

**THE HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION  
OF THE FIRST SIAMESE BIBLE**

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OF THE FIRST SIAMESE BIBLE**

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**“Master of Arts”**

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## **Abstract**

### **The History of the Translation of the First Siamese Bible**

The translation of the Siamese Bible was done in stages. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Catholic translation work emphasized story telling, and Christian doctrine, together with some Bible translation. In 1828 Protestant missionaries arrived, and set their minds on the translation of a complete Siamese Bible. Three different mission agencies worked in friendly rivalry on the NT. A Baptist finished the first NT in 1843, but the completion of the Siamese Bible around 1885 was largely the work of missionaries from the Presbyterian Mission.

Next to translation the most essential tool was the printing press. Whereas the Catholics printed the first book inside Siam in the Siamese language using Roman script, the Protestants introduced modern printing in Siamese script.

The translation and printing of Bible stories both as retold narratives and as Scripture aided the proclamation of the Good News in 19<sup>th</sup> century Siam. The books were mostly given away free and, as was customary at the time, were read aloud. In this way the Gospel reached the community and the royal court, but with little or no outward result. Merchants on rice boats also took the printed books to otherwise unreachable corners of the Kingdom, and to the countries beyond.

This thesis describes how translation and distribution work was done and what kind of linguistic questions had to be addressed. Further research could profitably focus less on history and more on translation matters, investigating how in the 20<sup>th</sup> century translation committees representing various denominations worked on revisions and new translations of the Thai Bible.

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## List of Abbreviations

### Societies:

ABB	American Baptist Board	renamed as
ABM	American Baptist Mission	
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	
AMA	American Mission Association	
ABS	American Bible Society	
PBFM	Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions	renamed as
APM	American Presbyterian Mission	
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society	
UBS	United Bible Societies	

### Magazines/Reports/Book Abbr.:

MR	Missionary Register (for details see Bibliography)
BMM	Baptist Mission Magazine (for details see Bibliography)
RBFM	Records of Board of Foreign Mission (for details see Bibliography)
REAMS	Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam (for details see Bibliography)
(McFarland, nn)	refers always to Samuel Gamble McFarland (for details see Bibliography)
(McGilvary: [signature])	refers to signature of book at McGilvary Theological Seminary, Chiangmai, Thailand library



# Chapter 1

## 1. Scripture Translation, Part of the Great Commission - a Biblical View<sup>1</sup>

### 1.1 Internal Evidence

There is no biblical command to “translate.”<sup>2</sup> But there is the command “write.”<sup>3</sup> Because the Scripture does not command to translate the Bible into other languages scriptural evidence can only be general. Genesis 1-12 shows that God reveals himself to all humanity regardless of family or tribe (GEN 4:30). When God chose his covenant people (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) he had the salvation of the nations in mind (GEN 12:3; 26:4). The Psalms proclaim God as the universal God, the almighty creator and the one who saves (PSA 19:1-6; 33:6-7; 65:5; 67:4). The prophetic writings emphasize the “Servant of God” who will be the “light to the nations” (ISA 42:1-9; 49:6).<sup>4</sup> Acts, as a New Testament document, is the book that shows how the proclamation of the Gospel left the confinement of Jewish culture and worship, and by using the common languages of its day it reached the imperial capital Rome. Finally the apostles and the new Jewish believers reached beyond all kinds of borders as Jesus commanded it on the day of his ascension (ACT 1:8; 11:19-21).

### 1.2 External Evidence

The basic text of the Bible has been written in more than one language. Since the whole Bible was written down over a period of more than 1000 years the question of translation came up even before collection or canonization of all the Old Testament books were finished.

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<sup>1</sup>All Bible references, word counts etc. given if not stated otherwise are according to New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). Abbreviations of biblical book names are according to United Bible Societies standard format code, e.g. GEN for Genesis, see list in Appendix V.

<sup>2</sup>The word “translate” occurs only as “translated” and “translation” in EZR 4:7, 18.

<sup>3</sup>The word “write” occurs 71 times.

<sup>4</sup>Peter Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort: Theologie der christlichen Mission. Band 1: Die Bibel in der Mission* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1996), 22-23.

The largest part of the Old Testament is in Hebrew language, a smaller part of it in Aramaic<sup>5</sup> and the whole New Testament is written in Koine Greek<sup>6</sup> which was the common language of the first century. With the translation of the Hebrew/Aramaic Old Testament into Greek, the Septuagint, the stage was set for the acceptance of the New Testament message in the whole Mediterranean world.<sup>7</sup> There must have been a felt need to translate the Hebrew Bible into the Greek language. It is not recorded, what kind of discussion the scribes have had and how they reached the conclusion to translate the Holy Scriptures into a sort of common language which became the Septuagint or as it is called in its abbreviation LXX. The base text of the New Testament has been written in Greek with some phrases transmitted in Aramaic and Hebrew in order to emphasize the point of high drama like “Talitha kum, ephphatha”, and the citation of PSA 22 from the cross. The writers of the New Testament did not hesitate to write down the sayings of Jesus in a language he probably hardly used, when he was among his native people. However, it should be noticed that the Galilee of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. was a bilingual area, and it is generally reckoned that Jesus probably understood Greek, and quite likely spoke it at least at market level, since he communicated with

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<sup>5</sup>JER 10:11; DAN 2:4-7:28; EZR 4:8-6:18, 7:12-26. “The oldest trace of the Chaldee [Aramaic] is in GEN 31:47”. C. F. Keil, Introduction to the Old Testament, Volume 1, trans. G. C. M. Douglas (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869 ; reprint, Peabody: Hendrickson Publisher, 1988), 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ancient Greek language are known in many forms and dialects, for example: 1) Homeric Greek in which the saga of the same name was written 2) Classical Greek, as found in the writings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes etc. in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. 3) Hellenistic Greek which includes Koine Greek and means common, a sprang up after the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The New Testament writings are written in this type of Greek. 4) Besides these forms of Greek there existed many dialectal variants represented in for instance the 5<sup>th</sup> century writings of Herodotus.

<sup>7</sup>Peter Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort: Theologie der christlichen Mission. Band 1: Die Bibel in der Mission*, Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1996, 24-25. [original is in German, translation by author] “The translation of the Septuagint was not only meant as a book for cult and worship in the synagogues of the hellenized Jews of the Diaspora. Many Jews used it to advertise their religion among their non-Jewish social neighborhood and among the philosophically educated. In the form of the Septuagint, the Old Testament part of the Bible advanced to become a book which passed on the faith and a continuously increasing number of non-Jews became proselytes or Godfearers and part of the Jewish cult community. The Septuagint also gained a spiritual power in the world of late antiquity. With a monotheistic world view and high ethical standards it came in a time of declining and decadent polytheism. Both monotheism and high ethical standards influenced a society which was losing its religious base. So the spreading of the Greek Old Testament prepared for the later victory of the Gospel in the Mediterranean world.”

centurions and with Pilate. It might be concluded that it was the purpose of God and the Holy Spirit to proclaim the Good News in a language understood by a large part of the people living inside the borders of the Roman Empire. So the Koine Greek New Testament might be called the first “Common Language” New Testament. But more important: there is no such thing as a holy language of the Christian faith. But as history has proved time and again, certain translations of the Bible have been regarded as “holy” and “untouchable”, and it has always been a bold step to change this attitude. Some who dared to take this step paid with their lives.<sup>8</sup> Even today a first translation of a Bible is generally regarded as sacred by the receiving audience. The notion of revising a first Bible translation must be introduced very wisely. As stated in an article about theology and translation:

“In many parts of the world, the Bible as the Word of God is identified with a particular translation; in such cases, further translation becomes an almost impossible endeavor.”<sup>9</sup>

## **2. Bible Translation and the Modern Mission Movement**

### **2.1 A Brief Review of Bible Translation Work up to the Seventeenth Century**

#### **2.1.1 Early Old Testament Translations**

The first translation of a part of the Bible is the Old Testament translation into Greek, the *Septuagint* (LXX). Its origin goes back to the legend found in the Letter of Aristeas.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>8</sup>Tony Lane, “William Tyndale and the English Bible”, in *The History of Christianity*, ed. Tim Dowley (Berks: Lion Publishing, 1977), 370 “... He was unable to complete the Old Testament because he was betrayed and arrested near Brussels in 1535. In October 1536 he was strangled and burnt. ...”

<sup>9</sup>Daniel C. Arichea, “Theology and Translation: The Implications of Certain Theological Issues to the Translation Task”, in Philip C. Stine, *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church, The Last 200 Years*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992), 50.

<sup>10</sup>R. J. H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas, a New Translation and Introduction", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 2*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985), 7-34.

legend has been further developed by Jews and Christians.<sup>11</sup> It is safe only to assert that the translation of the LXX started in the first part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>12</sup>

The *Targum*<sup>13</sup> is a kind of translation which became necessary as the Aramaic language developed to the common language of the Jewish people. At first, it was only an oral translation of the Hebrew text and might go back to NEH 8:8.<sup>14</sup> Later in many places it was put into writing. No authorized version of the Targum exists.

The *Peschitta* or *Simplified Translation* is a Syriac Translation of the Old Testament. The origin of this translation can not be traced anymore. It seems that it was influenced by some of the Targum translations and also by the LXX. It was probably translated for the first time during the middle of the first century A.D.<sup>15</sup> and finished with the New Testament in the fifth century.<sup>16</sup>

### **2.1.2 Early Bible Translations up to the Year 1000 A.D.**

The translation of the Bible into languages other than Greek started very early in the Christian era. There were initial translations done into Syriac, Coptic<sup>17</sup> and Latin around A.D. 200.<sup>18</sup> Between 300 and 550 A.D. complete translations of the Bible into Gothic, Armenian,

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<sup>11</sup>Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testamentes*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1973<sup>4</sup>, 53 .

Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament. An Introduction to Kittel-Kahl's Biblia Hebraica*. Translated by Peter R. Ackroyd, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957, 35. (McGilvary 221.4 W297T).

<sup>12</sup>(Würthwein, 1973<sup>4</sup>, 54. English Translation [ET], 36).

<sup>13</sup>(Würthwein, 1973<sup>4</sup>, 80-86. ET, 56-59).

<sup>14</sup>(Würthwein, 1973<sup>4</sup>, 81. ET, 56-57).

<sup>15</sup>(Würthwein, 1973<sup>4</sup>, 86-89. ET, 59-61).

Bruce M. Metzger, *The Bible in Translation, Ancient and English Versions*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 25-29.

<sup>16</sup>Geddes MacGregor, *The Bible in the Making*, (Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1959), 86 "Though the date of this version is uncertain, it was in all likelihood done between 411 and 435".

<sup>17</sup>(Bruce, 35-37).

<sup>18</sup>(MacGregor, 1959, 84)

Georgian,<sup>19</sup> Geez,<sup>20</sup> a language of Ethiopia, and Latin followed, and around 800 A.D. another Latin and various primitive translations into English and German.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.1.3 Bible Translations before A. D. 1517**

While English translation work was hindered by Norman influence,<sup>22</sup> the time between A. D. 1000 and the Reformation was a period of translations under way in other parts of Europe. The Old Church Slavonic<sup>23</sup> was the Bible translation done from the 9th century on, and is still the official text of the Orthodox churches in for instance Bulgaria, Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, and probably Serbia and Macedonia too. Also in Low German, Italian, Catalan and Czech as all being done before 1500. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century John Wycliffe (c. 1330 to 1384) restarted the process of English Bible translation.<sup>24</sup>

### **2.1.4 Bible Translations before 1700 A. D.**

The desire for the reform of the churches in Europe included a desire to have the Bible in the local languages. So at least parts of the Bible was translated into Italian (1471), French (1474), Czech (1475), Low German (1475), Dutch (1477), Catalan (1478), Slavonic (1491), Portuguese (1505), Spanish (1514), Polish (1522), Danish (1524), English (1526), Swedish (1526), Hungarian (1533), German (Luther 1534), Icelandic (1540), Slovenian 1555, Welsh (1567), Finnish (1548), Romansch (1560), Irish, Romanian (1553), Nipmuk or Algonquin<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>(Bruce, 38-44).

<sup>20</sup>G.A. Mikre-Sellassie, *The Early Translation of the Bible into Ethiopic/Geez*, in *The Bible Translator*, (Technical Papers Vol. 51, No. 3 July 2000), 302-316.

<sup>21</sup>Appendix I, Table-1.

<sup>22</sup>F. Gladstone Bratton, *A History of the Bible, An Introduction to the Historical Method*. London: Robert Hale Limited, 1959, 188. (McGilvary 220.09 B824H). "... (The complete absence of translation from Aelfric to Wycliffe, a period of some 350 years, is explained by the Norman influence throughout that period, which was naturally unfavorable to any attempt to convert the Scripture into English) ...". Also (Bruce, 56): "The Norman conquest of England (A. D. 1066) marked the end of the production of Scripture translation into Anglo-Saxon and Old English. ...". See Appendix I, Table-2.

<sup>23</sup>(Bruce, 47-50).

<sup>24</sup>(Bruce, 56-58).

<sup>25</sup>In G.S. Wegener, 164-165, ET 259, this language and translation is named Nipmuk (1663). Contents

(1663), Latvian (1637).<sup>26</sup> By the year 1800 complete Bibles in about 60 languages were available. In its statistic, dated 9<sup>th</sup> February 2005, United Bible Societies counted complete Bibles in 422 languages.

## 2.2 Short History of the early Bible Society Movement

The well known story about Mary Jones happened in 1800. Mary's experience and the vision of many concerned Christians led to the Bible Society movement. It was its aim to put a Bible in every person's hands at an affordable price.<sup>27</sup> Long before Mary, in 1710 August Herrmann Francke<sup>28</sup> and Carl Hildebrand Freiherr<sup>29</sup> von Canstein had started a printing shop in Halle, Germany as part of the "Franckeschen Anstalten"<sup>30</sup> with the purpose of printing Bibles at a reasonable price.<sup>31</sup> They named it "Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt".<sup>32</sup> This Bible Society is regarded as the oldest Bible Society.<sup>33</sup> It was only after another 94 years in 1804

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of the title page: The Holy Bible: Containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated into the Indian Language, And Ordered to be Printed by the Commission of the United Colonies in NEW ENGLAND, for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Gresn and Marmaduke Johnson, MDCLXIII [1663]. It was the first Bible printed in North America. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Eliot\\_%28missionary%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Eliot_%28missionary%29) [31.03.2005].

<sup>26</sup>See also Appendix I, Table-3.

<sup>27</sup>(G.S. Wegener, 159-160, ET 251-252).

<sup>28</sup>Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Volume II (Grand Rapids: Harper & Row, paperback edition, 1975), 896.  
Stephen Neill, *Geschichte der christlichen Mission* (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1990<sup>2</sup>), 154.  
Stephen Neill, *Christian Missions, The Pelican History of the Church, A History of Christian Missions*, Volume Six (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964), 228. Latourette and Neill do not mention Bible printing and distribution and therefore omit Canstein.

<sup>29</sup>"Freiherr" translates "Count" and is used as part of the name.

<sup>30</sup>"Francke Institution" was set up, with an emphasis on orphaned children and their education. After 25 years the institution took care of 2200 children and employed 170 teachers. Günther S. Wegener, *Die Kirche lebt, Der Weg der Christen durch zwei Jahrtausende* (Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1963<sup>2</sup>), 257.

<sup>31</sup>Francke's printer came up with the great idea to put the whole Bible on brass plates and use it over and over again. This method is called the Sterotype-Method. The initial investment was high and given by the Count von Canstein. But since these plates could be used as often as needed Bibles became very cheap. Between 1712 and 1722 180.000 copies of NT's and full Bibles have been printed using this method. G.S. Wegener, *6000 Jahre und ein Buch*, (Wuppertal und Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1958/1985, (2. neubearbeitete) 1992<sup>11</sup>), 160.  
G. S. Wegener, *6000 Years of the Bible*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 254. (McGilvary: 220.09 W411).

<sup>32</sup>Canstein Bible Society.

<sup>33</sup>Peter Beyerhaus, *Er sandte sein Wort: Theologie der christlichen Mission. Band 1: Die Bibel in der Mission* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1996), 54, 111. Horst R. Flachsmeier, *Geschichte der evangelischen*

that the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded.<sup>34</sup> From 1812 on many small Bible Societies came into existence in Germany with the “Württembergische Bibelanstalt” at Stuttgart becoming the most important one, today’s German Bible Society. However, the “Württembergische Bibelgesellschaft” still exists as a local Bible Society under the roof of German Bible Society. In 1814 the Netherlands Bible Society was founded,<sup>35</sup> which was approached by Karl Gützlaff in 1830 and later in order to print his translations of Christian literature.<sup>36</sup> 1816 the American Bible Society was founded, and this society played the most important part in Thai Bible translation. In 1886 Dr. Luther H. Gulick was appointed as Bible Society Agent for China and as supervisor for the Bible work in Siam<sup>37</sup> which consequently

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*Weltmission*, (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1963), 201.

Arthur Mitchell Chirgwin, *The Bible in World Evangelism*, (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), 40. "... At any rate, before the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded Canstein House had printed over three million Bibles and New Testaments in various languages and dispersed them over Europe, America and even parts of Asia. ..."

Günther S. Wegener, *Die Kirche lebt, Der Weg der Christen durch zwei Jahrtausende* (Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1963<sup>2</sup>), 257.

<sup>34</sup>Horst R. Flachsmeier, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Weltmission*, (Gießen: Brunnen-Verlag, 1963), 201.

“Zwei Jahre später erfolgt die Gründung der Britischen und Ausländischen Bibelgesellschaft.” [gemeint ist das Jahr 1804]. G.S. Wegener, *6000 Jahre und ein Buch*, (Wuppertal und Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1958/1985, (2. neubearbeitete) 1992<sup>11</sup>), 159-160.

“Two years later, in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded.” G. S. Wegener, *6000 Years of the Bible*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 253. (McGilvary: 220.09 W411).

<sup>35</sup>*A Brief History of the United Bible Societies*, (<http://www.biblesociety.org/history.htm>), last update 17th April 1997, download date 05/27/1999.

<sup>36</sup>Herman Schlyter, Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China (Lund: C. W. Gleerup, 1946), 61. [original is in German, translation by author] “... 1 June 1830 he had asked the Tract Society of the Netherlands to sponsor the printing of two Siamese tracts; autumn 1831 the request was granted with 300.-Guilders. Concerning the Bible translation he had sent the manuscripts of the paraphrased work in Siamese to the Netherlands Bible Society in July 1830. He had built up constant contact with this society and asked for the funds to print his translations including the Cambodian and Laotian. 4 February he asked again. However the Bible society was careful - they judged that a translation could not be good enough after only three years in Siam and that huge amount of literature work accomplished. Only after another request the society approved the funds for printing Luke in 1833. The above mentioned Baptist missionary Jones had Matthew printed in 1835 and according to Wylie [remark by author: William Carey’s printer] Gützlaff’s translation of the Gospel of John has also been printed. ...”.

<sup>37</sup>Siam is the former name of Thailand. It was changed in 1939. Since this thesis covers the historical period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the author has decided to use the name Siam whenever this fits the historical context. According to: Kenneth E. Wells, *History of Protestant Work in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Church of Christ in Thailand, 1958), 4, both names might be used. However it should be noticed what is written in: Donald C. Lord, Mho Bradley and Thailand, (Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 1969), 21, “There is no word for ‘Siam’ in the Thai language and if the word ‘Siam’ ever had any real meaning for the Thai, it applied to the land, never the people. Somehow, and no one is quite sure how, Thailand became known in the West as Siam.”

led to a Siamese Agency of the American Bible Society in 1890 which eventually became the Thailand Bible Society.<sup>38</sup> Other Bible Societies sprang up in various parts of the world around that time, later, and up to the present day. Eventually on 9th May 1946 delegates from 13 countries formed the United Bible Societies (UBS). Today this fellowship consists of 126 national Bible Societies<sup>39</sup> working in more than 200 countries. Other Bible Societies not belonging to UBS and with different policies have also been founded and are working for the same purpose, translating, printing and distributing the word of God.

### 3. An Overview of Thai Bible Translation

The very beginning of Thai Bible translation is lost in history. However it is known that Karl Gützlaff used some manuscripts produced by missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>40</sup>

MacGregor gives a chart of Scriptures printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) between 1804 and 1955. Under Siamese he presents only the data which is relevant to the production and distribution of the BFBS.<sup>41</sup>

For much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century American missionaries from different denominations worked toward the completion of the first Siamese Bible. Two German missionaries also had an important part in the process translation and publishing, one at the beginning of the translation and one at the end. The missionaries were assisted by their Thai co-workers in the mission's printing shops.<sup>42</sup> Since the time of the first biblical book run on the press, thousands

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<sup>38</sup>Sandra M. Hawley, "5. Siam, 1861-1900", in *ABS History, Essay 15*, (Part V-F-5), F-5-3, F-5-5.

<sup>39</sup>*A Brief History of the United Bible Societies*, (<http://www.biblesociety.org/history.htm>), last update 17th April 1997, [05/27/1999].

<sup>40</sup>See Appendix, Table-4.

<sup>41</sup>(MacGregor, 381).

<sup>42</sup>The author did not come across any data of a Thai person involved in the translation work as such, as far as the first Siamese Bible is concerned. This does not prove, however, that there was no native Thai speaker involved. Only Gützlaff mentions his translation coworkers. Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China*, (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup: Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgard, 1946), 48-61.(Wells, 6).



of copies of Scripture portions were distributed until translation of the first complete Siamese Bible during 1885/86 was finished and the first one volume Thai Bible was printed and bound in 1894. The Thai Bible went through two revisions and a third one is under way at the time this thesis is being written. It is the aim of this thesis to bring to the light the work of the first Thai Bible translation accomplished with dedication and sacrifice to make the word of God known in the language of the people of Thailand, formerly known to westerners only as Siam.

## Chapter 2

### 1. A Short History of the Roman Catholic Mission in Siam

Catholic Mission goes back to 1544, when Antonio de Paiva reached Ayutthaya. An unconfirmed report says that King Jiraja converted and was baptized in the Christian faith and took the name of Dom João. However the first missionaries who have taken up residence in Siam were Friar Jeronimo da Cruz and Sebastião da Canto, both Dominicans, in 1567. Franciscans came in 1582 and the Jesuits in 1607.<sup>43</sup> In the year 1662<sup>44</sup> Portuguese priests arrived accompanying their sailors and soldiers as a source of spiritual help. Organized missions work unfolded under the “Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith” instituted by Pope Gregory XV forty years earlier.<sup>45</sup> The “Propaganda”, as it is commonly known, had a clear vision of what to do and what not to do. This was stated in a set of instructions which was sent out in 1659. These were not heeded by many generations of missionaries of every denomination, but would otherwise have done much good for the spreading of the gospel.<sup>46</sup> However the Roman Catholic Church did not follow these principles in two areas: language of liturgy<sup>47</sup> and celibacy of the clergy. Of these, the former

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<sup>43</sup>Surachai Chumsriphan, *A Brief History Of The Catholic Church In Thailand*, Newsletter of the District of Asia, Oct - Dec 2002, ([http://www.sspxasia.com/Newsletters/2002/Oct-Dec/Catholic\\_Church\\_in\\_Thailand.htm](http://www.sspxasia.com/Newsletters/2002/Oct-Dec/Catholic_Church_in_Thailand.htm)), [05/10/2005].

<sup>44</sup>(Wells, 5).

<sup>45</sup>Stephen Neill, *Christian Missions, The Pelican History of the Church, A History of Christian Missions, Volume Six*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1964), 178. (McGilvary 266 Nei). "... In the year 1622 ... on January 6, our Holy Father ..."

<sup>46</sup>"Do not regard it as your task, and do not bring any pressure to bear on the peoples, to change their manners, customs, and uses, unless they are evidently contrary to religion and sound morals. What could be more absurd than transport France, Spain, Italy, or some other European country to China? Do not introduce all that to them, but only the faith, which does not despise or destroy the manners and customs of any people, always supposing that they are not evil, but rather wishes to see them preserved unharmed. It is the nature of men to love and treasure above everything else their own country and that which belongs to it; in consequence there is no stronger cause for alienation and hate than an attack on local customs, especially when these go back to a venerable antiquity. This is more especially the case, when an attempt is made to introduce the custom of another people in the place of those which have been abolished. Do not draw invidious contrasts between the customs of the peoples and those of Europe; do your utmost to adapt yourselves to them." (Neill, 179).

<sup>47</sup>In 1615 Pope Paul V approved the use of Chinese in the liturgy and by 1666 all liturgical books had been translated into Chinese. But that attempt failed for various reasons. One reason was that Chinese priests

has been and the latter still is a binding principle regardless of the cultural setting.<sup>48</sup> With the decline of the global influence of Portugal and Spain, the focus of mission work shifted to France, especially because of the founding of the seminary of the “Société des Missions Étrangères” established in Paris. France actually advanced to the position of being, “the great Roman Catholic Missionary Nation.” Consequently missionaries to Siam during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century came only from France. Some of them had diplomatic credentials. As stated before, the Propaganda had a very clear set of principles, one of which was the aim to create bishoprics. For some legal reasons the bishops were not called bishops but apostolic vicars. The apostolic vicar appointed in 1637 for Cochin-China, as parts of South-East-Asia were called at that time, was Pierre Lambert de la Motte.<sup>49</sup>

The aim of the mission was to work towards the conversion of the King of Siam to Christianity<sup>50</sup> and eventually win over the whole country. In order to accomplish that aim, diplomatic means were used to convince King Narai to agree to be instructed in Christianity. King Narai was open to and friendly with foreigners, but he never considered changing his religion.<sup>51</sup> The whole plan came to an end with the passing away of King Narai in the year 1688 since this was the language used at the seminary at Ayuthaya, Siam. (Neill, 190-191).

The decision to have this seminary in Siam seems to be because of the fact that Siam was the most secure place for missionaries at that time, since Buddhism was and still is known for its great tolerance. But as a matter of fact Siam was not yielding many converts.

<sup>48</sup>(Neill, 209)

<sup>49</sup>(Neill, 180-181)

<sup>50</sup>Michael Smithies ed. *The Siamese Memoirs of Count Claude de Forbin 1685-1688*, (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1996), 26-27. E. W. Hutchinson, *1688 Revolution in Siam. The Memoir of Father de Bèze, s.j.* (Hong Kong: University Press, Hong Kong, Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990<sup>2</sup>), 35.

<sup>51</sup>The Roman Catholic Envoy of the French Embassy coming to Siam realized in time that the King of Siam had no intention to convert to Christianity and therefore was not willing to stay behind when the French Embassy was ready to depart. The original plan had been for him to stay on in case the King wanted serious instruction in Christianity which would be finalized with his baptism. Chevalier de Chaumont and Abbé de Choisy, *Aspects of the Embassy to Siam 1685 being Alexandre de Chaumont, Relation of the Embassy to Siam 1685 and François-Timolé de Choisy, Memoranda on Religion and Commerce in Siam and Reflections on the Embassy to Siam*, edited and in part translated by Michael Smithies, (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1997), 162-167. However in E. W. Hutchinson, *1688 Revolution in Siam. The Memoir of Father de Bèze, s.j.* (Hong Kong: University Press Hong Kong, Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990<sup>2</sup>), 108-110; Father de Bèze and his company expected the conversion and baptism of King Narai on his death-bed. Whether this was wishful thinking or a real

1687. In a revolution which began shortly before the king passed away, all foreigners in the service of King Narai were removed. That was the end, or at least a great setback, for the Roman Catholic Mission in Siam for the time being.<sup>52</sup> The next 100 years were not enough to regain the former state of mission work: with the French Revolution in Europe and the end of the Ayuthaya period in Siam occurring at about the same time, the Catholic mission lost its bases on both ends, in France and in Siam. The seminary at Ayuthaya was destroyed by the Burmese, as was the whole former capital of Siam.

## **2. The Roman Catholic Contribution to the Translation of the Siamese Bible**

### **2.1 The Place of Scripture in Roman Catholic Mission**

The part that Roman Catholic mission work has played in the translation of the Scriptures is sometimes overlooked, perhaps because of prejudice. Catholic missionaries set out on mission journeys at least a hundred years before the modern Protestant mission movement started, not counting their medieval mission and translation work in Europe and beyond. In one way or another they were also involved in extensive Scripture translation work.<sup>53</sup> There was basically no mission work going on that did not include translating the apostolic creed, sections of the liturgy, or parts of the Scripture in a direct or summarized form. In far away heathen lands, Catholic missionaries saw the need and felt free to go beyond what the council of Trent allowed them to do.

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possibility cannot be proved since we have only Father de Bèze's account. Again they were forbidden by serious consequences to raise this matter.

<sup>52</sup>E. W. Hutchinson, *1688 Revolution in Siam. The Memoir of Father de Bèze, s.j.* (Hong Kong: University Press Hong Kong, Bangkok: White Lotus, 1990<sup>2</sup>), 125.

<sup>53</sup>Lemuel Call Barnes, *Two Thousand Years of Missions Before Carey, The Advanced Christian Culture Courses, Volume II*, (Chicago: The Christian Culture Press, 1906<sup>6</sup>), 431-432.

## 2.2 The Jesus Story

Long before Protestant mission work started in Siam, the Roman Catholic missionaries had written a summarized story of Jesus called “Praputa Yeasu”<sup>54</sup> and the doctrinal publication “KHAM SON CHRISTANG Phàc ton”. In 1796 it has been printed by Mgr. Garnault at “Sancta Crus Church”, Bangkok, Thonburi on the first printing press ever used in Siam although this press did not yet use Siamese type fonts.<sup>55</sup> The “Praputa Yeasu” narrative describes the life and ministry of Jesus.<sup>56</sup> This kind of writing was not new to Roman Catholic Mission work. Constantine Joseph Beschi, serving as a missionary to India from 1711 to 1742, had composed a spiritual work entitled, “The Story of Guru Simple”, which eventually became a classic Tamil writing because of the quality of its language and contents.<sup>57</sup>

## 2.3 Romanization of the Siamese Script

The Jesus story and other translation work by the Roman Catholic missionaries were part of an attempt to romanize the Siamese script. This attempt, which for example succeeded in Vietnam,<sup>58</sup> was not accepted by the Siamese. Neither did the less radical Protestant attempt during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to put spaces between words succeed. Siamese readers looked at this

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<sup>54</sup>“Buddha Jesus”.

<sup>55</sup>*KHAM SON CHRISTANG Phàc ton*, reprint (no date) with ‘FOREWORD FOR THE: “KHAM SON CHRISTANG”’ by Manit Jumsai, (Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand), 1-9.

มานิจ ชุมสาย, คำนำหนังสือ “Kham Son Christang” (Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand), 11-16.

<sup>56</sup>Johannes Beckmann SMB. *Die Heilige Schrift in den katholischen Missionen*, (Schönbeck-Beckenried: Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1966), 337.

<sup>57</sup>(Neill, 188).

<sup>58</sup>(Neill, 196-197). It was relayed to the author on a study tour in Vietnam (1996) that the last civil service exam in non-roman script in Vietnam was held in 1912. So it took about 250 years to establish the script invented by the missionary Alexandre de Rhodes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

attempt and at first considered it favorably but never authorized it.<sup>59</sup> However, it was used for Bible publication until recently, though abandoned with the publication of the 1971 revised Thai Bible.<sup>60</sup>

## 2.4 What the Roman Catholic Translation Work Emphasized

Besides the summarized story of the life of Jesus, we know from the list of Mgr. Laneau that, some other biblical books were summarized in Siamese.<sup>61</sup> This gives some hints about the origin of important biblical terms in the Thai language like พระเจ้า (God) or พระวิญญูญาณบริสุทธิ์ (Holy Spirit) since the Protestant translators of the Siamese Bible regarded the work of preceding Catholic translations as being of such value that they built their translation on it.<sup>62</sup> As stated in the report of the ABM Board from June 1835 about the translation work of Rev. John Taylor Jones:

“... Mr. Jones has devoted some time, to revising previous translations of portions of the Scriptures into the Siamese language, made by the Catholic missionaries, and by others. ...”<sup>63</sup>

At a time when nobody was thinking about ecumenical or any other kind of co-operation between the denominations, Rev. Jones, a Baptist missionary, was using the translation work done by Catholic missionaries. Even the translators of different Protestant

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<sup>59</sup>Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 240-241.

<sup>60</sup>One special NT edition of the 1940 revision printed for the Gideons was printed in that way until the end of the seventies.

<sup>61</sup>(Beckmann, 337).

<sup>62</sup>The question arises: Are these Catholic translations or translations manuscripts lost or still kept in some place?

<sup>63</sup>MR 1829-1835, inclusive dates 1821-1851, “Report of the Board (ABM),” dated June 1835, p. 248, selected photo copied material at Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand. “selected” because it was copied by Herb Swanson from the original in the USA, but only the parts relevant for Siam/Thailand.

groups living and working in the same city did not co-operate fully in translation work as will be explained later in spite of the fact that they got along well with each other in daily life. The above report does not mention which portions of Scripture the Roman Catholic missionaries had translated. But since Rev. Jones was working on the New Testament it must be NT material. The phrase “by others” is a certain reference to Ann Hazeltine Judson<sup>64</sup> and Karl Gützlaff and Jacob Tomlin<sup>65</sup> since no other Protestant missionaries are known for translation work before Rev. Jones.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ann Hazeltine Judson, the wife of Adoniram Judson the translator of the Burmese Bible, had translated the Gospel of Matthew into Siamese for the Siamese colony of captives still kept in Burma since the fall of Ayuthaya in 1767. See chapter 3, “1.1 The Beginning in Burma”.  
George Bradley McFarland, “Historical Sketch of the Protestant Mission in Siam 1828-1928”, (Bangkok: The Bangkok Times Press. Ltd., 1928), 1 (McGilvary: 275.93 Md43 H).

<sup>65</sup>Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok, The Journals of Tomlin, Gutzlaff and Abeel, 1828-1832*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 100.

<sup>66</sup>(McFarland, 3-9).

## Chapter 3

### 1. First Siamese Scripture Translations and Publications

#### 1.1 The Beginning in Burma<sup>67</sup>

Mrs. Ann Hazeltine Judson earned the honor of being the first Protestant pioneer missionary among people from Siam; though she never set foot on Siamese soil. She became aware of a Siamese minority living at Rangoon,<sup>68</sup> learned their language, translated the Gospel of Matthew, and wrote a tract in Siamese.<sup>69</sup> Only the tract was printed in Siamese script at Serampore in India.<sup>70</sup> Her husband was the translator of the first Burmese Bible, which is still in use today (1999).<sup>71</sup>

#### 1.2 Serampore, an Asian Center for Scripture Publishing in the 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> century and Siamese Printing

Bible translation and Bible distribution in India and South East Asia progressed at Serampore through the ministry of William Carey and his co-workers. William Ward was the English specialist in running the printing office,. His skills were the important second part of

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<sup>67</sup>Today's Myanmar: the author is writing this chapter at Pyin Oo Lwin, near Mandalay, Myanmar. The husband of Ann Hazeltine Judson endured imprisonment by the King of Burma in Mandalay . It was only Ann's courage which saved the life of her husband. James D. Knowles, *Memoir of Mrs. Ann H. Judson, late Missionary to Burmah, Including a History of the American Baptist Mission in the Burman Empire.*, Fifth Edition. (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, 1832),

<sup>68</sup>Today's Yangon.

<sup>69</sup>James D. Knowles, *Memoir of Mrs. Ann H. Judson, late Missionary to Burmah, Including a History of the American Baptist Mission in the Burman Empire: Fifth Edition.* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmands [Are you sure of the spelling? This surname name is usually spelt Edmonds.], 1832), 181.

<sup>70</sup>A data sheet of the ABS with the code: BMT#903, LID# 1452, Ethn:THJ has the following entry: Earlier in Rangoon Ann Hasseltine Judson translated portions of Matthew and a catechism, but only the catechism was published (Serampore 1819).

<sup>71</sup>The censors of the Burmese Government for some reason regarded the use of the words “idol” and “proverbs” as offensive and the translation did not pass their censorship. This prevented the Bible Society of Myanmar from completing a new translation. Participants of the Study Bible Workshop gave this oral information to the author, 22-27 February 1999, at Pyin Oo Lwin, Mandalay, Myanmar. However these problems are now solved and a new translation will soon replace the Bible translated by Rev. Judson. According to the Book of 1000 Tongues the OT was published in three parts in 1834-5, completing the whole Bible. The first Bible (revised) in one volume was published in 1840.



the intensive translation work done at Serampore, the first being the translations themselves. Eventually Serampore became the Scripture printing center of the western part of Asia including Southeast Asia. This center had printing presses and fonts to print in Siamese. It is not known how the Serampore press acquired these Siamese fonts, although it probably had them made for Ann Judson's Siamese printing orders. Ann Judson's work shows how important Serampore was for mission work in India and South East Asia. This press was later on transferred to Singapore and used by Jakob Tomlin and Karl Gützlaff to print their Siamese tracts. Dan Beach Bradley later on bought it and brought it to Bangkok.<sup>72</sup> It was in use until new presses arrived from USA and new fonts were cast.<sup>73</sup> Regarding trained workers, John Taylor Jones mentions that he met some Siamese craftsmen able to cast fonts and run a printing press since one of them had learned the craft at Singapore.<sup>74</sup>

## 2. Karl Gützlaff's Siamese New Testament

Jakob Tomlin (English) and Karl Gützlaff (German) arrived 23 August 1828 as the first Protestant missionaries in Bangkok, Siam. This date is recognized and celebrated as the beginning of Protestant mission work in Siam.

### 2.1 Gützlaff's Personality

Gützlaff was not known as a team worker. He made many of his decisions without consulting others who should have been involved. He eventually did his mission work as an

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<sup>72</sup>(McFarland, 8).

Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969, 94-95.

<sup>73</sup>The Baptist Mission had a press by December 1836. See chapter 4 "2.3.1 Translation work by Rev. John Taylor Jones", p.12. (page number has to be corrected before final print!!)

<sup>74</sup>"I am satisfied from observation and conversation with the natives, that one [press] might be established and conducted here without the least molestation, and it might go into operation as soon as an office could be erected and furnished. If the printer were furnished with the proper instruments for cutting punches, and founding type, the business could be done here, as well as any where. Type metal can be readily obtained here. One or two natives have already commenced the business of making type and printing. The success of one who has spent several months at Singapore, and got his ideas of business there, is very promising; but they have no press, though very anxious to have one." MR 1829-1835, p. 278, dated 14.9.1833.

independent missionary. For that reason the Dutch Bible Society<sup>75</sup> was very reluctant to help him print his translations.

## 2.2 Translating in a Team

Gützlaff and Tomlin had to look for a team to work on a Siamese Bible translation. With a rudimentary local team they completed in about half a year the four Gospels and the Epistle to the Romans as a first translation.<sup>76</sup> For 18<sup>th</sup> November 1828 Tomlin's 'Journals and Letters' note that they had just finished John chapter 1. It took them one week to complete it.<sup>77</sup> The method had to be adjusted to the ability of his team:

“Imperfection could be laid to method of translation they had to use: their Chinese assistant Mr. King would read a passage from the Chinese Bible and express this verbally in very halting Siamese; the Burmese assistant, Mr. Hon,<sup>78</sup> whose Siamese was somewhat better, would then rephrase and write down what he understood.”<sup>79</sup>

Tomlin admits:

“We ourselves are yet very imperfectly qualified for the work of translation.”<sup>80</sup>

It should be understood that this method, translating from Chinese to Siamese was only the very first approach. They also had:

“A few other helps, translation and fragments of translations in Siamese made by some of the Romish bishops and priests, have fallen in our way. ... some parts of the

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<sup>75</sup>Het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap. The Dutch Bible Society was founded in 1814. Daud H. Soesilo, *Mengenal Visi & Misi, Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, Getting Acquainted with the Vision & Mission of the Indonesian Bible Society*, (Indonesian Bible Society: Jarkarta, 1998), 26.

<sup>76</sup>Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok, The Journals of Tomlin, Gutzlaff and Abeel, 1828-1832*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 47.

(McFarland, 3).

<sup>77</sup>(Farrington, 31).

<sup>78</sup>“Hing” and “Hom” in (Farrington, 31). McFarland has “King” and “Hon” (McFarland, 3).

<sup>79</sup>(Wells, 6).

<sup>80</sup>(Farrington, 32).

New and Old Testament, all in manuscript and roman character.”<sup>81</sup>

They also became known to a Chinese in the service of the King who was well known for his knowledge in Chinese, Siamese and Pali. The King had asked him to revise some of the books translated from Chinese to Siamese by the King’s people, brought in by Gützlaff and Tomlin and given to King. The Chinese scholar related some of “their blunders to us”.<sup>82</sup>

Tomlin, who had left for Singapore in May 1829, decided in January 1831 to go back to Siam in order to revise the Siamese translation of the N.T., because he knew Gützlaff wanted to go on to China very soon. Together with Mr. Abeel he reached Bangkok 2<sup>nd</sup> July only to learn that Gützlaff had left about ten days earlier. By October he had revised three of the four Gospels and was planning to travel to Singapore in order to print them. A Buddhist monk for the sake of learning English was helping with the revision and copying of Matthew. Tomlin notes that religious and royal language or Pali are rarely used in this revision.<sup>83</sup>

The final result was a useful first translation as the Siamese Gospel of Luke, printed 1834, shows. Translation of Luke commenced in December 1828.<sup>84</sup>

### **2.3 Printed in Singapore**

In 1829 first Tomlin and later Gützlaff sailed to Singapore to resupply themselves and to print a tract with the title: “View of the Christian Religion” and parts of a Siamese NT. At this time the Siamese printing press from Serampore has been transferred to Singapore but not yet to Bangkok.

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<sup>81</sup>(Farrington, 47).

<sup>82</sup>(Farrington, 48).

<sup>83</sup>(Farrington, 57, 91-92, 99-101).

<sup>84</sup>(Farrington, 34).

### 3. The Dutch Bible Society and the Siamese New Testament

For several reasons, Gützlaff did not intend to stay in Bangkok. For one thing, he wanted to go on to China. Besides that, his time in Bangkok had not been successful, and he had personally suffered great hardship. His wife of one year died in childbirth, and his newly born female twins also died after a few days while he was on a ship leaving Bangkok. During his time in Hong Kong, he asked the Dutch Bible Society to finance the printing of his Siamese New Testament.<sup>85</sup>

What happened to that New Testament? As far as is known it never reached Siam. Gützlaff sent his manuscript to the Dutch Bible Society, which printed only the Gospel of John<sup>86</sup> because the Society was concerned about the quality of the translation. The Society was of the opinion that he had been in Siam too short a time to be a good translator of the Siamese language.<sup>87</sup> But what happened to that Gospel? It is not known if any copies were kept or have survived down to the present. However the American Bible Society (ABS) at its New York library has a copy of the Gospel of Luke, translated by Gützlaff, Tomlin and their team. It was printed in 1834 and sponsored by the ABS.<sup>88</sup> Some handwritten notes on the cover designate it as Gützlaff's translation. Mr. Pelatiah Perit a manager and vice president of

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<sup>85</sup>Herman Schlyter, *Karl Gützlaff als Missionar in China*, (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup: Copenhagen: Enjar Munksgard, 1946), 61.

<sup>86</sup>(Schlyter, 61).

<sup>87</sup>Kosuke Koyama, "The Role of Translation in Developing Indigenous Theologies-an Asian View", in *Bible Translation and the Spread of the Church, The Last 200 Years*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992), In his article Kosuke Koyama used Gützlaff's translation of the prologue of John's Gospel in Japanese as a good example of translation for its time (1837): "The translation is fascinating for its richness of imagination and association", 99-101, 103. This Gospel was printed at Singapore by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 99.

<sup>88</sup>In July 2001 the author had the opportunity to visit the ABS library. The officer in charge Dr. Liana Lupas made it possible for the author to see Gützlaff's Siamese Gospel of Luke and other early Siamese Bible printings.

the ABS from 1821 until his death in 1864, was the person who received that copy, made the note about Gützlaff and signed it.<sup>89</sup>

This Gospel of Luke closes the second stage of Siamese Bible translation. The initial stage has been the effort of the Roman Catholic missionary's as described in chapter 2.

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<sup>89</sup>See cover page of Thai Gospel of Luke, Library of the American Bible Society. Photocopies available at Thailand Bible Society, Bangkok and Chiangmai offices. Biographical notes on Mr. Pelatiah Perit in "Essay #102-C (Managers, Vice-Presidents)" at American Bible Society Archives, New York.

## Chapter 4

# Translation, Production and Distribution of the Siamese New Testament

### 1. Translation and Cultural Background

#### 1.1 The Origin of the Siamese Script and Language<sup>90</sup>

Traditional history as it is taught in history books in Thai schools from primary to college level credits King Ramkhamhaeng, who reigned from 1279 to 1300<sup>91</sup>, as the sole inventor of the Thai Alphabet in 1283. This view comes from an inscription of the famous Ram Khamhaeng Stone<sup>92</sup>, which states:

เมื่อก่อนลายสือไทยนี้มี ๑๒๐๕ ศก ปีมะแม พ่อขุนรามคำแหงหาใคร่ใจในใจแลใส่ลายสือ  
ไทยนี้ ลายสือไทยนี้เพื่อ<sup>93</sup> ขุนผู้้นใส่ไว้

In former times there was no Thai alphabet. In the year Mahasakarāt 1205<sup>94</sup> which is the year of the Goat, King Ram Khamhaeng thought in his heart about a Thai alphabet. This alphabet he did.”<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup>Remark: Because of the nature of the Thai language the standard line spacing for a thesis cannot be kept where Thai has to be used.

Most transliterations of Thai in this thesis are given according to: Mary R. Haas, *Thai-English Student's Dictionary*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

<sup>91</sup>Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand*, (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, Thai Watana Panich, 1973<sup>2</sup>), 29.

<sup>92</sup>ศิลาจารึกของพ่อขุนรามคำแหง.

<sup>93</sup>May be typing error. เพื่อ should be พ่อ.

<sup>94</sup>1205 is A.D. 1283, Mahasakarāt differs from A.D. 78 years.

<sup>95</sup>Jam Tongkamwan, น้ำ ทองคำวรรณ, สันนิษฐาน เที่ยบการเขียนอักษรไทยกับอักษรขอมในสมัยพ่อขุนรามคำแหง, ในหนังสือ ความรู้ทางอักษรศาสตร์ ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน รวบรวมตีพิมพ์ ๒๔ กันยายน ๒๕๐๘, *A Probable Comparison of Thai Letters with Kom Letters from the times of King Ram Khamhaeng*, in *Knowledge about the [Thai] Alphabet*, Printed by the Royal Agency of Education, 24 September 2508 (1965), (Title translated by author), 271.

Present day scholars question this view and state that it derived from a Mon and Khmer script “which had, in turn, been derived from a south Indian script.”<sup>96</sup> King Ram Khamhaeng was without any question a great King, a “genius” as Michael Vickery admits. But he holds that even for a great genius it seems “extremely improbable” to “devise from nothing a perfect writing system.”<sup>97</sup> However claiming that Ramkhamheng developed the Thai script does not entail claiming that he developed it “from nothing”. Writing is normally seen as an evolving process to satisfy the need to record information of any kind. For that reason it develops as a society reaches new levels of development.<sup>98</sup> Before an orthography is established it is preceded by oral recording, pictures or even technical storage of information such as the Inca had with their system of knots. It still might be maintained that a personality as King Ramkhamheng could be responsible for adapting Khmer script to the needs of Thai. For instance in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Mesrop Mashtotz developed the Armenian alphabet, but from other scripts, not from nothing. And the Cherokee syllabary in America was developed by Sequoyah in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>99</sup> Changes involving the addition of new features to a script were necessary because of the special need of a particular language, e.g. vowels, consonants, tone marks.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 26.

<sup>97</sup>Michael Vickery, *Pitdown 3, Further Discussion of The Ram Khamhaeng Inscription*, Journal of the The Siam Society, Vol. 83, Part 1&2 1995, 103.

<sup>98</sup>น้ำ ทองคำวรรณ, *สันนิฐาน เกี่ยวกับการเขียนอักษรไทยกับอักษรขอมในสมัยพ่อขุนรามคำแหง*, ใน *ความรู้ทางอักษรศาสตร์*, ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, รวบรวมพิมพ์ ๒๔ กันยายน ๒๕๐๘, 269-321, Payap Archives 495.1 R 233 K.

Even for a person with no knowledge of Thai it is easy to see the development of Thai letters. See example in appendix.

<sup>99</sup>Adapted from a remark by Dr. David Clark, UBS Translation Consultant.

<sup>100</sup>(Vickery, 104).

## 1.2 The Missionary's View of Siamese Culture<sup>101</sup>

Generally the missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup> century believed it would be only a matter of time until Christian faith and culture overcame all kinds of heathen religion and culture since culture is only a spin off of religion. The missionaries' attitude therefore was an attitude of confidence in the power of the Gospel and the superior Christian culture and science.<sup>102</sup> Sometimes this showed up in patterns of behavior which were not helpful for the acceptance of the Gospel.<sup>103</sup>

## 2. Siamese New Testament Translation Projects

Three different groups<sup>104</sup> worked at nearly the same time on three translations of the Siamese NT, namely Baptist<sup>105</sup>, Congregational<sup>106</sup> and Presbyterian missionaries.<sup>107</sup> Each

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<sup>101</sup>This topic is the main theme of the Master Thesis of Herb R. Swanson, "This Heathen People. The Cognitive Sources of American Missionary Westernizing Activities in Northern Siam, 1867-1889," (Maryland: University of Maryland, 1987).

<sup>102</sup>The Siamese nation is advancing on the scale of civilization . ... The missionaries justly say, – “This increasing intercourse with Christian nations is interesting from the fact that no heathen nation has ever been able long to sustain idolatry in such circumstances. ... the grossness of idol worship does not long withstand the light of science.” Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1844, p. 179, selected photocopied material at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>103</sup>There are examples of the behavior of missionaries in South-East Asia which intended to show the power of the living God, but have been highly offensive to the target audience. e.g. smashing of religious sculptures, and not taking off shoes in a temple area.

<sup>104</sup>“Each mission was a separate entity and developed independently but it was also true that a very close union existed between the three groups. ... a weekly religious service in English was held at the houses of the missionaries of both missions turn about, the missionary at whose home the meeting was held conducting the service and reading the published sermon of some other man. In 1837 or 1838 they began preaching their own sermons.” ‘both missions’ means ABCFM and Presbyterian Mission. However, later there was some kind of disagreement about “the Lord’s Supper” which led in 1853 to separation.. (McFarland, 23, 35).

<sup>105</sup>A report written for the “Missionary Register” shows that translation is one of the ministries of John Taylor Jones: “... Mr. Jones has devoted some time to revising previous translations of portions of the Scriptures into the Siamese language, made by the Catholic missionaries, and by others. He has translated Mrs. Judson's Burman Catechism, and sent it to be printed; but it was returned, the superintendent of the press having left the place. Mr. Jones requests that a press be established at Bangkok, and the Board have it in contemplation to send one. A press at Bangkok will enable our missionaries to print tracts, which seems to be the most efficient means of spreading the Gospel in heathen countries. ...” MR 1829/1835, p.248, dated June 1835.

<sup>106</sup>“Mr. Robinson continues the work of translating the holy Scripture, as his main employment, ... From the 1st of Dec. 1840, to the last of Nov. 1841, there were printed by the mission 35,500 tracts and 1500 copies of the Acts of the Apostles, ...” Dan Bradley Papers, Control Number:025/79 Incl. Dates: 1800-1873, Source at: College Archives, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A. Microfilm Copies at: & Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand, Bradley Circular letter 34, dated January 1842.

<sup>107</sup>“The Gospel of Luke is nearly through the press which will complete [...] edition of the Gospels. It is really a new translation ...” Records of Board of Foreign Mission, Roll No. 8, Control Number: RG 028/79 1 and



group had its own project going on. This translation work of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century looked like a more or less friendly competition between the different missions that represented their denominations and it was not until 1880 that a Standard Siamese NT was published.<sup>108</sup> Translation of the first Siamese NT was finished in 1843 by the Baptist missionary Rev. John Taylor Jones. With that first Siamese NT finished Jones started an ongoing revision process.<sup>109</sup> However, Rev. Stephen Mattoon, a Presbyterian writes in his letter to the mission board dated 28<sup>th</sup> January 1854:

“...the Baptists here as every where in the Mission field only [translate] a translation favoring their [...] views”.<sup>111</sup>

A look at the people, their mission society and their denominational background might be helpful to understand these harsh words.

## **2.1 The personnel involved in Siamese NT translation**

### **(Jones, Robinson, Bradley, Mattoon – in order of arrival in Siam)<sup>112</sup>**

Four persons are the main translators and/or publishers of the first period of Thai Bible translation work. While Gützlaff and Tomlin came to Siam because China was not accessible,

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2, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, Source at: Presbyterian Church of United States of America Microfilm Copies at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand, Mattoon to Mission Board, letter 94, dated 28.01.1854.

<sup>108</sup>“Mr. Van Dyke and myself are engaged in revising the Gospels for the press and hope when we get through we will have something like a permanent translation”. RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1860-1886, letter 65, dated 20.04.1880.

<sup>109</sup>“I have at length, the gratification to inform you that the last sheet of the Siamese New Testament has been struck off to-day. ... Its entire and thorough revision, for a second edition, will now become an important and arduous duty”. Baptist Missionary Magazine 1836-1904, BMM, p. 273, dated 17.10.1843, photocopied material at Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>110</sup>Each time a ‘[...]’ is inserted it represents an unreadable word in the handwritten original.

<sup>111</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 95. Since the author was not able to acquire any biblical material in Siamese translated by the Baptist translation pioneer John Taylor Jones, a comparison of translations in regard to Mattoon’s statement is not yet possible. [A request has been sent to Dr. Liana Lupas, ABS archives, to get a few pages of the John Taylor Jones and other translations.]

<sup>112</sup>The author has compiled data from mission magazines, personal reports and letters which are available at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand and from “Evangelisches Missions Magazin (EMM)”, Korntal, Germany.

John Taylor Jones (1833-1851 ABB),<sup>113</sup> Charles Robinson (1834-1845 ABCFM), Dan Beach Bradley (1835-1850 ABCFM, 1850-1873 AMA), and Stephen Mattoon (1847-1865 PBFM)<sup>114</sup> came to Siam as the land of their calling or the land they have been assigned to.<sup>115</sup> With the dedication to spend a lifetime in Siam they were not aiming for short term results: rather, they aimed at a more or less perfect translation of the Siamese New Testament and indeed the whole Bible. They also had the high expectation that eventually the old religion would be overthrown as a result of the preaching of the Gospel.<sup>116</sup> When Gützlaff and Tomlin left Siam for good they made to the American Churches an “earnest appeal for aid in the evangelizing of that almost unknown land ...”<sup>117</sup> of Siam. The ABCFM responded by sending first Rev. David Abeel (1831). This was a joint effort of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. Gützlaff also appealed to the Baptist missionaries of the ABB<sup>118</sup> in Burma. They transferred Dr. John Taylor Jones to Siam. Direct work of the PBFM<sup>119</sup> started with Rev. William Buell (1840-1844). Rev. Stephen Mattoon arrived as the second PBFM missionary only in 1847.<sup>120</sup> This thesis will only look at people involved in translation of the Siamese Bible.

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<sup>113</sup>Years given in brackets are the years of service in Siam.

<sup>114</sup>ABB=American Baptist Board, later renamed ABM=American Baptist Mission; ABCFM=American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; AMA=American Mission Association PBFM=Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, founded in 1837, later renamed as APM=American Presbyterian Mission. See List of Abbreviationen’s.

<sup>115</sup>John Taylor Jones was transferred from Burma to Siam by the ABB. (McFarland, 9).

<sup>116</sup>“The prospects of success are very great. The state of the public mind in relation to religion furnishes evidence that the natives are a people prepared of the Lord, for evangelical labor.” MR 1829-1835, p. 201, dated 23.9.1832.

<sup>117</sup>Since the vessel that carried Gützlaff’s and Tomlin’s letter also carried the famous Siamese Twins to the USA. So the above statement ends with the words: “... of their birth.” (McFarland, 5).

<sup>118</sup>American Baptist Board.

<sup>119</sup>Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission.

<sup>120</sup>(McFarland, 5-9).

### 2.1.1 John Taylor Jones (1802-1851)<sup>121</sup>

Jones, a Baptist, was born 16<sup>th</sup> July 1802, New Ipswich, N.H., U.S.A. In 1825 he graduated from Amherst College and was baptized at Boston in 1828. He and his first<sup>122</sup> wife Eliza were the answer of the ABM<sup>123</sup> to the Gützlaff-Tomlin letter<sup>124</sup> to the American Churches. Having already served two years in Burma they were transferred to Siam and arrived at Bangkok on the 25<sup>th</sup> March 1833.<sup>125</sup> There was no intention to transfer them again. They had the order to explore possibilities to reach the then closed China through the backdoor Siam. Since many Bangkok residents were of Chinese descent the Baptists focussed on the Chinese first. The first three persons baptized were Chinese. Boon Tee had been baptized before by Gützlaff,<sup>126</sup> but this time he was baptized by immersion.<sup>127</sup> While Jones' co-missionary, Rev. William Dean worked among the Chinese, Jones took charge of the Siamese department of the mission.

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<sup>121</sup>(McFarland, 27-31).

<sup>122</sup>Eliza, born Grew died 28<sup>th</sup> March 1838; his second wife Judith, born Leavitt died 21<sup>st</sup> March 1846; his third wife Sarah, born Sleeper died 1869; John Taylor Jones died 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851. Data from: *Memoir of Rev. John Taylor Jones, D.D.*, The Missionary Magazine. Vol. XXXIV, January 1853, No.1., American Baptist Missionary Union. Rev. John Taylor Jones, D.D., by Rev. S.F. Smith, Newton, Mass.

<sup>123</sup>American Baptist Mission.

<sup>124</sup>(McFarland, 27).

<sup>125</sup>MR 1829-1835, inclusive dates 1821-1851, dated 19.2.1833, p. 471. Subject: Details of travel from Singapore to Bangkok.

<sup>126</sup>(McFarland, 5).

<sup>127</sup>“Because of the Baptist doctrinal emphasis on total immersion in water as the only valid form of baptism, Jones rebaptized Boon Tee before admitting him into the church, after which he assigned Boon Tee to minister to Chinese church members and religious inquirers.(12) This immediate assignment suggests that Boon Tee had received substantial pastoral training from Gutzlaff and was capable of administering the local church. He continued to work for the American Baptist mission until September 1836, when he left because of personal conflicts with Dean, his superior. Boon Tee returned to the church for only a short time after Dean's departure in 1843.(13) As Boon Tee's career illustrates, in cases of intra-mission disputes, Chinese assistants with few independent resources usually were at the mercy of their missionary employers.”  
[http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_m2082/is\\_4\\_63/ai\\_77557518](http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2082/is_4_63/ai_77557518) [23.12.2004]. Joseph Tse-Hei-Lee, “The Overseas Chinese Networks And Early Baptist Missionary Movement Across The South Chinese Sea – 1 – Statistical Data Included.”, Phi Alpha Theta, History Honor Society, Inc., 2001.

### 2.1.2 Charles Robinson (1834-1845)<sup>128</sup>

Robinson was sent out together with Rev. Stephen Johnson by the ABCFM, the mission board of the Congregationalist Churches. The ABCFM had the same policy as the Baptist, namely one missionary for the Chinese<sup>129</sup> and the other for the Siamese population. Robinson was assigned to the Siamese. He was the one who used the Serampore press by printing a tract about “the law on Mount Sinai, the Ten Commandments, a short summary of the commandments, explanations, a short prayer and three hymns. An edition of 1000 copies was printed ...”<sup>130</sup> He was also the leading missionary of the Congregational Siamese NT translation project under way. There seemed to be a need felt to have a Siamese NT translation different from the one the Baptists had accomplished.<sup>131</sup> This gifted translator passed away at St. Helena while returning to the U.S. for health reasons.<sup>132</sup>

### 2.1.3 Dan Beach Bradley (1804-1873)<sup>133</sup>

Dan Beach Bradley was born 18<sup>th</sup> July 1804 and had his graduation as a medical doctor in 1833. In 1834 he married Emelie Royce (born in 1811) who passed away in 1845. In 1848 he married Sarah Blachly (1817-1893).

Bradley or as the Thai people up to the present day call him affectionately “Mho<sup>134</sup> Bradley” was also a Congregationalist at first working with ABCFM. Later for doctrinal reasons he changed his affiliation to AMA<sup>135</sup>. He was the outstanding missionary of his time,

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<sup>128</sup>(McFarland, 11, 14). These dates give only his time of service in Siam. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>129</sup>The Congregationalists worked among the Chinese of Hokkien dialect while the Baptists worked among the Chinese of Teh Chiew dialect, Ibid., 11.

<sup>130</sup>(McFarland, 16).

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 19

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 12-26, 195-197. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>134</sup>“Mho” หมอ means “physician”.

<sup>135</sup>American Missionary Association.

introducing modern printing and publishing and modern medicine. Bradley performed the first “modern surgical operation” and “introduced vaccination” in Siam. His translation work concentrated on summarizing OT and NT stories.<sup>136</sup> He preferred this type of publication over translation and publishing Scripture portions. It could be written in a very dynamic form, it was finished more quickly and it reached the heart of the people because it was not bound to wording of a foreign origin.

#### **2.1.4 Stephen Mattoon (1816-1889)<sup>137</sup>**

Mattoon was born 5<sup>th</sup> May 1816 near Champion, N.Y. He graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1846. The same year he was married to Mary Lourie (1820-1885). After a three year absence the Presbyterians reopened their mission work in Siam in 1847 with the Mattoon and House families.<sup>138</sup> While House became famous because of his evangelistic and medical work, Mattoon was destined to be an important translator and publisher of the Bible. Mattoon left Siam for good in December 1865. Afterwards he served from 1870-86 as president of “Biddle Memorial Institute,” an Institution for “preparing Teachers, Catechists, and Ministers for the education of the colored race”.<sup>139</sup>

## **2.2 Translation**

### **2.2.1 The Gützlaff and Tomlin Approach**

Karl Gützlaff and Jacob Tomlin were aware of the fact that their time might be limited either by the constant danger of being expelled from Siam or if somehow China opens up for foreigners they were eager to go on to China. This was what they finally did. Even though

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<sup>136</sup>... – also a number of tracts, a Life of Christ by Dr. Bradley and a series of Old Testament histories of various periods written circling about outstanding characters like Joseph, Mose etc.” (McFarland, 38).

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 36,38-41,45-46, 53. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>138</sup>The first missionary was William P. Buell and his wife (1840-44). “He was encouraged and eager in his work but when his wife was stricken with paralysis they reluctantly decided to return to America”. (McFarland, 9, 35-37, 39).

<sup>139</sup><http://www.cmhpf.org/surveys&rteachershse.htm>, also <http://www.famousamericans.net/stephenmattoon/> [23.12.2004].

they spared no effort to learn Siamese, they did not have a long term view on language study and Bible translation. So they took a down-to-earth approach as explained above under chapter 3.2 Karl Gützlaff's Siamese New Testament, "Translating in a Team of Three".

### 2.2.2 The Translation Methods of the American Missionaries

In the letters to the board the missionaries hardly explained about the methods they used in translation work. Even though it was regarded as important, the work of translating the Scripture was done in a quiet corner of the missionary enterprise. Much more was reported about evangelistic tours, conducting Sunday services and leading people to baptism. It was only John Taylor Jones who talked about his translation work, and then only because he had to defend himself<sup>140</sup> against the charge of being not strictly literal in his translation work. His argument goes that any kind of translation must include some dynamic features otherwise the real meaning does not come out for the target audience.<sup>141</sup> With that kind of view he was in agreement with modern translation principles.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>As matter of fact whenever a missionary had to defend his work, or differences with fellow missionaries came to the attention of the mission leadership at home the details of the work done are reported. In reading the "Bradley Papers" the present author realized that many letters would not have been written if both men [Bradley and Lane] had not had personal problems in getting along with each other. This has passed on a lot of historical data, but also revealed one of the unpleasant missionary relationships in Thai mission history.

<sup>141</sup>"Should any one inquire whether the translation is strictly literal, I should be under the necessity of inquiring what was meant by a strictly literal translation? If when I translate the French, 1 Comment vous portez vous, by "How do you do?" or, 2 Mal a tête, by "He has a headache," or in Latin, 3 Ne quid nimis, by "Do not carry matters too far" - If these are strictly literal, than I would hope this translation is so. But if in order to be strictly literal, the 1st example should be "How do you carry yourself?" the 2nd, "Bad has the head," and the 3rd, "Not anything too much," then I hope the translation is not strictly literal. The genius of the Siamese language is so very diverse from the Greek, that it is occasionally that a strictly verbal translation is practicable, and then usually the order or collocation must vary indefinitely- sometimes requiring a complete and sometimes only a partial inversion." John Taylor Jones, Bangkok to the Mission, New York, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1842, BMM, p. 250,.

<sup>142</sup>*Definition of Translation: Process of reproducing in the receptor's language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in meaning, secondly in style.* Dr. Annie del Corro, UBS translation consultant from the Philippines at the Revision Seminar Workshop at Crystal Spring Guest House, Chiangmai, Thailand, 2-7 March 1997.

What kind of translation principles and procedures did Rev. Jones use? A first draft was done “using only Knapp's<sup>143</sup> Greek Testament”<sup>144</sup> and “Robinson's<sup>145</sup> Wahl<sup>146</sup> ... reference was made to Kuinoe” as the main source together with a selected set of commentaries. This first draft underwent a revision process with the assistance of other commentaries. In a third

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<sup>143</sup>Knapp, George Christian (1753-1825). Knapp was the son of the director of the “Franckeschen Stiftungen” at Halle, Germany (see footnote 30, chapter 1). 1770 he commenced his studies in Theology. In 1775 he had already finished his habilitation and in 1782 he became ordinary professor of Theology. Three years later, in 1785 he was appointed member of the board of directors of the “Franckeschen Stiftungen”. His faith and theology were based on a strong view of “Verbalinspiration”. He was an excellent linguist and his Greek NT (Textus Receptus) is therefore an accurate piece of work. His main subject as a scholar was Systematics. Through his pragmatic biblical faith he developed good relations with the Moravian Church and other branches of the Pietist movement and was therefore involved in the mission work of his time. He was a writer of many theological works, commentaries and essays. Klaus-Gunther Wesseling, in “Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon”, Verlag Traugott Bautz, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl> [23.12.2004]. Leonard Woods (1807-1878) translated between 1831-33 “Georg Christian Knapp’s Theology” into English, which was long used as a text-book in American theological seminaries. The 1911 Edition Encyclopedia, [http://96.1911encyclopedia.org/W/WO/WOODS\\_LEONARD.htm](http://96.1911encyclopedia.org/W/WO/WOODS_LEONARD.htm) [23.12.2004]. As the present author had to recognize, Knapp, though unknown today, was a respected authority in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of his Greek NT and his doctrinal writings.

<sup>144</sup>COPAC record of the Victoria University of Manchester: Novum Testamentum Graece. Recognovit atque insignioris lectionum varietatis et argumentorum notationes subiunxit Georg. Christian. Knappius. BIBLE; Knapp, Georg Christian . 1797. The US seminary online catalog of Yale University has the following entry: Uniform title: Bible. N.T. Greek. Knapp. Title: Novum Testamentum Graece. Recognovit atque insignioris lectionum varietatis notationes subjunct. Georg. Christian. Knappius. Edition: Ed. prima americana stereotypa ... Published: Novi-Eboraci, C. Starr, 1835. Description: xii, 243 p. 31 cm. In NT text literature Knapp is hardly mentioned. In an internet search he appears alongside Griesbach. Griesbach belongs to a group of scholars who improved the Textus Receptus, but did not go beyond Bengel’s improvements. Kurt Aland und Barbara Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments, Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1989<sup>2</sup>), 21. Title of English version: *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*. Translated by Erroll F. Rhodes. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, and Leiden: E. J. Brill: 1987).

<sup>145</sup>ROBINSON, Edward, biblical scholar, born in Southington, Connecticut, 10 April, 1794; died in New York City, 27 January, 1863. He was brought up on a farm, taught at East Haven and Farmington in 1810-11, entered Hamilton College, ... and was graduated in 1816. After studying law for a few months, he returned to the college as tutor in mathematics and Greek, ... In 1821 he went to Andover to superintend the publication of an edition of Homer's "Iliad," with selected notes. He there began the study of Hebrew, aided Professor Moses Stuart in the preparation of the second edition of the latter's "Hebrew Grammar" (Andover, 1823), and in 1823-26 was his assistant, and for a part of the time his substitute, in the chair of sacred literature in the theological seminary. In 1826 he went to Germany, and pursued philological studies at Halle and Berlin. ... He received the degree of D. D. from Dartmouth in 1832, and from the University of Halle in 1842, that of LL. D. from Yale in 1844, ... he assisted in making a translation of George B. Winer's "Greek Grammar of the New Testament" (Andover, 1825). He published independently a "Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament" (1825), based on the "Clavis Philologica" of Christian A. Wahl: ... and produced a "Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament" (Boston, 1836; last revision, New York, 1850), a work which superseded his translation of Wahl's work, and became a standard authority in the United States. <http://www.famousamericans.net/edwardrobinson/>.

<sup>146</sup>WAHL, Christian Abraham (1773-1855), was born in Dresden, became in 1808 pastor of the parish of Schneeberg, and in 1823 superintendent of Oschatz church district, with a Ph. D. in Theology. Edward Robinson translated his lexicon into English in 1825. 1773 in Dresden geboren, wurde 1808 Oberpfarrer in Schneeberg, 1823 Oberpfarrer und Superintendent in Oschatz, dann Doktor der Theologie und 1835 Konsistorialrat in Dresden. Er starb 1855. Neben verschiedenen

stage the revised material was compared and checked against the Greek text while keeping an idiomatic and dynamic style.<sup>147</sup>

To be literal seemed to be the concern of those days. While translators with the target audience at hand realized that a well understood translation cannot be strictly literal in order to transfer the real meaning of the original, their superiors of the mission board and supporting churches abroad seemed to expect a very literal translation.<sup>148</sup>

Even revision work of old translations like Martin Luther's German Bible or the English King James Version had to wait until 1857 and 1870 respectively. Only then the need of revision was felt since language had changed over the centuries and church theological authorities were ready for revising so called 'sacred and authorized' translations.<sup>149</sup>

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erbaulichen Schriften verfaßte er „*Clavis Novi Testamenti philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiae studiosorum accomodata*“. Edward Robinson Übersetzte Wahls Lexikon 1825 ins Englische.  
<http://www.richardwolf.de/latein/wahl.htm> [23.12.2004].-

<sup>147c</sup>As I send you Luke, it may not be improper to offer a few observations regarding the manner in which the translation has been made. The first draught was made about four years ago-- using only Knapp's Greek Testament, and Robinson's Wahl, unless in a few instances of difficulty reference was made to Kuinoe, or other commentators. It was carefully revised in 1838-9--using whatever assistance could be derived from Bloomfield, Campbell, and others. It has since undergone a thorough review, being compared sentence by sentence with the Greek. While I believe it is idiomatic, so far as it can safely be made, I can not flatter myself that it is immaculate. I do believe it is as intelligible as it can well be made ...” John Taylor Jones, Bangkok to the Mission, New York, 1. February 1842, Baptist Missionary Magazine 1836-1904, p. 250, selected photocopies: Manuscript Division, Payap University.

<sup>148</sup>Rev. Mattoon in his letter dated 28<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1854 to the Mission Board: "... I believe that it gives usually the idea of the original and in language which will be generally understood. I have aimed to make it as literal as the native of the Siamese language would admit and I believe it is more so than any previous edition. ...” RBFM, reel 1 and 2, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865.

Rev. McDonald in his letter dated 7<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1867 to Mr. Ranken: "... These portions of the Old Testament have been literally translated before and should be printed without delays.” RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1860-1886, letter 45/2, dated 7 February 1867.

<sup>149</sup>The Canstein Bible Society completed in 1855 a seven volume Luther Bible that included all variations done by Luther himself. This Bible became the basic reference for a major revision initiated by all Protestant Churches of Germany in 1857 and completed in 1892. Johannes Adler, *250 Jahre Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt*, in Robert Steiner in Verbindung mit Werner Braselmann, *Die Bibel in der Welt, Jahrbuch des Verbandes der Evangelischen Bibelgesellschaften in Deutschland*, 1960, 25-26. The decision to prepare the English Revised Version was taken in 1870. The NT appeared only in 1881 and the whole Bible in 1885. G. S. Wegener, *6000 Years of the Bible*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963, 265-267. (McGilvary: 220.09 W411). G.S. Wegener, *6000 Jahre und ein Buch*, Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1958, 192. Authors remark: Facts given in the German edition are different from the English edition.



## 2.3 The Process of Translating, Printing and Distributing the Siamese NT

### 2.3.1 Translation Work by Rev. John Taylor Jones

Since Rev. John Taylor Jones was the first to arrive and stay in Siam<sup>150</sup> he started the process of the translation work by building on the work of the Roman Catholic missionaries and that of Rev. Karl Gützlaff.<sup>151</sup> Having arrived in Siam only 25<sup>th</sup> March 1833 he and his wife continued language study as their main occupation into the year 1834. However he had done some Siamese language study before. During the time in Singapore a Siamese font for the printing press was made: "... and a small work has been printed which may somewhat facilitate the first efforts to gain the language. ..."<sup>152</sup>

By December 1834 he had completed a draft of the Gospel of Matthew which was based on the work of "Catholic missionaries, and by others". He was also translating a Burman Catechism derived from Mr. Judson. Printing outside Siam proved to be disappointing. The Catechism sent to Singapore could not be printed because the superintendent had left. Considering the long delays in communications in those days, in his report to the mission board he stressed the need to have a printing press in Bangkok.<sup>153</sup> In order to get the printing done he traveled to Singapore early 1835 and stayed until July. During this time he supervised the printing of the tract "Creation" based on Judson's Catechism and the Gospel of Matthew in an edition of 1500 copies, 1000 bound with the tract "Creation".

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<sup>150</sup>The first to stay as a long term missionary after that historical "earnest appeal" of Gützlaff and Tomlin. Rev. Abeel of ABMCF had to leave Siam for reason of "ill health" after only six months. (McFarland, 5-8).

<sup>151</sup>MR, inclusive dates 1821-1851, dated June 1835, p. 248.

<sup>152</sup>MR, inclusive dates 1821-1851, subject: Language Study, dated 19.2.1833, p. 403, subject: Short info, January 1834, p. 41, subject: Printing, dated 14 September 1833.

<sup>153</sup>MR, inclusive dates 1821-1851, subject: Report of the Board (ABM), dated June 1835, p. 248.

Altogether Jones was able to take 5000 copies of different types of tracts and Scriptures back to Siam.<sup>154</sup>

Distribution started without any clear plan. It was well known that these foreigners had books and tracts and were ready to distribute them freely. People were also aware of the fact that these books and tracts were of sacred content. The Gospel of Matthew became known as “the Sacred Book” or the “Book of Jesus Christ”. Jones reports:

“I distributed, in my verandah, 180 tracts, among which were 80 copies of Matthew. With most recipients I have held considerable conversation, ... It is also worthy of remark, that I have only had one female applicant. ... This week however, more than 1,000 copies of our Christian publications have been distributed, and nearly all pure scripture.”<sup>155</sup>

From the beginning Jones felt the need for a printing press. In 1835 he was looking forward to receiving a printing press of high quality.<sup>156</sup> A second journey to Singapore in March 1836, for health reasons gave him the opportunity to see in person at Pinang,<sup>157</sup> a Mr. Dyer, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, and order fonts in Siamese and Chinese.<sup>158</sup> Before leaving for Singapore and Pinang he began translation of Acts and proceeded up, to chapter seven.<sup>159</sup> By December the Baptist press was in operation, and translation of Acts had made such progress that the printing of 3000 copies commenced. This

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<sup>154</sup>MR, inclusive dates 1821-1851, subject: Work at Singapore, Annual Report, dated 1835, p. 147.

<sup>155</sup>MR, inclusive dates 1821-1851, subject: Distribution, dated 24 August 1835, p. 193.

<sup>156</sup>“At the last dates, attention of Mr. Jones was directed to the erection of some accommodations for the printing establishment. The lithography press mentioned in former letters, was on its way from Calcutta, having been rendered very complete under the superintendence of Mr. Hancock. Mr. Davenport, it is presumed, has since arrived at the station, or will shortly reach it, with a printing press, ink, paper, c., and, by the time he has become prepared to work the press, will be supplied with complete founts of type, both in Siamese and Chinese.” – “I have adjusted the Lithography apparatus, and, had we a proper person to superintend it, we might now proceed to issue something on a small scale for distribution.” MR 1829-1835, Incl. Dates: 1821-1851, p. 147, 216.

<sup>157</sup>Today’s Penang, Malaysia.

<sup>158</sup>BMM, subject: Singapore, dated 1 January 1836, p. 233, BMM, sub.: Annual Report 1835/36, p. 193.

<sup>159</sup>BMM, subject: translating Acts, dated 30 January 1836, p. 237, selected photocopied material at Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

was finished in March 1837. The revision of Matthew was also under way.<sup>160</sup> In 1835 Dan Beach Bradley had “carried” the old Serampore printing press from Singapore to Bangkok. For lack of funds it could not be used until some time in 1836. However, to him and Robinson<sup>161</sup> goes the fame of being the first to print a document, actually a tract about the Ten Commandments, in the Thai language using Thai fonts.<sup>162</sup>

In 1837 Jones had to stop printing, since a new font from Mr. Dyer arrived with the three most used Siamese characters missing. Since communication was very uncertain and had to be counted in months Jones used the time revising Matthew, Luke and Acts. His wife worked on the stories of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, the entrance into Canaan and the history of “Nebuchadnezzar”.<sup>163</sup> Finally in April 1838, just after his first wife Eliza<sup>164</sup> had passed away, Jones and his children traveled to Singapore and Pinang. In the meantime he had “re-revised” Matthew and translated half of Mark. The fonts he got from Mr. Dyer were partly of bad quality but useable until better fonts were done. Since Siamese has no capital letters he proposed to Mr. Dyer having normal and bold letters in order to be able to emphasize certain phrases. So gradually the printing style was improved.<sup>165</sup>

The Annual Report dated June 1839 gives some insight into distribution activities. Nearly all of the 27,000 printed copies of various tracts and Scriptures had been distributed during the years 1835-37 at the house of Rev. Jones: “... those who applied for them ... were

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<sup>160</sup>BMM, subject: Printing of Acts, dated 4 December 1836, also: dated 14 February 1873.  
Subject: Tracts and Translation, dated 6 December 1836, p. 49.

<sup>161</sup>Actually Robinson did the work of setting up the Serampore printing press for the first tract printed in Siamese. Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969, 94-95.

<sup>162</sup>(McFarland, 16).

<sup>163</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: Siamese fonts, revision Matthew and Luke, dated 19 December 1837.

<sup>164</sup>28<sup>th</sup> March 1838. BMM 1836-1904, subject: Death of Mrs. Jones, dated 28 March 1838, p. 316.

<sup>165</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: re-revision Matthew, translation of Mark, dated 30 April 1838, p. 58,  
subject: Sailing to Singapore, dated 11 May 1838, p. 58,  
subject: Travel and Types, the problem how to emphasize in Siamese print, dated 16 July 1838, p. 111, selected photocopied material at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

told that they must be able to give an account of the contents of the one received, before they could receive another.”<sup>166</sup>

The Baptist Missionary Magazine has no further news on John Taylor Jones until May 1841. It tells: “Mr. And Mrs. Jones ... arrived from Batavia.”<sup>167</sup> Another statement confirms the arrival at Bangkok. It implies that John Taylor Jones had married his second wife Judith.<sup>168</sup>

Immediately after furlough, he continued his work by printing 3,000 copies of a revised Gospel of Luke. Romans was also ready for the compositor. The printing of the Gospel of John was postponed, since the John translation of the ABCFM was about to be published. So Jones decided to wait in order to use it as a source of improvement for his own translation. This seemed to be a common practice among the different groups working on Bible translation at that time. They did not join to build a sort of “ecumenical” translation team but shared what they had accomplished.<sup>169</sup> At this point John Taylor Jones defends and explains the way he has done his translation. Since there is no critical statement in writing and the mission was ready to publish his explanation in the Baptist Mission Magazine, which was the magazine presenting the world wide Baptist mission enterprise to the local churches, it might be assumed that Jones had had to answer questions about translation methods and emphasis to the churches during his furlough. It would make sense to use this platform just after furlough, when memory of Jones’ visits in the churches was still fresh. By the naming of many of the theological authorities of those days he assures his mission board and the churches that he walks a balanced path, on the one hand deferring to the biblical views of his

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<sup>166</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: Annual Report, dated June 1839, p. 143.

<sup>167</sup>Today’s Jarkarta, Indonesia.

<sup>168</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: return of Mr. Jones, dated 8 May 1841, p. 22, subject: return of Mr. And Mrs. Jones, dated 5 July 1841.

<sup>169</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: printing Luke, dated 1 February 1842.

days, and on the other hand taking care of a good understanding in the receptors' language.<sup>170</sup>

Jones ventures into the subject of language and raises questions which have been encountered since then in every Thai Bible translation or revision project. Opposed to the rule of being strictly literal he raises three important points:

#### Collocation

For a more dynamic translation it sometimes requires complete or partial inversion of a sentence or paragraph. Comparing Thai with the Greek text or a more literal English<sup>171</sup> Bible translation one will realize that in some cases the beginning of a phrase or paragraph is at the end in the other language and vice versa.

#### Style

He explains:

“In regard to style, a fair medium between vulgarity and bombast is anxiously aimed at. Terms are sometimes used which the common people will not understand without explanation. This is inevitable – unless free circumlocution is allowed – and even then, the difficulty may lie in the idea rather than the term used to express it.”

Jones realized that language in a strictly literal rendering is not able to carry every nuance that is needed to express the complex structure of life. Any language has developed a set of pictures and idioms which is appropriate to the cultural needs for a clear understanding.

#### “Bazaar”-Language or any kind of “High”-Language

As an opposite to a strictly literal translation Jones also had to deal with the argument:

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<sup>170</sup>Jones names Knapp, Robinson, Wahl, Bloomfield and Campbell. He also makes clear that it is not possible for him to do a translation and a study Bible at the same time when he states: “Scripture geography and ancient customs must, to some extent, be made familiar, by other means than translation.” The main question however was the question about being “strictly literal”. See chapter 4, “2.2.2 The Translation Methods of the American Missionaries”.

<sup>171</sup>More often the author had to compare Thai with German, since he has been working on a Thai-German Diglot NT.

“It is said the language of the bazaar should be employed; but what language has the bazaar for expressing the more important doctrines of Christianity? The bazaar has a language for its own purposes – but wholly inadequate to express gospel truth. Bali [Pali] terms are sometimes used, but, unless they have already become familiarized to the mass of the people, only when necessity (not ornament) demands it.”<sup>172</sup>

Right from the beginning of the translation process translators faced the question to what extent is “High” or “Royal” language in a Thai Bible translation needed. Because Thai has its special way to address anything royal, this question is raised time and again. Since Thai culture regards deities in the same way as royal persons or things, for anything sacred the “Royal Language” should be used. But since the royal language is not used in ordinary life, common people have hardly any practice in using it, so it is not very well known. This is not the end of the discussion. One view is to avoid royal language as much as possible, as is done in the “New Thai Translation Version” of the NT.<sup>173</sup> The question will never be solved, since for the Thai cultural mind a certain amount of royal language is needed to show the holiness of anything divine. Jones had a good point when he said: “only when necessity (not ornament) demands it.”

During 1842 the Baptist Mission has lost some of its personnel. Mr. Slafter passed away, the Dean family moved on to China, and the Davenport family was for health reasons partly out of the country. However the Gospel of Luke and the Epistle to the Romans were printed and the Gospel of John was “put to press”. In addition summarized stories like “Parables of the Lord Jesus”, Daniel and a summary of Christianity were also printed. Jones even published a “Memoir of Mrs. E.G. Jones”, his first wife.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>BMM 1836-1904, dated 1 February 1842, p. 250, selected photocopied material at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>173</sup>New Thai Translation Version (NTTV), translated and published by Jerry and Chareerat Crow (YWAM), Bangkok, 1998.

<sup>174</sup>BMM 1836-1904, dated March, p.319, 19 April, p. 329, no date, p. 19, June, p.155, October, p. 249, 1842, selected photocopied material at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

Translation and distribution combined with religious conversations continued. During the year 1843 Jones reported about organized but not official pressure against taking tracts and scriptures by the Siamese people. He worked on the revision of the “remainder” of the Siamese New Testament, even though his health was not very good at that time. John, the Epistles, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Thessalonians were printed. By 13<sup>th</sup> October 1843 “the printing of Revelation nearly was completed ...”. The letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> October stated:

“I have at length, the gratification to inform you that the last sheet of the Siamese New Testament has been struck of to-day. Though there is much occasion for heartfelt grief that so little visible success has attended our efforts here to spread the “glorious gospel,” it is still matter for devout thankfulness that this work has been prospered to its close. The leaves are now ready to be applied for the healing of the nation.

A few copies of the work I hope to forward to you by this opportunity. Its entire and thorough revision, for a second edition, will now become an important and arduous duty. The revision and enlargement of a manuscript dictionary also claim attention. To effect either of these objects, requires a new and careful examination of native literature; and one object will essentially facilitate the other.”

This marked the completion of the first New Testament in the Siamese language.<sup>175</sup>

### **2.3.2 Translation Work by Rev. Charles Robinson**

Rev. Charles Robinson arrived in Bangkok 25<sup>th</sup> July 1834. He was assigned to the Siamese work of the Mission. According to McFarland he had received the “imperfect”

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<sup>175</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: Printing and Foundry Department, dated July 1844, p.204. subject: Siamese New Testament printed, dated September 1844, p.273. The author was not able to find a copy of this first Siamese NT in Thailand or at the ABS archive. However Jones makes the following statement: “A few copies of the work I hope to forward to you by this opportunity.” It is understood that the letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1843 and some NT copies were sent together. It is not clear if it was a complete bound NT or a NT in more than one volume or just the not yet sent parts of the NT. The hope remains that something might be found in one of the Baptist Mission archives somewhere in the U.S.A.

translations of the Siamese Bible and portions in Lao and Cambodian from Gützlaff.<sup>176</sup> Robinson started translation work some time in 1836 and during a stay at Singapore he was able to work on the Gospel of Mark and the three Epistles of John.<sup>177</sup> By December 1840 he had already translated

“the gospels of Mark, Luke, and John ... together with the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians and the three Epistles of John.”<sup>178</sup>

The translation work of Robinson continued as reported in 1841 with the books of Genesis, Daniel, the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, John, and the Acts of the Apostles. But only Mark and Acts had been printed so far.<sup>179</sup> This report also noticed: “It is probably a moderate calculation which allows that there are at this time at least one million of Siamese readers. ...”

This report continues by saying that because of the simple set of Siamese characters a native child might only need about four months to be able to read and write, and an adult with ordinary abilities about one month. Besides this Buddhist temples of the time functioned in a large part as places of learning. Learning to read was a well established habit. The missionaries regarded this as an advantage provided by God. However, they do not overlook the long influence of heathen religious teaching, but do now count on the new influence provided “by the Christian press!”<sup>180</sup>

A new device for Thai script for these printings was the insertion of spaces between words.<sup>181</sup> This style has been kept for Thai Bible publication until the 1971 revision was

<sup>176</sup>(McFarland, 4).

<sup>177</sup>Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1838, p. 100.

<sup>178</sup>BMM 1836-1904, p.330, dated 1<sup>st</sup> December 1840. Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1841, p. 140.

<sup>179</sup>A copy of Robinson’s translation of Acts is at Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>180</sup>Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1841, p. 140-141.

<sup>181</sup>The Book of Acts translated by Robinson and published 1841 is probably the first publication using spaces between words and punctuation. *The Acts of the Apostles*. เรื่อง กิจการ อาจารย์ใหญ่ เปน คีต พระเยซูเจ้า ที่เดิม นั้น. หนังสือเล่มนี้ เปน ขบัพ หนึ่ง, แปร ออก จาก หนังสือ พระเจ้า. แต่ แรก เดิม เขียน ไว้ ใน ภาษา เฮเลน, บัด นี้ เรา ได้ แปร ภาษา เฮเลน นั้น ออก เปน ภาษา ไทย”, BANGKOK: A.B.C.F.M. MISSION PRESS, 1841, original at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.



published. Who really came up with the idea is not clear. Robinson is the one who reported about it:

‘... “This mission has introduced the division of words in printing, as is done in other languages. The Siamese generally acknowledge that this makes the book much easier to read than those printed in the Siamese method which runs words together.” The American missionaries, also, introduced marks of punctuation, being rather cautious about this however, for fear of criticism; but the Siamese seemed to be pleased after they understood what was being done.’<sup>182</sup>

The 1841 edition of Acts is printed in this style. The wording “This mission has introduced” suggests that an extensive discussion had led to the decision to try this new kind of Siamese printing and withdraw it if it was not accepted by the target audience. In this case the target audience means only the educated royal people up to the king himself. Their opinion would be the final decision on the matter.

Robinson, a gifted translator, continued translation and printing work together with Dan Beach Bradley until he had to leave for health reasons. The mission reported for the year 1845:

“Mr. Robinson not having any prospect of regaining his health at Singapore ... embarked with his family, for the United States. ... and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March last, ... after leaving St. Helena ... he died.”<sup>183</sup>

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For comparison the same line again without spaces between words: เรื่องกิจการอาจารย์ใหญ่เป็นศิษพระเยซูเจ้า ที่ เดิมหนังสือเล่มนี้เป็นฉบับหนึ่งแปลออกจากหนังสือพระเจ้า แต่แรกเดิมเขียนไว้ในภาษาเฮเลน บัดนี้เราได้แปลภาษา เฮเลนนั้นออกเป้นภาษาไทย

<sup>182</sup>Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916),240-241. See chap. 2, 2.3 Romanization of the Siamese Script. (McFarland, 250).

<sup>183</sup>Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1847, p. 157. D.C Lord has a different report in *Mo Bradley and Thailand*: “The Robinsons also left about this time [Feb. 1847], but Mrs. Robinson never completed the journey ...”. Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969, 124. McFarland has the above date of 1845 for the death of Mr. Robinson not Mrs. Robinson. (McFarland, 19)

### 2.3.3 Translation and publishing work by Rev. Dan Beach Bradley

With the arrival of Rev. Dan Beach Bradley in 18<sup>th</sup> July 1835 the age of modern printing in Siamese script and modern medicine dawned in Siam. Bradley emerged as the great publisher missionary. The printing press and fonts which came originally from Serampore, India were brought in to Siam by Rev. Bradley. It took him a year to set up this press and print a tract about Mount Sinai and the 10 Commandments. However two new presses arrived 1837<sup>184</sup> from the U.S.A. and soon the Serampore press was replaced.<sup>185</sup> While publishing many portions of Scripture and tracts about the Christian faith he also printed many secular works and was the publisher of the first Thai newspaper.<sup>186</sup> He had hired two teachers as “script editors” and “copyreaders”.<sup>187</sup> Even though he was not very much involved in translation work his service was essential for the spread of the translated Scripture material.

His view of making the word known was different from that of his fellow missionaries in either denomination. While Bradley left the job of translating the Scriptures to Robinson and later Caswell and Mattoon, he translated, wrote and published tracts and books summarizing biblical stories and adding his own interpretation with the emphasis on understanding the background and spiritual concepts. One of his first works, a narration of the life of Christ, was of a size equal to that of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark together.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>The Baptist presses arrived in late 1836. See “2.3.1 Translation work by Rev. John Taylor Jones”.

<sup>185</sup>(McFarland, 16).

<sup>186</sup>Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969, 97.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, 95. The modern terms would be “copy-editors” and “proof-readers”.

<sup>188</sup>*Ibid.*, 93.

“I have written a narration of the principle events – the life of Christ [...] is now in the [...] and will be finished in 5 or 6 weeks. It will be a work for sign size about equal to the Gospel by Matthew & the Gospel of Mark put together. I have great hoping that God will make it [...] of saving many ... from eternal death. I am writing in Siamese a series of doctrinal essays while [...] I shall embrace all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. ... I am also writing many of the principle facts stated in the Old Testament hoping that I may ... present them to this ignorant and benighted people.” Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 28, dated 29 May 1837, microfilm copies at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

With his method of narration he worked in the tradition preferred in Siam and elsewhere by the Catholic missionaries of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>189</sup>

Since Robinson made it clear very early in their working partnership that he could not take on the responsibility for the printing department, Bradley had to divide his time between medical work, print shop, translation and writing of narratives and tracts, and publishing. To go into all the details of his work, his doctrinal disagreement with his fellow missionaries and why he arrived at the doctrinal conclusion of perfection, his change of affiliation, and finally his working as an independent missionary would far exceed the scope of this research.<sup>190</sup>

While Bradley was on his way to the U.S.A. Jesse Caswell,<sup>191</sup> who had arrived in 1840 and shared with Bradley the same doctrinal point of view,<sup>192</sup> reported in a letter to Bradley about various activities such as distributing tracts about Miracles and Judgement in the canals of Bangkok, printing the History of Creation and a tract about killing animals. The later one was “wholly ... written by Khru That.<sup>193</sup> He is now rewriting the history of Moses as it stands in your O.T. History, which we think of printing to follow Joseph.”

This is one of the few instances when credit was given to a local person. As far as this research can show, the translators of the Siamese Bible hardly mentioned any local person who was involved in the translation work. Does this mean they never discussed translation

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<sup>189</sup>See chapter 2 “2. The Roman Catholic Contribution to the Translation of the Siamese Bible”.

<sup>190</sup>For a detailed biography see: Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969.

<sup>191</sup>He had arrived in December 1839 as a missionary of the ABCFM intended to join the AMA, like Bradley, but died 25<sup>th</sup> September 1848. Since the other ABCFM missionaries left for various reasons the ABCFM work in Thailand was closed (McFarland 19, 41). The mission blamed indirectly the doctrinal “circumstances” for the end of its mission work in Siam. However, it is generally known that mission work in those days was judged by the number of converts. Siam could not meet this criterion (Lord, 126).

<sup>192</sup>Even though the ABCFM, as a non-denominational mission, could not go along with the views of Bradley and Caswell view on “sanctification” or “sinless perfection.” Since the group of missionaries was finally so divided action became necessary. The young Bradley was inspired by Charles Grandison Finney, the Oberlin evangelist, “that man should strive for perfection”. (Lord, 16,39-43, 118-127).

<sup>193</sup>“Khru” means Teacher and “That” is his name.

problems with locals or never had any local person as a permanent translation helper? Or did these people not live up to the standard the missionaries expected of them, so that the missionaries avoided their names?<sup>194</sup> Time and again good local co-workers had to leave because of adultery and other sins which were not tolerable in that kind of employment.

In this letter Caswell is writing about a new employment for him by the Bible Society,<sup>195</sup> since they might not object to his doctrinal view. He even sees a new possibility of completing the Siamese Bible:

“Since you left my mind has been settling down in the expectation that the Am Board will abandon Siam. Within a few days I have thought that perhaps the Lord may employ the Bible Society to support me. I suppose that Society could have no objection to employing me to translate the Bible on the ground of my doctrinal views. (Their) only hesitancy I should think would be on the ground of ability. On that point you could probably satisfy them. I see little prospect of the Bibles [...] given to Siamese for many years to come unless some one already considerably advanced in the language can give himself to the work. If it is thought by [...] qualified to judge that I am a suitable person to engage in this work, I am willing to do so, provided the Lord opens the way. As soon as you have the decision of the Board to abandon the field (if they do so) I hope you will introduce the subject to the Managers of the Bible Society.”<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup>In “Krischak Muang Nua” Herb Swanson summarizes: “Legalism led the members of the Laos Mission down a tortured path of indirection and misdirection. It led them to define northern Siam as heathenish, the realm of Satan. It led them to mistrust the converts because of their former association with Satan. It led them to assume that they had to “Christianize” (read: “Americanize”) the culture to free it from Satan which meant they had to establish schools and hospitals and a printing press. It led them to scamper across the countryside in a futile attempt to be everywhere at once saving everyone last week.” Herb R. Swanson, *Krischak Muang Nua, A Study in Northern Thai Church History*, (Bangkok: Chuan Printing Press Ltd. Part., 1984), 161. While basically correct and also true for the mission in Bangkok and elsewhere in Siam it might to strong in its criticism.

<sup>195</sup>“Bible Society”, if not stated otherwise means the American Bible Society, New York.

<sup>196</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 74, dated 29 April 1847.

In his next letter to Bradley, Caswell comes back to the topic of working for the Bible Society. His aim was to get the Siamese Bible translation, which was already in progress, completed. From further statements it is clear that Bible translation was already Caswell's main occupation,<sup>197</sup> even though he did not state which books he was translating. He did not have the chance to finish the translation, however because he passed away on 25<sup>th</sup> September 1848.

It should be mentioned that Bradley and Caswell had developed a special relationship with Prince Mongkut, already a scholar in Pali and the future King.<sup>198</sup> Through this relationship the two were probably the most influential missionaries in Thai history. Caswell was Prince Mongkut's favorite teacher.<sup>199</sup>

After two years of absence Bradley returned to Bangkok in October 1849 with his second wife Sarah.<sup>200</sup> His affiliation had changed from the ABCFM to the AMA. Along with him came two new missionaries, Dr. L.B. Lane and Prof. Josiah Silsby. Both seemed not to accept the seniority of Bradley and relations were strained right from the beginning.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 78, dated 5/7/10 October 1847.

<sup>198</sup>King Mongkut was the fourth King of the Chakri Dynasty also called "Rama IV". He prepared the ground for the modern developments which took place during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Rama V, his son.

<sup>199</sup>(Lord, 127), (Wells, 10).

<sup>200</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 104.

<sup>201</sup>(Lord, 131,137-142) In this feud Lane was the driving force and Silsby was caught in the middle. Silsby left Siam in May 1854 and Lane in January 1855. Even though D.C. Lord only states, "Lane retired from missionary service ...", from additional correspondence (which the author did not copy) it looked more likely that Lane was finally removed by the AMA mission board.

On March 23, 1854 Dr. Bradley had been replaced from his position as general agent of the mission by Dr. Lane. The letters show that there was an ongoing struggle between Bradley and Lane which reached a high point with this replacement. However Lane left Siam in Jan. 1855. In letters 223-224 the Oberlin College Librarian summarizes these letters: 223 Now [Dr. Lane] making preparations to leave Siam, so Mr. Whipple has urged him to stay and he is embarrassed at leaving the mission "in its present state". In the event of his leaving (for personal reason) it will be necessary for someone to take charge since his departure will leave no representative on the field. Will Bradley supervise the mission property until the AMA decides what to do? 224 Farewell letter stating the decisions Lane and Silsby had made concerning the management of the mission after Bradley had been dismissed as agent. It would appear that in spite of the hypocritical note closing with its offers

However, the ongoing disputes and intrigues, with letters and notes written in pencil going back and forth, left valuable information.

How did the missionaries receive money, paper, ink, printing machinery, binding material, books, and items like soap for personal use?

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Singapore developed into the travel, cargo, business and communication hub of South East Asia. Theodor August Behn and Valentin Lorenz Meyer, both Germans, founded in 1840 the company Behn, Meyer & Co. with its head office in Singapore. Branch offices in Hamburg and elsewhere were founded later.<sup>202</sup> Up to the year 1863 Behn, Meyer & Co handled most of the above logistical matters for the missionaries.<sup>203</sup>

What was done in regard to translation and printing during this time? The Presbyterian Mission not having its own press yet used the Baptist or AMA printing office whenever it was free. In 1853 Mattoon's translation of Matthew was printed. Bradley suggested to increase the number Mattoon wanted to print by 1000 to 1500 copies, which would be for Bradley's use, since the translation "... is a clear improvement upon any editions that have gone before it."

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of forgiveness for mistreatment and good wishes for the future, that Lane has deliberately taken revenge by hampering Bradley in every way possible. The printing office had been rented to the Presbyterian mission, some equipment and type offered for sale to the King, the handling of financial matters restricted, and orders given as to handling the property. Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 185, 223-224.

<sup>202</sup>Chris Rieger, *Bilderbogen Singapur*, Deutschsprachige Christliche Gemeinde. Singapur: Globe Printers Pte Ltd, 1984, 41-62. Copies of the 4 issues of "Bilderbogen Singapur" are at Payap Archives, Chiangmai, Thailand and at the CIU library Korntal. For a short history of Behn & Meyer in English see: <http://www.behnmeyer.com> [23.12.2004].

<sup>203</sup>From the letters read the author understood boxes went back and forth between Singapore and Bangkok keys to open them were with the responsible person at either end.

However Bradley urged the publication of “Extracts from the O.T.” after Matthew was printed.<sup>204</sup> By October the same year the Old Testament history No. 5 was ready for printing. Bradley constantly had to fight and compromise about his desire to print tracts with interpretations instead of translations of biblical books.<sup>205</sup> In 1850 the new missionaries and co-workers of Dan Beach Bradley, Dr. Lane and Prof. Silsby “wanted to print only literal translations of the Bible” as opposed to the tracts or “Extracts” of biblical books which Bradley preferred because it was possible to put in interpretations and explanations.<sup>206</sup> Again it seems the general view on translation was that a good translation must be a literal translation. In other words, the biblical message can only be correctly understood if it comes in a literal form. However according to D.C. Lord, Bradley recognized a basic principle: Even before his arrival in Thailand Bradley believed that the printed word should precede the preacher and prepare the way for Thailand’s acceptance of the gospel. En route to Thailand Bradley met some Christians in Burma who became believers by reading the Bible and tracts. So he concluded: “... the printed word should and could, precede the preacher and lighten his burden.” He also realized a positive difference from the situation in Burma:

... the printed word could have even greater effect ... as the local custom of reading “aloud [very] loudly” helped the Thai share their reading with their neighbors, with or without their neighbor’s consent.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>204</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 158, 159, dated 15, 16 July 1853.

“... But as I said to you the other day I think we now need more in continuation of Extracts from the O.T. because we have Mark - John & the Apostles in a good supply and we have none at all of Joshua, Judges, David, the other kings of Israel all of which ... [next part hard to read] ... I hope you will agree with me in a desire to print at least Extracts from Numbers, Deutr. & Joshua as soon as Mr. Mattoon shall complete the prints (for Matthew) ...”

<sup>205</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 165, 166, 167, dated October 1853. (Lord, 96).

<sup>206</sup>(Lord, 98).

<sup>207</sup>(Lord, 93-94).

This policy, the proof of it in Burma, and the Thai custom of reading aloud kept him insisting on more dynamic biblical reading material.

In the context of the above and the research done on Thai Bible translation history, D.C Lord's statement: "... His [Bradley's] perseverance was finally rewarded in 1855 with the completion of a Thai translation of the Old Testament ..." can only be understood as the completion of Bradley's narrative series of "Extracts" of the O.T.<sup>208</sup>

His most important service to the translation of the Siamese Bible in the years after 1855 until his death lay in providing the facilities that were necessary to do printing, lithographic work and binding.<sup>209</sup>

#### **2.3.4 Translation Work by Rev. Stephen Mattoon**

Rev. Stephen Mattoon, a Presbyterian missionary, was one of the first of the later missionaries, arriving in March 1847, well after Jones had finished his Siamese NT. The Presbyterian mission work began in 1840 but for health reasons the only Presbyterian family had to leave in 1844. This mission was continued when the Mattoon and House families arrived. In the first years Mattoon and House had the task of establishing the Presbyterian mission work in Siam, which eventually became the driving force of missions for the rest of the century and for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>210</sup> The other missions were gradually closed down or were reduced in personnel to an insignificant number.

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<sup>208</sup>(Lord, 99).

<sup>209</sup>Dan Beach Bradley, *Calendar to the Dan Beach Bradley Letters 1800-1873*, Oberlin College Archives, microfilm 025/79, letter 245, dated 1859, "Comment of the Librarian: Bradley introduced lithography into Siam, after many unsuccessful experiments, finally conquered all difficulties and printed a map for the Almanac." subject: more paper will be sent, letter 249, dated 20 February 1860, subject: sewing machine for bindery, letter 262, dated 2 July 1861, subject: typesetting machine, letter 270, dated 1 March 1862, subject: paper shipped, letter 284, dated 17 January 1863, subject: samples of paper from Behn & Meyer, letter 287, dated 9 June 1863, subject: list of prices of AMA press, dated August 1864, subject: type mold had been ordered, dated 15 August 1864.

<sup>210</sup>(McFarland, 36-38).



After the period of language study and initial mission work Stephen Mattoon ventured into translation and printing ministry. It is not before 1853 that his letters talk about translation and printing. But from the context of these letters his translation work started well before 1853. The Presbyterian Mission did not have a printing press of its own<sup>211</sup> at this time. Mattoon had to organize printing either with the Baptist Mission or with AMA<sup>212</sup>. Besides this the mission was short of funds. In a letter with no certain date, since the first part of that letter is missing he discusses the possibility to find other sources for funding, the Bible Society and other Societies, probably the Tract Society. In another publication dated 18<sup>th</sup> July 1853 the fact is given that funds provided for printing are not meeting demand and that restrictions are also arising from the fact that the mission does not have its own press.<sup>213</sup> At this stage the following books are ready for print: All Gospels, Acts, some Epistles. Some earlier printed copies of Mark and John and an old version of Acts were still available at this time. It seems to be clear that books ready for print are Mattoon's translations. "An old edition of Acts" was probably a translation going back to Robinson.

So his main task was revision and translation of the Siamese NT and the OT. He had finished Genesis and Exodus of which he writes: "Of the Old Testament, Genesis and Exodus

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<sup>211</sup>A Presbyterian printing press was not established before 1861, (McFarland, 29)

<sup>212</sup>"The Mission of the Am. Miss. that are printing nothing for themselves and are not likely to do so for some months to come at least. Mr. Lane who has for the present the whole control of the Mission property makes no objection to printing for us and I hope we can keep the press in motion. But in the unsettled state of their affairs here [an allusion to the Bradley/Lane feud] we know not what a single month may bring forth. The press of the Baptist Mission I do not think will be in operation for a year to come, and then they will need to print for themselves till they get a good supply of books. Mr. Chandler intimated to me a few days since that he should be ready to print for us in two or three years when he gets a power press. I learn from other members of the Mission that there is no prospect of their having a power press. But I do not trouble myself about the future in this respect. As long as we can get printing done anywhere we shall do so and when we cannot do this must refer the matter to you". RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 99, dated 21.08.1854.

<sup>213</sup>The matter of funds and the press is discussed again: "... It would not be difficult to make an estimate of our want or what we could profitably use of the funds of the Tract So. & the Bible So. if we had a press at our own disposal. But as we are very much dependent upon the movements of other Missions we can only tell you what we need and we hope to be able to use. There would be no difficulty in using all that has been appropriated by the Tract So. The present year if we could get the printing done." RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 95, dated 5 March 1854.

only have been translated, and these have been long out of print, and will not be reprinted till revised.”<sup>214</sup>

Has someone, maybe Jones, translated it before?<sup>215</sup> Or did he think of Bradley’s OT history? He acknowledges the fact that he is building on the work done before by others. His aim is not a new translation but an improved Siamese NT.<sup>216</sup> What was behind the aim of an improved Siamese NT? The different groups had basically good interaction and fellowship. But at one point Mattoon comes to the remark mentioned before: “... the Baptists here as everywhere in the Mission field only translate a translation favoring their [...] views. ...”

Since there is no portion of Jones’ translations at hand to support this thesis, only general historical evidence might be presented. William Carey and his team, in their Serampore Versions of Bible translations, as Baptists, decided to translate the word “baptizw” as “immerse” which is in Thai “จุ่มลง” “cùm-loṅ”. This narrow view was not accepted by the BFBS.<sup>217</sup> Therefore the Baptists set up their own Bible Society, the “Bible Translation Society”. It is understood that Serampore as the leading Baptist translation center

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<sup>214</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 83, dated 28 January 1854.

<sup>215</sup> “... we continue to send up our earnest petitions to our father in Heaven, that he will still prolong his precious life, and bless him with the necessary physical and intellectual vigor to complete the translation of the Old Testament, which he is about to commence, and for which his long residence in Siam, his varied experience and his extensive knowledge of the language, so admirably qualify him. As br. Jones is about to commence his work, we regret very much that no one is competent to relieve him of his responsibilities.” BMM 1836-1904, subject: Annual Report, dated April 1851, p. 102.

<sup>216</sup> “The Gospel of Luke is nearly through the press which will complete [...] edition of the Gospels. It is really a new translation though, [but I] have used truly the helps left by my predecessors in the same department. I believe that it gives usually the idea of the original and in language which will be generally understood. I have aimed to make it as literal as the native of the Siamese language would admit and I believe it is more so than any previous edition. In reference to few words my own mind is not fully settled ...”. Parts of that letter are hard to read. He concludes: “...to proceed with the remainder of the New Testament as fast as other duties will permit”. RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 94, dated 28.01.1854.

<sup>217</sup>BFBS, British and Foreign Bible Society.

“... A fourth controversy arose out of the restrictive renderings of the term baptize and its cognate terms, adopted by William Carey and his colleagues in their famous Serampore Versions, towards publishing which the society had contributed up to 1830 nearly 30,000. Protests from other Indian missionaries led the society to determine that it could circulate only such versions as gave neutral renderings for the terms in question. As a sequel, the Bible Translation Society was founded in 1839 to issue versions embodying distinctively Baptist renderings. ...” [http://22.1911encyclopedia.org/B/BI/BIBLE\\_SOCIETIES.htm](http://22.1911encyclopedia.org/B/BI/BIBLE_SOCIETIES.htm) [23.12.2004].

of those days influenced all other Baptist translation projects not only in Asia but also in Africa.<sup>218</sup>

Güzlaff in his 1834 translation of Luke 3:12 has: “... มีผู้อากอน ก็มารับศีลกดล้างน้ำ  
ถามว่า...”<sup>219</sup> “... There were tax collectors who came to receive the rite of being pushed down  
and washed. They asked ...”

Robinson in his 1841 translation of Acts 8:38 has: “... ฟิลิปก็ให้ศีล บัพติศมา แก่ คน  
กะเทย นั้น ...” “... Philip did the rite of baptism to the eunuch ...”

The 2002 Thai NT,<sup>220</sup> the latest revision of the Standard Thai Bible has: “... รับบัพติศมา  
...” “receive baptism”.

While Güzlaff paraphrased the action of baptism”, Robinson introduced the use of  
transcription. The English word “baptism” becomes in Thai “บัพติศมา [baptisməə]” and in  
later translations “บัพติศมา [baptisma:]”. This solution has two possible explanations:

<sup>218</sup>Richard William Frederick Wootton, *V. Bibelübersetzungen in außereuropäische Sprachen*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Studienausgabe Teil I, Band VI*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 302.

<sup>219</sup>Remark: Because of the nature of the Thai language the standard line spacing for a thesis cannot be kept where Thai has to be used.

Today’s spelling of อากอน is อากร “aakoon’ ”, which means “revenues”. If today’s spelling of กด is กด “kòd”, it means “pushed down”, if today’s spelling of กัด is กัด [“kòt’], then it means “performed”.

Dr. Seree Lorgunpai: ‘I agree with you that อากอน “aakoon’ ” should be ผู้เก็บภาษีอากร [tax collector] and the rest means ศีลกดลงไปเพื่อล้างน้ำ [rite of being pushed down and washed]. It seems that Güzlaff described how baptism was being done. The other interesting word is กะเทย [“kathoi”] which in our modern usage is male who behaves like female. In our modern understanding we translate ขันที [“khān-thī”].’ E-Mail answer to the authors question, 24 March 2005.

<sup>220</sup>พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ ภาคพันธสัญญาใหม่ ฉบับมาตรฐาน 2002, สมาคมพระคริสตธรรมไทย, กรุงเทพฯ. 2002. Thai Holy Bible, New Testament Standard Version 2002, (Bangkok: Thailand Bible Society, 2002).

Introducing a foreign word<sup>221</sup> instead of paraphrasing or using a word from Thai, Pali or Sanskrit religious vocabulary avoids religious and theological misunderstandings.

The actual procedure in case of “baptism” is open to personal or denominational understanding. Gützlaff’s translation probably unintentionally favors the Baptist view. His Church background is Reformed.

The whole issue highlights another question: how to translate words which are central to the Christian faith like “God”, “Holy Spirit”, “Word of God”, “Son of God” and “Baptism”? This will be one of the topics in a later chapter.

Mattoon in one sentence gives at least some hint how he approaches translation:

“... The absence of my teacher and the duty connected with printing prevent my going on with translation. ...”

This means as a matter of ordinary procedure he had a Thai person at his side to help with the translation work. However no name is given.<sup>222</sup>

Funds were provided by the Bible Society and the Tract Society. However he had to ask for them time and again and was still anxious for a press. Sometimes he was able to rent the AMA printing press. There was even the possibility of buying it, since AMA was in the process of closing down its mission work. But Dan Beach Bradley took over the AMA press and became an independent missionary. Mattoon’s wife left for the U.S.A. for health reasons in 1857 accompanied by Esther Naa Pradisapasena a sort of adopted girl who eventually became the first trained Thai midwife and nurse.<sup>223</sup> In late 1858 a printing press arrived, but

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<sup>221</sup>When there is no real Thai word for a certain subject or a transcribed foreign word has just become fashionable to use, it is common practice in modern Thai to transcribe foreign words into Thai letters and adjust the pronunciation as needed to make it sound like natural Thai.

<sup>222</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 107, dated 16 February 1855.  
For the budget year 1857/58 Mattoon records an estimate of US\$ 250,- for “Native Teachers”, letter 142.

<sup>223</sup>(McFarland, 46).

Mattoon has joined his family in the U.S.A. The Mattoon family came back in October 1860 in company with the McFarland and McDonald families. With the latter arrived the translator who would eventually finish the translation of the Siamese Bible. The translation and printing of Scriptures and other religious material went on. From various letters it is clear that one of Mattoon's major occupations was the printing department.<sup>224</sup> He was constantly improving the translation of the NT and doing some work in OT translation.<sup>225</sup> After 18 years of translation and printing ministry in Siam, Mattoon left for good and continued another fruitful ministry in the U.S.A. It should be noted that Mattoon was the first American Consul in Siam.<sup>226</sup>

With the departure of the Mattoon family the first translation phase of the Siamese Bible came to a close. Emphasis was then directed toward a Siamese Standard NT and a complete Siamese Bible. After 1860 the "friendly competition" in Thai Bible translation faded away because only the APM stayed as a mission and expanded its Siamese mission work to the south and north of Siam. The north even became more or less independent from

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<sup>224</sup>RBFM, Roll No. 8, 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 107, dated 16 February 1855: "... I have for the present taken the oversight of the printing. This seemed the only way to get our printing done.", letter 130, dated 12 July 1856: "I was disappointed that Dr. House brought no [...] certain news as to arrangements for printing ...", letter 136, dated October 1856: About the need of a press: "We have confidently hoped that something would have been done in the matter ... but have been disappointed. We look upon the press as a most important auxiliary in making known the Gospel in Siam ...", letter 143, dated 30 June 1858: The mission announced "... the purchase of a press ...", letter 153, no date: probably after October 1858 but before January 1859 the press arrived, letter 177, dated 13 November 1860: Mattoon asks for anything useful in a printing shop like binding tools, engravings paper, books and manuals about printing and binding, letter 209, dated 2 May 1862: "... Most of our printing for this year will be the Gospel and Acts of the Apostles. And we wish to put the whole New Testament to press as fast as possible. ...", letter 225, dated 9 September 1863: paper supply: "... I have been printing Tracts on Chinese paper ... It is inferior in every way ... we better continue our paper from home unless it should prove cheaper from Serampore. ...".

<sup>225</sup>The Annual Report for 1862/63 states: "... Progress in the work of translating the Scripture into Siamese has been made ... some portions of the Old Testament never attempted before are now under way ..." Remark of the author: edge of page is missing. RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 232, dated October 1863.

<sup>226</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, Source at: Presbyterian Church of United States of America, Microfilm Copies at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand, letter 131, dated 6 August 1856.

the mission in Bangkok and was later called the “Laos Mission”. An attempt to have a Northern Thai Bible was never really completed.<sup>227</sup> With this expansion the Siamese Bible translation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century became more relevant for the churches of Thailand.

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<sup>227</sup>This would be a different piece of research well worth doing.

## Chapter 5

### Translation, Production and Distribution of the Siamese Bible, OT Part

#### 1. The State of the Protestant Mission Work in 1865

In 1851 King Mongkut or Rama IV<sup>228</sup> acceded to the throne of Siam. His mind was set on the modernization of the country. Before he came to the throne, as a Buddhist monk he had established a friendly relationship with the missionaries and regarded Bradley and Caswell as his teachers.<sup>229</sup> Consequently with his coming to the throne the mission work was no longer looked at with suspicion, but as a partner bringing Siam up to the social and technical standard of modern countries like Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and the USA. To King Mongkut and his son King Chulalongkorn<sup>230</sup>, or Rama V his Royal Highness Prince Chula Chakrabongse referred in his book “Lords of Life” to the former as “The Enlightened” and to the latter as “The Revolutionary”.<sup>231</sup> Together they covered the period from 1851 to 1910. Their reigns and attitude towards the missionaries made possible an unhindered expansion of the mission work throughout Siam.

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<sup>228</sup>King of Siam from 1851 to 1868.

<sup>229</sup>See chapter 4 “2.3.3 Translation and publishing work by Rev. Dan Beach Bradley”, page 48-49.

<sup>230</sup>King of Siam from 1868 to 1910.

<sup>231</sup>Chula Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life, A History of the Kings of Thailand*, (Bangkok: DD Books, 1982<sup>3</sup>), 178-267.

### **1.1. The American Baptist Mission (ABM)**

In the late sixties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Baptist Mission shifted its mission emphasis gradually to the Chinese community in Siam. In 1866 Rev. J. H. Chandler sold the mission press to Rev. N. A. McDonald of the APM.<sup>232</sup> The last missionary of ABM left Siam in 1893.<sup>233</sup>

### **1.2. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the American Missionary Association (AMA)**

ABCFM as a mission was active in Siam from 1831 to 1850 and AMA from 1850 to 1874.<sup>234</sup>

In regard to the Siamese missionary enterprise both missions were very closely connected with the life and work of Dr. Dan Beach Bradley. When Bradley returned to Bangkok in 1850<sup>235</sup> he had with him the families of Dr. L. B. Lane and Professor Josiah Silsby.<sup>236</sup> The high hopes Bradley had were soon dashed when constant disagreements and mistrust strained his relationship with them. Finally both Lane and Silsby left Siam in 1855. From 1856 onward the commitment of the AMA to Siam as shown by the funds it provided was only nominal. Bradley basically worked and lived like an independent missionary.<sup>237</sup> According to McFarland's list of missionaries<sup>238</sup> the official work of the AMA ended in 1874, one year after Dan Beach Bradley had passed away and his son Cornelius returned to the USA.

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<sup>232</sup>RBFM, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, letter 21/2, dated 18 April 1866.

<sup>233</sup>(McFarland, 33).

<sup>234</sup>(McFarland, 26).

<sup>235</sup>28<sup>th</sup> May 1850. Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969), 133.

<sup>236</sup>*Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>237</sup>*Ibid.*, 143, 205.

<sup>238</sup>(McFarland, 318).



### 1.3. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (PBFM)

PBFM was the mission board which shaped the expansion of the mission work in Siam until the founding of an indigenous church in 1934, and even beyond that date.<sup>239</sup> Later it was known as “American Presbyterian Mission” (APM). While other missions were more or less withdrawing their personnel from Siam, the PBFM insisted on staying and expanding its mission there.

In order to give a full picture of the mission development up to the present day it should be mentioned that after World War II many new missions were invited both by the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT), and by other Thai Christian leaders who had left the CCT and eventually formed the Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT), as well as by other government recognized churches.<sup>240</sup>

## 2. The Beginnings of Siamese Old Testament Translation

The translation of the Siamese OT has its own history and development. As shown before, emphasis was first set on the translation of the Siamese NT. Parallel to the NT translation Dan Beach Bradley and John Taylor Jones worked on OT stories by summarizing them in a narrative style. Jones justifies this by stating:

“... when considering that an edition of 3000 copies of Matthew and Mark, separately, had just been put in circulation, it seemed very desirable to have something of Old Testament history to render those intelligible. ...”<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup>The first General Assembly of the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT) assembled April 7-11<sup>th</sup> 1934. August 16<sup>th</sup> 1957 Dr. Charles Leber, General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions presented a scroll to Rev. Puang Akkabin the Moderator of the CCT dissolving the work of the mission by placing all work and personnel under the direction of the CCT. (Wells, 143-144,192-194).

ประสิทธิ์ พงอุดม, *ประวัติศาสตร์สภาคริสตจักรในประเทศไทย*, (เชียงใหม่: หน่วยงานจดหมายเหตุ สภาคริสตจักรในประเทศไทย, 1984), 64-65, 139-141. Prasit Pongudom, *History of the Church of Christ in Thailand*, (Chiangmai: Archives of the Church of Christ in Thailand, 1984), 64-65, 139-141. (English title translated by author).

<sup>240</sup>Alex Smith, *Siamese Gold, The Church in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Kanok Bannasan, 1982), 222-223.

<sup>241</sup>BMM, p.25, dated 3 August 1848.

While Bradley emphasized easy reading and understanding by using dynamic and narrative style as a method by itself, Jones realized, that the NT would only be understood if the OT was also known. It might be concluded that OT narrative instead of translation was a shortcut to better understanding of the NT. Jones took care of printing NT books and OT narratives simultaneously.<sup>242</sup>

When Jones had finished the first Siamese NT in October 1843 it was only a matter of time to start the Siamese OT translation. On his part this was delayed because of the health of his second wife. In April 1845 the family left for Singapore, and in April the following year Jones arrived in New York via China. His wife had passed away on route. According to the 34<sup>th</sup> Annual Report he returned to Bangkok 18<sup>th</sup> February 1848 with his third wife.<sup>243</sup> While first printing a complete NT during the year 1848, Jones probably started work on a Siamese OT translation.<sup>244</sup> Mattoon reports in 1853 that this NT “was entirely destroyed by fire ...” and: “... Of the Old Testament, Genesis and Exodus only have been translated,<sup>245</sup> and these have been long out of print, and will not reprinted till revised. ...” In the same letter he mentions Bradley’s “seven or eight volumes” of Old Testament history, “which is very full and covers nearly the whole ground of the Old Testament”.

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<sup>242</sup>The above quotation continues: “... We, therefore, concluded to commence a new edition of Old Testament Biography. This was accordingly done; and an extra edition of Joseph and Moses, 2000 copies, has been struck off, and we are now distributing them. The whole work will be in two parts. The first part, to David, is nearly completed; and then we design to leave the second part till we have printed the third edition of Acts, as we very much need some authentic history of the early propagation of Christianity. The Old Testament Biography completed, we shall have published 23,000 copies of Joseph and Moses, ...” BMM 1836-1904, p.25, dated 3 August 1848.

<sup>243</sup>BMM 1836-1904, p.83, dated March 1846, p.115, dated May 1846, p.193, July 1846, July 1847, p.264, July 1848.

<sup>244</sup>BMM 1836-1904, p.255, dated July 1849.

<sup>245</sup>John Taylor Jones passed away 13<sup>th</sup> September 1851. This gave him a time window of three years at most for translating Genesis and Exodus.

The entire history at the time was in need of a reprint. He regarded it as “in the absence of the Old Testament Scriptures ... valuable”.<sup>246</sup>

However, back in 1841 Charles Robinson had translated the books of Genesis and Daniel. It is not known how they were used or if they were ever printed. The report of 1842 mentions a high level of activity at the ABCFM press with an emphasis on OT narratives.<sup>247</sup> Even Mattoon does not mention the existence of the Daniel translation. Serious OT translation was probably started in 1862. Dr. Samuel House, who compiled the Annual Report for the year ending October 1863, reported without listing any specific biblical books:

“... Progress in the work of translating the Scripture into Siamese has been made during the year, though amid many interruptions and some portions of the Old Testament never attempted before are now under way.”<sup>248</sup>

### **3. The Siamese Old Testament Translation Work**

#### **3.1 The Personnel Involved in Siamese OT Translation**

Again it has to be stated that except for accounting reports there is no hint of Thai people being involved in the translation work and no names are given.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>246</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 83, dated 7 January 1853.

<sup>247</sup>Report, Eastern Asia, Mission to Siam, 1842, p. 159.

<sup>248</sup>RBFM, reel 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 232, dated October 1863.

<sup>249</sup>See chapter 4, page 20.

### 3.1.1 Noah A. McDonald (1860 – 1886)<sup>250</sup>

McDonald served as translator, printer and field leader of the APM and was the driving force behind the completion of the first Siamese Bible.<sup>251</sup> After Mattoon had left the task of translation and printing fell to McDonald.

### 3.1.2 S. G. McFarland (1860 – 1878)<sup>252</sup>

McFarland and McDonald came to Siam on the same ship. Their arrival marked the end of the pioneer period of the mission work. In 1861 McFarland and McGilvary opened the station at Petchaburi, the first station to the south and outside Bangkok. While McFarland stayed and worked at Petchaburi for 17 years McGilvary soon moved on and became the great pioneer to the north, the land of the Lao as North Thailand was called then. During 1878 McFarland resigned from mission work and started to work for “H. S. M’s” government in order to establish a modern school system.<sup>253</sup> He also translated some OT books.

### 3.1.4 Samuel Carr George (1862 to 1873)<sup>254</sup>

George was born 8<sup>th</sup> July 1832 and passed away 1919. He graduated from Western Theological Seminary in 1861. 6<sup>th</sup> February 1862 he arrived in Bangkok and worked mainly at a school in Bangkok. Letters from June 1862 to April 1868 are not available. His letters of this period are probably lost. In one of his letters he wrote about the mission work like a soldier conquering enemy territory.<sup>255</sup> According to his station report of 1870 he had worked

<sup>250</sup>These dates state only his period of service as a missionary in Siam.

<sup>251</sup>To him belongs the story of a mission meeting where he was the sole male participant, all others female. According to the rules of those days only male missionaries could vote on motions. The meeting nearly ended in a sort of revolt. Later on McFarland wrote: “In mission affairs too, woman began to make their presence felt. Finally women were given a vote and at last were actually placed on the same basis as the men. But it came as a result of a long struggle to find themselves, felt and recognized as integral part of the mission.” (McFarland, 69).

<sup>252</sup>These dates state only his period of service as a missionary in Siam.

<sup>253</sup>(McFarland, 49-52, 61, 67).

<sup>254</sup>These dates state only his period of service as a missionary in Siam. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>255</sup>“We have been endeavoring for the last two years to take the city of Bangkok as it were by a regular

“...in all the departments of Missionary labor ...”. Also in translation: “I have also translated the books of Judges and 1st Samuel from the Hebrew into the Siamese. The former is now going to the press. ...”<sup>256</sup>

He had to leave Siam in 1873 because of some kind of disagreement with Dr. Samuel House, which was regarded as “slander”. Even his repentance did not reverse the decision which ended his missionary carrier.<sup>257</sup>

### **3.1.4 John Newton Culbertson (1871 to 1881)<sup>258</sup>**

Culbertson arrived in Siam on the 26<sup>th</sup> November 1871. For short period he worked at Petchaburi. On the 9<sup>th</sup> January 1880 in Bangkok he married Miss Belle Caldwell, the superintendent of Wang Lang School. His view on translation was very different from that of his fellow missionaries who did translation work. He also embarked on some enterprising ideas and projects which were not mission-related. Without having any personal problems with him, Rev. McDonald was of the opinion it would be good for Culbertson to return to the USA,<sup>259</sup> and because of the health of Mrs. Culbertson they left Siam in 1881.

### **3.1.5 James W. Van Dyke (1869-1886)<sup>260</sup>**

James W. Van Dyke and his wife arrived in Siam 1869 and moved to Petchaburi the same year and did their language study there.<sup>261</sup> His main work was in school and church

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siege, slowly though [forcibly] advancing upon this great strong hold of Buddhism. On the 10th last March we renewed our assault upon the enemies works, crossed the Maenam river, though not without opposition, and at night formed ourselves planted alongside the city gate. ... [It goes on talking about a new location for the work.] ... We have frequent calls for books and many come seem anxious to know about Jesus the Saviour of sinners. ...” RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 97/3/2, dated 29.04.1869.

<sup>256</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 135/3/1, dated 01.10.1870.

<sup>257</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 210/31, dated 06.03.1873, letter 218, dated 12.05.1873.

<sup>258</sup>These dates state only his period of service as a missionary in Siam. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>259</sup>RBFM, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1871-1881, letter 107, dated 5 January 1881.

<sup>260</sup>These dates state only the period of service as a missionary in Siam. For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>261</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1869-1886, letter 101/3/2, dated 21 August 1869, letter 111/3/2, dated 12 January 1870.

work, and in preparing and printing school books.<sup>262</sup> 1881/82 he was on furlough and left Siam in 1886. Besides his work in Petchaburi he was heavily involved in the translation of the Siamese Bible and was a member of the first Bible translation committee, as will be explained later.

### 3.2 OT Translation

During the Siamese NT translation period support for the work came directly from the missions and partly from the American Bible Society's (ABS) and the Tract Society's offices in New York. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the ABS established regional offices in Asia. From 1861 and for the next 25 years ABS provided a budget of US \$1000 per annum for the printing and distribution of Scriptures. 1886 Dr. Luther H. Gulick, agent of the ABS for China became also the agent of the ABS for Bible work in Siam, and from 1889 onwards ABS appointed Rev. John Carrington<sup>263</sup> as its representative in Bangkok. Carrington actually left his pastoral work in San Francisco and re-entered mission work.<sup>264</sup> This was the beginning of what eventually became the Thailand Bible Society (TBS). Rev. Carrington had the honor to be the first General Secretary of what is today the Thailand Bible Society, even though there was no such title in those days.<sup>265</sup>

After five decades of translation by individuals the topic of having a translation committee was according to the annual report raised some time in 1873/74. The missionaries set their hopes on Cornelius B. Bradley, son of Dan Beach Bradley. The committee expected to draw on his natural and idiomatic knowledge of the Siamese language as a 'missionary

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<sup>262</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1869-1886, letter 178/3/2, dated 4 May 1873, letter 287/3/2, dated 25 July 1874, letter 308/3/2, dated 29 May 1875.

<sup>263</sup>For his vita see Appendix II.

<sup>264</sup>Carrington worked as an APM missionary from 1869-1875 in Siam and had to leave for health reasons (McFarland, 251, 319).

<sup>265</sup>Sandra M. Hawley, *ABS History, Distribution Abroad*, Essay 15, Part V-F-5, Siam 1861-1900, Payap Archive, Chiangmai, Thailand, 196? [remark by the author: no exact year given, probably 1966], p. F-5-1 to F-5-11.

kid'.<sup>266</sup> He had to leave in 1874 because of "ill-health". The prospect of being able to set up a committee at that time however had to be put off until the distant future.<sup>267</sup> This was also the end of the AMA commitment to Siam.

### 3.2.1 Translation

McDonald was from the time of his arrival in 1860 up to 1866 besides language study mostly involved in printing. It is not always possible to decide who translated which book of the OT at what time. For reasons stated below McDonald was careful to report only things necessary and gives some insights into why he did not report about his work in detail:

"... You ask for some communication for the missionary papers. In my own part I cannot keep in the habit of writing for those papers partly because there are others to do it and partly because I am rather opposed to publishing more than is absolutely necessary concerning missionary operations. Then those accounts come back and we read of those here who are in different occupations from us. They are not realized as strictly [...] <sup>268</sup> and the writers are charged with making false representations of their work. ... We frequently see accounts of what Missionaries doing and that Missionaries superintending some dozen schools or assisting in translating the scriptures or some other great work and especially the encouraging prospects of their work. Those accounts sound strange in the ears of those who do not see with the same faith and enthusiasm of missionaries. They are in the main true but were of the [...] see with quite different expectations missionaries and consequently the latter are charged with publishing falsehood, and such charges as those are of course injuries to the cause. ... Every place in the east is now full of Burofians<sup>269</sup> who have come to the east to make money and the majority of whom hate the missionary and his cause and will readily grasp at any defeat they may see in him. This is what makes the

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<sup>266</sup>Time and again the senior missionaries hoped for the return and involvement of 'missionary kids' (MK) in translation work. But there was not a single MK with a significant contribution to the cause of translating the Bible into Siamese.

<sup>267</sup>RBFM, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, letter 296/2, dated 24 November 1874. (McFarland, 24).

<sup>268</sup>[...] represents words in the original which the author was unable to read because of the handwriting.

<sup>269</sup> It was not possible even by consulting others to find out what that expression means. May be it is misspelled because of the handwritten style.

missionary work of the present day such an arduous one. There have lately been some [...] charges made in some of the China papers against Missionaries and Missionary reports. ...”

However, translation work was going on. As McDonald reports, he was waiting in disappointment for a new shipment of paper from USA. During that time, which must be early 1866 and before, he writes: “Some portions of the Old Testament [have] been recently translated and [are] awaiting press but no paper and ink ...”<sup>270</sup>

At the same time extensive distribution was in progress: 1190 NT books, and 2792 tracts like OT History, The History of Creation, Elijah, and the Child’s Catechism were distributed at the APM and AMA mission compound, at Petchaburi, the station in the south, and to people with rice boats going up country. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark and the Book of Acts were printed in runs of 2500 copies each. But even with all this effort on the part of the APM with its large mission force, McDonald is not expecting to “reap an abundant harvest of souls” soon.<sup>271</sup>

While complaining again about the shipment of paper which was not yet sent he looks forward to finishing the translation of Exodus by the end of 1867, while McFarland has finished his translation of Genesis. Both were able to use an older literal translation of these books, which probably goes back to John Taylor Jones.<sup>272</sup> After nearly ten years of service in Siam McDonald felt the toll of the climate on his body. Sleep at night did not bring the energy for the daily work. In mid 1869 he was at work on the translation of the book of Joshua, which needed to be ready for going to press before the budget year ended in October.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>270</sup>RBFM, letter 32/2, dated 10 September 1866.

<sup>271</sup>RBFM, letter 42/2, dated 1 October 1866.

<sup>272</sup>RBFM, 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 83, dated 7 January 1853.

<sup>273</sup>RBFM, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, letter 100/2, dated 15 July 1869.



In the report about a translation committee the status of the Siamese OT translation was evaluated. The APM was now in charge of the translation work, and no other mission was either doing it or even present any more. But since there was a sort of an agreement that a translation committee should be established, the work was halted. All work done up to this time was looked at as provisional because it had not passed such a committee. The evaluation closed with the statement: "... True the portions of the Old Testament yet to be translated are those portions least used but still this people should have a whole Bible." The topic stops here without listing the books not yet translated, and goes on with reporting about the translation and printing of school books.<sup>274</sup>

Suddenly in 1875 McDonald was reporting on the printing of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah probably in separate volumes and a combined portion of Hosea and Joel, besides some NT books. Both books of Kings were being translated and had been nearly finished. Next in line was the book of Job which was translated the same year and probably finished during the first part of 1876.<sup>275</sup> In April 1877 he left for furlough and passed on his responsibilities to Rev. John N. Culbertson and Rev. Eugene P. Dunlap.<sup>276</sup>

Culbertson is the person who had translated the books of Ezra and Hosea and started Nehemiah in August 1875. He makes the statement: "... and then will take up Nehemiah hoping this 1875 will see a completed Siamese Bible."<sup>277</sup>

Does this mean translation of the Siamese Bible was nearly finished? If so, how many books were left and who was going to translate these books? According to what is known through correspondence up to the year 1875 the Siamese NT was complete since long ago and

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<sup>274</sup>RBFM, reel 1, letter 296/2, dated 24 November 1874.

<sup>275</sup>RBFM, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, letter 9, dated 9 November 1876.

<sup>276</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 11, dated 8 February 1877.

<sup>277</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1871-1881, letter 309/3/2, dated 2 August 1875.

constantly revised, and 16 named books of the Siamese OT had been translated.<sup>278</sup> Certainly some other books had already been done or were in the process of translation. Sometimes it was not possible to determine whether a book had been translated for the first time or was already in the process of revision.

Even though the first Siamese NT translation had been finished in 1843, there was still no Siamese Standard NT. The aim was that before completing the translation of a Siamese OT, the NT should be approved by a translation committee. This first translation committee consisted of the Revs. N. A. McDonald, J. W. Van Dyke and J. N. Culbertson. Whether there was any Siamese person in any position on this committee is not recorded but it is very unlikely. The procedure was as stated by Van Dyke in the annual meeting report:

“...Resolve that Mr. Culbertson be instructed to revise the translation of Matthew and when finished place the copy in the hands of Revs. McDonald and Van Dyke for approval. Carried. ...

Moved that Mr. McDonald revise the translation of Luke and Mr. Van Dyke that of Mark and when finished place the copies in the hands of the other members of the committee for approval. ...”<sup>279</sup>

The working relationship between Culbertson and the others was not a very good one, not for personal reasons but because of different translation principles. McDonald writes:

“... But in case Mr. Van Dyke leaves before we are through<sup>280</sup> I may have difficulty with Mr. Culbertson if [he] returns as he does not see “eye to eye” with me in the Translation of many passages. ...”<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup>See “List of biblical books and year of first translation into Siamese”, Appendix III.

<sup>279</sup>RBFM, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1869-1886, letter 47/4/3, dated 28.11.1879. The meeting was probably held 21<sup>st</sup> October 1879, since the date for the next top was the 22<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>280</sup>“through” – with the revision of the Siamese NT in order to achieve a translation committee approved Siamese Standard NT.

<sup>281</sup>RBFM, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1871-1881, letter 65, dated 20 April 1880.

What that really meant is not known, since Culbertson never wrote down his views about translation. Besides that his personality and view of the work seemed to be different from that of the other missionaries. McDonald avoided discussing the real problems in his letters but would have felt better if Rev. Culbertson had not remained in Siam any longer.<sup>282</sup> Culbertson returned to the USA in 1881 for because of his wife's health. As news of the probable return of Rev. Culbertson reached McDonald his language got stronger and he threatened to "surrender at once"<sup>283</sup> if Culbertson comes back. He did not in fact come back.

During 1881 McDonald was the only member of the translation committee left in Siam. He thought to stop with the final revision of the Siamese Standard NT after Acts, because: "... I have not the courage to undertake Paul's terrible sentences alone."<sup>284</sup>

However he did not wait for Van Dyke to return and revised Romans and Corinthians.<sup>285</sup> What is regarded as the first Siamese Standard NT was finished, printed and bound in July/August 1883, after Van Dyke had returned from furlough.<sup>286</sup>

### 3.2.2 Finalizing the Siamese OT Translation

"The Book of a Thousand Tongues" sets 1883 as the year of the completed translation of the Siamese Bible.<sup>287</sup> Facts are somehow contradicting. The correspondence of the missionaries as far as available to the author put the date of the completion of the translation process somewhere in between 1883 and 1886. There is still the possibility of other data

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<sup>282</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 107, dated 5 January 1881. Culbertson had started some enterprises unrelated to the mission, such as a gold mining business.

<sup>283</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 144, dated 12 January 1882.

<sup>284</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 125, dated 11 July 1881.

<sup>285</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 162, dated 3 June 1882.

<sup>286</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 216, dated 6 August 1883.

<sup>287</sup>Eugene A. Nida ed., *The Book of a Thousand Tongues, Revised Edition*, (London: United Bible Societies, 1972), 427.

available at the ABS<sup>288</sup> office in New York. However the margin of error, if there is any, is only minor and of an academic nature.

This last part of the Siamese Bible translation work started with the return of Van Dyke from furlough in 1882. McDonald was engaged in the revision and translation of Psalms. Since he one time calls it revision and the next time translation it is probably not the first translation of Psalms. However none of the translators except McDonald writes about a translation of Psalms before August 1883.<sup>289</sup> Revision in this context could also mean that he was revising his own draft translation. Another possibility might be that for the purpose of Christian education Psalms had been partly translated, selecting only the more commonly used Psalms like Psalm 23. But no proof for that could be found.

What are the facts about the last OT books in the process of translation? In his report about Samray mission station, dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1885 McDonald writes:

“We had no scriptures revised ready for the press except 2nd Chronicles translated by Mr. Van Dyke which is a book not needed for distribution but needed to complete the scriptures as a whole. ...”<sup>290</sup>

This seems to be an indication that 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles belonged to a group of books which had never before been translated, because for the purpose of reaching the Siamese people with the word of God, the content of 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles was not regarded as very important.

In a letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1884 Van Dyke writes:

“In the translation I am now working on the 12th chapter of 2nd Chronicles. First Chronicles is going through the press. ...”<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>288</sup>ABS, American Bible Society.

<sup>289</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 216, dated 6 August 1883, letter 227, dated 26 November 1883, letter 257, dated 28 June 1884, letter 264, dated 24 August 1884.

<sup>290</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 112, dated 31 December 1885.

<sup>291</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 300, dated 2 February 1884.

This was finished in 1884, since McDonald reported in his Samray mission station report dated 15<sup>th</sup> January 1885:

“Mr. Van Dyke has translated Chronicles but was a long time doing it - ...”

In the same report he wrote before coming to the subject of Chronicles:

“I hoped to get out the whole Bible before leaving but it is now doubtful. The prophecies of Isaiah Jeremiah & Ezekiel are still to revise or rather retranslate. Ezra Nehemiah & the minor prophets are still to be revised - I have scarcely the heart to undertake these different portions alone, ...”<sup>292</sup>

Also the book of Proverbs is not finished by the time of the Annual Report dated 1 January 1885: “I have translated during the past fifteen months the Book of Psalms, Esther and ten chapters in the Book of Proverbs. ...”<sup>293</sup>

2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles and Proverbs were probably the last books not yet translated. However there is one source which does not match the above facts: at TBS is a Siamese Bible, some books of it probably the oldest parts kept in Thailand, with no date of publication given. Also at the Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand, there is an incomplete OT, consisting of volumes II and III. Both publications feature a 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles, with a title page giving the year 1883 as the publication date.<sup>294</sup> What are the possible answers? 1) Even though it looks as if Van Dyke translated 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles for the first time, he was really doing a major revision. 2) The date 1883 represents the date of budgeting the printing of 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles. If so the actual printing was done in 1884.<sup>295</sup> 3) The date given represents the commencement of the translation, which would be a very uncommon way of dating.

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<sup>292</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 4, dated 15 January 1885.

<sup>293</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 7, dated January 1885.

<sup>294</sup>For the complete transcript of the main title page see APPENDIX I, p. 5.

<sup>295</sup>A personal example of the present author: he was supervising the publication of the Thai NT Reference Edition in 1982/83. The first edition was actually printed in 1983 but carried the publication year 1982 on its title pages. The reason was that it belonged to the budget year 1982.

It may also be of great interest that the title page of this Bible has the statement: “The Old Testament translated out of the original Hebrew except ISA. JER. and LAM. out of the English into The Siamese Language.” The first translator of these books was Dan Beach Bradley. No exact date could be established for his translation. He passed away in 1873, which suggested a date between 1870 to 1873.

In regard to McDonald and Van Dyke, as will be shown later time was running out for both. Either they or someone else translated using for the above mentioned books the shortcut via English. During this period leaving the mission work is very much on the mind of McDonald since his family has already left Siam in 1884. Besides that his own state of health was not at all good, as he writes in 1885:

“I am sorry to have to inform you that I have been sick. My liver is getting the better of me. I have a few days sickness which left me very weak and I don't offer to regain my strength. My physicians have ordered me away from Bangkok. ...”<sup>296</sup>

Liver ailments were very common among the missionaries to Siam of those days. They constantly had to go to places with a better climate, such as some places in China, or to leave for good as both McDonald and Van Dyke did in 1886.<sup>297</sup>

It could now be concluded that the work of Siamese Bible translation must have been finished before McDonald and Van Dyke left Siam for good, probably early in 1885, with Proverbs the last book to be translated. No mention was ever made of Deuteronomy, Lamentation and the Song of Solomon. However there is a note in the Annual Report of the Bangkok Mission Station for the year 1887, which covers the year 1886, written by W. G.

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<sup>296</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 37, dated 11 September 1885.

<sup>297</sup>... Although my health is better than when I last wrote to you still my constitution is in [so] weak a state that I dread the coming hot season. It has had a few days of hot weather recently and I have [been] very much prostrated. Still were it not for my family I would not go home at present. I need a change and must have one but if my family were all here I should take a trip to north China or somewhere else and by what effect that should have. You sense to take it for granted that I will not return to Siam. I have never said so in as many words. My return so far as I am concerned will depend on upon my own health and the careness [...] connected with my family. RBFM, reel 3, letter 60, dated 20 January 1886. (McFarland, 319).

McClure, that the Pentateuch was printed in one volume and Siamese Bible translation had been finished:

“ ... The press has been constantly in operation. Portions of the Scriptures and other christian books or tracts have been issued to the extent of 17500 copies. Work on the Bible is still being prosecuted as rapidly as possible. Only the [remark in the margin of the original letter: translation] Pentateuch are yet being in [...] volumes. The whole has been translated however and our great desire is to get it all ready for use.”<sup>298</sup>

The question remains, what is the evidence of “The Book of Thousand Tongues” for a completion date of 1883 for the Siamese Bible translation? The answer might be found at the ABS archives, New York. The author would like to suggest another thesis starting with that question and working through matters of translation as such up to the Today’s Thai translation work .

Another remarkable point was reached in 1894:

“On the 16th of September we reached a memorable point of our work, for on that day, copies of the last from of the Song of Solomon began to go through the press; we were able for the first time in all the history of the Siam mission to bind the entire Bible in one volume.”<sup>299</sup> (AR, 1894, p. 145).

From that time on the process of revising the Thai Bible went on. The Thai Standard Bible as a whole Bible is now in its fourth cycle of major revision. After the completion of the first Bible the next major revisions were published in 1940 and 1971 respectively. Another major revision is now under way with the NT finished in 2002 and the OT in the process of revision.

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<sup>298</sup>RBFM, reel 4, letter 0/20/7, dated 8 January 1887. (date has to be checked again!).

<sup>299</sup>Sandra M. Hawley , ABS History, Distribution Abroad, Essay 15, Part V-F-5, Siam 1861-1900, Payap Archive, Chiangmai, Thailand, 196? [remark by the author: no exact year given, probably 1966], p. F-5-2.

### 3.2.3 Printing

During the process of translation the main translators were often the missions personnel responsible for overseeing the printing office. This was true for John Taylor Jones, Stephen Mattoon, Dan Beach Bradley and Noah A. McDonald.

It started with the Gützlaff/Tomlin Gospel of Luke, printed in 1834 at Singapore and John Taylor Jones printing the Gospel of Matthew also at Singapore in 1835.<sup>300</sup> The Serampore press was briefly used by Bradley and Robinson,<sup>301</sup> while the Baptist press was arriving and in operation by December 1836.<sup>302</sup> From that time onward the missions in Siam had the independence to print whatever they wanted in any amount, provided there was enough supply of fonts, ink, and paper, which was not always the case. In 1837 Jones reported about a “combined print of 500,000 pp.” (pages) in one year, from October 1836 to September 1837. By January 1838 the total stood at 1,439,720 pages including 707,280 for Bradley and Robinson of the ABCFM.<sup>303</sup> This also shows the willingness to share the resources in a time when ABM was the only mission with modern printing facilities.

The ABCFM missionaries received their printing presses in 1837<sup>304</sup> while APM missionaries had to depend on the Baptist and Bradley’s presses until 1855 when they rented the complete AMA printing office.<sup>305</sup> This press was under the supervision of Stephen Mattoon and he kept asking for a press of their own since a rented press always raised the question who should pay for repair and replacement of essential parts. Mattoon said about having a press:

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<sup>300</sup>MR 1829/1835, dated 11 March 1835, p.376, dated 24 June 1835, p.46, Annual Report 1835, p.147.

<sup>301</sup>Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969, 94-95.

<sup>302</sup>BMM 1836-1904, dated 6 December 1836, p.49.

<sup>303</sup>BMM, dated 19 December 1837, no page number, dated 8 January 1838, p.225.

<sup>304</sup>(McFarland, 16).

<sup>305</sup>RBFM, 1 and 2 Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 107, dated 16 February 1855.



“... We look upon the press as a most important auxiliary in making known the Gospel in Siam and would here take another opportunity to urge the importance of a press upon the directors of our Mission. ...”<sup>306</sup>

Finally a press arrived in 1859 and was set up and in operation late in 1860 since the balance sheet for the budget year ending October 1860 still shows payment to the ABM and AMA for printing.<sup>307</sup> It is only the next Annual Report in 1861 which states: “... The Press has been for the first time put to work in our own Mission during year under review. ...”<sup>308</sup>

From that time onward the only limit to printing was supply of paper and ink, which had to be imported from the USA since no other paper could meet the quality standard needed for the production of higher quality print. Time and again the mission printing offices had not enough paper or paper did not arrive in time, as McDonald writes:

“... I would also state that our order for printing paper at this place was not filled and sent per Pernhattan<sup>309</sup> with the other things, which leaves [us] now entirely out of paper. We are trying to print some tracts on Chinese paper but that will not do for the scriptures. Some portions of the Old Testament have been recently translated and we [are] awaiting press but no paper & ink. [... ...] when I discovered it was not coming on the Pernhattan but [...] it [...] is again overlooked I mention it once more . ...”<sup>310</sup>

In 1866 McDonald bought a complete printing office from J. H. Chandler (ABM). As McDonald described, Chandler was forced to sell it in order to pay his debt. Obviously this gave the APM printing office more equipment as was necessary. In 1868 McDonald sold the press to Rev. Samuel Jones Smith<sup>311</sup> a former Baptist missionary now working

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<sup>306</sup>RBFM, letter 136, dated October 1856.

<sup>307</sup>RBFM, letter 172, dated October 1860.

<sup>308</sup>RBFM, letter 192, dated October 1861.

<sup>309</sup>Name of the ship.

<sup>310</sup>RBFM, reel 1, letter 252, dated 10 December 1864.

<sup>311</sup>A Burmese Adopted son of John Taylor Jones. (McFarland, 27).

independently.<sup>312</sup> Besides translation McDonald was for the rest of his missionary career more or less in charge of the APM printing office. For every year reports had to be prepared for the mission and the ABS about how many books and pages had been printed at what cost.<sup>313</sup>

### 3.2.4 Distribution

There are some mission topics on which discussion never stops: when to give things and services free and when to ask for a certain kind of payment. Agreement among missionaries is hardly ever reached. Time and again the distribution of books and tracts raised this question because the missionaries wanted to make sure that any publication given away would be read. Secondly the missionaries expected that literature would travel into closed regions and also penetrate the fabric of the heathen mind and culture from inside. For that reason Karl Gützlaff and Jacob Tomlin distributed literature to Chinese sailors going back to China on junks.<sup>314</sup> Some 35 years later the annual report for the year ending October 1865 had this entry:

“Some of the books were distributed ... and others were distributed among the rice boats going up country to be carried by them and circulated among the people there.  
...<sup>315</sup>”

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<sup>312</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 12/2, dated 18 April 1866, letter 83/2, dated 7 July 1868.

<sup>313</sup>See “3.2 OT Translation” first paragraph.

<sup>314</sup>“Saturday April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1829. During two or three days several Canton people have been for books, chiefly sailors from the newly arrived junks. They received them cheerfully and seemed to value them much, and could hardly believe that we offered them as a free boon. Some would have given us money and were embarrassed at our refusing it. On their return they would take the books to Canton for their friends.” And: “Sabbath April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1829. ... We have paid several visits to junks and supplied each with a small *export cargo* of the “precious seed” to be scattered on the large sterile plains of China.” Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok, The Journals of Tomlin, Gutzlaff and Abeel, 1828-1832*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 51, 55, also 29, 40, 42, 45-46, 56.

<sup>315</sup>RBFM, 1 and 2, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 42, dated 1 October 1865.

John Taylor Jones expected readers to give an account of the contents before receiving another tract or book.<sup>316</sup> Dan Beach Bradley emphasized the point that literature should precede the preacher.<sup>317</sup>

Jacob Tomlin in his Journal dated Tuesday, September 6<sup>th</sup> 1831 gave the following account about the ability of common people to read:

“Last night the boatmen brought the tract back, saying they had read it through with great pleasure and would be glad to have a copy of it to take home with them. There are two or three persons in the boat who also seem well disposed. All of them can read and write, though only common people, affording an additional proof that education is very common amongst the Siamese.”<sup>318</sup>

In agreement with Tomlin the common people according to the annual report of 1861 had a “... very general ability to read ...”<sup>319</sup>

But there was also a high interest among the royals to get bound copies of scriptures.<sup>320</sup> King Chulalongkorn, or Rama V ordered “...six bound copies of the Old and New Testament as far as translated ...”<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>316</sup>BMM 1836-1904, subject: Annual Report, dated June 1839, p. 143. See also chapter 4, p. 33-34, “... those who applied for them ...”.

<sup>317</sup>Donald C. Lord, *Mo Bradley and Thailand*, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969), 93-94. See also chapter 4, p. 43-44, “So he concluded: ...”.

<sup>318</sup>Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok, The Journals of Tomlin, Gutzlaff and Abeel, 1828-1832*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 99.

<sup>319</sup>“... There is no more important print of our work than this of giving a Christian literature to such a people as this who with a very general ability to read have no printed books and few manuscripts works in evaluation, and who are even ready to accept of any thing in the way of books which may be offered. ...” RBFM, reel 1 and 2, Incl. Dates: 1840-1865, letter 192/1, dated 1 October 1861.

<sup>320</sup>“... There appears to be a growing desire amongst many of the young princes and nobles to get bound copies of the scriptures. Whether they want them for the purpose of studying them or for mere curiosity I do not know. Six of the younger brothers of the King have called up on me for copies of the scriptures and I have supplied them. They are all very pleasant little fellows and so far as I can judge really wish to know something about Christianity.” RBFM, reel 2, letter 303/2, dated 17 March 1875.

<sup>321</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 307/2, dated 25 May 1875.  
Ten years later in a report to the ABS McDonald writes: “... Many of the princes and nobles are trying to imitate Europeans in collecting libraries, and they would purchase the Bible as a whole, while they would not buy by piecemeal.” (AR 1885, pp. 125-126). Sandra M. Hawley, *ABS History, Distribution Abroad*, Essay 15, Part V-F-5, Siam 1861-1900, Payap Archive, Chiangmai, Thailand, 1966, p. F-5-3.

From the beginning of the Protestant mission work the most common way of distribution was either people coming to the mission compound at the stations in Bangkok and up country or the missionaries venturing out on mission trips. In the annual report for 1862 McDonald wrote about going out to neighbors, temples, along the canals by boat and into the city. All that work took place with no visible results.<sup>322</sup> All the labor seemed to be in vain as reported by P. L. Carden in 1866:

“... Mr. McDonald made a flying trip, a short time since to Nokburi a station about 50 miles up the Menam.<sup>323</sup> He tells the usual story - [...] treatment and a willingness to hear all that he had to say and to receive and read that which was offered to them, but nothing more.”

During the year 1865-66 1250 portions of Scripture and 2812 tracts and books on various Christian topics were distributed.<sup>324</sup>

Coming to the matter of “gratuitous distribution” it was as late as 1885 before McDonald wrote about the opinion he had reached by then:

“Some three years ago Dr. Gilmore<sup>325</sup> wrote on that we must stop the gratuitous distribution of scriptures, and make an effort to sell. Which we have done after some trouble as Mr. Dunlap & some others were in favor of continuing the gratuitous distribution. We cannot force on [our] scriptures on this people & my fear [is they] are as yet [not] willing to buy even at nominal price. I must think that the gratuitous distribution should have been stopped years ago. If however the Society want us to return to the old method we can put out the scriptures fast enough. Perhaps one of every 20 would be read and the remainder would be sold to the waste paper man and

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<sup>322</sup>RBFM, reel 1, letter 219/1, dated 1 October 1862.

<sup>323</sup>River “Chao Praya”, or short “Menam” which means “River”. The most important waterway in Thailand which comes into existence through the confluence of its northern tributaries the Ping, Wang, Yom, and Nan .

<sup>324</sup>RBFM, reel 2, letter 42/2, dated 1 October 1866.

<sup>325</sup>In the author’s transcript of the handwritten letter it is “Gilmore”. Looking at other sources the author came to the conclusion it could also be Dr. Gulick, the ABS agent for China, who was from 1886-1890 also the agent for Siam. If Gilmore is correct, than it must be someone from the mission board.

be made into paper dolls and [...]. Besides there are but ten portions of the scriptures which can be distributed with profit. Aside from the Gospels & some of the historical portions of the Old Test it is useless to distribute. The natives do not understand the epistles or the prophecies and they will not reach them - our object is to [accomplish] a complete Bible & then perhaps some will buy it as a whole. We have sold a number of copies of the complete New Testament.”<sup>326</sup>

Rules were set up for distribution as reported in the annual report of 1888 by Egon Wachter.<sup>327</sup>

“It was resolved that the prices of the publications of the American Bible Society be the basis for the prices of our own publications and that the money realized from the sale of our own publications be used toward paying the wages of the colporteurs of the different stations. ...”<sup>328</sup>

He had earlier taken over responsibility for the press from McDonald.

The year McDonald left Siam for good (1886), the ABS appointed Dr. Luther H. Gulick as supervisor for the Bible work in Siam. He was already serving as the Agent for China. He acknowledged that 50 years of free distribution were difficult to reverse. A colporteur superintendent was needed. As the missionaries realized before, the proportionate number of literate people at that time was larger than in other Asian countries with the

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<sup>326</sup>RBFM, reel 3, letter 4, dated 15 January 1885.

In a report to the ABS McDonald writes: “... We have discontinued gratuitous distribution of Scriptures, except in a few exceptional cases, but very few persons are willing to buy, even at a nominal price. We have no regular colporteurs, the selling being done by ourselves and our native assistants. ...” (AR 1885, pp. 125-126). Sandra M. Hawley, *ABS History, Distribution Abroad*, Essay 15, Part V-F-5, Siam 1861-1900, Payap Archive, Chiangmai, Thailand, 1966, p. F-5-3.

<sup>327</sup>Egon Wachter (Wächter) is after Gützlaff only the second missionary of German decent. He was born 29<sup>th</sup> November 1855 at Veringenstadt, Germany, and educated at St. Vincent's Catholic Seminary, Bavaria, 1876-80. This means he was originally a Catholic and converted to become a Protestant later. He attended Western Theological Seminary from 1881-1884. In May 1884 he was ordained by the Presbytery of Pittsburgh, and arrived in Bangkok 10 August 1884 where he lived and worked until 1888. On the 14<sup>th</sup> October 1886 he married Rebecca Leck, widow of Charles David McLaren. During an extended furlough he received his medical education at Kansas City Medical College 1890-1893. After returning to Siam he worked at Ratjaburi 1893-1908, Bangkok 1910-1912, Sritamarat 1912-1916, Trang 1917-1923. During World War I, being a trusted person, he was not taken to an internment camp as was the usual procedure with persons of German descent, but was allowed to move freely inside the boundary of the province of Trang. He died 12 August 1925 in retirement in the U.S.

<sup>328</sup>RBFM, reel 4, letter 0/20/7, dated 8 January 1888.

exception of Japan. Bible translation into Siamese was completed. So emphasis could change to the topics of producing a whole Bible and a system of distribution. The latter proved to be the harder. Very soon it was clear that an Agent for China located in Shanghai was not able to supervise Siam and Rev. John Carrington having served in Siam before (1869-1875) was appointed the Bible Societies Agent for Siam in 1890. Under his supervision that “memorable point” was reached, when the first complete Siamese Bible in one volume was published in 1894.<sup>329</sup>

That brings to a close the known and unknown labor and sacrifices of three generations of missionaries and their mostly unnamed Thai co-workers for one great cause: Making the Word of God known in the language of the people of Thailand.

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<sup>329</sup>Sandra M. Hawley, *ABS History, Distribution Abroad*, Essay 15, Part V-F-5, Siam 1861-1900, Payap Archive, Chiangmai, Thailand, 1966 , p. F-5-2 to F-5-6.

## Chapter 6

### **The Use of Sacred Expressions and Proper Nouns During the Process of Siamese Bible Translation**

A main topic for any translation is the question of the cultural setting in which the target audience lives. Questions arise such as what expressions to use for God, Jesus, Holy Spirit, Baptism or how to transliterate biblical names; does the receptor language use a kind of high or royal language and is it necessary to use this language in the Bible?; how to name the books of the Bible?; are the cultural concepts of the Bible understood? The list could go on and on.

In Thai Bible translation the questions of proper names for the persons of the Trinity, names of people and the extent of the use of royal language are ongoing points of discussion which may not find a final resolution but need to be addressed every time a revision of the Bible is undertaken. Since these questions are usually decided very early in the course of Bible translation it should be looked at how the Bible translators of the Siamese Bible dealt with these questions. However, going into translation questions and how the translators over the last 170 years since publication of Gützlaff's and Tomlin's Gospel of Luke<sup>330</sup> dealt with the matter would be a further research topic in itself. The discussion has to start with what is available of Siamese translation work by the Roman Catholics, which was initiated long before Gützlaff. The author recommends that such research should be done, since its benefits would feed into future revision projects. Within the scope of this thesis the issues will be touched only on the surface.

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<sup>330</sup>Henceforth it will be referred to as "Gützlaff/Tomlin".

## 1 Today's Thai Bibles – an Overview

The latest Thai NT revision is the Thai NT 2002, while the OT revision is under way. The most used Thai Bible at present is the Thai Standard Bible 1971 in the Reduced Size Edition of 1998 with minor corrections of the 1971 edition.

Not widely used and out of print is the Thai Common Language Bible 1980. The author owns the 1985 edition which includes the Apocrypha. Only 2000 copies of this particular edition were printed while the separate OT and NT, and complete Bibles in one volume were printed earlier and later in more than one edition. These Bibles are all published and distributed by the Thailand Bible Society. For other contemporary Thai translations see Appendix I, p. 101-102.

## 2 The Use of the Names for the Trinity

### 2.1 พระเจ้า – God

#### 2.1.1 Khâm Són Christang (1796)

“Khâm Són Christang” was the first ever printed book in Siam as explained in chapter 2 under “2.1 The Jesus Story”. Its content is doctrinal. Since it is in Roman script one has to figure out the applied rules of reading and how they relate to the Thai alphabet in order to understand it. Besides that it uses the Thai language of 200 years ago.

The book starts with a Bible quotation from Daniel 12:3.<sup>331</sup> In the opening section a general statement is given about God the creator of all things and Jesus as the person who

<sup>331</sup>[remark: ‘f’ is the old ‘s’], copy from the original: Banda dai rap qham fon cha rung ru’ang thau famo’ éeng thong fa, lee phu fu’ng fu’c fon qhon pen an mac hàì thu’ qhuam xop than ; nan làu co praduchadarg dau duang hamro’n iu pen nima nirandon pai. Daniel bot 12 lèò 3..

Thai71: บรรดาคนที่ฉลาด จะ ส่องแสง เหมือน แสง ฟ้า และ บรรดา ผู้ ที่ ได้ ให้ คน เป็น อัน มาก มา สู่ ความ ซอบธรรม จะ ส่องแสง เหมือน อย่าง ดาว เป็น นิตย์ นีรันดร์

RSV: And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever.

L84: Und die da lehren, werden leuchten wie des Himmels Glanz, und die viele zur Gerechtigkeit weisen, wie die Sterne immer und ewiglich.



leads man to heaven. The name of God is only used in a descriptive form by using the general word “pra:” พระ or “pra:phu pen iu, lee ching thiang thee” พระผู้เป็นอยู่และจริงเที่ยงแท้ “The God who is, the true and living one”.<sup>332</sup> It is also used with some attributes like “God the holy” or, “chau xivitr”<sup>333</sup> which would be in Thai script เจ้าชีวิต, English “Lord of Life” or “than phu ben chau thi lon thi pon” ท่านผู้เป็นเจ้าที่ล้นที่พ้น “The One who is Lord who exceeds all others”.<sup>334</sup> It shows how the writer of this Christian teaching book searched for a proper expression for “God”, which gave a clear meaning to an audience who had not heard of God before.

As a sort of introduction to the Christian faith the whole book was compiled in the form of questions and answers. It dealt in three chapters with the basic questions of life, why we are created, how to receive salvation, how to reach heaven, and who God is.

Another question is when and who introduced the word “Phracâaw” พระเจ้า which is the Thai expression for God. The next text printed in Thai and this time in Thai characters was done at Serampore, India by John Leyden in 1819. It was the catechism in Burmese of Adoniram Judson translated by his wife Ann Hazeltine into Siamese. That was only 23 years after “Khâm Són Christang”.<sup>335</sup> This publication has not been available to the present author and may no longer exist.

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<sup>332</sup>*KHÂM SÓN CHRISTANG Phác ton*, reprint (no date) with ‘FORWARD FOR THE: “KHAM SON CHRISTANG”’ by Manit Jumsai, (Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand), before p.1 (romanized Thai).

<sup>333</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>334</sup>George Bradley McFarland, *Thai-English Dictionary*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972<sup>2</sup>) s.v. under “ล้น” see “ล้นพ้น”, 727.

<sup>335</sup>English: (Jumsai, 5-7), ไทย: (ซุมสาย 12-13).

### 2.1.2 Gospel of Luke (1834)

In Gützlaff/Tomlin the word “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า for God is already used. The only other Christian books translated and partly printed before that were “Khâm Són Christang”, Ann Hazeltine Judson’s catechism and her Gospel of Matthew,<sup>336</sup> and some other tracts by Gützlaff and Tomlin. A search and comparison of Luke 1 with Luke 1 in Thai Standard 2002 shows only minor differences in the usage of “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า. The comparison also shows the high quality of the translation, always bearing in mind that it was the very first translation of a biblical book into Siamese still available. The translator usually named is Gützlaff. However Jacob Tomlin might have been the person who did the final corrections before it was printed. As he stated in his journal:

Saturday, October 15<sup>th</sup>, 1831. ... I have this day finished a revision of Luke’s Gospel, having had the assistance of Chaou Bun, a learned Cambojan, who has a critical knowledge of Siamese seldom attained even by a native. He has been a great help to Gutzlaff in the translation wrote out copies of the whole New Testament. ...

However Chaou Bun looked at Christianity and “our sacred books” as something inferior to the Buddhist teaching and religion.<sup>337</sup>

### 2.1.3 Acts of the Apostles (1841)

The examination of Paul’s sermon at Pisidian Antioch in ACT 13:16-41, addressed to Jews in the Synagogue, (the “Rooṅ-tham” โรงธรรม<sup>338</sup> as Robinson translates), and of his

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<sup>336</sup>A data sheet of the ABS with the code: BMT#903, LID# 1452, Ethn: THJ, has the following entry: “Earlier in Rangoon Ann Hazeltine Judson translated portions of Matthew and a catechism, but only the catechism was published (Serampore 1819). See chapter 3, “1.1 The Beginning in Burma”.

<sup>337</sup>Anthony Farrington (ed.), *Early Missionaries in Bangkok, The Journals of Tomlin, Gutzlaff and Abeel, 1828-1832*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2001), 100.

<sup>338</sup>“Rong-... โรง-...” is any building used for some big purpose such as a factory, school, hospital, hotel, rice mill, printing shop, or slaughter-house. Today’s Thai Standard Bible uses “Thama-Sāalaa ธรรมศาลา”. “Sala” is mostly used for a small open building for giving rest and shade to visitors or travelers. It is also used for buildings of larger size, such as assembly halls for religious or community purpose if they have not the status of a temple. In NT times there was only the one temple in Jerusalem.

preaching to Gentiles in Athens in ACT 17:22-31 shows that Robinson used “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า less than the Thai Standard NT 2002 and the pronoun “Phrá-ong” พระองค์ more often.

Both examples show that the use of “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า was established right from the beginning of the Siamese Bible translation process. Any translation up to the present day is using this expression for God.

The Thai Standard Bible 1940:

This Bible used “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า where KJV and RSV used “God” which is the Hebrew “Elohim” (GEN 1:1). The Thai Standard Bible 1971 also used “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า for Elohim.

“Phrá-Jahova” พระยะโฮวา was used where the KJV and RSV use “LORD” which is the Hebrew “YAHWEH” (for instance in DEU 4:4). The Thai Standard Bible 1971 also used “Phrá-Jehova” พระเยโฮวาห์, and the Thai Good News used “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า.

“Ong-Phrá-Phu-ben-câaw” องค์พระผู้เป็นเจ้า was used where the KJV and RSV use “Lord” which is the Hebrew “Adonai” (for instance in GEN 18:27). The Thai Standard Bible 1971 has “Phrácâaw” พระเจ้า, and Thai Good News uses the pronoun “Phrá-ong” พระองค์.

“Phrá-Jahova-haeng-pon-yotha” พระยะโฮวา แห่ง พลโยธา was used where the KJV and RSV use “LORD of hosts”. The Hebrew meaning is an army of servants (for instance in PSA 24:10). The Thai Standard Bible 1971 has “Phrácâaw-chom-yotha พระเจ้าจอมโยธา”. A check

of every occurrence may well reveal that the use of the different names of God in any one of the translations is not entirely consistent.

During the last major revision of the Thai Bible which started in 1954 and was published in 1971 the names of God were one significant issue. In a letter to the revision committee, dated 14<sup>th</sup> June 1956 Herbert Grether<sup>339</sup> has this proposal:

“... Since our March meeting, at which we decided to experiment with using พระเจ้า for พระยะโฮวา, the Working Committee has had some second thoughts. ... We are now proposing the following system, which will enable us to tell at a glance what the Hebrew behind the term is:

God	พระเจ้า	[Phrácâaw]
Jehovah	พระเจ้า <sup>340</sup>	[Phrácâaw]
Lord	องค์พระผู้เป็นเจ้า	[Ong-Phrá-pu-ben-câaw]
Jehovah God	สมเด็จพระเจ้า	[Sömdèt-Phrácâaw]
Lord Jehovah or Jehovah Lord	องค์สมเด็จพระเจ้า	[Ong-Sömdèt-Phrácâaw]
Lord God	องค์สมเด็จพระเจ้า	[Ong-Sömdèt-Phrácâaw]

Note that the elements of a combination may be known by the following clues:

1. All terms that represent a combination may be known by the presence of the word สมเด็จพระ [Sömdèt]
2. All combinations that have “Lord” in them may be known by the presence of องค์ [Ong]

<sup>339</sup>Rev. Herbert Grether was the leading non-Thai person on the revision team of the Thai Bible revision project which eventually lead to the Thai Bible 1971 edition. The team consisted of 11 members.

<sup>340</sup> ๗ Thai character which represents words not written but known, a so called retention. Example, the Thai Name of Bangkok: กรุงเทพฯ Krungthep ๗ is generally understood as “Krungthep Mahanakhon Ratanakosin ...”.

3. All combinations with “Jehovah” are to be known by the presence of ๑

This leaves only one form, “Jehovah God”, in which one element of the combination needs to be deduced -- and that is readily done. We have also come to the conclusion that it is impossible to avoid the retention of Jehovah in some cases, where the name has special significance as a name. ...”

Finally this proposal did not come to pass. One reason was that even a person of the status and knowledge of Momrajawong<sup>341</sup> Kukrit Pramoj หม่อมราชวงศ์ คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช<sup>342</sup> did not really understand the “problem and purpose”<sup>343</sup> of some parts of the proposed names of God. The judgement of an authority in Thai literature like M.R. Kukrit Pramoj could not be overlooked.

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<sup>341</sup>Momrajawong (M.R.) หม่อมราชวงศ์ (ม.ร.ว.) is a royal title.

<sup>342</sup>M.R. Kukrit Pramoj did some important checking on the Thai Standard Bible 1971 from the point of view of classical Thai literature. M.R. Kukrit Pramoj (1911-1995) was a leading political and literary figure in Thailand during the four decades after World War II, authoring the Thai constitution of 1974 and serving as Prime Minister, among other activities. He is famous for the novel, which is already a Thai classic “Four Reigns” “สี่แผ่นดิน”. It is Kukrit Pramoj’s longest book and follows the lives and the families of minor courtiers from the absolute monarchy of the closing years of the last century to the Allied bombing raids on Bangkok in the mid-1940’s. Anyone interested in Thailand will find this an intriguing tale. Source: [http://www.dcothai.com/product\\_info.php?products\\_id=48](http://www.dcothai.com/product_info.php?products_id=48) [23.12.2004].

M.R. Kukrit, a direct descendant of King Rama II (1809-1824), was probably the leading intellectual of his generation in Thailand and one who was as close to achieving status as a "renaissance man" as any figure in contemporary Asia. Socially prominent because of his royal connections, he was also the founder and publisher of Thailand’s most influential Thai language newspaper (*Siam Rath*) and weekly magazine (*Siam Rath Sapadaan*), the author of more than 30 books, a university professor, radio commentator, economist, capitalist (owner of the Indra Hotel), actor (the Prime Minister in the film *The Ugly American*), and narrator on an American educational television film series on Asian civilizations. Source: <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/momrajawong-kukrit-pramoj/> [23.12.2004].

<sup>343</sup>Letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1964 to “Saranya and Francis”, probably Rev. Saranya Chairattana ศจ.ศรัณย์ ชัยรัตน์ and Rev. Francis M. Seely. The letter is signed “Herb”, probably Herbert Grether. All these persons were on the revision committee of the Thai Bible 1971. Rev. Saranya is regarded as the leading Thai translator of the project.

## 2.2 พระเยซู – Jesus

In its foreword “Khâm Són Christang” uses “JESU-Christo”.<sup>344</sup> Later the expression “thàn maha thai” ท่านมหาไทย, “The Great Free”<sup>345</sup> is used throughout the book. Sometimes in capital letters: “thàn Maha Thai”.<sup>346</sup>

Gützlaff/Tomlin used เยซู “Yesu” without the royal “Phrá” in front of the name. Only after the resurrection in LUK 24:3 he changed to พระเยซู “Phrá-Yesu”, but only for the case where the women were looking for the “corpse of Jesus” ซากพระเยซู. In LUK 23:52 Joseph of Arimathea asks Pilate for the ฝี่เยซู “Phi-Yesu”, in this case “corpse of Jesus”.<sup>347</sup>

Robinsons’s 1841 Acts of the Apostles has พระเยซู “Phrá-Yesu”, which refers of course to Jesus after resurrection. A Gospel translated by Robinson has not been available to the present author.

## 2.3 พระวิญญาณบริสุทธิ์ – Holy Spirit

On page 19 of “Khâm Són Christang” the Story of Pentecost is explained and it tells:

“T. than maha thai qhu’n favan leeu dai prôt qee manut prcan dai ic.

K. than qhu’n favan leeu, na: van qhamrôb fib dai pesithanat hai p. o. p.chitr<sup>348</sup>  
fadet long ma thu’ng fanusit, ...”

<sup>344</sup>KHÂM SÓN CHRISTANG Phác ton, reprint (no date) with ‘FORWARD FOR THE: “KHAM SON CHRISTANG”’ by Manit Jumsai, (Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand), before p.1 (romanized Thai).

<sup>345</sup>Ibid., 13.

<sup>346</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>347</sup>Mostly ฝี่ “Phi” is spirit or ghost. In this case it means “corpse”. George Bradley McFarland, Thai-English Dictionary, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972<sup>2</sup>) s.v. “ฝี่”, 547.

<sup>348</sup>The author’s photocopy is not very clear. In “p..chitr” are either no letter at all, or an “a” or “ra” is missing. This would make it into “pachitr” or “prachitr”. If there was no letter at all, it would also be pronounced “pachitr”.

คำถาม. ท่านมหาไทยขึ้นสวรรค์แล้ว ได้โปรดแก่มนุษย์ประการใดอีก.

คำตอบ. ท่านขึ้นสวรรค์แล้ว, ณ วัน qham รบสิบได้ pesithanat ให้ p.o. พระจิตเสด็จลงมาถึง  
 สนุศิษย์.<sup>349</sup>

The word for Holy Spirit there is “pachitr” พระจิตร์ which is also used in the Thai Good News as “Phrá-jid” พระจิต. Gützlaff/Tomlin uses พระจิตร์ “Phrá-jid”, Robinson’s Acts of the Apostles has พระวิญญาณ บริสุทธิ “Phrá-winjaan-borisut” which is used later with the exception of a minor spelling difference: พระวิญญาณบริสุทธิ. Obviously the change took place between the translation work of Gützlaff/Tomlin and the translation of Robinson or may be John Taylor Jones. The question remains why the early translators did at first agree with พระจิตร์ “Phrá-jid” and later changed to พระวิญญาณ บริสุทธิ “Phrá-winjaan-borisut”. Things like this unfortunately are not discussed in any of the letters or annual reports. However the question was raised again when the Thai Common Language Bible 1980 changed from พระวิญญาณ บริสุทธิ “Phrá-winjaan-borisut” to พระจิตร์ “Phrá-jid”. That change was one of many reasons that this Thai Bible was not accepted. The prejudice was that the Roman Catholic Church members of the translation committee were able to prevail with their proposal, but on this matter that was not a just assessment.

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<sup>349</sup>Translation by author: Question. When Jesus ascended to heaven, what promise for men did he leave behind. Answer. When he ascended to heaven, after the 10<sup>th</sup> day was Pentecost and the Holy Spirit came down on the disciples.

The author had the privilege to ask the leading translator of the Thai Common Language Bible 1980, Mrs. Jitbanjong Pimparat นาง จิตบรรจง พิมพ์รัตน์, about this question during a Pre-Translation-Workshop meeting 27<sup>th</sup> February 1997. As she explained, “Phrá-jid” พระจิต has a deeper meaning while “Phrá-winjaan-borisut” พระวิญญาณบริสุทธิ means only “a certain kind of a good spirit”.<sup>350</sup> In her paper about the history of the Thai Common Language Bible 1980 prepared for that meeting she explained that as a rule for Common Language Bibles, all words strange to non-Christians had to be checked:

“The word that was mentioned widely, was Holy Spirit. For Thai Christians use the same word as the spirits of great monks who can perform miracles, heal the sick and fulfill one’s vow. But for Christians, this word means the Spirit of our mighty God. So we searched another word and got “Pra Jit” from the standard version 1971.<sup>351</sup> This happened to be the same word that Roman Catholics use in nowadays. At the time I had no relationship with Catholics.”<sup>352</sup>

Since the translation of the word “Baptism” has been discussed before only the change in the Thai Common Language Bible 1980 needs to be mentioned as one further example.<sup>353</sup> It translates “Phítii-cháj-Náam-khâw-caarít” พิธีใช้น้ำเข้าจารีต which means: “the ceremony

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<sup>350</sup>Personal notes of the author, dated 27<sup>th</sup> February 1997: “Mrs. Jitbanjong explained: The word for ‘Holy Spirit’ พระวิญญาณบริสุทธิ used in the Standard Thai translation passes on the meaning of being the Spirit or Ghost of a person passed away. In order to avoid that misunderstanding the word ‘clean’ บริสุทธิ is added. But even than non christians still understand that this is a ‘good Ghost’ because the person did many good things in life, like Jesus did. So in TCL the word ‘Prajid’ พระจิต is used. The committee decided to take that word because it was used in 1940 translation. But the critics pointed out this word pleases the Roman Catholic Church. The word for ‘Priest’ ปู่โรหิต used in the Standard Thai translation has the meaning of being the ‘Royal Master of Ceremony’ which comes short of the meaning of being a priest. So they decided for the word ‘Sama-na’ สมณะ instead.”

<sup>351</sup>It is not very clear what is meant by “from the standard version 1971”, since the only places are 1KI 21:5; 2KI 23:3; 23:25; 2CH 34:31.

<sup>352</sup>Handout on the history of the Thai Common Language Bible 1980, by Mrs. Jitbanjong Pimparat, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1997, at Thailand Bible Society office, Bangkok. Also the handout on the same subject by Rev. Tonglaw Wongkamchai and Mrs. Daranee Pradabchananurat.

<sup>353</sup>See chapter 4, page 46-47, “... Mattoon comes to the remark mentioned before: ...”.



using water to become a proselyte”.<sup>354</sup> The aim was to avoid a foreign word.<sup>355</sup> However this example shows that the meaning is somehow incomplete and also misleading.

### 3 The Use of Royal Language

As shown above the Gützlaff/Tomlin Gospel of Luke avoided the royal “Phrá” for Jesus as long as Jesus was in a human body. Consequently the royal prefix “ทรง” “soj” which is used over 250 times in the Thai Standard NT 2002 and which changes an ordinary Thai verb to a royal verb is not used. Gützlaff/Tomlin used the royal “we” instead of “I” “เรา” “raw’ ” for Mary and Jesus. Whereas the Thai Standard NT 2002 in LUK 2:48 has “พ่อกับแม่” “Phôo-káb’ -Mée” “father and mother” Gützlaff/Tomlin had “พ่อแม่เรา” instead of “mother” the royal “we”. In places where NT 2002 has “พระบิดา” “Phrá-bìdaa” the royal word “Father” as a pronoun for God, Gützlaff/Tomlin used only “พ่อ” “Phôo” which is the common word “father”. In Gützlaff/Tomlin the royal word for “speak” “ตรัส” “tràd” was used very inconsistently both in usage and spelling. Mostly it was avoided. In LUK 1:44 it was spelled “ตรัส” “tràd” and in LUK 4:12 “ตรัส” “dràd”. A random check on other royal words shows that it might be concluded that the early translators<sup>356</sup> were aware of the royal language but used it only as John Taylor Jones explained:

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<sup>354</sup>Handout on the history of the Thai Common Language Bible 1980, by Rev. Tonglaw Wongkamchai ศจ. ทองหล่อ วงศ์กำชัย and Mrs. Daranee Pradabchananurat นาง ดารณี ประดับชานานรัตน์, 27<sup>th</sup> February 1997, at Thailand Bible Society office, Bangkok.

<sup>355</sup>Personal experience: The author presented a Thai-German NT to a non-Christian Thai woman living in Germany for a number of years and with a good knowledge of the German language. She opened the NT, looked at the section heading which happened to be about baptism and said by first reading the German heading: “Now I know what baptism is called in Thai.”

<sup>356</sup>Gützlaff, Tomlin, Jones and Robinson.

“... when necessity (not ornament) demands it.”<sup>357</sup>

John Taylor Jones was the first who discussed the matter of royal language in a letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> February 1842, which the author has explained above.<sup>358</sup>

In the case of Gützlaff/Tomlin there seemed to be an uncertainty about the usage of royal language which they cannot be blamed for since the whole process of Siamese Bible translation was in its infancy and both translators had their mind set on going on to China.

As written above, for the purposes of this thesis the issue of royal language can be dealt with only superficially. It would require a huge research effort to examine the various NT and OT translations and records just on the theme of “Use of Royal Language”. However it would be a great benefit for any future translation project. It should be done by a Thai person with a proven ability in Thai language and literature and the biblical languages, or with a scholar of biblical languages as an adviser.

#### **4 The Use of Proper Names**

When the spelling and pronunciation of Gützlaff/Tomlin’s and Robinson’s list of the Apostles in LUK 6:14-15, ACT 1:13 in the 1834 Gospel of Luke and the 1841 Acts of the Apostles are compared with the Thai Standard Bible of 1940 the differences are only minor. This shows that the most translators followed the unwritten basic rule as stated in a more recent paper called “Principles Governing the Revision of the Thai Bible” (paragraph 26) of the translation and revision project which lead to the Thai Standard Bible 1971:

26. Transliterations of proper names are to be based upon the Greek and Hebrew, except in case of words in modern usage, e.g. Persia, Egypt, and Jordan.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>357</sup>BMM 1836-1904, dated 1 February 1842, p. 250, selected photocopied material at: Manuscript Division, Payap University, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>358</sup>See chapter 4, page 39ff, “Immediately after furlough ...”.

<sup>359</sup>“Principles Governing the Revision of the Thai Bible”, 1958, no exact date given.

Even though the rule was set and agreed by the translators of the Thai Standard Bible 1971 they finally departed from this rule in two areas: 1) proper names were changed and transliterated according to English pronunciation. 2) names of biblical books, when not bearing the name of a person were changed to make them more meaningful. While the changes of book names proved to be good and helpful, the changes of proper names caused a lot of opposition and confusion. The Thai Standard Bible 1971, published as Reduced Size Bible in 1998 still maintains a list of new and old book names for comparison. The change took place during the last period of the translation process, since the Thai NT 1967, which was already the new translation still contained the old names.

The author's personal involvement with this issue was in the publication of the first Thai NT Reference edition (1982), which was also the last edition using the old names but the new 1971 translation. Being a "young" missionary at this time the author was not involved in the decision about the names but was responsible for the final publication stages such as the final check, layout, maps and printing. Finally this NT was published in a second edition with the new names (1989).<sup>360</sup> This project eventually led to the Thai Study Bible project which is still under way.

As stated above, it is highly recommended that this thesis should be used as a springboard for another thesis which would emphasize less the history of the translation and more the details of the various translations. Future research should examine more of the early publications, which may be found at some Baptist archives and certainly at the ABS archives.

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<sup>360</sup>This project was initiated by Rev. Ernst Horn and finished by the author, both sent out by Marburger Mission, Germany, and working in the Church of Christ in Thailand. The project was executed in full co-operation with Thailand Bible Society, even though the insistence on the old names caused some discussion. But the greater problem was the fact of having detailed references. Suspicion of putting in theologically biased references had to be overcome. By the time the author took over from Rev. Horn a relationship of trust had been established, which the author still enjoys.

Suggested questions to be answered include the following: What impact did the development in Bible manuscript research since Konstantin von Tischendorf<sup>361</sup> have on the different translations and revisions? What was the influence of English Bibles on Thai Bibles?<sup>362</sup> What lessons are to be learnt from the failure of the Thai Common Language 1980 and how could it be revived?

The author has listened to many critical voices about the translation and revision work for the Thai Standard Bible 1971. Some are well founded, but others favored a certain theological view and insisted to have it inserted into the translation, which on the basis of principle and honesty to the Bible text was impossible to maintain. Besides giving the honor to God, who presented his Word to all mankind, one should keep in mind:

Translators who worked for two centuries on the Thai Bible translation have done their utmost to pass on the Word of God in the language of the people of Thailand closest to the natural equivalent of the Thai language, first in meaning, secondly in style and above all with great faithfulness. Every reader of the Thai Bible should respect and be thankful for this great achievement. It is the task of future generations of translators to pass on the Word of God with the same attitude and the same willingness to sacrifice in order to get the Word published and understood. This is the lesson of faith taught to us the living generation by previous generations who lived and passed on the Word like a torch. We must take care that it will shine brightly.

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<sup>361</sup>Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von Tischendorf, born 1815 at Langenfeld, died 1874 at Leipzig. He studied Theology and Philology. Besides other important achievements regarding ancient Bible manuscripts he discovered the Codex Sinaiticus at the Mount Sinai monastery.

<sup>362</sup>The present author realized many times when comparing Thai and German that the translation seemed to be different. A look at RSV usually provided the reason.

## Appendix I

### Tables of Translation Periods

**Table – 1 Early Translations of the Bible from A. D. 150 to 1000**

Time	Translator	Translation	Remarks
150		First Latin translation. <sup>363</sup>	
about 200		Early translation of the New Testament into Latin. <sup>364</sup>	Vetus Latina or Itala
250		Coptic New Testament or complete Bible?	Bohairic Version <sup>365</sup>
300-400		Peshitta	Syriac Version <sup>366</sup>
330-550		Geez Bible <sup>367</sup>	Ethiopia
350-380	Wulfila	In the area which today's Bulgaria the Bible is translated into Gothic. <sup>368</sup>	Gothic Bible
382-420	Hieronymus	The Old Testament is translated from Hebrew and the early Latin New Testament translation revised.	Vulgate
400	Jerome	Latin Bible <sup>369</sup>	Vulgate
about 800	Alcuin <sup>370</sup>	Revision of the Latin Bible by order of Carl the Great	
about 800		Various primitive translations in English <sup>371</sup> and German	

**Table – 2 Bible Translations from 1000 to 1500**

Time	Translator	Translation	Remarks
1380-82	Wycliff	Wycliff Bible in English, 1380 New	It should be noted

<sup>363</sup>(MacGregor, 1959, 86-87) "The most interesting of all the versions is the Old Latin, known to have been made long before St Jerome's Vulgate which superseded it, and believed to date as early as about A.D. 150. It seems likely that it originated in Africa."

<sup>367</sup>G.A. Mikre-Sellassie, *The Early Translation of the Bible into Ethiopic/Geez*, in *The Bible Translator*, (Technical Papers Vol. 51, No. 3 July 2000), 307.

<sup>366</sup>Bruce M. Metzger, *The Bible in Translation, Ancient and English Versions*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 24-29.

<sup>365</sup>(MacGregor, 1959, 86)

<sup>364</sup>This is already another translation or a revision of the first Latin translation.

<sup>368</sup>(G. S. Wegener, 168-171).

<sup>369</sup>F. Gladstone Bratton, *A History of the Bible, An Introduction to the Historical Method*, London: Robert Hale Limited, 1959, 176-178. "It was Jerome (A.D. 340-420) who revised the earlier Latin recensions and brought out an official translation that would supersede all previous versions. ... He commenced his revision in A.D. 383 and continued the work in Bethlehem, where he lived for some twenty-five years." (G. S. Wegener, *6000 Years of the Bible*, New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), 166-168.

<sup>370</sup>(Bratton, 178).

<sup>371</sup>(Bratton, 187-188), "The desire to render the Bible into the language of the common people found expression in several Anglo-Saxon versions. These were merely paraphrases of the Vulgate. ... Finally, Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1006), made a free translation of several Old Testament books. ...".

	Testament, 1382 Old Testament finished including Apocrypha. Translated from the Vulgate. <sup>372</sup>	that Wycliff started a process, but was not the sole translator. <sup>373</sup>
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**Table – 3 Bible Translations after the Time of the Reformation (1500 to 1800)**

Time	Translator	Translation	Remarks
1522	Martin Luther	German New Testament published at Wittenberg	
1523	Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes	New Testament in French <sup>374</sup>	
1524 1530	Tyndale	Tyndale Bible in English, 1524 New Testament translated in Hamburg, Old Testament partly in Marburg. <sup>375</sup>	
1528 1530	Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes	Old Testament and Apocrypha in French "Antwerp Bible" complete French Bible <sup>376</sup>	
1534	Luther	German Bible published at Wittenberg	
1535	Coverdale	Coverdale Bible in English. <sup>377</sup>	
1535	Pierre Robert Olivetan	Neuchâtel Bible in French <sup>378</sup>	Calvin's cousin
1537	Matthew	Matthew's Bible in English. <sup>379</sup>	
1539	Coverdale	Great Bible in English. <sup>380</sup>	
1539	Taverner	Taverner Bible in English. <sup>381</sup>	
1541	Laurentius Petri and brother	Uppsala Bible in Swedish <sup>382</sup>	
1543	Francisco de Enzinas	New Testament in Spanish <sup>383</sup>	published at Antwerp
1550		Christian III Bible in Danish <sup>384</sup>	named after the King

<sup>372</sup>(Bratton, 188-190).

<sup>373</sup>(Bratton, 189), "Half of the Old Testament was the work of Nicholas de Hereford, a Lollard leader. Also assisting in the translation was John Purvey, who worked on the New Testament and in 1388 made a complete revision of Wycliff's Bible. ..."

<sup>374</sup>Tim Dowley, ed. *A Lion Handbook, The History of Christianity* (Herts: Lion Publishing, 1977), 368.

<sup>375</sup>(Bratton, 190-192).

<sup>376</sup>(Dowley,368).

<sup>377</sup>(Bratton, 192-193).

<sup>378</sup>(Dowley,368).

<sup>379</sup>(Bratton, 193).

<sup>380</sup>(Bratton, 193-194).

<sup>381</sup>(Bratton, 194-195).

<sup>382</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>383</sup>(Dowley,372).

Time	Translator	Translation	Remarks
1550		Bible in French <sup>385</sup> (later known as Louvain Bible)	Catholic Revision of Leifvre's Bible
1555	Sebastian Castellio	Bible in French	less known, published at Basle
1556	Juan Pérez Pineda	New Testament in Spanish	published at Geneva
1558		Mennonite Bible in Dutch <sup>386</sup>	complete Bible
1560	Whittingham and Gilby	Geneva Bible in English. <sup>387</sup>	
1562		Italian Bible <sup>388</sup>	
1568	Parke and other Bishops	Bishops Bible in English. <sup>389</sup>	
1569	Cassiodoro de Reyna	Spanish Bible <sup>390</sup>	translator, former monk
1578		Louvain Bible in French <sup>391</sup> (revised from previous version of 1550)	Catholic Revision of Leifvre's Bible
1588	Calvin and Theodore Beza	Geneva Bible in French <sup>392</sup>	
1610	Martin	Rheims-Douai Bible in English. <sup>393</sup>	Catholic translation
1607	Giovanni Diodati	Italian Bible <sup>394</sup>	
1611	Committee	King James Bible in English. <sup>395</sup>	
1629	Albert Cornelisz Ruyl	Gospel of Matthew in Malay (translation finished in 1612). <sup>396</sup>	Dutch Tradesman
1637		Statenvertaling in Dutch <sup>397</sup>	complete Bible

<sup>384</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>385</sup>(Dowley,368).

<sup>386</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>387</sup>(Bratton, 195-196).

<sup>388</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>389</sup>(Bratton, 196-197).

<sup>390</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>391</sup>(Dowley,368).

<sup>392</sup>(Dowley,368).

<sup>393</sup>(Bratton, 197-198).

<sup>394</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>395</sup>(Bratton, 198-202).

<sup>396</sup>Daud Soesilo, *Malay Bible Translation: What's in Store for Malaysian Churches*, in: Thu En Yu, et al, *Christians Reflections within an Emerging Industrialised Society*, (Sabah Theological Seminary: Kota Kinabalu 1998), 77. "Not to many people realize that long before Bible translation in Chinese, Tamil or Tagalog became available, Matthews Gospel had already been translated into Malay by a Dutch tradesman named Albert Cornelisz Ruyl. The text was completed in 1612, only a year after the English King James Version was released, and was printed in 1629. It is fascinating that this Matthew's Gospel in Malay is the very first non-European translation of a Bible portion. An original copy of this Malay translation of Matthew's Gospel entitled: *Jang Testamentum Baharu: Evangelium Mulkadus Bersuratnja Kepada Mattheum* is now found at the Public Library of Stuttgart, Germany."

Time	Translator	Translation	Remarks
1663	John Eliot	Algonquin or Nipmuk Translation <sup>398</sup>	Indian tribe in today's Massachusetts U.S.A
1714	Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg	Tamil NT and OT up to the book of Ruth because of his death in 1719. Others completed his work. <sup>399</sup>	First complete Bible printed in 1796
1733	Melchior Leijdecker	First complete Malay Bible. (First NT 1731 printed). <sup>400</sup>	Regarded as the first translation in an Asian language

**Table – 4 Thai Bible Translations**

Time	Translation	Remarks
17??	Jesus Story	Roman Catholic
1819?	Gospel of Matthew	Ann Hazeltine Judson
1834	Gospel of Luke	Karl Gützlaff at ABS archives, New York
1841	The Acts of the Apostles. <sup>401</sup> เรื่อง กิจการ อาจารย์ใหญ่ เปน คีต พระเยซู เจ้า ที่ เดิม นั้น. หนังสือ เล่มนี้ เปน ฉบับ หนึ่ง, แพล ออก จาก หนังสือ พระเจ้า. แต่ แรก เดิม เขียน ไว้ ใน ภาษา เฮเลน, บัด นี้ เรา ได้ แพล ภาษา เฮเลน นั้น ออก เปน ภาษา ไท. <sup>402</sup> BANGKOK: A.B.C.F.M. MISSION PRESS 1841.	at Manuscript Division, Payap University Chiangmai, Thailand
	ข้าพเจ้า ครู โรบินสัน ได้ จัด แจง ทำ ไว้ เมื่อ จุลศักราช <sup>403</sup> พ้น	

<sup>397</sup>(Dowley,372).

<sup>398</sup>In G.S. Wegener, 164-165, ET 259, this language and translation is named Nipmuk (1663). Contents of the title page: The Holy Bible: Containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated into the Indian Language, And Ordered to be Printed by the Commission of the United Colonies in NEW ENGLAND, for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Gresn and Marmaduke Johnson, MDCLXIII [1663]. It was the first Bible printed in North America. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Eliot\\_%28missionary%29](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Eliot_%28missionary%29) [31.03.2005].

<sup>399</sup>Arthur Mitchell Chirgwin, *The Bible in World Evangelism*, (New York: Friendship Press, 1954), 41. Stephen Neill, *Christian Mission*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1965), 209, 228-231.

<sup>400</sup>Soesilo, 77-78. "Melchior Leijdecker, a Dutch medical doctor with theological training, gave us the very first complete Bible in Malay in 1733. He translated the New Testament (printed 1731) and then the whole Bible while based in Batavia (now Jakarta) with the assistance of a review committee consisting of: ... The publication entitled: *Elkitab, Ija itu segala Surat Perdjandjian Lama dan Baharuw* was printed in Amsterdam in Roman script. Twenty-five years later a 5-volume Malay Bible in Jawi script was published in 1758."

<sup>401</sup>In cases where Thai writing is used the required line spacing for a thesis can not be maintained, since Thai writes on three levels. Especially footnotes make this fact visible.

<sup>402</sup>Translation by author: This is the story of the Acts of the great teachers who are the disciples of Jesus in that former time. This book is one of the books translated from God's book. It is originally written in the Greek language. This Greek language has been translated into the Thai language.

<sup>403</sup>จุลศักราช "Cun'lasàgkaràat" (D. S.), is one of the many year counting systems found in the Indochina



Time	Translation	Remarks
	สองร้อย สาม ปี จะหลดรีนี้ศก ฅวันพุด เดือน เจด ขึ้น ลิป สาม คำ ฅกรุง คีอะยุหระยา นี้ ได้ ตีภิม ๑๕๐๐ ฅบัพ. <sup>404</sup>	
1843	First complete New Testament	John Taylor Jones
1894	พระคริสต์ธรรม ใหม่ แปล ภาษา เดิม เปน ไทย THE NEW TESTAMEN OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Translated out of the Original Greek into Siamese. AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY. PRINTED BY THE FUKUIN PRINTING Co.,L'TD., Yokohama, Japan	at Manuscript Division, Payap University Chiangmai, Thailand  The year is not given in the print of the title page. It has been put in by hand.
no date no date  date at title page of 2SA: 1911  date at title page of 2CH: 1883	Complete Siamese Bible Title Page Old Testament: พระคัมภีร์ เก่า แห่ง พระยะ โสหา ของ เรา แปล ออก จาก ภาษา เฮบราย เปน ภาษา ไทย <sup>405</sup> The Old Testament translated out of the original Hebrew except ISA. JER. and LAM. out of the English into The Siamese Language. American Bible Society. Printed at the "American Presbyterian Mission Press. " Bangkok, Siam The Bible has the following note inserted: หนังสือพระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้ได้รับจากโรงสวดสืบสัมพันธวงศ์ โดยแลกกับพระคัมภีร์เดิมสองเล่มและพระคัมภีร์ใหม่หนึ่งเล่ม วันที่ ๑๙ กันยายน ค.ศ. ๑๙๓๙. <sup>406</sup>	at Thailand Bible Society, Bangkok, Thailand. (probably the oldest existing Thai Bible)  also at Manuscript Division, Payap University Chiangmai, Thailand, volumes II, III (incomplete Old Testament)  The word เปน is not misspelled. The paper is mixed. Most books printed on an older type of paper which is thick and some books are printed on thin paper PRO, DAN, ICO, COL, HEB.
no date	Title Page New Testament: พระคริสต์ธรรม โหม่ แปล ภาษา เดิม เปน ไทย <sup>407</sup> The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Translated out of the original Greek into Siamese. American Bible Society. Printed at The American Presbyterian Mission Press, Bangkok	

region. A. D. and D. S. differ by 638 years where A. D. is the older system.

<sup>404</sup>Translation by author: I the teacher Robinson did prepare this in the Djula-Sakaraat-Year One Thousand Two Hundred Three at Wednesday in the Seventeen Month on the Thirteenth Day of the Rising Moon at Ayuthaya. I printed 1500 copies.

<sup>405</sup>Translated by author: Old Bible of God our Lord translated from Hebrew language into Thai.

<sup>406</sup>Translated by author: This Bible was received from the church "Sueb-Sam-Panta-Wong" by exchanging it to two Old Testament Bibles and one New Testament Bible. 19 September 1939.

<sup>407</sup>New Bible translated from the original language to Thai.

Time	Translation	Remarks
1940	พระคัมภีร์โฮลีไบเบิล มีพระคัมภีร์เดิมและพระคัมภีร์ใหม่ แปลออกจากภาษาเดิมมาเป็นภาษาไทย พระคริสต์ธรรมสมาคมตั้งขึ้น ค.ศ. ๑๘๙๖ กรุงเทพฯ ค.ศ. ๑๙๔๐ <sup>408</sup>	at Manuscript Division, Payap University Chiangmai, Thailand  still in print Thailand Bible Society
1971	Thai Holy Bible	The present Thai Standard Version
1977	พระคริสตธรรมใหม่ ฉบับ อมตธรรมเพื่อชีวิต	Thai Living Bible NT Published by: กอง คริสเตียนบรรณศาสตร์
1980	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ ฉบับประชาชนิยม <sup>409</sup>	Thai Common Language Version
1998	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ ฉบับ ๑๙๗๑ (ฉบับเรียงใหม่ ๑๙๙๘) Thai Holy Bible 1971 (Reduced Size Edition 1998)	Thailand Bible Society
1998	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ภาคพันธสัญญาใหม่ ฉบับแปลใหม่ New Thai Translation Version (NTTV)	NT only; Translators: Jerry and Chareeraat Crow, YWAM Published by: กนก บรรณสาร Kanok Banasarn <sup>410</sup>
1999	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ภาคพันธสัญญาใหม่ อมตธรรมร่วมสมัย The Thai Contemporary New Testament & New International Version of the New Testament	Published by: International Bible Society; a Thai-English diglot
2000	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ไทย ฉบับศึกษา ภาคพันธสัญญาใหม่ <sup>411</sup>	Thailand Bible Society
2002	พระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ ภาคพันธสัญญาใหม่ ฉบับมาตรฐาน 2002 Thai Holy Bible, New Testament, Standard Version 2002	Thailand Bible Society

<sup>408</sup>Bible, Holy Bible (transliterated) including the Old and New Testament. Translated from the original language into Thai. Bible Society founded 1896. Bangkok 1940. (authors remark: The date given for the founding of the Siamese Agency of the American Bible Society is different from the one given in Sandar M. Hawleys Essay. See Chapter I page 9-10, 1816 "... the American Bible Society was founded, ...". Hawley probably dates the beginning of the Siamese Agency with the arrival of Carrington in 1890).

<sup>409</sup>(Thai) Common Language Bible.

<sup>410</sup>Also known as: OMF Publishers.

<sup>411</sup>Thai Study Bible New Testament. (Author initiated the project and is its coordinator).

## Appendix II

### 1 Vita of the NT Translators of the Siamese Bible

#### 1.1 Vita of John Taylor Jones

Born:	16th July 1802, New Ipswich, N.H.
Graduation:	Amherst College 1825
Baptized:	Boston 1828
Work:	Translation of the NT into Siamese, Printing
Married:	Eliza, born Grew, daughter of Rev. Henry Grew †28th March 1838 Judith, born Leavitt, †21st March 1846
Burma:	Sarah, born Sleeper, †1869
Thailand:	February 1831, Maulmain
Mission:	25th March 1833, Bangkok <sup>412</sup>
Died:	American Baptist Board 13th September 1851, 'half past six'

#### 1.2 Vita of Charles Robinson

Born:	
Graduation:	
Work:	
Married:	
Thailand:	25 <sup>th</sup> July 1834 <sup>413</sup>
Mission:	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational)
Died:	1845 on his way home to the USA at St. Helena <sup>414</sup>

#### 1.3 Vita of Dan Beach Bradley

Born:	18 <sup>th</sup> July 1804 at Marcellus, N.Y.
Graduation:	University of New York 2 <sup>nd</sup> April 1833 as M.D. Theology in self study only. 1838 ordained by his missionary associates.

<sup>412</sup> The name for "Bangkok" is printed in the original documents as "Bankok" only later on it is changed to "Bangkok". John Taylor Jones, Bangkok to the Mission, New York, MR 1829-1835, dated 4<sup>th</sup> April 1833, p. 471.

(McFarland, 27).

<sup>413</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid., 19.

Work:	2 years medical work in New York City
Married:	5 <sup>th</sup> June 1834 to Emelie Royce; born 12 <sup>th</sup> July 1811; died August 1845 November 1848 to Sarah Blachly (1817-1893)
Thailand:	18 <sup>th</sup> July 1835
Work:	Med. work and translation and printing. Regarded in Thailand as the man of the many "first". First Thai printing press, first vaccination, first amputation among others.
Mission:	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational) After 1850 with American Mission Society
Died:	23 <sup>rd</sup> June 1873

#### 1.4 Vita of Stephen Mattoon

Born:	5 <sup>th</sup> May 1816 near Champion, N.Y. son of Gershom and Anna Nancy Sayre Mattoon, supposedly Huguenot descent
Graduation:	"Geneva Lyceum", Geneva, N. Y. Union College Schenectady 1842 Princeton Theological Seminary, 1843-1846
Work:	Principal, academy, Sandy Hill (now Hudson Fall), N.Y. 1842-43
Married:	3 <sup>rd</sup> June 1846 to Mary Lourie; * 1820; † 10 <sup>th</sup> February 1885
Siam:	First Arr. 22 <sup>nd</sup> March 1847 Final Dep. December 1865
Work:	Translation
Mission:	Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board
Died:	15 <sup>th</sup> August 1889

## 2 Vita of the OT Translators of the Siamese Bible (all APM missionaries)

### 2.1 Noah A. McDonald

Born:	30 <sup>th</sup> January 1830 in Franklin County, Pa.
Graduation:	Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pa. 1857 D. D. From Western Theological Seminary, 1860 Ordained in April 1860
Work:	At Bangkok, started the press in 1861, translation
Furlough:	1870-71 and 1877-78
Married:	Yes, but no data

Siam:	15 <sup>th</sup> September 1860 to 1886
Died:	14 <sup>th</sup> August 1897 at Shade Gap

## 2.2 Samuel Gamble McFarland

Born:	11 <sup>th</sup> December 1830 in Washington County, Pa.
Graduation:	Washington and Jefferson College, 1857 Western Theological Seminary, April 1860
Work:	Pioneer work at Petchaburi Industrial school for women and girls at Petchaburi Bible and other translation work English-Siamese dictionary, which his son George Bradley McFarland continued (latest reprint still available) 1887 appointed by King Chulalongkorn to set up the first government school
Furlough:	1873-1875
Married:	Jane Hays, born 7 <sup>th</sup> September 1824
Siam:	15 <sup>th</sup> September 1860 to 1896 1887 resigned to accept the Kings assignment
Died:	25 <sup>th</sup> April 1897

## 2.3 James Whalen Van Dyke

Born:	7 <sup>th</sup> August 1838 at Bound Brook, New Jersey
Graduation:	Woodbury, N.J. Academy Princeton Theological Seminary, 1868 Ordained 20 <sup>th</sup> August 1868 by the Presbytery of Raritan
Work:	Petchaburi 1869-1875 Bangkok 1875-1886 Bible translation
Furlough:	1881-1882
Married:	1 <sup>st</sup> October 1868 to Anna E. Gardner born 31 <sup>st</sup> July 1845 at Sommerville, N.J., died 4 <sup>th</sup> May 1924 She did not return to Siam after furlough
Siam:	20 <sup>th</sup> January 1869 to 1886
Died:	6 <sup>th</sup> May 1923

## 2.4 Samuel Carr George

Born:	8 <sup>th</sup> July 1832 at Logans Ferry, Pa.
Graduation:	Western University of Penn'a, 1858 Western Theological Seminary, 1861 Post Graduate Yale University, 1882
Work:	Bangkok station Bible Translation
Married:	Yes, no data
Siam:	6 <sup>th</sup> February 1862 to 24 <sup>th</sup> January 1873
Died:	1919

## 2.5 John Newton Culbertson

Born:	22 <sup>nd</sup> August 1842 at Amberson Valley, Pa.
Graduation:	Lane Theological Seminary 1870
Work:	Bangkok station Bible translation
Married:	9 <sup>th</sup> January to Belle Cadwell, met on the mission field born 23 <sup>rd</sup> February 1857 at Wheeling , West Va. Served at Bangkok, Wang Lang School, 1878 to 1881
Furlough:	1880-1881
Siam:	26 <sup>th</sup> November 1871 to 1881
Died:	no date given

## 2.6 John Carrington

Born:	13 <sup>th</sup> August 1840 at Princeton, N.Y.
Graduation:	Princeton University 1865 Princeton Theological Seminary 1868 Ordained 26 <sup>th</sup> April 1868 by New Brunswick Presbytery D.D. from Princeton University in 1909
Work:	Bangkok station from 1869 to 1875, Ayuthaya 1872 17 <sup>th</sup> January 1890 to 1912 Bible translation, publishing and distribution as head

	of ABS Siam Agency. Among the people he was known as “Acharn who always went third class”. This was an allusion to his habit of travelling tram third class.
Married:	Yes, no data
Furlough:	1874-1875
Siam:	20 <sup>th</sup> January 1869 to 1874 with APM 17 <sup>th</sup> January 1890 to 1912 with ABS Siam Agency
Died:	14 <sup>th</sup> October 1912

## APPENDIX III

### List of OT books and year of first translation into Siamese

<i>Bookname</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>First Translator</i>	<i>Remarks / Sources</i>
Genesis	1841	Charles Robinson	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 45/2, 7.2.1867
Exodus	1848	John Taylor Jones	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 45/2, 7.2.1867
Leviticus	1880		Printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, l. 104, 1.10.1880
Numbers	1870	S.G. McFarland	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 138/2, 25.11.1870
Deuteronomy	1880		Printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, l. 104, 1.10.1880
Joshua	1869	Noah A. McDonald	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 138/2, 25.11.1870
Judges	1870	S.C. George	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 138/2, 25.11.1870, Report for Bangkok Mission Station, Carrington
Ruth	1880		Printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, l. 104, 1.10.1880
1 Samuel	1870	S.C. George	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 135/2, 1.10.1870, Annual Report, source of Judges gives evidence to the translator of 1SA
2 Samuel	1871	S.C. George	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 164/2, 1.10.1871, Annual Report, source of Judges gives evidence to the translator of 2SA
1 King	1875	Noah A. McDonald	certainly translated before, since a it is reported that 2 <sup>nd</sup> King has been translated in 1853 translated & printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 9, 9.11.1876
2 King	1875		certainly translated before, since a it is reported that 2 <sup>nd</sup> King has been translated in 1853 translated & printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, l. 9, 9.11.1876
1 Chronicles	1883	James W. VanDyke	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1869-1886, l. 300, 2.2.1884
2 Chronicles	1884	James W. VanDyke	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1869-1886, l. 300, 2.2.1884
Ezra	1875	John Newton Culbertson	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1871-1881, l. 347/3/2, 2.8.1875
Nehemiah	1876	John Newton Culbertson	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, Incl. Dates: 1871-1881, l. 347/3/2, 2.8.1875



<i>Bookname</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>First Translator</i>	<i>Remarks / Sources</i>
Esther	1884	Noah A. McDonald	may be not the very first translation RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 7, 1.1.1885
Job	1875	Noah A. McDonald	translated & printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, 1. 9, 9.11.1876
Psalms	1884	Noah A. McDonald	Sources are not clear: sometimes McDonalds writes “revision”, later “translation”. It could also mean he revises his draft. RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 216, 6.8.1883, & 1. 227, 26.11.1883, & 1. 257, 28.6.1884
Proverbs	1885	Noah A. McDonald	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 7, 1.1.1885, & 1. 112, 31.12.1885
Ecclesiastes			
Song of Salomon			
Isaiah	187x	Dr. Bradley	Not clear father or son Cornelius, the latter left Siam in 1874, most probable Dan Beach Bradley <sup>415</sup> RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 4, 15.1.1885, & 1. 112, 31.12.1885
Jeremiah	187x	Dr. Bradley	Not clear father or son Cornelius, the latter left Siam in 1874, most probable Dan Beach Bradley RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 7, 15.1.1885, & 1. 112, 31.12.1885
Lamentations			
Ezekiel	1885	Noah A. McDonald	someone translated it before, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1, 1. 4, 15.1.1885
Daniel	1841	Charles Robinson	
<b>Minor Prophets:</b>		No detailed information is available, only a statement in	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 2, 1. 4, 15.1.1885 “... the minor prophets are still to be revised – I have scary the heart to undertake these different portions alone. ...” Noah A. McDonald
Hosea	1875	John Newton Culbertson	RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1-4, 1. 347/3/2, 2.8.1875
Joel	1875		printed, RBFM, Roll No. 8, RG 028/79, reel 1, Incl. Dates: 1865-1877, 1. 341/2, 9.11.1875
Amos Obadiah Jonah Micah Nahum, Habbakuk Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi			<b>All remaining books must have been translated prior to 1885</b>

<sup>415</sup>Author asked Dr. Herb Swanson, adviser on historical questions for this thesis, his opinion.

## APPENDIX IV

### Biblical Books in Order of Date of Translation/Revision and Publishing

<b>Books</b>	<b>Year prob. translated revised</b>	<b>Date given for transl., rev., print</b>	<b>Translator/ Revisor=T Printer=P</b>	<b>Mission</b>	<b>n copies</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> print</b>	<b>re- print</b>
LUK	1829	1834	Karl Gützlaff T			X	
MAT 1-5	1834	03.1835 Singapore	John T. Jones	ABM		X	
MAT	1835	06.1835 Singapore	John T. Jones T	ABM	1500	X	
ACT1-7	1836	01.1836	John T. Jones T	ABM	500		
ACT	1837	10.1836	John T. Jones T	ABM	2500	X	
ACT 1-22	1837	02.1837	John T. Jones T	ABM	3000		X
MAT, MRK, ACT	1838	01.1841	Goddard	ABM			
MRK half	1838	04.1838	John T. Jones T	ABM		X	
MAT, MRK, LUK, ACT	1838	09.1838	John T. Jones	ABM			
MAT	1839		John T. Jones	ABM	5000		2 <sup>nd</sup>
ACT	1840		Char. Robinson T	ABCFM			
MRK	1840		John T. Jones	ABM	5000	X	
MRK, LUK, JHN, COL, 1-3JN	1841	06.1841	Char. Robinson	ABCFM			
GEN, DAN	1841		Char. Robinson T	ABCFM			
LUK	1841		John T. Jones	ABM	3000		X
MRK	1842			ABCFM			X
JHN, 1-3JN,	1842			ABCFM		X	
GEN	1842			ABCFM		X	
ACT	1842	01.1842	Char. Robinson T	ABCFM	1500	X	
JHN	1842		John T. Jones	ABM	3000	X	
JHN	1842		Dan B. Bradley				
LUK	1842	02.1842	John T. Jones	ABM	3000	X	
ROM	1842		John T. Jones	ABM	3000	X	
1,2CO	1842	1842	John T. Jones	ABM	2000 each	X	
JHN, ROM	1843	1843	John T. Jones T	ABM	3000 each?		X

<b>Books</b>	<b>Year prob. translated revised</b>	<b>Date given for transl., rev., print</b>	<b>Translator/ Revisor=T Printer=P</b>	<b>Mission</b>	<b>n copies</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> print</b>	<b>re- print</b>
GAL, EPH, COL. 1,2TH	1843	1843	John T. Jones T	ABM	1000 each	X	
NT	1843	17.10.1843	John T. Jones	ABM			
1TI - PHM	1844		John T. Jones	ABM	1000		X
HEB	1844		John T. Jones	ABM	1000		X
JAS - JUD	1844		John T. Jones	ABM	1000		X
REV	1844		John T. Jones	ABM	1000		X
various NT books	1848	1848-1851	John T. Jones	ABM			X
MAT + MRK	1848	03.08.1848	John T. Jones	ABM	3000		X
GEN + EXO	1848	1848-1851	Probably John T. Jones	ABM		X	
MAT	1853	1853	Steph. Mattoon T	ABCFM		X	
LUK	1853	1853			2000		X
ACT	1853						X
2KI	1853	1853				X	
LUK	1854		Steph. Mattoon	ABCFM			
ACT	1854	08.1854	Steph. Mattoon	ABCFM			
JHN	1861		McDonald P	APM	2000		X
LUK	1862	1862		APM	2000		X
1-3JN	1862	10.1862		APM	2000		X
MAT	1862		McDonald P	APM	2000		X
ACT	1862		McDonald P	APM	2000		X
OT started 10.1863	1863		Steph. Mattoon	APM			
ACT, JHN, MAT	1866		McDonald P	APM	2500 each		X
GEN	1867		McFarland T	APM			
EXO	1867		McDonald T	APM			
JOS	1869		McDonald T	APM			
NUM	1870		S.G. McFarland	APM			
1SA	1870		S.G. McFarland	APM			
2SA	1871		S.G. McFarland	APM			
ISA, JER	1874	before 1874	Dr. Bradley	AMA			
EZR	1875	1875	Culbertson T	APM	1000	X	
NEH	1875		McDonald P	APM	1000	X	



## Appendix V

### Abbreviations of Biblical Book Names

All Bible book names according to the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). Abbreviations of biblical book names are according to United Bible Societies standard format code, which is used for Computer Assisted Text Processing (CATP). Thai Bible book names and Abbreviations are according to Thai Standard Bible 1971.

### OT Books

<i>English Book Names</i>	<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Thai Book Names</i>	<i>Thai Abbr.</i>
Genesis	GEN	ปฐมกาล	ปฐมก.
Exodus	EXO	อพยพ	อพย.
Leviticus	LEV	เลวีนิติ	ลนต.
Numbers	NUM	กัณฑ์การวิถี	กตว.
Deuteronomy	DEU	เฉลยธรรมบัญญัติ	ฉรบ.
Joshua	JOS	โยชูวา	ยชว.
Judges	JDG	ผู้วินิจฉัย	วนจ.
Ruth	RUT	นางรูธ	นรธ.
1 Samuel	1SA	ซามูเอล ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑ซมอ.
2 Samuel	2SA	ซามูเอล ฉบับที่สอง	๒ซมอ.
1 King	1KI	พงศกัณฑ์ตรีศย์ ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑พกษ.
2 King	2KI	พงศกัณฑ์ตรีศย์ ฉบับที่สอง	๒พกษ.

<i>English Book Names</i>	<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Thai Book Names</i>	<i>Thai Abbr.</i>
1 Chronicles	1CH	พงศัศาวดาร ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑พศด.
2 Chronicles	2CH	พงศัศาวดาร ฉบับที่สอง	๒พศด.
Ezra	EZR	เอซรา	อสร.
Nehemiah	NEH	เนหะมีห์	นหม.
Esther	EST	เอสเธอร์	อศธ.
Job	JOB	โยบ	โยบ
Psalms	PSA	สดุดี	สดด.
Proverbs	PRO	สุภาษิต	สภษ.
Ecclesiastes	ECC	ปัญญาจารย์	ปญจ.
Song of Salomon	SNG	เพลงซาโลมอน	พชม.
Isaiah	ISA	อิสยาห์	อิสย.
Jeremiah	JER	เยเรมีย์	ยรม.
Lamentations	LAM	เพลงคร่ำครวญ	พคค.
Ezekiel	EZE	เอเสเคียล	อศค.
Daniel	DAN	ดาเนียล	ดนล.
Hosea	HOS	โฮเซยา	ฮชย.
Joel	JOL	โยเอล	ยอล.
Amos	AMO	อาโมส	อมส.
Obadiah	OBA	โอบาดีห์	อบด.

<i>English Book Names</i>	<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Thai Book Names</i>	<i>Thai Abbr.</i>
Jonah	JON	โยนาห์	ยนา.
Micah	MIC	มีคาห์	มคา.
Nahum	NAH	นาฮูม	นฮม.
Habakkuk	HAB	ฮาบากุก	ฮบก.
Zephaniah	ZEP	เศฟันยาห์	ศพย.
Haggai	HAG	ฮักกัย	ฮกก.
Zechariah	ZEC	เศคาริยาห์	ศคย.
Malachi	MAL	มาลาคี	มลค.

### NT Books

<i>English Book Names</i>	<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Thai Book Names</i>	<i>Thai Abbr.</i>
Matthew	MAT	มัทธิว	มธ.
Mark	MAR	มาระโก	มก.
Luke	LUK	ลูกา	ลก.
John	JHN	ยอห์น	ยน.
Acts of the Apostles	ACT	กิจการของอัครทูต	กจ.
Romans	ROM	โรม	รม.
1 Corinthians	1CO	โครีนธ์ ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑คร.
2 Corinthians	2CO	โครีนธ์ ฉบับที่สอง	๒คร.

<i>English Book Names</i>	<i>Abbr.</i>	<i>Thai Book Names</i>	<i>Thai Abbr.</i>
Galatians	GAL	กาลาเทีย	กท.
Ephesians	EPH	เอเฟซัส	อฟ.
Philippians	PHP	ฟีลิปปี	ฟป.
Colossians	COL	โคโลสี	คส.
1 Thessalonians	1TH	เธสะโลนิกา ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑ธส.
2 Thessalonians	2TH	เธสะโลนิกา ฉบับที่สอง	๒ธส.
1 Timothy	1TI	ทิโมธี ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑ทธ.
2 Timothy	2TI	ทิโมธี ฉบับที่สอง	๒ทธ.
Titus	TIT	ติตัส	ทต.
Philemon	PHM	ฟีเลโมน	ฟม.
Hebrews	HEB	ฮีบรู	ฮบ.
James	JAS	ยากอบ	ยก.
1 Peter	1PE	เปโตร ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑ปต.
2 Peter	2PE	เปโตร ฉบับที่สอง	๒ปต.
1 John	1JN	ยอห์น ฉบับที่หนึ่ง	๑ยน.
2 John	2JN	ยอห์น ฉบับที่สอง	๒ยน.
3 John	3JN	ยอห์น ฉบับที่สาม	๓ยน.
Jude	JUD	ยูดา	ยด.
Revelation	REV	วิวรณ์	วว.



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