

Christopher Joby: Translations of Bible Texts by Dutch Protestant Missionaries in to Favorlang & Siraya

Christopher Joby

Abstract

As is well known, the first Europeans to colonize Taiwan were the Dutch, who controlled parts of the island between 1624 and 1662. The Dutch East India Company, which ran trading operations from Fort Zeelandia, employed Dutch Reformed Church ministers who undertook missionary work amongst the indigenous Formosans. This work included translating Christian texts into Formosan languages to communicate the Christian Gospel. Two Formosan languages into which the Dutch made translations were Favorlang and Siraya, both spoken in the west of the island during the Dutch period, but now extinct. This paper examines how two biblical texts, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, were translated into Favorlang and Siraya. The Revd. Jacobus Vertrecht, who worked in Taiwan from 1647 to 1651, made the translations into Favorlang, as well as writing prayers and giving sermons in the language. His translation of the Lord's Prayer into Favorlang is close to the original, although he translates the second line as 'your name be praised', rather than 'hallowed be your name'. As for the Ten Commandments, he adapted the source text to the local Formosan culture in the Tenth Commandment, where the Favorlang text entreats the faithful not to covet not only their neighbour's ox, but also his hare ('maraag'). Like Vertrecht, an early translator of the Lord's Prayer into Siraya, Robertus Junius, translated the second line as 'your name be praised', rather than 'hallowed be your name'. This translation would, however, incur the wrath of the Dutch church consistory in Taiwan. While Junius kept quite close to the original text in his translation of the Ten Commandments, he adapted the sixth commandment to forbid not only murder, but also abortion. This was part of an attempt to bear down on the frequent practice of abortion amongst the Siraya. In short, this paper analyzes how translations of biblical texts were made by Dutch missionaries in seventeenth-century Taiwan, and above all how translators attempted to bridge the gap between the Judaeo-Christian culture that they were mediating and the culture of the indigenous Formosans. This contribution therefore attempts to add to the broader discussion within

missionary linguistics about the extent to which translations of Biblical texts should remain true to the source or, alternatively, be adapted in translation to accommodate and speak to the recipient culture.

Keywords: Dutch; Favorlang; Siraya; Bible; Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments; cultural accommodation

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1. Introduction

In 1624, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established a base in Tayouan Bay in south-west Taiwan. The main purpose of this was to trade with China and to provide a stopping-off point for ships sailing to and from the Dutch trading posts in Japan. Over time, however, the Dutch had increasing contact with indigenous Formosans on the island. This was in part to exert control to prevent attacks from them, but also for the purpose of trade and proselytizing them to the Christian faith. In the early years after 1624, the indigenous people with whom the Dutch had the most intense contact were the Siraya, who lived in villages on the plains close to Fort Zeelandia.¹ The first Dutch missionaries in Taiwan, Georgius Candidius and Robertus Junius, worked closely with the Siraya, translating Christian texts, including the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments or Decalogue into their language.²

Further north lay the area of the Favorlang in modern-day Yunlin (雲林) County in the central western coastal region of Taiwan. Tonio Andrade observes that the main settlement of the Favorlang, probably located near present-day Huwei (虎尾), was 'one of the largest and most powerful aboriginal villages in Taiwan'.³ After suppressing a series of revolts by Formosans, the Dutch encouraged Chinese settlers from Fujian province on the mainland to settle in this area to grow sugar and rice crops and undertake large-scale hunting. The number of migrants from the mainland increased, driven in part by the instability towards the end of the Ming dynasty. This led to tensions with the Favorlang and in 1642 they openly rebelled. In the final months of that year, Dutch troops returned overland to Fort Zeelandia after driving the Spanish, who had occupied the north of the island since 1626.⁴ The troops were instructed to carry out punishment expeditions on the Formosans in Favorlang.⁵

Two years later, in 1644, Robertus Junius's replacement, Simon van Breen, was dispatched along with two catechists and six soldiers to the Favorlang territory as part of the

¹ On the title page of his Gospel translation into Siraya, Daniël Gravius states that it is written in the 'Formosan language' (*Formosaansche tale*) of the inhabitants of Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan, Bacloan, Tavocan and Tevorang. He adds in the introduction that the translation is possibly also for some of the people in Dorko and Tilocen. Tefurang and Tevorang may be spelling variants of Taivuan, the name given to a variety of Siraya.

² Christopher Joby, 'A Recently Discovered Copy of a Translation of the Gospel of St. John in Siraya', *Oceanic Linguistics*, vol. 59 no. 1, 2020, p. 212-231. doi:10.1353/ol.2020.0011. Before the arrival of Candidius, in 1627, several 'comforters of the sick' (*ziekentroosters*) served the VOC-employees in Taiwan. Chang-hua Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa: A Remarkable Episode (1624-1662) of Reformed Mission History* (PhD thesis. VU Amsterdam, 2014, p. 148, n. 15.

³ Tonio Andrade, 'Pirates, Pelts, and Promises: The Sino-Dutch Colony of Seventeenth-Century Taiwan and the Aboriginal Village of Favorolang,' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 64(2) (2005), pp. 295-321.

⁴ J.E. Borao. *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan 1626-1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endeavor* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), pp. 205-6.

⁵ Andrade, 'Pirates, Pelts, and Promises', p. 314.

Dutch effort to pacify and convert the Formosans.⁶ In 1647, he was replaced by the Leiden graduate, Jacobus Vertrecht, while Gilbertus Happart, who also worked in Favorlang arrived in 1649.⁷ Vertrecht and Happart compiled the only surviving documents that we have in Favorlang, although they probably built on earlier work by Van Breen.⁸ Vertrecht compiled material for Christian instruction including prayers, sermons and translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, while Happart compiled a Dutch-Favorlang lexicon.⁹

The aim of this contribution is to analyze how these Dutch missionaries translated the Lord's Prayer, based on the Gospel of St. Matthew (6:9-13), and the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20), into Favorlang and Siraya. The picture that emerges is that although of course one always loses something in translation in general the translators kept quite close to the 'pristine' Word of God. One way in which the missionaries attempted to keep such changes to a minimum was to provide additional short catechisms. In the case of Favorlang, Vertrecht compiled a short catechism, the aim of which is to challenge the Favorlang worship of 'haibos', often translated as 'the devil', but in reality a deity who seems to have embodied both good and evil for the Favorlang. Nevertheless, the translators did make several changes to the biblical source text to 'speak to' the situation of the indigenous Formosans. One salient example is Junius's adaptation of the sixth commandment to forbid not only murder, but also abortion. This was part of an attempt to stamp out the frequent practice of abortion amongst the Siraya. In short, then, this paper offers an initial investigation into the various strategies that Dutch missionaries adopted to translate and otherwise communicate biblical texts to indigenous Formosans to bridge the gap between the Judaeo-Christian culture in which the source text was written and the Formosan cultures to which they mediated these texts.

2. The Translation of the Lord's Prayer into Favorlang and Siraya

The Lord's Prayer is perhaps the most well-known and succinct prayer in the Christian tradition. It is based on the words that Christ spoke to God the Father in the Gospel of St Matthew, Ch. 6 vv. 9-13. As Europeans came into contact with people in other continents in

⁶ Andrade, 'Pirates, Pelts, and Promises', p. 315. Although he was a minister, Van Breen's remit went far beyond preaching the Word of God to the Favorlang. In fact, he was responsible for administering justice and punishments apart from the death penalty (Campbell 1903: 209). He learnt the Favorlang language, although no documents written by him in the language survive.

⁷ Happart was active in Gilim. *De dagregisters van het kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662*, 4 vols., ed. L. Blussé (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1986-2000), III, pp. 244, 252.

⁸ Paul Jen-Kuei Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2019).

⁹ Gilbertus Happart, *Woord-boek der Favorlangse taal, waarin het Favorlangs voor, het Duits*, ed. W.R. van Hoëvell (Batavia: Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1842).

the Age of European expansion, the Lord's Prayer was translated into many non-European languages, as witnessed by the many collections of the prayer published in the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Jacobus Vertrecht produced a Favorlang version of it, whilst Robertus Junius produced a Siraya version. Each version is based on the Dutch version in the States Bible (*Statenbijbel*) published in 1637, although they do differ in one or two respects from this version and indeed the original *koine* Greek.

After the opening line, 'Our Father which art in Heaven' (King James Version), Vertrecht produces a Favorlang phrase, which can be rendered 'Let Thy Name be praised', as seen in (1):¹¹

(1) i-p-adass-a joa naan
 RF-CAUS-praise-IMP 2SG.GEN name¹²
 'Let Thy Name be praised'

One objection to this might be that praising is not the same as making holy. The Greek has ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, which means 'may your name be made sacred or hallowed'. This sense is maintained in the Dutch States Bible, which reads 'Uw naam worde geheiligd' [Your name be hallowed]. However, the parallel version of the Dutch, 'Laat gepresen werden Uwen Naam' and the Favorlang speak of praising the Father's name.¹³ Junius did something similar in his translation of the Lord's Prayer into Siraya. He wrote 'lulugniang ta nanang oho'. This can be translated as 'your name be praised' and analyzed as seen in (2):

(2) lulug niang ta nanang oho
 praise 1PE.GEN NOM name=2SG.GEN
 'Your name be praised'

However, after he left Taiwan, for several reasons the Dutch church consistory at Fort Zeelandia criticized Junius's translations into Siraya, making specific reference to his rendering of this section of the Lord's Prayer. The consistory therefore required the Lord's

¹⁰ Benjamin Motte, *Oratio dominica polyglōttos, polymorphos: Nimirum, plus centum linguis, versionibus, aut characteribus reddita & expressa* (London: Daniel Brown, 1700). Sigmund Jakob Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern* (Halle: J.J. Gebauer, 1748-).

¹¹ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 64

¹² The abbreviations accord with those proposed by Adelaar (Alexander Adelaar, *Siraya: retrieving the phonology, grammar and lexicon of a dormant Formosan language* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011, pp. xv & xvi)). 1PE = 1st person plural exclusive; 2SG= 2nd person singular; AF = actor-focus; CAUS = causative; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; NOM = nominative; OBL = oblique case; RF = referential-focus (Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 58).

¹³ Jacobus Vertrecht, *Leerstukken en preeken in de Favorlangse taal (Eiland Formosa)* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1888), p. 2.

Prayer to be re-translated by another missionary, Johannes Happart.¹⁴ However, there were no complaints from the consistory about Vertrecht's translation into Favorlang. The different responses can be explained by the fact that when Junius returned to Europe, he complained about the state of the church in Taiwan. The consistory's response to his translations was part of an attempt to defend itself and discredit him.

Given that prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the Favorlang had had no contact with the Christian faith, it is natural that they lacked words for certain key concepts in Christianity. Therefore, the translators such as Vertrecht had to press existing Favorlang words into service for this purpose. Framing this in terms of language contact, these are examples of loan extensions, where the meaning of an existing word in the target language is extended to cover a meaning imported from the source language (here Dutch).¹⁵ Several examples serve to illustrate this. For 'heaven', the word 'boesum' was used, which was the standard Favorlang word for 'sky'. In the phrase 'give us this day our daily bread', 'bread' is translated as 'uppo'. In the Dutch-Favorlang dictionary compiled by Gilbertus Happart, this is defined as 'indigenous people's cake made from crushed rice, bread' [inwoners koeken van gestamte rijs, brood].¹⁶ Bread made from wheat was not a Formosan staple.

Junius faced similar challenges when translating the Lord's Prayer into Siraya. He used the word 'vullum', which is a cognate of the Favorlang 'boesum', to translate 'heaven' in Siraya translations.¹⁷ For 'bread', he used a Siraya word for 'food' 'cangniang' [our food]. A later Siraya translation of the Lord's Prayer by Daniël Gravius used 'paoul', which may be derived from the Portuguese word for 'bread' 'pão', via Hokkien, a Sinitic contact variety with Formosan languages.¹⁸ Furthermore, the Favorlang phrase differs slightly from the standard version. This typically refers to 'daily bread', whilst the Favorlang version and the Dutch equivalent given by Vertrecht refer to 'sufficient bread' viz. 'uppo ma-a-tsipak' and '[ons] genoegzaam brood'.¹⁹ Junius maintains the notion of 'daily [bread]' with '[cangniang] wagi katta' [[our food] this day].

One could argue that the concepts of 'sin' and 'evil' are somewhat subjective and culturally specific. Vertrecht translates 'sin' as 'ka-kossi' (ka is a reduplicative prefix). This is

¹⁴ William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch, Described from Contemporary Records* (London: Paul Kegan, 1903) [reprint 1992, Taipei], p. 239.

¹⁵ Donald Winford, *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 45.

¹⁶ Happart, *Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal*, p. 345.

¹⁷ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 9.

¹⁸ Adelaar, *Siraya*, p. 355.

¹⁹ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 64; Vertrecht, *Leerstukken en preeken*, p. 2.

defined by Happart as ‘on gehoorsaemheit’, ‘overtredinge’ [disobedience, trespass].²⁰ Vertrecht discussed what was understood by ‘sin’ in the Christian tradition in his Favorlang sermons. The word used for evil, ‘rapies’, is defined by Happart as ‘quaed in ’t gemein’ [bad/evil in general].²¹ Although he does not refer to it in his Favorlang translation of the Lord’s Prayer, Vertrecht and his fellow missionaries made a close association between ‘evil’ and the figure of ‘haibos’. He used a commentary on the Lord’s Prayer to attack the figure of ‘haibos’, the main deity of the Favorlang, which, as noted in the introduction seems to embody both good and evil.²²

The commentary is in a later section of Vertrecht’s catechism. It comprises questions on the Lord’s prayer with answers and addresses some of the more difficult theological aspects of the prayer.²³ One question is ‘How many things do we desire God to give us?’ The answer is six. While most of these are re-iterations of the words of the Lord’s Prayer, in the sixth answer Vertrecht refers to ‘haibos’. He writes that we may desire that God may protect our bodies from ‘haibos’, who is our enemy and envies us (‘onsen vyand en benyder’). How can this happen? comes the question. God, the answer tells us, can protect us from ‘haibos’ by not permitting him to poison us or tempt us. The question comes back, why is ‘haibos’ called the evil one? The answer is that he is evil (in Favorlang he is described as having a wicked heart (‘rapies tsjes’)) and because he is disobedient to God’s word. In Dutch, this is ‘Gods woord seer ongehoorsaam’, which is rendered in Favorlang as in (3):²⁴

(3) *K<umm>ossi* *o* *attite* *o* *Deos*
 disobey<AF> OBL word OBL God
 ‘Disobedient to the Word of God’

Although the word ‘written’ is absent, it seems likely that with the phrase ‘attite o Deos’ Vertrecht is referring to the Bible here. As I have noted, the text of the Lord’s Prayer itself

²⁰ Happart, *Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal*, p. 100.

²¹ Happart, *Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal*, p. 272.

²² ‘B、虎尾人的宗教信仰： 虎尾地區的族群信仰的主神稱為「海伯」(Haibos)。根據對話錄中所顯示出來的，海伯他創造這個世界，根據他們所遇見的情境，虎尾人有時稱海伯為「好海伯」(mario haibos)，如果他們遇見好事；但是如果他們遇見苦難或者是生病，他們就說是「壞海伯」(rapis haibos)’. Quoted from Chang-hua Lin. “Alid, Tamagisangach and Haibos: Soan-kau bun-hiang so kian e Tai-oan pun-tho chong-kau kap Holland Kai-kek-chong Kau-hoe e chiap-chhiok”[Alid, Tamagisangach and Haibos: The Interaction between the Formosan Religion and the Netherlands Reformed Church as Found in Missionary Archives]. Paper presented at the *International Symposium on the Image of Taiwan during the Dutch Period*. Tainan: National Museum of Taiwan History (planning Bureau), 2001. Visited <http://www.laijohn.com/articles/Lim,CHoa/DutchM&native.htm>. Accessed 25 August 2020. Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, pp. 129-33.

²³ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 129-32; Vertrecht, *Leerstukken en preeken*, pp. 44-47.

²⁴ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 131.

does not refer to 'haibos', but rather to 'rapies'.²⁵ One possibility is that Vertrecht was keen to keep the biblical text pristine, i.e., to keep as close as possible to it, and not subject it to cultural shift. The questions and answers provided Vertrecht with the space in which to accommodate the biblical text to speak to the Favorlang belief system. The questions and answers conclude with a question on the meaning of 'Amen', again a concept foreign to the Favorlangers. 'Amen' comes from the Hebrew meaning 'so be it'. The Q & A explains that it means that it is certain ('gagilna') and that God will answer the prayer because he has dominion and power over all.

Another section of the catechism is a dialogue between a Favorlanger and a Dutchman.²⁶ Vertrecht uses this as a further opportunity for challenging the Favorlang belief system, above all the belief in 'haibos'. After introductory exchanges, the Favorlanger says he thought that 'haibos' takes away souls. The Dutchman counters this by saying rather it is another divinity, Jehovah in his own language, and Deos in other languages. He refers to Exodus 3 by saying that Jehovah is a being who was and is and is to come. The Favorlanger asks him to prove this. He does so first by saying that God made the heavens and the earth, a Christian doctrine based on the opening chapters of Genesis. He is also a providential God who still cares for and engages with his Creation, a fundamental doctrine in the Calvinist tradition in which Vertrecht stood.²⁷ The Favorlanger then asks why it could not be that 'haibos' was the Creator of Heaven and Earth. His only proof, however, is that this was the ancient belief of his forefathers, which he follows. The Dutchman says that his forefathers were mistaken as they did not know the written Word of God (ranied o Deos, p. 97)), i.e., the Bible, although again the word 'Bible' itself is not mentioned. The Favorlanger asks if Deos has revealed himself. The Dutchman replied that he did, in his Word ('ranied') to the Old Testament prophets, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel and David. Here, it seems that apart from his own conviction that the Judaeo-Christian God is the only deity who should be worshipped, Vertrecht is arguing that this is so, because the Christian God is revealed in the Bible, which for him is by definition a receptacle of and vehicle for the truth. This notion is based on the Graeco-Roman tradition, reinvigorated in the Renaissance, that science was textually dependent, and that the book was the definitive vehicle for the storage and transmission of knowledge. In this view of things, the knowledge transmitted in the text of the Bible would necessarily take precedence

²⁵ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 65.

²⁶ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, pp. 86-120.

²⁷ See for example Calvin's *Institutes* (I, 16-18).

over knowledge transmitted orally, as was the case with the Favorlang belief in ‘haibos’, handed down by the Favorlanger’s forefathers.

The conversation continues with the Favorlanger asserting that ‘haibos’ has two natures, one benevolent and the other malevolent. His kind acts were called *mario Haibos* and his wicked acts *rapies Haibos*.²⁸ The Dutchman retorts that ‘haibos’ is deceitful. He adds that God revealed ‘haibos’ in his written Word. In fact, Vertrecht writes, he was a rebellious Angel (*angelus*) whose real name is Satan. It was haibos/Satan who tempted Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, which led them to disobey God. He therefore attempted to contextualize haibos, placing this Favorlang deity within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but focussing on his negative attributes.²⁹ Nevertheless, whilst the story of the Garden of Eden has become part of Christian tradition, Satan is not in fact named in the Genesis account of Creation. He is named elsewhere in the Old Testament, but rather as a supernatural being than as the embodiment of evil. It is only in the inter-testamental period and the New Testament that Satan is definitively associated with evil. Nevertheless, Vertrecht asserts that ‘haibos’ is Satan by another name and so the Dutchman in the dialogue calls on the Favorlanger to renounce ‘haibos’. The Favorlanger says he fears the wrath of ‘haibos’ – but the wrath of Deos, i.e., the Judaeo-Christian God, is greater, retorts the Dutchman. Those who continue to worship ‘haibos’ will be punished in the eternal fire of hell. Therefore, the Favorlangers should reject ‘haibos’ and follow Deos. Although early reports from Vertrecht suggested that progress was being made in educating and converting the Favorlang, in 1652 the consistory in Tayouan was complaining that not a single inhabitant in the district of Favorlangh and the neighbouring district of Tackays was baptized.³⁰

Finally, in contrast to Vertrecht, the translators of the Lord’s Prayer into Siraya used an indigenous word for ‘devil’ ‘lyttou’ in their versions of the prayer.³¹ This mirrors the Dutch States Bible version ‘verlost ons van den boosen’ [deliver us from the evil one]. ‘Lyttou’ is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian **qaNiCu* meaning ‘ghost, spirit, soul’.³² In his account of the Siraya religion, Hsin-Hui Chiu observes that the Siraya called the ‘devil’, whom they blamed for any incurable disease, ‘schytinglitto’.³³ One explanation for the differences in the Favorlang and Siraya translations is that the belief systems of these Formosans were

²⁸ Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, pp. 101-2; Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa*, p. 129. The Amis tribe, which now inhabits eastern Formosa, worshipped a deity like *haibos* (Lin, p. 129, n. 71).

²⁹ Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa*, p. 130.

³⁰ Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 228, 290.

³¹ Joby, ‘A Recently Discovered Copy’, p. 226, n. 39.

³² Adelaar, *Siraya*, p. 28.

³³ Hsin-Hui Chiu, *The Colonial ‘Civilizing Process’ in Dutch Formosa: 1624-1662* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 188.

dissimilar. Whilst it may be going too far to call the Favorlang monotheistic, the figure of haibos seems to have played a dominant role in their belief system. In other words, haibos was a supreme deity. By contrast, the Siraya had a pantheon of twelve deities as well as the separate figure of 'lyttou', which embodied evil.³⁴

3. The Translation of the Ten Commandments into Favorlang and Siraya

The Ten Commandments are derived from Exodus 20 and are the basic statement of the Law for the Jewish people. It was of fundamental importance in the Calvinist/Reformed tradition, as witnessed by the frequent display of boards inscribed with the Ten Commandments in Calvinist churches. While Vertrecht produced a close translation of much of the Dutch States Bible text in Favorlang, he did modify it in one respect, in the Tenth Commandment, to 'speak' to the Favorlang and to overcome the temporal and cultural distance between Old Testament Judaism and seventeenth-century Taiwan. The Dutch States Bible tells the faithful not to covet their neighbour's ass or donkey (*Gy en sult niet begeeren . . . uwes naasten . . . esel*). However, in the Favorlang, there is no mention of an ass, but rather a 'maraag'.³⁵ Happart defines 'maraag' as 'een haes, konijn', i.e. hare or rabbit.³⁶ The reference to 'hare' in the Favorlang Ten Commandments may simply be because the Favorlang were familiar with hares, but not asses. Vertrecht does not use 'hare' in the Dutch, but merely in the Favorlang, perhaps concerned not to be seen to subvert the Dutch biblical text.

As for Siraya, Junius compiled a catechism which included the Ten Commandments. No copy of the original Siraya text has been identified. However, we do have the Dutch and an English translation. In the English, the sixth commandment reads, 'Do not kill other men and do not commit abortion'.³⁷ There is of course no reference to abortion in the original biblical text, so the question arises as to why Junius includes this reference. The answer lies in Siraya social practice. After marriage, men at first lived with other men and women with other women. The husband would visit his wife at night for sexual intercourse. This leads Junius to amend the seventh commandment as well, stating not only that there should be no adultery, but also that men should not visit women in secret. If the wife became pregnant, the 'inib' or shaman priestesses would carry out an abortion on her. Furthermore, the practice of men

³⁴ Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa*, p. 169.

³⁵ Vertrecht, *Leerstukken en preeken*, pp. 8-9; Li, *Text Analysis of Favorlang*, p. 72.

³⁶ Happart, *Woord-boek der Favorlangsche taal*, p. 371.

³⁷ Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 338.

living apart from their wives meant that they were more likely to have sex with other women. This, too, created unwanted foetuses, which were aborted.³⁸ It was only when the husband was old enough to stop hunting that he would live with his wife and she would no longer have any abortions.³⁹ The Dutch rejected this practice, viewing it as sinful. Junius, therefore, included it in the prohibitions of the Ten Commandments. Dutch efforts had some success in this regard. In 1639, it was reported that 119 Siraya couples had got married and that the women were not having abortions. Later, in 1652, it was reported that inibs had been banished from some villages until they agreed to stop carrying out abortions.⁴⁰ Here then, the biblical text has been altered to give authority to demands to stop a practice that the Dutch deemed sinful, a move that achieved some success.

4. Translating the word ‘God’ into Formosan languages

Before concluding, a word is in order about how the translators rendered the word ‘God’ in Favorlang and Siraya. As we have seen, in his Favorlang translations of the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments, Vertrecht uses the Latinate word ‘Deos’ for ‘God’, rather than the Dutch ‘God’ or a ‘native’ Favorlang word. Early translations into Siraya such as those by Robertus Junius also used ‘Deos’. The question as to why Vertrecht, Junius and other missionaries used this Latinate word for God is one for which there is no clear answer. One possibility is that the translators wanted to create some ‘cultural distance’ between the God of Judaeo-Christianity and the god or gods of the indigenous Formosans. At least in the case of the Siraya religion, which had a pantheon of gods, the Protestant missionaries would have wanted to keep their monotheistic God quite separate from the polytheism of the Siraya.⁴¹

Later Siraya translations, such as those by Daniël Gravius, adopted a different approach. He produced Siraya translations of the Gospels of St Matthew and St John and a Dutch/Siraya Formulary. These were circulated in manuscript in Taiwan and later printed in Amsterdam.⁴² In the Siraya texts, Gravius used the word ‘Alid’, for ‘God’. Currently, the origin of this word is not clear. One possibility is that Alid is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian *qaNiCu

³⁸ Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa*, p. 81; Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, p. 20; John R. Shepherd, *Marriage and Mandatory Abortion Among the Seventeenth Century Siraya*, American Ethnological Society Monograph Series, No. 6 (Arlington, Virginia: American Anthropological Association, 1995).

³⁹ Chiu, *The Colonial ‘Civilizing Process’*, pp. 187-8.

⁴⁰ Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, pp. 182-3, 288.

⁴¹ Lin, *Christian Contextualization in Formosa*, p. 169.

⁴² Daniël Gravius, *Het Heylige Evangelium Matthei en Johannis ofte Hagnau Ka D’lilig Matiktik. Ka na sasoulat ti Mattheus, ti Johannes appa. Overgeset inde Formosaansche tale, voor de Inwoonders van Soulang, Mattau, Sinckan, Bacloan, Tavocan en Tevorang* (Amsterdam: Michiel Hartogh, 1661); Daniël. Gravius, *Patar ki tna-’msing-an ki christang, Ka Tauki-papatar-en-ato tmæu ’ug tou Sou Ka Makka Si-Deia. Ofte ’t Formulier des Christendoms. Met de Verklaringen van dien inde Sideis-Formosaansche Tale* (Amsterdam: Michiel Hartogh. 1662).

meaning ‘ghost, spirit, soul’, as in the case of Lyttou, which came to mean ‘devil’. However, the expected Siraya form should be *alitu*. Therefore, if ‘Alid’ is a reflex of this, it is not clear why it has a final ‘-d’ rather than ‘-tu’.⁴³ Chang Hua Lin makes several suggestions as to the origin of Alid.⁴⁴ One is that it may be based on an Old Testament word for ‘God’ – ‘elaha’ (Lin gives ‘el la’). Another possibility that I would like to propose is that it may be inspired by the Arabic word for the monotheistic God ‘allah’, which was used in Dutch translations of the Bible into Malay.⁴⁵ ‘Allah’ is in fact a cognate of the Aramaic ‘elaha’, so these two suggestions are not mutually exclusive.

As a footnote to this discussion, it is worth noting that in the late twentieth century, Sinicized Siraya villages worshipped a deity called Ali-tsu. This name probably derives from Alid, with the final element of the Sinicized rendering, tsu (祖), referring to ‘ancestor’ as in the name of the popular Taiwanese deity, Ma-tsu (媽祖).⁴⁶ This notion is strengthened by the fact that an alternative name for Ali-tsu was T’ai-tsu (太祖), or supreme ancestor. If this is so, then it indicates that the name Alid had gained some traction amongst the Siraya, before the Dutch were expelled from Taiwan in 1662. On the other hand, Ali-tsu is a female deity and so would clearly have undergone a radical change from the Christian God presented to the Siraya by Dutch missionaries, which has traditionally been framed as a male deity.

5. Conclusion

Harold Marcuse describes reception history as ‘the history of the meanings that have been imputed to historical events. It traces the different ways in which participants, observers, historians and other retrospective interpreters have attempted to make sense of events both as they unfolded and over time since then, to make those events meaningful for the present in which they lived and live’.⁴⁷ The examples analysed in this contribution illustrate that Dutch missionaries in seventeenth-century Taiwan adopted a variety of strategies to make the events recorded in the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible meaningful to the indigenous Formosans whom they were attempting to convert. In some cases, they intervened in the

⁴³ I thank Paul Li for this information. A word-final ‘d’ would nevertheless have been pronounced as a ‘t’ in Dutch.

⁴⁴ Lin, ‘Alid, Tamagisangach and Haibos’.

⁴⁵ Lourens de Vries, ‘Iang Evangelivm Ul-Kadus Menjurat kapada Marcum The First Malay Gospel of Mark (1629–1630) and the Agama Kumpeni’, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 174 (2018), pp. 47-79.

⁴⁶ John Shepherd suggests that Alid is a cognate of the Siraya *littou*, which, as noted above, is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian **qaNiCu*. This is, however, problematic, as one would expect the reflex *Alitu* in Siraya. John R. Shepherd, ‘Sinicized Siraya Worship of A-li-tsu’. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* No. 58 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1986), pp. 1-81, at p. 30.

⁴⁷ <http://marcuse.faculty.history.ucsb.edu/receptionhist.htm>. Accessed 1 April 2021.

biblical texts of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments to 'speak to' the condition of the Formosans. Junius's reference to abortion in his Siraya version of the Decalogue and Vertrecht's inclusion of 'hare' in the last of the Ten Commandments he rendered into Favorlang are two examples of this. The various ways in which the translators rendered 'God' and 'bread' into Formosan languages provide further examples of how translators attempted to bridge the gap between the Formosan culture and their own. In some cases, translators felt it necessary to address cultural practices to which they objected in other texts. This contribution has analyzed how Vertrecht challenged the Favorlang worship of haibos. He did not refer to haibos in his translation of the Lord's Prayer, but instead confronted the worship of him at length in supplementary texts, above all the dialogue between the Dutchman and the Favorlanger.

In conclusion, I hope that this contribution has illustrated the challenges faced by Dutch missionaries when attempting to render biblical texts in Formosan languages and the range of strategies that they adopted to communicate the Gospel to people for whom the Judaeo-Christian culture which informed the Dutch had hitherto been completely alien. Furthermore, I hope that this paper contributes to the broader discussion within missionary linguistics about the extent to which translations of Biblical texts should remain true to the source or, alternatively, be adapted in translation to accommodate and speak to the recipient culture.

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翻譯聖經文本荷蘭新教傳教士進入費佛朗族與西拉雅族

Christopher Joby

摘要

眾所周知第一批歐洲人殖民台灣是荷蘭人，誰控制了島嶼的部分地區 1624-1662 就是荷蘭東印度公司，在熱蘭遮城從事貿易。而荷蘭新教傳教士則是對台灣原住民進行傳教，這項工作包括將基督教文本翻譯成台灣語言，以傳播基督教福音。荷蘭人翻譯成兩種台灣語言分別是費佛朗語與西拉雅語，這兩者語言在荷蘭時期在該島西部使用，但現已滅絕。本文考察了兩段聖經經文，主禱文和十誡。被翻譯成費佛朗語和西拉雅語。雅各·花德烈在 1647 至 1651 年在台灣工作，在這期間翻譯成費佛朗語以及利用這種語言寫祈禱文和佈道，他將主禱文翻譯成費佛朗語與原文接近。儘管他將第二行翻譯為「讚美你的名字」而非「你的名字是神聖的」；至於十誡，他將原文本改編成當地的台灣文化。費佛朗語文本懇求信徒的地方不要貪圖鄰居的牛，還有他的野兔(馬拉格)。像雅各·花德烈早期將主禱文翻譯成西拉雅語。羅伯特·朱諾斯，將第二行翻譯為「讚美你的名字」，而不是「你的名字是神聖的」然而這種翻譯將會招致台灣荷蘭教會的憤怒。而朱尼厄斯在翻譯十誡時與原文非常接近，他改編了第六條誡命，不僅禁止謀殺，還禁止墮胎，這是試圖壓制西拉雅人頻繁墮胎的習慣。簡而言之，本文分析了十七世紀臺灣的荷蘭傳教士是如何翻譯聖經文字的，尤其是翻譯人員是如何試圖彌合他們所調解的猶太-基督教文化與臺灣土著文化之間的鴻溝。因此，這一貢獻試圖新增傳教士語言學中更廣泛的討論，即聖經文字的翻譯應在多大程度上保持對原文的真實性，或者在翻譯中進行改編，以適應並與接受者文化對話。

關鍵字：荷蘭人、費佛朗語、西拉雅語、聖經、主禱文、十誡、文化住宿