Mein Liebes Schones Confitemini-An Analysis of Dr. Martin Luther's Translation of Psalm 118

Paul Landgraf
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, pjlandgraf@yahoo.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.csl.edu/stm

Recommended Citation
https://scholar.csl.edu/stm/68

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.
MEIN LIEBES SCHÖNES CONFITEMINI:

AN ANALYSIS OF

DR. MARTIN LUTHER'S TRANSLATION

OF PSALM 118

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Department of Systematic Theology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology.

by

Paul D. Landgraf

May 1998

Approved by ________________________ Advisor

_____________________________ Reader

_____________________________ Reader
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:1</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:2</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:3</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:4</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:6</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:7</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:8-9</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:10</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:11</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:12</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:13</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:14</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:15-16</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:17</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:18</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:19</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:20</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:21</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:22</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:23</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:24</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:25</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:26</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:27</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:28</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm 118:29</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

It was no small feat that the translation of the Scriptures which Dr. Martin Luther had given to the German people in 1545 went without formal revision for over three centuries. The translation spoke seamlessly through the turbulent times of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth centuries.¹

Some have claimed that the real genius of this translation will not be known until each verse has been completely dissected.² That may never happen. This work proposes an easier and more concise method by which the genius might be better understood. That method presupposes that the best translation work will be found with Luther's favorite text. Where else would the greatest effort be given and the utmost attention to detail be made? In no other place would the words of the Lord come through in German with such massive


beauty and clarity.

As to the question of Luther's favorite book of the Bible, it was most certainly the Psalter. He gave it the highest praise in the book's preface of 1545:

Many of the holy fathers prized and praised the Psalter above all the other books of Scripture. To be sure, the work itself gives praise enough to its author; nevertheless it is proper for us to also give evidence of our praise and thanks. . . .

I hold, however, that no finer book of examples or of the legends of the saints has ever come, or can come to earth than the Psalter. . . .

The Psalter cannot help but be a precious and well-loved book, if for no other reason than this: it so clearly promises the death and resurrection of Christ and pictures his kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom. It might well be called a little Bible; in it is comprehended most beautifully and briefly everything that is in the entire Bible. It is quite a fine enchiridion or handbook. In fact, I have a notion that the Holy Spirit wanted to take the trouble himself to compile a short Bible and book of examples of all Christendom or all saints, so that anyone who could not read the whole Bible would have here anyway almost an entire summary of it, comprised in one little book.3

It is no wonder that the Psalms were so important to

Luther; the Latin translation was known to him from the time he was a child.  

During the first years as a doctor of the church, Luther often found his writings based on the Psalter. The great attention which was given to this book in the later years is the partial fruition of Luther's early and serious efforts with this book of the Bible.

Of all the parts in Scripture, the Psalms struck his deepest devotion. When Luther heard that his father had died, he took his Psalter, went to his room, and was not seen for

---


5For some of the results of these labors, see Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamt-ausgabe, 66 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883-1995), vol. 1: Schriften der Jahre 1512-1518, pp. 687-710. (Hereinafter referred to as WA.) For a short summary of Luther's work in the Psalter, see Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 100-101, 115-120; Hans Schmidt, Luther und das Buch der Psalmen: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Wertung des Alten Testaments (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1933), p. 6. For a brief listing of the first Scripture passages which Luther translated, see Georg Wilhelm Hopf, Würdigung der Luther'schen Bibelverdeutschung mit Rücksicht auf ältere und neuere Übersetzungen (Nuremberg: Verlag von J. L. Schrag, 1847), p. 53. A large number of those first passages were either from the Psalter or poetic in nature.
the rest of the day. The Psalter was his traveling companion. Many of the hymns which he composed were based on the Psalms. When words were used with the greatest attention to detail—in the Scriptures, in prayer, and in song—Luther would often have looked to the Psalter.

Luther finished his first complete translation of the Psalter in the latter months of 1524.9 There were partial revisions in the years which followed and a major revision of the book in 1528.10 The Psalter was the first book to be completely revised by the colloquium of scholars which Luther had gathered together in 1531.11 Between 1539 and 1543 the


7Ibid., p. 43.

8For a listing of these hymns, see WA, 35, pp. 415-518; AE, 53, pp. 221-285.


10WA DB, 10.1, pp. 106-107; Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 205.

11WA DB, 3, pp. XIV-XVII; AE, 35, p. 206. For a thorough description of these efforts, including some examples in English of the group's discussion, see Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 212-222. For a shorter description of these
Psalter was again reviewed and revised. Its most mature translation was given in 1545. Throughout these years the Psalms received careful scrutiny.

Although beneficial, a serious study of the translations of the entire Psalter would be impossible within this work. Several of the well-known Psalms have been

actions, see Otto Reichert, "Der Deudsch Psalter Luthers zu Wittenberg, 1531-1931," in Luther-Jahrbuch, ed. Th. Knoll, vol. 13 (Hamburg: Luther-Gesellschaft, 1931), pp. 31-35. For the documentation surrounding the first appearance of the notes for this group, see George Buchwald, "Jeneur Lutherfunde," Theologische Studien und Kritiken 67 (1894): 374-391. These notes in both German and Latin appear in WA DB 3, pp. 1-166.

For summaries and examples of translation activity during these years, see Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 233-248.

Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 248: "The next Wittenberg edition of the complete Bible, printed in 1545 is of particular significance. Not [sic] so much because it again has a text that is changed in many places, as because it is the last edition that was printed under Luther's supervision, though not corrected by him." The translation is given here: WA DB, 10.1, pp. 107-587. See also D. Martin Luther, Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch: Wittenberg, 1545, ed. Hans Volz, (Munich: Rogner & Bernard, 1972), pp. 964-1092.

Only the sources of the translation have been determined in this work: Theodor Pahl, Quellenstudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1931). The groundwork for such an epic study has been laid, not only for the Psalter, but for the entire Scriptures in the following achievement: Dr. Martin Luthers Bibelübersetzung nach den letzten Original-Ausgaben, ed.
studied in the past. The greatest benefit will be derived from a study of that Psalm determined to be the most precious to Luther.

Of the one hundred and fifty Psalms, Luther's favorite was without a doubt Psalm 118. He loved it enough to give a nickname commensurate to his beloved wife. While summarizing each of the Psalms in 1531 he called this one "mein liebes schönes Confitemini." The last word in the


title betrays how familiar indeed the Latin translation of the Psalm had become to him. This personal reference was a brief, unique, and clear attempt to acclaim the Psalm's great worth.

Luther loved the Psalm enough to write a commentary on the text in 1530. His preparations for the commentary included his own notes in Latin. These notes were given for expansion in German to a fellow worker in the Reformation movement, Wenceslaus Linck. Every stage of the commentary would possess a unique translation of the text. The letter which accompanied the final copy of the commentary by Luther had echoes of his endearing title for the Psalm. Later in the letter he is both immoderate and frank in describing the Psalm's great worth:

This is my Psalm which I love dearly. Although the entire

---

17 Occasionally he would include some German phrases and sentences. See WA, 31.1, p. 56.

18 WA, 31.1, p. 35.

19 For that translation, see WA, 31.1, pp. 49-173. These commentary translations will not be included in the Appendix, but will be discussed throughout the paper when appropriate. The final text of the commentary appears in English in AE, 14, pp. 43-106. For more information regarding this time in Luther's life, see Brecht, Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532, pp. 379-397.

20 WA, 31.1, p. 65.
Psalter and all of Holy Scripture are dear to me as my only comfort and source of life, I fell in love with this Psalm especially. Therefore I cannot help but call it mine. When emperors and kings, the wise and the learned, and even saints could not aid me, this Psalm proved a friend to me and helped me out of many great troubles. As a result, it is dearer to me than all the wealth, honor, and power of the pope, the Turk, and the emperor. I would be most unwilling to trade this Psalm for all of it.\footnote{Denn, Es ist mein Psalm, den ich lieb habe, wie wol der gantze Psalter und die heilige schrifft gar, mir auch lieb ist, als mein einiger trost und leben ist, So bin ich doch sonderlich an diesen Psalmen geraten, das er mus mein heiss und sein. Denn er sich auch redlich umb mich gar offt verdienet und mir aus manchen grossen nöten geholffen hat, da mir sonst widder Keiser, Könige, weisen, klugen, heiligen hetten mügen helfen, Und ist mir lieber denn des Bapsts, Türkchen, Keiser und aller welt ehre, gut und gewalt, wolt auch gar ungern umb diesen Psalmen mit iyn all sampt beuten. \textit{WA}, 31.1, pp. 65-66; cf. \textit{AE}, 14, p. 45.}

One might have expected Luther to write such praises concerning a passage from Romans or Galatians, or at least concerning Psalm twenty-three or forty-six. How did this Psalm happen to attract Luther's dearest affection?

To answer that question, the text of the Psalm is displayed here in its most mature translation:

\begin{verbatim}
DAncket dem HERRN, Denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine Güte weret ewiglich. Es sage nu Israel, Seine gute weret ewiglich. Es sage nu das haus Aaron, Seine gute wehret ewiglich. Es sagen nu die den HERRN fürchten, Seine güte wehret ewiglich.

IN der angst rieff ich den HERRN an, Vnd der HERR erhöret mich vnd tröstet mich. Der HERR ist mit mir, Darumb fürchte ich mich nicht, Was können mir Menschen
\end{verbatim}
thun? Der HERR ist mit mir, mir zu helfen, Vnd ich will meine lust sehen an meinen Feinden.


ICH werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, Vnd des HErrn Werck verkündigen. Der HERR zächtiget mich wol, Aber er gibt mich dem Tode nicht.


DEr Stein den die Bawleute verwerffen, Ist zum Eckstein worden. Das ist vom HERRN geschehen, Vnd ist ein Wunder fur vnsern augen.

DIst der Tag, den der HERR macht, Lasst vns frewen vnd frölich drinnen sein.

O HERR Hilff, O HERR las wol gelingen. Gelobet sey der da kömpt im Namen des HERRN, Wir segnen euch, die jr vom Hause des HERRN seid. Der HERR ist Gott, der vns erleuchtet, Schmücket das Fest mit Meigen, bis an die hörner des Altars.

DV bist mein Gott, vnd ich dancke dir, Mein Gott, Ich wil dich preisen.

DAncket dem HERRN, Denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine Güte weret ewiglich.22

22WA DB, 10.1, pp. 491-495. The text has been broken up into paragraphs which point out the transitions within the Psalm. These divisions follow Luther's separations in the 1545 published translation. Those divisions were marked by the capitalization of the first two letters of each initial word.
Comparisons have been made of Luther's situation during the Reformation with the situation of the psalmist in the text. In both cases the forces of the enemy caused grave difficulties. For both Luther and the psalmist, the cornerstone of Christ was their only salvation.23 A better understanding of Luther's love for the Psalm will be seen after a detailed study of its translation.

With all that Luther confessed concerning Psalm 118, it is surprising that heretofore there has not been an analysis of the Psalm's translation into German. Its great length may have kept many from the task. Effort will be made

---

Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 238. For another example of this, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 105. This translation is given with designations of verse in the Appendix, but in a manner which is easier to see its inherent rhythm and meter. The author of this paper was aided in these two aspects of the text through an interview with Max Baeumer, Madison, Wisconsin, 10 June 1993. The 1528 and 1531 published translations of the Psalm which Luther put forward are also given in the Appendix. Every attempt has been made to follow the original work. For a brief introduction to the spelling and other matters of presentation as the texts are given in the WA DB, see WA DB, 8, pp. LXXI-LXXVI. In the 1545 published translation the important verses were indicated through the use of bold lettering. Here and afterward the emphasis will be indicated through underlining. For more details regarding this change, see WA DB, 7, p. XVI; Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 238-239.

---

Brecht, Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532, pp. 391-393.
throughout the analysis to focus scrutiny only on the most critical aspects of the Psalm for the most complete understanding of its translation.

The Psalm's twenty-nine verses will be studied individually throughout this work with only two exceptions.24 The 1545 translation will appear at the beginning of each study and will be treated as Luther's best work on that particular text. Marginal notes and cross-references will not be included at the beginning of each section, but they will be utilized where appropriate in the analyses of the verses.25 The bulk of the examination will discuss the differences between that final translation and the first translation made in 1523/24. Those changes will best betray Luther's thinking

24Vv. 8 and 9 of the Psalm are almost identical, and almost all of the elements of v. 16 are contained within v. 15. Vv. 1 and 29 are identical, but underwent enough significantly different changes to be treated separately.

25The cross-references are given in WA DB only in the 1545 edition. In Psalm 118 they appear in conjunction with the following vv.: 6, 15, 22, and 25. WA DB, 10.1, pp. 493-495. Marginal notes appeared in each ed. For the importance of their further study, see Brecht, Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church, 1532-1546, p. 98. The only marginal note of this Psalm appears in connection with v. 12. WA DB, 10.1, pp. 493. Any cross-references made to Scripture passages throughout this work will appear according to the numbering utilized in the German Bible.
regarding translation work. That first translation will be
given in a way most similar to its appearance on the original
manuscript.²⁶

The critical works available to Luther will be
examined for their helpfulness in understanding the
translation which resulted. Luther's sixteenth-century Hebrew
source will be a major factor in this process.²⁷ A reference

²⁶For the original, see Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, MSS. For the details of this
manuscript's move from Berlin to Cracow, see Wolfgang Milde, "Deutsche Handschriften in der Universitätsbibliothek Krakau," Wolfenbüttler Barock-Nachrichten 11 (1984): 76-80. See the Appendix for a photocopy of the original MS. It contains marks in both black and red ink. For more details regarding these marks, see Edward H. Lauer, "Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24," pp. 3-4.

²⁷The Hebrew text used by Luther is the following: Biblia hebraica cum punctis et accentibus per Gersonem Ben Mose Soncinatem, (Brescia, 1494). (Hereinafter referred to as Biblia hebraica.) See the Appendix for the text of the Psalm. For a summary of Luther's proficiency with the Hebrew, see Walter H. Koenig, "Luther as a Student of Hebrew," (Concordia Theological Monthly 24 (November 1953): 845-853. See also Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 118-122. Luther's use of Hebrew in the earlier years can be seen with more detail in the following works: Siegfried Raeder, Das Hebräische bei Luther untersucht bis zum Ende der ersten Psalmvorlesung, Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, no. 31, ed. Gerhard Ebeling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961); Siegfried Raeder, Die Benutzung des masoretischen Textes bei Luther in der Zeit zwischen der ersten und zweiten Psalmvorlesung (1515-1518), Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, no. 38, ed. Gerhard Ebeling (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1967); Pahl, Quellenstudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung, pp. 127-132.
work for the Latin translations familiar to Luther may be found in the *Quincuplex Psalterium*. Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* was the standard lexical work of that time. All German and Latin data will be evaluated within their temporal context. Many of

---

28 *Quincuplex Psalterium*: Fac-similé de l'édition de 1513, ed. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, no. 170 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), pp. 169-170. (Hereinafter referred to as *Quinc. Psalterium*.) The Greek translation of the Old Testament, commonly known as the Septuagint, has a great number of similarities to the Latin translation and was at times also useful to Luther. *Versio Veteris Testamenti graeca LXX interpretum*, 1518. (Hereinafter referred to as *LXX*.) The text appears in the Appendix. The Latin translation within the *Quinc. Psalterium* entitled *Gallicum* was the one most similar to the text used predominantly by Luther. This text and the *Hebraicum* may also be found in the Appendix. For the use of the well-known translation in his first series of lectures on the Psalter, see *Martin Luther Wolfenbütteler Psalter, 1513-1515*, ed. Eleanor Roach and Reinhard Schwarz (Wolfenbüttel: Insel Verlag, 1983), pp. 398-402. (Hereinafter referred to as *Wolfen. Psalter*.) This text also appears in the Appendix. The same text is also given in *WA*, 4, pp. 274-277. For Luther's revision of the Latin Psalter, which quite closely follows the *Wolfen. Psalter*, see *WA DB*, 10.2, p. 261. For more information regarding Luther and the Latin translation, see Hans Volz, "Luthers Arbeit am lateinischen Psalter," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 48 1/2 (1957): 11-56.

29 Ioannis Reuchlin, *Principivm Libri: De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (Pforzheim, 1506). The Hebrew quotations from this work will include the vowel-signs as they are given in the entries. (Hereinafter referred to as *RRud*.) The pagination within the work is not always reliable. See *RRud.*, pp. 589(!). Luther's use of this text is summarized in Reu, *Luther's German Bible*, pp. 114-118. For a more thorough listing of all the texts used by Luther, see Hopf, *Würdigung der Luther'schen Bibelverdeutschung*, pp. 48-52.
the standard works to accomplish this will be utilized.\textsuperscript{30}

An analysis of the full weight of the 1545 translation would not be complete without other points of reference. Several different ones will be made available throughout the paper: 1) an examination of other German

\textsuperscript{30}The following work by the brothers Grimm is exhaustive: Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, et al., \textit{Deutsches Wörterbuch}, 16 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1854-1971). (Hereinafter referred to as Grimm.) An even-more-complete listing of the occurrences of a particular German word in the biblical translation may be found in this work: Gottfried Büchnern, ed., \textit{Biblische Real- und Verbal-Concordanzien}, 2 vols. (Jena: Christian Henrich Cuno, 1757). The following work will be utilized whenever possible: Philipp Dietz et al., \textit{Wörterbuch zu Dr. Martin Luthers deutschen Schriften}, 2 vols: A-Heilig (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1961-1997). (Hereinafter referred to as Dietz.) Its completion is being eagerly awaited by many. The simplest but still accurate work for determining the functions of certain fifteenth-century German words is the following: Alfred Götze, \textit{Früneuhochdeutsches Glossar}, 7th ed. (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967). (Hereinafter referred to as Götze.)

The Latin language thankfully has not had so many changes throughout its history. The Latin dictionary used within this work is the following: Friedrich A. Heinichen, ed. \textit{Lateinisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Lateinisches Schulwörterbuch}, 7th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903), vol. 1.: \textit{Lateinisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch}. (Hereinafter referred to as Heinichen.) The quotations taken from Latin works will be written after having taken into account the shorthand of the time. For a brief but accurate summary of this, see Adriano Cappelli, \textit{The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Paleography}, trans. David Heimann and Richard Kay (University of Kansas Libraries, 1982).
translations at various points in history,\textsuperscript{31} 2) an examination

\textsuperscript{31}The standard work for researching the early German translations of the Bible has been the following: \textit{Die erste deutsche Bibel}, ed. Wm. Kurrelmeyer, 10 vols. (Tübingen: Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1904-1915), vol. 7: \textit{Tobias-Psalmen}, pp. 418-420. (Hereinafter referred to as Kurrelmeyer.) Although the accuracy of the work has been disputed (see Bluhm, \textit{Martin Luther: Creative Translator}, pp. 87-92), for the purposes of this paper the information will be adequate. See the Appendix for this translation.

A quick comparison of slightly later German translations, often with some significant theological differences, may be found in the following work: \textit{Biblia Pentepla, Das ist: Die Bücher der Heiligen Schrift Des Alten und Neuen Testaments/ Nach Fünf-facher Deutscher Verdolmetschung/ Als I. Der Römisch-Catholischen/ durch Caspar Ulenberg, Theol. Lic. II. Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen/ durch Martin Luther, Theol. D. III. Der Evangelisch-Reformirten/ durch Johann Piscator, Theol. Prof. IV. Der Jüdischen/ im Alten Testament/ des Joseph Athiae, und Der Neuen/ im Neuen Testament/ durch Jon. Heinrich Reitzen, V. Der Holländischen / auf Verordnung der Herren General-Staaten, Alle mit ihren eigenen Vorreden/ und Parallelen, nebst kurzen Summarien und dienlichen Registern, 3 vols. (Hermann Heinrich Holle, 1711), pp. 172-174. (Hereinafter referred to as \textit{Biblia Pentapla}.) All the translations of this work (with special designations) are supplied in the Appendix except the final one.

The modern translations of the German Bible are still heavily indebted to Luther. See Heinz Bluhm, "Luther's German Bible," in \textit{Seven-Headed Luther}, p. 178. Some translations still closely follow the 1545 work. An example of this is: \textit{Die Bibel: Nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers, revidiert 1956/1964, für Arbeit und Studium mit Schreibbrand} (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1970), pp. 723-724. (Hereinafter referred to as RDB.) A translation that clearly seeks to go in a decidedly different direction is: \textit{Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch: Die Gute Nachricht des Alten und Neuen Testaments} (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 555-556. (Hereinafter referred to as NDB.) See the Appendix also for both these translations.
of other various types of mostly modern English translations, an examination of the data available in up-

Three styles of translation have been noted in the past and are sometimes helpful for a quick summary of a particular rendering: 1) literal translation, 2) dynamic equivalent, and 3) paraphrase. In Holladay's book, _The Psalms through Three Thousand Years_, these definitions are given for those terms: The literal translation "is a word-by-word translation." The dynamic equivalent "is the equivalent expression in the receptor language." The paraphrase "is a looser equivalent that is shaped to a greater degree by the expected forms of the receptor language." Wm. L. Holladay, _The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses_ (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), p. 318. Since some translations of the Bible may be literal in one place, dynamic equivalent in another, and still paraphrase in another, all renderings will be referred to as translations when alluding to the work as a whole, but may be specified as to a particular style when a certain passage is being examined.

Almost all of the English translations referenced are familiar. Page numbers for their references will not be supplied. They are listed chronologically, along with the year of their first printing. They are as follows: _The Holy Bible_ (King James Version, 1611). (Hereinafter referred to as KJV.) _The New English Bible_ (1970). (Hereinafter referred to as NEB.) _The Holy Bible_ (New American Standard, 1971). (Hereinafter referred to as NASB.) _The Living Bible: Paraphrased_ (1971). (Hereinafter referred to as LB.) _The Holy Bible_ (New International Version, 1973). (Hereinafter referred to as NIV.) The Episcopal Church General Convention, _The Book of Common Prayer: And Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David_ (Charles Mortimer Guilbert, 1977). (Hereinafter referred to as BCP.) _The Holy Bible_ (The New King James Version, 1979). (Hereinafter referred to as NKJV.) _The Holy Bible_ (New Revised Standard Version, 1989). (Hereinafter referred to as NRSV.) _The Holy Bible_ (Contemporary English Version, 1995). (Hereinafter referred to as CEV.) See the Appendix for all these translations. For a
to-date Hebrew lexicons and books of grammar, and an overview of the recent standard commentaries on the Psalter.

quick comparison of the major Psalter translations in English from the Coverdale Bible of 1535 to the Revised translation of 1885, see *The Hexaplar Psalter: The Book of Psalms in Six English Versions*, ed. Wm. A. Wright (Cambridge, University Press, 1911).


These points of reference will not only help to see what is different in the translation given by Luther, but also see how accurately the task was done.

Space will not permit an analysis of the text which is commensurate to Luther's love for the Psalm 118 or his efforts toward its translation. An analysis of such a translation for a Psalm of this length has never been attempted before. Most of the minor details will be without comment. Frequent issues and minor changes such as spelling,
punctuation, and capitalization will follow the texts and in most cases not be noted. These aspects of the German language in the sixteenth century underwent massive changes and have often been recorded by others. References to other works of Luther will also be limited.

To avoid confusion where German and Latin words appear in close proximity, words in German will always be given in bold type. Other foreign languages will usually be given in italics. Conclusions will be drawn at the end of each section, and final conclusions drawn together at the very end of the work. The Appendix sets out much of the material in an orderly manner. It is hoped that this work will spark

35 For the best example of this, see Carl Franke, *Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers in allgemeinverständlicher Darstellung*, 3 vols. (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1913-1922). For a brief summary of capitalization within the writings of Luther, see vol. 1, pp. 104-109. (Hereinafter referred to as Franke.)

36 These are works from which supplemental data will be drawn: *WA*, 4, p. 520; *WA*, 8, pp. 10-33; *WA*, 31.1, pp. 34-173; *WA*, 38.1, pp. 15-16, 57; *WA*, 48, pp. 65-66.

37 Because of these noticeable designations and also the great frequency of foreign phrases and quotations from non-English sources within this work, quotation marks will not be used in these two instances.

38 Besides the previously mentioned texts, a literal translation into English of the mature 1545 published edition
renewed interest in understanding Luther's time-honored way of translating the Scriptures.

by this author will also be put forward to help those unfamiliar with the German language. Another English translation of the Psalm by this writer will also be given which seeks to follow the translation perspective given by Luther, but for the English-speaking people of present-day America.
PSALM 118:1

Danket dem HERRN, Denn er ist freundlich, Und seine Güte
weret ewiglich.

Luther's liturgical past gave him great familiarity with the Latin translation of this verse: *Confitemini domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.* 39 Even that familiarity was not enough for Luther to refrain from making some modifications to the text as the words went into the German. Where the Latin translation employed the word *bonus,* Luther made use of the German word *freundlich.* Where the Latin had *misericordia,* Luther used the word *Güte.* The first thing to be examined will be Luther's choice of the word *Güte.* At the source of this textual analysis will be the familiar Hebrew word יְחָד.

At the beginning of the translation of the Psalter, when Luther came upon the word יְחָד, he usually translated it with some spelling of the word *barmherzigkeit.* 40 That German word was the etymological twin of *misericordia* and a typical


40 *WA DB,* 1, p. 456 (Psalm 5:8); Ibid., p. 491 (Psalm 36:11).
translation for יִשְׂרָאֵל at that time. That way of translating continued until he came upon the word יִשְׂרָאֵל in Psalm 40:12. There was a word which the Hebrew dictionary readily admitted could also be expressed in terms of misericordia or barmherzigkeit. After that Luther began to translate יִשְׂרָאֵל into some spelling of güte, a word which, at least according to the words used within it, pointed less to an action of the heart and more to actions of the hands.


42WA DB, 1, p. 497 (Psalm 40:12a). RRud., p. 489: יִשְׂרָאֵל Misertus est. psalmo ciiij. Quomodo miseretur pater filiorum misertus est dominus timentium se. Inde misericordie recordaberis. Aliud significatum diligere. amare. BDB, pp. 933-934; Holl., p. 337. The connection between יִשְׂרָאֵל and barmherzigkeit was also made on the basis of etymological data.

43WA DB, 1, p. 497 (Psalm 40:12b). Grimm, 4.1.6, col. 1391: güte; bonitas, probitas, benignitas, gratia. This substitution has not gone without notice. For a more thorough description of this change, see WA DB, 10.1, pp. 94-95;
Luther first brought up this transition in usage between barmherzigkeit and güte in the 1524 preface to the first published translation of the Psalter:

In the Psalter and in other places, we now and again find these two words together: הָדֹּד וְהָדִי. These words which have been wildly and wretchedly interpreted by many, I have given them in German as guete and trewe. These words are actually, when freely rendered into German, Liebe and trew, as when we say, "Er hat myr liebe vnd trew beweyset." But I have not ventured to give them so freely in German. For הָדֹּד, which they have translated as barmherzickeyt and I have given as güte, really means to show friendship, love and kindness to someone. Christ himself interpreted Hosea in that way when he said: "Ich habe lust an der barmherzikeyt vnd nicht am opffer;" that is, "Ich will das man freundschafft, liebe vnd wolthat beweyse, lieber denn opffern."44


44"Im psalter vnd sonst hym vnd widder, begegen offt disse zeyw Wort beyeynander, barmhertzickeyt vnd warheyt, wilche von ettlichen sind wild/vnd wüst gezogen, die habe ich verdeuscht also, guete vnd trewe, vnd ist eygentlich, das wyr auff frey deutsch sagen, Liebe vnd trew, wenn wyr pflegen zu sagen, Er hat myr liebe vnd trew beweyset. Aber ich habs nicht dürffen wagen so frey zuuerdeutschen, Denn Hesed, das sie barmherzickeyt, vnd ich guete habe verdeutscht, heysst eygentlich, das, wenn man yemand freundschafft, liebe odder wolthat erzeygt, wie es Christus Matt. 12. aus Hosea selbs deutet vnd spricht, Ich habe lust an der barmherzikeyt vnd nicht am opffer, das ist, Ich will das man freundschafft, liebe vnd wolthat beweyse, lieber denn opffern." WA DB, 10.1,
Luther later brought up the same distinction during the final draft of the 1530 commentary:

The Hebrew word וּדוּ, which was מְהֹרְעַנָּנָה to the Greeks and until now was barmherzigkeit to the Germans, I have translated as güte, for it really means kindness or goodness. Christ himself uses the word when he says in Matthew 12: "Ich hab lust an der wolthat und nicht am opffer." And St. Paul says in I Timothy 6, "die knecht sollen jhren gleubigen herrn, als die der wolthat teilhafftig sind, deste lieber dienen." In Matthew 6 Christ says, "Habt aucth auff ewer wolthat." For many years we have given this the name Almosen, from the Greek word ἐλεημοσύνη. Although the word Almosen came to be misused to refer to a piece of bread for the beggar at our door, it really is ἐλεημοσύνη, וּדוּ, kindness or goodness, such as God grants us and we, in turn, are to grant others. 45

Although the Deutsches Wörterbuch gave the Latin word gratia as a term to succinctly describe both barmherzigkeit pp. 94-95; cf. Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 202.

and güte, one would not have guessed that close connection by what Luther wrote concerning those words in the above quotations.46 He chose to emphasize the etymological difference between the words and consequently make a significant distinction between them.

In both quotes Luther mentioned the misuse connected with these words. The historical context of the sixteenth century prompted him to greater enthusiasm for a more proper use.47 Luther's use of etymological evidence to support his conclusions may seem to be a weak case, but certainly the smaller words which are within larger words will over time make an impression on the listener or reader in a way which may be significantly different to the word's previous function. Through this change from barmherzigkeit to güte, Luther wished to make an admittedly slight but obviously more visible emphasis toward a concrete description of the Lord's goodness.48

46Grimm, 1, col. 1136; Ibid., 4.1.6, col. 1391.

47See also WA, 31.1, p. 69.

48See WA DB, 3, p. 132 (Psalm 65:1). The new word güte is obviously much easier to say, something very beneficial within a book of poetry.
The mention of צד in the Old Testament contains many themes such as faithfulness, kindness, grace, salvation, and, of course, godly deeds or evidences of grace. Why Luther chose to highlight the theme of activity within the gracious and merciful realm of צד will only be able to be answered after a search of the source for the new word freundlich can be ascertained.

Since similar words to be translated had already appeared within the Psalter and the change from barmherzigkeit to güte was made in Psalm forty, what was given as Luther's first effort to translate Psalm 118:1 does not seem so unusual. With the Hebrew text, היה ירהו ינות על العامة מצד, Luther wrote this straight-forward translation:

Danckt dem herrn denn er ist gutt

49 Holl., p. 111. See BDB, pp. 338-339; Exodus 20:2-6, 34:4-7; Numbers 14:17-20; Nehemiah 9:17; Jonah 3:10-4:2. These and other crucial passages are carefully examined in the following work: Francis I. Andersen, "Yahweh, the Kind and Sensitive God," in God Who is Rich in Mercy, ed. Peter T. O'Brien and David G. Peterson (Homebush West, New South Wales: Lancer Books, 1986), pp. 41-88. A good summary of the word may be found on pp. 81-82. Kraus, p. 397: "מצד in the thanksgiving liturgy obviously refers to demonstrations of the gift of gracious (צד) salvation, faithful to the community, in the life of Israel (Psalm 36) and in the life of the individual."

50 Biblia hebraica.
vnd seyne guete weret ewiglich.  

The significant portions of this translation will be noted from the changes which followed in the subsequent editing and editions.

Most of the 1523/24 editing done to the verse dealt with the phrase denn er ist gutt. Soon after the above words were written, Luther replaced the word denn with das. This is almost assuredly the result of translating the next verse. The old word denn did not have the strong causal function that it possesses today, and only moderately indicated that what follows is based upon what came before. The new word das was more common, more general in function, and permitted a greater variety of forms to follow. In causal sentences the word, especially in combination with the word so, had the same function as darum das or quoniam. With a clearer focus given, the over-used term gutt was enhanced.

51 WA DB, 1, p. 529.
52 See WA DB, 1, p. 529 (Psalm 118:2).
53 Dietz, p. 397; Grimm 2, cols. 945-946; Götze, p. 49. At this time in the German language the word denn was primarily used as dann is used today.
54 Grimm, 2, col. 817. See Heinichen, p. 714; WA DB, 1, p. 530.
In subsequent editing Luther crossed out the entire phrase and wrote das er so freundlich ist above it.\(^55\)

Obviously such significant editing took place at another location. The newly found phrase was then transferred to this verse. That editing took place in verse twenty-nine and will be detailed later in the paper. The first half of verse one appeared in the first published translation as: Danckt dem HERRN das er so freundlich ist . . . \(^56\)

Luther took on a difficult task when he tried to describe the Lord's great goodness. In verses similar to this one the word predominantly and previously used for \(\text{ Islamist} \) was g"ttig.\(^57\) This word was so similar to the word g"ute in the second half of the verse that Luther was willing to attempt to find another word, not so similar to g"ute, but still firmly connected to \(\text{ Islamist} \).\(^58\) The word gutt was not any different. The

\(^{55}\)WA DB, 1, p. 529.

\(^{56}\)WA DB, 10.1, p. 490.

\(^{57}\)See WA DB, 1, p. 261 (I Chronicles 16:34); WA DB, 1, p. 288 (II Chronicles 5:13); WA DB, 1, p. 291 (II Chronicles 7:3); WA DB, 1, p. 344 (Ezra 3:11).

\(^{58}\)Grimm, 4.1.6, col. 1391: g"ute; bonitas, probitas, benignitas, gratia. Cf. Grimm, 4.1.6, col. 1439: g"ttig; freundlich, wohlwollende, liebreiche, sanfte, milde gesinnung habend oder beweisend. For examples of g"ttig within the
change to freundlich moved the text in a significantly different direction. Whereas the fifteen-century function of the word gutt also included the idea of freundlich, the word had never been previously used to describe God.59 What would be the reaction to such a translation?

First Luther had the chance to make comment on the translation within the 1530 commentary on the Psalm. In the following quote, Luther brought up not only the switch from gutt to freundlich, but the replacement of barmherzigkeit with gute as well:

You must not read the words Freundlich and Seine gute with dull indifference. Nor dare you skim over them as the nuns read the Psalter, or as choir masters and members bleat and bellow these fine words in the churches. No, you must bear in mind that these are vibrant, significant, and splendid words; they express and emphasize one theme: God is friendly, but not as a human being is friendly; from the very bottom of His heart He is inclined to help and do good continually. He is not given to anger or inclined to punish except where necessary and where persistent, impenitent, and stubborn wickedness compels and drives Him to it. A human being would not delay punishment and restrain anger as God does; he would punish a hundred

Psalter, see WA DB, 3, p. 115 (Psalm 90:17); WA DB, 10.1, pp. 576-577 (Psalm 145:9).

59Grimm, 4.1.6, cols. 1338-1350; Ibid., 4.1.1, cols. 166-167: freundlich; comis, benignus, familiaris.
thousand times sooner and harder than God does.60

The change from barmherzigkeit to gute and from gutt to freundlich were seen as similar solutions to a solitary plaguing problem—the people of that time were forgetting how incredibly good was the Lord.

The problem encountered when using such a word as freundlich to describe such a Lord is the possibility of misuse or misunderstanding. Luther made reference to this danger in the above quote when he distanced its function from the type of friendliness which is normally attributed to people. This danger caused the word to fall under even greater scrutiny at the colloquium for the 1531 Psalter revision.

Rörer, the secretary for the group, wrote in his

60"Denn du must diese wort 'Freundlich' und 'Seine gute' nicht so kalt und rohe lesen noch über hin lauffen wie die Nonnen den Psalter lesen odder wie die Chorherrn und Chorschüler solche feine wort blöken und heulen jnn jhren kirchen, Sondern dencken, das es lebendige, treffliche und reiche wort sind, die alles und alles fassen und einbilden: Nemlich, das Gott freundlich ist, nicht wie ein mensch, sondern der von grund seines hertzen geneigt und günstig ist jmer zu helffen und wol zu thun und nicht gerne zünet noch straffet, er müsse es denn thun und werde über heukt dazu gezwungen und gedrungen durch unablesliche, unbuffertige, verstockte bosheit der menschen, Das, wo er züren mus und straffen, da kündte ein mensch nicht so lange harren, Sondern straffete hundert tausent mal ehe und herter, denn er thut." WA, 31.1, p. 69; cf. AE, 14, p. 47. See WA, 31.1, p. 49.
notes concerning this verse: "Das er so freundlich ist,"
suavis, χρηστός. Above the line he wrote the words: gutig, commodus, philantropus. 61 Obviously a better word than freundlich was being sought. The word which was discussed here was not so much the Hebrew word יְהוָה as it was the Greek word χρηστός. This analysis was redirected on account of the translation of the Septuagint, not of Psalm 118:1, but of Psalm 34:9 as it was quoted in I Peter 2:3. 62 The Greek word pointed to an active and mature definition of great goodness. 63 This is exactly what was notably deficient within the word freundlich.

61 WA DB, 3, p. 146. The Greek accent mark did not appear in the original notes.

62 WA DB, 1, p. 487 (Psalm 34:9a): Fulet vnd sehet wie freundlich der herr ist . . . . Ibid., 7, p. 303 (I Peter 2:3).

The attempt was made to find a German word which possessed these characteristics but was still not so similar to güte or güttig. Unfortunately for Luther such a word did not exist at the time. The result of the pursuit for such a word was that, although the word freundlich remained, the surrounding phrase was altered. In the 1531 published translation the phrase did not appear as das er so freundlich ist, but as denn er ist freundlich.64

The change was the reversal of what happened in the earliest stages of the translation. The first change from denn to das was already seen to be advantageous. Since the word das was taken out in the following verses, the ability for the word to maintain a continuity within these few verses of the translation was lost.65 Even though the word das possessed a greater flexibility and was quite similar to the Latin word quoniam and even the Hebrew word יְהָנוֹם, the new conjunction denn also accomplished the same purpose, but to a lesser degree.66

The greatest improvement came with the change in the word

64WA DB, 10.1, p. 491.

65Ibid., p. 491 (Psalm 118:2-4).

66Grimm, 2, cols. 811-817. For similarities of das to the word יְהָנוֹם, see BDB, pp. 471-474; Holl., pp. 155-156.
order. The new, simple, and easily said phrase, *denn er ist freundlich*, has both a clear meaning and a pleasant ending.67

The ending of verse one was also helped in 1531. One of the final editing changes in the 1523/24 working manuscript of Psalm 118:1 was the switch of the last two words. The phrase remained as *ewiglich weret* until the 1531 Psalter revision. There was an initial preference for Luther to give the same words in a variety of different ways.68 As his prowess progressed, the reliable familiarity of similar phrasing was also seen to be a helpful way to translate the frequently heard words of the Lord.

Fourteen years later, in 1545, Luther had still not found a more gracious and active word than *freundlich* or a more sonorous and rhythmic phrasing than *denn er ist freundlich*. He used it in the final translation without any changes: *DAncket dem HERRN, Denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine Güte weret ewiglich*.69

67 The present-day meaning of the phrase still contains that clarity, albeit in a much more causal tone.

68 For only two other examples of this, see *WA DB*, 1, p. 529 (Psalm 117:2); *WA DB*, 1, p. 549-550 (Psalm 136). The final phrasing has the obviously more-gentle conclusion.

69 *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 491.
The question as to whether or not this German translation was faithful to the Hebrew, especially regarding the use of the German word freundlich for the Hebrew word דוד, is quite complex. If the answer were given on the basis of the Hebrew dictionary, the reply would simply be "no." Reuchlin gave the words pulchro and bonus to describe דוד. At the end of the entry he wrote this phrase: Inde benignitas et beneficium, etc. Luther had already entertained and discarded two other possibilities, gütig and gutt. The first had close similarities to benignitas. The second was basically synonymous with the Latin word bonus. The words closest to Reuchlin's definitions were knowingly brought up and

---

70 Rud., p. 202. See also BDB, p. 374; Holl., p. 122. In these modern lexicons the word דוד is given the definition of "friendly" when referring to a person, but when referring to God, the words "good" and "kind" are given.

71 WA DB, 1, p. 530; Ibid., 3, p. 146. The word süsz was also considered by Luther during the editing of verse twenty-nine of this Psalm. See WA DB, 1, p. 530 (suss). Grimm, 10.4, col. 1279: süsz; dulcis, suavis, iucundus, gratus, benignus, mitis. The word's most serious drawback was its sexual connotations. Ibid., col. 1284.

72 Heinichen, p. 105. See Grimm, 4.1.6., col. 1439: gütig; freundlich, wohlwollende, liebreiche, sanfte, midle gesinnung habend oder beweisend.

73 Grimm, 4.1.6, col. 1226.
purposefully set aside. Even though there were serious problems with the word *freundlich*, neither word was used in this situation.

A translation is made up of more than simply the dictionary definitions of the words within it. In this respect Luther and Reuchlin were on diverging paths.\(^7\) The words of Psalm 118:1 echoed many times throughout the Scriptures. Luther gave much time and effort in translating these words. What follows is a summary of all his efforts regarding this translation in an attempt to see Luther's larger goals for this verse and how those goals coincided with the major goals of all Scripture.

What were Luther's actions regarding this translation? It has already been seen that there was importance in the way the phrases sounded to the ear, as was the case with the words, *denn er ist freundlich*. Luther also gave importance to the way the words looked, as was the case in the 1545 preference for *Güte* over *barmherzigkeit*. Both new words were considered to be a valuable testament to the

external activity of the Lord. Luther may have considered that too many people had heard the word barmherzigkeit all too often to recognize its true worth, and that they had seen the word herz within barmherzigkeit all too often to look within themselves for answers to their most serious questions. The characteristics of these changes demonstrate the great external and concrete value which Luther attested to the words of Scripture. These words were designated to carry quite precious things. For Luther the words were not lifeless, but "vibrant, significant, and splendid."75

What had been chosen by the Lord to be carried through these enlivening words may be seen within the translation in the preference for the word χρηστός and the final decision for the term freundlich, whereas terms such as lieblich and tröstlich were used in similar places but never considered here.76 Both the words χρηστός and freundlich gave a clearer reference to a person.

The translation testified to Scriptures which are the

75WA, 31.1, p. 69.

76For two examples of this, see WA DB, 1, p. 522 (Psalm 109:21); WA DB, 10.1, p. 275 (Psalm 54:8). For further analysis on the various translations of λυει within the Psalter, see Brinkel, Luthers Hermeneutik, pp. 32-33.
active workings of the Lord, yet seemingly pointed to the actions of a man; the contradictory nature of the evidence within the above translation is joyfully resolved through the fulfilled promises of the life of Christ within the New Testament. After Jesus came into the world, the disposition of God was no longer an unknown thing. In Jesus, God "wore his heart on his sleeve." Christ's importance to Luther can be seen in what he wrote in the commentary concerning verse one:

Since this Psalm praises God especially for the greatest benefit He bestowed on the world, namely, for Christ and his kingdom of grace--first promised and now revealed--the writer begins with a general statement of praise: "O give thanks to the Lord; for He is indeed a loving, gracious, kind and compassionate God, who continually does good and abundantly heaps his goodness upon us." 77

This influence of Christ on Luther is also seen in other places. His translation of θNOP as herr was not just a simple reliance on the Latin; it also included a substantial

77"Also hie, weil dieser Psalm sonderlich Gott lobet umb die höchste wolthat, der welt erzeigt, nemlich umb Christus und sein reich der gnaden der welt verheissen und jetzt erzeigt, fehet er an mit gemeinem lobe und spricht: Dancket dem HERRN, denn er ist doch ja ein hertzlicher, gnediger, frumer, güttiger Gott, der jmer und jmer wolthut und eine güte über die ander mit hauffen über uns ausschüttet." WA, 31.1, pp. 68-69; cf. AE, 14, p. 47.
reliance on the entire New Testament.\textsuperscript{78}

While on earth Jesus called his Father \textit{abba}, what no pious Jew would ever think of calling God. Because of this Jesus, Luther dared to call the Lord \textit{freundlich}, what no pious Bible translator had ever thought of calling the Savior.

In this translation the desire was to evoke a sharper and more concrete image of kindness. For Luther, the words carried Christ. The translated words were put down with that as the ultimate understanding. With the blessing of the Lord, Luther's hope was that there would be many more times in which the Lord would come down and cause some grace-filled activity upon the sinful people of this earth.\textsuperscript{79}

Luther was under no man-made law to translate the same Hebrew word with the same German one. He translated as best fit the situation. For the historical and textual


situation in which Luther lived, at a time of inactivity surrounding the Lord's delivery points and a belief in a god who was far removed from this world, the fifteenth-century understanding of the word freundlich was the most appropriate for the time.80 The German people were deeply influenced by words like these, and the words helped to form a common language.81

An examination of the present situation of the German people because of this translation is beyond the bounds of this work. The "radical-ness" of this translation is verified by its absence in the Roman Catholic or Jewish translations of later years.82 Almost all modern English translations still use the word "good" in place of the Hebrew word יְדִידָי.83

80WA DB, 10.1, pp. 99-102. Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 987: "The expression, 'His steadfast love endures for ever' will often have to be recast to say, for example, 'He loves eternally,' 'The LORD loves his people forever,' or 'His love for his own people never ceases.' In the preface to the Psalter, Luther put forward the Scriptures as a fine example of the Lord's close and gracious activity with His people."


82Biblia Pentapla, p. 172.

83Only the CEV has "kind." The LB has "so good."
That the 1545 words *freundlich* and *Güte* are still used in some German translations today is a testament that the words, although deficient in some ways, were not entirely unfit for that time. The Hebrew words יִשְׁתָּחְו and תָּנָו are polysemous, and Luther translated them with good contextual and lexical rationale. From the point of view of all of Scripture and the historical situation of the time, the words *freundlich* and *Güte* were both well chosen.

---

84 RDB; see *Biblia Pentapla*, p. 172.
Es sage nu Israel, Seine güte weret ewiglich.

Luther's first look at the Hebrew phrase יְהַמְרָאָא קַשָּׁאָל did not seem to cause him any great difficulty. The first translation in the 1523/24 manuscript was written in this way:

Es sage nü Israel
Das seyne guete weret ewiglich.85

The verse appeared in its first published form with no significant editing: Es sage nu Israel, Das seyne guete weret ewiglich.86

At this time Luther translated only the Hebrew that he saw in the text before him: יְהַמְרָאָא קַשָּׁאָל כִּי קַעֲלָם מְקֻדָּשׁ.87 The evidence for an ellipsis was not great enough to follow the Latin which he knew so well: Dicat nunc Israel quomiam bonus, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.88

One might think that the lack of any significant

85WA DB, 1, p. 529.

86Ibid., 10.1, p. 490. For the difference between nü and nu, see Grimm, 7, cols. 982–983.

87Biblia hebraica.

changes within the translation of this verse would show the Hebrew to be quite simple, but just the opposite is true. A good example of this may be found in the search for a proper translation of the Hebrew word נֵעַ. The enclitic particle may be translated in many ways; the word may even have more than one function within a sentence.89 Modern lexicons have summarized this variety with the thought of urgency.90 Luther may have remembered the Latin translation of this word, nunc, with the German rendering, nü. It should be noted that the early sixteenth century function of this word possessed mainly a temporal reference.91 Luther chose temporal means to express the urgency found in נֵעַ, but he ended up sacrificing the great flexibility present within the Hebrew.92

---

89RRud., p. 300: נֵעַ eia. nunc. obsecrantis particula o vel obsecro. velut veteres loqui solebant amabo te. et similia.


91Grimm, 7, col. 983: 'nun' ist zunächst wie in den verwandten sprachen ein zeitadverb der gegenwart und als solches synonym mit 'jetzt,' doch ist im deutschen (ähnlich wie beim griech. υόυ) neben den temporalen begriff auch ein causaler getreten . . . . See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418.

92In the somewhat similar situation of Psalm 129:1, Luther translated the Hebrew word נֵעַ with the German word so.
Although the decision for temporal urgency is not entirely out of place according to the context, most of the modern English translations do not account for it in that manner. They simply leave it untranslated.\textsuperscript{93} What is most troubling concerning Luther's decision is that he apparently spent such little time in putting forward the way in which to give the difficult phrase without considering the other alternatives.\textsuperscript{94}

The only significant change to the text was the removal of the word \textit{das} in the second half of the phrase. The change first appeared in the 1531 published translation and followed the change in the previous verse from \textit{das er so freundlich ist} to \textit{denn er ist freundlich}.\textsuperscript{95} Verse two originally influenced the previous verse to include the word \textit{das}, and when it was no longer used in the previous verse, the

\textbf{WA DB}, 1, p. 545. This word possessed a much greater variety. See Grimm, 10.1, cols. 1341-1385.

\textsuperscript{93}\textbf{NEB, NIV, NRSV, CEV}. The NASB uses the word "Oh."

\textsuperscript{94}See \textbf{WA DB}, 1, p. 542 (Psalm 124:2). Here the Hebrew word \textit{N\={q}} was left untranslated.

\textsuperscript{95}\textbf{WA DB}, 10.1, p. 491. There is no evidence in Rörer's notes regarding the reason for the change.
The repetitive nature of the first four verses of the Psalm made a good case for such interdependence. The differences between *das* and *denn* were given in the analysis of the previous verse. In that case the change was minor and a conjunction was important for proper German syntax. In the case of verse two, when *das* was removed, the overall import of the text was not significantly changed in German. The question still to be asked is whether or not that change followed the Hebrew of the text.97

The Hebrew word at issue is יְ. Much has been stated as to its meaning.98 The Hebrew scholar Aejmelaeus, in a recent complete treatment of this particular word, gave the description of the word's use here as an invitation to praise.99 This would give the word an accusative framing for

96Ibid., 1, p. 529 (Psalm 118:1).

97The word יְ appears three times within the first two verses; its function would not significantly change unless that change were signaled by the syntax.

98See BDB, pp. 471-475; Holl., pp. 155-156; Joüon, pp. 590, 617; Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 645-646, 657. In Waltke/O'Conner, translating the word is called "problematic."

99In the article he also encouraged the avoidance of the emphatic use of the word יְ. He proposed the function of the word יְ in these cases seemed to compare to the function of the coordinate conjunction י. The point was made that for the
what followed, either for a direct or an indirect quotation. The connective aspect of יְ is also proper to both uses of the word in the previous verse and thereby would be proper for the context.100

Where the Hebrew syntax allows for the situation where the verse could be understood as either direct or indirect quotation, the German and the English are not that way. A choice will always be made. Luther started with an indirect rendering of the phrase that followed, then in 1531 began to use a direct quotation format. Choosing an indirect quotation kept the word das helping to point to what follows and fit well with the verse one at the time. With direct quotation form, the structure of the sentence still pointed to what follows as that which is being said.

More importantly, the removal would also have given the perception of present time, that the words were again being said even now. The effect would be as if the speaking word to point to anything else in this case would have been confusing. Furthermore it was stated that the word may be left untranslated "if the target language does not tolerate so frequent a use of the usual rendering, 'for.'" Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Function and Interpretation of יְ in Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105/2 (1986), 204-205.

100BDB, pp. 471-474.
were being done at the present moment, as if the words of the psalmist were being heard one more time, as if the Lord's eternal grace and mercy were again being praised. Although this similar structure is repeated until the fourth verse, with the notion of a present event the time spent on these verses goes by quickly. This format is seen in all the modern English translations.101

With the removal of the word das, this would also serve as the best basis for keeping the word nun within the translation. That word also gives the perception of present time, that the event is happening immediately, that the words given are vibrant words which still echo in the ears of the Lord's faithful people.

One may like to think that Luther understood and cautiously weighed all the alternatives available to him, but the evidence seems to indicate otherwise. There is no indication that these points were debated by him, even within the colloquium. Luther did go over the text several times, especially as he wrote the commentary on the Psalm, until he

101 Only the KJV uses "that."
had familiarity with them. 102

One may chide Luther for failing to realize the uses for ℀ in the Biblical Hebrew or for seeing all the possibilities in translating the word ℀, but one may not criticize him for the rhythmic readings possible within the final translation. With the word das gone, the rhythm of the entire second half of the verse is sharpened. As a direct result of that change, a quicker and clearer emphasis is given to the most important word of the verse, gute. 103 The omission also helps to make the second half of the verses more similar in length to the first half, something which aids the meter of the text. In the end, although there was little editing done to the text, a good translation was still the result.

102 The 1530 commentary is filled with restatements of the text made by Luther. For an example of this, see WA, 31.1, pp. 68-69; ET: AE, 14, p. 47

103 Grimm, 4.1.6, col. 1391. Note the word's lack of capitalization, yet not in the previous verse. WA DB, 10.1, p. 491.
PSALM 118:3

Es sage nu das haus Aaron, Seine güte weret ewiglich.

Although most of what has been given concerning the previous verse could also be said of verse three, there is another thing to be examined. In response to the Hebrew of the text, 104 Luther wrote this first translation:

Es sage nü das haus Aaron d
Das seyne guete weret ewiglich.

The d which was written at the end of the first line was an obvious mistake. Luther began to write the word das, but he soon realized that a new line should have been started. Immediately he crossed out the letter.105

What does this error say about the translation and the man who gave it? First of all, this shows the speed with which Luther worked. With several untranslated words within this Psalm alone, obviously the purpose of this first translation was to be a quick first-time-through the Psalter.106 The most credible reason for this would be an

104 Biblia hebraica.

105 WA DB, 1, p. 529.
attempt for some consistency within the entire translation of
the book. Secondly, the mistake points out his unfamiliarity
with Psalm 118 at this time. This mistake would not have
occurred in 1531 after his writing of the commentary. In that
work every verse was carefully studied and analyzed. Therefore
the changes that occur during the first years of translating
the Psalter will not be as helpful in understanding Luther's
perspective on translation as much as those changes which
occurred in the later years.107

During the secondary editing on the manuscript the
spelling of the name Aaron was slightly changed to Aharon.108
The added letter imitates the Hebrew letter n which is found
in the Hebrew name.109 This betrays an overly zealous attempt
during the secondary editing to reproduce the Hebrew spelling

106See WA DB, 1, p. 530 (Psalm 118:12, 15, 16); Lauer,
Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24, pp. 24-26.

107For a summary of Luther's mature translation work,
see Brecht, Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church,
1532-1546, pp. 98-107.

108WA DB, 1, p. 529.

109Biblia hebraica. For another example of this over-
zealousness, see WA DB, 1, p. 527 (Psalm 115:10). For a more
extensive treatment of proper names by Luther within the
translation, see Hopf, Würdigung der Luther'schen
Bibelverdeutschung, pp. 172-177.
of the word. One might expect such an attempt since this German translation did not follow the Latin as other translations had the habit of doing. The change back to Aaron in the published translation of 1528 shows that, from Luther's perspective, a close pronunciation to the Hebrew text was not the key to an accurate translation.

---


111 WA DB, 10.1, p. 490.
PSALM 118:4

Es sagen nu die den HERRN fürchten, Seine güte wehret ewiglich.

After seeing the previous verses, the Hebrew of verse four is what one might have expected by the above translation: יאמשניא תנייה יוהה כי קינולס מבו.112 The first time Luther translated the verse, he wrote these words:

Es sage nü die den herrn furchten
Das seyne guete weret ewiglich.113

What was stated during the analysis of verse two concerning the conjunction das also applies here. There were no surprises given in the first translation and throughout the rest of the published editions.

112 Biblia hebraica.

113 WA DB, 1, p. 529.
PSALM 118:5

IN der angst rieff ich den HERRN an, Vnd der HERR erhöret mich vnd tröstet mich.

One might question the freedom with the Hebrew upon comparing the final translation of 1545 with that of Masoretic text: מָרָאָס יָדָי וָפֵרוּ יָדָי וָנֶחוּ יָדָי. The latitude in this final translation can be clearly seen when compared to the first translation given:

Inn der nott rieff ich den herrn an vnd der herr erhoret ym rawm. 115

To understand the full weight of the differences between the Hebrew and the final translation, all the changes made to the German translation will be studied in the approximate order of their occurrence.

Luther made immediate changes to the Name. Both occurrences of יה were originally translated as herrn and herr respectively. Luther immediately wrote the shortened form of the tetragrammaton in the margin nearest to the first occurrence of the word and wrote the word gott above herrn. Later Luther crossed out the word gott and wrote heRRN in the

114 Bibliia hebraica.

115 WA DB, 1, p. 529.
margin near the word and heRRN above the previously unchanged word, herr.\textsuperscript{116} The Divine Name appeared in the first published edition as HERRN and HERR, and they both remained that way throughout the editions.\textsuperscript{117}

Luther was concerned with the spelling of proper names; he was even more concerned with the spelling of the Divine Name. Here the capitalization is at stake.\textsuperscript{118} At the time of this translation Luther was not quite sure of the way in which the appearance of נֹּר should be noted. His desire to convey exactly what the Hebrew gave was properly tempered by the realization that in the end it was still quite similar to נֹּר. While Reuchlin did not list the word נֹּר, modern lexicons explain that the shortened form of the Name gives exactly what

\textsuperscript{116}Ibid., 1, p. 529. Having the word in the margin was a reminder which aided in the translation's continuity throughout the book. Luther had changed the way the word was translated as he went through the Psalter. See \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 513 (Psalm 89:9); \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 527 (Psalm 115:17-18); \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 530 (Psalm 118:17).

\textsuperscript{117}Ibid., 10.1, p. 492.

\textsuperscript{118}Luther normally capitalized the first two letters of the Name to indicate that the Hebrew word was נֹּר instead of נֹּר. For an example of this, see \textit{WA DB} 10.1, p. 477 (Psalm 110:1). For Luther's explanation of this in the 1523 preface to the Old Testament, see \textit{WA DB}, 8, p. 23; \textit{AE}, 35, pp. 248-249. For more details regarding this change in capitalization, see Franke, 1, p. 109.
is within the longer form, yet within the context of poetry. Luther was finally brought to know that the Hebrew was a servant of the Name and not a servant unto itself. In the end the German did not detail any difference.

Having noted the changes to the Name, a comparison of this translation to the final 1545 translation reveals two major differences. Without these differences the Hebrew is simple and straight-forward. The word nott was changed to angst sometime during the secondary editing. The latter change, that of vnd der herr erhoret ym rawm to Vnd der HERR erhöret mich und tröstet mich, occurred in several stages. The first of these two changes will be the next to be analyzed.

The Hebrew at issue is the rare word רכפ. Reuchlin gave this verse as an example of a derivative of the more common Hebrew word, רפ. The word indicates difficult

119 BDB, p. 219; Holl., p. 129; TWOT, p. 210. See also Allen, p. 120; Rogerson/McKay, p. 85.

120 There is great similarity to the previous German translations. See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418: Ich anrieff den herrn vom dem trübsal: vnd der herr erhört mich in der weit.

121 There are only two occurrences of the word in the Scriptures (Psalm 116:3; Lamentations 1:3).
distress. 122

Previous to the Psalter, when coming upon the word רֶגֶע or a derivative, Luther most often used the word trubsal. 123 One of the first times the words appeared in the Psalter, Luther again used trubsal, but in his editing substituted the word angst. 124 The new word was used for a short while anytime רֶגֶע or similar forms appeared. Later Luther decided to use the word angst more sparingly in the translation. 125 The word nott replaced some previous uses to the word angst, 126 and that word was saved for indicating deep distress or anxiety. 127


124 WA DB, 1, p. 455 (Psalm 4:2). The new word was more easily spoken, and may have been considered to be more appropriate for this Hebrew book of poetry.

125 See WA DB, 1, p. 487.

126 See WA DB, 1, p. 460 (Psalm 10:1); WA DB 1, p. 487 (Psalm 25:22); WA DB, 10.1, pp. 126-191 (Psalm 9:10; 20:2, 31:8).

127 See WA DB, 1, p. 455 (Psalm 4:2); WA DB, 1, p. 487 (Psalm 34:7); WA DB, 1, p. 540 (Psalm 120:1).
Something triggered the indication in this verse that the word *angst* would be helpful. The first words in the dictionary of Reuchlin regarding the word יָנַש are *Angustia vel locus strictus unde fugere nequeamus.*\(^{128}\) The similarities between the words *angustia* and *angst* are obvious. When the word appeared previously at Psalm 116:3, Luther used the word *angst.*\(^{129}\) On the working manuscript at Psalm 118:5 Luther wrote the words *loco angusto* in the margin. These words signaled a translation change within the Psalter. During the secondary editing he crossed out the word *nott* and wrote *angst* above it.\(^{130}\)

Although the word *nott* also indicates distress, it also indicates other aspects such as need and want. The word *angst* has a more specialized use in describing difficulty. While every *angst* carries the indication of *nott,* not every *nott* also indicates *angst.* The word *angst* has hardly a varied function when compared to the definition of *nott* given in

\(^{128}\)RRud., p. 292.

\(^{129}\)WA DB, 1, p. 528.

\(^{130}\)Ibid., p. 529.
Grimm. Its use in these translated Scriptures followed a specialization of the word.

The use had a firm base on the definition given in Reuchlin, but for Luther its use was also based on etymological grounds. He explained the words in this way within the 1530 commentary.

The Hebrew word יָפֶן may be given as als der Enge ist. I surmise that, in German, angst is also derived from an adjective describing something narrow. It implies fear and pain, as in a process of clamping, squeezing, and pressing. Trials and misfortunes do squeeze and press, as is indicated by the proverb: "Es war mir die weite welt zu enge."132

This is quite similar to Luther's final preference for Güte over barmherzigkeit in the first verse of the Psalm.

The negative and positive points regarding a dependence upon etymology have already been given.

The modern lexicons establish the word יָפֶן as

131Dietz, 1, pp. 82-83; Grimm, 1, cols. 358-359: angst; angor, anxietas, angustus, anxius, sollicitus; cf. Grimm, 7, cols. 905-909.

indicating "straits" or "distress." The Hebrew word contains the performative ה, normally given to indicate abstract nouns or nouns of place and instrument. Within the explanation of this aspect of Hebrew grammar, one modern Hebrew scholar gives the functions of the word as "narrow spot, anxiety." Whether the word describes a place or a situation, clarity will be aided when the context of the second half of the verse will be fully understood.

The changes which were made at the end of the verse are a more complex issue. The Hebrew is at the heart of the situation: הַעֲנִיָּה יִהְיֶה. In this case the phrase was first translated as vnd der herr erhoret ym rawm. It ended up being given as Vnd der HERR erhöret mich und tröstet mich.

In the 1523/24 working manuscript the word mich was added sometime later, the suffix of the Hebrew word יש quite possibly having been overlooked the first time through the text. With this change the entire verse was quite similar to the Latin: De tribulatione invocavi dominum, et exaudivit me

133BDB, pp. 864-865; Holl. p. 211; TWOT, pp. 778-779.

134Jouon, pp. 256-258.
in latitudine dominus.\textsuperscript{135}

The most attention was given to the uncommon Hebrew word בֹּטְנָה.\textsuperscript{136} Luther covered the basic function of this Hebrew metaphor with a word that directly corresponded to the Hebrew, the general German word raum.\textsuperscript{137} Reuchlin pointed to other derivatives and this may have been the impetus for a greater change.\textsuperscript{138} Later the words \textit{ym weytem} were added above the line. The word \textit{ym} was put into the first translation with the phrase \textit{ym raum}, then later crossed out, and then even later added above the line with the phrase \textit{ym weytem}.\textsuperscript{139} These changes point to the fact that Luther considered a greater modification to the phrase for a short time. The word \textit{weytem}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{135}WA DB, 1, p. 529. Wolfen. Psalter, p. 398.
\item \textsuperscript{136}The word appears only six times in the entire Old Testament, three of which are in the Psalter (18:20; 31:9; 118:5).
\item \textsuperscript{137}Grimm, 8, col. 275; raum: spatium, locus, intervallum.
\item \textsuperscript{139}WA DB, 1, p. 529.
\end{itemize}
helped to interpret the metaphor given through *raum*. In the secondary editing Luther still kept the translation simple and straightforward.

In the first published translation the last half of the verse was given as *Vnd der HERR erhöret mich ym weytem raum*. One lexicon indicated that the final Hebrew phrase is "figurative of freedom from distress and anxiety." That this is figurative becomes obvious when compared to the first half of the verse.

When Luther had the chance to explain the phrase, he did so with every opportunity. His first was during the 1530 commentary. There he said much concerning the phrase. In the first notes on the subject the verb *adiuvit* was used to define *raum*. In the second set of notes the verbs *trösten* and *erhalten* were given. In the final manuscript Luther had this to say about the word:

The word in Hebrew, which is given here as *jnn weitem raum*, could be compared to the phrase *wie die Enge* or the

---

140Grimm, 14.1.1, col. 1230: *länge und breite*.
141WA DB, 10.1, p. 492.
142BDB, p. 932; see Holl., p. 215.
143WA, 31.1, p. 51.
word **angst** with its synonyms **trübsal** and **not**; therefore the words **weitem raum** point to the words **trost** and **hülffe**. Accordingly, this verse says as much as: *Ich rieff den Herrn an jnn der not, So höret er und halff mir tröstlich.*

Just as distress is a narrow place, which casts us down and cramps us, so God's help is our large place, which makes us free and happy. ¹⁴⁴

At every stage of the commentary there was more effort devoted to explaining the phrase **ym weytem rawm** than there was the word **angst**. ¹⁴⁵ Words relating to help, deliverance, comfort, preservation, and freedom were all given as the ways in which this Hebrew word could be expressed.

The commentary helped Luther to see the text as a

¹⁴⁴"Da gegen laut jm Ebreischen, das er hie sagt, jnn weitem raum, das gleich, wie die Enge odder angst heisst trübsal und not, also heisst Weiter raum, trost und hülffe, Das dieser vers so viel gesagt ist: Ich rieff den Herrn an jnn der not, So höret er und halff mir tröstlich, Denn wie die not, unser enger raum ist, der uns betrübt und klemmet, also ist die hülffe Gottes, unser weiter raum, der uns frey und frölich macht." Ibid., p. 93; cf. AE, 14, p. 59.

¹⁴⁵The translation which accompanied the final draft of the commentary also betrayed the desire to emphasize the comfort: *Ich rieffe den HERRN an jnn der angst, Und der HERR erhöret mich jnn weitem raum.* WA, 31.1, p. 92. This is good translation in that it shows the Hebrew chiasm which heightens the contrast between the two parts of the verse. In German there is no particular order for the separate phrases to be understandable. Franke, 2, pp. 64ff. The movement of the first prepositional phrase to the end of the first half of the verse decreased its emphasis and correspondingly gave greater emphasis to the good news within the verse. The harsh ending of the first half of the verse may have helped to this particular translation quite short-lived.
whole and the full weight of contrast between the positive and negative parts of the verse. The commentary also provided him with the opportunity to say what was within the verse, but with varied emphases. There Luther interpreted the phrase *ym weytem rawm* in a focused way, without the use of metaphor.

In the commentary he gave the phrase as *So höret er und halff mir tröstlich*. The combination of the words *trost* and *hülffe* gave good news in a clear and direct manner. That there was much room is not always clearly and directly good news. The word *trost* presupposes help, but it gives much more. It points to protection, peace, and also joy, all things appropriate to the Psalm. The word's German usage is also firmly connected to the work of Christ and finds an appropriate place within such a Psalm that speaks of the rejected One becoming the cornerstone.146 Using the word *trost* helps to cut to the important issues for the listener and reader, and, most importantly, helps to leave no one in doubt as to the Lord's great graciousness.

Without the benefit of modern reference works Luther

146 Grimm, 11.1.2, cols. 1006-1022; *WA*, 31.1, pp. 89-90; ET: *AE*, 14, p. 57-58. For another similar situation within the Psalter, see *WA DB*, 10.1 pp. 502-503 (Psalm 119:45); *WA DB*, 3, p. 150.
was able to determine the direction which the text was going and give the phrase in such a way to match that direction. One may loudly lament that the theme of freedom such as befits open spaces was not more prominent in the final phrase which Luther gave.\textsuperscript{147} The difficulties with the Peasant rebellion may have been the impetus to keep that option far from the text.\textsuperscript{148}

Unfortunately not all who read that 1524 translation would be able to read the 1530 commentary by Luther. He wanted to make the good news of this text quite clear. He set aside the use of the verb \textit{helfen} in this verse because of its close appearance in verse seven. The other word which figured most prominently within the 1530 commentary was the verb

\textsuperscript{147}This emphasis is popular in the modern translations and commentaries. See NDB, p. 555; NEB; NIV; BCP; Allen, p. 119; Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 987; Kraus, p. 397; Leupold, p. 813; Rogerson/McKay, p. 85. In the commentary by Kraus the point was made that the nomadic life highly values large spaces. Another related thought within the commentaries is that of deliverance.

trösten.\textsuperscript{149} The colloquium made the change in the translation to vnd tröstet mich in the 1531 Psalter revision. The alteration was noted with these words: "In latitudine" i.e. Und trostet mich.\textsuperscript{150}

Rendering the Hebrew word יָסְדָה as vnd tröstet mich is a good example of how this translation in places by some may be considered a paraphrase. That Luther gave the entire translation in that style would by no means by a proper understanding of the work. Through Luther the Scriptures were put forward in a way that was guided by a desire to give out comfort in a way in which no one would be able to place the work wholly under one single category.\textsuperscript{151} When the same Hebrew word came up the other two times in the Psalter it was translated quite literally.\textsuperscript{152} In Psalm 118 the words were

\begin{flushright}
149See\textsuperscript{WA}, 31.1, pp. 90, 99.

150\textsuperscript{WA DB}, 3, p. 146; Ibid., 10.1, p. 493: Inn der angst rieff ich den HERRN an, Vnd der HERR erhöret mich, vnd tröstet mich.

151For a summary of this aspect of the translation, along with other examples of this type of translating, see Brecht,\textit{ The Preservation of the Church, 1532-1546}, pp. 104-105.

152\textsuperscript{WA DB}, 10.1, p. 151 (Psalm 18:20); Ibid., p. 191 (Psalm 31:9).
\end{flushright}
translated in this way, so that, in this case, the German people would be helped in knowing the Lord's comfort and care. In this case the rendering was certainly an interpretation, but was done because of the overflowingly great news it contained.

An important question to be asked is whether something in the Hebrew was lost. The Hebrew gave a very good, concrete picture of two contrasting situations, confinement and freedom. The text did not require changing. Other translations, both old and modern, bear this out. Luther with his understanding of the Scriptures and the Gospel that those Scriptures deliver, first rendered the message using the same picture as the Hebrew. That first translation in the 1523/24 manuscript was a good literal rendering of the biblical text.

In the end, Luther did change the translation. This also came as a result of the Scriptures and the Gospel those Scriptures contained. Luther wanted to use a word significantly different than a word meaning "answer" or "help." More similar to the Hebrew would have been a word

153 KJV, NASB, NKJV, NRSV.
meaning, "deliver."\(^{154}\) The word Luther used, *trösten*, presupposed deliverance. Understood in this way, the word was saying the same thing as the Hebrew of the verse, but also by taking into account other passages of Scripture. Syntactically both phrases in the Hebrew functioned as an adverb, indicating the extent and volume of deep distress and the extent and volume of the Lord's response.\(^{155}\) Luther overemphasized the Lord's response of freedom by using *trösten*. Although the German presented a different picture than the Hebrew, the contrast is still evident. The words *angst* and *trösten* are clearly opposites. Another picture is still given, one that takes less effort to understand and is still highly superlative.

As to the rhythm of the verse, it was also greatly improved with this change. The choice to render יְסָכָל with the verb *trösten* significantly unified the rhythm of the second half of the verse. It now contained two verbs of similar

\(^{154}\)See Anderson, p. 799; Leupold, p. 813; Rogerson/McKay, p. 85.

\(^{155}\)See Delitzsch, pp. 225-226.
length, a very simple structure to comprehend at a glance.\textsuperscript{156} As in Psalm 118:1 there were many possible ways in which the Hebrew of this verse could have been translated. The 1530 commentary not only confirmed that fact, but provided the opportunity to explore some possibilities. Luther's own situation in 1530 may have been a driving force behind this new rendering. His deep familiarity with the word \textit{angst} may have also pushed him to find a deeply comforting word or phrase.\textsuperscript{157} In the end his concern was that everyone understand what the text offered. Although some of the reasons behind Luther's final choices might be debated by modern Hebrew scholars, the text in the end still gives a picture of great "good news."
PSALM 118:6

Der HERR ist mit mir, Darumb fürchte ich mich nicht, Was
können mir Menschen thun?

The mature translation of this verse also contains
the first cross-references found within the Psalm. They appear
in the margin as Psal. 56. and Ebre. 13.158 Having already
translated both the New Testament and Psalm fifty-six by this
time, Luther already had more than a passing familiarity with
verse six of this Psalm.159 The Latin translation was of
course already familiar to him: Dominus mihi adiutor, non
timebo quid faciat mihi homo.160

The appearance of the word adiutor in the Latin
translation came from both the New Testament quotation of this
verse and the feature common in Hebrew poetry and parallelism,
when words of a second line are elliptical in the first

---

158 WA DB, 10.1, p. 493.

159 See WA DB, 10.1, p. 280 (Psalm 56:12): Auff Gott
hoff ich, vnd furcht mich nicht, was will yr eyn mensch thun?
See also WA DB, 7, p. 380 (Hebrews 13:6): der herr ist meyn
helffer, vnd will mich nit furchten, was myr ein mesch thun
werd . . . .

The Hebrew word of the next line is in verse seven, יְהִי לא אָנוּנוּ מַדַּבֵּשׁ u לְאָנָו. A full analysis of that word will be made during the examination of the next verse. As in many of the previous situations, Luther simply looked to the Hebrew words before him: יְהִי u לְאָנוּנוּ מַדַּבֵּשׁ u לְאָנָו. The first translation was given without any editing changes:

Der herr ist mit myr/ ich furchte mich nicht was myr der mensch thut.163

One might be surprised that such an unusual Hebrew phrase as יְהִי לא אָנוּנוּ מַדַּבֵּשׁ could be translated so quickly without any thought of other possibilities. The spacial designation of the Hebrew preposition b could have been translated into several German prepositions.164 Reuchlin had very little comment regarding b.165 Modern Hebrew scholars point out the extreme


162 Biblia hebraica. See Quinc., Psalterium, p. 169.

163 WA DB, 1, p. 529. In the published translation of 1524, the verse appeared in this way: Der HERR ist mit myr, ich fürchte mich nicht, Was myr der mensch thut. Ibid., 10.1, p. 492.

164 Waltke/O'Conner, p. 205. For some of these translation possibilities, see WA, 31.1, p. 52; WA DB, 10.1, p. 280 (Psalm 56:10); WA DB, 1, p. 523 (Psalm 109:26).

165 Rud. p. 576; Dahood, p. 157: "The ancient versions found difficult the nuance of b; . . . ."
variety possible in its functions. The context will be the most helpful here.

Within the setting of this verse as well as the one that follows, the use of the preposition ' certainly implies the Lord's help, whether simply by stating His presence, or more directly, by stating his possession. The dative of advantage would also be appropriate. This would result in a translation such as, "the Lord is on my side," a popular choice among many modern translations. The Latin translation of *adiutor* is not at all inappropriate, and that very point was made during the 1531 Psalter revision. The decision Luther made with the German phrase, *Der herr ist mit*...

---


167For a similar situation where Luther translated the phrase into German with the idea of possession, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 280 (Psalm 56:10): *Denn werden sich meyne feynde mussen zu ruck keren, Wenn ich dich an ruffe, so werd ich ynnen, das du meyn Gott bist.*

168BDB, p. 510-518; TWOT, p. 463; Joüon, p. 488; Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 207-208. KJV, NEB, LB, NKJV, NRSV. The NASB gives the phrase in the very literal way: "The LORD is for me."

myr, was followed by at least one other modern translation. The translation expresses the positive connection given through the Hebrew preposition. With the help of the broader context, the phrase also expresses what the other translations are emphasizing: advantage and ownership.

Certainly the translation was understandable as it stood in 1524. All of the subsequent changes helped to make this first translation into even clearer German. To the beginning of the second phrase of the verse Luther eventually added the conjunction darumb. In the Masoretic text there is no conjunction. Looking at the verse as a whole, one can see that the direction of the text shifts substantially in that place. What the Lord is doing in the first phrase has its results in the mouth of the psalmist in the second and third phrases. A conjunction which expresses result in this location, while not necessary in the Hebrew, would help to divide the text and explain its function more clearly in the German. One of the shortest and clearest of these conjunctions

170NIV. See Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 987. The BCP uses "at my side;" The NDB uses steht mir bei.
is darumb. It is no surprise that this conjunction was first used during the commentary. That is where Luther had the opportunity to examine carefully the weight of each phrase and had the freedom to explain their functions as well as their concise connections to one another.

Concerning the last phrase of the verse, in the Hebrew, there were two changes eventually made by Luther to the first published phrase, Was myr der mensch thut. The modal können was added and the subject was changed to the plural.

In the 1523/24 working manuscript Luther translated the final phrase in the future tense as is typical for the

---

171Grimm, 2, cols. 801-802; cf. Grimm, 2, cols. 1017-1018.

172Linck's translation in preparation for the final draft of the commentary gave a similar conjunction between the second and third phrases of the verse: Der Herr ist mit mir, ich fürchte mich nicht, Dann was kündt mir der mensch thun? WA, 31.1, p. 52. Luther saw the addition as a good idea but that a conjunction could be placed in a better location. After considering the possibilities he placed the streamlined word drumb after the first phrase during the writing of the translation of the final draft. Ibid., p. 99. The word was slightly lengthened to darumb in the final 1545 revision. WA DB, 10.1, p. 493.

173Ibid., p. 492.
Hebrew imperfect. Upon learning the nuances of the Hebrew verb more clearly in the next few years, and having had the chance to examine each phrase of this verse in great detail in 1530, he realized that the more precise German way to give the verb was to add the modal können. This is one of the differences between the two languages. All of these slight variations of the language are within the broad notion of the imperfect verb in the Hebrew, and almost all the English translations take this into account. The German translation done by Linck for the 1530 commentary suggested this: Der Herr ist mit mir, ich fürchte mich nicht, Dann was kündt mir der mensch thun? Luther made the change permanent after that.

The second change, the word der mensch from the singular to plural, concerns the well-known Hebrew word דֹּנֶך. At the heart of the issue is whether this word indicates one human being or all mankind. From the context the more appropriate answer is that it points to all mankind. The

174RRud., p. 591; Jouon, p. 365; see Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 496-518.

175RRud., p. 620; Jouon, pp. 370-371; see also Waltke/O'Conner, p. 507; Allen, p. 120.

176WA, 31.1, p. 52; Ibid., p. 99: Der HERR ist mit mir, Drumb fürcht ich mir nichts, Was kan mir der mensch thun?
greatness ascribed to the Lord and his help fits with the rest of the Psalm. It also fits with the most common lexical information regarding the word.\textsuperscript{177} This change from the singular to the plural appeared immediately after the 1530 commentary, during the 1531 colloquium.\textsuperscript{178} The alteration was not made during the time of solitary contemplation for Luther, but during the times when the text was discussed with others.

Rörer made one simple comment concerning these last two changes of Psalm 118: \textit{Was können mir die menschen thun}.\textsuperscript{179} In the 1531 published translation the verse appeared with one more slight change, the absence of the definite article.\textsuperscript{180} It was a slight change, and no reason was given for it, but it certainly improved the rhythm of the text. The last five words alternate between one-syllable and two-syllable words, with both two-syllable words having an emphasis on the first


\textsuperscript{178}WA, 31.1, p. 103. For a similar situation, see \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, pp. 280-281 (Psalm 56:12).

\textsuperscript{179}\textit{WA DB}, 3, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{180}Ibid., 10.1, p. 493.
syllable. This is quite similar to the first phrase of the verse and creates a solid beginning and ending movement to the text. There was no loss in function. As a result of this final change the text is made even more sweet-sounding.\textsuperscript{181}

The changes to the text from its first translation were many, all of which came after the first published translation. Luther was not without help in completing a translation which gave comfort many times to many people. Even without modern lexical information, he understood the text well enough to make changes commensurate to today's translators. In both situations, although the verse asks a question in the end, the answer is certain because of what has come before and has been helped by the way the words have been delivered: mankind can do nothing to one whom the Lord calls His own.

\textsuperscript{181}The echoes of this confession throughout the rest of the Scriptures, to which reminders were given in the marginal cross-references, gave an even greater impetus for a smooth and rhythmic translation.
PSALM 118:7

Der HERR ist mit mir, mir zu helfen, Vnd ich wil meine lust sehen an meinen Feinden.

What appeared in the 15243/24 manuscript is quite removed from the polished translation of 1545:

Der herr ist mit myr y myr zuhelffen vnd ich will schawen die meyne hasser.182

The letter y in the third line of the original 1523/24 translation was the start of the word ynn. When Luther saw the Hebrew word יִגְדֵּה in the Masoretic text his very first action was to translate it as a prepositional phrase.183 Almost immediately he went to something different, crossed out the letter, and wrote down a phrase he had used in the past, myr zu helfen.184

The Hebrew word obviously caused Luther some difficulty. His failure to consider the possibility that the word was ellipted in the previous verse betrays his

---

182Ibid., 1, p. 529.

183Biblia hebraica; see RRud., p. 616.

184See WA DB, 10.1, p. 326 (Psalm 71:3). There the Hebrew word translated is יִגְדֵּה. Biblia hebraica. For more information regarding the translations of these similar Hebrew words, see Pahl, Quellenstudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung, p. 56.
unfamiliarity with the finer points of Hebrew poetry. The word יִֽשְׁתַּחַּז has several parts within it. The first letter, the Hebrew preposition י, has many nuances.\textsuperscript{185} The main part of the word is the verb יִֽשְׁתַּחַּז in the Qal active plural participle form. A first person singular suffix is attached. Its plural pointing is found only here. The same consonants are only found elsewhere in Exodus 18:4, with singular pointing.\textsuperscript{186} The Latin and Greek translations of the Psalm follow the singular form.\textsuperscript{187} All this, combined with the unusual phrase יִֽשְׁתַּחַּז, and one would no doubt expect some difficulties in the translation.

The analysis of the word will be done in parts. With a י marking general location, the phrase would state that the Lord's presence in some manner.\textsuperscript{188} This could be translated with the English prepositions "alongside" or "with." Since the previous simpler phrase already made a similar statement

\textsuperscript{185}RRud., p. 73; BDB, p. 88; TWOT, p. 87; Waltke/O'Conner, p. 196: "The diversity of the senses of י is remarkable."

\textsuperscript{186}Biblia hebraica.

\textsuperscript{187}See LXX; Quinc. Psalterium, p. 169.

\textsuperscript{188}Jouon, p. 486; Waltke/O'Conner, p. 196.
regarding that aspect, it seems much more likely that one of
the circumstantial uses of ָt is here.189 The word's uniqueness
causes it to be mentioned in the modern grammar books. In both
references the preposition is seen as the ָt of essence or
identity.190 This would lead to a translation away from a
spacial reference and toward identity, and, by implication,
also purpose.

The verb itself ָp̄y has the most basic function of "to
help."191 With the preposition ָt it has the function of "come
to the aid of."192 Since it is in active participle form, it
has both the characteristics of a noun and a verb.193

The Hebrew word ָnû in its plural form parallels the
plural given at the end of the verse, the contrasting word

189For a quick listing of these possibilities, see
Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 196-198.

190Waltke/O'Conner, p. 198; Joûon, p. 486. Joûon sees
the preposition in Exodus 18:4 as adding "practically nothing
to the meaning." This would be consistent with its flexible
use. See also Allen, p. 120; Dahood, p. 157.

191RRud., p. 384: ָp̄y Auxiliatus est. adiuvit.

192Holl., p. 271; BDB, p. 740.

193Joûon, p. 414.
A typical plural Hebrew participle would be translated into English as something like "those who help." This aspect of the word is also mentioned in the modern Hebrew grammars. Waltke and O'Conner see this plural as a related use of the honorific plural, the plural of fullness or majesty. Joüon refers to it as the plural of intensity with this function in English: "Yahweh is for me my (great) Auxiliary." Another possible translation of the last part of the phrase would be in a noun form, "the Lord is my helper."

Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* contained no mention of these types of things. Obviously Luther knew of no honorific plural or even of the 1 of identity. Most of the translation possibilities probably never occurred to Luther since he quickly found a phrase with which he was satisfied.

---


195 See KJV; NASB.

196 Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 196-198; Joüon, p. 502. The parentheses are original. Delitzsch, p. 226: "... Jahve is not meant to be designated as unus e multis, but as a helper who outweighs the greatest multitude of helpers." See Allen, p. 120; Briggs, p. 405; Dahood, p. 157.

197 *Biblia Pentapla*, p. 173; NEB; NIV. See Kirkpatrick, p. 695; LXX.
There was little justification within the Hebrew syntax of which Luther was aware that would favor changing a participle to an infinitive. Although the German translation is supported by some modern Hebrew scholars, it was not through the knowledge of the Hebrew that the phrasing came to Luther. He already knew the Lord to be an active helper. The Lord's gracious activity has been seen in the translation of this verse as well as the previous verses.

Because Luther had previously chosen to use the preposition *mit* in the previous phrase of the verse, he was more than likely unwilling to use it here. Most other translators would have started over at the previous verse and reconsidered another way to translate the previous phrase. Luther quickly pressed on and left the first preposition as it was. He utilized the main verb concerning which there is no doubt and made a purpose clause out of the infinitive form of the verb.

With its infinitive form within the context of the verse, the German phrase emphasizes the present action. Since the Hebrew participle is used attributively, not

---

198Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 988; Delitzsch, p. 226; Anderson, p. 799.
predicatively, it is therefore atemporal.\textsuperscript{199} The possibility of plural of intensity in the Hebrew could be of similar weight to translate the Hebrew into a German verb instead of a noun. To give the German translation in terms of a purpose and result clause gives increasing help to the liveliness of the words and drives to the heart of the Lord's purpose of His presence as Luther knew of it from Christ. The phrase ended up being more comforting than simply describing the Lord as one of several helpers or even simply as a helper.\textsuperscript{200} Its popularity is seen in some modern translations.\textsuperscript{201}

One of the benefits to the previously used phrase was that it already passed the test for a fine rhythm. The first half of the translation is quite easily spoken, having two phrases of similar length and meter. The heaviest emphasis ends up on the final word of the section, \textit{helffen}, one of the most important both of the line and the Psalm.\textsuperscript{202} The words \textit{myr zuhelffen}, with its emphasis on the verb, also provide a

\textsuperscript{199}Jouon, pp. 409ff.
\textsuperscript{200}Rud., p. 615; Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 612-614.
\textsuperscript{201}LB, BCP, NRSV.
\textsuperscript{202}WA, 31.1, p. 90.
good contrast to the previous concrete words of the Lord's sure presence through the prepositional phrase.

Although Luther came to this final translation quite quickly, it was indeed a translation that was faithful to the text as well as the context. The major change in the second half also occurred in a short period of time, regarding the Hebrew phrase הָנָה הַשֵּׁלֶג.\footnote{Biblia hebraica.} The change went from \textit{vnd ich will schawen die meyne hasser} to \textit{vnd ich wil meine lust sehen an meinen Feinden}, certainly a major event when viewed initially.

At the heart of these changes is the simple realization of the Hebrew idiom. Both Reuchlin and the modern lexicons are very specific. The verb הָנָה with the preposition ל has the function of "to look at" or "to gaze at." There is something more than that when examined in this context. Because those who are looked at are enemies, the word includes either triumph, exaltation, and gloating, or, alternatively, envy, sorrow, and concern.\footnote{Rud., p. 481: הָנָה \textit{Spexit. vidit. . . . Inde venit invidere. despicere. ps. xxij}; BDB, p. 908; Holl., p. 328. See also Dahood, p. 157.} The word has a rich connection
to the children of Israel when chased by the Egyptians at the beginning of their wilderness wanderings. The Latin translation seeks to bring out the proper aspects of the word with the translation despiciam.

Luther's first translation of the line, vnd ich will schawen die meyne hasser, while trying to follow the literal Hebrew, lacks the full weight of the idiom as exemplified in the Latin. There is a viewing done, but not much more. It did not take Luther a long time to realize this problem. An almost immediate change was the replacement of the words die meyne hasser with the phrase die mir gram sind. This quick change to a more general word may have been caused by the consideration that a connection between countries was being described. Further study made it apparent that the words

---

205 See Exodus 14:10, 13, 30, 31.


207 RRud., p. 525: נַעַיִן Odivit; BDB, p. 971; Holl., p. 353; TWOT, pp. 879-880; Grimm, 4.1.5, col. 1757. For an example of this German word's use in the Psalter, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 458 (Psalm 106:41). Luther avoided the
used to describe those on the other side were not as important as what was done by the psalmist within the idiom. The intense reaction within the idiom was not being accurately stated with the verb *schawen*.

Later, during the secondary editing, Luther wrote the word *ynn*, an attempt to re-translate on the basis of the Hebrew preposition which is found in the word יָּפְנוּ. That attempt did not last for long. Having crossed out *ynn*, he inserted the separable preposition *an*. The verb *anschauen* was a closer description to what was literally conveyed in the Hebrew. One would not expect contemplation when thinking of the enemy except if they were no longer a threat. Despite these efforts the German words still did not have the strong thoughts of triumph, gloating, or envy within the Hebrew idiom. After having crossed out the word *an*, a breakthrough was finally made. Luther added the words *meine lust sehen* above the line and *an meinen feinden* at the end of the

---

*210* The preposition יָּפְנוּ can take the place of the direct object marker, so a translation of the preposition is not always useful. Waltke/O'Conner, p. 166.

*211* Grimm, 1, col. 435: *anschauen*; *aspicere*, *contemplari*, *intueri*. 
The change was different from both the Hebrew lexicons and the Latin translation, but it did contain a similar weight of the Hebrew. There was certainly strong emotion. The point given was that the enemies are not just despised or looked down upon, something already done to enemies by definition, but that, by implication, they were defeated. The implication is that the Lord was the One who fulfilled the psalmist's desire for defeat. The final translation effort was much more comforting than the Latin, although not as clear as the picture of one who is gloating over his defeated enemies.213

Having come to this phrase so quickly, it is obvious the phrase had seen previous use. There may be many reasons why the phrase was not utilized earlier in the editing.214 What may have helped to cause the initial confusion regarding the text was not the infrequent appearance of the Hebrew idiom

212WA DB, 1, p. 529.

213This is described in Rogerson/McKay, p. 85. In Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 988, the event is not only described as a defeat, but that the psalmist will see it happen.

214A simple factor such as a moment of exhaustion or poor health on a particular day may have played a big role.
but its slight variations throughout the Scriptures.215 What delayed the use of the final text was that Luther previously translated the Hebrew idiom into the words *seine lust sehen* or simply *lust sehen*, and he was referring to the Lord. The Psalm was from a first-person's perspective and would not fit into such a setting.216 The previous separation between the words *seinen* and *meinen* was done away with because of the overarching effect of the phrase, *Der herr ist mit myr*. Previously Luther may have been hesitant to attribute evil desires to the psalmist. Now Luther saw no problem with the statement because of the Lord's presence. The desires of both are the same under these unique circumstances.217

---

215 For some examples of this, see *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 274 (Psalm 54:9); *WA DB*, 1, p. 518 (Psalm 92:12); *WA DB*, 1, p. 525 (Psalm 112:8). Here are different words than "בַּלָּעַר. Biblia hebraica.

216 See *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 274 (Psalm 54:9); *WA DB*, 1, p. 518 (Psalm 92:12); *WA DB*, 1, p. 518 (Psalm 92:12); *WA DB*, 1, p. 525 (Psalm 112:8).

217 There may have been some hesitation by Luther to mention ideas such as triumph and defeat because of the possibility of misuse by the German peasants. See Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 988. Leupold, p. 813: "A second conclusion is drawn from this newly won insight: 'I shall victoriously look on those that hate me.' One need not assume that there is anything unwholesome in this thought, as, for example, a bit of the spirit of revenge. The nation expects its good cause to be successful, and the evil cause of its
By giving the phrase in a similar way each time it appeared in the Scriptures, Luther helped to turn it into a German idiom which made it somewhat similar to the Hebrew.218 His desire to use feinden was helped by an effort to keep the consistency of the phrase throughout the German translation. Certainly the different ways to describe those on the opposing side were not as important to Luther as describing the monumental effect of the Lord's presence and help.219

The benefits of keeping the same phrase all the way through the translation aids in memorization. The similar-sounding words meine and feinden, when put together, also help in this capacity. Here again one sees Luther's concern for the message to be critical in determining the means for sending that message. The effect of the newly found idiom stretched opponents to come to naught. Even if the following translation is adopted: 'I shall see my desire' (KJ), this construction could still be put upon it. Faith is wholesomely triumphed. Ps. 54:4, 7 expressed the same sentiments that are found in this verse."

218Grimm, 6, col. 1324. See Biblia Pentapla, p. 173.

219For examples of this, see KJV and NEB. In Dietz, 1, pp. 649-650, the words feinden and hassan are seen as providing the same thing.
Luther was originally closer to the literal Hebrew with the first phrase. As he worked on the phrase, he came closer to a proper understanding of the phrase in its context. His 1545 choice of Feinden was closer to the Hebrew idiom and the phrase as a whole.

Whereas the previous verse was edited after 1524, this verse had its entire editing done on that first manuscript. Many Hebrew scholars would have liked to see more research and a better understanding of the Hebrew involved. Because of Luther's talents in other areas, a good translation was still the result. Certainly the changes which took place over a longer period of time had the greater chance to be more accurate. Within a relatively short period of time a clean and coherent translation was still available to comfort the listener and reader in Psalm 118:7.

220KJV; see Biblia Pentapla, p. 173.

221WA DB, 10.1, p. 493. Holl., p. 353. All the uses for the Hebrew verb are not as strong as hassen, gram, and Feinden. Within Holl. the three functions to this word are as follows: 1) hate, 2) be unable (or unwilling) to put up with, slight (one's wife), 3) enemy. See TWOT, pp. 879-880.
ES ist gut auf den HERRN vertrauen, und nicht sich verlassen auf Menschen.

ES ist gut auf den HERRN vertrauen, und nicht sich verlassen auf Fürsten.

Here the two verses are almost identical. The Hebrew of verse eight is סדבר multa ביהוה multicul באהם. The next verse is the same except that the last word is רבינך.222

What Luther gave as a translation in 1545 seems at a glance closer to the Hebrew, but this is not the typical German way of doing comparisons. The German way of doing comparisons is usually made with the word besser.223 Luther's first efforts at translating these verses show that form:

Es ist besser vertrauen dem herrn
denn hoffen auf Menschen
Es ist besser vertrauen auf dem herrn
Denn hoffen auf Fürsten.224

In this way the comparatives are quite similar to the English language. The only difference here from the most-

222Biblia hebraica.

223Grimm, 1, col. 1644. For an example of this structure, see Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418.

224WA DB, 1, p. 529.

89
German way of comparisons is that the verb is usually at the end of the first phrase.\textsuperscript{225} Originally Luther was following the word order as it came in the Hebrew and as he was familiar with it in the Latin: \textit{Bonum est confidere in domino, quam confidere in homine. Bonum est sperare in domino, quam sperare in principibus}.\textsuperscript{226}

In the 1523/24 working manuscript Luther started in verse eight by writing these words: \textit{Es ist besser vertrawen dem herrn}. He started by writing verse nine in this way: \textit{Es ist besser vertrawen auff den herrn}. Since the verb \textit{hoffen} was used in the second half of verse eight, and that verb usually was connected to the preposition \textit{auff}, he used that preposition throughout verse nine.\textsuperscript{227} The change made back in verse eight to include the preposition was immediate.\textsuperscript{228}

\textsuperscript{225}For examples of this, see \textit{WA DB}, 10.2, p. 120 (Ecclesiastes 7:3); \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 492 (Psalm 37:16); \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, p. 298 (Psalm 63:4); \textit{WA DB}, 10.2, p. 38 (Proverbs 12:9). See also Dietz, 1, p. 277-278. There Proverbs 17:12 and 25:24 are also given as examples.

\textsuperscript{226}\textit{Wolfen. Psalter}, p. 398.

\textsuperscript{227}For the use of the verb with the preposition, see Grimm, 4.2, col. 1669. For an example of this in the Psalter, see \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 473 (Psalm 21:8).

\textsuperscript{228}The definite article was changed from the dative to the accusative immediately before the manuscript went to
change unified the two verses and helped to create a rhythmic structure, but did little to change the function of the text.229

At that time the verb *vertrawen* typically used the dative case of the thing in which trust is placed, and the verb *trawen* used the preposition *auf*.230 One of the first editing marks to be made was removal of the prefixes to the verb *vertrawen*. Sometimes marks as small as these were not always seen by the typesetter. In verse eight the prefix of *vertrawen* was not deleted in the 1524 published translation.231

Which German verbs Luther used were critical. The Latin translation did not follow the Hebrew.232 Again it is obvious that Luther chose to follow the Hebrew and keep the

---

229 The preposition *i* can take the place of the direct object marker and need not be translated. Waltke/O'Conner, p. 166. The use of the German preposition and the definite article helped to give more prominence to the Name.

230 Grimm, 11.1.1, col. 1329-1330; Ibid., 12.1.2, col. 1947. For other examples of this in the Psalter, see *WA DB*, 1, p. 454 (Psalm 2:12); *WA DB*, 1, p. 555 (Psalm 141:8).

231 *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 492.

232 See *Quinc. Psalterium*, p. 169.
important verbs faithful to the text. The Hebrew text has the verbs יִנָּח describing trust in the Lord and יִנָּח describing trust in men and princes. In the Hebrew the first verb describes the concrete action of seeking refuge which results from confidence, the second word, a more general expression of trust, confidence, or hope. Lutheran's first choices of vertrawnen and hoffen in the German followed the Hebrew quite closely and obviously better than the Latin.

There were still many changes made during the secondary editing. In both verses the verb hoffen was replaced by sich verlassen. Both sets of verbs were then brought to the last place in their respective lines. With changes both to the verbs used as well as their placement, it is not surprising that this second change was also missed by the printer in the second half of each verse. Here is the text as it appeared in

---


235 Grimm, 12.1.2, col. 1946: vertrawnen; credere et fidem habere chirographis. Ibid., 4.2, col. 1668: hoffen; sperare. See Wolfen. Psalter, p. 398. All the English translations in the Appendix take into account the differences in the Hebrew. For more information, see also Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 988.
the first 1524 published edition: *Es ist besser auff den HERRN vertrawen, Denn sich verlassen auff menschen. Es ist besser auff den HERRN trawen Denn sich verlassen auff fursten.*

With several changes missed by the publisher, more editing will certainly take place. A short comparison of these initial changes to the Hebrew would be appropriate at this time. Obviously the verb *hoffen* was already close to the Hebrew. When Luther changed the verb to *sich verlassen*, he did not do so because of its function. The word in its reflexive form has the same function as *vertrawen*. Luther had consistently used *sich verlassen* throughout the Psalter to describe a trust that looks to things which do not have the ability to give salvation. The word *hoffen* was exclusively

---


237 For an example of what Luther thought of the printers of his day, see Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 239.

238 Grimm, 12.1.1, cols. 732-733.

239 For some examples of its uses within the Psalter, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 180 (Psalm 27:3); WA DB, 10.1, p. 384 (Psalm 86:2); WA DB, 10.1, pp. 502-503 (Psalm 119:42). That
used by Luther in the Psalter for trust that is in the Lord. This consistency matches one that is given in the Hebrew verb נָּטַן.240 Because of the consistency established in the German, this translation would be a help for those who take in all of the Lord's words to understand the whole of the Lord's works and ways. In Luther's mind the importance of this consistency surpassed the benefit of using hoffen because of its slightly greater similarity to the Hebrew than sich verlassen.

The changes in word order did make the translation closer to the German way of doing comparisons. Although some of the editing changes in the verses were missed by the printer, understanding the contrast which is set up within each verse is helped by this new word order, and a clearer understanding of the wide contrast portrayed is enabled by the

the German verb was reflexive may have prompted its use as an appropriate one to describe a trust that is wrongly placed, such as trust in one's own ability to save.

240TDOT, 5, p. 74: "Never in any of the Psalms is any human being, place, or object viewed as the goal of refuge, not even metaphorically. Never in the Psalms in the word group defined more precisely by a specific terminus a quo, . . . ." See also TWOT, p. 308. For more information regarding this same subject, see Jerome F. D. Creach, Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, no. 217 (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).
verb **sich verlassen** appearing sooner than the last word of each verse. This is the order which will remain until the end.\(^{241}\) Although it may have been unusual to have the verb at different places within the first and second parts of the verses, the translation as it stands is still a coherent rendering of the Hebrew into German.

The final point of analysis for these two verses concerns the difference between **Es ist besser** and **Es ist gut**. A short examination of the Hebrew comparative and how the change found its way into the translation will be most helpful in understanding the contrast between the two constructions. The Hebrew of the text is the typical construction for a positive comparison involving two members. Expressed in this construction is not only "the idea of difference, but practically, and according to usage, the difference in addition to. . . ."\(^{242}\) The Hebrew brings emphasis to the

\(^{241}\) *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 493; see *WA*, 31.1, p. 105; Franke, 3, p. 64.

\(^{242}\) "The idea of difference in \(\text{ęd}\) comes from the idea of separation and distance. . . . The idea of difference likewise leads to that of *more* in Fr. *autrement* . . . ." Jouion, p. 523. Italics are original. Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 213-214, 264-265. Reuchlin was very little help for Luther. See RRud., p. 287: \(\text{ęd} Plus vel super vel quam. et est nota comparationis. ut Proverbiorum. xxij. Melius est nomen bonum
second member, trust that is in the Lord. An attempt to separate even further the first member from the second was seen already in the change from **hoffen** to **sich verlassen**. What Luther already knew is being attested to here. Luther wanted to do away with all thinking that trusting in the Lord was only somewhat better than trusting in men or even princes.

The final change from **Es ist besser** to using **Es ist gut** came to Luther upon further reflection. That there was quite a lot of reflection on these verses in 1529 is obvious from the numerous notes concerning them. These were only the start of Luther's comments concerning these words. A more full analysis came during the writing of the 1530 commentary.

In the notes leading up to the commentary Luther was fond of contrasting the two types of trust. Within the highly contrastive verses which followed this section, Luther again brought up the repeated phrase from these verses, but in a slightly different and emphatic way: **Ut exemplo suo cofirmet quod dixerit: Bonum est fidere domino, quasi dicat, das es gut**

_ quam divitiae multae, super argentum enim et aurum gratia bona._ . . . For a verse with a similar Hebrew construction, see Hosea 2:9.

\(^{243}\)See [WA DB, 4, p. 572.](#)
sey dem herrn zu trauen, . . .

The verses' own repetition helped to keep this verse nearby in Luther's mind although the next section was being discussed.

Linck in his expanded notes of the commentary gave the same phrase which Luther wrote. Linck then began to describe the point in even more emphatic terms:

"Mit seiselbs exempel bestetigt er, das er zu vorn gesagt hat, Es sey gut inn Gott vertrawen, sam wolt er sprechen, Kein gotloser kan sich also rümen, als ich inn disen vier versen thue, Darumb lernen sie nymer in Got vertrawen, noch Got recht erkennen, wie lieblich und süsse er sey, im trösten und helfen etc. Ich beweyse (spricht er) durch diese meine erfarunge, wie gut sey in den Herren vertrawen, dann alle Heyden allessen mich an, mit aller gewalt, mennenige unnd grausamkeyt . . ."

Somewhat later, Linck wrote for the last time how emphatically good it was to trust in the Lord. That time he used the word *besser*, but combined it with the verb *vertrawen* and the preposition *auff*, something not done with this verb up above.

---

244 *WA*, 31.1, p. 54. A German phrase within the Latin notes was relatively rare.

245 Since the repetitive section of the next three verses was not as dominically centered as vv. 8 and 9, quoting these verses was quite useful to Luther to keep the focus of the text which followed. Kidner (p. 413) sees these verses as "a maxim for everyman."

246 *WA*, 31.1, pp. 53-54.
to this point in time.\textsuperscript{247} The purpose was to thrust the type of trust that trusts in the Lord into the superlative.

In the final draft of the commentary Luther confessed through several examples that trust in man has always gained nothing. He also confessed that trust in the Lord gains all things.\textsuperscript{248} The first time the phrase was quoted in the commentary text Luther wrote: \textit{Es ist fein, das man auff den HERRN trawe}. During the second and third times he gave the phrase, he used the word \textit{gut}.\textsuperscript{249} The "official" translation of the verses in the commentary appeared in this way: \textit{Es ist gut, auff den HERRN trawen, und nicht sich auff menschen verlassen}. \textit{Es ist gut, auff den HERRN trawen, und nicht sich auff fursten verlassen}.\textsuperscript{250}

One can see that as the commentary progressed, the use of the comparative dwindled and the contrasts between trust in man and the Lord became more extreme. The final change was an even larger step than a comparison; it made the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{247}Ibid., p. 55; Grimm, 12.1.2, cols. 1946-1947.
\item \textsuperscript{248}WA, 31.1, pp. 106-112; see AE, 14, pp. 64-68.
\item \textsuperscript{249}WA, 31.1, pp. 108-111.
\item \textsuperscript{250}Ibid., p. 105. The commas after each word \textit{gut} bring even more prominence to the significant change.
\end{itemize}
two types of trust unable to be compared. Whereas the previous translation of the verses, examined without their context, could have implied that it is good to trust in man or princes and better to trust in the Lord, an examination of the context of the Psalm and this new translation made that alternative impossible.

Although the support for this change followed a proper understanding of the Hebrew syntax as a translation of something more than "different from," the impetus for such a change came chiefly from theological presuppositions.²⁵¹ There is a wide expanse when comparing the trustworthiness of man and the trustworthiness of the Lord. When Luther gave pastoral care to others he would only have them look to Christ, not to themselves or their sin.²⁵² Luther knew from the Scriptures that the great depravity of original sin makes trust in any man futile. He also knew that Christ on the cross makes trust in the Lord a beautiful thing. These things came not only from clear passages in the New Testament, but also from passages the Old Testament as well, in books such as the Psalms and

²⁵¹See Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 213-214.

²⁵²Brecht, Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532, pp. 378-379.
Having fully examined the commentary and the theological implications of such a difference, the motivation for the change is completely understandable. The significant alteration merited this comment during the 1531 colloquium:

Negative reddidi: *Es ist gut auff u. Und nicht sich verlassen auff den Kaiser.* 254 On the basis of this comment one can predict the changes to be made in the next published translation of 1531: *Es ist gut auff den HERRN vertrawen, Vnd nicht sich verlassen auff menschen. Es ist gut auff den HERRN trawen, Vnd nicht sich verlassen auff Fursten.* 255

Unfortunately the Psalter revision notes did not include directions to change the first verb of verse nine and *trawen* remained without the prefix. Rhythmically this is the only thing missing as well. This was supplied in the later


254WA DB, 3, p. 146. The previous note was made concerning the question of v. 6. By supplying vv. 8-9 as the answer to that question, there is an added heightening of both the issue and the change.

255Ibid., 10.1, p. 493.
editions through the switch to the verb *vertrauen*.\(^{256}\)

Assonance was finally at maximum level. All these changes combined to form a clear rhythm of a well-balanced text. All the important words of the text are stressed: *gut, HERRN, vertrauen, nicht, verlassen, menschen,* and *Fursten*.

Here again Luther wished to pass by his simple understanding of Hebrew syntax and even his comprehensive knowledge of the German language in favor of a translation which would do even more than a simple comparison and still closely follow the Hebrew. The greatest changes were based on how Luther was given to know the Lord. It is difficult to see the long term nature of these changes and how each step was closer to the finished product. The translation of these verses, from start to finish, took approximately twenty years. In the end a theologically solid translation was made accessible to the German-speaking people.

\(^{256}\)Ibid., p. 492; Ibid., 3, p. 571.
With verse ten the Psalm moves to a series of three similar verses, each of which having a large amount of information available for analysis. The Hebrew of verse ten alone sets up several different issues to be studied in greater detail: \(^{257}\)

There has been much written concerning Hebrew tenses.\(^{258}\) The first verb of the sentence has the perfect tense, and the second part, the imperfect. Taken with its simplest understanding within the typically understood context of a retelling,\(^{259}\) the first verb describes a recently past action and the second verb, either an action in the future tense or in the past tense with repeated or durative action. Both are possible within the Hebrew imperfect tense.\(^{260}\)

Luther chose to give it in compound past and basic

\(^{257}\)Biblia hebraica.

\(^{258}\)See Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 343-361.

\(^{259}\)Many commentaries mention this aspect of the Psalm. E.g., see Kirkpatrick, pp. 693-694.

future with the following German words:

\[
\textbf{Alle heyden haben mich vmbgeben} \\
\textbf{aber ym namen des herrn will ich sie abschneytten.}^{261}
\]

With this beginning Luther is already nearing the end of his editing to this verse, but there is still much to be said regarding the polished translation of 1545.

The most obvious change between the first and last translations of the verse concerns the last word, in Hebrew the word נְפָלִים. This is the imperfect form of the verb מָלַל. It is most commonly known as the verb used to describe circumcision.\(^{262}\) Some have seen this use as a homonym with the function, "to ward off."\(^{263}\) According to the popular and basic understanding of the Hebrew word, abschneytten is quite close to an accurate function. Both Hebrew and German verbs contain the idea of "to cut off," but the latter is more common in the

\(^{261}\)\textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 529. For this use of \textit{wollen} as future tense, see Grimm, 14.2, cols. 1336-1337.

\(^{262}\)\textit{Rud.}, p. 279; BDB, pp. 557-558; TDOT, 8, pp. 158-162; TWOT, 1, pp. 494-495. See also Dahood, pp. 157-158.

\(^{263}\)\textit{Holl.}, pp. 185-186. For more details regarding this, see Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 989; Allen, p. 120; Anderson, p. 800.
area of medicine than warfare.264

The two previous uses of the word in the Psalter are quite metaphorical. In Psalm 58:8 the action is wished upon enemies. In Psalm 90:6 it is used to describe what happens to grass at its end.265 Obviously there could be more within this usage than simply a reference to circumcision or even amputation. This realization that a better choice was possible may have been first made when Luther attempted to translate the next verse. Within the first half of the verse there is a heightened description of the dangerous situation, but the second half of verse eleven is identical to the second half of verse ten. There was not as much comfort with a word that described one carefully made cut than there could have been by using a word that clearly and simply described a series of cuts. This would have been almost synonymous with the total defeat of the enemy. This repetitive sense follows a proper understanding of the Hebrew imperfect and would better match

264BDB, p. 557; Grimm, 1, col. 106: absorben; amputare.

265See also I Samuel 18:27; Deuteronomy 10:16: "Circumcise your hearts . . . ." In Psalm 90 the verb is in the polel. Briggs (p. 404) sees the use of the word in Psalm 118 as ironic.
the more severe description of the situation given in verse eleven. 266 A better alternative may also be seen in the Latin translation of verse ten, another thing which could have prompted Luther on a quest to say the phrase in a better way: *Omnes gentes circuierunt me, et in nomine domini qui ultus sum in eos.* 267

When Luther translated verse eleven, he changed the tense of the German verb from the future to the simple past, *schneytte ich sie abe.* This was an attempt to make the final phrase more comforting, a sure fact in history. The entire verse would have served as a re-telling of the victorious battle. 268 The difficulty described in the first half of the verse was only a short-term situation. Luther may have considered that this change would help to bring good news to the text in spite of an unclear verb.

---

266 Waltke/O’Conner, p. 498.

267 *Wolfen. Psalter,* p. 398. The Latin verb in question was also in the past tense. Cf. LXX. Some commentators also express this difficulty in translating. Kirkpatrick, p. 696: "The exact meaning of the verb is uncertain."

268 *WA,* 1, p. 529. See Kirkpatrick, p. 696. Since the first verb was translated into the compound past, this change in the second half of the verse to the simple past was possible.
When Luther translated verse twelve, he was ready to search for another verb altogether. In the second half of the verse he left a line where the verb would have appeared.\(^{269}\) It appears that in Luther's mind even the positive use of the past tense did not outweigh the importance of beginning with the proper verb. He decided to choose a more appropriate verb later.

During the secondary editing the more general word for cut was given, zuhawen.\(^{270}\) The imperfect tense of the Hebrew was given in the German future, the same tense as first translated.\(^{271}\) What may have prompted this word to be used was a look in the dictionary of Reuchlin by Luther. Reuchlin gave a reference to this very instance in the Psalter, with the proposed more violent words, excidam, abscondam, and concidam.\(^{272}\)

---

\(^{269}\) WA DB, 1, p. 530; For another example of this, see WA DB, 1, p. 523 (Psalm 109:24).

\(^{270}\) Grimm, 16, cols. 451-452; see also Grimm, 4.2, col. 574.

\(^{271}\) WA DB, 1, p. 529.

\(^{272}\) RRud., p. 279: יִמּ Concidit. circumcidit. . . . ut ps. cxvij. ubi nos legimus. Et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos. hebrei habent. quia excidam abscondam concidam eos.
The propriety of this change was mentioned in the first set of the 1530 commentary notes.

Verbum hoc loco positum "praecidam" est id, quod alias circumcidere Iudaeis significat. Hic autem, quia Reges et regna se vincere dicit, recte dicitur praecidere i. e. verstumpeln und verhumpeln, Sicut arbor vel sylva ramis praecisis, amissa superbia ramorum, frondium, foliorum truncus reliquitur iacens et humiliatus u.273

With some minor prefix changes in the following years, the simple verb zuhawen was finally considered to be the best option.274 Here is the 1524 published translation: Alle heyden haben mich vmbgeben, Aber ym namen des HERRN, will ich sie zuhawen.275

While the first part of this verse underwent no changes and continued to give the Hebrew imperfect in the

273WA, 31.1, p. 56. Linck gave his version of these notes with these words: Das wortlein behawen deütet so wil als sunst beschneyden bey den Juden, Dieweyl er aber alhie sagt, er wolle die Könige unnd Königreych überwinden, so nennet ers recht behawen, verstümpeln und verhumpeln, Gleych als ein baum verstümpelt wirdt, und alle seine krafft oder herligkeyt verlœeret, wenn mann die erste, zweyge, bletter abhawet, unnd lesset den blossen stock alda steen . . . . WA, 31.1, p. 56. The polished translation of the final draft of the commentary used the word zerhawen. Within the explanation, the verbs zuschmeissen and zuschmetteren were used. Ibid., pp. 117, 125; ET: AE, pp. 70, 73.

274See WA DB, 10.1, p. 493.

275Ibid., p. 492.
German compound past, the second half of the verse already had many changes. In 1524, with the second half of the verse in the future tense, the first half was to be a re-telling of the short-term situation, while the second half was to be a confession of what will always happen with the Lord's Name and presence. The consequential confession given was that, regarding past or future worries, comfort is found only in the Lord.276

The year 1528 was not significant regarding the revision of every one of the Psalms, but it was significant for the translation of this verse and those which follow. Sometime after the last published translation of 1525 and before the published translation of 1528, Luther put some serious effort toward understanding these verses. Possible reasons for this effort will be probed after an examination of later changes made within the Psalm are analyzed. Here is the translation of this verse as it appeared in 1528: So mich alle

276With this translation the word יְ would also serve as an accusative marker, a similar use to verse two. Delitzsch puts slightly more emphasis on the word when he says that it "becomes directly confirmatory and assuring . . . (p. 227)." The sense of the word could also be adversative or connective. Aejmelaeus, "Function and Interpretation of יְ," pp. 195, 201-202. Others see the emphatic use here. Jouon, pp. 616-617; Dahood, p. 157; Anderson, p. 800.
heiden vmbgeben, So wil ich sie ym Namen des HERRN behawen.277

There are three differences within the verse. Usually the first to be noticed is the addition of the so . . . so construction. The second, less noticeable difference is the change in the tense of the first verb, from haben vmbgeben to vmbgeben, from the compound past to the present. The final difference is the change between zuhawen and behawen. This final difference was slight and, as was mentioned previously, quite short-lived.278

In the first two differences Luther was attempting to accomplish to an even greater degree what was attempted in the final change of the 1523/24 editing. As the second half of the verse, the good news of the section, had been given in the future, Luther wanted that news to be considered as true for all time. With this most recent change he made the first half of the verse, the troubling section, also true for all time. Luther considered the helpfulness of a translation which spoke to a German people who were in the midst of current troubles. Through this change Luther confessed the Lord's help as

277WA DB, 10.1, p. 492.

constant, even though the threat from the enemies may also seem to be constant.

To translate the Hebrew perfect into present, although not typical, is not impossible. The Hebrew perfect can be used to describe a long-established fact or a past action that is "assumed to continue in some way up to the present moment." In the German the present tense would depict either of these situations. The Hebrew verb כְּלָלָה, as a stative verb, would also have the characteristics of the present tense. That was its form the previous time it appeared in the Psalter.

Although this confession was obvious through Luther's discussion of the repetition in this and the following verses, Linck was the only one to mention the change in tense specifically. In the 1530 commentary notes he wrote:

. . . Dieweyl aber die glaubigen allzeyt sollich anstösse leyden, werden alle dise wortt billich in indicativo presentis temporis, als die etwas gegenwertiges anzeygen,

---


The German *so . . . so* construction accomplished the same purpose and was typically used in gnomic, true-for-all-time expressions. This structure was more appropriate in short, proverbial sentences and therefore too awkward to incorporate into verse twelve. Although the construction did continue into Linck's German notes on the commentary, Luther dropped the structure before the final draft. The simpler construction based on the conjunction *aber*, which was used before, was helpful in holding the similarity throughout this section.

The translation of verse ten appeared in 1531 as:

*Alle heiden umbgeben mich, Aber jm namen des HERRN wil ich sie zerhawen.* Here again the last verb is slightly different and short-lived. In this case the last verb of the verse was even different than the verb given in the notes: *volo eos*

---

282 *WA*, 31.1, p. 54.


284 *WA*, 31.1, p. 115.

circumcidere, 'wil sie verhauen'. Both are still similar.\textsuperscript{286}

The difficulty in making the transition to the most-German way of saying the word in this context may be seen in the frequently changed prefix of the verb \textit{hauen}. While making these various modifications, Luther's attention was also directed to the rest of the verse and its more important parts. A significant change such as the past to the present was not something found in Reuchlin's \textit{Rudimenta}.\textsuperscript{287} If Luther had followed the grammar book of his day, the tense of the first verb might have remained in the past. Luther, with his particular understanding of the text, gave a good understanding of the Hebrew and came quite close to many English translations today.\textsuperscript{288} Whatever the reason for the final change, the translation which was finally given was one

\textsuperscript{286}Ibid., 3, p. 146; Grimm, 15, col. 696; cf. Grimm, 12.1.1, col. 539; see Götze, p. 78. The German verb in the notes is more general than in the translation since it is accompanied by the specific Latin verb of the text. See \textbf{Wolfen. Psalter}, p. 398 (Psalm 118:11).

\textsuperscript{287}RRud., p. 585: \textit{Tempora tria Praesens, praeteritum et futurum}.

\textsuperscript{288}See \textit{Biblia Pentapla}, p. 173. The following translations have the first half of the verse in the present tense: NEB, LB, BCP. The following have the last half in the present: NIV, NRSV. See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418; Leupold, p. 814; Rogerson/McKay, p. 86.
which served a Lord who presently speaks to His people with living and active words.
PSALM 118:11

Sie vmbgeben mich allenthalben, Aber im Namen des HERRN wil ich sie zuhawen.

The first translation of this verse appeared in the 1523/24 working manuscript as:

Sie haben mich vmb vnd vmb vmbgeben
Aber ym namen des herrn schneytte ich sie abe.289

Having discussed the change in the verb tense of the first half of the verse and the change from schneytte ich sie abe to wil ich sie zuhawen in the last half of the verse, what may be clearly noted here is one further glaring difference in vocabulary. What started as vmb vnd vmb finally appeared as allenthalben.

The Hebrew of that portion of the verse contains an unusual structure: יִנְצָרַנְו וְיָנָאש.290 The first and third words both have the form of Qal perfect verbs, the first verb possessing the dagesh forte to account for the doubled ל. The second verb is used as an adverb to emphasize the situation, much like a repeated noun or pronoun.291 The word יִנְצָר sets up

289WA DB, 1, p. 529.
290Biblia hebraica.
the third word for this intensity.292

The methods of emphasis are different in each language, and each language may have several ways to emphasize a particular aspect of the text. The Latin sought to follow this text in a slightly different way, with a perfect passive participle and verb, much like the infinitive absolute in Hebrew: Circumdantes, circumdederunt me, et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos.293 That the other German translations of the time followed the Latin is quite clear: Vmbgebent vmbgaben sy mich: vnd in dem namen des herrn wann ich bin gerochen in in.294

There is no doubt to the emphatic nature in the first translation which Luther gave. The function of vmb vnd vmb vmbgeben is that in this text, the enemy has surrounded the psalmist again and again, or that, by extension and from the psalmist's perspective, the enemy seems to be everywhere. The phrase already is a very German way of emphasizing this

292RRud., p. 109: Etiam. quoque; see Quinc. Psalterium, p. 169. For a listing of several similar situations in the Scriptures, see Delitzsch, p. 227.


294Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418.
fact.295 The question to be asked is whether or not this German-like emphasis could be even further improved.

The answer would first have a chance to be given during the writing of the 1530 commentary. There was more written concerning the text than simply the translation. The Hebrew doubling was explained throughout the notes296 and especially in the final draft:

In the second place, the enemies are not only numerous, but they also use their power with all their might, persistency, diligence, and effort. Twice in verse eleven the psalmist says: "They surrounded me; they surrounded me." He shows by these words how they persist and press forward, never relenting or growing tired. They drive themselves incessantly, until they ruin themselves. Though they frequently fail, they are not concerned. They try one plot after another, one undertaking after another. Their god, the devil, goads them on and does not let them rest or relax as long as they can move. The devil instigates all heathen attacks against Christ and His Word. Were such attacks a mere human undertaking, the enemies would soon tire and give up in disgust, especially when they realized that they had often attacked only to


296WA, 31.1, p. 55: Omnes gentes (Ecce multitudo hostium) circumdederunt (Ecce vim et sedulitatem): Quia ista repetit, significat pertinaciam saeviendi. Linck's notes had a close connection to the ones of Luther. Ibid., p. 55: Alle Heyden (zeygt an die menige der feynde) haben mich umb und umb umbgeben, umbgeben etc. Solliche widerholunge des worts umbgeben zeyget an den grossen fleyß, anhalten, und hertigkeyt der feynde.
fail and be disgraced, as always happens to such persecutors.297

Because this doubling was explained within the commentary Luther had the freedom to give the main translation of the commentary with the same literal doubling: Sie umbgeben mich, Sie umbgeben mich . . . .298 This is the only time such a translation appeared. Without the ability to comment on the translation, this translation served as a poor understanding of the Hebrew language, without regard to syntax or context. Obviously something in more expressive German could be given.

The second chance for more words concerning the text

297"Zum andern Ist ihr nicht allein viel, sondern brauchen auch jhrer gewalt, und thun daza mit aller macht, ernst, vleis und erbeit und greiffens an, Denn er spricht zwey mal jm eilfften vers 'Circundederunt me, Circundederunt me,' Sie umbgeben mich, Sie umbgeben mich, damit zeigt er an, wie sie anhalten, fort dringen, nicht ablassen, nicht müde werden, treiben und treiben on unterlas, hören nicht auff, bis sie zu grund gehen, ob sie gleich offt feilen, da keren sie sich nicht an, jmer ein newen ratschlag über den andern, ein furnemen über das ander, Denn der teuffel jhr Gott, der sie also treibet, lesst sie nicht feiren noch rugen, so lange sie etwas vermügen, Denn was solche heiden, widder Christum und sein wort toben, das ist des teuffels getrieb, Es were sonst nicht möglich, wo es menschen ding allein were, sie würdens balde müde und überdrossen, sonderlich wenn sie fületen, das sie so offt angetauffen und giefelet hetten, und zu schanden worden weren, wie solchen verfolgern allezeit geschicht." Ibid., pp. 118-119; cf. AE, 14, pp. 70-71; see Quine. Psalterium, p. 169.

298WA, 31.1, p. 115.
came during the 1531 Psalter revision. In the colloquium the point of duplication for emphasis is brought up again, explained, and resolved. Rörer wrote these words:


The group's first try within the notes, *Sie umbgeben mich hie und dort*, attempted to convey the point that the enemy had surrounded the psalmist on opposite sides. The combination used does not give that function with full clarity. Admittedly the situation is a difficult thing to describe in such a short and clear manner. The group continued to search for a better way to describe the difficulty. What word they chose is only apparent from the 1531 published edition of the Psalter, the word *allenthalben.*

That the word was not mentioned in the notes is not surprising because it was just written down and used earlier

---


300 *Grimm*, 4.2, col. 1314. See *Biblia Pentapla*, p. 173.

301 *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 493.
in the day while the group was studying Psalm 115:16. 302

Although its usage in the German language was not as common as the phrase vmb vnd vmb, it possessed the almost same function at that time. 303

The great benefit to the use of allenthalben is in the ease of speaking. The only slight difference between vmb and vnd is enough to make the phrase into a tongue-twister for the inexperienced speaker. The new word is a close match in size for vmbgeben and its placement makes the rhythm of the first half of the verse easy to see. Finally, its ease of saying and pleasant ending makes the following pause very appropriate. 304

When a translation could be given in many ways, the more attention that is made of the options makes for an easier

302 I ibid., 3, p. 145; see WA DB, 10.1, pp. 486-487. For the section of the Psalter that the group covered each day, see WA DB, 3, p. XXII. For the word's previous uses elsewhere, see WA DB, 10.1, pp. 192-193 (Psalm 31:14); WA DB, 10.1, p. 470 (Psalm 109:3); WA, 31.1, p. 116.


304 For other possibilities in translating this word, none of which match the sonority of allenthalben, see Biblia Pentapla, p. 173.
decision. Luther's writing of the commentary and meeting with the colloquium were both important for a good translation to be given. It followed the sense of the Hebrew quite clearly. In the end the word which was more German was turned down in favor of a word which gave the same thing, but with much greater sonority.
PSALM 118:12

Sie vmbgeben mich, wie Bienen, Sie dempffen, wie ein fewr in dornen, Aber im Namen des HERRN wil ich sie zuhawen.

Even though some of the previous analyses apply to this verse as well, verse twelve has much more information to take into account. The first hint of that is perceived when it is noted that this verse is the only one of the Psalm where a marginal comment was included in the 1545 edition. Concerning the word dempffen, the comment is as follows: Sie lauffen alle zu vnd leschen, als wolt alle Welt verderben von meiner Lere wegen, niemand wil der letzt sein.305

One may notice the importance of this word from a comparison of the above German translation to the Hebrew and the well-known Greek and Latin translations. The Masoretic text appears as וַיִּשׁוּבשְׁנֵיהַ בְּכָשׁ כָּעַשׁ קָוָה כָּאָמָלִים.306 The Hebrew word at issue is זָעַב, a Pual perfect verb זָעַב, normally translated with a passive function, "they are extinguished."307 The Septuagint has this unique translation

305WA DB, 10.1, p. 493; ET: AE, 35, p. 221.

306Biblia hebraica.

307BDB, p. 200; Holl., p. 73; TWOT, 1, p. 194. See NASB.

121
of the verse: 'Εκύκλωσάν με ὅσει μέλισσαι κήριον, καὶ
ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς πῦρ ἐν ἄκανθαις, καὶ τῷ ὄνομαί Κυρίου ἡμυνάμην
αὐτούς.308 Here the same word is translated ἐξεκαύθησαν, the
aorist passive of the verb ἐκκαίω. This would have the
seemingly opposite function, "they burst into flame."309 The
Vulgate has this translation: Circumdederunt me, sicut apes et
exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis, et in nomine domini quia
ultus sum in eos.310 The same word at issue is here
exarserunt, the active perfect form of the verb exardesco, a
second conjugation verb with the meaning, "they burned."311
The differences in tenses and especially translation need not
be explained with an emended text such as וְיָרְאָתָה,312 but with
a more complete understanding of the various tenses of the

308LXX. For an explanation of this translation, see
Allen, p. 120; Kraus, p. 394.


311Heinichen, p. 295.

312See Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, ed. K. Elliger,
W. Rudolph, et al., 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche
Bibelgesellschaft, 1967), p. 1199. For another explanation,
see also Allen, p. 120; Oswald Becker, "Psalm 118:12
כָּנַן קָרֵים
עֵלֶה," Zeitschrift für Alttestamentlich Wissenschaft
languages involved.

The Hebrew verb aspect is perfect, in this context an understanding that the enemy's attack was short-lived and in the recent past. The Greek verb tense is aorist, punctiliar action, which also fits well with the comparison to a fire of thorns. The Latin verb tense is perfect, combining notions of both simple past and present completed. The differences in translation between the active and passive voice can be explained by realizing the basis of what they describe: a fire of thorns blazes fiercely for a short time, but quickly burns itself out. Each translation described one or the other aspect of the enemy's actions, either the furious attack or the quick retreat. Whereas there is no doubt that the Hebrew verb was to be understood as passive, the Greek and Latin verb tenses and the unique description of the thing compared allowed for an overemphasis on the blazing aspect of the attack. Consequently

313 Jouon, pp. 360-361; Waltke/O'Conner, p. 487.


a misunderstanding was allowed to work its way into the translations and in front of Luther as he sought to translate the Hebrew text before him into German.

Luther was intimately familiar with the Latin translation and the active perfect tense when he came upon the word יָרָעַד in the pual form as he attempted a first run through of the Psalter in the 1523/24 manuscript. With only a passing glance of the situation, he was noticeably confused. Here are the first things written concerning verse twelve:

\[
\text{Sie haben mich vmbgeben wie die bienen sie sind} \\
\text{wie feur von dornen} \\
\text{Aber ym namen des herrn} \quad 316
\]

Luther left the Hebrew word יָרָעַד partially untranslated, something rarely done. 317 Other minor changes throughout the rest of the verse took place at various times throughout the subsequent editing and were the result of the translation's further study. 318

---

316 WA DB, 1, p. 530.

317 For another example of this, see WA DB, 1, p. 558 (Psalm 144:12).

318 The definite article was deleted before bienen in the 1531 edition and the indefinite article was added before feur in the 1528 edition. Ibid., 10.1, pp. 492-493. Both changes were stylistic and each was appropriate to its unique setting. See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418. The preposition change
With such a division in the material before Luther it is no surprise that he, when first going through his working translation, left a blank where the main verb should be. He did initially write the word *sind* and was at first inclined to follow the Masoretic text and passive function. Upon the secondary editing, after a closer examination of the data, there should also be no surprise that he wrote the verb in the passive voice, *verlosschen*.\(^{319}\) Throughout the first translation of the Psalter, Luther's first inclination has usually been to go with the Hebrew text rather than the Latin.\(^{320}\) There is also obviously much more comfort to the text with a passive understanding of the verb. Although the Latin had been well-known by Luther for many years, his earliest writings on this verse betray this positive

---

\(^{319}\) *WA DB*, 1, p. 530; cf. *Quinc. Psalterium*, p. 169.

\(^{320}\) See Lauer, *Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24*, pp. 15-17.
understanding concerning this portion of the verse.\textsuperscript{321}

When a phrase was particularly difficult to understand, Luther would include an explanatory note in the margin. The use of the metaphor which followed the word at issue made this verse suitable for a comment which would help make the text clearer.\textsuperscript{322} Having a different translation than the Latin confirmed its importance. The comments treated the literal aspect of the metaphor of a fire of thorns, first stating its fierceness, but in the end emphasizing its short-term nature. These were the words in the margin of the 1523/24 manuscript: \textit{sicut ignis in reysholtz et spinis furit multa flamma subito sed sicut mox crescit ita mox extinguitur}.\textsuperscript{323} Luther then expanded the explanation in the first published translation of 1524. He described a fierce-but-short-lived attack, and he also added a sentence describing the enemy's difference between that which was desired and that which was

\textsuperscript{321}Luther understood the enemy's attack to be ultimately against Christ. \textit{Wolfen. Psalter}, pp. 398-399; \textit{WA} 4, pp. 275, 279-280; ET: \textit{AE}, 11, pp. 412-413.

\textsuperscript{322}For another example of this, see \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, pp. 442-443 (Psalm 104:16).

\textsuperscript{323}\textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 530. The preposition \textit{in} could have been written in German rather than Latin.
accomplished:

(feur ynn dornen) das ist, wie das feur ynn dornen und reys fast brasseltt und feyndlich tobet, aber bald eyn ende nympt, und ist nicht bestendig. Also tobet yhr zorn fast, aber est ist bald aus damit und thut nicht so viel so gros es wol gern wollt.324

Both notes made use of both aspects of a fire of thorns, the short furious-ness, then the quick demise. The main and positive point of both marginal notes was a quick end to the danger. The secondary and negative point to both notes was that the fiery attack will rage furiously. In this later note the Hebrew passive understanding of the verb was given primary importance.

As was previously noted in the analysis of the previous verse, this section of Scripture was edited sometime after the 1525 edition and before the 1528 revision. During this time Luther decided to follow the translation of the Vulgate with an active perfect verb. This translation was given: 

Sie vmbgeben mich wie die bienen, sie dempffen wie ein feur ynn dornen, Aber ym namen des herrn wil ich sie behawen.325

324Ibid., 10.1, p. 492.

325Ibid., p. 492.
Even the change from the compound past to the present tense in the first verb pales in comparison with the change from \textit{sind verlosschen} to \textit{dempffen}. The enemy no longer is extinguished but was confessed to be extinguishing. Crystallized in time is the moment when the attack of the enemy has reached its height. This radical change was lessened by the less-fierce functions of the word \textit{dempffen}, but the dreadful confession remained that the psalmist is on the brink of destruction.\footnote{Grimm, 12.1.1, col. 821: \textit{verlosschen}; \textit{extingui}; Ibid., 2, col. 717: \textit{dempffen}; \textit{vaporare}. The new verb can be either transitive or intransitive. See \textit{WA}, 31.1, p. 123.}

The new note in the margin testified in a compact form as to how much more terrible the translation became with this change. The key word to explain became the new word just given: \textit{(Dempffen) Sie lauffen alle zu vnd leschen, als wolt alle Welt verderben von meiner Lere wegen, niemand wil der letzt sein}.\footnote{\textit{WA DB}, 10.1, pp. 492-493.} Now in the comments there was no positive thought, no talk of a short-lived fire, no reminder that things will eventually work out for the good. The new emphasis became simply the severity of the attack. The brunt of the
attack now was no longer simply the psalmist but those who were opposed to the new teaching of the Reformation. Luther was taking this Psalm personally.

The first opportunity to see the change explained beyond what can be given in a margin of a translation is in the 1529 Latin preparatory notes for the commentary. The Latin translation by Luther showed the same changes as the German translation of 1528: *Circumdederunt me sicut apes, et extruxerunt sicut ignem in spinarum, Sed in nomine domini praecidam eos.* The negative emphasis was also contained in the Latin notes.328 Linck's German translation and notes followed what Luther gave in Latin quite closely.329 Luther went into more detail in his final draft of the commentary.330 All through these comments on this new translation Luther emphasized the severity of the attacks of those who were against the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Luther's first semi-public defense for this change was made as the colloquium prepared its revision of the

328WA, 31.1, pp. 54-55.
329Ibid., p. 55.
Psalter. Although one would never have predicted such a lengthy discussion regarding one word, to evaluate what was written by Rörer will be helpful in understanding the significant reasons for this change.


One can see slight references to the recently revised

331 WA DB, 3, pp. 146-147; Ibid., 4, p. 427. The words in parentheses are those which appear above the lines in the text and were added later. Because of the protest by Melanchthon and the great disparity in function the discussion was lengthy and relatively detailed. For another example of this, see WA DB, 3, pp. 140-141.
marginal note here. Luther's main case for an active understanding of the verb was made on the basis of the previous two verses, that the positive part of those verses was only contained within the final phrase. Luther first pointed to other situations in the Scriptures where a fire of thorns is mentioned. It is consistently an evil fire, one that delivers bad news.332

Philip Melanchthon was also in favor of the verb in the active voice, but proposed a compromise with this alternative: **Sie wollen mich auffressen sicut ignis devorat spinas.** These words only gave the enemy the desire to cause trouble and not the presence of trouble itself. Melanchthon's thought was based on the Septuagint translation and the Greek verb ἐκκαῦσαι, which has the function of, "to kindle."333 Luther responded negatively to that suggestion: **Sed hic est verbum extinguendi. Vestra sententia est contraria: accendere ignem.** Luther then pointed to Isaiah 47:14 where the thought of a fire being kindled was possible.334 Luther insisted that in

---

332See Exodus 22:5 and Isaiah 33:12.
334See *WA DB*, 11.1, p. 130 (Isaiah 43:17).
Psalm 118 the fire was not starting to cause danger, but had already caused it and indeed was seemingly finishing up the one in trouble. Luther had no trouble making the text even more ferocious than before, giving the thought that the Lord's enemies are consuming the Lord's people.

The change greatly overemphasized the present aspect of the word within the Latin perfect tense. That the mention of a fire of thorns within the Scriptures is an evil thing cannot be disputed, but Luther was beginning to emphasize only the first aspect of the fiery thorns. Both aspects, the blazing up and the being extinguished, appeared in the other uses of the Hebrew verb רשת. That there was a pitting of one aspect against the other is clear with what was written concerning the verse in Ursachen des Dolmetschens, a document defending the Psalter translation most recently given in 1531.

Again, in verse 12 where we say in German, Sie dempffen wie ein feur jnn dornen, the rabbis put it this way, Sie verlesschen odder werden gedempfft wie feur jnn dornen. Now this is supposed to say that the godless persecutors are like the thorns ignited under a pot, which blaze and flash furiously. But before the meat in the pot is done, the thorns have burned themselves out, been extinguished, and left the meat quite raw. So the persecutors perish before they have consumed the righteous. Wherever they can, the rabbis thus apply the Scriptures to their pots and sacrifices, as men who build chiefly on such sacrifices and works.

But because the text goes on to say, Im namen des
HERRN wil ich sie zehawen (the same words which also occur in the two preceding verses), and because these words tell us how the godless shall perish, we hold the view given by our text, that here is expressed the great fury of the adversaries against the righteous. Just as in this same verse the psalmist compares the godless to angry bees, so here he compares them also to people who come running to put out a fire when a field-hedge or forest is burning. The original Hebrew, where they have not—without any justification—inserted their vowel points, actually calls for this sort of interpretation. Moreover if the thorns are burned up and extinguished, how does one reconcile this with the intention of cutting them off in the Name of the Lord? Is one supposed to hack among the ashes, or finish off completely the godless who no longer exist?335

335"Item im zwelfften vers, da wir also deudschen: 'Sie dempffen wie ein feur jnn dornen,' machens die Rabini also: 'Sie verlesschen odder werden gedempfft wie feur jnn dornen,' Und sol die meinung sein: Die Gottlosen verfolgen sind gleich wie die dornen unter einem töpfen angelegt und gewlich blitzen und brennen, Aber ehe das fleisch im töpfen gar wird, haben die dornen sich ausgebrand und verlesschen und lassen das fleisch wol rohe bleiben, Also gehen die derfolger unter, ehe denn sie die gerechten auffreumen. Also zihen die Rabini allenthalben, wo sie konnen, die schrift auf jre töpfen und opffer, als die auff solche opffer und werck jr heiligkeit am meisten bawen.

Aber weil im Text folget 'Imnamen des HERRN wil ich sie zehawen (wie die selbigen wort jnn den zweien versen davor auch stehen),' durch welche wort angezeigt wird, wie die Gotlosen sollen untergehen, halten wir den sinn, den unser text gibt, das damit ausgebruckt werde der grosse grim der widdersacher gegen die gerechten, gleich wie er sie auch den zornigen bienen im selbigen vers vergleicht, Also auch hie den jenigen, so zu lauffen und lesschen, wenn eine hecke oder wald brennet, Welches auch die Ebireische Grammatica gibt, wo sie jre puntce nicht hinan flockten on ursache. Auch wenn die dornen verbrand und verlosschen sind, wie reimet sichs drauff, das man sie im namen des HERRN zu hawen wolt? Sol man jnn die asschen hawen, oder sol man die Gottlosen, so nicht mehr sind, aller erst umb bringen?" WA, 38, pp. 15-16; cf. AE, 35, pp.
In this document Luther made it clear that he considered the word דקל originally to have the wrong pointing. With the same Hebrew consonants, the verb could possess the vowels to be considered in the Qal conjugation, דק. Since the word appears only once in the Pual, an error in pointing is quite probable. The important fact to remember, and something which Luther obviously did not know, is that this verb also has a passive, or "middle" sense even in the Qal conjugation. It appears seven times in the Qal, and once in the Niphal.

It is more unlikely that the seven occurrences of the word in the Qal were mistakes in pointing rather than only the one occurrence in both the Niphal and Pual, although that would have fit with Luther's unique understanding of the verb.

In these two paragraphs Luther again presented the strongest evidence for the same translation, but in a quite

220-221. See Biblia Pentapla, p. 173.

336BDB, p. 200. See Job 6:17; 18:5, 6; 21:17; Proverbs 13:9; 20:20; 24:20. Isaiah 43:17 is the most similar example of the same Hebrew verb. Luther may have discovered the similarity between the two verses since a translation of Isaiah was recently completed by him. See WA DB, 11.1, p. 130. The other changes made in Psalm 118 in 1528 surround this verse equally. WA DB, 10.1, pp. 490-494. Other possibilities for an impetus will be given after more of the changes have been examined.
different way. First of all Luther saw a different opposition. It was no longer himself and no longer Melanchthon. Now he was going against the Jews. Luther compared this new translation to the translation of the rabbis and their big emphasis on works. Obviously he wished to distance himself as much as possible from these men and their translations with any example he could give. Luther sought to describe the change in the most important theological terms.

Luther's knowledge of the sources for the Masoretic text was limited. Luther thought that because of the Jews' large emphasis on works, that they would have been hesitant to point the text in a way that would appear that the enemy would have the upper hand. A misunderstanding of the origination of the pointing not withstanding, a hypersensitive mistrust in the Hebrew text before Luther is apparent. He could have been contemplating examples of the differences which could be found in the recently revised 1531 Psalter when he wrote the *Ursachen des Dolmetschens*. The long discussion of the recent colloquium may have helped to bring this text to mind. Before this quote Luther had just completed an illustration regarding

---

Psalm 118:27, one in which the Jews also figured prominently. In the above document, Luther also put things forward in the simplest fashion. He avoided the rhetorician's terminology of the colloquium and made the point with clear and concise contrasts. Here the immediate context was more important than a comparison of this verse with the verse from Isaiah. Luther specifically brought up the reference to the bees and pointed to their negative function. The strongest evidence given was the positive second half of verses ten through twelve. The concluding rhetorical question provided a strong closure for the entire issue. All these points are appropriate to the document in which they are found and help to understand even more clearly the significance of dempffen in the translation.

The two quotations given above are only the public discussions available regarding Luther's translation of dempffen. As it stands, the amount of documentation is overwhelming when compared to the discussions regarding almost every other translation of Luther. The final analysis of this

338WA, 38, pp. 15; ET: AE, 35, pp. 219-220.
translation will now be made.

Luther's understanding of the Hebrew was not as complete as today. The "middle" understanding of this verb was not completely clear in Reuchlin, even though specific mention is made concerning this verse. Luther did not trust the vowel-signs of the text. He also did not trust the Jew's opinions of the Lord. These two factors provide a good example in seeing how Luther's context colored his perspective and adversely affected his translation. He may have seen the world as after his teaching, as was mentioned in the final marginal comment, but it does not necessarily follow that he was suspicious of every translation. He obviously saw the teaching as the important thing. In this translation he is also seen to be willing to let the Law strike deep and one who highly appreciated the precious good news of the Gospel.

Luther made strong points in his defense. His best point, that having the same part of the verse as good news

throughout the section, makes the most sense. Ultimately the immediate context is the strongest evidence to have a passive understanding of the text. Those who understand the phrase as positive change the crux between the bad news and good news of the verse from the previous two verses. For this reason alone a good number of the modern commentators follow Luther here.\textsuperscript{340} Besides that, in all probability, at least one of the pointings of the Hebrew was wrong.

The weakest link to the evidence was the exaggeration that failing to go with the active voice leads to an emphasis on the sacrifices of the Jews. Here is a false alternative and a failure to see the Hebrew as an important conveyor of the truth. It would have been better for him to give both aspects of the fire of thorns within the marginal comment without emphasizing one aspect at the expense of the other.\textsuperscript{341}

Some would see the most remarkable thing concerning this change as the great amount of information involved for such a small word, Luther's ability to examine the evidence, or the extent of the change in translation. The biggest thing

\textsuperscript{340}Anderson, p. 800; Dahood, p. 154; Kirkpatrick, p. 696; Kraus, pp. 393-394; Rogerson/McKay, p. 86. See RSV.

\textsuperscript{341}See Kidner, p. 414.
to this change was that it went from a positively-understood phrase to a negative one. One might see Luther as a man who gave Gospel when the Roman Catholic church was giving only Law, but that would not be an accurate statement. Luther would say that his task was to translate the words as they were given, whether good or bad. Luther's task in translating was not to cover up the Law, but rather to reveal it clearly and succinctly. Luther saw a text which described a difficult situation and he was not opposed to giving it in that way, provided that a clear and positive statement was to follow. Luther wanted to make it completely clear that the only way out of the seemingly impossible situation of the psalmist was only by the Lord and the gift of His Name.
Luther would learn many times that the Hebrew was not always easily translated into German. The Hebrew of verse thirteen is a good example of this: וָּחַה לֵזֵהָ לִבְּלַל לְזֵהָ לָּעָלָן. Whether or not the 1545 translation gave the same thing in the German as the Hebrew text gave it in the original language is a question which remains to be answered. That Luther missed on his first try at translating this verse is obvious.

Man hatt mich gestossen, das ich fallen sollt
Aber der herr ist meyne hulffe.343

Immediately one sees several difficulties with the translation, two in the first phrase alone. Whereas the Hebrew contains a Qal infinitive absolute, הַקִּי, and usually marks some type of emphasis, the first German translation is without one.344 Where the Masoretic text gives the Qal perfect verb in

342Biblia hebraica. Regarding the use of the preposition ב, see Joüon, p. 146.
343WA DB, 1, p. 530.
344RRud., p. 589; Waltke/O’Conner, p. 585; Quinc. Psalterium, p. 169. For some examples of this emphasis, see KJV, NASB, CEV.
second person form, לֹא-יָהָה, Luther translated it in the third person.

The problem of the change in person may be explained by an examination of the Latin: Impulsus eversus sum ut caderem, et dominus suscepit me.345 As in the previous verse, the source material before Luther was divided. The Hebrew gave the verb in second person form while the Latin gave it in third. Looking at the entire context of the Psalm, the reference to the second person seems out of place.346 Luther quickly decided to go with the Latin text, most likely because the important point of the verse was the problem itself. At this point where that problem came from was not the critical issue. That help came from the Lord was the most important of all the issues. This is where many modern commentators also


346 Assuming no error in transmission, if the psalmist was speaking to another it would have been to the Lord or his enemy. There are no other words to the enemy in the entire Psalm, and only after verse twenty-five is the Lord spoken to in the second person. Even if that is the case here, the question remains why the psalmist is not speaking to the Lord in the second half of the verse as well. Dahood, p. 158: "One of the more difficult expressions in the poem . . . ."
end up.347

Regarding the emphasis that comes with the infinitive absolute, Luther stumbled upon the truth without realizing it. The infinitive absolute not only gives emphasis, but also points out opposition, and especially opposition related to concession.348 These finer points were not covered by Reuchlin in his description of this point of grammar.349

Luther, upon looking at the text a second time, noticed the infinitive absolute in the Hebrew and immediately made some editing changes. He crossed out the words hatt gestossen, the verb in the compound past, and wrote stosset above it, the verb in the present tense.350 Instead of the verse being a re-telling of the battle account, Luther translated it with the understanding that this type of trouble is happening all the time to the psalmist. Although the method of emphasis is not as obvious as other English or German

347Anderson, p. 800; Kraus, pp. 394, 398; Allen, p. 121. For more details regarding this issue, see Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 990.

348Jouon, pp. 423-424.

349See RRud., p. 589.

350WA DB, 1, p. 530.
translations of this verse which usually incorporate some type of adverbial modifier, what is finally given does end up being emphatic. Luther took into account the context of the situation and applied the infinitive absolute in one of the many ways which were possible.

With this first translation, one can also see an error in the second half of the verse. The words were first translated with the phrase: Aber der herr ist meyne hulfe. The word is a verb and not a noun. Luther did use the word close to the Hebrew, hulfe, unlike the Latin word suscepit. From the previous occurrences of the word it is easy to see how Luther could have made this error. After realizing this error and during the secondary editing, the phrase was changed to the following: Aber der herr halff myr.

This made the verse appear this way in the

351 See RSV; Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418.
352 Waltke/O'Conner, p. 585.
manuscript: Man stosset mich das ich fallen sollt/ Aber der herr halff myr. Now the tenses between the parts of the verse did not match. Luther gave a bad news which was constant and the Lord's help only as a past event. Wishing to realign the tense of the verbs within the verse, Luther went back and changed stosset to sties, from present to simple past. The infinitive absolute no longer gave a particular emphasis.\(^{355}\) This was the final editing change at this time. What appeared in the first published translation were these words: Man sties mich das ich fallen sollt, Aber der HERR halff myr.\(^{356}\)

Since there were changes from the compound past to present in the previous verses in the 1528 edition for the reasons already mentioned, this verse was also included. In these verses the verbs went from simple past to present, no longer a re-telling of a past event but true for all time. This made the verse more severe regarding the bad news and more beautiful regarding the good news. This is the translation that appeared in the 1528 published edition: Man

\(^{355}\)For another example of the infinitive absolute without emphasis in the translation, see \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, p. 229 (Psalm 40:2).

\(^{356}\)\textit{WA DB}, 10.1, 492.
The use of the infinitive absolute to point out opposition related to concession makes this translation very close to the Hebrew text.

Despite Luther's weak understanding of the finer points of the Hebrew, a good translation was accomplished. This may also be seen in the sonority of the verse. The transition to the present made for gentle endings to each phrase. The alliteration in the last phrase of the verse makes the rhythm particularly strong there, theologically the most important part of the verse.

357Ibid.
PSALM 118:14

Der HERR ist meine Macht, vnd mein Psalm, Vnd ist mein Heil.

Luther's attempt to keep the translation simple and to the point may be seen in the next verse and especially in his first try at translating it:

Der herr ist meyne stercke vnd meyn psalm vnd ist meyn heil.  

Other appearances of this verse in the Old Testament initially used the phrase vnd ist meyn heil worden instead of vnd ist meyn heil and the word lobgesang instead of meyn psalm.  

The first difference went against the plain and literal Hebrew of the text. What could be so important? The only difference between this occurrence and those found elsewhere is that this text appeared within the Psalter.

358WA DB, 1, p. 530. Luther usually wrote the Hebrew word יהי nearby when the translated word herr was based on that Hebrew word, but such was not the case on this occasion. The speed with which he worked is again made obvious.

359WA DB, 8, pp. 244-245 (Exodus 15:2); Ibid., 11.1, pp. 54-55 (Isaiah 12:2). See Revelation 15:3. The cross-reference in the 1545 edition to Exodus 15 applied to this verse as well as the one to follow. WA DB, 10.1, p. 493.

360Biblia hebraica.

146
Luther may have chosen to pass by the literal Hebrew in an attempt to keep the German translation much more song-like and simple. Obviously the three descriptions of the Lord are the important parts of the verse. The simple verb *ist* does not attract attention to itself.\(^\text{361}\)

Another indication that Luther treated a translation from the Psalter differently than a translation from another book of the Bible is the translation of הָלֹּלָה as *meyn psalm* instead of *lobgesang*.\(^\text{362}\) Luther knew the Hebrew word to have a different understanding than today, the function of song, especially a song of praise.\(^\text{363}\) Although the word *psalm* has

\(^{361}\)See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 418f. There has already been noted a tendency for Luther to put things into the present tense. See Franke, 3, p. 37.

\(^{362}\)Although the Hebrew first person suffix was not present, Luther knew enough to follow the Latin and the proper understanding of a Hebrew suffix which does double duty. RRud., p. 153: *... et הָלֹּלָה cantio. carmen. psalm. cxix. pro eo quid nos legimus. Cantabiles mihi erant instificationes tuem. Hier. de hebraica veritate rectius interpretant. Carmina mihi erant. Item in psalm. cxviiij. Fortitudo mea et laus dominus. deficit enim hic iod pronomen. non laus mea. quod ten subitelligit secundum David kimhi in libro de radicibus. See Quinc. Psalterium, p. 169; Allen, p. 121; Dahood, p. 158; Kraus, p. 394.

\(^{363}\)RRud, p. 153; BDB., p. 274. The modern understanding of the word points to "strength." See Holl., p. 90; Allen, p. 121; Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 990; Dahood, p. 158.
Greek roots, it does not even appear in the Greek translation of this verse. The word *psalm* is certainly not a popular German word. The word *psalm* is simply more biblical. In the end it is better connected to the book which bears the same title. With the choice of *meyn psalm* instead of *lobgesang* the rhythm of the verse is nearly song-like itself. The only thing which would make the rhythm more concise is a change in *stercke* to a one-syllable word.

That change came in 1528. The only significant change ever done to the entire verse was when the word *stercke* was replaced with *macht*. In this case there were bigger things at stake than simply sonority. There was something in the function of the original word which Luther did not like. The Hebrew word at issue is יָוֵ(tuple), directly related to the verb יָוֵ(tuple). Reuchlin mentioned this psalm with his description of the word. The Latin translation used the word *fortitudo*. The German word *stercke* adequately covered the notion of

---


365 WA DB, 10.1, 492.
strength.366

A reason for the change may first be seen in a closer examination of the difference between the German words stercke and macht. Whereas the word stercke has deep connections to words relating to power, the word macht has another aspect which is possible, one related to value and great worth.367

Luther saw something in stercke which did not serve the text. That the Lord has power, none would deny. The question is whether or not the Lord will choose to use that power to save. Even the use of the Hebrew word רֶפֶשׁ carries that implication.368 In this verse the psalmist confessed that it was the Lord who won the battle because he decided to use his power. Luther chose a word which pointed not so much at the


367 Ibid., 6, cols. 1397-1399: macht; vis, potestas; habere potestatem, facultatem, vires, posse, valere; Götze, p. 154: macht; Hauptsache; Grimm, 10.2.1, cols. 889-892: stärke; robur, vigor, fortitudo, multitudo; Götze, p. 208: sterke; Stärkung, Befestigung.

368 TWOT, 2, p. 659: "The psalmist recognizes that God is inherently powerful (Ps. 89:13 [H 14]) and therefore prays that he will show that strength against the enemies of his people (Ps. 68:28 [H 28])." The brackets are original.
150

Lord's power but at His willingness to use it.

This emphasis on love rather than power may also be seen in other things which were written concerning the text. In 1529 Luther was writing notes in preparation for a complete revision of the Psalter. Near the word *Fortitudo* in the Latin text Luther had written the word *Fortitúdo* and later added the word *sustentando* and the phrase *in salutem* under the line.369 In the 1530 commentary Luther said this about the word, that it

indicates that he [the psalmist] trusts wholly and completely in God, that God does, speaks, and enlivens everything in him; and he will not boast of his own power, ability, knowledge, wisdom, holiness, or deeds. He will be nothing; in him God will be all and do all.370

This emphasis may also be seen in other places in the Psalter. Changes from *stercke* to *macht* in the rest of the Psalter began at Psalm 93:1, a verse which describes the

369 *WA DB*, 4, p. 573; see *WA*, 48, p. 65.

370"... das er rein und fein auff Gott trawet, das Gott alles und alles jnn jhm wircke, rede und lebe, Und er nicht auff eigene krafft, vermügen, vernunfft, weisheit, heiligkeit odder werck, poche, Er wil nichts sein, auff das Gott jnn jhm alles sey und alles thu ... ." *WA*, 31.1, p. 134; ET: *AE*, 14, pp. 77-78. In the commentary Luther consistently used the word *macht* and avoided the words *stercke* and *kraft*, except when he wanted to describe how the devil and the world work, how the opposite song is sung. *WA*, 31.1, pp. 133-136.
Lord's reigning. When confronted with the Lord's transcendence Luther recoiled from describing it in a way that focused on the Lord's strength and chose to do it in a way that showed His love and His willingness to do only good.371

With this last change from stercke to macht the rhythm sharpened dramatically. Combined with the previous verse the two together are like a song with two stanzas.372

The three key words of verse thirteen, both theologically and rhythmically, are the verbs; the three key words to verse

371 The translation appeared in the 1524 edition in this form: Der HERR ist könig vnd hat macht angezogen, Der HERR hat sich angezogen vnd mit stercke gegürtet, Er hat dan erdboden zugericht, das er bleybt. In the 1528 edition the word macht was changed to pracht and the words stercke gegürtet were replaced by the words macht gerüstet. WA DB, 10.1, p. 410; see WA DB, 3, p. 118. In the Psalter Luther translated the Hebrew word טו predominantly into these four German words: stercke, krafft, macht, and reich. The translation changes made in 1527 and later favored the use of the last two words, especially macht. See WA DB, 10.1, p. 288 (Psalm 59:10); WA DB, 10.1, p. 314 (Psalm 68:29); WA DB, 10.1, p. 316 (Psalm 68:36); WA DB, 10.1, pp. 362-363 (Psalm 78:61); WA DB, 10.1, p. 394 (Psalm 89:18); WA DB, 10.1, p. 562 (Psalm 140:8).

372 V. 13 possesses a slightly different rhythm than v. 14. This places an even greater emphasis on the last verse, and due to the structure of the last verse, the last few words. The alliteration of meine macht in the last line also increases the emphasis of this section. The verse's simplicity makes it very easy to remember.
fourteen are the nouns. 373

In the 1530 commentary Luther attempted a similarly rhythmical translation with the words: Der HERR ist meine macht, mein psalm und mein heil. 374 In either German translation the rhythm is even better than the Latin:
Fortitudo mea, et laus mea dominus: et factus est mihi in salutem. 375 This change did not find its way into the Psalter revision of 1531. The simplicity given in the 1524 Psalter translation did permeate to the other similar passages in Exodus and Isaiah. 376

One continues to see in Luther a knowledge of the Hebrew deficient when compared to today's understanding of the language. One also sees in Luther a willingness to be free with the Hebrew, to be content with only a close translation of the Hebrew, a dynamic equivalent of the text. What overrode the literal Hebrew in this case was a predisposition toward

373 Having both verses in the same verb tense also makes a stronger connection between the two.
374 WA, 31.1, p. 133.
376 WA DB, 8, pp. 244-245 (Exodus 15:2); Ibid., 11.1, pp. 54-55 (Isaiah 12:2).
song-like simplicity, especially with the use of the present tense. Already in his early years Luther wanted to give out a Lord who was presently working with His people. In Luther's later years he gradually tended away from the words associated with power and searched for those words more closely connected to the Lord's goodness and the joy which comes from such a goodness. Obviously the translation's popularity did not rest with the scholars of the people, but with the German people who had the Lord's words made accessible to them in a straight-forward fashion. Luther's willingness for clarity of thought to permeate this translation made the final song-like translation of this verse ultimately possible.
Here the two verses will be studied together because of the repeated phrase within them. At several points in the translation, the earliest and latest renderings diverge widely. Here comments are possible with almost every phrase of the translation. The following is the translation which Luther put forward with his very first attempt:

Es ist eyn styrovon freuden vnd heyl ynn den hutten der gerechten
Die rechte des herrn thutt virtut/
Die rechte des herrn ist erhöheth
Die rechte des herrn thutt virtut/.377

There were few changes initially because the Hebrew was at first followed quite closely. This is verse fifteen of the Hebrew text: קהל נוה ישועה ינפקלים ימי יהוה משחה כלל.378

Here is the sixteenth verse: ימי יהוה רופמה ימי יהוה משחה כלל. The Latin translation is as follows: Vox exultationis et salutis

377Ibid., 1, p. 530.

378Biblia hebraica.
in tabernaculis iustorum. Dextera domini fecit virtutem,
dextera domini exaltavit me, dextera domini fecit virtutem.\textsuperscript{379}
The Latin closely followed the Hebrew with one exception—the
first person suffix is not found in the first half of verse
sixteen, יְמֵי יִתְנָה וּרְפֵּאָה. The additional suffix gives no more
than the broader context of the text.

The first two words of the translation came because
there was no verb specifically stated in the Hebrew. Although
this situation is frequent in the Hebrew it is impossible in
the German.\textsuperscript{380} Luther supplied the verb very quickly, like
verses eight and nine of the same Psalm, but differently than
a typical German translation of the text: \textit{Die stymm der}
freuden vnd der behaltsam: ist in den tabernackeln der
gerechten.\textsuperscript{381}

At the end of both verses in the Hebrew is the
unusual phrase יֵשָׁה וּרְפֵּאָה. The idiom יֵשָׁה וּרְפֵּאָה caused Luther
a few difficulties. He first gave a translation of it in the

\textsuperscript{379}\textit{Wolfen, Psalter}, pp. 399-400. Cf. \textit{Quinc, Psalterium}, p. 169. See LXX.

\textsuperscript{380}\textit{Waltke/O'Conner}, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{381}\textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 529 (Psalm 118:8-9); Kurrelmeyer, 7,
419.
two words *thutt* *virtut*, the first word the basic function of the verb ḥוּשֶׁנ in German, and the second word, the literal Latin translation of יִתיּ. The first word the basic function of the verb ḥוּשֶׁנ in German, and the second word, the literal Latin translation of יִתיּ. This was one of the ways in which Luther would save the translation of a particularly difficult section for the secondary editing. Obviously the words could not be left this way.

The basic function of the verb upon which the word יִתיּ is based befits something firm, strong, or enduring. The Hebrew idiom יִתיּ ḥוּשֶׁנ, when used of women, applies to something that is great or that lasts with respect to women, usually referring to their virtue. When it is used of men, it applies to something that is great or endures with respect to men, usually referring to their bravery. The task before Luther was to give the thing that is strong or enduring with

---


383 For another example of this, see *WA DB*, 1, p. 463 (Psalm 12:9).

384 For examples of this, see Proverbs 12:29, Ruth 4:11.

respect to the Lord.

The only secondary editing done to these verses was the removal of the temporary Latin and literal German phrase. Luther replaced it with a phrase used earlier in a similar situation, *beweyset stercke*. That the Lord is known for his demonstrations of strength is something that cannot be denied. Many modern translations have this aspect of the word. The word, although German, was not significantly different from the Latin. With this substitution the translation made its way to the printer.

In the published Psalter of 1528 changes occurred in these two verses that were of the same type as in the previous verse. The two instances of *stercke* were changed to *macht*.

---


387 NEB, LB, NIV, CEV. The word "valiantly" is used in KJV, NASB, NIV, NRSV.

388 Grimm, 1, col. 1778: *beweysen*: probare, demonstrare; see Dietz, 1, p. 297. Grimm, 10.2.1, col. 889: *stärcke*: robur, vigor, fortitudo, multitudo; see Götze, p. 208; *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 292 (Psalm 60:14). In the writing of *beweyset stercke* in the 1523/24 MS the final *e* was inadvertently left out. The printer noticed the mistake and included it in the published edition. *WA DB*, 1, p. 530; Ibid., 10.1, pp. 492-494.

389 Ibid.
As in verse fourteen, this change was a move away from an emphasis on the Lord's power and more to an emphasis on the Lord as loving, unique, and the only one worthy of trust. As was mentioned previously, it was a theological move in light of the Lord's dealings in other parts of the Scriptures. This simple change, however, was only the beginning of the changes for these words and the rest of these verses.

Verses fifteen and sixteen as they stood in 1528 would by many accounts be considered a fair translation, giving a close-to-literal perspective of the Hebrew. The German phrase es ist was supplied for the understood copula in the Hebrew. The change to stercke helped to take some emphasis from the Lord's power and direct it toward his love. Improvements would still be made. As these verses were studied even more closely in 1529 and in later years, they resulted in some of the most drastic changes made to this Psalm. The first change to be examined is the change from Es ist eyn stym von freuden vnd heyl to Man singet mit frewden vom sieg.

Surprisingly, what prompted Luther's most extensive changes regarding verse fifteen was not part of the changed translation itself, but a single word which remained a constant from its beginning. The critical word for him was
always translated as *gerechten*. The word served as a foundation for almost all of the comments in the verse from the beginning.  

Through this word Luther saw the transition point from the experience of the one to the thoughts of the whole. The 1531 colloquium brought out his fullest statement concerning this transition and this statement became the foundation for all the subsequent changes within the text:

\[
\text{Das ist nu transitio (ad Christum), die ist doch so gar heimlich in Ebraeo, das uber all mas ist. Eitel hebreische obscuritates da. Mimesis, recicative. Est ist ein frolilieheit de triumpho, ein lied. Vox leta et triumphalis cantant victoriam. Sie singen (Man singt) mit freuden von dem siege. Auff das kirmes, scil. nemlich also, Mimesis est ibi. So heiss ts lied der sang, der herr sieget, (ist erhohet) hat den sieg behalten, liegt (schwebt) oben, ist herrlich, ghet hoch her. Exaltatur in opere (schwebt) cantant facta manus divinae. Das er hoch her schwebt.}
\]

\[390\text{WA, 4, p. 275.}\]


\[392\text{WA DB, 3, p. 147; Ibid., 4, p. 427. This entire quote applies to these two verses. The words given in parentheses appear above the line. The basis for the}\]
Such an influential comment deserves close scrutiny.

One might be amazed at the prominence with which Christ is mentioned in the notes. Usually this confusion finds its source in a false understanding of the way in which the people of the Old Testament became righteous. Some would confess that this occurred on account of their works. Luther knew first-hand the frustration which comes from this understanding. Luther played a major role in the theological debate concerning the source of righteousness for the Christian. The word *gerecht* as it was given in the Psalter became the impetus for one of the significant breakthroughs for him in understanding the Gospel. Luther was given to know that people of all time are declared righteous because of what the Lord had done as a free gift through Christ.

For Luther it was impossible to hear the word *gerecht* without adding something of Christ. He called verse fifteen "obscure" because the text did not go into great detail in the discussion here was given in Luther's preparatory notes concerning these verses. Ibid., p. 573: *scilicet dicentium, ut sequitur/ Hic parat transitionem ad Christi regnum per generalem iustorum vocem molliens/ Mimesis.*

---

393 Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*, p. 175.
matter of how the people had come to be called righteous.394 He ended up clearing that obscurity by making comments on the text in his commentary. He also wished to help clear up the obscurity by altering the translation.395

To clear up translation obscurities regarding this verse, the colloquium examined the Hebrew a little closer to see if other German words could better describe righteousness as it freely comes from the Lord. The words mimesis and recitative were broad rhetorical terms used to describe what was being described throughout the two verses.396 What was sung in the tents of the righteous was imitated in the three-fold phrase which followed.397

394Luther is not saying that Hebrew was a terrible language, or that it could not give what the Lord wished to be given through His words.

395This was clearly done in his commentary: WA, 31.1, p. 139: *wo die gerechten sind, So acht ich, Es sey nu fast jederman offenbar, das 'Gerechten' jnn der schrifft heissen die gleubigen, so auff Gott trawen, Rom. 1*. The proper understanding of the term was apparent not through a study of the term itself, or even through its usage throughout the Old Testament, but primarily its usage within the New Testament.

396For other occurrences of the word mimesis throughout Luther's notes, see WA DB, 3, p. 15 (Psalm 11:2-3); WA DB, 3, p. 93 (Psalm 75:7).

397This was the reason for the verbs appearing in the past tense.
The first words of the text were studied quite closely by the colloquium: קָולָהּ וּשְׁפַעְתָּה. The word קָולָהּ is generally used to describe sounds or voices. The genitive construction is most often in poetry. The second word, זְעָה, is used to describe a shout of joy or a cry of lamentation. In this context it points toward proclamation and joyful praise. The last of the three words, שְׁפַעְתָּה, is the most familiar. It usually is understood as "salvation," but it can also serve to indicate "victory." The combination of this word and זְעָה is unique in the Scriptures. The construct form can have many different nuances. Its function depends on the context.

The second word, then, is the key for understanding this phrase correctly. Its usage in the Old Testament is frequently connected to singing, especially in the poetical


399RRud., p. 493: זְעָה Exultavit; iocundatus est; facetus fuit; letatus est; vafredixit; & quia aperit se homo in scommatis iocis et vafre dictis. ideo puto translationem nostram aperiri hoc est dissolvi in iocos interpretam. . . . ; BDB, p. 943; Holl., p. 341.

400RRud., p. 230: שְׁפַעְתָּה Salus; BDB, p. 447; Holl., p. 147; see Waltke/O'Conner, p. 73.
sections of Scripture. The words in the notes are an attempt to translate the Hebrew with these themes in mind: **Est ist ein frolichkeit de triumpho, ein lied.** The group began with the translation of verse fifteen in the same way as before and tried to fit the various themes of joy and salvation through the use of nouns. The last two words attempt to combine all of what has come before.

The idea to incorporate **ein lied** into the text was not a new idea from outside of the text, but came from an understanding of the word **הנני** in its usual forms in the Psalter. Its usage can incorporate both joy and singing. The group next realized that the way in which **ein lied** could be given in the text was much better done as a verb than a noun. The Latin translation **Vox leta et triumphalis cantant victoriam** was then written.

In the last sentence both the redundant use of both terms **הנני** and **לך** made that Latin translation unacceptable. Before condensing the sentence the group was to decide the connection between the words **הנני** and **לך**. While it is most likely a description of the words used, the group used it for

---

401 See Psalm 42:5; Isaiah 48:20
a description of the situation. \(^{402}\)

The first attempt at this new translation was Sie singen mit freuden von dem siege. A short time later a smaller change was made and the words Man singt were added to the notes. Obviously with the singular there can be no doubt as to the words which were said. The picture given is that of one voice which rings clear and true above the noises of the crowd. In the published translation it appeared with even greater rhythmic force, Man singet mit frewden vom sieg. \(^{403}\)

A great freedom with the Hebrew is founded in a proper understanding of each word's usage. The lines between noun and verb had been temporarily put aside in an effort to convey a positive picture that seeks to help convey the depths of the term gerechten. In the first translation there was a voice of joy and victory. In the second translation there is a person attached to that voice and he sings with joy because of the victory. \(^{404}\)

\(^{402}\)Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 148-154; see Kraus, p. 398.

\(^{403}\)WA DB, 10.1, p. 493.

\(^{404}\)Grimm, 10.1, cols. 886-887: sieg: victoria. See Grimm, 12.2, col. 750. The preposition von helps to lay the grounding for the joy on the victory. Leupold (p. 815) translates the phrase in similar fashion: "We seem to have a
as an exclamation, nothing essential is left out of this translation revision. The concrete picture draws the listener or reader into the situation to rejoice with those of the text who are righteous because of Christ.

Ultimately the translation grew from a clear understanding of the depths of the word righteousness and how it comes to all people. Joy and singing are often the result of being brought to know such a gracious gift as salvation. The righteous people of all time are known by these traits. This fact brought a reminder to Luther of the present place in time where righteous people sing with joy because of the victory: auff das kirmes. Luther saw the liturgy as that which imitated the joy and victory which went on in the places where the righteous dwell.

Luther continued to understand the text as it flowed double metonomy in this verse. It reads thus in the original: 'Hark, rejoicing and deliverance,' which we think means: the sound of rejoicing and the experience of deliverance. These two expressions constitute a hendiadys, the second of the terms being a genitive that is dependent on the first. This yields our translation: 'the sound of rejoicing over deliverance.'


406Grimm, 5, col. 835.
from a description of righteousness as a gift through Christ. The confession in the praise that the Lord demonstrated his unique power would no longer do with such a Gospel translation. He was ready to make great adjustments in the words which followed.\textsuperscript{407} He sought other characteristics of the Lord to exalt than His power.

The group then embarked on a quest to enjoy the three-fold praise which followed in the text. The words which were written concerning this part of the Psalm are given again here:

\begin{verbatim}
So heißt's lied der sang, der herr sieget, (ist erhöhet)
hat den sieg behalten, liegt (schwebt) oben, ist herrlich,
ghet hoch her. Exaltatur in opere (schwebt) cantant facta manus divinae. Das er hoch her schwebt.\textsuperscript{408}
\end{verbatim}

The joy from the Lord's salvation is not something easily contained, and the comments which follow bear witness to that fact. As the comments continued on to discuss the Lord, his victory, and the song which results from it, these

\textsuperscript{407}During Luther's first run-through in the commentary he changed the three-part cry to this. \textit{WA}, 31.1, p. 57: \textit{Die rechte des Herren beweys et macht. Die rechte des Herren feret hoch einher. Die rechte des Herren beweys et macht}. The proper verse divisions were slightly changed by Luther to keep this section of the Psalm together. \textit{WA}, 31.1, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{408}\textit{WA DB}, 3, p. 147.
words were written especially concerning the first and third phrases of the text, ימיו ירהו אשר תנק, but with the entire sixteenth verse in mind: So heißt lied der sang, der herr sieget, hat den sieg behalten, liegt oben, ist herrlich, ghet hoch her. They tell of the Lord's greatness, especially His saving greatness. Added are clear references to the second phrase, ימיו ירהו ומקה, through the verbs erhöhen and schweben. The latter of the two words describes the greatness of the situation, but still in a concrete manner. With this desire it did not take the group too long to arrive at the phrase which was saved for the published translation. The phrase Die rechte des HERRN beweiset macht was changed to Die rechte des HERRN behelt den sieg.

The connection to the first part of the verse is obvious in the use of the word sieg. Both Hebrew words יושע and ימיד were translated as sieg in this text, the second certainly the more free rendering of the Hebrew. The repetition of the word helped to make a coherent message for the entire section. The Hebrew word ימל is applied to the Lord

409 Grimm, 9, col. 2366.
410 WA DB, 10.1, pp. 492-495.
in terms of deliverance and victory. The repeated use of the word sieg with the word behalten in the past tense fit not only the perfect aspect of the Hebrew verb הביא but the repetition of the phrase as well.

Overall the change is similar to the change from stercke to macht, but this time it was much more pronounced. What was left behind is the Lord's power and the need for it to be demonstrated. What becomes the focus is the Lord's unique love and the importance of its being delivered. The Lord manages to do this very thing through His marvelous acts of salvation. Since in the text the verbs are involved in describing this, the emphasis is even greater.

With the idiom ילך הביא, the question was put to the group, "What is great or lasts with respect to the Lord?" Through this change Luther confessed that the Lord has always had the victory and has just recently demonstrated that the

---

411 Grimm, 10.1, cols. 886-887: sieg; victoria. For support of this translation, see Delitzsch, p. 227.

412 Grimm, 1, col. 1321: behalten; tueri, servare, tenere, retinere, reservare.

413 In the previous phrase the emphasis was that the Lord's strong actions were obvious. This is good news only by implication. In this new translation the emphasis was that the Lord's actions save. Here good news is clearly proclaimed.
victory is still His. This certainly could be said to be what stands out concerning the Lord. Here Luther interpreted the Lord's most enduring action as salvation. This is clearly seen in the New Testament in the person and work of Christ.

The joy comes when the rhythm of this entire section is seen for all its beauty. The difficulty in the first translation, *Es ist eyn stym von freuden vnd heyl*, comes from the first, second, and fourth words of the line spoken within such a short period of time. Not only that, but the first emphasis is somewhat evenly divided between the first and second words, immediately creating confusion as to the line's syncopation. Both these problems are solved with this new translation, *Man singet mit frewden vom sieg*. The easy-to-pronounce first word leads smoothly to the longer and all-important second word. That word easily holds a full stress and then carries the rhythm through to the fourth and sixth words, *freuden* and *sieg*, both the longest and most important. In the section which follows, one can plainly hear the difficulty in saying the old phrase, *beweyset macht*. The rhythm's emphases of the new phrase, *behelt den sieg*, fall more cleanly and smoothly. This helps to support the mention
of a song when such a phrase is so rhythmic and sonorous.414

The translation appeared in 1531 with these massive changes. There were several changes made to the 1545 translation.415 Taking the entire sum of changes made to these verses, several things can be noted from Luther's way of translating.

The impetus for some of the largest changes were based on an important transition within the text. Luther was quick to help point out significant changes within the flow of a text. Some liberties were taken with the Hebrew text. The translation itself might well be called a "paraphrase." Luther understood it as what befits a text which speaks clearly of the righteousness which comes through Christ. The designation of "paraphrase" may not always include that understanding. Luther was also quick to see the bigger picture of all the Scriptures, not just the usage of certain words within a few

414The importance of this has not gone unnoticed. For more information regarding this subject, see Hans Preuß, Martin Luther: Der Künstler (Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1931), pp. 165ff.; Hirsch, Luthers deutsche Bibel, pp. 74ff.

415Here the e is dropped from singet. The most obvious change is the reference to Exo. 15. (Exodus 15:6) in the margin next to verse 16. WA DB, 10.1, pp. 493, 495.
verses. He dearly clung to the most important words.

The Gospel was more than words in their sinful state can manage to convey. Luther pushed the German language towards the use of the Gospel so that the Lord's saving actions came through in a joyous and song-like fashion. Luther had a disposition toward giving words and phrases with a proper size and type of rhythmic stresses and syllables. He chose words carefully, not only for their content, but how they fit poetically into the rest of the sentence and how they bestowed the unending joy that accompanied one who knew the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel.416

416For more information regarding this aspect of the translation, see Hirsch, Luthers deutsche Bibel, pp. 35-36.
ICH werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, Vnd des HEerrn Werck verkündigen.417

This verse was quite dear to Luther. During his stay at the Castle Coburg, when the Lutheran movement hung in the balance at the Diet of Augsburg, Luther had this verse painted on the wall of his room. During this time he also received a motet which was based on this verse from Ludwig Senfl, a court composer for the German dukes.418

With such an important verse to Luther one might expect a visible familiarity to the Latin: Non moriar, sed vivam, et narrabo opera domini.419 This is exactly what is given in the first translation:

Ich werde nicht sterben sondern leben
vnd erzelen das werck des herrn.420

417 The first line of the verse was placed in bold print. Here it is underlined. WA DB, 7, p. XVI; Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 238-239.

418 Brecht, Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532, pp. 373-376. For more details regarding this, see also Preuß, Der Künstler, pp. 116f.

419 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400.

420 WA DB, 1, p. 530. The final German verb would be more appropriate at the end of the sentence.
Because the Hebrew vocabulary and syntax was relatively straight forward in this verse, this first attempt was also close to the Hebrew: לָא אֵפוּט בִּרְאָהְנָה וַאֲסָפָה מְשִׁיָּהּ וַיַּהֲקֹם.

One exception to this is that the word werck, obviously in the singular, followed the Latin translation rather than the plural of the Masoretic text, the word, וַיִּשְׁכַּשְׁ. The word remained singular throughout its translations and despite the plural in the Hebrew, a testament to the great influence of Latin familiarity and influence.

There were still some modifications to be made to the text. An unfortunate one was made by the printer when he inadvertently left off the last n to the word sondern. The translation appeared in the first published translation as:

Ich werde nicht sterben, sonder leben, Vnd erzelen das werck des HERRN. It appeared in 1528 with a slight difference, the Name being capitalized in only the first two letters. This is an indication that time was spent in preparation for this translation looking through the original Hebrew. The same

---

421 Biblia hebraica.

422WA DB, 10.1, p. 494. The word sonder did appear in that way in other places. See Grimm, 10.1, col. 1585; Franke, 2, p. 185.
change, only with the last two letters of the Name, occurred in the editing of the 1523/24 translation.\textsuperscript{423} Obviously Luther was still working through how the word \textit{ni} should be translated.\textsuperscript{424}

This emphasis on the verse and the Lord's Name continued during the preparatory commentary work of 1530. Such an important verse for Luther was the impetus for attempting different translations in an effort to give the words in their best and clearest way possible. Luther gave the primary translation of the last half of the verse as: \textit{Vnd erzelen des HERREN werck}.\textsuperscript{425} This order also occurred in other places within the commentary setting.\textsuperscript{426} Because of the case endings, the German language could give the words either way. Although this is true, that does not indicate that all ways are completely equal. This new way to translate the phrase gave

\textsuperscript{423} WA \textit{DB}, 1, p. 530. The word \textit{ni} was also written in the margin.

\textsuperscript{424} Ibid., 10.1, p. 494; for other examples of this, see \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, 486 (Psalm 115:18); \textit{WA DB}, 10.1, 494 (Psalm 118:19).

\textsuperscript{425} WA, 31.1, p. 140.

\textsuperscript{426} See \textit{WA}, 31.1, p. 156. Linck gave the text translation as \textit{Und das werck des Herren erzelen}. Ibid., p. 57.
more prominence to the Name, especially to one familiar with the Latin order to the words. 427 This emphasis on the Name flowed on into the 1531 Psalter revision. After that revision the verse appeared as Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, Vnd des HERrn werck verkündigen. 428

The secretary initially wrote: "Und erzelen," was der herr thut. 429 This again brought a slightly greater emphasis on the Lord by putting the Name slightly sooner and the Hebrew noun יְשַׁעַי into an enlivening verb. This was better German in that the verb was at the end of the sentence. Rhythmically the phrase is not much better than Vnd erzelen des HERREN werck. The Hebrew noun יְשַׁעַי is still closer to the German word werck. 430 The group then sought to enliven the text and still be faithful to the Hebrew by using a better verb than erzelen.

The Hebrew word at issue is יְשַׁעַי, a Piel imperfect verb with the conjunction. The verb in the Qal has the basic

427 See Franke, 3, pp. 35-36.
428 DB, 10.1, p. 495.
429 Ibid., 3, p. 147.
function "to count or relate." Certainly both the Latin word *narrabo* and the German word *erzelen* follow the latter of the two functions quite directly. The preceding verses as context would make a more public word such as *predigen* or *verkündigen* more appropriate, and those are exactly the words which Rörer added in the Psalter notes above the line. This option is given in the modern Hebrew lexicons. The transition from the experience of the psalmist to the experience of the whole is a strong case for the use of either of these words. The word *verkündigen* was the word typically used in the most similar situations to this one.


432Grimm, 3, col. 1077: erzelen; narrare, enarrare, recitare; Götze, p. 70.

433Grimm, 7, col. 2079: predigen; predicare; Ibid., 12.1.1, cols. 697-698: verkündigen; bekannt machen; see WA DB, 3, p. 147; BDB, pp. 707-708; Holl., p. 259. Most modern translations have the words "declare (KJV, BCP, NKJV)," "proclaim (NEB, NIV)," or simply "tell (NASB, LB)." Only the NRSV has "recount."

434For other places in the Psalter where *verkündigen* is used, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 254 (Psalm 48:14); WA DB, 10.1, p. 328 (Psalm 71:15); WA DB, 10.1, p. 342 (Psalm 75:2); WA DB, 10.1, p. 352 (Psalm 78:6); WA DB, 10.1, p. 366 (Psalm 79:13); WA DB, 10.1, pp. 478-479 (Psalm 111:6); WA DB, 3, pp. 142-143. In the final example the verb was initially anzeygen. For the
In the end the word more suitable to the specific Hebrew use of the text was chosen. Luther was still similar to the Hebrew syntax by keeping the word *werck* in its noun form. Also in the end was an emphasis on the Name, one of the first things desired. Throughout the changes one can see an importance of the Latin translation for Luther. Although the Masoretic text of the Hebrew was rejected regarding the plural, the words were still in many respects a fine translation.435

---

435 The translation also had a fine rhythm. Although the new word is much more difficult to pronounce than *erzelen*, its placement at the end and the simplicity with the rest of the phrase helps the sonority.
Der HERR zuchtiget mich wol, Aber er gibt mich dem Tode nicht.

The section of the Psalm which follows the favorite text of Luther and precedes the well-known passage concerning the cornerstone would have also been familiar to Luther. In most cases with these words the Hebrew is relatively simple, straight-forward, and concrete, all of which would explain why only a few changes were made in these verses.

Here is the first translation of this verse:

Der herr zuchtiget mich wol
aber er gibt mich dem todte nicht. 436

With only quite minor changes what is above is also the 1545 translation. The Hebrew text is what one might expect with such a translation: יָשָׁר יָשָׁר יִהְיֶה לִכְמוֹת לָא נְתִינֵה. 437 The first two words are a combination of infinitive absolute and a piel perfect verb of דָּנָי. The main verb, zuchtiget, was quite close to the Hebrew. 438 Reuchlin, in his writings concerning the

436 WA DB 1, p. 530. The presence of נ is noted in the margin.

437 Biblia hebraica.


eruditio. disciplina. . . . inde pro castigatione et correptione sumitur; BDB, pp. 415-416; Holl., p. 137; TDOT, 6, pp. 129-131; TWOT, 1, pp. 386-387; Grimm, 16, col. 269:
infinitive absolute, used this same situation as an example to explain an emphasis appropriate to the text, and the advice was quite closely followed with the simple addition of the word *wol*.439

The only editing done to the verse was during the secondary editing when the last two letters of the Name were capitalized.440 Luther also translated the second half of the verse as *Aber über gibt mich dem tode nicht* within the final 1530 commentary draft.441 In the second point the movement was more toward the Latin translation than the Hebrew. In this case the word was not used in any of the published

---


440WA DB, 1, p. 530.

441WA, 31.1, p. 140.
translations and the Hebrew was still closely followed.\textsuperscript{442}

Thut mir auff die thore der Gerechtigkeit, Das ich da hin ein gehe, vnd dem HERRN dancke.

The Hebrew of this verse is as follows: פַּתְחֵי-לְיָדֵי-זֶה וְאֶינָּא-לְמָקְמָהּ. The first translation was near to the literal Hebrew, the Latin, and the final translation:

Thutt myr auff die thore der gerechtickeyt
Das ich durch hyn gehe vnd dem herrn dancke.

The phrase which gave Luther the most difficulty was the first half of the second line, the beginning of the purpose clause. The Latin translation gave the phrase with a participle: ingressus in eas. The Hebrew text has the imperfect verb and a prepositional phrase: אֶינָּא-לְמָקְמָה. Luther first translated the phrase with these words: Das ich durch hyn gehe. The purpose clause fit together with the context of the Hebrew. In this first translation of the phrase Luther

443 Biblia hebraica.

444 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400: Aperti mihi portas iusticiae. ingressus in eas confitebor domino. WA DB, 1, p. 530. Here also was noted nearby.

445 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400

446 See Waltke/O'Conner, p. 512. For a previous use of these words, see WA DB, 10.1, p. 354 (Psalm 78:13).
wished to give slight emphasis to *die thore der gerechtickeyt*. One might expect this from Luther because of the presence of the all-important word *gerechtickeyt*.\textsuperscript{447} What follows after in the Psalm, especially in the following verse, places importance on what happens inside the gates.\textsuperscript{448} To convey this importance Luther almost immediately added the word *ein* above the line. This made a difficult phrase, *Das ich durch hyn ein gehe*.\textsuperscript{449} The confusion concerns whether the person is described as going into or through the gates. Luther solved the problem in later editing by replacing *durch hyn* with *da hyn*. The new translation helped to place emphasis on the gates themselves, but primarily on what is contained within them.\textsuperscript{450} It followed one of the uses of the preposition *i* with this particular Hebrew verb.\textsuperscript{451} This is done while keeping a fair rhythm to the phrase. The great similarity of this verse to

\textsuperscript{447}See *WA*, 31.1, p. 58; Ibid., 31.1, pp. 160-161; *WA DB*, 4, p. 573: *Hic transit et petit Christi regnum*.

\textsuperscript{448}See Psalm 118:20, 22, 27.

\textsuperscript{449}*WA DB*, 1, p. 530. See Grimm, 4.2, col. 1418.

\textsuperscript{450}Grimm, 2, col. 646.

\textsuperscript{451}BDB, pp. 97-99; Holl., pp. 34-35. See *Wolfen, Psalter*, p. 400
the one which follows creates a strong sense of cohesion throughout the section.
PSALM 118:20

Das ist das thor des HERRN, Die Gerechten werden da hin ein gehen.

The presence of the word *gerechten* again assisted Luther in placing great importance on the text. Another transition was mentioned by him. There is a progression from the homes of the righteous to the gates of righteousness, and, finally, to the gate of the Lord through which the righteous enter.452

The Hebrew of the text gives the last movement of this progression quite simply: זְואָהשֶׁעַר וַלֹּהְךָ עִפְּרֵי לְבֵב בַּהֲלָה.453

Here is Luther's first translation of this portion of Psalm 118:

Das ist das thor des herren
Die gerechten werden da hyneyn gehën.454

Luther again was influenced by the Latin translation, something especially clear when modern commentators point out that the זְואָהשֶׁעַר וַלֹּהְךָ could be indicating, "this is the gate to

---

452WA, 31.1, pp. 59, 164. Most of the commentaries mention something regarding the difference between the singular and plural of the word "gate." E.g., Dahood, p. 159.

453Biblia hebraica.

454WA DB, 1, p. 530.
the Lord," rather than "this is the gate of the Lord." Although an understanding of the preposition as the ָ of ownership is possible and attested in some commentaries, the Hebrew would have been more likely to have indicated this with the magqef rather than the preposition. Luther chose to keep the translation simple and in a manner which brought emphasis to what lies inside the thor.

There are no surprises in this first translation, and the first translation was no different from the last. During the final writing of the commentary the first half of verse twenty was translated as: Hie ist das thor des HERRN. As in verse eighteen of the Psalm, this unique translation was also short-lived and relied on the Hebrew. Again Luther chose to stay with the more familiar and time-tested translation.

455 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400: Haec porta domini iusti intrabunt in eam. The meaning to the former statement is that: "this is the gate you enter to go to the Lord." See Anderson, p. 802; Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 992; Leupold, p. 817.


PSALM 118:21

Ich dancke dir, das du mich demütigest, Vnd hilffest mir.

Whereas the last several verses were straight-forward and easily translated in a manner that was still similar to the Hebrew, this verse seriously questions Luther's competence as a translator. Whereas the typical translations of this verse have the psalmist thanking the Lord for answering him, with the above translation the psalmist is thanking the Lord for humbling him. Obviously there is a great difference between the two. Did Luther find some substantial evidence which no one else considered, or was he off on his own while everyone else was in the right?458

When Luther first came to Psalm 118:21 and saw the Masoretic text אֲנִי יְהֹוָה יִשָּׁחֵץ, he wrote these words in the following form:

Ich dancke dyr das du mich demutigest erhorist/

458 The radical understanding of this verse has not gone unnoticed. For a more detailed examination of this verse, see Ernst Kutsch, "Deus humiliat et exaltat: zu Luthers Übersetzung von Psalm 118,21 und Psalm 18,36," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 61 (1964): 193-220.

459 Biblia hebraica.
Although from the format of the first line one might think that there was equal evidence for either option, demütigest or erhorist, such is not the case. The Latin supported the lower option, erhorist: Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me, et factus es mihi in salutem. The previous German translations did the same. Even the modern commentaries support this option. No other Bible translation has anything similar to "afflict."

The Hebrew word עָנָן is pointed as the Qal of the verb עָנָן functioning as "to answer." The typical Piel of the same form functions with the sense of "to humble." The

---

460 WA DB, 1, p. 530. For another example of Luther initially giving more than one option, see WA DB, 1, p. 514 (Psalm 89:29). For a listing of the other examples where this was done in the Psalter, see Lauer, Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24, pp. 25-26.

461 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400. See LXX; Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 419.

462 See the Appendix. Among the commentaries, only Kraus (p. 394) mentions the possibility of this occurring, and then it is quickly discounted.

463 RRud., p. 398: עָנָן Exaudivit. respondit; RRud., p. 399: עָנָן Afflixit. humiliavit; BDB, pp. 772-777; Holl., pp. 277-278; TWOT, 2, p. 682: "The verbal form occurs a few times in the Qal having varying functions. It most often occurs in the Piel (intensifying the concept) [italics added]." See pp.
evidence for the text overwhelmingly points to the meaning, "to answer." Even the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry suggests the word.

One of the crucial events which prompted these two options appearing in Psalm 118:21 was the translating of the Hebrew in Psalm 18:36. There a similar situation occurred, where two options were possible, the functions of which diverted greatly from each other. Luther considered the first option to be that the Lord's self-imposed humbling, His gentle disposition or His condescension, was what made the psalmist great. Luther's second option was that the Lord's humbling of the psalmist was what made him great.464

The critical piece to this puzzle is the presence of a parallel chapter to this one found in II Samuel 22. There are several differences between the two chapters. The unusual difference is a slight change in pointing of the word in question in II Samuel 22:36 from the way it is given in Psalm 679-684.

464Biblia hebraica: see WA DB, 1, p. 470 (Psalm 18:36). Luther initially translated the word in question as sanftmut. In the secondary editing he translated it as demütigest.
18:36. This change is based on a different form of הָלַע. This also may have resulted in Luther's initial considerations that the vowel pointing of the Masoretic text was unreliable.466 This fact brought a possibility of doubt into other similar situations. At Psalm 118:21 all the data spoke in harmony supporting erhorist. At Psalm 18:36 there were dissenting voices. Luther understood the theology of the Masoretes to be the same as that of the Jews, and in that light, with their emphasis on works, he deemed them an unreliable source. Luther thought that such people would be hesitant in putting themselves into a situation where a text would consider their efforts toward earning the Lord's favor useless.467 Luther considered that the Lord originally gave the situation in the Hebrew with a sharp distinction between the Law and the Gospel, but that this could be blurred as the

465 *Biblia hebraica*: see *WA DB*, 1, pp. 135-136 (II Samuel 22:36). Here the initial translation of the word was sanfftmutickeyt. The Hebrew word appeared as demütigest when the entire book was revised.

466 For more details regarding this evidence, as well as other examples which caused further distrust in the Masoretic text, see Kutsch, *Deus humiliat et exaltat*, pp. 202-210.

467 A similar issue occurred in Psalm 118:12.
text was rewritten for later generations. Having made a mental note of that fact in Psalm 18:36, he came upon a potential for that situation in Psalm 118:21.

In a condition where one could either thank the Lord for answering him or thank the Lord for humbling him, to the eyes of the world the former would seem reasonable and the latter, ridiculous. It is no surprise that the more popular translation choice was the former. In Luther's mind one could thank the Lord for either. He had been brought to the understanding that the Law's main task was to humble a person, something which is ultimately good because it prepares one for the good news of Christ's death on behalf of all people. Without the initial humbling the Gospel would not be seen as important.

Giving both options in the first run-through of verse twenty-one did not indicate that there was equal evidence for either, but that Luther wanted to keep both options available and make a careful decision during the secondary editing. In the secondary editing, his choice for erhorist points to

468Luther usually wrote down both options when the Hebrew and the Latin texts gave conflicting evidence. Lauer, Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24, pp. 25-26.
the popularity of the word in this situation, especially in Psalms of this nature. The word demüti
gest was crossed out.469

The turning point toward demüti
gest is found in the 1528 edition of the Psalter. There the translation was given as: Ich dancke dyr das du mich demüti
gest, Vnd bist mein heyl.470 The impetus for the change cannot be fully known, but a better understanding of the situation may be gained from all the evidence available.

The most substantial evidence comes from examining the immediate context. The 1528 edition contained several changes in this section of the Psalter. Obviously Luther paid close attention to these verses in the previous months before the published edition was completed. The changes made in the 1528 edition make the psalmist's situation both worse and better than before. The most substantial changes were the negative ones.471

An important factor in the issue was verse eighteen. There the Psalmist confessed that the Lord was the one who did

469WA DB, 1, p. 530. See Psalm 18:42; 22:22; 34:5; 99:8; 118:5; Dahood, p. 159.
470WA DB, 10.1, p. 494.
471Ibid., pp. 492-494.
the afflicting and not the enemy. That fact was made even more emphatic in the Hebrew with the presence of the infinitive absolute. The two intervening verses speak of a movement first through the gates of righteousness and then through the gate of the Lord. The verses which follow speak of the Lord's house. From this progression within the text it would be possible to understand that while the psalmist would be seen as foolish to thank the Lord while in the midst of trouble, from the house of the Lord there might be a different perspective on these things. Within the Lord's house there might be the potential for understanding affliction as an ultimate good.472

One or more of the depressing changes which surrounded Luther's life at this time may also have been a factor for the appearance of this translation. In 1527 the Lord's Law was present and severe. The bubonic plague was causing widespread panic. One of the Lutheran pastors had been killed. Luther himself was quite ill and severely depressed

472 For more information on the theological basis of this change, see Kutsch, "Deus humiliat et exaltat," pp. 212-219.
during this time.\textsuperscript{473} Any one of these events might have provided an opportunity for Luther to realize the seriousness of sin and its effect on the world.

The strongest evidence for the change can only come from Luther's own pen. This new understanding of the passage was the foundation for the majority of comments made throughout the 1530 commentary. The initial Latin notes for this verse gave the new translation as: \textit{Gratias ago tibi quod humilias me et tamen es mea victoria}. In the notes which followed Luther took great care to emphasize the two sides of the Lord, \textit{quod humiliando exaltas, quod victos facis victores, perditos facis salvos, peccatores facis iustos}. \textit{Idem humilias et victoriam simul confers}.\textsuperscript{474} Luther expounded on this point even more completely in the final draft of the commentary:

Therefore this is a happy verse and sings out of pure joy: "Are you not a wonderful and delightful God, to govern us so amazingly and so kindly? You exalt us when You humble us. You make us righteous when You make us sinners. You lead us to heaven when you cast us into hell. You grant us the victory when You cause us to be defeated.

\textsuperscript{473}Brecht, \textit{Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521-1532}, pp. 204-211, 349-351.

\textsuperscript{474}\textit{WA}, 31.1, p. 60. Linck follows Luther's notes quite closely in the German, but adds these words at the end of the paragraph: "\textit{Du alleine verderbest und niderigest, und gibest sieg und heyl, dir sey lob und preyß, Amen.}" Ibid.
You give us life when You cause us to be killed. You comfort us when You cause us to mourn. You make us to rejoice when You cause us to weep. You make us to sing when You cause us to cry. You make us strong when we suffer. You make us wise when You make us fools. You make us rich when You send us poverty. You make us masters when You cause us to serve." Innumerable are the wonders included in this verse; and all Christendom together praises God for them in these few short words: "Ich dancke dir, das du mich demütigest, aber hilffest mir auch widderumb."\(^{475}\)

One can plainly see in this paragraph that Luther was unafraid to bring activities normally associated with the devil into the Lord's realm.\(^{476}\) This way of thinking is not obvious to the world; neither is it obvious to those who claim


\(^{476}\)WA, 31.1, p. 170; see AE, 14, pp. 94-95.
a righteousness through works. From Luther's point of view that fact would discount many translators from working on the Scriptures.

Soon after the commentary Luther was editing the 1528 Psalter with a group of scholars in preparation for a completely revised translation. These words were written down concerning this section:


The first sentence begins with a reference to the first half of verse seventeen and ends with a reference to the final part of verse twenty-one. This peculiar combination heightens the severity of the Law mentioned in these two verses. The two words, plagst and demum, one a synonym and the other an adverbial intensifier, take the severity even further. This combination of the Lord's words here confess that both the Law and the Gospel are the Lord's doing, with one final purpose in mind. Luther compares the working of Law

---

477WA, 31.1, p. 171; see AE, 14, p. 95.

478WA DB, 3, p. 147; Ibid., 4, p. 427. The words in parentheses were added later above the lines of the text.
and Gospel to a short song. As such it would have two stanzas—the first a complete earth-shattering humbling, and the second, the sound of overflowing doxological praise.

The comments specifically directed toward the change from erhorist to demütigest are few, but speak volumes: Deus humiliat et exaltet u. Ist ein guter Theologisch sententz. Obviously there is much behind the word Theologisch which does not appear here. Therein lies all which is true theology, all of which the Lord has spoken and continues to speak, both His Law and His Gospel to do His bidding.

Although the Hebrew is never given in this way anywhere else in Scriptures, the benefits of the Lord's humbling have been noted in other places. A frequent notion is that the proud are humiliated and the humble are exalted. A misperception of this message is that the humbling is done by the person whereas the exalting is done by the Lord. Luther properly understood both actions as the Lord's doing. This translation would help to correct that error.

479 See Psalm 88:8-10; 90:15; Zechariah 10:1-6.

480 See Psalm 18:25-27; Proverbs 3:34; Matthew 23:12; James 4:6; I Peter 5:5.
After the more severe Law, Luther could not help but make the Gospel more sweet. This great goodness is given in the Psalter revision notes by means of a quote from the last half of verse nineteen, *Und bist mein heil*, then a restatement of that change which says the same thing but in an enlivening verbal form, *Und hilffft mir*.\(^{481}\) The Hebrew form, צוורות לציוותה, although both noun and verb, could be easily combined into one verb. Here again the desire to follow the literal Hebrew is set aside temporarily in an effort to give an extra-comforting statement. This was the text that appeared in print in 1531: *Ich dancke dir, das du mich demütigest, Vnd hilffest mir*.\(^{482}\)

With this change there is a more fluid connection between the three phrases of the verse. Each phrase's verb has central importance. It would have been more helpful for the middle verb to be shorter, in the middle of the phrase, and easier to say, but the translation as it stood after these final changes still has a fine rhythm. The ease in movement through the verse enables the listener or reader to easily get

\(^{481}\text{RRud., p. 230: יְשָׁורָה וּפַל מַשֶּׁה. . . psalm cxviiij. Et factus est mihi in salutem; BDB, p. 447; Holl., p. 147; TDOT, 6, pp. 441-463.}\)

\(^{482}\text{WA DB, 10.1, p. 495.}\)
through the first two phrases and on to the last and all-important one.

If the error occurred in the Hebrew pointing, it did so very early in the Psalm's history. Although it is possible, it is not probable. It is unfortunate that Luther let himself be swayed so significantly by such little evidence in the text itself. Obviously more important things were on his mind than simply a faithful translation of the Hebrew. In a world where not all things are equal, the weight of theological richness was too great in Luther's eyes to pass by a chance to help those given the Scriptures into a more severe Law and therefore a more gracious Gospel. These words were more a Law and Gospel proclamation than a proper Hebrew translation. Even if the psalmist was not thanking the Lord for His humbling, he nonetheless might have appreciated the suggestion.
Christians usually have no difficulty in seeing Christ in this verse of the Psalm. Often the difficulty is in seeing the verses which surround these words as an important description of the Messiah as well. Both these factors are abundant in Luther's comments concerning the text, even from his earliest writings.\footnote{The first line of the verse appeared in bold print in the 1545 translation and is indicated here through underlining.}

That which is despised by the world is highly exalted by the Lord. The psalmist experienced that truism when the Lord first humbled and then exalted him. Verse twenty-two sets that characteristic of the Lord within the picture of the preparations which go into making a building. What happened to Christ while on earth is without a doubt the clearest account of this being humbled and yet exalted, of the Lord's "turning a thing on its ear." Other Old Testament prophecies concerning

the Messiah ring in on the same note.\(^{485}\)

This verse is quoted several times throughout the New Testament, an obvious fact from the large number of marginal cross-references.\(^{486}\) All of the translations which Luther gave there are virtually identical: Der Stein, den die Bauleute verworfen haben, ist zum Eckstein worden.\(^{487}\) It was not surprising that the first translation of this passage within the 1523/24 working manuscript was most similar to those New Testament translations. Here Luther was quick to follow the ways in which he had previously translated the verse:

\[
\text{Der steyn .Den die bawleut verworffen}
\]

\(^{485}\)See Genesis 3:15; Isaiah 53.

\(^{486}\)Jesa. 22. (Isaiah 22:15-25), Matth. 21. (Matthew 21:42), Act. 4. (Acts 4:11), Rom. 9. (Romans 9:33), and 1 Pet. 2. (I Peter 2:7); cf. WA DB, 10.1, p. 171 (Psalm 23:1). For details regarding these marginal notes, see WA DB, 7, p. XVI; Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 238-239.

\(^{487}\)WA DB, 6, p. 96 (Matthew 21:42); Ibid., p. 184 (Mark 12:10); Ibid., p. 302 (Luke 20:17); Ibid., p. 430 (Acts 4:11); Ibid., 7, p. 304 (I Peter 2:7). The word Eckstein, instead of the phrase haupt der winkel, has no history prior to its usage in this German Bible. Grimm, 3, col. 25; see Dietz, 1, pp. 479f.; Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 419. In Luther's mind, translation was interpretation. WA, 38, p. 9; ET: AE, 35, p. 209. For the support of this translation of the word, see Dahood, p. 159.
ist zum ecksteyn worden.488

One would also expect the translation to be close to the Latin: *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt edificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli*. The straight-forward Hebrew was also followed: אבג מראת חמאים קהה קרואש פּזח.489

A slight difference between this first translation and those found in the New Testament can be seen in the spelling of the first verb. In the Psalm the verb tense is the same as those in the New Testament, the compound past, except for the absence of the auxiliary verb.490 This slight difference will grow more noticeable in the translation changes which followed.

Small writing and this unusual form by Luther caused the translation to be changed slightly during the publication process. In the first 1524 edition of the Psalter the translation read: *Der steyn, den die bawleut verwurffen, Ist zum ecksteyn worden*. The printer assumed a mistake in the manuscript he was given and put the first verb into the simple

---

488WA DB, 1, p. 530. The period was replaced by a comma in the first published edition. Ibid., 10.1, p. 494.

489Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400; Biblia hebraica.

490This was not unusual. See Franke, 3, p. 296.
past. Luther's quick change of this to the present tense in the second published edition of 1524 shows that, after some reflection, neither the compound nor the simple past was his best thought on the subject. Here again was the intent to portray the text as a present event. Luther enjoyed bringing things to life in the Old Testament using the present tense. Certainly the Hebrew verb in the perfect form allowed for all three possibilities. That this difference was made already in the second 1524 edition shows the great importance of the verse to Luther.

491 WA DB, 10.1, p. 494.
492 Jouon, pp. 360-362; see Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 479-486; WA, 31.1, p. 172; Reu, Luther's German Bible, pp. 260-261.
Das ist vom HERRN geschehen, Vnd ist ein Wunder fur vnsern augen.

Few changes for this verse are assisted by the fact of its strong connection to the previous verse and the common Hebrew vocabulary: מָאת הָוהָ קָאַתָה אָאַת הָאָנָפְלָאַת בְּעַעְיְנוֹת. The first writing of the verse was given in this way:

Das ist vom herrn geschehen
vnd ist eyn wunder ynn vnsern augen.494

The verse was slightly changed during the secondary editing. In the second line the preposition ynn was changed to fur.495 By itself the preposition ynn was closer to the literal Hebrew and the Latin: A domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.496 With the change to fur it took into account the figurative use of the Hebrew phrase

493Biblia hebraica.

494WA DB, 1, p. 530. The connection to the previous verse can be seen in the use of the German compound past. This verse was first translated by Luther when it appeared in the New Testament. See WA DB, 6, p. 96 (Matthew 21:42); WA DB, 6, p. 184 (Mark 12:10).

495WA DB, 1, p. 530.

496RRud., p. 73: in vel cum. & preponitur vel nomini vel gerundis; Waltke/O'Conner, pp. 196-199; BDB, pp. 88-91; Holl., p. 32; TWOT, 1, p. 87; Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400.
The Hebrew sense of the word, without the suffix, has been described as "in the view or opinion of." Luther picked a preposition which made the rest of the phrase more concrete; with a simple change he emphasized presence. Within the context of this Psalm it would have been difficult to speak of opinions or views when it came to Christ and his work. Luther deliberately chose a preposition that did not leave the function of the prepositional phrase in the realm of one's own opinion, but that of a clearly concrete and visible event. Here the translation came through in a typically-Hebrew "earthy" way, delivered in light of the New Testament.

This may also be seen in the preference for wunder and not wunderlich in the translation. The Hebrew word has usually been understood to be an adjectival participle. The Latin has the adjective, mirabile. Luther's consistent use

497 BDB, p. 744; TWOT, 2, p. 663.
498 Götze, p. 92.
499 Grimm, 4.1.1, col. 643; see WA DB, 1, p. 469 (Psalm 18:25); WA DB, 1, p. 528 (Psalm 116:15).
500 The latter word was the typical German translation. See Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 419.
of a noun in this place was to impress on the listener and reader the concreteness of what happened in Christ.\textsuperscript{502} Whereas many things could be described as "wonderful," few things could be said to be a "wonder".\textsuperscript{503} By presenting Christ as a \textit{wunder fur unsern augen}, Luther testified to the present reality of all that Christ achieved through his death and resurrection.\textsuperscript{504}

\begin{flushright}
502Luther's use of the word was unique. Grimm, 14.2, cols. 1792-1794; see \textit{WA}, 31.1, pp. 174-175.

503I.e., a miracle.

\end{flushright}
DIs ist der Tag, den der HERR macht, Lasst vns frewen vnd frölich drinnen sein.505

Luther's long-standing familiarity with this verse helped to keep this verse virtually identical to its first translation in 1523/24:

Dis ist der tag. den der herr macht
Last vns frewen vnd frolich drynnen seyn.506

Since other translations followed the Latin, the difference between the first word of this verse and the previous one is not usually seen in other translations of the time.507

Although the same Hebrew demonstrative was given in the previous verse, it had a different referent with a different gender. Luther wanted to bring a sure emphasis to the temporal aspect of this verse by contrasting it with the demonstrative

505As in v. 17, the first line was put in bold print in the 1545 published edition and is underlined here.

506Ibid., 1, p. 530. The period will be replaced by a comma in the first published edition. Ibid., 10.1, 494. See WA, 1, p. 89.

in the previous verse.\textsuperscript{508} The Hebrew words at issue in this verse are מַעְלֶה יְהֹוָה. The whole of the Hebrew verse is as follows: מַעְלֶה יְהֹוָה.\textsuperscript{509}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{508}Grimm, 2, cols. 1134-1136. See \textit{WA DB}, 3, p. 571: \textit{Haec dies}.

\textsuperscript{509}\textit{Biblia hebraica}.
\end{flushleft}
PSALM 118:25

O HERR Hilff, O HERR las wol gelingen.

As in the previous verse, there were essentially no changes made. This is a well-known verse, especially when Hebrew is examined: אַזֶה הָשִׁישָּׁה לָא אֱלֹהֵי הָגִּלְגִּלְוָה לְאָנָא.510 The word "hosanna" is familiar in the liturgy of the Church. One might have expected Luther to have used the word "hosanna" in the New Testament passages regarding Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem, but not here.511 On Luther's first attempt he translated that word and the rest of the verse into simple and basic message:

O herre hilff
O herr las wol gelingen.512

The details of the differences in the Hebrew were


511See WA DB, 6, p. 180 (Mark 11:9); WA DB, 6, p. 376 (John 12:13).

included in the 1530 commentary. Some of the greatest elements of this verse are the alliterations and gentle endings to each of the words. Here again is a similar translation to the Hebrew.


514 Cf. Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 419.
Gelobet sey der da kömpt im Namen des HERRN, Wir segnen euch, 
die jr vom Hause des HERRN seid.

The first half of the verse is quoted upon Jesus' entrance to Jerusalem in Matthew, Mark, and Luke. With this previous familiarity one would expect this portion of the verse to be without significant change, and this is what occurred.\(^\text{515}\) The previous translations used the word *gebenedeyet* instead of *gelobet*, but this can be simply explained as a move away from the Latin\(^\text{516}\) and closer to the Hebrew: בָּרוּךְ הָיֶה בָּשָׂם יְהוָה בְּכָכָנְכֶם מְבִית יְהוָה.\(^\text{517}\) The new word is more popular German as well.\(^\text{518}\) The first translation of the verse was given with these words:

*Gelobet sey der do kompt ym namen des herrn*

---


\(^{516}\) *Wolfen. Psalter*, p. 400: Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Benediximus vobis de domo domini; see Grimm, 4.1.1, col. 1728.

\(^{517}\) *Biblia hebraica*. This verse as well as those which follow also appear in a Qumran scroll. For that Hebrew text, see J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 160-161.

\(^{518}\)Grimm, 6, cols. 1079-1083.
wir loben euch vom hause des herrn. ⁵¹⁹

The only major changes to this verse were done in the second half. One would expect that because of its lesser familiarity. Evidence for the first change happened almost immediately. The word loben was crossed out and the word segenen was placed above it. Luther noted the change in the margin with the word segen in red ink. ⁵²⁰ The change is based on the Hebrew word דְּכֵנָּךְ. ⁵²¹ Since the word appeared soon after the word gelobet, and Luther had translated it as gelobet, it would be easy to understand why he would have translated the word דְּכֵנָּךְ as wir loben euch. Why he would then have changed the verb to segenen will not be apparent until a further analysis is made.

In the Scriptures the familiar verb דְּכֵנָּךְ is used in varied circumstances. There are situations in which the Lord is doing the blessing, and there are situations where someone is blessing the Lord. The latter is seen as a formal means of

⁵¹⁹ WA DB, 1, p. 530.

⁵²⁰ See WA DB, 1, p. 497 (Psalm 40:12).

⁵²¹ For a comment regarding the word, see Jouion, p. 171.
expressing thanks and praise for the Lord's great goodness.\textsuperscript{522} While both actions find their ultimate source in the Lord and his goodness, their basic starting and ending points are not the same.

Luther translated the Hebrew with that distinction in mind. When the Lord was doing the blessing, Luther used the verb \textit{segen}. When another was blessing the Lord for his goodness, Luther used the verb \textit{loben}.\textsuperscript{523} Luther understood the first half of this text as an address to the Lord, a setting


\textsuperscript{523} See \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 460 (Psalm 10:3); \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. 525 (Psalm 112:2). In both verses the perspective of the one who is doing the blessing is unclear. In the first instance, the person is a wicked man. Luther's confession in changing the word from \textit{segenet} to \textit{lobet} and back to \textit{segenet} shows that not only does the wicked man curse the Lord, but he presumes to take the Lord's place. The second example speaks of what will happen to the generation of the upright. Luther debated whether they will be blessed by other men or by the Lord. While it could be both, the context of the entire Psalm indicated to Luther that the blessing spoken of here, and the blessing that is far more important, is done by the Lord. See \textit{WA DB}, 3, p. 142.
most proper for Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem and cause for the pharisees' anger. Luther first understood the second half of the verse as some of the Lord's people praising the Lord for others. Having examined the text more closely, Luther realized that the verse was a blessing from the Lord to some of His people through others who were standing in the Lord's place, in his house. For this reason he chose to use the word *segenen*.  

This distinction was not made in the Latin translation or noted by Reuchlin. Obviously there was a distinction between the two German verbs. Whereas the verb *loben* had elements of a response to a previous action of another, the verb *segen* had elements of a starting point and delivery to another. Whereas the first word had a very general usage, the second word had a solid theological beginning.

---

524 See TWOT, 1, p. 132.

525 The word is only used negatively in Psalm 10:3. Here and in Psalm 129:8 the function is positive. In the latter the blessing was done in the Name. *WA DB*, 1, p. 545. See Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK*, pp. 104-106.

526 Wolfen. Psalter, p. 400.

527 Grimm, 6, col. 1079: *loben*; laudare, vovere; Ibid., 10.1, col. 99: *segen*; benedictio.
Luther knew it was important to delineate the different acts which occur between the Lord and man. Through the differentiation one can better understand the whole purpose of the Scriptures.

Luther made the distinction between the two words clear in the Psalter revision notes of 1531:

\[ \text{Benedicimus vos propter domum domini: } \text{Eo, quod estis domus dei, das yhr sein gesind seid, das yhr das haus des herrn worden seid. Drumb loben wir euch, das dominus in vobis habitat, quod estis domus domini. Ist obscur geredt, das Iudaei nicht verstanden haben. Non estis geste und fremdling. Schadt nicht, last sei lestern. Vide Commentarium.}\]

These comments show a great contrast between these two things: \textit{Benedicimus} and \textit{wir loben euch}. The same distinction was placed in terms of the source of the blessing, specifically one's understanding of the phrase \textit{네תרבות}. It was pointed out in the notes above that people such as the Jews misunderstood the meaning of the phrase \textit{네תרבות}. This is further explained in the 1530 commentary as those who bring a doctrine of works. They are those who think that the blessings of the Lord's house come from the Lord because of one's ability to fulfill the Law. Other parts of the Scriptures

\[528^{WA \ DB}, \ 3, \ p. \ 147.\]
point out the futility of that task, and because of that 
futility the 1531 notes confessed that one could only feel 
like a guest or a stranger in that understanding of the Lord's 
house. Luther understood the blessings of the Lord's house to 
come from the Lord on account of his grace. In that house one 
is made part of it; it is a household. No demands are made; 
gifts are freely given. The vocabulary of the notes and the 
commentary intertwine.529

This gracious understanding of the text resulted in 
yet another change to the translation. Previous to the 1531 
Psalter revision the translation appeared as Wyr segenen euch 
vom hause des HERRN. These words state that those who are the 
appointed means for giving the blessing are standing in the 
house of the Lord. In 1531 the translation appeared as Wir 
segenen euch, die jr vom hause des HERRN seid.530 In the new 
translation it is stated that not only those who are the means 
for giving out the blessing are standing in the Lord's house, 
but also those who are receiving the blessing.

An analysis of the Hebrew phrase, נְכַנֵּכָה מַעֲטִית יוֹדֵה, 


530WA DB, 10.1, pp. 494f.
reveals that the word at issue is the preposition יָֽפְרָה which is attached to נָֽפָה. The simplest understanding of this preposition is one of separation and distance. The locational sense, the place of origination, is common and the most commonly understood function in the modern translations of this text. The function, certainly more "remote," could also be "because or on account of." That this understanding was present in the colloquium regarding this text is evident from the first words of the Psalter revision notes: Benedicimus vos propter domum domini.

With no other verse in the Psalm is the change in the personal pronouns as drastic as in verse twenty-six. These pronouns have betrayed the perspectives and the progression throughout the entire Psalm. As the pronouns change from singular to plural and from first person, to second, to even third, they all play an important role in understanding what

---

531 R Rud., p. 287; יָֽפְרָה A. de. ab. e. ex; R Rud., p. 616; BDB, pp. 577-583; Holl., pp. 200-201; J oüon, p. 489; Waltke/O'Conner, p. 212-213. Almost all modern English translations use the preposition, "from." The KJV uses "out of."

532 B DB, p. 580; Waltke/O'Conner, p. 213. For support of the translation "in," see Dahood, p. 160.

is being described. To evaluate this final translation change within this verse more fully, a brief summary of Luther's understanding of the progression within the entire Psalm will be compared to the description found within most of the modern commentaries.

All of the modern commentaries devote at least a portion of their work to an introduction or setting of the Psalter. Because their descriptions are so contradictory, they will not be described in any detail here. All the important questions are asked with differing answers: Who is speaking? What is being said? When was the Psalm written? Where are those who are being blessed standing? Why was the Psalm written? The following quote from one of the commentaries gives a good example of the variety involved:

Among new and novel approaches that have been attempted in the interpretation we mention the following as being interesting but unsatisfactory. Attempts to make the psalm a part of the supposed cult of the king, which Israel is thought to have observed, lack Scriptural evidence. The supposition that three groups of persons who have been delivered from various dangers come together and successively present their story and are then joined in thanksgiving by the rest of the assembled multitude is rather farfetched and requires too many changes of the text to make it plausible. The interpretation which has discovered an original psalm (vv. 5-19) by an individual, which psalm was later adapted to congregational use by various additions and interpolations, is an interpretation which requires too much ingenious manipulation. Lastly,
the approach which makes the psalm the out-growth of the experience of a victorious general who especially in v. 5ff. recounts his recent experiences and deliverances, explains some things but creates more problems than it solves. 534

The most common denominators among the commentaries are the mention of an author, a passing through of some great difficulty, a victory, and an approach to the temple to give thanksgiving within a liturgical setting. 535

Luther, on the other hand, was much more simple in his approach. He gave nothing of the Psalm before he began explaining verse one. He added nothing of a historical setting to the text. When referring to the situation of the psalmist and whether the psalmist was speaking of himself personally or of a larger group, Luther confessed that the point was of no concern to him. 536 Luther gave nothing apart from the Scriptures. He included the simple progression of the psalmist, from the difficulty to the victory. Within the commentary Luther lacked a strong connection to both the temple and the liturgical antiphony that were often present

534 Leupold, p. 811.

535 For a good short summary of these various points mentioned, see Bratcher/Reyburn, p. 986.

within the modern commentaries. As the Psalm progressed to the end, Luther admitted that others joined in the psalmist's praise, but Luther saw their actions firmly connected to the confession of Christ as the cornerstone. Luther considered verse nineteen as a request of the Old Testament people for the New Testament times, for the appearance of the Messiah.537

It is easy to criticize Luther for not giving a historical setting of the Psalm. At least one other scholar has already undertaken this task.538 Luther has been seen as one who was too quick to pass by a proper understanding of the temple as the Lord's house in an effort to get to the New Testament understanding of the text. A proper understanding of either Testament would have served his purposes well for understanding and putting forth the progression of the text toward the Lord and his gifts.

One would do well to remember that the 1530 commentary was not made for pastors, like many of the modern-day commentaries, but for edification of the Lord Frederick of


Nuremberg.539 In Luther's prompt approach to verse one, he would have Lord Frederick see Christ. Luther saw a whole-Scripture approach to interpretation rather than simply an understanding of the surrounding, history, verses, book, or even the Testament. Luther's straightforwardness will always be helpful for the one who wishes to understand the important and main points of Scripture.

When Luther discussed verse twenty-six in the commentary, he understood this verse in reference to Christ and His fulfillment throughout the New Testament. Rather than seeing the Lord's house as simply the temple, Luther understood the phrase חַגַּד בָּנָי in much broader terms, terms which pointed to the Lord's household, with the perspective of both Testaments.540 Luther had a bigger picture of the Lord's house than many would give him credit. He considered it an important thing, concrete and physical, with some beautiful ramifications. In the commentary Luther may have tried to avoid temple terminology that could be misused or

539See WA, 31.1, p. 65; ET: AE, 14, p. 45.

misunderstood, especially by the Jews.541

Some concluding thoughts to this translation are in order. Luther gave a better understanding of the word קֶסֶף than the Latin or other German translations. He also gave this new translation in a way that was obviously rich with the Lord's free grace and favor.542 The causal use for the preposition כִּי was not a common understanding of the text, but certainly possible. That the preposition had that meaning was not even critical for understanding that all the Lord's chosen are in the Lord's house. That fact is already made obvious in the New Testament. Luther chose to make it plain here as well.

What was important for Luther was to show that all the Lord's people are in a position for receiving a gift, whether primarily or secondarily. To see the phrase מַעַן as only the temple is to see the term as only a Jew. To play off one's position or task against another of those in the Lord's house is to act in a way contrary to the One who's house it is. Ultimately one's job was not the important thing for Luther, but whether or not the Lord's gifts were being

delivered. Luther did not want to leave the listener or reader
in doubt as to location and type of Lord there is. The
blessings originated from the Lord, were refracted off those
who had the task of being chosen means for the Lord, and went
to those who were nothing but given to, in the stance of
faith. In the end most scholars would rightfully see this
German text as interpretation rather than translation, but
certainly a comforting interpretation.
PSALM 118:27

Der HERR ist Gott, der vns erleuchtet, Schmücket das Fest mit Meigen, bis an die hörner des Altars.

The first translation of this verse appeared this way:

Der herr gott vnd erleuchtet vns des altars.543
bindet das fest mit dicken meyen bis an die horner

The reasons for this first translation can be seen from a look at the Hebrew text: ה' הוא האל וְאַרְצֵנוּ וְאֵת עֵדֶנוּ נַפְלָת.544 Whether the later changes which occurred still followed the Hebrew text remains to be seen.

The first change which was made is easy to explain. The Hebrew of first phrase has no expressed verb. Luther initially forgot to include one in the German. The verb ist was added almost immediately.545 The rest of the first half of the verse is simple and straightforward, and, in this case,

543WA DB, 1, p. 530. The two words which stand alone at the far end of the first line were not a later addition but a placement of the last phrase of the verse above the line since space was limited.

544Biblia hebraica.

545WA DB, 1, p. 530.
very similar to the other German translations of the time.546

The phrase which underwent major changes during the secondary editing is the phrase which follows: אַכְרָשְׁתָה ָנִבְנָתִים.
The Dictionary of the Old Testament, although brief, states the matter quite concisely:

The expression אַכְרָשְׁתָה, "bind the מ, in Ps. 118:27 is difficult, since the following מִבְנָתִים admits two possible meanings: "branches" or "cords." The מ can thus be thought of as a festival procession in the course of which the altar is decked with branches or set apart with cords as a sacred area. Possibly, however, מ may refer here to the sacrificial animal, which is to be bound to the altar.547

This difficulty is repeated in a slightly different way with almost every commentary. Several commentaries make a case for indicating some type of festival procession, but there are a significant number of the modern translations which choose the final option, that of the bound sacrificial animal.548

546Kurrelmeyer, 7, p. 420: got der herr got vnd er entleucht vns . . . .


548Anderson, p. 804; Bratcher/Reyburn, pp. 994-995; Briggs, p. 408; Kirkpatrick, p. 699; KJV, NASB, LB, NKJV.
What is clearly stated in the text is the mention of the horns of the altar. Having someone or something near the altar's horns was always a significant situation. Whether פָּנָי designates a festival or sacrifice, what the text delivers is obviously different from one of the typical festivals of the Jews. If this verse were a reference to Passover, the newness of the text is that a sacrificial lamb is to be bound to the altar instead of a lamb roasted and eaten in the homes of the people. If this verse were a reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, the booths were usually not this close to the altar.

Luther first wrote the second half of the verse as the primary functions of the Hebrew text gave him the words. Although the text could have been left in this way, it is unclear and could be assisted. Luther then made changes in the secondary editing to indicate the organization of a festival. The section began as bindet das fest mit dicken meyen and

---

549 See Exodus 27:2.

550 Exodus 12.

551 Leviticus 23:33-44; Nehemiah 8.
ended as *Schmückt das fest mit meyen*.\(^{552}\)

It was obviously a big change, made all at the same time. During the secondary editing, in the margin of the manuscript, Luther gave the festival which he believed was indicated here, the Feast of Tabernacles: *agite festum tabernaculorum novum tale* quod per multitudine ad altare pangat quod solum nos possumus.\(^{553}\) The emphasis was not only on the new-ness of it all, but that many people were in attendance. Although Luther admitted that the connection to this feast was not the same as it was given in the Old Testament, the overall joy which accompanied this event is also seen in the joyful function of the verse, especially with the use of the verb *schmücken*.\(^{554}\)

This note was not included in the published edition of the Psalter. These words in German were not significantly

\(^{552}\) *WA DB*, 1, 530. For some examples of the use of this new word in the Psalter, see *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 438 (Psalm 104:1); *WA DB*, 1, p. 523 (Psalm 110:3); *WA DB*, 1, p. 524 (Psalm 111:3). The alliteration and rhythm of the phrase was also helped by the deletion of the word *dicken*.


\(^{554}\) See Grimm, 9, cols. 1117-1118.
different from other translations of the day. The Latin translation with which Luther was most familiar also understood the text in a similar way: *Constituite diem solennem agite in condensis, usque ad cornu altaris*. One would hardly think that the answer to Luther's preference in this translation was as simple as going along in the way it had been done before.

Luther may have been influenced by the New Testament understanding of the verse. This verse was obviously in the minds of those who were along the road to Jerusalem when Jesus made his final entry. The two previous verses were being shouted by the people and palm branches were lining the streets.

What, without a doubt, was an influence to Luther for this option was the preference of others, particularly the Jewish rabbis, to translate the word as "sacrifice." This was


557 Matthew 21:1-13. The first thing Jesus did after having arrived in the city was cleanse the temple.
mentioned by Luther in two separate circumstances. First of all it had a significant appearance in the 1531 Psalter revision notes:


An even greater distancing against the Jews and sacrifice appeared in a section of his defense for the Psalter revision of 1531.

Again, we knew very well that the Jewish rabbis read Psalm 118:27 like this: Bindet das Osterlam mit seilen bis an die hörner des altars, where we translate it in this way: Schmucket das fest mit meygen. They arbitrarily make a paschal lamb out of the word άν, which actually points to a feast or a festival. And even if it have that use elsewhere, as they contend, they cannot prove it is used in that way here. For where is it written that the Jews are supposed to lead the paschal lamb up to the altar with cords? Actually everyone was mandated to roast it at home and eat it with his household—as the Jews still do, even though they have no altar.

Because there is such a misleading Jewish slant to this text, then, and because we know that this psalm is singing of Christ and his kingdom, and because the words

of this verse by the very nature of the language function as to bind the festival with branches, we have made it clear in this way, *Bindet das Fest mit meygen* (This is the Spiritual "Feast of Tabernacles" whose prototype was the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles.) *bis an die hörner des altars*. By *altar* the psalmist indicates that this should be a Spiritual "Feast of Tabernacles," for which an altar must be present. For the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles no altar was required, except at Jerusalem. The function is that at the time of Christ every festival will be a daily festival, in which one joyfully preaches in faith and thereby renders sacrifices of thanksgiving to God. This is what it is saying with the words, *bis an den altar das fest mit meygen schmücken*, to be joyful in word and faith, and thus, in Christ who is our altar, to glorify and praise God.559

559"Item Psal. cxviiij. im .rrvij. vers wusten wir zu guter massen wol, das die Jüdischen Rabini so lesen: 'Bindet das Osterlam mit seilen bis an die hörner des altars,' Da wir also deudschen: 'Schmücket das est mit meygen,' Sie machen aus dem wort 'Hag (welchs eigentlich ein Fest oder Feyertag heisst)' ein Osterlam, durch eigene thurst, Und obs gleich anders wo so erfunden würde, als sie furgeben, So mügen sie doch hie nicht solchs beweisen, Und wo stehets geschrieben, das die Jüden das Osterlam mit stricken zum altar solten füren, welschs ein jglicher daheim jnn seinem hause braten und mit seinem gesinde essen müste, wie sie noch thun, ob sei wol keinen altar haben?

Weil denn solchs ein Jüdischer jrriger sinn ist im Text, Und wirr wissen, das dieser Psalm von Christo und seinem Reich singet, Und die wort dieses vers, aus art der sprachen diesen sinn geben: 'Bindet das Fest mit meygen,' Haben wirs deudlich also gemacht: 'Schmückt das Fest mit meigen (welchs ist die geistliche laubrust oder lauberhütten Fest, welchs furbilde war der Jüden laubrust) bis an die hörner des altars,' Mit dem altar zeigt er an, das es solt eine geistlich laubrust sein, da ein altar bey sein müste, Bey der Jüden laubrust muste kein altar sein, sondern allein zu Jerusalem, Und ist die meinung, das zur zeit Christi, alle Fest ein teglich Fest sein sollen, darinn man fröhlich im glauben predige, und damit Gott dankopffer thu, Das heisst 'bis an den altar das fest mit
From the way Luther speaks of the Jews, this particular understanding of the text was almost common knowledge. To translate יְהָעְנֹ is obviously important to the Jews at that time. Today the word "sacrifice" is not seen as a particularly Jewish slant. It is even quite possible for Jews today to understand these words as a festival procession. Ultimately a misunderstanding of the Scriptures would remain the same despite one's decision regarding this translation choice. Through the translation Luther wished to bring emphasis to Christ and his kingdom. That understanding came to him through the New Testament and into the Old.

Christ still could have been proclaimed with the literal text, but less clearly. Christ still could have been proclaimed with the binding and sacrifice text, but there was the greater chance of the text being misused. The translation Luther proposed makes the job of proclaiming Christ crucified a little easier. He also managed to do it in a way which carries with it the hint of happy and joyful preparations.

meygen schmücken, 'fröhlich sein im wort und glauben und also Gott loben und preisen jnn Christo, welcher unser altar ist.' WA, 38, p. 15; cf. AE, 35, pp. 219-220.

These things easily swayed Luther in the direction of Schmückt das fest mit meyen bis an die horner des altars and kept him there throughout the following years.

In this case the Hebrew evidence is strongly in Luther's favor. The usage shows other instances in the Old Testament where the verb רכינא is used with other things besides ropes and chains. Souls are bound by oaths. Battles are bound, or organized, by leaders. The word "festival" is the primary function of the Hebrew word רכינא. Rare are the situations where it can indicate a sacrifice. The third word, מרחבינא contains a preposition and the word indicating something twisted together, such as cords or branches.
August Briggs states that the "easiest explanation of the combination is that the decoration of the courts of the temple extended even to the horns of the altar."\textsuperscript{564}

A subsequent and minor change came from studying the major one. The translation of the first half of the verse went from \textit{Der HERR ist Gott, vnd erleuchtet uns} to \textit{Der HERR ist Gott, der uns erleuchtet} during the writing of the commentary. Although they are almost equivalents, the latter phrase is more German and less Hebrew.\textsuperscript{565} Here again the change came from working through and writing out the text in different ways. The switch in words also makes the rhythm much nicer; with the change the second phrase more closely matches the first phrase.

---

\textsuperscript{564}Briggs, p. 408.

DU bist mein Gott, vnd ich dancke dir, Mein Gott, Ich wil dich preisen.

Luther knew the familiar Latin: Deus meus, es tu et confitebor tibi, deus meus es tu exaltabo te. Confitebor tibi, quoniam exaudisti me, et factus es mihi in salutem. Luther went with the Hebrew of the text, כל לוPED גוז Manny, when he translated the verse for the first time:

Du bist meyn gott vnd ich dancke dir/
Meyn gott: ich will dich erhohen.

The only change to be made throughout the later years was that the last word went from erhohen to preisen. This change followed a generally recognized understanding that the Hebrew has the primary function of "to lift up," but when it is done to the Lord, has the general function of "extol" or "exalt." The word preisen has what is given in


567 Biblia hebraica.

568 WA DB, 1, p. 530. The point is to be regarded as a comma.

this circumstance, a much more specific word than erhöhen or even erheben.\textsuperscript{570} The importance of such a change may be seen in similar changes throughout the Psalter and from the lack of the change being mentioned in the 1531 Psalter revision notes.\textsuperscript{571} Some changes simply took longer than others. In the end an accurate, straight-forward, and down-to-earth translation was given.

\textsuperscript{570}Dietz, 1, p. 572; Grimm, 3, cols. 851-852: erhöhen: erigere, elevare, exaltare; cf. Grimm, 7, cols. 2093, 2095-2096.

Dancket dem Herrn, Denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine Güte
wehret ewiglich.

Although the Hebrew of verse twenty-nine is identical
to the first, Luther wrote this
translation in a slightly different way:

Dancket dem herrn denn er ist gut/
vnd seyne güete weret ynn ewickeyt.

All is the same except for the last prepositional phrase, ynn
ewickeyt. This was purposefully done during the first efforts
through the text. The variety given enabled Luther to try
various options and stay with the one which was best suited
for the situation.573

The change that was eventually made to both verses,
the transition from denn er ist gut to denn er ist freundlich,
has its history within this verse. As in verse one, Luther
also made the more general change from denn to das in verse
twenty-nine. His subsequent attention was focused on this
verse and an improvement for the word gutt. He first

572 Biblia hebraica.

573 WA DB, 1, p. 530. See WA DB, 1, p. 549 (Psalm
136:1ff.).
substituted the word *suss*. Later he crossed it out and wrote the word *freundlich*. The intensifier *so* was added and the verb put in last place only a little while later. He appeared to be satisfied with the phrase *das er so freundlich ist* and wrote that newly-found phrase above verse one. Verse twenty-nine appeared in the first published translation as: *Dancket dem HERRN das er freundlich ist, Vnd seyne guete weret ewiglich*. With such a cluttered manuscript, the word *so* was inadvertently missed by the printer.

The reasons for such a struggle to translate the Hebrew of the text were covered in verse one. What remains to be seen is the reason for the appearance of this struggle in verse twenty-nine rather than verse one. If the impetus for change were simply the desire to avoid the words *gutt* and *güte*

---

574 Grimm, 10.4, col. 1279: *süz*; dulcis, suavis, iucundus, gratus, benignus, mitis. The word often appeared without the umlaut. Ibid., col. 1280. For the most recent use of the word in the translation, see *WA DB*, 10.1, p. 371 (Psalm 81:3).

575 Grimm, 10.1, cols. 1350-1351. In this type of construction the word *so* is typically used in conjunction with the word *das*.

576 *WA DB*, 1, p. 530.

577 Ibid., 10.1, p. 494.
within the same verse, more serious effort would have first been given in the translations of Psalm 106:1, Psalm 107:1, or even Psalm 118:1, all identical to the verse here.\textsuperscript{578} The only answer left is that the Psalm itself was the impetus for such a serious struggle.

Luther already knew the Psalm for its reference to the rejected stone becoming the head of the corner.\textsuperscript{579} Luther's New Testament familiarity with this passage would have repeatedly reminded him of Christ.\textsuperscript{580} Luther had been brought to know a loving Father who was willing to sacrifice his Son in mankind's stead. In view of Christ's actions on the cross, Luther considered the phrase \textit{der herr ist gutt} to be an incredible understatement. What could not help but stand out in Luther's mind was the Psalm's clear reference to Christ. Christ was not only proclaimed in the translation, Christ was impetus for it as well.

\textsuperscript{578}The first two verses are portions of the original document which were never found. For more information, see \textit{WA DB}, 1, p. XX.

\textsuperscript{579}See \textit{WA}, 1, p. 89.

CONCLUSION

None of the longer Psalms of the 1545 translation which Luther gave to the German people have ever been analyzed. The abundant fruits of this labor are great when it is noted how massive an effort was made by him, and how great a translation the words finally became.

Certain consistencies regarding the translating have been seen through this analysis of Psalm 118. In the 1523/24 manuscript one saw Luther's first tendency to translate quickly in a manner which was close to the plain Hebrew, usually without much regard for the idioms and difficult Hebrew forms. Since this translation was based primarily on the Hebrew text, it was already better in some ways than many of the previous German translations. Still the knowledge of the Hebrew language was not as extensive as it is today, and one should exercise care when criticizing the efforts of Luther on the basis of modern research.581

Within the Hebrew text Luther found comfort in that, apart from the pointing of the Masoretes, the Lord was surely speaking. Luther's knowledge of the Latin translation helped

581See Lauer, Luther's Translation of the Psalms in 1523-24, pp. 15-19.
him to understand the differences between languages, as well as to make sure he was getting close to the message of the text. When the Hebrew and the Latin differed, Luther almost always went with the Hebrew. The most up-to-date Hebrew lexicon, namely Reuchlin's, was usually helpful.

Alterations which came after the first translation were usually further from the literal Hebrew and closer to the German way of saying things. There were difficulties in understanding prepositions, conjunctions, and how the phrases were connected to each other. Luther's writing a commentary concerning the Psalm was extremely helpful in studying these aspects of the text. In giving a separate translation of the Psalm through the various stages of the commentary, Luther found various ways of saying the same thing.582

Luther would have the Hebrew psalmist speak German. With his vast understanding of the German language his talents were put to use. He often understood the deficiencies of a certain word and took into account its possible misuse.

582 Sometimes in the final translation in the commentary Luther would choose a way to give the text in a way which was never done previously, often closer to the Hebrew. Whatever the translation, he soon had the chance to explain it in the comments which followed.
Luther would have the psalmist to speak the German spoken on the streets. Some people have taken that to mean that Luther translated into the slang of his day. If that were true, his translation would only have lasted a few years. Luther instead translated the text into the language of the courts, language of the middle-class language, the words which would reach the most people.\textsuperscript{583}

The translation was bigger than Luther himself. The important thing was not that the translation was Luther's, but the Lord's. The most significant changes, as well as those changes which received the most attention, had to do with those changes which were made for theological reasons. As theology shaped Luther's role in the Reformation, theology shaped his understanding of language and translation. Much effort has been made into investigating the sources of the translation.\textsuperscript{584} In back of this search is the debate whether or not Luther was a sprachschöpfer or not.\textsuperscript{585} As was demonstrated in the analysis of Psalm 118, Luther used various

\textsuperscript{583}Kirk, Introduction to New High German, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{584}See Pahl, \textit{Quellenstudien zu Luthers Psalmenübersetzung}, pp. 127ff.

\textsuperscript{585}See Kirk, Introduction to New High German, p. 19.
sources and the translation was at different times literal, dynamic equivalent, and paraphrase. The translation defied categories. The Savior which Luther had been brought to know also defied categories.

Words which go out from such a Lord are decisive events. They were particularly helpful during times of crisis. The 1528 edition was particularly filled with radically different translations, certainly deserving the title "new." Here was a more severe Law; here was a more gracious Gospel. When Luther did not go with the Hebrew, it usually was the opportunity for the Law or Gospel to speak even more clearly than before.

There were some translations which Luther would not have discovered unless he were alone. There were also some translations which would not have been discovered unless he received some help within the group of scholars. The colloquium of 1531 provided a forum which aided both the clarity and consistency of the translation. Luther's final word regarding the debated issues helped to bring cohesion to the entire work.

---

586Reu, Luther's German Bible, p. 214.
More important than simply theological, the translation was also Christological. In Psalm 118 from beginning to end, Christ was a critical factor through it all. The translation took into account the incarnation. Because of the importance of the Lord's proper delivery, Luther valued verbs over nouns and the present tense over the past. This is especially true in the 1528 edition. Luther knew the Lord to be One of action. The Lord did not stay up in heaven untouched; he did a verb, was dir da. Luther confessed a Lord that continually gives out gifts. Luther translated the enlivening words in enlivening ways. He was confessing the Lord to be working again, in present time, in whatever the situation, through whatever the language.

Proper delivery also prompted Luther to value how the text sounded to the ear. These changes were minor and sometimes the last to be done. He was careful in the translation of the Scriptures so that they could not only be read through, but prayed through. For Luther translating was not just a mathematical formula of words plus syntax. It was an art for him. In this Psalm it became something even more. It was the Gospel for him. That Gospel helped him to be very
flexible with the language. In the 1545 translation of the Psalm the number of endings that did not come to a gentle conclusion were only three, a small number when compared to the total number of verses.

It is a shame that heretofore analyses have only been done on a few of the Psalms. There are still many significant Psalms to be studied, even the entire Psalter or the entire Scriptures. The task may never be completed, but as a result of the effort the Lord's Church may have another translation that will last for another three hundred years.

587See Franke, 3, pp. 64ff.

588Vv. 15, 16, and 26.
APPENDIX

Biblia hebraica cum punctis et accentibus per Gersonem Ben Mose Soncinatem (Brescia: 1494). (Referred to as Biblia hebraica.)

(1) וַהֲזַחְתִּךְ כִּי לְעֻלֵּם חֵדוֹז
(2) יָאנְרְמַרְתָּךְ כִּי לְעֻלֵּם חֵדוֹז
(3) יָאנְרְמַרְתָּךְ וַאֲחַזְתָּךְ כִּי לְעֻלֵּם חֵדוֹז
(4) וַאֲחַזְתָּךְ וַאֲרַחְתָּךְ כִּי לְעֻלֵּם חֵדוֹז
(5) מַרְכֵּשְׁךָ וַאֲהַבְתָּךְ וַעֲנֵי בַּקָּרִים יִירָךְ
(6) וַיִּשָּׁחַר וַאֲמָתָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(7) יִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(8) וַיֵּשָּׁא יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ בְּיִירָךְ
(9) וַיָּשְׁבָּח יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ בְּיִירָךְ
(10) הַכִּבֵּשׁ בְּכִבֵּשׁ וַיֵּשֶׁב יִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ
(11) הַכִּבֵּשׁ בְּכִבֵּשׁ וַיֵּשֶׁב יִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ
(12) הַכִּבֵּשׁ בְּכִבֵּשׁ וַיֵּשֶׁב יִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ
(13) וַיִּכְבְּשׁ הַדִּבֶּרָה לְפָנֵי הָיוֹתָךְ
(14) וַיִּכְבְּשׁ הַנַּחַל לְפָנֵי הָיוֹתָךְ
(15) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(16) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(17) בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(18) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(19) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(20) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(21) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(22) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(23) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(24) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(25) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(26) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(27) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(28) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
(29) וַיָּסָמְכָּה יִירָךְ בְּיִירָךְ וַאֲמָתָךְ יִירָךְ
Versio Veteris Testamenti graeca LXX interpretum (Venedig, 1518). (Referred to as LXX.)

1) Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἁγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.
2) Εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι ἁγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.
3) Εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ἀαρών, ὅτι ἁγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.
4) Εἰπάτωσαν δὴ πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι ἁγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.
5) Εκ θλίψεως ἐπεκαλεσάμην τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐπήκουσέ μου εἰς πλατυμόν.
6) Κύριος ἔμοι βοηθός, καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσομαι τί ποιησει μοι ἄνθρωπος.
7) Κύριος ἔμοι βοηθός, κἀγὼ ἐπώστασε τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου.
8) Ἡγαθὸν πεποιθέναι ἐπὶ Κύριον, πεποιθέναι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον.
9) Ἡγαθὸν ἔλιπζεν ἐπὶ Κύριον, ἔλιπζεν ἐπ' ἄρχουσι.
10) Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκύκλωσάν με, καὶ τῷ ὅνοματι Κυρίου ἡμινάμην αὐτούς.
11) Κυκλώσαντες ἐκύκλωσάν με, καὶ τῷ ὅνοματι Κυρίου ἡμινάμην αὐτούς.
12) Ἐκύκλωσάν με ὅσιοι μέλισσαι κήριον, καὶ ἐξεκαύθησαν ὡς πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις, καὶ τῷ ὅνοματι Κυρίου ἡμινάμην αὐτούς.
13) Ὡσθεὶς ἀνετράπην τοῦ πεσεῖν, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀντελάβετο μου.
14) Ἰσχύς μου καὶ ὑμνησὶς μου ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν.
15) Ὁμὴν ἅγαλιάσωσις καὶ σωτηρίας ἐν σκηναίς δικαίων· δεξιὰ Κυρίου ἐποίησε δύναμιν, δεξιὰ Κυρίου ὑψωσε με· δεξιὰ Κυρίου ἐποίησε δύναμιν.
16) Οὐκ ἀποθανοῦμαι, ἀλλὰ ζήσομαι, καὶ διηγήσομαι τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου.
17) Παιδεύων ἐπαίδευσέ με ὁ Κύριος, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκε με.
18) Ἀπὶ Δεξιάς μοι πᾶλας δικαιοσύνης, εἰσελθών ἐν αὐτάς ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ Κυρίῳ.
19) Ἀστή ἐν πόλει τοῦ Κυρίου, δίκαιοι εἰσελθοῦσατι ἐν αὐτῇ.
20) Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοι, ὅτι ἐπήκουσάς μου, καὶ ἐγένος μου εἰς σωτηρίαν.
21) Διὸν δὲ ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὕτως ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γνώσιας.
22) Παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.
24) Αὐτῇ ἢ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος, ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν ἐν αὐτῇ.
25) Ὁ Κύριος ὁ θάνατος ἡ, ὁ Κύριος εὐδοκησοῦν ἡ.
26) Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὑμῶν ἀναποκρίνεται Κύριως, εὐλογηκαμέν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Κυρίου.
27) Θεὸς Κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφαγεν ἡμῖν· συνυπάρχοντες ἤρθαν ἐν τοῖς πυκάζουσιν, καὶ θανάτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.
28) Θεός μου εἶ οὖ, καὶ εὔξομαι σοι· καὶ ἑωράσως σέ, ἵνα ἔρθῃς σοι, ὡς ἐρήμωσας μου, καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐστὶ σου.
29) Ἐξομογείασε τῷ Κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀγαθὸς, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.
1) Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.
2) Dicat nunc israel quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.
3) Dicat nunc domus aaron: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.
4) Dicant nunc omnes qui timent dominum: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.
5) De tribulatione invocavi dominum: et exaudivit me in latitudine dominus.
6) Dominus michi adiutor: non timebo, quid faciat michi homo.
7) Dominus michi adiutor: et ego despiciam inimicos meos.
8) Bonum est confidere in domino: quam confidere in homine.
9) Bonum est sperare in domino: quam sperare in principibus.
10) Omnes gentes circuirunt me: et in nomine domini qui ultus sum in eos.
11) Circundantes circumdederunt me: et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos.
12) Circundederunt me sicut apes, et exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis: et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos.
13) Impulsus eversus sum ut caderem: et dominus suscepit me.
14) Fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus: et factus est michi in salutem.
15) Vox exultationis et salutis: in tabernaculis iustorum.
16) Dextera domini fecit virtutem, dextera domini exaltavit me: dextera domini fecit virtutem.
17) Non moriar sed vivam: et narrabo opera domini.
18) Castigans castigavit me dominus: et morti non tradidit me.
19) Aperti michi portas iusticiae, ingressus in eas confitebor domino: haec porta domini, iusti intrabunt in eam.
20) Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me: et factus es michi in salutem.
21) Lapidem quem reprobraverunt edificantes: hic factus est in caput anguli.
22) A domino factum est istud: hoc est mirabile in oculis nostris.
23) Haec est dies quam fecit dominus: exultemus et laetemur in ea.
24) O domine salvum me fac, o domine prosperare: benedictus qui ventur in nomine domini.
25) Benediximus vobis de domo domini: deus dominus et illuxit nobis.
26) Constituite diem solemnen in condensis: usque ad cornu altaris.
28) Confitebor tibi, quoniam exaudisti me: et factus es michi in salutem.
29) Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.

1) Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.
2) Dicat nunc israel: quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.
3) Dicat nunc domus aaron: quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.
4) Dicant nunc qui timent dominum: quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.
5) Cum tribularer invocavi dominum: et exaudivit me in latitudine dominus.
6) Dominus meus es: non timebo quid faciat michi homo.
7) Dominus michi auxiliator: et ego despiciam odientes me.
8) Melius est sperare in domino: quam sperare in homine.
9) Melius est sperare in domino: quam sperare in principibus.
10) Omnes gentes circundederunt me: et in nomine domini ultus sum eas.
11) Circundederunt me et obsederunt me: sed in nomine domini ultus sum eas.
12) Circumdederunt me quasi apes, extinctae sicut quasi ignis spinarum: in nomine domini quia ultus sum eas.
13) Impulsus pellebar ut caderem: et dominius sustentavit me.
14) Fortitudo mea et laudatio mea dominus: et factus est michi in salutem.
15) Vox laudis et salutis: in tabernaculis iustorum.
16) Dextera domini fecit fortitudinem, dextera domini excelsa: dextera domini fecit fortitudinem.
17) Non moriar sed vivam: et narrabo opera domini.
18) Corripiens arguit me dominus: et morti non tradidit me.
19) A pite michi portas iustitiae, ingressus eas confitebor domino: haec porta domini, iusti intrabunt in eam.
20) Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me: et factus es michi in salutem.
21) Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes: factus est in caput anguli.
22) A domino factum est istud: et hoc est mirabile in oculis nostris.
23) Haec est dies quam fecit dominus: exultemus et laetemur in ea.
24) Obsecro domine salva obsecro: obsecro domine prosperare
250

obsecro.

25) Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini: benediximus vobis de domo domini.

26) Deus dominus et apparvit nobis, frequentate solennitatem in frondosis: usque ad cornua altaris.


29) Confitebor domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius.
2) Dicat nunc israel quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.
3) Dicat nunc domus Aaron: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.
4) Dicant nunc omnes qui timent dominum: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius.
5) De tribulatione invocavi dominum: et exaudivit me in latitudine dominus.
6) Dominus mihi adiutor: non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.
7) Dominus mihi adiutor: et ego despiciam inimicos meos.
8) Bonum est confidere in domino: quam confidere in homine.
9) Bonum est sperare in domino: quam sperare in principibus.
10) Omnes gentes circuierunt me et in nomine domini qui ultus sum in eos.
11) Circumdantem circumdederunt me: et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos.
12) Circumdederunt me sicut apes: et exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis: et in nomine domini quia ultus sum in eos.
13) Impulsus eversus sum ut caderem: et dominus suscepit me.
14) Fortitudo mea et laus mea dominus: et factus est mihi in salutem.
15) Vox exultationis et salutis: in tabernaculis iustorum.
16) Dextera domini fecit virtutem: dextera domini exaltavit me dextera domini fecit virtutem.
17) Non moriar sed vivam: et narrabo opera domini.
18) Castigans castigavit me dominus: et morti non tradidit me.
19) Aperti mihi portas iusticiae. ingressus in eas confitebor domino:
20) haec porta domini iusti intrabunt in eam.
21) Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me: et factus es mihi in salutem.
22) Lapidem quem reprobraverunt edificantes: hic factus est in caput anguli.
23) A domino factum est istud: et est mirabile in oculis nostris.
24) Haec est dies quam fecit dominus: exultemus et laetemur in ea.
25) O domine salvum me fac. o domine bene prosperare:
26) benedictus qui venit in nomine domini. Benediximus vobis de domo domini:
27) deus dominus et illuxit nobis. Constituite diem solemnen in condensis: usque ad cornu altaris.
29) Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.
Die erste deutsche Bibel, ed. Wm. Kurrelmeyer, 10 vols.  
(Tübingen: Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1904-1915),  
vol. 7: Tobias-Psalmen. (Referred to as Kurrelmeyer.)

1) Begecht dem herrn wann er ist güt: wann sein erbermbd ist in der werlt.
2) Nu spricht israhel das er ist güt: wann sein erbermbd ist in der werlt.
3) Nu sprichet das haus aarons: das er ist güt: wann sein erbermbde ist in der werlt.
4) Nu spricht der do vorcht den herrn: das er ist güt: wann sein erbermbd ist in der werlt.
5) Ich anrieff den herrn von dem trúbsal: vnd der herr erhort mich in der weit.
6) Der herr ist mein helfffer: ich vörcht nit was dings mir der mensch tüt.
7) Der herr ist mir ein helfffer: vnd ich verschmech mein veind.
8) Besser ist sich zeuersehen im herrn: denn zeuersehen an den menschen.
9) Besser ist sich zeuersehen an den herrn: denn zeuersehen an die fürsten.
10) Alle leut vmgbaben mich: vnd in dem namen des herrn wann ich bin gerochen in in.
11) Vmbgebent vmgbaben sy mich: vnd in dem namen des herrn wann ich bin gerochen in in.
12) Sy vmgbaben mich als die pine: vnd brunnent als das fewer vnder die dorn: vnd in dem namen des herrn wann ich bin gerochen in in.
13) Angestritten bin ich vnbkert das ich viel: vnd der her entphieng mich.
14) Der herre ist mein sterck vnd mein lob: vnd ist mir gemacht in behaltsam.
16) Die zeswen des herrn tet die krafft: die zeswen des herrn erhocht mich: die zeswen des herrn tet die krafft.
17) Ich stirb nit wann ich leb: vnd sag die werck des herrn.
18) Quelent hat mich gequelet der herre. vnd antwurt mich nit dem tod.
19) Tüt mir auff die tor der gerechtikeit: ich gee ein in sy ich begich dem herrn:
20) ditz ist das tor des herren die gerechten gend ein in es.
21) Ich begich dir wann du hast mich erhört: vnd bist mir gemacht in behaltsame:
22) Den steine den die bawer versprachen: dirr ist gemacht an daz haubt des winckel.
23) Ditz ist getan vom herren: vnd ist wunderlich in vnsern augen.
24) Ditz ist der tag den der herre hat gemacht: wir frewen vns vnd werden erfrewet in im.
25) O herre mach mich behalten: o herre tü wol gelúcklich:
26) du bist gesegent du do bist künfftig in dem namen dez herrn. Wir gesegenten euch von dem haus dez herrn:
27) got der herr got vnd er entleucht vns Schickt den hochzeitlichen tag in den verborgen dingen: vntz zu dem horn des alters.
29) Beiehet dem herren wann er ist güt: wann sein erbermbd ist ewig.
Lauda nami gebette freund dem herren
für glyck und wleit.

Dem herren und herrn
für unser bitten.

C xvii

obet dem herren allw kirchen
prist ton alten volk.

Dem herren und herrn
für unser bitten.

C xviii

das se 3 hindest get
und fiyn gynt wetz entwet.

Wo sepi ni trent
Das fiyn gynt wetz entwet.

Wo sepi ni das heit stëhrin.
Das fiyn gynt wetz entwet.

Wo sepi ni den herren
Das fiyn gynt wetz entwet.

In der wetz
und der frie

Der herre ist mit uns
und wir daz

Der herre ist mit uns
und wir daz

Dem herren und herrn
für unser bitten.

Dem herren und herrn
für unser bitten.

Alle henden haben wir umbgen.
... -~---.-
-----
--
-~--
--.~-.:;:::---:.:;--::...:----------=~---.--.-----~~~~

[Handwritten text in German]

[Page number: 256]
1) Danckt dem Herrn das er so freundlich ist, und seine Güte ewiglich weret.
2) Es sage nu Israel, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
3) Es sage nu das haus Aharon, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nu die den Herrn fürchten, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
5) Ynn der angst rief ich den Herrn an, und der Herr erhöret mich ym weytem rawm.
6) Der Herr ist mit mir, ich fürchte mich nicht, was mir der mensch thut.
7) Der Herr ist mit mir, mir zu helfen, und ich will meyne lust sehen an meynen feynden.
8) Es ist besser auff den Herrn vertrawen, Denn sich verlassen auff menschen.
9) Es ist besser auff den Herrn trawen, Denn sich verlassen auff fürsten.
10) Alle heyden haben mich vmbgeben, aber ym namen des Herrn, will ich sie zuhauen.
11) Sie haben mich vmb vnd vmb vmbgeben, aber ym namen des Herrn will ich sie zuhauen.
12) Sie haben mich vmbgeben wie die bienen, sie sind verlosschen wie feur ynn dornen, aber ym namen des Herrn will ich sie zuhauen.
13) Man sties mich das ich fallen sollt, aber der Herr halff myr.
14) Der Herr ist meyne stercke vnd meyn psalm, vnd ist meyn heyl.
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sonder leben, vnd erzelen das werck des Herrn.
18) Der Herr züchtiget mich wol, aber er gibt mich dem todte nicht.
19) Thut myr auff die thore der gerechtikeyt, Das ich dahyneyn gehe, vnd dem Herrn dancke.
20) Das ist das thor des Herrn, Die gerechten werden dahyn eyn gehen.
21) Ich dancke dyr das du mich erhörist, vnd bist meyn heyl.
22) Der steyn, den die bawleut verwurffen, Ist zum ecksteyn worden.
23) Das ist vom HERRN geschehen, Vnd ist eyn wunder fur vnsern augen.
24) Dis ist der tag, den der HERR macht, Last vns frewen vnd frölich drynnen seyn.
25) O HERRE hilff, O HERR las wol gelingen.
26) Gelobet sey der do kompt ym namen des HERRN, Wyr segenen euch vom hause des HERRN.
27) Der HERR ist Gott vnd erleuchtet vns, Schmuckt das fest mit meygen bis an die hörner des altars.
28) Du bist meyn Gott vnd ich dancke dyr, Meyn Gott, ich will dich erhöhen.
29) Dancket dem HERRN das er freundlich ist, Vnd seyne guete weret ewiglich.
1) Danckt dem Herrn, das er so freundlich ist, und seine Güte ewiglich weret.
2) Es sage nu Israel, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
3) Es sage nu das haus Aaron, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nu die den Herrn furchten, das seine Güte weret ewiglich.
5) Ynn der angst rieff ich den Herrn an, und der Herr erhöret mich ym weytem rawm.
6) Der Herr ist mir, ich fürchte mich nicht, was myr der mensch thut.
7) Der Herr ist mit myr, myr zu helfen, und ich will meinen lust sehen an meynen feynden.
8) Es ist besser auff den Herrn vertrauen, Denn sich verlassen auff menschen.
9) Es ist besser auff den Herrn trauen, Denn sich verlassen auff fürsten.
10) So mich alle heiden vmbgeben, So wil ich sie ym namen des Herrn behawen.
11) So sie mich vmb vnd vmb vmbgeben, So wil ich sie ym namen des Herrn behawen.
12) Sie vmbgeben mich wie die bienen, sie demppfen wie ein feur ynn dornen, Aber ym namen des Herrn will ich sie behawen.
14) Der Herr ist meyne macht vnd meyn psalm, Vnd ist meyn heyl.
15) Es ist ein stym von freuden vnd heyl ynn den hütten der gerechten, Die rechte des Herrn beweyset macht.
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sonder leben, Vnd erzelen das werck des Herrn.
18) Der Herr züchtiget mich wol, Aber er gibt mich dem todte nicht.
19) Thut myr auff die thore der gerechtikeyt, Das ich dahyneyn gehe, vnd dem Herren dancke.
20) Das ist das thor des Herrn, Die gerechten werden dahyn eyn gehen.
21) Ich dancke dyr das du mich demütigest, Vnd bist meyn heyl.
22) Der steyn, den die bawleut verwerffen, Ist zum ecksteyn
23) Das ist vom HERRN geschehen, Vnd ist eyn wunder für vnsern augen.
24) Dis ist der tag, den der HERR macht, Last vns frewen vnd fröhlich drynnen seyn.
25) O HERRE hilff, O HERR las wol gelingen.
26) Gelobet sey der do kompt ym namen des HERRN, Wyr segenen euch vom hause des HERRN.
27) Der HERR ist Gott vnd erleuchtet vns, Schmuckt das fest mit meygen bis an die hörner des altars.
28) Du bist meyn Gott vnd ich dancke dyr, Meyn Gott, ich will dich erhöhen.
29) Dancket dem HERRN das er freundlich ist, Vnd seyne guete weret ewiglich.
1) Dancket dem HERRN, denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine güte weret ewiglich.
2) Es sage nu Israel, Seine güte weret ewiglich.
3) Es sage nu das haus Aaron, Seine güte weret ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nu die den HERRN fürchten, Seine güte wehret ewiglich.
5) Inn der angst rieff ich den HERRN an, Vnd der HERR erhöret mich, vnd tröstet mich.
6) Der HERR ist mit mir, drumb fürchte ich mich nicht, Was können mir menschen thun?
7) Der HERR ist mit mir, mir zu helffen, Vnd ich will meinen lust sehen an meinen feinden.
8) Es ist gut auff den HERRN vertrawen, Vnd nicht sich verlassen auff menschen.
9) Es ist gut auff den HERRN trawen, Vnd nicht sich verlassen auff Fursten.
10) Alle Heiden vmbgeben mich, Aber jm namen des HERRN wil ich sie zehawen.
11) Sie vmbgeben mich allenthalben, Aber jm namen des HERRN wil ich sie zehawen.
12) Sie vmbgeben mich wie bienen, sie dempffen wie ein fewer jnn dornen, Aber jm namen des HERRN wil ich sie zehawen.
14) Der HERR ist meine macht, vnd mein Psalm, Vnd ist mein heil.
15) Man singet mit frewden vom sieg jnn den hüttten der gerechten, Die Rechte des HERRN behelt den sieg.
16) Die rechte des HERRN ist erhöhet, Die rechte des HERRN behelt den sieg.
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, Vnd des HErrn werck verkündigen.
18) Der HERR züchtiget mich wol, Aber er gibt mich dem tode nicht.
19) Thut mir auff die thore der gerechtigkeit, Das ich da hinein gehe, vnd dem HErrn dancke.
20) Das ist das thor des HERRN, Die gerechten werden da hinein gehen.
21) Ich dancke dir, das du mich demütigest, Vnd hilfffest mir.
22) Der stein, den die bawleute verwerffen, Ist zum Eckstein worden.
23) Das ist vom HERRN geschehen, Vnd ist ein wunder fur vnsern augen.
24) Dis ist der tag, den der HERR macht, Lasst vns frewen vnd frölich drinnen sein.
25) O HERR hilff, O HERR las wol gelingen.
26) Gelobet sey der da kompt jnn namen des HERRN, Wir segenen euch, die jr vom hause des HERRN seid.
27) Der HERR ist Gott, der vns erleuchtet, Schmücket das fest mit meigen, bis an die hörner des altars.
29) Dancket dem HERRN, denn er ist freundlich, Vnd seine güte weret ewiglich.
WA DB, 10.1 (1545), pp. 491-495. Accents and pauses have been added to assist the reader in seeing the rhythm. To aid in this, a uniformity among vowels has been established, and all umlauts have been replaced with the letter "e."

1) Dáncket dem HÉRRN, Denn ér ist freundlich, und seine Güete wëret éwígleich.
2) Es ságe nu Ísraél, Seine güete wëret éwígleich.
3) Es ságe nu das háus Áaron, Seine güete wëhret éwígleich.
4) Es ságen nu die den HÉRRN füerchten, Seine güete wëhret éwígleich.

5) IN der ángst rieff ich den HÉRRN án, Und der HÉRR erhóeret mich und tróestet mich.
6) Der HÉRR ist mit mir, Darumb füerchte ich mich nicht,
   Was köennen mir Ménschen thún?
7) Der HÉRR ist mit mir, mìr zu hélffen, Und ich will meine lust séhen an meinen Féinden.

8) ES ist gút auff den HÉRRN vertráwen, Und nicht sich verlássen auff Ménschen.
9) Es ist gút auff den HÉRRN vertráwen, Und nicht sich verlássen auff Füersten.
10) Alle Héiden umbgében mich, Aber im Námen des HÉRRN wil ich sie zuháwen.
11) Sie umbgében mich allenthalbén, Aber im Námen des HÉRRN wil ich sie zuháwen.
12) Sie umbgében mich, wie Bienen, Sie démpffen, wie ein fëwr in dörnen, Aber im Námen des HÉRRN wil ich sie zuháwen.
14) Der HÉRR ist meine Mácht, und mein Psálm, Und ist mein Héil.

17) Ich wérdé nicht stérrben, sóndern lében, Und des Hérrn Wérück verkúéndigen.
18) Der HÉRR zúechtiget mich wól, Aber er gibt mich dem Tóde nicht.
19) Thüt mir auf die thöre der Gerichtigkeit, Das ich da hin ein gehe, und dem Hérn dancke.
20) Dás ist das thór des HÉRRN, Die Geréchten werden da hin ein gehen.
21) Ich dáncke dir, dás du mich démuetigest, Und hilffest mir.
22) DEr Steín den die Bawleute verwérffen, Íst zum Éckstein wórden.
23) Dás ist vom HÉRRN geschéhen, Und ist ein Wúnder fur unsern äugen.
24) DÍs ist der Tág, den der HÉRR mácht, Lásst uns fréwen und fróélisch drínnen séin.
25) O HÉRR Hílf, O HÉRR lás wol gélingen.
26) Gelóbet sei dér da kóempt im Námen des HÉRRN, Wir ségenen éuch, die ir vom Háuse des HÉRRN séid.
27) Der HÉRR ist Gött, der uns erléuchtet, Schmúecket das Fést mit Méigen, bis an die höerner des Altárs.
28) DÚ bist mein Gött, und ich dáncke dir, Mein Gött, Ich wil dich préisen.
29) Dáncket dem HÉRRN, Denn ér ist fréundlich, Und seine Gúete wéhret éwiglich.
(Refered to as Biblia Pentapla: Roman Cath.)

1) Lobet den Herrn, dann er ist gut, dann seine Barmherzigkeit währet ewiglich.
2) Es sage nun Israel, daß er ist gut, daß seine Barmherzigkeit währet ewiglich.
3) Es sage nun das Haus Aaron, daß seine Barmherzigkeit währet ewiglich.
4) Ich habe den Herrn aus der Trübsal angerufen, und der Herr hat mich in der Breits erhört.
5) Der Herr ist mein Helffer, ich will mich nicht fürchten, was mir der Mensch auch thun mag.
6) Der Herr ist mein Helffer, darumb will ich meine Feinde verachten.
7) Es ist besser auff den Herrn vertrauen, dann auff Menschen vertrauen.
8) Es ist besser auff den Herrn hoffen, dann auff Fürsten hoffen.
9) Alle Heyden haben mich umbgeben, aber im Namen des Herrn hab ich mich an ihnen gerochen.
10) Sie haben mich von allen Seiten umgeben, und im Namen des Herrn hab ich mich an ihenen gerochen.
11) Sie haben mich umgeben wie die Bienen, und brandten wie Feuer in Dornen und im Namen des Herrn hab ich mich an ihenen gerochen.
12) Ich bin gestoffen und beznahe niedergeworffen, daß ich fallen solte, aber der Herr hat mich auffgenommen.
13) Mein Starcke, und mein Lob ist der Herr, und er ist mir zum Heyl worden.
14) Es ist eine Stimm des Frolockens, und des Heyls in den Hutten der Gerechten.
16) Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben und die Wercke des Herrn erzehlen.
17) Der Herr hat mich woh gezüchtiget und gestraffet, und hat mich doch dem Tod nicht übergeben.
18) Thut mir auff die Pforten der Gerechtigkeit, ich will da
hinein gehen, und dem HEerrn danken.
20) Diß ist die Pforte des HEerrn, die Gerechten werden zu
der selbigen hinein gehen.
21) Ich wil die danken, daß du mich erhöret hast, und bist
mir zum Heyl worden.
22) Der Stein, den die Bauleute verworffen haben, der ist zum
Eckstein worden.
23) Das ist vom HEerrn geschehen, und es ist wunderlich in
unsern Augen.
24) Dis ist der Tag, den der Herr gemacht hat, lasset uns an
denselbigen frolocken und frölich seyn.
25) O HEerr hilff mir, O HEerr laß wohl gelingen.
26) Gebenedeyet sey, der da kommt im Namen des HEerrn. Wir
haben euch gesegnet vom Hause des HEerrn.
27) Der HERR ist GOTT, und ist uns erschienen. Verordnet einen
herrlichen Festtag mit dicken Meyen, bis an die Hörner des
Altars.
28) Du bist mein GOTT, und ich will dich preisen, mein GOTT
bist du, und ich will dich erhöhen. Ich will dir danken,
daß du mich erhöret hast, und bist mir zum Heyl worden.
29) LObet den HEerrn, dann er ist gut, dann seine
Barmherzigkeit währ et ewiglich.
(Referred to as Biblia Pentapla: Luth.)

1) Dancket dem HERRn, denn er ist freundlich, und seine Güte währert ewiglich.
2) Es sage nun Israel: Seine Güte währert ewiglich.
3) Es sage nun das Hauß Aaron, seine Güte währert ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nun, die den HERRN fürchten, seine Güte währert ewiglich.
5) In der Angst rieff ich den HERRn an, und der HERR erhörete mich, und tröstete mich.
6) Der HERR ist mit mir, darum fürchte ich mich nicht, was können mir Menschen thun.
7) Der HERR ist mit mir, mir zu helfen, und ich wil meine Lust sehen an meinen Feinden.
8) Es ist gut auf den HERRn vertrauen, und sich nicht verlassen auff Menschen.
9) Es ist gut auff den HERRn vertrauen, und sich nich verlassen auff Fürsten.
10) Alle Heyden umgeben mich, aber im Namen des HERRn wil ich sie zerhauen.
11) Sie umgeben mich allenthalben, aber im Namen des HERRn wil ich sie zerhauen.
12) Sie umgeben mich wie Bienen, sie dampfen wie ein Feuer in Dornen, aber im Namen des HERRn wil ich sie zerhauen.
14) Der HERR ist meine Macht, und mein Psalm, und ist mein Heyl.
16) Die Rechte des HERRn ist erhöhet, die Rechte des HERRn behält den Sieg.
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben, und des HERRn Werck verkündigen.
18) Der HERR züchtiget mich wol, aber er gibt mich dem Tode nicht.
20) Das ist das Thor des HERRn, die Gerechten werden da hinein
gehen.

21) Ich dancke dir, daß du mich demüthigest, und hilffest mir.

22) Der Stein, den die Bauleute verworffen, ist zum Eck-stein worden.

23) Das ist vom HEerrn geschehen, und ist ein Wunder für unsern Augen.

24) Dies ist der Tag, den der HEerr macht, lasset uns freuen und frölich darinnen seyn.

25) O HEerr hilff, o HEerr laß wohl gelingen.

26) Gelobet sey der da kömmt im Namen des HEerrn, wir segnen euch, die ihr vom Hause des HEerrn seyd.

27) Der HEerr ist GOtt, der uns erleuchtet, schmücket das Fest mit Mayen, bis an die Hörner des Altars.


29) Dancket dem HEerrn, denn er ist freundlich, und seine Güte währet ewiglich.
Biblia Pentapla. Das ist: Die Bücher der Heiligen Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments/ Nach Fünf-facher Deutscher Verdolmetschung/ Als ... III. Der Evangelisch-Reformirten/ durch Johann Piscator, Theol. Prof. (Hermann Heinrich Holle, 1711). (Referred to as Biblia Pentapla: Ref.)

1) Dancket dem HERren, dan (er ist) freundlich: dan seine Güte (währet) ewiglich.
3) Es sage nun das Hauß Aharons: seine Güte (währet) ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nun, die den HERREN fürchten: seine Güte (währet) ewiglich.
5) Aus der Angst rieff ich den HERren an: (und) der Herr erhörete mich, (und stellete mich) auf ein geraumes Ort.
6) (Ich sprach:) der HERR (ist) mit mir, (darum) will ich mich nicht fürchten: was können mir Menschen thun?
7) Der HErr (ist) mit mir, unter denen die mir helfen; darum werde ich (das Unglück) sehen an meinen Hassern.
8) (Es ist) besser, auf den HERREN vertrauen: dan sich verlassen auf Menschen.
9) (Es ist) besser auf den HERREN vertrauen: dann sich verlassen auf Fürsten.
10) Alle Heyden umgaben mich: aber im Namen des HERren zerhieb ich sie.
11) Sie umgaben mich, ja sie umgaben mich: aber im Namen des HERren zerhieb ich sie.
12) Sie umgaben mich, wie Bienen: (aber) sie verldsehten wie ein Feuer in Dornen: dan im Namen des HERren zerhieb ich sie.
13) Du stiessest mich heftig daß ich fallen solt: aber der HER half mir.
14) Der HErr (ist) meine Macht, und mein Psalm: dan er ist mein Heyl gewesen.
15) Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg in den Zelten der Gerechten, (die da sprechen:) die Rechte des HERren erzieget Macht.
16) Die Rechte des HERren ist erhöhet: die Rechte des HERren erzieget Macht.
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben: und werde erzehlen die Wercke des HERren.
18) Der HERR hat mich (zwar) heftig gezüchtigt; aber er gab mich dem Tode nicht.
19) Thut mir auf die Thor der Gerechtigkeit: (daß) daß ich
dadurch hinein gehe, (und) dem HErrn dancke.

20) Dis (ist) das Thor des HErrn: die Gerechten werden dadurch hinein gehen.

21) Ich will dir dancken, daß du mich erhöret hast: und mein Heyl gewesen bist.

22) Der Stein, (den) die Bauleute verworfen haben, ist zum Eckstein worden.

23) Dis ist vom HERREN geschehen: (und) es (ist) wundersam für unsern Augen.


25) (O) lieber HERR, schaff nun Heyl: (o) lieber HERR, laß nun wol gelingen.


27) Der HERR (ist) GOTT, und hat uns licht gemacht: bindet Festopfer mit Stricken, bis an die Hörner des Altars.


29) Dancket dem HErrn, dan er ist freundlich, und seine Güte währet ewiglich.

1) Lobt zu Got, den er ist gut; den seine Gnad is zu Ewigheit:
2) Jisrael so izundert sagen; daß deine Gnad is zu Ewigheit:
3) Sie soln izundert sagen das Haus-Gesind von Aharou; daß deine Gnad is zu Ewigheit:
4) Sie soln izundert sagen, die sich vor Got förchten; daß deine Gnad is zu Ewigheit:
5) Von dem Leid hab ich Got angerufen; Got antwor mir in Derweiternis:
6) Got is zu meiner (Hülfl), ich wil mich nit förchten; was wert mir ein Mensch tuhn:
7) Got is zu mir unter meine Helfer; (drum) werd ich (meine Lust) sehn an meinen Feinden:
8) Es is besser daß man sich beschütz an Got; men weder daß man sich versichert an den Menschen:
9) Es is besser daß man sich an Got beschütz; men weder daß man sich versichert an die Hern:
10) Al die Völker haben mich umringelt; an Gots Nahmen (versicher ich mich), drum werd ich sie verschneiden:
11) Sie haben mich umgeringelt, sie haben mich auch umgekreist; an Gots Nahmen (versicher ich mich), drum werd ich sie verschneiden:
12) Sie haben mich umgeringelt, gleich as wie die Bienen, sie seynen ausgelöscht, gleich as wie ein Feuer von Dörner; an Gots Nahmen (wil ich mich versichern) drum werd ich sie verschneiden:
13) Verstossen du hast mich verstossen daß ich hab solt faln; und Got hat mir geholfen:
14) Got is mein Starkheit und mein Lob-Gesang; und er is nur gewesen zu einer Hülfl:
15) In den Gezelt von den Gerechten is ein Stim von Gesang und Hülfl; die recht Hant von Got tuht Helden-Tahten:
16) Die rechte Hant von Got is der höcht; die rechte Hant von Got tuht Helden-Kraft:
17) Ich werd nit sterben, neiert ich werd leben; und ich werd Gots Werk derzählen:
18) Got der hat mich sehr gestraft; aber er hat mich nit zu dem Tot überantwort:
19) Macht mir die Pforten von den Gerechten auf; ich wil da einkummen, (und) ich wil Got loben:
20) Das is die Pfort zu Got; die Gerechte soln da einkummen:
21) Ich wil dich loben, den du hast mir geantwort; und du bist zu mir gewesen zu einer Hülf:
22) Der Stein den die Bau-Meinstler verschmäht haben; is geworden zu einem Haubt-Ekstein:
23) Von Got is das dasig gewesen; es is wunderlich in unsern Augen:
24) Den dasigen Tag hat Got gemacht; mir wöln frölich seyn, und mir wöln sich freuen an ihm:
25) Ich bit dich Got, helf nun; ich bit dich Got, beglük nun:
26) Gebenseht sey der da kumt in Gots Nahmen; mir wöln ihn benschen von Gots Haus:
27) Got der Got, und er sol uns derleuchten; bind das Opfer von dem Feyer-Tag mit dike Seiler, bis an die Horn-Eken von dem Opfer-Stuhl:
28) Du bist mein Got, und ich wil dich loben; mein Got ich wil dich derhöchen:
29) Lobt zu Got, den er is gut; den seine Gnad is zu Ewigheit:
Die Bibel: Nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers, revidiert
1956/1964, für Arbeit und Studium mit Schreibrand (Stuttgart:
Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1970). Italics are original.
(Referred to as RDB.)

1) Danket dem HERRN; denn er ist freundlich,
   und seine Güte währet ewiglich.
2) Es sage nun Israel:
    Seine Güte währet ewiglich.
3) Es sage nun das Haus Aaron:
    Seine Güte währet ewiglich.
4) Es sagen nun, die den HERRN fürchten:
    Seine Güte währet ewiglich.
5) In der Angst rief ich den HERRN an;
   und der HERR erhörte mich, und tröstete mich.
6) Der HERR ist mit mir, darumb fürchte ich mich nicht;
   was können mir Menschen tun?
7) Der HERR ist mit mir, mir zu helfen;
   und ich werde herabsehen auf meine Feinde.
8) Es ist gut, auf den HERRN vertrauen
   und nicht sich verlassen auf Menschen.
9) Es ist gut, auf den HERRN vertrauen
   und nicht sich verlassen auf Fürsten.
10) Alle Heiden umgeben mich;
    aber im Namen des HERRN will ich sie abwehren.
11) Sie umgeben mich von allen Seiten;
    aber im Namen des HERRN will ich sie abwehren.
12) Sie umgeben mich wie Bienen,
    sie entbrennen wie ein Feuer in Dornen;
    aber im Namen des HERRN will ich sie abwehren.
13) Man stößt mich, daß ich fallen soll;
    aber der HERR hilft mir.
14) Der HERR ist meine Macht und mein Psalm
    und ist mein Heil.
15) Man singt mit Freuden vom Sieg in den Hütten der
    Gerechten:
    Die Rechte des HERRN behält den Sieg!
16) Die Rechte des HERRN ist erhöht;
    die Rechte des HERRN behält den Sieg!
17) Ich werde nicht sterben, sondern leben
    und des HERRN Wercke verkündigen.
18) Der HERR züchtigt mich schwer;
    aber er gibt mich dem Tode nicht preis.
19) Tut mir auf die Tore der Gerechtigkeit,  
däß ich durch sie einziehe und dem HERRN danke.  
20) Das ist das Tor des HERRN,  
die Gerechten werden dort einziehen.  
21) Ich danke dir, daß du mich erhört hast  
und hast mir geholfen.  
22) Der Stein, den die Bauleute verworfen haben,  
ist zum Eckstein geworden.  
23) Das ist vom HERRN geschehen  
und ist ein Wunder vor unsern Augen.  
24) Dies ist der Tag, den der HERR macht;  
läßt uns freuen und fröhlich an ihm sein.  
25) O HERR hilf!  
O HERR, laß wohlgelingen!  
26) Gelobt sei, der da kommt im Namen des HERRN!  
Wir segnen euch, die ihr vom Hause des HERRN seid.  
27) Der HERR ist Gott, der uns erleuchtet.  
Schmückt das Fest mit Maien  
bis an die Hörner des Altars!  
28) Du bist mein Gott, und ich danke dir;  
mein Gott, ich will dich preisen.  
29) Danket dem HERRN; denn er ist freundlich,  
und seine Güte währet ewiglich.
Die Bibel in heutigem Deutsch: Die Gute Nachricht des Alten und Neuen Testaments (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982). Italics are original. (Referred to as NDB.)

1) Dankt dem Herrn, denn er ist gut zu uns, seine Liebe hört niemals auf!
2) Die Israeliten sollen rufen: "Seine Liebe hört niemals auf!"
3) Die Priester sollen rufen: "Seine Liebe hört niemals auf!"
4) Alle, die den Herrn verehren, sollen rufen: "Seine Liebe hört niemals auf!"

6) Der Herr steht mir bei; nun fürchte ich nichts mehr. Was könnte ein Mensch mir schon tun?
7) Der Herr steht mir bei, er selber greift ein; darum werde ich mit eigenen Augen sehen, wie meine Feinde unterliegen.
8) Mit dem Herrn rechnen ist besser als sich auf Menschen verlassen.
9) Mit dem Herrn rechnen ist besser als auf die Hilfe der Mächtigen warten.

10) Feindliche Völker umringten mich-- ich trieb sie zurück mit der Hilfe des Herrn!
11) Sie begrängten mich von allen Seiten-- ich trieb sie zurück mit der Hilfe des Herrn!
12) Sie überfielen mich wie Bienenschwärme, doch ich trieb sie zurück mit der Hilfe des Herrn! Einem Strohfeuer glich ihr Angriff, so schnell war er vorüber.
13) Sie setzten mir hart zu, um mich zu Fall zu bringen; doch der Herr hat mir geholfen.
14) Ich will den Herrn rühmen mit meinem Lied, denn er hat mich gerettet.
15) Das Volk Gottes stimmt das Sigeslied an; aus allen Zelten schallt es laut:
16) "Der Herr hat seine Macht gezeigt; 
sein Hand ist siegreich erhoben. 
Er hat die Feinde geschlagen!"

17) Ich muß nicht sterben; ich darf weiterleben 
und erzählen, was der Herr getan hat. 

18) Der Herr hat mich hart angefaßt, 
doch vor dem Tode hat er mich bewahrt. 

19) Öffnet mir das Tor zum Tempel, 
durch das die Treuen einziehen dürfen! 

20) "Hier ist der Zugang zum Herrn. 
Wenn du seine Weisungen treu befolgt hast, 
dann komm, tritt ein!"

21) Ich danke dir, Herr, du hast mich erhört! 
Du hast mir die Rettung gebracht! 

22) Der Stein, den die Bauleute weggeworfen haben, 
krönt nun den ganzen Bau. 

23) Der Herr hat dieses Wunder vollbracht, 
und wir haben es gesehen. 

24) Dieser Festtag ist ein Geschenk des Herrn. 
Heute wollen wir uns freuen und jubeln! 

25) Hilf uns doch, Herr! 
Gib uns Glück und Gelingen! 

26) "Heil dem, der im Auftrag des Herrn kommt! 
Der Segen des Herrn sprechen wir euch zu, 
hier, von seinem Tempel aus."

27) Der Herr allein ist Gott, 
er blickt uns freundlich an. 
"Nehmt Zweige! 
Schließt euch zum festlichen Reigen zusammen 
bis dicht an die Hörner des Altars!"

28) Du bist mein Gott, und ich danke dir; 
mein Gott, ich will dich preisen! 

29) Dankt dem Herrn, denn er ist gut zu uns, 
seine Liebe hört niemals auf!
The Holy Bible (King James Version, 1611). The words not given in italics are those which are thought by the translator to be indicated plainly in the original text. (Referred to as KJV.)

1) O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good; because his mercy endureth for ever.
2) Let Israel now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
3) Let the house of Aaron now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
4) Let them now that fear the LORD say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
5) I called upon the LORD in distress: the LORD answered me, and set me in a large place.
6) The LORD is on my side; I will not fear: what can man do unto me?
7) The LORD taketh my part with them that help me: therefore shall I see my desire upon them that hate me.
8) It is better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in man.
9) It is better to trust in the LORD than to put confidence in princes.
10) All nations compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD will I destroy them.
11) They compassed me about; yea, they compassed me about: but in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.
12) They compassed me about like bees; they are quenched as the fire of thorns: for in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.
13) Thou hast thrust sore at me that I might fall: but the LORD helped me.
14) The LORD is my strength and song, and is become my salvation.
15) The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous: the right hand of the LORD doeth valiantly.
16) The tight hand of the LORD is exalted: the right hand of the LORD doeth valiantly.
17) I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the LORD.
18) The LORD hath chastened me sore: but he hath not given me over unto death.
19) Open to me the gates of righteousness: I will go into them, and I will praise the LORD.
This gate of the LORD, into which the righteous shall enter.
I will praise thee: for thou hast heard me, and art become my salvation.
The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner.
This is the LORD's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes.
This is the day which the LORD hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.
Save now, I beseech thee, O LORD: O LORD, I beseech thee, send now prosperity.
Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the LORD: we have blessed you out of the house of the LORD.
God is the LORD, which hath showed us light: bind the sacrifice with cords, even unto the horns of the altar.
Thou art my God, and I will praise thee: thou art my God, and I will exalt thee.
O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.
It is good to give thanks to the LORD, for his love endures for ever.

Declare it, house of Israel: his love endures for ever.

Declare it, house of Aaron: his love endures for ever.

Declare it, you that fear the LORD: his love endures for ever.

When in my distress I called to the LORD, his answer was to set me free.

The LORD is on my side, I have no fear; what can man do to me?

The LORD is on my side, he is my helper, and I shall gloat over my enemies.

It is better to find refuge in the LORD than to trust in men.

It is better to find refuge in the LORD than to trust in princes.

All nations surround me, but in the LORD's name I will drive them away.

They surround me on this side and on that, but in the LORD's name I will drive them away.

They surround me like bees at the honey; they attack me, as fire attacks brushwood, but in the LORD's name I will drive them away.

They thrust hard against me so that I nearly fall; but the LORD has helped me.

The LORD is my refuge and defence, and he has become my deliverer.

Hark! Shouts of deliverance in the camp of the victors! With his rich hand the LORD does mighty deeds, the right hand of the LORD raises up.

I shall not die but live to proclaim the works of the LORD.

The LORD did indeed chasten me, but he did not surrender me to Death.

Open to me the gates of victory; I will enter by them and praise the LORD.

This is the gate of the LORD;
the victors shall make their entry through it.

21) I will praise thee, for thou hast answered me
and hast become my deliverer.

22) The stone which the builders rejected
has become the chief corner-stone.

23) This is the LORD's doing;
it is marvellous in our eyes.

24) This is the day on which the LORD has acted:
let us exult and rejoice in it.

25) We pray thee, O LORD, deliver us;
we pray thee, O LORD, send us prosperity.

26) Blessed in the name of the LORD are all who come;
we bless you from the house of the LORD.

27) The LORD is God; he has given light to us,
the ordered line of pilgrims by the horns of the
altar.

28) Thou art my God and I will praise thee;
my God, I will exalt thee.

29) It is good to give thanks to the LORD,
for his love endures for ever.
1) Give thanks to the LORD, for He is good;  
   For His lovingkindness is everlasting.
2) Oh let Israel say,  
   "His lovingkindness is everlasting."
3) Oh let the house of Aaron say,  
   "His lovingkindness is everlasting."
4) Oh let those who fear the LORD say,  
   "His lovingkindness is everlasting."
5) From my distress I called upon the LORD;  
   The LORD answered me and set me in a large place.
6) The LORD is for me; I will not fear;  
   What can man do to me?
7) The LORD is for me among those who help me;  
   Therefore I shall look with satisfaction on those who hate me.
8) It is better to take refuge in the LORD  
   Than to trust in man.
9) It is better to take refuge in the LORD  
   Than to trust in princes.
10) All nations surrounded me;  
    In the name of the LORD I will surely cut them off.
11) They surrounded me, yes, they surrounded me;  
    In the name of the LORD I will surely cut them off.
12) They surrounded me like bees;  
    They were extinguished as a fire of thorns;  
    In the name of the LORD I will surely cut them off.
13) You pushed me violently so that I was falling,  
    But the LORD helped me.
14) The LORD is my strength and song,  
    And He has become my salvation.
15) The sound of joyful shouting and salvation is in the tents of the righteous;  
    The right hand of the LORD does valiantly.
16) The right hand of the LORD is exalted;  
    The right hand of the LORD does valiantly.
17) I shall not die, but live,  
    And tell of the works of the LORD.
18) The LORD has disciplined me severely, 
   But He has not given me over to death.

19) Open to me the gates of righteousness; 
   I shall enter through them, I shall give thanks to the 
   LORD.

20) This is the gate of the LORD; 
   The righteous will enter through it.

21) I shall give thanks to Thee, for Thou has answered me; 
   And Thou has become my salvation.

22) The stone which the builders rejected 
   Has become the chief corner stone.

23) This is the LORD's doing; 
   It is marvelous in our eyes.

24) This is the day which the LORD has made; 
   Let us rejoice and be glad in it.

25) O LORD, do save, we beseech Thee; 
   O LORD, we beseech Thee, do send prosperity!

26) Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the LORD; 
   We have blessed you from the house of the LORD.

27) The LORD is God, and He has given us light; 
   Bind the festival sacrifice with cords to the horns of the 
   altar.

28) Thou art my God, and I give thanks to Thee; 
   Thou art my God, I extol Thee.

29) Give thanks to the LORD, for He is good; 
   For his lovingkindness is everlasting.
The Living Bible: Paraphrased (1971). (Referred to as LB.)

1) Oh, thank the Lord, for he's so good! His lovingkindness is forever.
2) Let the congregation of Israel praise him with these words: "His lovingkindness is forever."
3) And let the priests of Aaron chant, "His lovingkindness is forever."
4) Let the Gentile converts chant, "His lovingkindness is forever."
5) In my distress I prayed to the Lord and he answered me and rescued me.
6) He is for me! How can I be afraid? What can mere man do to me?
7) The Lord is on my side, he will help me. Let those who hate me beware.
8) It is better to trust the Lord than to put confidence in men.
9) It is better to take refuge in him than in the mightiest king!
10) Though all the nations of the world attack me, I will march out behind his banner and destroy them.
11) Yes, they surround and attack me; but with his flag flying above me I will cut them off.
12) They swarm around me like bees; they blaze against me like a roaring flame. Yet beneath his flag I shall destroy them.
13) You did your best to kill me, O my enemy, but the Lord helped me.
14) He is my strength and song in the heat of battle, and now he has given me the victory.
15) Songs of joy at the news of our rescue are sung in the homes of the godly.
16) The strong arm of the Lord has done glorious things!
17) I shall not die, but live to tell of all his deeds.
18) The Lord has punished me, but not handed me over to death.
19) Open the gates of the Temple--I will go in and give him my thanks.
20) Those gates are the way into the presence of the Lord, and
the godly enter there.

21) O Lord, thank you so much for answering my prayer and saving me.

22) The stone rejected by the builders has now become the capstone of the arch!

23) This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous to see!

24) This is the day the Lord has made. We will rejoice and be glad in it.


26) Blessed is the one who is coming, the one sent by the Lord. We bless you from the Temple.

27) Jehovah God is our light. I present to him my sacrifice upon the altar,

28) for you are my God, and I shall give you this thanks and this praise.

29) Oh, give thanks to the Lord, for he is so good! For his lovingkindness is forever.
1) Give thanks to the LORD, for he is good;  
his love endures forever.

2) Let Israel say:  
"His love endures forever."

3) Let the house of Aaron say:  
"His love endures forever."

4) Let those who fear the LORD say:  
"His love endures forever."

5) In my anguish I cried to the LORD,  
and he answered by setting me free.

6) The LORD is with me; I will not be afraid.  
What can man do to me?

7) The LORD is with me; he is my helper.  
I will look in triumph on my enemies.

8) It is better to take refuge in the LORD  
than to trust in man.

9) It is better to take refuge in the Lord  
than to trust in princes.

10) All the nations surrounded me,  
but in the name of the LORD I cut them off.

11) They surrounded me on every side,  
but in the name of the LORD I cut them off.

12) They swarmed around me like bees,  
but they died out as quickly as burning thorns;  
in the name of the LORD I cut them off.

13) I was pushed back and about to fall,  
but the LORD helped me.

14) The LORD is my strength and my song;  
he has become my salvation.

15) Shouts of joy and victory  
resound in the tents of the righteous:  
"The LORD's right hand has done mighty things!"

16) The LORD's right hand is lifted high;  
the LORD's right had has done mighty things!"
17) I will not die but live,
    and will proclaim what the LORD has done.
18) The LORD has chastened me severely,
    but he has not given me over to death.

19) Open for me the gates of righteousness;
    I will enter and give thanks to the LORD.
20) This is the gate of the LORD
    through which the righteous may enter.
21) I will give you thanks, for you answered me;
    you have become my salvation.

22) The stone the builders rejected
    has become the capstone;
23) the LORD has done this,
    and it is marvelous in our eyes.
24) This is the day the LORD has made;
    let us rejoice and be glad in it.

25) O LORD, save us;
    O LORD, grant us success.
26) Blessed is he who comes in the name of the LORD.
    From the house of the LORD we bless you.
27) The LORD is God,
    and he has made his light shine upon us.
    With boughs in hand, join in the festal procession
    up to the horns of the altar.
28) You are my God, and I will give you thanks;
    you are my God, and I will exalt you.

29) Give thanks to the LORD, for he is good;
    his love endures forever.
1) Give thanks to the LORD, for he is good;  
   his mercy endures for ever.
2) Let Israel now proclaim,  
   "His mercy endures for ever."
3) Let the house of Aaron now proclaim,  
   "His mercy endures for ever."
4) Let those who fear the LORD now proclaim,  
   "His mercy endures for ever."
5) I called to the LORD in my distress;  
   the LORD answered by setting me free.
6) The LORD is at my side, therefore I will not fear;  
   what can anyone do to me?
7) The LORD is at my side to help me;  
   I will triumph over those who hate me.
8) It is better to rely on the LORD  
   than to put any trust in flesh.
9) It is better to rely on the LORD  
   than to put any trust in rulers.
10) All the ungodly encompass me;  
    in the name of the LORD I will repel them.
11) They hem me in, they hem me in on every side;  
    in the name of the LORD I will repel them.
12) They swarm about like bees;  
    they blaze like a fire of thorns;  
    in the name of the LORD I will repel them.
13) I was pressed so hard that I almost fell,  
    but the LORD came to my help.
14) The LORD is my strength and my song,  
    and he has become my salvation.
15) There is a sound of exultation and victory  
    in the tents of the righteous:
16) "The right hand of the LORD has triumphed!  
    the right hand of the LORD is exalted!  
    the right hand of the LORD has triumphed!"
17) I shall not die, but live,  
    and declare the works of the LORD.
18) The LORD has punished me sorely, but he did not hand me over to death.

19) Open for me the gates of righteousness; I will enter them; I will offer thanks to the LORD.

20) "This is the gate of the LORD; he who is righteous may enter."

21) I will give thanks to you, for you answered me and have become my salvation.

22) The same stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone.

23) This is the LORD's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes.

24) On this day the LORD has acted; we will rejoice and be glad in it.


26) Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; we bless you from the house of the LORD.

27) God is the LORD; he has shined upon us; form a procession with branches up to the horns of the altar

28) "You are my God, and I will thank you; you are my God, and I will exalt you."

29) Give thanks to the LORD, for he is good; his mercy endures for ever.
1) Oh, give thanks to the LORD, for He is good!
   Because His mercy endures forever.

2) Let Israel now say,
   "His mercy endures forever."

3) Let the house of Aaron now say,
   "His mercy endures forever."

4) Let those who fear the LORD now say,
   "His mercy endures forever."

5) I called on the LORD in distress;
   The LORD answered me and set me in a broad place.

6) The LORD is on my side;
   I will not fear.
   What can man do to me?

7) The LORD is for me among those who help me;
   Therefore I shall see my desire on those who hate me.

8) It is better to trust in the LORD
   Than to put confidence in man.

9) It is better to trust in the LORD
   Than to put confidence in princes.

10) All nations surrounded me,
    But in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.

11) They surrounded me,
    Yes, they surrounded me;
    But in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.

12) They surrounded me like bees;
    They were quenched like a fire of thorns;
    For in the name of the LORD I will destroy them.

13) You pushed me violently, that I might fall,
    But the LORD helped me.

14) The LORD is my strength and song,
    And He has become my salvation.

15) The voice of rejoicing and salvation
    Is in the tents of the righteous;
    The right hand of the LORD does valiantly.

16) The right hand of the LORD is exalted;
    The right hand of the LORD does valiantly.
17) I shall not die, but live,
And declare the works of the LORD.
18) The LORD has chastened me severely,
But He has not given me over to death.

19) Open to me the gates of righteousness;
I will go through them,
And I will praise the LORD.
20) This is the gate of the LORD,
Through which the righteous shall enter.

21) I will praise You,
For You have answered me,
And have become my salvation.

22) The stone which the builders rejected
Has become the chief cornerstone.

23) This was the LORD's doing;
It is marvelous in our eyes.

24) This is the day which the LORD has made;
We will rejoice and be glad in it.

25) Save now, I pray, O LORD;
O LORD, I pray, send now prosperity.

26) Blessed is he who comes in the name of the LORD!
We have blessed you from the house of the LORD.

27) God is the LORD,
And He has given us light;
Bind the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar.

28) You are my God, and I will praise You;
You are my God, I will exalt You.

29) Oh, give thanks to the LORD, for He is good!
For His mercy endures forever.
The Holy Bible (New Revised Standard Version, 1989). (Referred to as NRSV.)

1) O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good; his steadfast love endures forever!

2) Let Israel say, "His steadfast love endures forever."

3) Let the house of Aaron say, "His steadfast love endures forever."

4) Let those who fear the LORD say, "His steadfast love endures forever."

5) Out of my distress I called on the LORD; the LORD answered me and set me in a broad place.

6) With the LORD on my side I do not fear. What can mortals do to me?

7) The LORD is on my side to help me; I shall look in triumph on those who hate me.

8) It is better to take refuge in the LORD than to put confidence in mortals.

9) It is better to take refuge in the LORD than to put confidence in princes.

10) All nations surrounded me; in the name of the LORD I cut them off!

11) They surrounded me, surrounded me on every side; in the name of the LORD I cut them off!

12) They surrounded me like bees, they blazed like a fire of thorns; in the name of the LORD I cut them off!

13) I was pushed hard, so that I was falling, but the LORD helped me.

14) The LORD is my strength and my might; he has become my salvation.

15) There are glad songs of victory in the tents of righteous: "The right hand of the LORD does valiantly;

16) the right hand of the LORD is exalted; the right hand of the LORD does valiantly."

17) I shall not die, but I shall live, and recount the deeds of the LORD.

18) The LORD has punished me severely,
but he did not give me over to death.

19) Open to me the gates of righteousness,
    that I may enter through them
    and give thanks to the LORD.

20) This is the gate of the LORD;
    the righteous shall enter through it.

21) I thank thee that you have answered me
    and have become my salvation.
22) The stone which the builders rejected
    has become the chief cornerstone.
23) This is the LORD's doing;
    it is marvelous in our eyes.
24) This is the day that the LORD has made;
    let us rejoice and be glad in it.
25) Save us, we beseech you, O LORD!
    O LORD, we beseech you, give us success!

26) Blessed be the one who comes in the name of the LORD.
    We bless you from the house of the LORD.
27) The LORD is God,
    and he has given us light.
    Bind the festal procession with branches,
    up to the horns of the altar.
28) You are my God, and I will give thanks to you;
    you are my God, I will extol you.

29) O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good,
    for his steadfast love endures forever.
The Holy Bible (Contemporary English Version, 1995). (Referred to as CEV.)

1) Tell the LORD how thankful you are, because he is kind and always merciful.

2) Let Israel shout, "God is always merciful!"

3) Let the family of Aaron the priest shout, "God is always merciful!"

4) Let every true worshiper of the LORD shout, "God is always merciful!"

5) When I was really hurting, I prayed to the LORD. He answered my prayer, and took my worries away.

6) The LORD is on my side, and I am not afraid of what others can do to me.

7) With the LORD on my side, I will defeat all of my hateful enemies.

8) It is better to trust the LORD for protection than to trust anyone else, including strong leaders.

9) Nations surrounded me, but I got rid of them by the power of the LORD.

10) They attacked from all sides, but I got rid of them by the power of the LORD.

11) They swarmed around like bees, but by the power of the LORD, I got rid of them and their fiery sting.

12) Their attacks were so fierce that I nearly fell,
but the LORD helped me.

14) My power and my strength
    come from the LORD
    and he has saved me.

15) From the tents of God's people
    come shouts of victory:
        "The LORD is powerful!"

16) With his mighty arm
    the LORD wins victories!
        The LORD is powerful!"

17) And so my life is safe,
    and I will live to tell
    what the LORD has done.

18) He punished me terribly,
    but he did not let death
    lay its hands on me.

19) Open the gates of justice!
    I will enter and tell the LORD
    how thankful I am.

20) Here is the gate of the LORD!
    Everyone who does right
    may enter this gate.

21) I praise the LORD
    for answering my prayers
    and saving me.

22) The stone that the builders
    tossed aside
    has now become
    the most important stone.

23) The LORD has done this,
    and it is amazing to us.

24) This day belongs to the LORD!
    Let's celebrate
    and be glad today.

25) We'll ask the LORD to save us!
    We'll sincerely ask the LORD
    to let us win.
26) God bless the one who comes
   in the name of the LORD!
   We praise you from here
   in the house of the LORD.

27) The LORD is our God,
    and he has given us light!
    Start the celebration!
    March with palm branches
    all the way to the altar.

28) The LORD is my God!
    I will praise him and tell him
    how thankful I am.

29) Tell the LORD
    how thankful you are,
    because he is kind
    and always merciful.
The following is a deliberately literal translation of the 1545 German translation given by Luther.

1) Thank the LORD, for he is friendly, and his goodness endures forever.
2) Let now Israel say, his goodness endures forever.
3) Let now the house of Aaron say, his goodness endures forever.
4) Let now those who fear the LORD say, his goodness endures forever.
5) In angst I called on the LORD, and the LORD hears me and comforts me.
6) The LORD is with me, therefore I fear not; what can men do to me?
7) The LORD is with me, to help me, and I will see my desire on my enemies.
8) It is good to rely in the LORD, and not to trust upon men.
9) It is good to rely in the LORD, and not to trust upon princes.
10) All heathen surround me, but in the name of the LORD I will cut them up.
11) They surround me on all sides, but in the name of the LORD I will cut them up.
12) They surround me like bees; they consume like a fire in thorns, but in the name of the LORD I will cut them up.
13) A person pushes me, that I fall, but the LORD helps me.
14) The LORD is my strength, and my psalm, and is my salvation.
15) A person sings with joy because of the victory in the tents of the righteous: The right hand of the LORD won the victory!
16) The right hand of the LORD was exalted! The right hand of the LORD won the victory!"

17) I shall not die, but live, and proclaim the Lord's work.
18) The LORD chastens me indeed, but he does not give me to death.
19) Open up to me the gates of righteousness, that I may go in there and thank the LORD.
20) This is the gate of the LORD; the righteous will enter in
there.
21) I thank you, that you humble and you help me.

22) The stone which the builders reject has become the cornerstone.
23) This is from the LORD, and it is a wonder for our eyes.

24) This is the day which the LORD makes; let us rejoice and be glad in it.

25) O LORD, help! O LORD, grant us success indeed!
26) Glory be to him who comes in the name of the LORD; we bless you who are from the house of the LORD.
27) The LORD is God, who enlightens us; adorn the festival with branches up to the horns of the altar.

28) You are my God, and I thank you; my God, I will praise you.

29) Thank the LORD, for he is friendly, and his goodness endures forever.
The following is an English translation which seeks to use many of the same perspectives which Luther employed while translating this Psalm without being a literal translation.

1) O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is kind, and his mercy endures forever.
2) Let Israel now say: "His mercy endures forever."
3) Let the house of Aaron now say: "His mercy endures forever."
4) Let those who fear the Lord now say: "His mercy endures forever."
5) When in distress I call to the Lord; the Lord hears my cry and gives me comfort.
6) The Lord is at my side; therefore I will not fear; what can anyone do to me?
7) The Lord is at my side to help me; what I desire for my enemies will all come true.
8) It is good to rely on the Lord; do not put your trust in people.
9) It is good to rely on the Lord; do not put your trust in princes.
10) All the nations may surround me, in the name of the Lord I will cut them off.
11) They may surround me on all sides, in the name of the Lord I will cut them off.
12) They may surround me like bees; they may blaze like a fire of thorns, in the name of the Lord I will cut them off.
13) When people push me so that I fall, the Lord comes to help me.
14) The Lord is my strength, my psalm, and my savior.
15) In the tents of the righteous they sing for joy because of the victory: "The Lord's right hand gave the victory!"
16) The Lord's right hand was exalted! The Lord's right hand gave the victory!"
17) I shall not die, but I shall live,
and declare the work of the Lord.

18) The Lord chastens me completely,  
but he does not give me over to death.

19) Open to me the gates of righteousness,  
that I may enter into them  
and give thanks unto the Lord.

20) This is the gate of the Lord;  
the righteous enter into it.

21) I give you thanks because you both humble me and help me.

22) The stone which the builders reject  
has become the cornerstone.

23) The Lord has done this;  
it is a wonder to behold.

24) This is the day made by the Lord;  
let us rejoice and be glad in it.

25) O Lord, help us!  
O Lord, help us to flourish!

26) Glory be to him who comes in the name of the Lord;  
we bless you who are from the house of the Lord.

27) The Lord is God;  
he gives us light.  
Beautify the festival with branches  
that reach up to the horns of the altar.

28) You are my God,  
and I will give you thanks.  
You are my God,  
and I will praise you.

29) O give thanks unto the Lord,  
for he is kind,  
and his mercy endures forever.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


--------. Madison, Wisconsin. Interview, 10 June 1993.


The Bible. Various texts.


*Biblia hebraica cum punctis et accentibus per Gersonem Ben Mose Soncinatem.* Brescia, 1494.


King James Version. 1611.

Martin Luther Wolfenbütteler Psalter, 1513-1515.
Edited by Eleanor Roach and Reinhard Schwarz.
Wolfenbüttel: Insel Verlag, 1983.


Versio Veteris Testamenti graeca LXX interpretum. Venedig, 1518.


Cappelli, Adriano. *The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Paleography*. Translated by David Heimann and


Mays, James L. "Luther as Interpreter of Scripture."


Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Biblioteka Jagiellońska. Cracow. MSS.

