

A Study on the Interrelation of Lee Su-jung and Karl F. A. Gützlaff Bible Translation¹

Kyung Man Hong*

Abstract

This study investigates the interrelation between Karl F. A. Gützlaff, the first Protestant missionary in Korea, and the Bible translation of Lee Su-jung, the first Korean translator of the Bible. Gützlaff revised the Chinese Bible, both New and Old Testament (神天聖書, 1823), and published it in the New Testament (新遺詔書, 1837), and the Old Testament (舊遺詔聖書, 1838). He also translated and published the first Japanese Protestant Bible the Gospel according to St. John (約翰福音之傳, 1837) and the 1-2-3 Epistle of St. John (約翰上中下, 1837).

Lee Su-jung's the New Testament *Hyonto* (懸吐漢韓新約全書, 1884) is merely a *hyonto*, whereas the Gospel of Mark *Onhae* (신약마가전복음

<http://dx.doi.org/10.26590/madang..30.201812.3>

* Assistant Professor, Department of Theology, Luther University. Th.D.

¹ This paper was studied in 2018 as a faculty research support program at Luther University.

서언해, 1885) is a mixture of Korean and Chinese. This article focuses on the direct and indirect relationship between Gützlaff's New Testament with the Bible in Japanese and Lee Su-jung's script with reference Bible. This research also reviews Bible translators of the New and Old Testaments (神天聖書), the Committee of Small Group of Four, the New Testament (新遺詔書), *the Delegates' Version*, the Japanese translation of the Bible of Gützlaff, and Hepburn. It demonstrates that the translation ministry work of Gützlaff affected Hepburn of the missionary in Japan, and Lee Su-jung used Hepburn's Japanese Bible. The Hangul Bible of Lee Su-jung made history. This study demonstrates the possibility that Gützlaff's Bible translation is directly or indirectly related to the translation of Lee Su-jung's translation version.

- Keywords

Lee Su-jung's Bible, Gützlaff's Bible, Delegates' Version, Committee of Small Group of Four, Korean Bible, Japanese Bible, Chinese Bible, Gützlaff and Hepburn

I. Introduction

The year 2018 marks the 186th anniversary of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (郭實獵, 1803-1851), who began his missionary activities on the ancient coast of Chungcheong province in 1832. Through about a month's visit to Korea and missionary activities, Gützlaff gave a portion of Christian books, a portion of the Chinese New Testament Bible, and a book of evangelism.² First of all, he wrote the Lord's Prayer in Chinese writing and then a man named Yang-yih translated it into Korean. Although he did not translate the Bible in its entirety, this study considers his efforts to be the first year of Korean Protestant Bible translator.³

John Ross (羅約翰, 1834-1915), a translator of the New Testament Bible (예수성경전서) in 1887, who was sent as a Bible translator in Korea and was a missionary in Manchuria, is the beginning of the full-scale translation of the Hangul Bible.⁴ Gützlaff served as the driving force of Ross' biblical translation. In his study, Lee Dong-su explained the results of the study that Chinese Literary Bible in Gützlaff influenced in "A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyo-

2 Hyeon-gi Oh, *Good Morning Gützlaff: The First Protestant Missionary to Korea* (Seoul: Book Korea, 2014), 161.

3 Oh Hyeon-gi, who is a scholar of Karl Gützlaff, argues "This is the first attempt at the translation of the Korean Bible." *Ibid.*, 163.

4 The Korean Bible in Society says "This is the first Korean New Testament translation of Rev. John Macintyre, Lee Eung-chan, Baek Hong-jun, Seo Sang-soo, and Lee Sung-Hae. It was in 1882 that the first Hangul Bible, the Gospel of Luke (예수성경누가복음전서) was published. This book is translated into north-west dialect. Soon he published the Gospel of John": "About the Bible - Korean Bible translator," the Korean Bible in Society, accessed November 1, 2018, http://en.bskorea.or.kr/?page_id=106. And also see the Hangul web service page, https://www.bskorea.or.kr/bbs/content.php?co_id=subpage2_3_3_1_1.

JeonSeo> - concentrating on the Gospel of Luke.”⁵ Ross tried to translate the meaning of the original text referring to the original text of the Greek Bible in the translation of Hangul Bible, and translated it into pure Hangul, using Korean north-west dialect in terms of indigenization. At the time of Ross’s translation of the Hangul Bible,⁶ there was a high level of Chinese characters in Korea. Thus, it can be seen that the New Testament (新遺詔書, 1837), a Chinese text of Gützlaff, became deeply involved in the Hangul scriptures of Ross.⁷

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between the biblical translation of Gützlaff, including the New Testament and the influence of the biblical translation of Lee Su-jung in Japan. This study examines the influence of Gützlaff’s translation of Korean texts and the translation of the Hangul Bible of Lee Su-jung and the influence of Gützlaff through related Bible translators. This study reexamines the Korean Bible translators in helping to study and trace Gützlaff’s influence on biblical translations of Lee Su-jung who achieved the Korean Bible translation.

5 In this paper, Lee Dong-su says “The important theological expressions of the *Revised Version of the Bible*, which have many decent Chinese expressions, follow the New Testament (新遺詔書) and the Delegates Version”: Dong-su Lee, “A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyoJeonSeo> - concentrating on the Gospel of Luke,” *Theology and World View* 3.3 (July 2015): 75.

6 The translation of Ross from Manchuria proceeded from 1877 to 1886 through preparatory period, and proceeded to four periods including preparatory time, primitive period, revision period, and complete period. Cf. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Christianity*, Vol. I (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 146-152.

7 For example, in Ross’s version the New Testament (예수성경전서, 1887) translated Hell (지옥), the Gospel (복음), the governor (총독), the parable (비유), the mercy (자비), the soul (영혼), the ordination (안수), the resurrection (부활), and adultery (간음): Dong-su Lee, “A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyoJeonSeo>,” 88-91.

II. Bible Translation Ministry of Gützlaff

This study suggests that Gützlaff's New Testament and his translation work of the Chinese Bible have an interrelationship that affects not only the Bridgman's Bible translation but also the translation of the Japanese Bible as well as the translation of the Korean translation of Lee Su-jung in Japan. Lee Su-jung referred to the Japanese Bible and to Ross's Korean Bible translation, which were used in the translation of the Bible with the Chinese Bible *Wenli Version* (文理譯). The *Wenli Version*, which was the script of Lee Su-jung, is the Bridgman's version of the Shanghai edition of the complete New Testament *Wenli* (新約全書 文理) of 1864, which was jointly conducted by Bridgman and Culbertson. In order to examine this, this study first deals with the New and Old Testament (神天聖書), which is the script of Gützlaff's translation of the Bible, and secondly, the Committee of Small Group of Four (四人小組委員會) dealing with Gützlaff's translation of the New Testament and Bridgman's translation of the Bible. Third, this study examines Gützlaff's original Japanese Protestant Bible translation as well as Hepburn, and studies their correlation.

1. The New and Old Testament (神天聖書)

The Chinese Bible translation ministry had been under the charge of the Catholic Church from the Tang Dynasty to the Ming Dynasty, beginning with the Nestorian Oriental Church (東洋教會).⁸ Although

8 Toshikazu S. Foley, "Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese: The Pioneer Venture of the Nestorian Missionaries," *The Bible Translator* 59.3 (July 2008): 113ff, <https://doi.org/10.1177/026009350805900301>. And also see Jang-sik Lee, *Korean Church History* (Seoul: Veritas,

the Chinese Protestant Bible translation was published in Serampore, India, Joshua Marshman (馬士曼, 1768-1837), a British Baptist missionary, published the New and Old Testament (新舊遺詔全書, 1822). Robert Morrison (馬禮遜, 1782-1834), who had been sent to China from the London Mission in England at the end of the Qing Dynasty, began the so-called Marshman Transcription as William Milne (米憐, 1878-1822), and the Bible (神天聖書), a combination of the New and Old Testament, published in Malaca in 1823. It is also called Morrison-Milne Edition.⁹ However, the New and Old Testament (神天聖書) had the problem of the order of the original text and the failure to utilize the static style of the text.¹⁰ Therefore, the revision work was carried out through the signing committee which Gützlaff later joined.

2. A Committee of Small Group of Four and the New Testament (新遺詔書) and the Bridgman's Version

In 1835, two years after Morrison's New and Old Testament was published, missionary W. H. Medhurst (麥都思, 1796-1857) of missionary from the London Missionary Society, missionary Gützlaff from the Netherlands Missionary Society, missionary E. C. Bridgman (裨治文, 1801-1861) from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and missionary Morrison's son John R. Morrison (馬儒翰, 1814-1843) gathered together to revise the New and Old Testament. The reason for the creation of the committee was to amend the New

2011), 146-147 and 186-194.

9 Su-yeon Lee, "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible" (PhD diss., Chungnam National University, 2013), 81.

10 Dong-su Lee, "A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyoJeonSeo>," 25.

and Old Testament for the use of more Chinese grammar, investigation, and indigenous vocabulary,¹¹ as a vocabulary to meet the needs of the times.¹² However, due to the health problems of Medhurst in 1836, the commission was dissolved and the translation work was interrupted, and this committee was unable to complete its revision mission until the end. Fortunately, however, the translation work of the New Testament could be concluded by Gützlaff. Finally, Medhurst took his completed revised translation to England by hand and published it in his own name in 1837 as the New Testament.¹³ This is also called the Committee of Small Group of Four version (四人小組譯本) or the four-person version (四人譯本). It is also called the New Testament (新遺詔書) by Gützlaff because of the finalization work of the latter.

Afterwards, as a result of the disintegration of the Committee of Small Group of Four, Gützlaff revised the Old Testament and published it in 1838 with the name the Old Testament (舊遺詔全書). Gützlaff then edited the New Testament of the Committee of Small Group of Four's translation, which was published in 1837, into a more colloquial version and published it in 1839 under the name the New Testament of the Savior Jesus (救世主耶穌新遺詔書). After that, this Bible was published in 1840 under name the New and Old Testament (神天新舊遺詔全書). This Gützlaff version of the Chinese text influenced the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, such as the birth of *Baishangdihui* (拜上帝會, the Society of God Worshipers) the central concept of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement.¹⁴ For example,

11 Su-yeon Lee, "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible," 83.

12 Dong-su Lee, "A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyoJeoSeo>," 26.

13 Su-yeon Lee, "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible," 93.

Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全, 1814-1864) brought the name Peaceful Kingdom (太平天國, 1851-1864) from the term 'heaven' (天國), which was used in Gützlaff's translation of the Gospel of Matthew.

This study suggests that Gützlaff's New Testament has a direct or indirect influence on the translation of Lee Su-jung's Bible in Japan. This is because Bridgman's New and Old Testament, which was used as a script for Lee Su-jung's translation of the Bible, was influenced by this New Testament. This is evident for two reasons.

The first reason is that Bridgman was in a position to know more than anyone else about the way he translated the Bible from Gützlaff, his Chinese language skills and the terminology used by Gützlaff. Because Bridgman had been with Gützlaff from the beginning as a member of the Committee of Small Group of Four on the correction of signs in the New and Old Testament, and was a member of the Delegates of the Ecumenical Bible Translation Committee of 1843. He knew Morrison's New and Old Testament and Gützlaff better than any other person.¹⁵

The second reason is that there is a possibility that there may be some reference to the New Testament (新遺詔書) in the translation of the New and Old Testament published in 1863 by Bridgman, much later than the New Testament which was published in 1837. This is because the main Chinese biblical texts of Protestantism that the Protestant missionaries could refer to in China at the time of the trans-

14 Xiaoyang Zhao, "Analysis of the Origin of the Bible in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," *The History of Qing History* 3 (Beijing: Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2018) 85; And especially see Thomas H. Reilly, "2. The Protestant Bible and the Birth of the Taiping Christian Movement," *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2004), 117ff.

15 Akira Doi, *Pioneers of Japanese Bible Translation: The Application of the Dynamic Equivalent Method in Japan* (Palmerston North: Massey University, 2007), 151.

lation of the Bible by the Delegates or Bridgman were Morrison's New and Old Testament, or the Committee of Small Group of Four's version or the New Testament of Gützlaff. Bridgman also believed that the Bible translator has enough persuasiveness to refer to the most recent New Testament of many Chinese Bible translations.

Bridgman, an American missionary in China, failed to complete his role as a translator for the Committee of Small Group of Four, and was unable to finish in the *Delegates' Version* translation committee. The reason for the separation from the *Delegates' Version* translation committee is the so-called Term Question:¹⁶ friction arose between the Scottish and European missionaries who used '*Shangdi*' (上帝) and the North American missionaries who used '*Shen*' (神), respectively. In the end, Bridgman withdrew from the representative committee and became a member of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. He and M. C. Culbertson (克陸存, 1819-1862) published the New Testament in 1859, the Old Testament in 1862, and the New and Old Testament in 1863.¹⁷ This Bible, which seems likely to have been influenced by Gützlaff, became the script of the translation of the Hangul Bible of Lee Su-jung.

3. Gützlaff's First Japanese Protestant Bible Translation and Japanese Bible Translator Hepburn

Gützlaff came to the Godae Island port of Chungcheong province

16 Ye-lem Hwang, "Study on the Translation of '神(かみ)'" in Early Japanese Protestantism in Relation to the 'Term Question' Debate in Early Chinese Protestantism," *Research on the Original Text of the Bible* 36.11 (April 2015): 232.

17 Su-yeon Lee, "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible," 94.

on the west coast of Korea on July 17, 1832, along the coast of East China Sea. On August 17 of that year, Gützlaff arrived on Jeju Island and then arrived in Macau through Okinawa, Japan, where he began his full-time Chinese and Japanese translation of the Bible.

In 1832, Gützlaff met with three Japanese sailors (Otokichi, Iwakichi, Kyukichi) who arrived in Macau in 1835 due to the stranding of the Japanese ship *Hojoonmaru* (宝順丸) in 1832 and translated the first Japanese Protestant Bibles with their help.¹⁸ Gützlaff's Japanese study and translation work, which started at the same time in 1835, closed in 1837. This period was also the time when Gützlaff was publishing the New Testament (新遺詔書) with the Committee of Small Group of Four. In other words, he translated both Japanese and Chinese Bibles simultaneously. The Japanese-English vocabulary, which Medhurst published in 1830 in Batavia, was referenced in his translation of Japanese Bible.¹⁹ The Japanese Bible, translated with the help of the Japanese, and published in Singapore in 1837, was the Gospel according to St. John (約翰福音之傳) and the 1-2-3 Epistle of St. John (約翰上中下). As a result, Gützlaff became the first Japanese Protestant Bible translator.²⁰ Other translators such as W. H. Medhurst (London Mission), Robert Morrison (London Mission), B. J. Bethelheim (Lew Chew Naval Mission, 1811-1869), J. Goble (American Baptist Fee Mission Society, 1827-1896), J. C. Hepburn (Presbyterian Overseas Mission of USA, 1815-1911), S. R. Brown (the Reformed Church in America, 1810-

18 Doi, *Pioneers of Japanese Bible Translation*, 56. And see Okabe Ikki, "Japanese Bible translation and J. C. Hepburn," *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.3, trans. I-pyo Hong (September 2015): 26.

19 Doron B. Cohen, *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible: History, Inventory and Analysis* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013), 31.

20 Ikki, "Japanese Bible translation and J. C. Hepburn," 23.

1880), and S. W. William (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1812-1884) correlate with Gützlaff's work and Japanese Bible translation work.²¹

In this study, the reason for looking at the correlation between Gützlaff and Lee Su-jung mainly via Hepburn is that Hepburn made important contributions based on the Japanese Bible translation, and this is because the first Japanese Bible translation work of Gützlaff influenced Hepburn's Japanese Bible translation. This is because the first Japanese Bible published by Gützlaff came to Japan through Hepburn. Hepburn was very familiar with the Japanese Bible of Gützlaff. In this regard, this study considers that one of the biblical references to Lee Su-jung's translation of the Hangul Bible can fully take into account the correlation of the influence of Gützlaff on the Japanese Bible.

Hepburn arrived in the Kanagawa (神奈川) waters (now Yokohama) on October 17, 1859, as the first Japanese Protestant missionary from the United States. When Hepburn came to Japan in 1841, he was a medical missionary in China. He obtained the Gospel according to St. John and the 1-2-3 Epistle of St. John of Gützlaff from Singapore and sent it to the United States Presbyterian Mission Headquarters.²² Hepburn opened a medical clinic in Yokohama in 1863 and joined the Bible translation committee, which was chaired by Brown Missionary in 1874, and translated the Japanese New Testament Bible in 1880 and completed a vigorous mission. William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928), who studied the Hepburn missionary, said "In 1880, Dr. Hepburn holding

21 Miyachi Yaeko, *Nineteenth-Century Japanese Translations of the New Testament* (Japan: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture 南山宗教文化研究所), <https://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/nfile/4196>.

22 Su-jin Kim, "Footsteps of Yi Soo-Chung (Rijutei) in Tokyo," *Christianity and History in Korea* 1.12 (January 1991): 183.

up this rare bibliographical treasure, Gützlaff's version, said: "This is undoubtedly the first effort to render the Word of life into Japanese, and though exceedingly imperfect and abounding with errors, it cannot but be regarded by every Christian heart with respect."²³ Hepburn then commenced the translation of the Old Testament in 1887 as the new translator of the translation of the Japanese Bible. He completed the translation into Japanese in 1887,²⁴ and on February 3 of that year, he celebrated the completion of the translation of the Japanese New Testament in the Shin-ei Church (新栄教会) of Tsukiji (東京築地) in Tokyo. In addition to the translation of the Bible, Hepburn made a great contribution in laying the foundations for the Japanese Bible translation work of the following missionaries, including the publication of the Japanese-English dictionary (和英語林集成).

When Lee Su-jung arrived in Japan and accepted Jesus as his Savior, he translated the Hangul Bible at the request of an American missionary, H. Loomis (American Bible Society, 1839-1920). During this process, in his hand, there was a literary translation of the *Wenli Version* Bible and the Japanese Bible. Notably, Yokohama, Hepburn's area of activity, was the area where Lee Su-jung first arrived in Japan. Lee Su-jung was a translator of the Bible through Tokyo and Yokohama, using the Yokohama Clinic that Hepburn built.²⁵ Kim Su-jin said, "There were several people who helped Lee Su-jung to publish the Bible in translation. First of all, I can not ignore the merits of Hepburn, who was Japan's first missionary, and J. H. Ballagh (the missionary of the Reformed Church

23 William Elliot Griffis, *Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmates: A Life Story of Toil for Christ* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1913), 139.

24 Shimasaki Katsuomi, "A Short History of Japanese Bible Translation," *Study of Original Text of the Bible* 24.13, trans. Hyung-won Lee (April 2009): 369.

25 Su-jin Kim, "Footsteps of Yi Soo-Chung (Rijutei) in Tokyo," 183.

in America, 1832-1920). Lee Su-jung began this work by crossing Tokyo and Yokohama to biblical translation in the Shiva Church (露月町教會). Yokohama is also the first place where Lee Su-jung set foot in Japan, and he came and went to the Yokohama Kaikan Church, which he had set up to translate the Bible, and the Yokohama Shiro Church and Hepburn's clinic, which he built."²⁶ In particular, when Underwood arrived in Yokohama in January 1885, while living in Hepburn's house for a while, he learned Hangul and introduced the Hangul scripture. This fact shows that the frequent and deep relationship between Hepburn and Lee Su-jung is centered around Yokohama. Through this history, it can be seen that Hepburn influenced the translation of the Bible into Japanese, through the ministry of the Bible translation work of Gützlaff, and that Lee Su-jung referenced the Japanese Bible, based on Hepburn. Thus it seems that there is a definite possibility that the translating ministry of Gützlaff influenced—directly or indirectly—the translation of Lee Su-jung's Bible.

III. The Translation of Lee Su-jung's Bible and the Influence of Gützlaff

The purpose of this study is to introduce the translation of Hangul scriptures of Lee Su-jung in Japan and to examine the correlation with Gützlaff's work. Therefore, this study will now focus on Bible translator Lee Su-jung as a whole. Note that this section does not delve into such matters as biographical criticism, the research, or a detailed biography of the individual, but deals with some text introduction and

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 182-183.

personal biography necessary for the purposes of this study.

Lee Su-jung (李樹廷, 1842-1886), son of Lee Byung-kyu (李秉圭), a great scholar of the Joseon Dynasty, obtained the qualification of Park Yeong-hyo (朴永孝, 1861-1939), a traitor of the Im-O Military Revolt (1882), and arrived in Yokohama, Japan, in September 1882. Lee Su-jung met Christian scholar Tsuda Sen (津田仙, 1837-1909), a Japanese Christian scholar introduced by his friend An Jong-su (安宗洙, 1859-1896), who traveled to Japan with a “courtier’s observation mission (朝士視察團)”²⁷ in 1881. Lee Su-jung had already accumulated a considerable knowledge of Catholicism and Christianity in Korea and was interested enough in Christianity that he purchased and read the Chinese-language Bible and Christian books on his way to Japan.²⁸ Tsuda Sen explained Christianity to Lee Su-jung and gave him a copy of the *Wenli Version* Bible as a gift. Lee Su-jung read the Chinese-language Bible and was greatly influenced by it. He engaged in earnest Bible study, came to realize the truth, and converted to Christianity.²⁹ On December 25, 1882, Lee Su-jung received Jesus as Savior after attending Christmas service at the Tokyo First Presbyterian Church (築地教會). After that, Lee Su-jung studied the Bible professionally with Rev. Nagata (長田時行) of the Tokyo First Presbyterian Church, introduced by Tsuda Sen. He was able to establish and cultivate his Christian faith through studying the Bible. On April 29, 1883, Lee Su-jung met the missionary G. W. Knox of the American Presbyterian Church

27 The Inspectors Detached to Japan as the Ambassador Extraordinary. This is also called to be gentlemen’s observation mission (紳士遊覽團). See National Institute of Korean History, “Glossary of Korean History,” the website of Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty, <http://esillok.history.go.kr/front/glossary/historicalTerms/HistoricalTermsList.do?pageIndex=160>.

28 The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church* I, 157.

29 Su-jin Kim, “Footsteps of Yi Soo-Chung (Rijutei) in Tokyo,” 181-182.

Presbyterian Church (North American Presbyterian Church, 1853-1912); this meeting was also through the auspices of Tsuda Sen. Lee Su-jung was baptized at the Shiva Church³⁰ by Knox.³¹

Lee Su-jung participated in a Japanese Christian fellowship meeting (全國信徒大親睦會, May 5, 8-18, 1883), and on May 12th of that year announced his faith testimony centering on the representative prayer and John 14 in Korean (This confession of faith was published in the *Shichiichi Zappo* [七一雜報, the first Christian newspaper] on May 25, 1883, Vol. 8, no. 21, and on May 30, 1883 in the Japanese *Iyughab Jabji* [六合雜誌, the six harmony magazine] no. 34 in pure Chinese).³² In June, he opened a Sunday School for Korean students. In August, he taught Korean at the Tokyo Foreign Language School. Lee Su-jung dedicated to the translation of Hangul Bible. On December 13, Lee Su-jung made a strong appeal to the American Church to send missionaries to Korea in the name of 'A servant of Christ Rijutei' through American missionaries in Japan such as Knox and Loomis. Thus Lee Su-jung's major activities in Japan can be seen as Bible translation and the Missionary Initiative Movement (宣教師招致運動).³³ So, Lee Su-jung was known to the American church as a Korean Macedonian Call, a missionary.³⁴ The Tokyo Christian Community created by Lee Su-jung later became the Korean Christian Church in Japan (KCCJ).

30 As of 2018, it is Shiba Church of Japan Christianity (日本基督教團芝教會).

31 Yo-han Bae, "A Confucian Analysis of Lee Su-jung's Confessional Essay," *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 38.20 (September 2010): 486. And Yong-gyu Park, *History of the Korean Church*, Vol. 1 (Seoul: Life Book, 2014), 331.

32 Yo-han Bae, "A Confucian Analysis of Lee Su-jung's Confessional Essay," 482.

33 The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church*, Vol. 1, 160.

34 Kyo-seong Ahn, "The Missionary Spirit of the Korean Church," *The Tokyo 2010 Global Mission Consultation & Celebration* (Tokyo: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2010), 2.

Lee Su-jung returned to Japan in May 1886 on account of a disagreement with the Korean flowering-wave leader Kim Ok-kyun (金玉均, 1851-1894), who had exiled to Japan, and so on. As for Lee Su-jung after his return to Korea, there are few theories such as the ‘execution theory’ in which he was captured and killed by conservatives,³⁵ or ‘rumor theory’³⁶ that said stories of execution were just rumors, and ‘illness theory’³⁷ that his death was from sickness. Park Yong-gyu said, “whether he was executed by extreme conservatives or left in Japan as a wound, it is not so important. It is because his short life itself devoted to Korean Protestant mission is a kind of martyr sacrifice.”³⁸ According to Park Yong-gyu’s argument, this study sees Lee Su-jung’s end of life as ‘martyrdom sacrifice’.

The most important point in the life of Lee Su-jung is his translation of the Bible into Korean. Although it may be allowed that Koreans played a major role in helping Ross in the translation of Ross’s Bible in Manchuria, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the translation of the Hangul Bible in Manchuria was nevertheless dominated by foreigners. From this point of view, the translation of the Hangul Bible by Lee Su-jung in Japan can be regarded as more significant in that it is made by the Koreans alone.

Lee Su-jung began the translation of the Hangul Bible in May 1883 at the request of Rev. Henry Loomis (American Bible Society, 1839-1920), a close associate of Pastor Knox, who baptized Lee Su-jung.³⁹

35 Young-jae Kim, *A History of the Korea Church* (Suwon: Hapdong Theological Seminary Press, 2009), 84.

36 *Ibid.*, 330.

37 Man-yeol Lee, “Translation of the Bible by Lee Su-jung and Meaning of Korean Church History,” *Korean Christianity and History* 43.2 (September 2015): 22.

38 Yong-gyu Park, *History of the Korean Church*, Vol. 1, 331.

Lee Su-jung began his translation in 1883 and published in 1884 the New Testament *Hyonto* (懸吐漢韓新約全書) which contains Matthew, Mark, Luke, the Gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles. In February, he translated and published the Gospel of Mark with *Onhae* (신약마가전복음서언해), in a mixture of Korean and Chinese.

The first attempt to translate the Hangul Bible by Lee Su-jung was to read Hangul in addition *hyonto* (懸吐)⁴⁰ to the Chinese script. There are two reasons why Lee Su-jung chose *hyonto* for his first Bible translation. The first can be attributed to the influence of the *Hundok New Testament* (訓讀新約聖書), which displayed symbols *hunjeom* (訓點, in other word “Kuntan”⁴¹) that were popular among Japanese intellectuals at that time.⁴² The second is that it is possible to convey the contents of the Bible to Koreans who know Chinese characters if they are present in the Chinese text.

However, Lee Su-jung’s *Hyonto* Bible published only part of the New Testament, and the rest of the translation was discontinued due to the

39 The Institute of Korean History Studies, *A History of Korean Christianity*, Vol. I, 158.

40 ‘Hyonto’ is to add Hangul suffixes at the pertinent phrase for right sound reading. “Hyonto is a word that goes between words and passages of Chinese texts to sound Korean consonants and vowels when reading Chinese texts. It is said that the task of concluding a sentence in Chinese sentences is ‘to be in a hyonto (현토, When read Chinese text, used the grammar that wrote under each passage for its meaning and pronunciation) or to make a hyongyeol (현결, put the letters)’”; The Academy of Korean Studies, ed., *Korean Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, Vol. 3 (Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1993), 444.

41 Loomis says “Chino-Korean Version” the Korean Bible. He uses the Kuntan used in the Japanese Church as it is; John Ross and Henry Loomis, *Document of the history of Korean Bible Society* 1, ed. Sung-deuk Oak and Man-yeol Lee (Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2004), 304.

42 “The Korean reading (rendering, translation) of a Chinese character, rendering Chinese writings into Korean. Japanese script contains a strange mixture of characters used both ideographically and phonetically, together with two different systems of native phonetic writing”; Naver’s dictionary, <https://www.endic.naver.com>.

request of the missionary to translate Scripture in pure Hangul. The reason was that it was inconvenient to use *hyonto* to spread the gospel to a general public which did not know Chinese characters. Yim Tae-soo said, "Reading of the Bible from the Asian perspective is that of the Minjung, Dalit, Buraku, Aborigines, the poor, the sick, and the disabled, who are oppressed and placed at the bottom of society. It is the Bible reading from below."⁴³ Lee Su-jung also translated with the desire that anyone, not only a certain class, should read and love the Bible. Kwon Jin-kwan said, "Asian theology is a theology that takes its roots deep in the soil of the tradition and culture of suffering Asian minjung, especially in their stories. Asian minjung stories treasure hope, utopian vision, and wisdom of life. Asian theology seeks to find God's action for love and salvation in the stories of Asian people especially those of lower classes, castes, and ethnic groups (minjung)."⁴⁴ In this sense, it must be said that Lee Su-jung is already opening the Asian theology that the people should have the word of God.

Another reason is that through Ross, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland already translated, published and spread the Gospel of Luke (예수성교누가복음전서) in 1882, the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, and the Book of Acts in 1883 (3,000 copies of the New Testament, the whole Bible the New Testament was published in 1887, later than Lee Su-jung), and American missionaries chose to compete in publishing pure Hangul Bible for universal missions.

Although Lee Man-yeol is incapable of confirming the origin script

43 Tae-soo Yim, "Reading the Bible from an Asian Perspective," *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 1.2 (June 2004): 7.

44 Jin-kwan Kwon, "A Theology from our Own Resources: toward an Asian Story Theology," *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 26.1 (December 2016): 3.

of Lee Su-jung's the New Testament *Hyonto* (懸吐漢韓新約全書), whether it is Morrison's New and Old Testament, which was co-produced with the New Testament Bible (新約聖書, 1859) or Bridgman and Culbertson, the latter is possible in terms of penetration rate.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the Institute of Korean Church History Studies says it is the New and Old Testament *Wenli Version*, published in Shanghai in 1864,⁴⁶ and Lee Su-yeon is the Old and New Testament Bible of the so-called Bridgman in 1864.⁴⁷ More research is needed on the exact script name and date of publication. Lee Su-jung, who used Bridgman's Bible as a script, was sponsored by the American Bible Society, which advocated the principle of marking Shen as God rather than *Shangdi*. It was also the Bible Society of America that led the translation of the Bible.

In this study, it is considered that the translation work of Lee Su-jung is related to the Bible translation work of Gützlaff due to the relation between the Korean text and the Japanese Bible. This study examines in detail the correlations between Bible translation work and ministry of Bible translation in three aspects. The first is that the Bible script of Bridgman, used as a Lee Su-jung translation script, was adopted in 1859 by adopting many versions of the New Testament of Medhurst, the *Delegates' Version* of the Chinese Character Bible.⁴⁸ In the joint research between Min Young-jin and Jeon Moo-yong, "The initial Korean Bible translation takes place in Korea and Japan. The translated version of Ross's Bible (1887) is influenced by the Chi-

45 Man-yeol Lee, "Translation of the Bible," 16.

46 The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church*, Vol. I, 163.

47 Su-yeon Lee, "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible," 94.

48 *Ibid.*, 94-95.

nese Bible, and the translated version of the Bible in Japan (1883-1885) is influenced by the Japanese Bible. Both sources are influenced by two Chinese translation Bibles.”⁴⁹ These collaborators say, “We think we would have also referred to the Japanese Bible at that time, because Lee Su-jung was proficient in Japanese.”⁵⁰ Especially in Lee Su-jung’s New Testament (1883, *Hyonto*) and The Gospel of Mark (1885, *Onhae*). The Japanese Bible at the time was already known by various scholars as the Meiji’ Version (New Testament, Bible Translation Committee, 1880), which was translated and published jointly by Hepburn, who owned the Japanese Bible of Gützlaff, and Missionary Brown. The New and Old Testament *Wenli Version*, which is called the *Delegates’ Version* (委辦譯本 or 代表譯本), used by the translation of Japanese Bible and Lee Su-jung’ Bible in the script was published in 1855 under the direction of Medhurst. This study suggests that there is a possibility that the translation ministry of Gützlaff influenced their translation ministry because of the presence of two people—Bridgman and Medhurst—in the center of this. The fact that the translations of Gützlaff had this effect will be more clearly seen by comparing and studying the related texts. However, this study does not go deeper into the study of biblical theology and is not dealt with in depth due to limitations of this paper. However, this paper would like to compare two Bible texts for a representative example. This study examines the Gospel of Mark 11 about start of the Gospel and 1,4-8 about St. John the Baptist. The reason for choosing the two texts in this study is generally the body of choice when translating East

49 Young-jin Min and Moo-yong Jeon, “Influences of Chinese and Japanese Versions on Early Korean Bible Translations,” *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 19.9 (October 2018): 181.

50 *Ibid.*, 185.

Asian translations.⁵¹ This suggests the direct and indirect effects of Gützlaff.

the New Testament (1839, Gützlaff)	Meiji Version (1880, JBS with Hepburn)	the New Testament <i>Hyonto</i> (1884, Lee Su-jung)	the New Testa- ment Onhae (1885, Lee Su-jung)
1,1 耶穌基督	1,1 イエスキリスト	1,1 耶穌基督	1,1 예슈쓰크리슈도스 (耶穌基督)
1,4-5 約翰 洗禮 猶太 耶路撒冷	1,4-5 ヨハエ バプテスマ ユダヤ エルサレム	1,4-5 約翰 洗禮 猶太 耶路撒冷	1,4-5 요한네쓰(約翰) 밧테슈마(세례) 유대아(猶太) 예루살렘(耶路撒冷)

When we compare the translations of the texts in the previous chart, we can see that the influence of the translation ministry such as the New Testament of Gützlaff is great as already mentioned in the previous ‘Bible Translation Ministry of Gützlaff’.

Secondly, Lee Dong-su is not only the Delegates’ Version in the Ross translation in the comparative study of “A Study comparing <ShinYu-JoSeo> with <JesuSungKyoJeonSeo> - concentrating on the Gospel of Luke” and the possibility that the likewise, this study may also refer to Lee Su-jung’s reference to the literary translation of the Bible *Wenli Version*, which was used as a reference to Ross. Therefore, this study suggests that there is a correlation that Gützlaff’s influence on the translation of Hangul Bible is based on Lee Su-jung. In fact, Loomis wrote, in a letter to Dr. Bryan Gilman of the American Bible Society, “But Ross’s Revised Luke gave Lee Su-jung to take the Gospel and Acts and evaluate its value. After thorough review, he strongly asserted that the translation was inappropriate for publication.”⁵² When

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 181ff.

he asked Lee Su-jung to review the book, he also gave Ross's New Testament and the script, the Chinese script. Here, Joseon intellectuals who are interested in Christianity usually have many Christian books including the Bible, the Gospel of Mark (예수성교마가전서), the Gospel of Luke (예수성교누가복음전서), the Gospel of John (예수성교요안니복음전서), Luke and Acts (예수성교데자행), and Korean-French dictionary (한불자전), also known books referenced by Lee Su-jung, have the same idea.⁵³ The translation of Lee Su-jung was directly or indirectly influenced by Gützlaff's translation,⁵⁴ considering that the translation of Chinese Biblical texts and Japanese Biblical texts has been influential.

Third, Lee Su-jung considered the range from the Japanese Bible, the English Bible, and the Greek, under the guidance of Loomis.⁵⁵ Lee Su-jung was able to acquire Japanese books and Japanese Bibles from Nagata, who had taught the Bible to Japanese friends and American missionaries, and he actively referred to the translations. When we look at Korean and Japanese biblical translators, Japanese biblical texts were first translated and published through Western missionaries. In 1893, five Western translators, H. G. Underwood, J. S. Gale, W. B. Scranton, H. G. Appenzeller, and M. N. Trollope, joined the Permanent

52 Sung-eun Kim, "Lee Soo Jeong's Bible Translation and the Style of Enlightenment," *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.5 (September 2015): 75.

53 The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church*, Vol. I, 164.

54 Ross says, "The Scottish Bible Society in Nagasaki, Japan, distributed 20,000 copies of the gospel in 1883, 1150 copies in 1885, and 1250 copies in 1886. This is before *Sinyag maga jeon bogeumseoe onhae* (1885) of Lee Su-jung appears"; Recite, David W. Kim, ed., *Religious Transformation in Modern Asia: a transnational movement* (Leiden : Koninklijke Brill, 2015), 67.

55 Byung-il Jang, "Lee Su-jung and Translation of Mark (2)," *Christian Ideology* 13.9 (February 1969): 118.

Bible Committee (PEBC), the board of official translators. Regarding the principle of translation of Hangul Bible, they said, “Korean ministers translated the Delegates’ Version (文理) as a script, also referring to the Japanese Bible.”⁵⁶ This committee could not fail to notice that it worked on the translation of Lee Su-jung. The Bible Committee (PEBC) revised the translations made by Lee Su-jung in Japan.⁵⁷ In this regard, it also can be seen that, in their translations, Japanese Bibles were generally used for the translation of Hangul Bible.

Japanese translation of the Bible was completed only two years before the arrival of Lee Su-jung in Japan, but the translation of the Hangul Bible by Lee Su-jung soon followed this.⁵⁸ The Japanese Bible that Lee Su-jung refers to are the Japanese Bible *Kundoku* (日本訓點聖經, 1878) and the New Testament *Inshou* (引照 新約全書, 1880). Especially, in Japanese, the Gospel of Mark, which was referred to by Lee Su-jung in the study of Korea Christian Institute, was translated in 1872 by Hepburn with Brown.⁵⁹ This is why this study considers the importance of Hepburn’s role in the translation of the Japanese Bible, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Therefore, this study shows a sufficient role of the translating ministry of Gützlaff in the translation of the Korean scriptures, via Lee Su-jung referring to the Japanese Bible.

Lee Su-jung’s New Testament *Hyonto* is merely a *hyonto*, whereas the

56 Young-hee Won, “A Study of Korean Bible Translations,” *The Journal of Translation Studies* 1.5 (September 2000): 98.

57 Sung-deuk Oak, “A Study on the 1887 Revised Edition of the Gospel of Mark,” *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 38.7 (April 2016): 136.

58 Yun-tae Oh, *The Korean Christian History IV pioneer Su-jung Lee* (Seoul: Hyesun Publishing Co., 1983), 70.

59 Katsuomi, “A Short History of Japanese Bible Translation,” 368.

Gospel of Mark *Onhae* is a mixture of Korean and Chinese.⁶⁰ As Jang Byung-il pointed out, there were no books in the country until that time, in which a lot of Hangul was mixed as much as the Bible the Gospel of Mark *Onhae* of Lee Su-jung.⁶¹

IV. Conclusion

On April 5, 1885, on the morning of Easter, American missionaries Underwood and Appenzeller came to Incheon of Korea with the Gospel of Mark *Onhae* of Lee Su-jung. From a Christian perspective, the greatest and most important achievement of Lee Su-jung is the translation of the Hangul Bible.⁶² This study considers the fact that Koreans translated the Bible through their own efforts to be a matter of historical significance.

Lee Su-jung was convinced, above all, that his translation of the Hangul Bible was the primary mission for him.⁶³ In order to accomplish this mission, Chinese texts and Japanese Bibles were used for script and reference purposes. This study examined the direct and indirect influence of the translation of biblical translation ministry of

60 The 'Korean Annotation' refers to translating Chinese characters or 'written colloquial Chinese' into Hangul, which is called the 'Korean alphabet' (언해, Onhae). The written colloquial Chinese refers to an octopus with the character of a common language settled throughout from the Song Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty. A case where Chinese characters are mixed in Hangul is also called 'Korean Annotation'; The Academy of Korean Studies, ed., *Korean Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*. Vol. 15 (Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1993), 73.

61 Byung-il Jang, "Lee Su-jung and Translation of Mark (2)," 117.

62 Jeong-min Seo, "Relationship between Lee Su-jung and Japanese Christianity," *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.7 (September 2015): 102.

63 Yong-gyu Park, *History of the Korean Church*, Vol. 1, 319.

Gütlaff until the Chinese Bible and Japanese Bible.

Thus, the translation of the Bible, which was proclaimed in the native language by the missionary Gütlaff and the Korean Lee Su-jung, and by the people of the country, can be appreciated in the context of maintaining the spirit of the 16th century Reformation. Martin Luther (1483-1546), a German religious reformer in the 16th century, translated and published the German New Testament, the so-called September Bible, in 1523, and the Old Testament was translated and published in 1534.⁶⁴ This spirit was the same not only in Luther but in various reformers in the sixteenth century. This spirit was then linked to the Brotherhood of Zinzendorf and Herrnhute who later influenced Gütlaff.

Gütlaff was educated in the Lutheran tradition and was influenced by Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), who founded and led the Herrnhute Brotherhood (1722). The Herrnhute Brotherhood was a Bohemian gathering of religious refugees from different sects, which formed a community. "The reason for the possible organization of the community was that the Zinzendorf and Herrnhute Brothers were first and foremost aimed at...openness,"⁶⁵ says Oh Hyun-gi, a scholar on Gütlaff. The mission school of Berlin founded by Johannes Jänicke (1748-1827), a teacher of Halle University and the teacher of Gütlaff who founded the foundation of the faith of Gütlaff, proclaimed the Bible to the whole world with this ecumenical Protestant spirit. The Mission of the Netherlands who sent a missionary to Gütlaff, the Mission of London to which Gütlaff worked, and the ministry of China and Mission established by Gütlaff did. After

64 Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 33.

65 Hyeon-gi Oh, *Good Morning Gütlaff*, 75.

leaving Korea, Gützlaff writes in *The Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832 & 1833 with notice of Siam, Corea, And the Loo-Choo Island*, "Our Almighty God will remove those political barriers, and permit us to enter this promising field."⁶⁶

As we have seen thus far, this study has found a correlation between the Bible translation of the Gützlaff's Chinese verse, the New Testament which affects the Committee of Small Group of Four, the Delegates' Committee, and Bridgman and Hepburn and Ross's Bible translation work. Lee Su-jung has translated Gützlaff influenced the Bible *Wenli Version* as a script, referring to the Japanese Bible and Ross version, etc., and then translating the mixed text of the *Hyonto Version* and the Korean language. This study suggests that the hope of Gützlaff, who translated the Chinese Bible New Testament and the first Japanese Protestant Bibles the Gospel John Gospel and The 1st, 2nd, 3d Epistle of St. John has finally reached a correlation with Lee Su-jung through the history of Korean Bible translation. Lee Jeong-ku says "the ideas of p'ungsu are the metaphors through which is expressed the methodology to realize the harmony of the earth and human. A house was thought to be 'the centre' of the universe and a microcosm, having universal order and harmony. The house sites selected by the method of p'ungsu were thought to be the centre of the universe and people made efforts to realize the ideal values of their lives by getting the shape of a house suitable for the ideas."⁶⁷ Lee Su-jung and Gützlaff built a universe of houses built up to the Word for ideal value. Al-

66 Karl Gützlaff, *The Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833 with notice of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Island* (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834), 340.

67 Jeong-ku Lee, "The ideas of p'ungsu (風水, wind and water) in the Context of Korea," *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 13, no. 6 (June 2010): 13-14.

though Lee Su-jung translated the Bible in another country, Japan, he was filled with a universal Joseon audience listening to the universal God and the universal Word. And this study shows that this kind of history is making a Korean church based on the word of Korean today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahn, Kyo-seong. "The Missionary Spirit of the Korean Church." *The Tokyo 2010 Global Mission Consultation & Celebration*. Tokyo: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminar, 2010.
- Bae, Yo-han. "A Confucian Analysis of Lee Su-Jeong's Confessional Essay." *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 38.20 (September 2010): 481-504.
- Cohen, Doron B. *The Japanese Translations of the Hebrew Bible: History, Inventory and Analysis*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2013.
- Doi, Akira. *Pioneers of Japanese Bible Translation: The Application of the Dynamic Equivalent Method in Japan*. Palmerston North: Massey University, 2007.
- Foley, Toshikazu S. "Translating Biblical Texts into Chinese: The Pioneer Venture of the Nestorian Missionaries." *The Bible Translator* 59.3 (July 2008): 113-121.
- Griffis, William Elliot. *Hepburn of Japan and His Wife and Helpmates: A Life Story of Toil for Christ*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1913.

- Gritsch, Eric W. *A History of Lutheranism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010.
- Gützlaff, Karl. *The Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831, 1832, & 1833 with notice of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Island*. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1834.
- Hwang, Ye-lem. "Study on the Translation of '神(かみ)' in Early Japanese Protestantism in Relation to the 'Term Question' Debate in Early Chinese Protestantism." *Research on the Original Text of the Bible* 36.11 (April 2015): 231-251.
- Ikki, Okabe. "Japanese Bible translation and J. C. Hepburn." *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.3. Translated by I-pyo Hong (September 2015): 23-63.
- Jang, Byung-il, "Translation of Lee Su-jung and Mark (2)." *Christian Ideology* 13.9 (January 1969): 114-119.
- Katsuomi, Shimasaki. "A Short History of Japanese Bible Translation." *Study of Original Text of the Bible* 24.13. Translated by Hyung-won Lee (April 2009): 365-376.
- Kim, David W., ed. *Religious Transformation in Modern Asia: a transnational movement*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2015.
- Kim, Su-jin. "Footsteps of Yi Soo-Chung (Rijutei) in Tokyo." *Christianity and History in Korea* 1.12 (January 1991): 175-190.
- Kim, Sung-eun. "Lee Soo Jeong's Bible Translation and the Style of Enlightenment." *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.5 (September 2015): 69-91.
- Kim, Young-jae. *A History of the Korean Church*. Suwon: Hapdong Theological Seminary Press, 2009.
- Kwon, Jin-kwan. "A Theology from our Own Resources: toward an Asian Story Theology." *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 26.2 (December 2016): 1-15.

- Korean Bible in Society. "About the Bible - Korean Bible translator." Accessed November 1, 2018. http://en.bskorea.or.kr/?page_id=106.
- Lee, Dong-su. "A Study comparing <ShinYuJoSeo> with <JesuSungKyo-JeonSeo> - concentrating on the Gospel of Luke." *Theology and World View* 3.3 (July 2015): 75-100.
- Lee, Jang-sik. *Korean Church History*. Seoul: Veritas, 2011.
- Lee, Jeong-ku. "The ideas of p'ungsu (風水, wind and water) in the Context of Korea." *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 13.6 (June 2010): 1-15.
- Lee, Man-yeol. "Translation of the Bible by Lee Su-jung and Meaning of Korean Church History." *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.2 (September 2015): 5-21.
- Lee, Su-yeon. "Study on Translation of Chinese Bible." PhD diss., Chungnam National University, 2013.
- Min, young-jin and Moo-yong Jeon. "Influences of Chinese and Japanese Versions on Early Korean Bible Translations." *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 19.9 (October 2018): 176-199.
- Oh, Hyeon-gi. *Good Morning Gützlaff: The First Protestant Missionary to Korea*. Seoul: Book Korea, 2014.
- Oh, Yun-tae. *The Korean Christian History IV pioneer Suo-jung Lee*. Seoul: Hyesun Publishing Co., 1983.
- Oak, Sung-deuk. "A Study on the 1887 Revised Edition of the Gospel of Mark." *Journal of Biblical Text Research* 38.7 (April 2016): 119-139.
- Park, Yong-gyu. *History of the Korean Church*, Vol. 1. Seoul: Life Book, 2014.
- Reilly, Thomas H. "The Protestant Bible and the Birth of the Taiping Christian Movement." *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2004.

- Ross, John and Henry Loomis. *Document of the History of Korean Bible Society*
1. edited by Oak, Sung-deuk and Man-yeol Lee. Seoul: Korean Bible Society, 2004 .
- Seo, Jeong-min. "Relationship between Lee Su-jung and Japanese Christianity." *Christianity and History in Korea* 43.7 (September 2015): 95-125.
- The Academy of Korean Studies, ed. *Korean Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*, Vol. 3. Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1993.
- The Institute of Korean Church History Studies. *A History of Korean Church*, Vol. I. Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1989.
- Yaeko, Miyachi. *Nineteenth-Century Japanese Translations of the New Testament*. Japan: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture 南山宗教文化研究所, <https://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/nfile/4196>.
- Yim, Tae-soo. "Reading the Bible from an Asian Perspective." *Madang: Journal of Contextual Theology* 1.2 (June 2004): 1-14.
- Won, Young-hee. "A Study of Korean Bible Translations." *The Journal of Translation Studies* 1.5 (September 2000): 89-109.
- Zhao, Xiaoyang. "Analysis of the Origin of the Bible in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom." *The History of Qing History* 3. <http://jds.cass.cn/Item/21814.aspx>, 2010.

Received 2018. 11. 14.	Revised 2018. 12. 07.	Accepted 2018. 12. 11.
------------------------	-----------------------	------------------------