかわって罪をあがなったものと信じられ、これらの信仰がもとになってキリスト教が成立した。

H1951a (Chukyo)

(pp.29-30) . . . ¹彼らはペルシアがカルデアを滅ぼした時帰国を許されたが、後にイ

thus became food for the soul of man of the Europeans along with Greco-Roman classics, and a great source of thought and artistic creation.

A1997b

【Establishment of Christianity】¹ Judaism, which developed from the monotheism of the Hebrews, prevailed in Palestine that later became Roman provinces, around the beginning of the imperial rule in Rome. ²Reportedly, Jesus, who was born in the land [Palestine], fiercely criticized the hypocrisy and legalism of the Pharisees, a sect of Judaism, and taught belief in the absolute love of God beyond the differences of social status and of the rich and poor, and to love neighbors like themselves. ³These tenets promised that the Kingdom of God, which rests in the heart of each devotee, would be achieved at the Last Judgment. ⁴Although those who followed Jesus regarded him as the God-sent Savior (Messiah), or Christ, the Priests of Judaism and the people of the Pharisees were hostile towards him, and the populace also was disappointed in what he taught, which was too internal to bring about this-worldly salvation. ⁵The opponents captured Jesus and accused him of plotting a revolt against Rome. ⁶Jesus was crucified in the suburbs of Jerusalem (ca. 30). ⁷Soon the belief grew among the disciples that Jesus had resurrected, and thus his death on the cross was believed to have been for the sake of human beings as atonement for their sins by the only Son of God, and based upon these beliefs Christianity was established.

H1951a

. . . ¹When Persia destroyed Chaldea, they were allowed to return to the home country, and

エルサレムを再建し、古くから伝えられた記録を整理し、新しい記録を加えて、これでユダヤ人（帰国後のイスラエル人の名称）を結束させ、その生活を規制する律法とした。こうしてユダヤ教の教団が生まれた。

【ユダヤ教】²ユダヤ人は自分たちを、全智全能の唯一の神であるヤーヴェに選ばれた民であると考え（選民思想）他の優勢な民族に苦しめられている間に、排他的でまた極端に民族主義的な信仰を持つようになった。³彼らは不遇な境遇にありながら、やがてメシア（Messiah 救世主）が現われて、ヤーヴェの送った天使の軍を指揮して、ユダヤにさからう他の民族を罰し、地上の全人類を彼らに服属させて、古い輝かしいダビデの王国を再現させると考え、メシアの出現をひたすら祈った。⁴ユダヤ人は不遇であった。⁵宗教上の書物には、いつか適切な時にメシアが出現するであろうと教えていた。

H1951b

(pp.54-55) 【基督教の成立】...¹イエスはユダヤの信仰の伝統は受け継いだが、狭い民族主義の立場をとり、形ばかりにとらわれているユダヤ教を手きびしく批評した。

...²人々はイエスこそ待ちのぞんでいたメシア（Messiah 救世主、ギリシア語で Christos という）であると考えた。しかしイエスの教えをよく聞いてみると、イエスのいう神の国とは、ユダヤ人が考えるようなユダヤの支配する政治的な王国とはちがっていた。³イエスは、人々がほんとうに神の教えに従えば、すでにその人の心の中に神の王国があるのであり、そしてこの世

subsequently they rebuilt Jerusalem, assembled documents of long-standing traditions, and added new documents [to them] thus making them into the Law, which solidified the Jews (the name of the Israelites after the repatriation) and regulated their life. Thus the religious community of Judaism came into being.

【Judaism】²Jews, who regarded themselves as the people who were Chosen by the one and only, omniscient, omnipotent God, Yahweh, (the Chosen-People ideology), while being afflicted by other stronger nations, developed an exclusive and extremely nationalistic faith.³ While under unfortunate circumstances, they wrestled in prayer for the coming of the Messiah (Savior), hoping that He would lead the forces of angels, punish nations rebellious to the Jews, and drive the whole human race into submission, and restore the old glorious Kingdom of David.⁴ The Jews were unfortunate.⁵ Their religious documents taught that the Messiah would come at the right time.

H1951b

【Establishment of Christianity】...

¹Although Jesus inherited the tradition of the Jewish faith, he criticized Judaism unsparingly for taking a narrow-minded stance of nationalism and being prepossessed the formalities.

...²People [first] thought that Jesus himself was the long-awaited Messiah (Savior, called *Christos* in Greek). Listening carefully to the teaching of Jesus, however, what Jesus calls the Kingdom of God was not the same as what the Jews had expected — a Jewish-dominated political Kingdom.³ Jesus said that the Kingdom of God is already in the hearts of people, if they truly follow the teachings of God, and that would be

がいつか終わるときに、神の王国は完成するのであるとといているのであった。⁴魂の救いばかりでなく、現実の生活の救いを望んでいた人々は深く失望した。⁵そしてユダヤの伝統を激しく批評するイエスの教えを初めから白眼視していたユダヤの指導者と共に、イエスを憎みはじめた。⁶イエスが神の王国をつくらんとするのを、政治的な意味に曲解して、若干のユダヤの有力者がイエスをローマへの反逆を企てる者であるとして、ついにこの地のローマの総督に訴えた。⁷イエスは十字架の刑に処せられた。

Q1900a (Honda/Kaiseido)

【第二章 欧州の開明に大影響ある最古の三國民エジプト人、フェニシア人、ヘブリュー人/第三 ヘブリュー人(Hebrews)】... (p.8)

¹ヘブリュー人はパレスタインに建國したる一少國民なれども宗教によりて其名高く其宗教は一神教にして後世の一大宗教たる耶蘇教の基をなせり ...

Q1900b

【第二十二章 耶蘇教の傳播/第一 耶蘇教の起源】(pp.89-90)

¹耶蘇教はヘブリュー人の奉ぜし一神教の進化したる者にて耶蘇の開基に係り其高弟の布教に成る ...

(イ) クライスト ²紀元前四年ナザレに生まれ各地に説法して何人と雖も親しく相語り謙遜にして質素なりしかばヘブリュー人の豫想せし天使の如くならず遂に訴へられて羅馬の代官ピレートの爲に磔刑に處せられけり ³實に紀元三十二年のことなりき

accomplished some day at the end of the World. ⁴ The people, who sought not only spiritual salvation but also wellbeing in real life, were deeply disappointed. ⁵They began to hate Jesus alongside the Jewish leaders who had frowned from inception upon the teachings of Jesus which were fiercely critical of Jewish traditions.

⁶A few Jewish magnates, distorting the teaching of Jesus to build the Kingdom of God into a political meaning, finally accused Jesus of plotting a rebellion against Rome and accused him before the Roman prefect of the province. ⁷Jesus was sentenced to death on the cross.

Q1900a

【Chapter II Three oldest nations of great influence on European civilization: Egyptians, Phoenicians and Hebrews/§3 The Hebrews】

¹The Hebrews, although being a lesser nation founded in Palestine, were renowned for their religion, the monotheism that became the foundation of Christianity, one of the most prosperous religions in the world later.

Q1900b

【Chapter XXII The propagation of Christianity/§1 The origin of Christianity】

¹Christianity was an evolved form of the monotheism observed by the Hebrews, founded by Jesus, and propagated by his disciples.

(i) Christ ²Born in Nazareth in 4 BC, preached in various parts of the land, talked with anyone friendly, lived in a humble and lowly manner, which however was implausible behavior for the divine messenger that the Hebrews had anticipated, and finally was accused, and crucified by the Roman procurator Pilate, ³that was an event in 32 AD.

X1878 (Taylor/Kimura)

木村一步訳『低洛爾氏萬國史 卷一』明治十一年五月文部省印行、(旧廣島高等師範学校蔵書)

(pp.66-67)

【卷之一 第五回 不列斯底紀上】

... 蓋シ以西列族ノ約法ハ偶像ヲ擯斥シテ眞教ヲ守リ救世主ノ世ニ出ツル迄ノ階梯タルニ過キス [Note: Kimura's Japanese says literally, "Indeed, the Law of the Israelites was not more than a [transitional] stage to eliminate the idols and to guard the true teachings until the coming of the Savior into the world."]

(pp.395-396)

【卷之一 第十九回 猶太紀】...

¹ 基督洗禮ヲ受クル後傳教ヲ行ヒ衆人ニ天國ノ福音ヲ傳ヘ各般ノ病者ヲ療治シ奇異ノ功績ヲ行ヒシカ ² 猶太人其教ヲ信セス却テ殺サント謀ル者多シ

... ³ 猶太人基督ヲ誣告スルニ密ニ不軌ヲ図ルノ事アルヲ以テシ之ヲ彼拉多ニ訴フ ⁴ 彼拉多其罪ナキヲ知レトモ他ノ故アリテ遂ニ刑ニ處ス可キニ決シ紀元三十三年基督ヲ十字架ニ上セ二個ノ罪人ノ間ニ於テ磔殺ス

X1878

William Taylor: *A manual of ancient and modern history: revised, with a chapter on the history of the United States, by C.S. Henry. With questions adapted for schools and colleges.*, New York : D. Appleton, 1867. (11th ed., carefully rev. and cor.)

(p.37)

【Chapter V. Palestine. / Section II.—History of Palestine./From B. C. 1920 to B.C. 975.】

... the Israelites were not chosen to be the most wealthy or most powerful of nations, but to be the guardians of the knowledge of the true God, until the arrival of that divine Savior who was to unite both Jews and Gentiles as one flock, under one shepherd. [Note: Cf. Kimura's flawed rendering]

(pp.178-179)

【Chapter XII.—History of the States that arose from the Dismemberment of the Macedonian Empire. Section VII.- The History of the Jews from their return out of the Babylonish Captivity to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus./From B.C.536 to A.D.73】

¹Immediately after his baptism our Lord entered on his mission, and “preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.” ²But in spite of his many stupendous miracles, the great body of the Jews refused to believe in his mission and plotted against his life. ³The Jews falsely accused him before Pilate of a design to subvert the government; ⁴Pilate, though convinced of his innocence, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and Jesus was crucified between two

malefactors (A. D. 33);

Y1876 (Goodrich/Makiyama)

牧山耕平訳『巴來萬国史上卷』明治九年三月 文部省（旧廣島縣師範学校蔵書）

(p.93-94)

【第二十二章亞細亞ノ救世主ノ磔刑及ヒ耶路撒冷ノ滅亡】

㊦ 1 救世主降世アリシカ猶太ハ兼テ己レ等ヲ統轄スベキ國君ヲ渴望セルヲ以テ此卑賤ナルジェシュスヲ見テ大ニ之ヲ賤シミ且惡ミタリ 2 ジェシュスノ自ヲ吾ハ救世主ナリト告ルニ至リ遂ニ其生命ヲ害セントセリ

㊦ 3 彼輩救世主ヲ拿ヘテ當時猶太ニ在ル羅馬ノ鎮臺ポンチウス、ピレートノ裁判所ニ送リシカバピレート即チ救世主ニ死ヲ命ス 4 因リテ救世主ハ二人ノ盜賊ノ中間ニ在リテ磔刑ニ處セラレタリ」 5 救世主土中ニ埋メラレ三日ヲ經テ後蘇生シテ昇天セリ...

Extra2014

全国歴史教育研究協議会編『世界史用語集』山川出版社, 2014

【選民思想⑥】 (p.10)

ヤハウエとの契約を守るユダヤ人だけが救われるとする考え。イエスはこれを否定し、普遍的な愛を主張した。

Y1876

Samuel Griswold Goodrich: *Peter Parley's Universal history on the basis of geography*, New York: Ivison & Phinney, 1859 (Univ. of Toronto Library copy) (p.88-89)

【Chapter XXIV – Asia continued/Crucifixion of the Savior. Destruction of Jerusalem】

2. 1 The Jews rejected him. **They had been looking for an earthly potentate; and when they beheld the meek and lowly Jesus, they despised and hated him.** 2

From the time that he proclaimed himself the Messiah, they sought to take his life. 3. 3 They brought him before the judgment-seat of Pontius Pilate, who was then the Roman governor of Judea. Pilate sentenced him to death, 4 and the Savior of the world was crucified between two thieves. 5 He however rose from the dead, after being buried three days, and ascended into heaven!

Extra2014

Zenkoku-Rekishi-Kyoiku-Kenkyu-Kyogikai (ed.): *World History Glossary*, Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2014

【Chosen-People ideology (6 [instances out of 7 titles])]】

An idea that **only the Jews** who observe the covenant with Yahweh **will be saved.** Jesus denied this, and advocated universal

love.

Extra2008

全国歴史教育研究協議会編『世界史⑧用語集』山川出版社, 2008

【選民思想⑥】(p.11)

ヤハウエとの契約を守るユダヤ人だけが
救われるとする排他的な考え。イエスは
この民族的な優越感を否定した。

Extra2008

Zenkoku-Rekishi-Kyoiku-Kenkyu-Kyogikai
(ed.): *World History (B) Glossary*,
Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2008

【Chosen-People ideology (6 [instances out of 11
titles])】

An exclusivist idea that only the Jews who
observe the covenant with Yahweh will be
saved. Jesus denied this sense of ethnic
superiority.

Notes

- 1 The current Constitution of Japan, enacted in 1947, rules in Article 20: “No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity”. The corresponding articles in the Fundamental Law of Education (教育基本法 ; Article 9 (2)) and the Textbook Examination Standards (教科用図書検定基準 ; Article 2-2 (4)) duly repeat the idea, and forbid religious education in public schools. The Constitution article reflects repentance to the dominance of the State Shinto as a part of the imperial regime after the Meiji restoration, which was supported by the emperor-centered view of history (皇国史観).
- 2 The Agency for Cultural Affairs reports the number of Christians in Japan as of December 31, 2017 was 1,921,834, i.e., approximately 1.1% of the population. See 文化庁『宗教年鑑』平成 30 年版。Jewish population in Japan is estimated between 1,000 and 1,600, varying by definitions, according to Hebrew University demographer DellaPergola. See Sergio DellaPergola “World Jewish Population, 2018,” in Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin (Eds), *The American Jewish Year Book, 2018*, Dordrecht, pp. 361-452.
- 3 Although unpublished, a leading scholar of Judaism in Japan delivered an oral presentation recently under a noticeable title. Hiroshi Ichikawa, then professor of religion at the University of Tokyo spoke about “Jews in world history education of Japan” 日本の世界史教育の中のユダヤ人 at a public symposium of the Historical Society of Waseda University (早大史学会) on October 3, 2015. Although not about the biased descriptions, Shuichi Hasegawa, professor of Hebrew Bible studies at Rikkyo University, raised a question in his recent work about textbook descriptions that take the historicity of Biblical accounts for granted. See 長谷川修一「高校世界史教科書の古代イスラエル史記述」長谷川修一・小澤実編著『歴

- 史学者と読む高校世界史——教科書記述の舞台裏』勁草書房、2018 年。
- 4 At least the four major works by Miyazawa do not include discussions about or citations of textbook descriptions: 『ユダヤ人論考：日本における論議の追跡』新泉社、1973 年；『ユダヤ人陰謀説：日本の中の反ユダヤと親ユダヤ』（デイヴィッド・グッドマンとの共著、藤本和子訳）講談社、1999 年；『日本におけるユダヤ・イスラエル論議文献目録：1877～1988』新泉社、1990 年；『日本におけるユダヤ・イスラエル論議文献目録：1989～2004』昭和堂、2005 年。
 - 5 藤原聖子『教科書の中の宗教——この奇妙な実態』岩波書店、2011 年、66～70 頁。
 - 6 Hereafter, the capitalized “World History” indicates the name of a school subject or curriculum, “*Sekaishi*” 世界史. By “World History,” the present study refers also to obsolete names of subjects in which “Western History” was taught, such as “Universal History” 万国史, “History of Foreign Countries” 外国ノ歴史／外国史 and “Western History” 西洋史. In Japan, the ancient Orient has usually been a part of Western History, and Islam of the Eastern.
 - 7 Selected ex-professors of relevant subjects examine textbooks according to the Textbook Examination Standards for authorization. Their status, called *Kyôkasho-chôshakan* (教科書調査官 or “senior specialist for textbook”), is a full-time MECSST official. Usually, three scholars belong to the World History team. See 新保良明「世界史教科書と教科書検定制度」、長谷川修一他編『歴史学者と読む高校世界史』179～204 頁。
 - 8 In the fiscal 2017, *Shôsetsu Sekaishi* comprised 52.3% of the total World History B textbook sales. See 矢部正明「高等学校の現場から見た世界史教科書」、長谷川修一他編『歴史学者と読む高校世界史』244 頁。
 - 9 This survey identified all the 13 materials at Kyôkasho Library.
 - 10 In 2013, the number of students who took World History B was 28.8%, according to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MECSST). See 文部科学省（初等中等教育局）「高等学校における科目の履修状況（平成 25 年度入学者抽出調査）」。Although 75.8% took the shorter World History A, the curriculum introduced in 1960 deals very slightly with pre-modern history, and has been existent only intermittently.
 - 11 The table shows the date of authorization in the third column, since this precedes the date of publication by rather varied number of years on some titles in this category.
 - 12 *Sekaishi Jôkan* came through the same screening process in occupied Japan with A1952, as one of the first five textbooks authorized by the 1948 procedure. It was published in 1951, and used in the fiscal 1952 and 1953. See 茨木智志「世界史教科書の出発」、長谷川修一他編『歴史学者と読む高校世界史』170 頁。
 - 13 See 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-3) ——「文明史型万国史」の時代 2. ——」『埼玉大学紀要（教養学部）』第 52 巻 第 2 号、2017 年、46 頁。Western History merged with Eastern History into World History in 1949.
 - 14 The concise glossary, designed for high school students, provides minimal descriptions of more than 5,000 essential terms, and shows the number of textbook reference to each term based on constant survey of instances in all the current textbooks. The glossary has been regarded as an unparalleled apparatus among

- test takers for decades, and has functioned virtually as the Rules of Engagement of the college admission examination.
- 15 Like in English, the term “form,” “formalized” or “formalism” 形式、形式的な or 形式主義 implies an insubstantiality, superficiality or perfunctoriness in Japanese, and hints at a vain manner that places value only outside the content.
 - 16 The tables mainly list instances of biased expressions, but in some cases, occurrences with no particular nuance of bias are also listed when notable and closely related to a focal topic.
 - 17 One exception is L1930 which says “the Jews who cling to the traditional law” (舊法に頑固なユダヤ人), but no relation is suggested with formalism.
 - 18 Goodrich’s title, is evidence that the author’s view of history belongs to the tradition of Universal History since antiquity. It is called “universal,” because it goes back to the Creation, and is largely understood as a series of purposeful Divine interventions. Goodrich was a prolific American author of educational series for children with a fictitious narrator “Peter Parley” in the title. Goodrich’s volume was drafted by Nathaniel Hawthorn, and published in the name of Goodrich, according to Okazaki. See 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史(I-1)——「普遍史型万国史」の時代——」『埼玉大学紀要(教養学部)』第51巻第2号、2016年、33頁。On the other hand, Taylor’s work occasionally reflects a somewhat more objective attitude, influenced by the Enlightenment historiography, as Okazaki describes the work as “an Enlightenment world history although with strong transitional characteristics.” See, 同書、58頁。
 - 19 Taylor states in a passage from Chapter V, “the Israelites were not chosen to be the most wealthy or most powerful . . .” This exceptionally thematic reference by Taylor to the Chosenness of Israel does not appear in Kimura’s Japanese. See Quote X1878 in Appendix II.
 - 20 Between the first and second subgroups is the first authorized World History textbook by a Japanese author, Tameyuki Amano (R1888). Amano (1861-1938) was then a professor of economics at what is today Waseda University (東京専門学校). As he reports in the explanatory note, *Bankoku Rekishi* used for reference nearly a dozen foreign books, including textbooks by Edward Augustus Freeman, George Park Fisher, William Swinton. See 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-2) ——「文明史型万国史」の時代 1. ——」『埼玉大学紀要(教養学部)』第52巻第1号、2016年、12頁。
 - 21 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-2)」6頁。Undoubtedly, the transplanted of the Rankean *Historicism* by Riess was a prime mover of the quantum leap in historiography of Meiji Japan. See 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-3)」66頁
 - 22 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-2)」6頁。
 - 23 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-2)」7～8頁。
 - 24 岡崎勝世「日本における世界史教育の歴史 (I-3)」71頁。The institution was virtually the only supplier of academic Western history experts until Kyoto Imperial University established its history department in 1907. After Riess left Tokyo in 1902, Murakawa was sent to Europe, mainly to Munich, for three years, to become the first professor of ancient Western history in Japan.
 - 25 We should pay attention also to the fact that their library had not much chance as yet to include ancient

- history with Jewish sources in view. The first serious history by a Christian author with sufficient control of Rabbinical sources came out in 1927, when George Foot Moore published *Judaism*.
- 26 The Law and the Chosenness of Israel were already a theological issue at the time of the Pauline Epistles. By declaring that “works” (ἔργων=deeds) no longer qualified the Chosen, Paul the Apostle claimed one of the earliest summaries of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, not by observance of the Law (Romans 11:5-7).
 - 27 The Civil Information and Educational Section of the allied administration screened the drafts of English translations. Satoshi Ibaraki, professor of History of Education at Joetsu University of Education, identified an English typescript from CIE of Chûkyo’s *Sekaishi Jôkan* (世界史上巻) in the archives of the National Diet Library. See 茨木智志「CIE 史料に残された「世界史」教科書の英語原稿について—1950 年実施の「世界史」教科書検定の経緯に対する検討—」『歴史教育史研究』第 11 号 (2013 年度)、歴史教育史研究会、68 頁
 - 28 By explaining the earlier event in light of the later, the textbook seems to repeat what theologians call typology, an indispensable logic in the idea of the supersession or the replacement of the Chosen. Most typically, Justin Martyr expressed such an idea, calling the Ecclesia the True Israel (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 122). Thus, the second-century Samaritan Church Father claims that the Jews are no longer true covenanters with God.
 - 29 Instead, the authors say that the Chosen People were given nebulous “special benefits.” The revision seems still halfway, however, because the Jews as a nation were also saddled with an extraordinary obligation of holiness as a result of being chosen. They also accepted about the dire consequences of the inevitable outrage and punishment of God when they sin. To explain this aspect to Japanese students with simple verses, this author often cited Exodus 19:6, Leviticus 18:28 or Amos 3:2.
 - 30 The sources of the authors’ bold assertion are unknown, but such an over-simplified claim seems at least to contradict some reports by Josephs or Rabbinical sources. If their theory is based on some verses of the Gospels, Acts or Epistles, its Christian origin should be made clear.
 - 31 When a question is raised in class about this problem, this author first explains that Judaism is quite polyphonic on these points, and that not a few ponderable texts assert that righteous gentiles have their share in the world to come. For instance, a passage from Sanhedrin 105a on Psalms 9:17, or more positively Tosefta Sanhedrin 13.2. One difficulty lies, however, in the rendering of the Psalm verse in the most widespread, ecumenical Japanese version (新共同訳), which reads「神に逆らう者、神を忘れる者/異邦の民はことごとく、陰府に退く」, literally “Those reject God, those forget God/ people of other nations as a whole, recess to the underworld, “ where NRSV, for example reads “The wicked shall depart to Sheol,/ all the nations that forget God.” The Japanese version seems to neglect the relative pronoun in “כָּל־גִּוִּים וְכָל־אֲנָשִׁים שָׁכְחוּ אֱלֹהִים”.
 - 32 See note 3 on Hasegawa’s criticism.
 - 33 A recent revision of the aforementioned *Sekaishi Yôgoshû* published by Yamakawa Shuppansha reflects this positive change. The glossary deleted such expressions as “exclusivist” or “sense of ethnic

superiority.” Compare Quotes [Extra2008](#) and [Extra2014](#), in Appendix II.

- 34 藤原聖子『教科書の中の宗教——この奇妙な実態』、71 頁。