

# Celebrating 400 Years of Ruyl's Malay Translation of Matthew's Gospel

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## Abstract

This paper offers the linguistic, historical, and ecclesiastical background surrounding the first Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel prepared by the Dutch trader Albert C. Ruyl. It examines the characteristics of his translation, including his use of religious loanwords from Arabic, Portuguese, and Sanskrit, his coining of local terms to render biblical terms for new or foreign concepts, and his cultural adaptations of unknown biblical plants and animals for the sake of the intended readers.

## Keywords

Function (*skopos*); lingua franca; loanwords; theological terms; cultural adaptation

## Preface

I believe I had the privilege of meeting Roger Omanson for the first time at the United Bible Societies Triennial Translation Workshop in the village of Kolumpari, Chania, on the island of Crete, Greece, in May 1981. Roger is an avid biblical scholar who has authored numerous articles and a number of UBS Handbooks; he is especially noted for his book *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament*. Yet he is down to earth and always interested in his colleagues and friends as people. Roger enjoys entertaining with his “magical” tricks. But most of all, he has a keen interest in humanity and social justice. I will always remember Roger's devotion on the topic of biblical saints during the UBS Global Revision Workshop in Heliopolis, Cairo, 2007.

This paper on the 400th anniversary of the completion of the first ever translation of Matthew's Gospel into Malay by Albert C. Ruyl is dedicated to Roger to honour him at his retirement, with much appreciation for his friendship, scholarship, and commitment to Bible translation into the vernaculars across the globe.

## Introduction

It is fitting that we celebrate the 400th anniversary of the first portion of the Bible in the Malay language. The translation of Matthew's Gospel into Malay was completed in 1612—just one year after the English King James Version was published.

This translation is very significant. The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and the United Bible Societies (UBS) note this historic event as follows: “The first Malay Gospel, printed in 1629, is significant as the earliest example of the translation and printing for evangelistic purposes of a portion of the Bible in a non-European language” (Nida 1972, 269). The translator was Albert Cornelisz Ruyl. His Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel is the earliest attested translation into an Asian language. There were reported earlier attempts to translate the Bible into other languages of Asia, including Chinese (eighth century), Mongolian (fourteenth century), and Japanese (seventeenth century), but there is no existing evidence to attest to this work and no copies remain (Soesilo 2007, 163–64).

Original copies of Ruyl's Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel, printed as a diglot edition with Dutch, are now found in the Public Library of Stuttgart, Germany, and in the British Library in London. Although it only contains Matthew's Gospel, the full title, in Dutch and Malay, is *Het Nieuwe Testament, dat is het nieuwe verbondt onzes Heren Jesus Christus, in Nederduitsch ende Maleisch naar der Grieksche waarheit overgeset; Iang Testamentum Baharu, arti-n'ja: jang d'jand'ji baharu dari Tuhanku Jesu Christi: bersalim kapada bassa Hulanda daan bassa Malaju, seperti jang adillan bassa Gregu* (“The New Testament, meaning the new promise from my [Dutch, our] Lord Jesus Christ: translated to Dutch and Malay, as in the truth of the Greek language”; Swellengrebel 1974, 11).<sup>1</sup>

This brief article will look at the linguistic, historical, and ecclesiastical background surrounding Ruyl's Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel and the characteristics of the translation. The quotes from Ruyl's original edition will be slightly adjusted in terms of orthography for readability, including the use of “s” in place of the original Gothic letter that resembles the present day “f” (only in medial position), and by dropping the diaeresis above some instances of “i,” dropping the special character above “u,” and

<sup>1</sup> Although Swellengrebel maintained that the original publication could not be found, I sought help from Dr. Boyd L. Daniels, then the librarian of the American Bible Society in New York, to find a copy of Ruyl's original translation in preparation for the 360th anniversary celebration of the translation sponsored by the Indonesian Bible Society. In 1989, Dr. Daniels successfully located the original publication at the Public Library in Stuttgart, Germany. Cf. Swellengrebel 2006, 12ff.

dropping the apostrophe (') in words such as *arti-n'ja* and *d'jand'ji*. The Scripture references are all from Ruyl's translation. Sometimes the verse numbering differs by one number from many modern English, Indonesian, and Malay versions.

## Linguistic and historical background

Beginning in the seventh century, the Malay language became a lingua franca in major parts of Southeast Asia, in the countries now called Indonesia, Malaysia, and even parts of the Philippines. Various dialects of Malay were used as a first language in the east coast of Sumatra, in Riau, in peninsular Malaya such as in Malacca and Johor, and in some coastal areas of Borneo (now Kalimantan). Malay was also used as a trade or contact language in Batavia (now Jakarta), Semarang, Surabaya, Manado, North Celebes (now Sulawesi), Ambon, Maluku, and other places. Classical Malay was used in literature and in palace courts, vernacular Malay was used among the common people, and various kinds of pidginised low (*bazaar*) Malay became the trade or contact language in coastal areas. Low Malay assumed many forms, depending upon the various regional and European influences on the grammar and choice of vocabulary items.<sup>2</sup>

In 1600, just six years after the first Dutch ship sailed to what is now Indonesia, Ruyl, a junior trader of the multinational Dutch East Indies Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, VOC) landed in Indonesia. He studied the Malay language in Sumatra. After producing a Malay grammar, *A Mirror of the Malay Language* (*Spiegel van de Maleise Tale*) in 1611 and translating a summary of the teachings of the Reformed Church, he then translated the Gospel of Matthew, finishing his translation in 1612. In 1629, Ruyl's translation was printed in Enkhuizen (one of the key ports of the VOC in West Frisia, the Netherlands) by Jan Jacobszn Palenstein. It was a diglot, with Dutch in the left column, using Gothic script, and Malay on the right, using Roman script (Soesilo 2001a, 46–47).

It is important to understand that Ruyl's translation was done in the context of the relationship of the VOC, the State Government, and the Dutch Reformed Church, which all reflected the Calvinistic theocratic ideals of seventeenth-century Netherlands. As expressed in Article 26 of the Dutch Confession of Faith, the State was to protect the holy service of the Church, and to suppress and destroy all idolatry and false religion. Hence the contract of the VOC with the Dutch Government included protecting and maintaining public faith, including the faith of local women whom the VOC men

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<sup>2</sup> See Soesilo 2007, 164.

married, as well as their children. These marriages were recognised by the Dutch Reformed Church and therefore these families would need instruction in the faith using the lingua francas of the day, Malay and Portuguese (de Vries 2005, 18–19).<sup>3</sup> In other words, the function (*skopos*) of Ruyl's translation was for use in church services and in the VOC-sponsored schools for the multi-ethnic Reformed communities in the East Indies, including the local people employed by the VOC (de Vries 2005, 19).

The Amsterdam Church records of 1612 showed that the then Governor General of Ambon, Frederik de Houtman, found that Ruyl's translation used a number of Malay words common in palace courts but too difficult for average readers, who used Malay as a contact language. So Houtman exchanged some of Ruyl's words for easier Malay words, for simple people who lived in Ambon (Swellengrebel 2006, 12). This kind of audience-focused strategy is in line with the intended *skopos* of the translation. So the approach was pragmatic. In fact it contributed to the creation of the so-called Church Malay (*Kerk-Maleis*), a variant of Malay commonly used among Malay-speaking congregations in VOC regional centres in Batavia (Jakarta) and in Ambon (de Vries 2005, 26).

As Ruyl's translation was functioning to meet the needs of instruction in the faith, the publication included the Ten Commandments,<sup>4</sup> the songs of Zechariah, the Angel, Mary, and Simeon, the Apostles' Creed, a few Psalms<sup>5</sup> and hymns, the Lord's Prayer and other prayers, including prayers for before and after the sermon, and the benediction.

Ruyl continued with the translation of Mark's Gospel, which was published with the presumably revised version of Matthew in 1638. An edition combining Ruyl's Matthew and Mark with Luke and John (translated by Jan van Hasel, revised by Justus Heurnius, and first published in 1646), plus Heurnius's translation of Acts, was printed as one book in 1651. This was followed a year later by the printing of the Psalms in Malay, prepared by van Hasel and Heurnius. After the translation of Genesis, printed in 1662, a theologically trained Dutch Reformed minister, Daniel Brouwerious, went on to produce the first Malay translation of the complete New Testament in 1668; and Dr. Melchior Leijdecker's translation of the Malay Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, was published in 1733.

<sup>3</sup> Another factor was the fact that the VOC failed to keep Dutch as the official language of the East Indies.

<sup>4</sup> There are two versions of the Ten Commandments: the first one is to be sung, and the second one is for some form of public reading.

<sup>5</sup> Including Psalm 151, which it calls the "Apocryphal Psalm."

## Characteristics of Ruyl's Matthew

Although the title of Ruyl's Matthew publication claimed that the translation was made from the Greek—*jang adillan bassa Gregu* “the truth of the Greek language”—it was most likely largely based on the Dutch Deux-Aes version, which had been popular in the “Low Countries” (the Netherlands) since 1561.<sup>6</sup> Ruyl also followed closely the text divisions and section headings from the Deux-Aes version.

One thing to note is that Ruyl was free in his use of religious loanwords from Arabic, Portuguese, and Sanskrit that were available in the Malay of the day. Just like other translators of his time, the association of the loanwords with Islam, the Catholic Church, or Hinduism did not seem to bother Ruyl (de Vries 2005, 23–24).

Among a number of Sanskrit loanwords, it is interesting to note the use of *arta* “treasures” in 2.11, and in the compound words *arta-bindara* “treasures-goods” (6.19, 20).

The prominent Portuguese loanwords in Ruyl's translation include *krus* “cross” (27.32, 40, 42); *baptista* “the Baptist” (11.12, or variously *babtista*, 11.11, or *Baptista*, 17.13); and *Euangelium* “the Gospel” (4.23; 9.35; 24.14; 26.13).

An interesting Arabic loanword is *bermumin* “blessed,” which is used throughout the Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount (5.2–11), and in the beginning of the Lord's Prayer (6.9):

Bappa kita, jang berdudok kadalam surga:  
bermumin menjadi akan namma-mu  
“Our Father who dwells in heaven,  
hallowed be thy name”

Most notably, Ruyl set the direction for Malay and Indonesian Bible translations when he selected *Allah* as the translation for God. This Arabic loanword, *Allah*, is the cognate of the Hebrew names of God, *El*, *Eloah*, *Elohim*, in the Hebrew Old Testament, and *Alaha* in Aramaic. Arab Christians from before the origin of Islam have been praying to *Allah*, and *Allah* was used by Christian theologians writing in Arabic. So the Christian usage of *Allah* predates Islam. In addition, *Allah* is the name of God in the

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<sup>6</sup> One example is the rendering of “Son of God” in Matt 8.29. Though the oldest and best Greek manuscripts read simply  $\nu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  “Son of God,” the editions available in Ruyl's day (essentially the Textus Receptus) insert  $\text{'}\text{I}\eta\text{σο}\acute{\upsilon}$ . Ruyl's Malay reads *Iesus Anak Allah* “Jesus Son of God,” but was he following his available Greek edition(s), or the Dutch Deux-Aes version? The latter seems likely since he also follows the text divisions and section headings of the Dutch version.

old Arabic Bible and the modern Arabic Bible (Today's Arabic Version). Thus, Christians in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, and other places in Asia and Africa where the languages have been in contact with Arabic, have been using the word *Allah* as the name of the Creator God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In Malay and Indonesian, the word *Allah* has been used continuously since the very first printed edition of Ruyl's Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel (1629), in the first complete Malay Bible (Leijdecker, 1733), in the second complete Malay Bible (Klinkert, 1879), and up to the present (Thomas 2001).<sup>7</sup>

The following are the compound words containing the name *Allah* as used in Ruyl's Matthew:

*Anak Allah* "Son of God" (4.3, 6), or *anak Allah* "son of God" (14.33; 16.16);  
*kanak Allah* "children of God" (5.9) (*kanak* as the plural form of *anak*)

*Ruh Allah* "Spirit of God" (3.16) or *ruah Allah* "spirit of God" (12.28)

*Beitul Allah* "Temple of God" (12.4) or *beitul Allah* "temple of God" (21.12)

*sabda Allah* "commandment of God" (15.3, 6)

*Radjat Allah* "kingdom of God" (6.33)

*bukan jadi Allah mauti, tetapi jang hiduppiani* "not the God of the dead but of the living" (22.32)

*Allah Israil* "the God of Israel" (15.31)

*Allah Ibrahim, Alla Isaaki, daan Allah Iacubi* "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (22.32)

We also have the word *Allah* followed by the grammatical ending *-i*:

*Allahi* "divine" (16.23)

*halarad Allahi* "throne of God" (5.34), or *halarad Allah* "throne of God" (23.21)

*djalan Allahi* "way of God" (22.16)

*kawassahan Allahi* "power of God" (22.29)

<sup>7</sup> See Schumann 1992; Soesilo 2001b. Note also the all-inclusive definition of *Allah* in the Indonesian Dictionary *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (4th ed.; Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008), 42–43: "Allah: Nama Tuhan dalam bahasa Arab, pencipta alam semesta yang mahasempurna; Tuhan yang Maha Esa yang disembah oleh orang yang beriman" ("The name of the Lord in Arabic, creator of the universe who is most perfect; the Lord, the one and only God who is worshipped by people of faith" [my translation]).

There are also occurrences of the word *Allah* followed by the Arabic nominative suffix *-u*:

*Emanuel, artinja Allahu serta segala kita* "Immanuel, which means God is with us" (1.23)

*Christus Anak Allahu* "Christ Son of God" (26.63)

We also have an instance of the word *Allah* followed by a possessive particle for the first-person singular *-ku* "my":

*Allah ku, Allah ku, karna appa-mu tingalkan aku?* "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (27.46)

Although most likely standardisation of spelling had not yet occurred even in Europe, it is worth pointing out from the above examples the inconsistencies in spelling, such as *ruh* and *ruah* for "spirit," *Allah* and *Alla* for "God," *halarad Allah* and *halarad Allahi* for "throne of God"; or in the examples below, *surga* and *sorga* for "heaven," *surgani* and *sorgani* for "heavenly," *hokum* and *hokkuman* for "jurisdiction." There are also variations in capitalisation, including *beitul* and *Beitul*, *Anak Allah* and *anak Allah* shown in the examples above; as well as words with both spelling and capitalisation variations: *raidja* and *Raydja* "king."

Below are the three different ways that the verb "to pray" was translated into Malay:

Bersumba (6.5)

Menjumba (6.5, 6, 9; 14.23; 26.36, 39)

Menjamba (26.44)

Moreover, there are numerous inconsistencies and variations in the renderings of a number of key theological terms, such as the term for "kingdom of heaven," which is a prominent theme running through Matthew's Gospel. Quite unlike the translation policy in the mother church in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, which demanded consistency in the one-for-one rendering of key theological terms, Ruyl used four Malay terms:

Radjat surga "kingdom of heaven" (5.10; 10.7; 13.31, 33; 18.1)

Radjat surgani "heavenly kingdom" (5.19; 13.11, 24, 45, 47, 52)

Radjat sorgani "heavenly kingdom" (5.19, 20)

sultanu sorga "sultanate of heaven" (3.2)

sultanu surga “sultanate of heaven” (18.23; 25.1)  
 sultanu surgani “heavenly sultanate” (19.12, 14)  
 hokkuman surga “jurisdiction of heaven” (5.3)  
 hokum-sorgani “heavenly jurisdiction” (4.17)  
 hokkuman surgani “heavenly jurisdiction” (13.44)  
 Makuta surgani “heavenly kingdom [literally territory of the Crown]” (7.21;  
 11.11–12)

Here are the renderings for “the Gospel of the kingdom” and the “message of the kingdom” in Ruyl’s translation:

Euangelium sultani “sultanate Gospel” (9.35)  
 Euangelium surgani “heavenly Gospel” (4.23; 9.35)  
 rawajat surgani “the message of the kingdom” (13.19)

Even for the few occurrences of “Kingdom of God” in Matthew’s Gospel, there are three different renderings:

*Radjat Allah* “kingdom of God” (6.33)  
*Radjat Allahi* “kingdom of God” (21.43)  
*Radjat surga Allahi* “kingdom of God’s heaven” (19.24)

There are also inconsistencies in rendering the various terms for kings, governors, and emperors:

*Raidja Herodus* “King Herod” (2.1)  
*raidja daan sultaan* “governors and kings” (10.18)  
*Sultaan* “emperor” (22.21)  
*Kuta Raydja sultaan* “city of the great King” (5.35)

It is interesting to note the combination of the three nouns in the ending of the Lord’s Prayer (6.13) in Ruyl’s translation:

Karna mu ampunja hokkuman, daan kauwassahan, daan berbassaran sampey kakakal, Amin.

“For yours is the jurisdiction, and the power, and the greatness forever. Amen.”



There are also variations in spelling and terminology in the name of John the Baptist. The root verb which Ruyl selected for “baptise” was *mandi* “bathe” (3.14).

*Ioannus mandihan* “John the Baptist” (3.1)

*Iuannes mandihan* “John the Baptist” (14.2, 8; 16.14)

But he is equally prone to use a borrowed word, as noted above.

There is considerable confusion in Ruyl's renderings of the related terms for the Devil, Satan, demons, and the tempter. “Devil,” Greek δiάβoλoς, that is the leader of evil spirits and forces, also called Satan, was translated as *seitan* “demon” in 4.1, 8, 11. Only in 4.5 was it translated correctly as *iblis* “Devil.”<sup>8</sup> “Satan,” in Greek Σατανᾶς, which is another name of the Devil, was also translated as *seitan* “demon” in Ruyl's translation.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, “demon” (Greek δαιμόνιον), which is an evil spirit with the power to harm people or to control a person's body and mind and is regarded as a messenger or a servant of the Devil, was translated correctly as *seitan* in 7.22; 9.34; 10.8; 12.27–28; 13.39, but is spelled *sietan* in 12.24.<sup>10</sup> “The Tempter” (Greek ὁ πειράζων) was translated correctly as *iblis* in 4.3.<sup>11</sup> Ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα “unclean spirit” in 12.43 was translated *ruah nadjis* “unclean spirit.”<sup>12</sup>

We must note Ruyl's ingenuity in coining local terms to render biblical terms that introduce new or foreign concepts or are merely transliterations of foreign terms, such as the Aramaic “Mammon”:

*berbaiki badan* for “repent,” literally “to fix body” (3.2; 4.17)

*ruti manis* for “unleavened bread,” literally “sweet bread” (26.17)

*sepertihan* for parable, literally “a simile” (13.31, 33)

<sup>8</sup> Devil (4.1, 5, 8, 11; 13.39) is rendered as *Iblis* in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik*, and the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru and Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini.

<sup>9</sup> Satan (12.26) is translated as *Iblis* in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik*, and the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru and Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini.

<sup>10</sup> Demon (7.22; 9.34; 10.8; 12.24, 27, 28) is rendered as *setan* in the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru, and *roh jahat* “evil spirits” in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik* and the Indonesian Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini.

<sup>11</sup> “Tempter” (4.3) is translated as *Iblis* in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik* and in the Indonesian Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini, as *pencoba* “tester” in the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru first edition, but *penggoda* “tempter” in the second edition of the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru New Testament.

<sup>12</sup> “Unclean spirit” (12.43) is rendered as *roh jahat* “evil spirits” in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik* and the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru and Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini.

*kajahan* for “Mammon,” literally “riches” (6.24)

*Nabbi-sala* “false prophets” (7.15)

*Saksi sala* “false witness” (19.18; cf. Indonesian Terjemahan Baru *dusta*)

*Sakxi-nakal* “perverse [literally naughty] witness” (26.60–61)

Just as in the modern meaning-based translations, Ruyl consistently added *Nabbi* “Prophet” as a modifier in front of the names of the prophets:

*Nabbi Esaias* “Prophet Isaiah” (3.3) with diaeresis above the “i”

*Nabbi Esaiam* “Prophet Isaiah” (4.14; 8.17; 12.17; 13.14; 15.7) sometimes with diaeresis above the “i,” sometimes without.

Incidentally, in Ruyl’s usage, the plural form of *nabbi* is *nabbini* (2.23; 5.12; 23.29–30; 24.36).

Ruyl used quite a graphic term to translate eunuchs: *kambiri*, literally “castrated”:

*de kambirikan manusea* “made eunuch by human,” literally “castrated by human”

*mekambirikan dirinya* “made oneself eunuch,” literally “castrated oneself” (19.12)

It is most interesting to observe that, unlike in the translation strategies of the mother church in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, Ruyl was bold enough to provide cultural adaptations of unknown plants and animals found in the biblical text for the sake of the intended readers.

So, “fig” was translated as *pisang* “banana” (7.16); and “fig tree” was rendered as *puhoon pisang* “banana tree” (21.19–21; 24.32). However, this substitution creates a challenge for understanding the rest of 24.32, “As soon as its twigs get tender and its leaves come out, you know that summer is near,” because a banana tree has no branches or twigs that become tender to indicate that summer is near (de Vries 2005, 24).

Ruyl also substituted *harimau* “tiger” for the wolves (Greek λύκοι) that are mentioned in 7.15 and 10.16. As a matter of fact, “ferocious wolves” was rendered as *harimau nakal* “evil tigers” (7.15): *Lalu-mu dari Nabbi-sala, siapa datang kapada mu dangan pakajian domba, tetapi hatinja seperti harimau nakal*, “Watch out for false prophets who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but in their hearts they are like evil tigers.”

In addition, “foxes” (Greek ἀλώπεκες) in 8.20 was translated as *plando* “mouse deer,” which in Malay fables are known as witty and sly animals.<sup>13</sup>

## Conclusion

Ruyl completed a monumental work in translating Matthew's Gospel into Malay. He translated this Bible portion with diligence and pragmatism. From his translation strategies, we can conclude that his focus was always on the intended audience, the Malay-speaking church members and the VOC schools in the East Indies of the seventeenth century. For all the weaknesses of his translation, it was definitely functional in meeting the needs of those who were comfortable in Malay as the contact language of the day.

Based on the *skopos* of the translation, Ruyl did not hesitate to use some of the Arabic, Portuguese, and Sanskrit loanwords available in Malay for his Bible translation. His decision to use the word *Allah* for God set a precedent for later Bible translations into Malay and Indonesian, just as *Allah* has been used from the first Arabic Bible translation till now.

Ruyl was also bold enough to differ from the translation policy of the Reformed Church in his motherland. He was ready to use various simple and ordinary terms to render a number of key biblical and theological terms. He was also prepared to make cultural adaptations of biblical plants and animals not readily known to his Malay audiences.

As for the inconsistencies in spelling and what seem to be unnecessary variations, we do not have enough evidence to conclude whether they were simply inconsistencies or typographical errors on the part of Ruyl, or due to the subsequent corrections that were done by Governor General Houtman, or to the fact that there was no copy-editor or stylist to do the final check of the full manuscript, or whether some of these inconsistencies in spelling were introduced at the typesetting stage before printing. Bear in mind that the translation was done almost four centuries before the dawn of computers and the use of modern Bible translation software with checking tools to help us avoid such inconsistencies.

In other words, Ruyl's translation of the Gospel of Matthew in Malay, completed in 1612 and printed in 1629, is truly a pioneer in Bible translation. All subsequent Malay and Indonesian Bible translations, including modern ones, can look back with much gratitude to their common

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<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, “foxes” was translated as *serigala* “wolves” in the Malay *Alkitab Berita Baik* and in the Indonesian Bahasa Indonesia Masa Kini and Terjemahan Baru first edition, but the Arabic loan word *rubah*, which corresponds to Middle Eastern foxes, was used in the second edition of the Indonesian Terjemahan Baru New Testament.

beginning, to the seed that was planted four centuries ago. It has continued to sprout with new shoots and has brought about fully grown trees whose fruit has become the staple food for all those who use Malay and Indonesian as their language of worship—both first speakers and those who acquire it as their *lingua franca*.

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