

THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO BAHASA MALAYSIA

by

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The history of the translation of the Bible into the Malay language begins in the sixteenth century. It was the era when European colonialism was rapidly developing, and when the Protestant churches were both expanding and developing. In the beginning of the 16th century the Protestant countries of Europe began to follow the predominantly Catholic countries of Spain and Portugal in turning their attention toward Southeast Asia because of its strategic importance in trade, and because of its potential resources. Not surprisingly the churches in these countries looked to Southeast Asia as potential fields for the spread of the Gospel. Of course the Roman Catholic church had already sent missionaries to much of Asia. But given the then current Catholic theology it is not surprising that in the era of Portuguese colonial domination of the Indonesian Archipelago and Melaka little attention appears to have been given to translation of the scriptures. In Catholic countries such as Portugal, Spain, and Italy Latin was regarded as the sole official language of Christian theology and worship.

Elsewhere in Europe the Protestant Reformation had spurred interest in vernacular versions of the Bible. The rise of Protestant states had made publication of such versions easier. The extension of political and economic power of these states opened the way for Protestant missions in areas previously unknown or unopened. The translation of the Bible into the languages of these regions was a logical consequence. As it happened the Netherlands was one of the first countries in Protestant Europe to establish its power outside of Europe or the Mediterranean countries. As a consequence of Dutch domination in the Indonesian archipelago, where Malay was the lingua franca of trade, Malay became the first language into which the Bible was translated outside of Europe and the Middle East.¹

Dutch power was exercised through the Dutch East India Company, which controlled not only trade, but all facets of Dutch involvement in the East Indies. Although the Dutch East India Company did not encourage missionary activity, it did sponsor pastors for the Dutch population, and tolerated some evangelistic efforts among Catholics, particularly in Ambon, were necessary to prevent any potential loyalty to Portugal).² The initial efforts to translate the Bible were made by a trader and a clerk of the Dutch East India Company, Albert Cornelius Ruyl, and Jan van Hasel. Between 1628 and 1638 Ruyl published a translation of the gospels of Mark and Matthew in diglot form with the then current Dutch translation. Van Hasel added Luke and John and published the four gospels together in 1646; this version based on the 1637 Dutch translation.³ A pastor, Justus Heurn, added the Book of Acts and revised the entire translation for publication in 1651, again in diglot form. A year later he and van Hasel published the Book of Psalms. The first period of translation ended with the publication of the complete New Testament, translated by Rev. Daniel Brower in 1662. This translation was sponsored by the Dutch East

India Company.⁴

Even at this early stage the problems which plagued translators of the Bible into Malay (and other languages) emerged. The first of these was the problem of spelling. Apparently Ruyl's first translation was done in Jawi script, the ordinary script for Malay in that era.⁵ Later translations, however, used Roman script, and each had its own system of spelling. Confusion emerges at two points in spelling. In the first place Jawi has only three letters to represent vowel sounds (like Arabic, its basis). And many vowel sounds are not represented by a letter. The Roman alphabet has seven letters which can represent vowel sounds. Thus the established Jawi spelling provides little guidance for rendering the words in Roman script. It has always been an open question how to best represent the actual sounds of the Malay language in either alphabet, witness the spelling changes in Bahasa Malaysia in the last 25 years. A second problem is that particular letters in the Roman alphabet do not represent the same sound in the various European languages. To read the Brower translation found in the appendix one must keep in mind both Dutch and Portuguese pronunciations of particular letters. The Dutch, and later the British, tended to encourage use of the Roman alphabet, and the Dutch did not produce a Jawi Bible until the mid-18th century. It may be wondered how accessible the early Dutch translations were to literate Malays, brought up reading only Jawi script.

The second problem which emerged was to define the limits of the Malay language, and to distinguish its dialects and the related languages. The Malay spoken in the trading centers was full of loan-words from various languages which were not known more generally. Moreover the Malay dialects spoken in various regions were quite distinctive. The debate over what was true, or pure, Malay continued beyond the Dutch colonial era. The problem can be well illustrated by reference to the first page of Romans in Brower's translation (see Appendix 1). In it appear the words "Deus" (God), and "Spirito" (Spirit). Each is derived from Portuguese and would not have been known outside trade centers. Early translators learned Malay in places as diverse as Ache and Ambon, usually without the benefit of studying Malay literature. It is not surprising that disagreements arose over what constituted proper Malay.

The final problem, related to the problem of determining the limits of the language, lay in establishing its proper idiom. Even the later, and better informed, translation of Leidekker was declared by Munshi Abdullah to be in a foreign idiom.⁶ It is interesting to note that Brower's version has constructions which are typical of the particular dialect of Malay spoken by the Straits Chinese. In almost every sentence there is the construction "noun" *punya* "noun" used to make the first noun possessive. This construction follows the Chinese language pattern of using a particle (*de* in Mandarin) after a noun to make it possessive. (*wo de shu*, my book)⁷

The translation of the entire Bible was begun by Dr. Melchior Leidekker in 1691 on the order of the Church in Batavia (Jakarta), and sponsored by the Dutch East India Company. When he died in 1701 the work was 90% completed, and was finished by Rev. Peter van der Vorm in that same year.⁸ However, this translation only came to be published in 1733. Apparently Rev. Francois Valentine succeeded in delaying publication while he completed his own translation into the language of the Moluccas.⁹ Nevertheless the Dutch East India Company rejected Valentine's trans-

lation because its language was not uniform, it was not widely known, and because it was a direct translation of the Dutch version of the Bible called the *Staten Vertaling*.¹⁰ When Valentine died in 1727 the Leidekker translation was checked and corrected by van der Vorm and a group of language experts. It was first published in the Netherlands in 1733 in Roman script. In 1758 it was published in Batavia using Jawi script. This translation became the standard translation for nearly two centuries; until 1916 in Indonesia and until 1853 in Malaysia. It was the first translation done by a committee, and which was based on not only Dutch, but on other original and vernacular versions of the Bible.¹¹ Nonetheless this translation had two shortcomings. It used many loan-words from Persian and Arabic which, while no doubt known to those with an Islamic religious education, were still not common. The other problem, establishing the proper grammar and idiom, has already been mentioned above. One page of Leidekker's Bible is shown in Appendix A. (note that in Dutch romantization "j" replaces "y" and "s" is spelled with an "f" in some cases.)

At the time when Munshi Abdullah read Leidekker's translation of Matthew the situation with regard to both religion and politics in Southeast Asia had changed. Before the arrival of the British the distribution and printing of the Bible had been closely controlled by the Dutch East India Company. But the British colonial rule provided opportunities for a new generation of missionaries with a strong bias in favor of distributing the Bible widely, and the means to print large quantities of Bibles in Southeast Asia itself.¹²

Robert Hutchings, an Anglican chaplain in Penang, was the first British missionary to attempt to correct Leidekker's translation. He and his colleague J. McGinnis had discovered over 10,000 words (no doubt this includes duplications) not found in William Marsden's Malay Dictionary. The revised translation of the New Testament was first printed in Serampore in 1817 by the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and subsequently in 1821 with the revised Old Testament.¹³ There is no indication that this Bible was widely distributed (except in Penang) and it was not subsequently reprinted. But it was only the beginning of extensive efforts to both improve the translation available, and to make it more widely available.

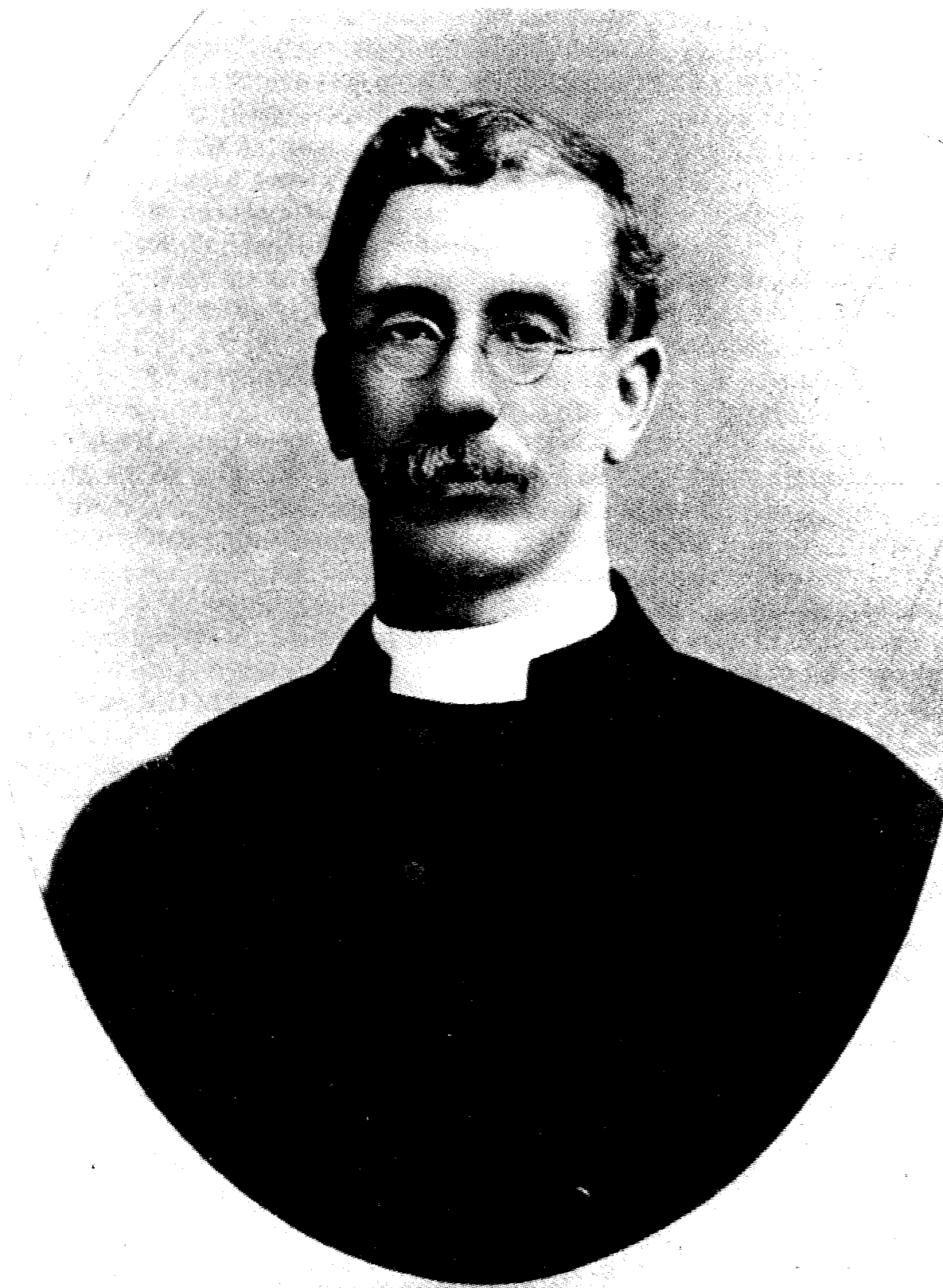
The expansion of British colonial power into Southeast Asia provided an ideal opportunity for the missionary societies which had begun in the 18th century to expand their field of operation. The London Missionary Society in particular was intensely interested sending missionaries to China, although the country was closed to Christian missionaries at the beginning of the 19th century. While waiting to enter China the L.M.S. decided to establish a mission center near China where missionaries could be trained and work among Chinese people could begin. William Milne came to Malaysia in 1814 and decided that Melaka would be the best location for the center which the L.M.S. had decided to establish. It was on the ordinary trade routes to China, had a substantial Chinese population which would provide both teachers and potential converts, and was under British control at the time. In subsequent years a substantial number of L.M.S. missionaries would pass through Melaka on the way either to other Chinese population centers, or to China itself. But it wasn't just missionaries who came to Melaka (and then Singapore and finally Penang). Schools and printing presses were to be the chief tools of the L.M.S. mission, and before long the production of literature, Christian and otherwise, had

begun in earnest. Quite naturally among those books first considered for publication was the Bible.

The story of L.M.S. efforts to produce a Malay language Bible begin with an interview between Milne and one of his first language teachers, Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, more commonly known as Munshi Abdullah. (a munshi, spelled munsyi in modern Bahasa Malaysia, is a language teacher.) In that interview Abdullah was asked to give an opinion of Leidekker's Bible. He confirmed what Milne no doubt suspected: that this Bible was not idiomatic and had many strange words. He then went on to confirm that the dictionary of William Marsden was accurate.¹⁴ It was this dictionary which provided the basis for the corrections to Leidekker made by the Bible Society.¹⁵ It is no exaggeration to say that for the forty years after this interview Abdullah would dominate efforts to translate the Bible into Malay, despite the fact that his contribution was rarely acknowledged publicly, and was sometimes hidden. Milne himself had no time to pursue the Malay language, as all of his time was given over to the production of a Chinese Bible and the establishment of the Anglo-Chinese college. But the L.M.S. sent Claudius Thomsen in 1815 with a specific assignment to work among the Malay people. Thomsen became both a close friend and student of Abdullah's, and launched almost immediately (and as it turned out prematurely) into the production of Malay literature.

Thomsen appears to have been a difficult student; Abdullah threatened to quit more than once because of Thomsen's insistence on words, idioms, and Jawi spellings which were not proper Malay.¹⁶ Nonetheless, with the encouragement of Abdullah, Thomsen worked from 1818—1832 to improve Leidekker's translation in line with what he had learned of Malay from Abdullah. In 1821 Thomsen completed a revision of Matthew, followed by eight chapters of Mark in 1830. With Robert Burns he completed a revision of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles before returning to England in 1832.¹⁷ Thomsen also produced a number of other Christian and secular works designed to support his ministry, especially the schools for Malay children he started in Singapore.¹⁸ Most of Thomsen's works, including his revisions of the gospels, had short lives. Only 1500 copies of the final revision of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles were printed.¹⁹ This is not surprising, since the L.M.S. appears to have constantly shifted both their policies with regard to publication of Malay literature and their support of Thomsen's work.²⁰ Nor perhaps is it to be regretted. Abdullah was ultimately as dissatisfied with Thomsen's Matthew as he had been with Leidekker's.²¹ Later missionaries from the United States regarded Thomsen's work as unintelligible, but it should be noted that they too were under the tutelage of Munshi Abdullah, so we can wonder whether their opinions are independent.²²

Thomsen's efforts reveal the difficulties faced by translators and missionaries in his time, some of which would reappear later. A major problem was in getting the new translations published. Although Thomsen had a press in Singapore (where he completed his work) the only press capable of printing an entire gospel was in Melaka, under the control of a succession of missionaries whose priority was Chinese literature.²³ Thomsen's, and later Keasberry's, churches and schools never received the kind of support from the mission agencies which was received by the churches and schools built for the Chinese. Both of these men were forced to support themselves and their mission through the printing of secular material for the



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government and the public. The second problem, already mentioned, was the determining of correct idiom. This was probably exacerbated by the fact that few of the first missionaries had an education which included either the classical or biblical languages.²⁴ And of course there were few Malay teachers with the kind of linguistic curiosity and insight of Abdullah. Certainly it must be acknowledged that the missionaries who attempted to "correct" Leidekker's work were probably not as qualified and experienced as he, and the final committee which revised his work, had been. It was only with Keasberry (again working with Abdullah) that a translation was produced by someone with long and continuous exposure to the Malay language. Finally we should note with regard to Thomsen's work (as Abdullah did) the problem of developing a proper religious vocabulary in Malay. The final version of Thomsen's Bible contained phrases like *Kerajaan Syurga* (Kingdom of Heaven), *Mulut Allah* (Word of God), *Anak Allah* (Son of God), and *Bapa-mu yang ada di Syurga* (My Father, who art in Heaven) which Abdullah felt were objectionable.²⁵ The problem of expressing Christian concepts in terms which are both idiomatic and inoffensive in the Islamic context remains to the present.

In these early years of the British missions another major problem was the distribution of the Christian literature it was hoped would flood Southeast Asia. Some was used in the schools, and was written for that purpose. But both tracts and Bible portions were sold and given away whenever the opportunity presented itself. It does not seem, however, that this kind of distribution had any tangible effect. A succession of officials from the L.M.S. and then the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM), and finally the BFBS reported back to their headquarters that the thousands of pounds spent on Malay literature was being wasted, both because of a lack of a literate population, and because of apathy and even antipathy concerning such literature. Keasberry himself reported that he had no idea where the Bibles he distributed ultimately ended up.²⁶

When Thomsen left Singapore he sold his printing press to the American missionaries who had just arrived. One of them, John Stronach, took over the work of revising the New Testament as well. James Legge, at that time (1838) in charge of the L.M.S. mission in Melaka requested that Stronach undertake a check of the second half of Thomsen's and Burn's *New Testament* in preparation of publishing a second edition. Although Stronach did not know more than a smattering of Malay he agreed to take on this task with Abdullah's help. Not surprisingly he was quickly convinced that the entire New Testament needed revision, and re-publication of even the first part was halted. Before a second edition could be printed the revision was halted by two events. One was that Thomas Beighton, a missionary in Penang reputed to be fluent in Malay, found out that a Moslem, Abdullah, was primarily responsible for the revision.²⁷ He reported this to the L.M.S. directors who quickly made provision that any revision would have to be approved by them before publication. In the meantime China became an open mission field and before any further revision or publication was done virtually the entire population of missionaries in Malaysia, with their printing presses, left for China.²⁸

The abandonment of Malaysia by the L.M.S., and by the American missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission left two people to carry on the work of creating a new version of the Bible in Malay, Benja-

min Keasberry and his long time teacher, Munshi Abdullah.²⁹ Although there was no support forthcoming for Keasberry's work from the L.M.S. he supported himself by printing books on a press which had been left behind by the departing Americans. The work of translation and publication of the Bible received support from the BFBS.³⁰ The result was that in 1852 the *New Testament* was finally published in Singapore using Roman script. It was followed by a *Jawi New Testament* in 1856. These were distributed not only in Peninsular Malaysia, but in Sumatra and Borneo as well. Eventually Keasberry finished several books of the Old Testament, but these were never published.³¹ Keasberry's death in 1875 brought to an end any extensive work in the Malay language (on the peninsula) for twenty years. Abdullah is believed to have died in 1854, while fulfilling his pilgrimage to Mecca.³² One can only surmise from his silence in the *Hikayat* that he finally approved of the work of one of his pupils.

In many ways the year 1852 marks the end of era in Bible translation into Malay, an era which was defined, not by any mission strategy or social upheaval, but by the unrelenting efforts of Munshi Abdullah to convince Christian missionaries to do justice to their own scriptures in the language of the Malays. If this era never produced a complete version of the Bible which was satisfactory it at least brought into focus the need at hand: an idiomatic translation true to both the beauty and refinement of classical literary Malay, yet accessible to those without advanced learning.

The cessation of translation work did not mean the end of efforts to use and distribute Malay literature. Indeed, the Bible Society was just beginning an effort which eventually resulted in hundreds of thousands of Bibles or Bible portions. In 1880 a full time Bible Society agent was assigned to Singapore. In 1882 began what was regarded as the most successful way of reaching non-Christians with the scriptures; almanacs were sold and given away (280,000 all together) which had scripture quotes on each page. But it must be noted that there was never any evidence that these vast efforts had any extensive influence.³³

At about the same time that Keasberry was printing his translation of the complete New Testament a Dutch Mennonite minister in Java was undertaking to improve on Leidekker's translation. Cornelius Klinkert was married to an Indonesian woman who spoke only Javanese and Malay. But he discovered that she could not read Leidekker's Bible, which was written in "high" Malay, the Malay of the Peninsula and of literature. As a result he translated the New Testament into the "low" Malay dialect common in the area of Samarang. A previous "low" Malay edition based on the dialect found in Surabaya had been published by Johanes Emde in 1835.³⁴ The presence of these, and other "low" Malay translations is indicative of the ongoing problem of distinguishing dialects and of providing readable Bibles. Klinkert's acquaintance with the Malay of various parts of the Indonesian archipelago also set the stage for a controversy which lasted fifty years regarding which dialect of Malay would best provide a basis for a common Bible to be used throughout Malaysia and Indonesia. In 1863 Klinkert was commissioned to prepare a new translation in "high" Malay, and for this purpose studied in both Riau and Melaka. His translation was completed in 1870 and was published in Roman script by the Netherlands Bible Society.³⁵ According to Ian Forbes Klinkert seems to have fulfilled his commission by producing a translation linguistically consistent with the *Hikayat Ab-*

dullah.³⁶ But there were later complaints by missionaries in Peninsular Malaysia that Klinkert's translation was not in suitable "pure" Malay, but rather was overly influenced by the dialect of Minahasa, a dialect not familiar to Malay readers in Singapore and Melaka.³⁷

It was not just in Dutch territories that there was dissatisfaction with the existing translations of the Bible. In 1890 the Anglican Bishop of Singapore, Bishop Hose, complained to the BFBS that even Keasberry's translation needed to be replaced, and he himself undertook the task of preparing a translation of the Gospel of Matthew. His personal concern may be judged by his report to the Bible Society in 1901 that a new translation should be "for Eurasians, Chinese, Klings (sic), etc. A simple but grammatical style, such as people of the upper classes use colloquially was wanted."³⁸ Nonetheless he apparently did not mind the continued use of the language of the royal courts.³⁹ As it turned out, however, the chief translator of the new version of the New Testament was to be William Shellabear, a soldier turned missionary whose intensions were almost opposite of Hose's. On hearing of Bishop Hose's statement to the Bible Society Shellabear wrote that the new translation would be chiefly for Malays, then Babas. It was for this reason that the translation was being prepared in Jawi script. As far as Shellabear was concerned Romanized versions of this, and the later Old Testament translation, were for the convenience of proof readers who found Jawi difficult.⁴⁰ Fortunately this was one of the few cases where differing intentions coincided with agreement about the nature of the actual translation. Shellabear worked closely with Bishop Hose for many years.

A biography of William Shellabear, certainly one of the key figures in Malaysian church history, is still wanting, and there is no space here to provide more than an outline of his work. He came from an Anglican religious background, the son of the business manager of the Earl of Leicester. As was appropriate to his social class he received a public school education and went on to military service. After a three year course at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham he was assigned to the 23rd Company of Royal Engineers at Gosport in 1885. Gosport had been the site of David Brogan's seminary, where almost all of the original L.M.S. missionaries had been trained in an atmosphere of reformed piety and purpose. Considering his later career it is perhaps providential that at Gosport Shellabear came into contact with almost exactly the influences which had molded the missionary consciousness of the first generation of missionaries to Malaysia. He became attached to the friends of his aunt in Gosport who were Brethren, and later under the influence of their granddaughter Fanny Kealy (who he eventually married) he committed his life to Christ. In 1886 he was appointed to command a company of Malay soldiers in Singapore, his home off and on for the next forty years.⁴¹

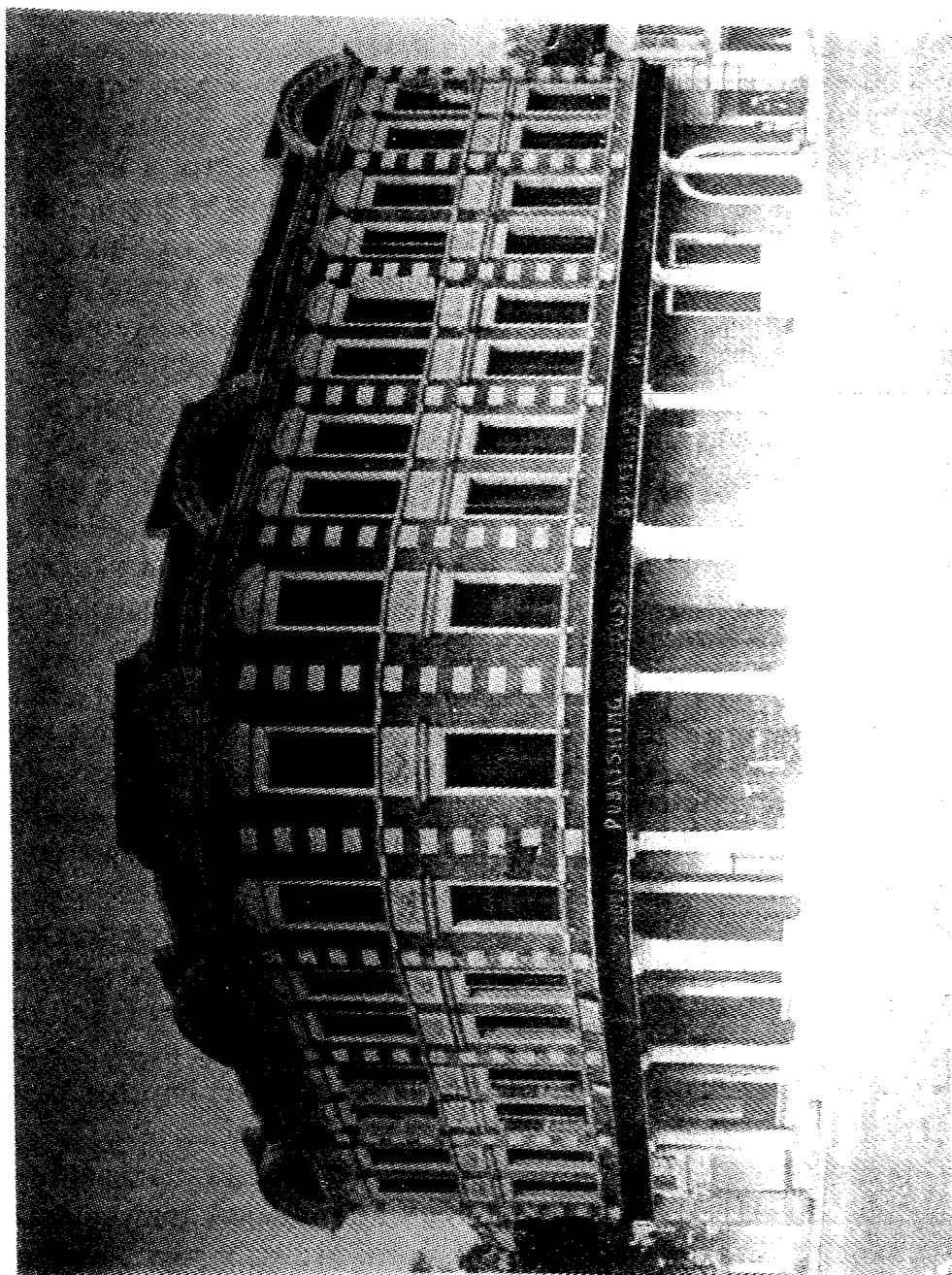
Shellabear notes in his autobiography that at first he attended the Anglican Cathedral in Singapore, but "that did not help me to get acquainted with Christian or missionary work in Singapore."⁴² However, he came to know Rev. J. B. Cook and his wife, Presbyterian missionaries among the Chinese, and through them Rev. and Mrs. W. F. Oldham. The Oldhams were pioneer Methodist missionaries to Singa-

pore. Before long Shellabear was worshipping regularly at the Methodist Church, and was drawn step by step into the missionary vocation. In 1890 he resigned his commission while in England, was married to Fanny Kealy, and returned to Singapore as a Methodist missionary. In keeping with his own interest in printing and the Malay language he began work at once setting up and operating the Mission Press, which eventually became the Methodist Publishing House and is now known as the Malaya Publishing House.⁴³

Almost immediately upon Shellabear's return to Singapore a committee had been set up to revise the Bible in Malay. It consisted of Bishop Hose, of the Anglican church, W. H. Gomes, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Shellabear. Its work proceeded slowly at first and in 1897 only the *Gospel of Matthew* had been published. After some 9 years of service as a Methodist missionary in Singapore (1890 to 1899) Shellabear was hired by the Bible Society to be chief reviser and to work full time preparing a translation of the New Testament, as had been requested by Bishop Hose and others.⁴⁴ By this time Shellabear had already printed several tracts in Malay, as well as a brief run of a Malay magazine. In 1904 the New Testament was completed after four years of full time work. In this project he was helped by Dr. H. L. E. Leuring and Bishop Hose, who proofread and corrected his work.⁴⁵ During 1901 Shellabear also received help from another source, one which tied his work to that of his predecessors. Over a week period he had the opportunity to consult with Dato Dalam of Jahore for several hours each day on "various questions of Malay language and literature". According to Shellabear, Dato Dalam was one of the sons of Munshi Abdullah.⁴⁶

The preparation of this new translation became mired down in sometimes acrimonious disputes with two sister providers of Malay Christian literature, the Netherlands Bible Society and the Methodist Publishing House. Shellabear and his collaborators all suffered from Malaria and other tropical diseases from time to time, necessitating delays in work. But these delays could not compare with the institutional wrangles which became inevitable as various parties (The Bible Societies, the Methodist mission, The Anglican Church, and the British Colonial Government) asserted their interests. From the time that the Bible Society hired Shellabear until his eventual completion of the Old Testament in 1909 there were a series of negotiations and disagreements between the Bible Society and the Methodists over pay, compensation for work, and furlough costs.⁴⁷

A more serious dispute raged over the eventual spelling of the Romanized version of the New Testament. The British government was introducing a new standard spelling, and the Bible Society, supported by Bishop Hose, wished to use this spelling. The missionaries, and Shellabear himself, much preferred the spelling standard established by the Mission Press, and put forth several arguments in its favor. The first of these was that the government standard was not yet established, and that waiting would delay publication. (As it turned out, this was true). Secondly they argued that the mission spelling gave a truer phonetic rendition of Malay sounds, particularly vowels. Thirdly they pointed out that the bulk of Christian, and other literature, was published in the mission spelling. (This applied to secular literature as well, as the Mission Press was a major printer in Singapore at the time). Finally they noted



Methodist Publishing House, Stamford Road, Singapore.

that the Romanized Bible would be used by Chinese and Indians who were educated in the mission schools and thus were familiar with the mission spelling. This final point should not be overlooked as a stimulus for future investigation, for it was strongly asserted that in as much as the government had no interest in educating people other than Malays it should not seek to impose its language standards outside the government run schools for Malays.⁴⁸ The core of the spelling issue was the representation of vowels which are ordinarily not shown in Jawi, particularly in the first syllable of a word (*tetepi*, *kepala*, *dengan*, spelled in the mission spelling *ttapi*, *kpala*, and *dngan*.) A compromise using an apostrophe between these consonants was ultimately unacceptable to everyone. A final agreement made provision for both spelling systems to be used, with guarantees that there would not be competition in sale of the New Testaments. In essence this agreement gave the Methodist Publishing House the right to print the new translation in its own spelling after a fixed period, as long as the price of the MPH version was no cheaper than the Bible Society version.⁴⁹ In the long run the government spelling prevailed, and later editions used it exclusively.

A much longer running and more difficult dispute, which became focused only when work on the Old Testament was begun, regarded the need for any new translation whatsoever. Although the dispute often focused on linguistic issues and mission strategy it also revealed how commercial concerns could overshadow the need for cooperation. The essence of this issue was how the creation of a new translation of the Bible would affect the use of the Klinkert and Leidekker versions in Indonesia, and how it would affect the sale of unused stock. These problems emerged when in 1905 the decision was made by the Bible Society to prepare a revision of Klinkert's Old Testament.⁵⁰ Initially the Netherlands Bible Society agreed without hesitation to allowing the revision. Their agent in Jakarta, Mr. L. J. van Wijk, was not so enthusiastic, pointing out that he would gladly allow the BFBS to distribute some of his unsold stock on the peninsula.⁵¹ Ultimately the arguments revolved around the suitability of the Indonesian versions for Malaysia, as well as their high cost. The spelling of the Roman script versions of both Klinkert and Leidekker was far different than that used in the British controlled areas. Only Leidekker was available in Jawi, and the unsuitability of this version from a linguistic standpoint had been long sense accepted by the BFBS, although not by the Netherlands Bible Society.⁵² Moreover, it was still printed in four volumes at a high cost. The BFBS was having its work printed in Japan at considerably less cost.⁵³ These facts, and a scathing criticism of Klinkert's Malay, were communicated to the Bible Society by Shellabear in response to Wijk's questioning of the need for a revision.⁵⁴ Indeed, eventually Shellabear decided that an acceptable version of Klinkert would amount to a new translation, and this is what he undertook to write.⁵⁵ This translation was completed in 1909 and published in 1912 despite continuing problems over spelling (eventually only a Jawi text was published) and protests from the Netherlands Bible Society.⁵⁶

That there were already plans being made for a Bible in the Dutch roman spelling before the protests had died down over competition of the new Jawi with the older Dutch versions may give some insight into the very fundamental misunderstandings between the two Bible Societies.⁵⁷ It seems clear that the BFBS felt it had a role sup-

porting the missions of the British churches, even if they were located in territory controlled politically by the Netherlands. Apparently the Netherlands Bible Society felt otherwise, and did not welcome help which looked all too much like competition. Given this history of cooperation (or lack of it) between the BFBS and the Netherlands Bible Society it is scarcely surprising that the eventual agreement to produce a "union" version of the Bible ran into difficulties from its inception.

The essence of the necessary revisions from Shellabear's point of view were:

"1. Chapters and verses to follow the English RV (ed. Revised Version). 2. Titles to the Ps. (ed. Psalms) to be omitted. 3. RV marginal notes to be inserted at the foot of the page. 4. Klinkert's text to be compared with the RV and altered where there is any important difficulty in rendering. 5. The phraseology to be altered throughout as far as necessary to make it intelligible in the Peninsula and to bring it into general conformity with the style adopted by the N. T. Revision Committee, especially in such matters as (a) the spelling of proper names; (b) the disuse of literary words and phrases rarely or never met with in conversation...; (c) the exclusion of "court words" such as *sema-yam*, *bersalin*, etc; (d) the substitution of Malay words for such foreign words as are not in common use. e.g. *jahat* for *fasek*, *rumah* for *bait*, etc.; (e) *Tuhan* to be used in the place of *Allah* for El and Elohim when followed by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *Tuhan* and *ku* instead of *Allah-ku*. *Tuhan* to be used for Adonai and *Hu* or *Hua* for Yahya, as in Leydekker's version" and changes in the names of some books.⁵⁸

This brief list brings to light what in subsequent debate emerged as the three main issues: 1. failure of Klinkert to translate accurately (with the British judging by adherence to the Revised Version, which Klinkert never intended to follow) 2. The need for a version which both in vocabulary and idiom was accessible to the common Malay reader. 3. The use of vocabulary which would both appeal to, and not offend Moslem sensibilities. (The decision to use *Isa Almasih* instead of the *Yesus* preferred by the Dutch had already been made with regard to the New Testament.⁵⁹ Shellabear preferred this term and used it in almost all of the literature he wrote.)

Perhaps Shellabear's sensitivity to the difference between what he regarded as pure Malay and the various dialects of Malay can be traced to his realization that the Malay of the Straits Chinese constituted a distinctive dialect worthy of its own literature. In 1913 he wrote an article describing the difference between Straits Chinese Malay and Malay. In 1904 Shellabear worked cooperatively with Tan Cheng Poh to translate *A Pilgrim's Progress* into Baba Malay. Not surprisingly he willingly supported the call of other missionaries to produce a New Testament in Baba Malay in 1907.⁶⁰ Previously the only Scripture particularly for the Straits Chinese was the *Gospel of Matthew* written by a Presbyterian missionary named Miss McMahon.⁶¹ The Bible Society eventually agreed and a Baba New Testament was prepared and printed in 1913, again after the usual wrangles over spelling. In this case, however, questions of remuneration were simplified. It had been agreed that Shellabear would work as a Methodist missionary and be paid by the Methodists. The Bible Society

would pay a fixed fee to the Methodist Mission in consideration for his services after the Old Testament was finished.⁶² Thus there were no quarrels if Shellabear spent his time on literary projects other than the Old Testament. It should be noted that Shellabear may not have done the bulk of translation. The main burden appears to have fallen upon Chew Ching Yong, who accompanied Shellabear from 1907 to 1913.⁶³

Chew Ching Yong was not the only local person involved in Shellabear's translation work. Like Thomsen and Keasberry before him Shellabear was indebted to his Malay teachers and proofreaders. Such was the concern that the eventual version be readable that Shellabear suggested hiring a "common Malay" to read the final translation and comment upon it.⁶⁴ Shellabear was also helped for some five years (1904—1909) by Guru Sleiman, a teacher at the Normal School in Malacca. He also cooperated with Guru Sleiman in other literary works.⁶⁵ The Bible Society encouraged this use of native speakers of the language in translation work, a change from the time of Abdullah when such cooperation had to be hidden. But it must be noted that the various Malay proofreaders, secretaries, and printers received no more public credit for their work than had Abdullah. No doubt the focus of our historical interest would be considerably sharpened if we knew more about these people who were often far more in the center of action than the Europeans whose names fill most of the historical records.⁶⁶

The involvement of local people in the translation work is really only part of the larger question of why the translations in the first years of the 20th century were prepared at all and who they were prepared for. Of course there were linguistic reasons. But Shellabear himself was often only minimally involved in outreach to the Malay population, and few other missionaries seem to have pursued this work. Distribution of literature seems to have taken place on a random basis through colporteurs, and had no measurable effect. The schizophrenic understanding of the role of the Malay Bible demonstrated in the varying viewpoints of Hose and Shellabear continued right through the second world war. Bibles could potentially be used in almost every kind of church work, but aside from Shellabear's ideas about what was necessary in the Malay context there seems to have been little analysis of which was being best served by what. A good example is the use of *Isa Almaseh* in the *Baba New Testament*. Surely this term was not a necessity among the Straits Chinese.

Shellabear himself continued an interest in more purely literary matters related to the Malay language and seems to constantly have been in contact various Malay teachers and European experts. He prepared numerous editions of classic Malay works, including one of the *Malay Annals* which is still in print. He also wrote many books and poems in Malay, even a history of Methodism. His two long renditions of the gospels in verse form are particularly beautiful: *Verses on the Kingdom*, and *Verses on the Loving Prophet*. Perhaps it was this work, and his own growing reputation as an expert in Malay language and literature, which led to his stubborn insistence upon the superiority of his own translation of the Bible as the basis for producing a "union version" for both the Dutch and British colonies in Malaya. However, as the Dutch were quick to point out, He had been absent from Malaya for over 10 years before work on the union version was even begun. Shellabear had been forced to leave Malaysia for health reasons in 1916, and taught at Drew University, and then Kennedy School of Mission from 1926 onwards. At the Kennedy School of Missions, he

Het H. Euangelium

Beschreven door

M A R C U M.

Dat eerste Capittel.

- 4 Joannis predikende ende doopende in de woestijne, 7 geeft getuygenisse van Jesu, 9 ende doopt hem, 12 daer na Jesus versocht van den Satan, 14 verkondicht het Euangelium in Galilea, 16 roept tot hem de Visschers, 23 geneest de beketene, 29 ende de schoon-moeder Petri, 32 ende meer andere, 40 ende reynight den Melaetschen.



ET begin des
Euangeliums
JESU CHR-
ISTI, des Soons
Godts.

2 Ghelijck
geschreven is inde Propheten/ Siet/
ick sende mijnen Enghel voor uw'
aenghesicht / die uwen wegh voor u
henen bereyden sal.

3. De stemme des roependen in
de woestijne / Bereydt den wegh des
Herren/ maect sijne paden recht.

4 Joannes was doopende in
de woestijne / ende predikende den
Doop der bekeeringe tot bergevinge
der sonden.

5 Ende alle het Joodtsche landt
gingh tot hem upt / ende die van Je-
rusalem: ende wierden alle van hem
gedoopt in de riviere de Jordaan/ be-
lijdende hare sonden.

6. Ende

Euangelium Vlkadus

Menjurat kepada

M A R C U M.

Jang bagij Bermula.

- 4 Ioannis meng-rewajat daan memandi dalam
utan, 7 berisakxi dari Iesum, 9 daan me-
mandi akan dia, 12 komodiun Iesus ber-
tisjuba dari Seitan, 14 ber-rewajat jang
Euangelium dalam Galilea, 16 ber-pangil
akan jang orang memukat, 23 ber-sumbuh
akan Seitan, 29 daan mintua Petri,
32 daan berbagi lagi, 40 daan ber-sumbuh
akan sakir-kadel.

1



Tula jang mula-
han Euangelium
JESU CHR-
ISTI, jang Anak
Allah.

2 Sepertijadi
menjurat kepada Nabbini: liatla, aku
menjuruh pen-juru-ku de dapan muka-
mu, siapa ada ber-adir d'jalan-mu di-
hadapan mu.

3 Suaranja siapa ber-pangil dalam
utan (jadi) beradir-la jang raja Tuhan,
berbetul akan d'jalan-n'ja.

4 Ioannes ya dalam utan meman-
di, daan me-rewajat, mandihan akan
ber-balik kepada ma-af dosia.

5 Makka kaluar kapada dea sega-
la Nagri Iahudi, daan dean'ja dari Irru-
salim, daan menjadi samuanja bermandi
dari dia kadalam sung-cy bernamma
Iurdaan, meng-akuwi akan dosa-n'ja.

R

6 Mak-

Br. 28. *Mattheo pounja*

12 Macca sedang diorang souda bacampon dengan orang-touwa touwa, daen calou diorang souda bitsjara samma samma, diorang souda bri pada orang soldado pera banjac.

13 Diorang pon catta, Catta-la, mourit mourinja souda datang pada malam, daen souda mentjsouri dia, sedang cami tidor.

14 Macca calou itou jaddi dengar derri Jure-pegang-negri, cami adda adjarken dia, daen boat agar djouw orang tida tsjinta.

15 Diorang pon souda ambil pera itou, daen souda boat seperti diorang souda adjar padanja macca cattahan ini jaddi bertjserita de antara orang Jehoudi sampei hari ini.

16 Sa blas mourinja pon souda pegi de negri Galilea, capada gounong itou nang Jesu souda bri tau padanja :

17 Macca mannacalla diorang liat padanja, diorang souda menjomba capada Dia, Tetapi barang orang jaddi bimbang hati.

18 Macca mannacalla Jesu datang capada diorang catta catta padanja, cattanja, Pada Ako jaddi bri segalla cauwassja dallam Surga daen de atas boumi.

19 Tagalitou pegi-la, adjar-la segalla Orang manusia, daen bermandi diorang dallam Namma Bapa, daen Annac, daen Spirito Sancto : daen adjar pada diorang pegang segalla itou nang Ako souda souro pada djouw orang.

20 Macca liat-la Ako tingal de antara djouw orang sedecalla hari sampei soudahan dunja. Amin.

Soudahan derri Mattheo pounja Euangelio.

J E.

Br. 1.

Euangelio.

Fol. 66

J E S U C H R I S T O

pounja

E U A N G E L I O

jang

M A R C U S

souda Tertoullis.

Brentihan nang Bermoula.



1 Toula jang moulanja derri Jesu Christo jang Annac Deos pounja Euangelio.

2 Seperti jaddi tertoullis dallam Nabbi Nabbi-ni : Liat-la, Ako souro Ako pounja souroang adapan djouw pounja mouca, jang adda hadirken djallan-mou de mouca-mou.

3 Jang Jure bateria pounja suara de dallam rimba, Hadirken Tuan pounja alamang, betul-acan djallan djallanja.

4 Joannes souda baptisâar de dallam rimba, daen dia pregoar jang baptismo pada toucar hati agar orang berole ampon dooffa.

5 Macca segalla negri Jehoudi souda callouwar capada dia, daen orang derri Jeruschalim : daen diorang samoa jaddi baptisâar derri dia dallam songei Jordaen, daen diorang souda mengaco dooffa dooffanja.

6 Joannes pon souda packei boulou-onta, daen
i 2 fatou

Brower, 1668

was on the editorial board of *Moslem World*.

Discussions between the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts and the Netherlands Bible Society regarding the need for new editions of the Bible, and more unified work in publication, began 1924, at least in part at Shellabear's urging. Various suggestions for combining the Shellabear and Klinkert versions were made, or for assigning them distinctive places in the overall strategy of Bible provision. In 1929 an agreement was reached in which the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts, Bible Society of Scotland, and the Netherlands Bible Society would establish a translation team, under Rev. Werner Bode, to prepare and revised Bible.⁶⁷ The team was charged to consult all three versions in use, Shellabear, Leidekker, and Klinkert. The formation of this team showed clearly the interests of each Bible Society. The Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts insisted on the presence of a Peninsular Malay. (A post filled by Ehe Mashohor, a Perak native who had helped Shellabear with his *Dictionary*.⁶⁸) The Dutch insisted on the presence of islanders from Ambon and Minahasa, with Javanese dialects already represented in the form of Dutch proofreaders who had worked in Jakarta.⁶⁹ Unfortunately the large, representative, and learned group ultimately assembled did not guarantee a smooth process of translation. That this should be so was largely the fault of Shellabear, who, it can be said from an unbiased standpoint, did everything possible to scuttle the project he himself had initiated. In 1934 Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, a member of the project, responded to criticisms by the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts concerning delays in the project by pointing out that they were primarily caused by Dr. Shellabear's delays in proofreading and his continual criticisms of the project and its results.⁷⁰

The essence of Shellabear's criticisms was simple: the language being used was too heavily influenced by the Malay dialects found in Indonesia, and by the earlier work of Klinkert and Leidekker. That this was absolutely essential to a version which it was hoped could be used throughout the archipelago does not seem to have weighed much with him. His insistence was on what he regarded as the pure Malay of Melaka and Johore, the Malay of his own Bible.⁷¹ He also was adamant about the use of language which would appeal to Moslems, insisting on the use of *Isa Almasih* instead of *Yesus Kristus* and other changes.⁷² Back in the archipelago Bode was facing criticism from churches in the Moluccas and Minahasa that he was paying too little attention to their linguistic needs.⁷³ Shellabear's criticisms of Bode's scholarship were simply unjust. But it must be noted that in a fight Shellabear could be hasty in his comments. He accused Klinkert of being out of touch with colloquial Malay. And was then gently reminded that Klinkert's wife was an Indonesian who spoke only Malay and Javanese. Eventually the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts actually considered withdrawing from the project, despite positive comments on the translation by authorities such as R. O. Winstedt and H. R. Cheeseman.⁷⁴ While the need to honor the previously made agreement kept them involved, they agreed to continue to publish Shellabear's Bible in Peninsular Malaysia.⁷⁵ This was largely at the request of Robert Blasdell, Shellabear's son in law. Blasdell had carried on Shellabear's work of producing Malay Christian literature, and eventually oversaw the republication of much of Shellabear's work after the second world war. Publication was delayed three years (1935—1938) due to Shellabear's opposition.

Unfortunately Bode's work was never finished, as World War II halted work

on the Old Testament. Bode himself (a German) had been interred by the Dutch at the beginning of the War. The ship carrying him to Britain was sunk by the Japanese while he was being transferred to India and the partial set of the Old Testament manuscripts was lost. Fortunately Mrs. Bode had a draft translation of the books *Genesis* through *Ruth*, and *Psalms*. The latter was published in 1947.⁷⁶ The Indonesian Bible Society re-published Bode's New Testament with a revision of Klinkert's Old Testament in 1958 as a stopgap measure while a newer translation was prepared.⁷⁷ But in a real sense the second world war marked the end of the third era of Bible translation. Despite their agreements Bode and Shellabear shared in common a style of Malay described by later scholars as "Hikayat" style.⁷⁸ A consequence of moves towards independence in both Indonesia and Malaysia was the creation of "national" languages with uniform standards of grammar and pronunciation. The rapid development of Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia simply left the older translations out of date. Changes in the political and religious situations also played a role in creating a need for new translations. Older translations had used the word *jajahan* for territory or area, but the association with *penjajahan*, colonialism, gave the word negative connotations in post independent Malaysia and Indonesia. Bible societies all over the world drew back from using *Isa Almasih* for Jesus after World War II, both because it conveyed a false meaning in the context of the gospel, and because its use by Christians was offensive to some Moslems.⁷⁹

Developments in the translation of the Bible into Bahasa Indonesia in the 1950's and 1960's are beyond the scope of this brief essay. In the same period in Malaysia a radical transformation was taking place with regard to the use of the National Language for Christian literature. The two major thrusts of Christian work in Malay had been work among the Straits born Chinese, and among the Malays. But the former group was no longer dependent upon literature in Baba Malay. The younger generations spoke English, and most Straits Chinese congregations were absorbed into English language churches. Both legal considerations and sensitivity to Malay feelings brought a halt to evangelistic work among the Malay people by most churches, especially in the Peninsula. The need for Malay Christian literature shifted to a need for Bahasa Malaysia literature to serve the upcoming generations of Christians who would be educated in the national language. Developments in the Methodist church are perhaps representative of this transformation. The "Malay Language" committee was phased out in the early 1960's to be replaced by a "National Language" committee. Supplies of tracts and other outdated literature in both Jawi and Roman script were destroyed.⁸⁰

These internal developments were complimented by the promotion by the United Bible Societies of the "dynamic equivalence" model of translation, first used to prepare the *Today's English Version of the Bible*, more commonly known as *Good News for Modern Man*. In light of all of these considerations the Bible Society of Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei decided in 1969 to commission a new translation of the Bible into Bahasa Malaysia.

The simplest definition of the dynamic equivalence method of translation is that given in *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, in effect, that the form of the original versions gives way to the forms of the receptor language so that the meaning of the original

can be understood by readers of the receptor language. But it must be understood that “form” here means more than simply sentence structure. Where terms in the original language do not exist in the receptor language equivalent terms from the receptor culture are sought.⁸¹ The work of creating a translation by this method was begun in 1970 in Singapore. Rev. E. T. Suwito was the chief translator. His work was reviewed and revised by a committee which included: Barclay Neuman, Matthew Finlay, Daniel C. Arichea and representatives of various denominations. The first edition of the New Testament (*Perjanjian Baru, Today's Malay Version*) translation came out in 1974, and again in 1976 after some revisions. At the same time work was begun on the Old Testament and completed in 1981. The Old Testament was published only in 1987 with the New Testament in the Alkitab (Today's Malay Version) by the Bible Society of Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei. In Indonesia the complete version of *The Bible in Today's Indonesian Version* is now available. The committee which prepared it included many of the same people who were involved in the Today's Malay Version, including Dr. Arichea and Dr. Barclay.

No doubt as the definition of “idiomatic” Bahasa Malaysia continues to evolve there may be the need for further new translations. And just as the dynamic equivalence method has not recommended itself to all modern translators of the Bible into English, so perhaps there will be a time when the Bible is translated into Bahasa Malaysia according to other principles. But then this may not be necessary. One thing which strikes the author is that once spelling difficulties and some vocabulary problems are overcome even Leidekker's translation is not particularly inaccessible to a modern reader.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Developments in the translation of the Bible revolve around these considerations: 1. The establishing of the standards of the language (including vocabulary, grammar, and spelling). 2. establishing the appropriate ways of using the language to communicate Biblical ideas within the culture. 3. the targets and means of distribution. The historical survey presented indicates that the following forces shaped the developments which lead to the modern Bahasa Malaysia Bible: 1. the large number of related dialects of Malay, their geographical distribution as related to political boundaries in the colonial era, and the difference between spoken and written Malay. 2. The linguistic ability of the translators with regard to both Malay and the original languages of the Bible. 3. Their understanding of the cultural milieu in which they worked, and their understanding of which cultural milieu they were translating for. 4. The relationships between the various institutions involved, including governments. 5. Changes in the political, social, and cultural environment.

It is premature, and beyond the author's present capability, to judge the quality of the actual translations which emerged during nearly four hundred years of effort. Nonetheless this needs to be done. The translations will certainly be one guide to how fluently the early missionaries could communicate with those whom they sought to convert. Moreover, in the early period Bibles (especially Leidekker's) were an integral part of literacy training programs and were standard school reading texts.

Perhaps this even explains why Leidekker remained a favourite. It may not have been written in a language most Indonesians spoke. But it quite possibly helped define the language that literate Indonesians of the 18th and 19th centuries learned to read. From its publication until the beginning of the 19th century it was an oft-used textbook in Christian schools in Indonesia.⁸² Christian literature did not play any such a formative role in Malaysia, even in Christian schools. In today's context a whole set of related questions arise, for the modern translation must communicate in a culture (Malaysian Christian culture) which is not yet formed, and which does not yet have Bahasa Malaysia as an integral aspect. In a sense the translation has preceded the development of a body of users. Its impact upon the Bahasa Malaysia spoken in the churches will be interesting to see. Presently the widespread use of the Indonesian Alkitab has had a marked effect on the development of some types of Christian literature, which contain many indonesianisms.

History itself raises intriguing questions, and suggests directions for further study. The Dutch East India Company involvement in the early Dutch mission is well known, still it would be interesting to know why direct translation from the State Bible of the Netherlands was a reason for the Company to reject Valentine's translation. The broader issue of relationships between various Bible Societies, and other mission groups, in places like Sumatra and Java where the Methodist mission crossed international boundaries have yet to be examined historically.

Perhaps one of the most pressing practical issues concerns the use of loan-words from Arabic and Persian which entered Malay (and thence Bahasa Malaysia) through the Islamization of the Malay people. Christians should recognize that the necessity of using these words to adequately express Christian concepts should alert us to the fact that there are points of contact between cultures which are distinctly religious in nature. The Christian use of Bahasa Malaysia in the future represents, as it always has, a major point of contact between Christianity and Islam in Malaysia, and is thus a subject demanding serious and sustained attention.

Some Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

- ¹ *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, Vol. 2, p. 385.
- ² *Harta Dalam Bejana*, Thomas van den Ende, BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1982 p. 220.

- 3 *The History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, William Brown, A. Fullarton & Co., Edinburgh, 1823. pp. 664-665.
- 4 van den Ende, loc. cit., p. 220.
- 5 W. Brown, loc. cit., p. 664.
- 6 *The Hikayat Abdullah*, Abdullah Bin Abdul Kadir, trans. A. H. Hill, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, p. 104-106.
- 7 "Baba Malay. An Introduction to the Language of the Straits-born Chinese." W. G. Shellabear, *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 65, 1913, p. 36.
- 8 *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 1982, p. 28.
- 9 Ibid, p. 28; van den Ende, loc. cit., p. 221.
- 10 Ibid, p. 28, van den Ende, loc. cit., p. 221. It is not stated in these sources why this version of the Dutch Bible was unacceptable.
- 11 Ibid, p. 28.
- 12 *A History of Protestant Missions in Malaya During the 19th Century*, J. H. Haines, Th.D. Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton New Jersey, p. 96.
- 13 *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, M. C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve, Oxford University Press, 1977.
- 14 Hill, loc. cit., p. 106.
- 15 Ricklefs and Voorhoeve, loc. cit., p. 105.
- 16 Ibid, p. 109-112.
- 17 "The London Missionary Society: A Written Record of Missionaries and Printing Presses in the Straits Settlements, 1815-1847", Leona O'Sullivan, *JMBRAS*, Vol. 57 # 2, 1984, p. 83.
- 18 Ibid, pp. 71-74.
- 19 Ibid, p. 83.
- 20 Haines, loc. cit., p. 150.
- 21 Hill, loc. cit., p. 131-135.
- 22 Haines, loc. cit., p. 221, 269.
- 23 O'Sullivan, loc. cit., p. 72.
- 24 Haines, loc. cit., p. 79.
- 25 Hill, loc. cit., p. 294.
- 26 Haines, loc. cit., p.
- 27 This reputation may be deserved. Beighton published a highly inflammatory and offensive tract in Malay in Penang and it was well enough understood by the Malay population that it sparked a protest to the governor. At least Beighton managed to get a response to his distribution of Christian literature. Haines, loc. cit., pp. 238-245.
- 28 O'Sullivan, loc. cit., pp. 95-96.
- 29 Hill, loc. cit., p. 289.
- 30 Haines, loc. cit., pp. 282-286.
- 31 *A History of the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts*, Vol. 2, p. 403, Vol. 3, p. 429-433.
- 32 Hill, loc. cit., p. 19.
- 33 *A History of the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts*, Vol. V, p. 161.
- 34 *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, loc. cit., p. 28.

- 35 Ibid, p. 29.
- 36 *H. L. Klinkert's Malay Bible*, Ian Reese Forbes, University of Auckland, 1979, pp. 27-28.
- 37 Ibid, p. 29.
- 38 *Bible Society Minutes*, (The Editorial/Translations Sub-Committee. In the Bible Society Archives, Cambridge University Library), dated 24-7-01
- 39 Ibid, 8-11-05
- 40 Ibid, 27-11-01 and 6-10-09
- 41 *The Life of the Rev. W. G. Shellabear, D.D.*, an unpublished autobiography in the Shellabear Papers at the Hartford Library, # 78840, pp. 1-29.
- 42 Ibid, p. 39.
- 43 Ibid, pp. 30-37.
- 44 *Historical Catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scriptures*, T. H. Darllow and H. F. Moule, London 1903-1911, p. 1046.
- 45 *Minutes*, loc. cit., 24-7-01
- 46 *The Life of the Rev. W. G. Shellabear, D.D.*, loc. cit., p. 57, The son of Abdulla mentioned would seem to be Mohammed Ibrahim, a writer at the Court of the Maharaja of Johore. (Hill, loc. cit., p. 20) 47 *Minutes*, loc. cit., 23-12-03.
- 48 For a complete rehearsal of the entire controversy refer to the *Minutes* of the years 1902-1910. See especially 26-11-02, 24-6-03, 26-10-04, 15-3-05, 7-6-05
- 49 Ibid, as above.
- 50 Ibid, 8-11-05
- 51 Ibid, 8-11-05
- 52 Ibid, 8-11-05
- 53 Ibid, 9-12-08
- 54 Ibid, 9-5-06, 28-11-06
- 55 Ibid, 28-11-06
- 56 Ibid, 9-4-13
- 57 Ibid, 9-12-08
- 58 Ibid, 8-11-5
- 59 Ibid, 6-12-11
- 60 Ibid, 9-1-07
- 61 *A History of the Bible Society of Britain and Foreign Parts*, Vol. V, p. 161.
- 62 *Minutes*, 8-6-07 Not that this ended all problems with money. Mr. C. E. G. Tisdell noted in March of 1909 that the many calls for revision by Methodist missionaries, who usually also called for publication rights in the mission spelling to be given to the Methodist publishing house, were suspicious considering the Methodists had no actual work among the Malay people. As mentioned earlier, the commercial interests of the MPH were more than a little affected by Bible Society decisions. The question of why anybody wanted to continually produce Bibles and literature for the Malays, considering the utter lack of interest in other forms of ministry or evangelism, is one taken up in my study: "The Role of the Methodist Church in Malaysian Society, 1885-1968." (unpublished paper to be presented at the University of Malaya, 23-9-88).
- 63 Shellabear, loc. cit., p. 88.
- 64 *Minutes*, 3-10-06, 8-6-07

- 65 *Shellabear*, loc. cit., p. 63.
- 66 Another names to be noted: Phan Yang Whatt, typesetter and evangelist to the Malays from Sarawak, (*Shellabear*, loc. cit., p. 38).
- 67 *Minutes*, 15-8-23 until 6-2-29
- 68 *Ibid*, 9-9-31
- 69 *Ibid*, 6-2-29, 3-7-29
- 70 *Ibid*, 6-3-35
- 71 *Ibid*, 3-1-34
- 72 *Ibid*, 5-4-39
- 73 *Ibid*, 3-1-34
- 74 *Ibid*, 1-5-39, 4-4-34
- 75 *Ibid*, 1949, date unknown.
- 76 *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, loc. cit., p. 29.
- 77 *Ibid*, p. 30.
- 78 *The Bible Translator*, UBS Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1954, pp. 130-136.
- 79 For arguments from both sides of this issue in the 1950's see "Should we use the Terms 'Isa and Beta'", D. A. Chowdhury, *The Bible Translator*, January, 1953 pp. 26-27, and "On the Use of the Name 'Isa'", by L. Bevan Jones, *The Bible Translator*, April, 1953, pp. 83-85. For a more complete discussion of some problematic terms in the Malaysian context there is *A Consideration of Some Basic Linguistic, Cultural, and Theological Problems in the Analysis and Communication of the Biblical Message through Translation in a Malaysian Milieu*. An unpublished M.Th. Thesis, by Rev. E. T. Suwito.
- 80 Soweto, loc. cit., pp. 98-109. *Malaya Annual Conference Journal*, Reports of the Malay Language Committee and National Language Committee, 1955-1973.
- 81 *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, p. 32. For a more complete definition see Soweto, loc. cit., pp. 1-30.
- 82 *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, loc. cit., p. 30.

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Cambridge University Library, Bible Society Archives.

Houghton Library, Harvard University, Papers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.