# **Bis repetita placent:**

## Jerome's translations of Psalm citations in 1 Chronicles 16

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ABSTRACT • Two translations of the Psalter by Saint Jerome (ca. 347-420) have come down to us: (1) the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* (ca. 390), translated from a Greek Vorlage, and (2) the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (ca. 392), translated from a Hebrew Vorlage. When translating the Hebrew text of 1 Chronicles (ca. 396), Jerome was confronted with several lengthy quotations from Ps 95, 104 & 105 in chapter 16. As a result, we do now have three translations of these Psalms, two of which are based on a nearly identical Hebrew Vorlage (viz. the *iuxta Hebraeos* versions and 1 Ch 16). Even though the Masoretic texts of these passages in the Psalter and 1 Chronicles are very similar, the two Latin versions contain some interesting differences as well. The present study will delve deeper into the mechanisms that caused these deviations and what they tell us about (the development of) Jerome's translation technique.

KEYWORDS • Jerome - Vulgate - translation technique - Chronicles - Psalms

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG • Zwei Übersetzungen des Psalters des heiligen Hieronymus (ca. 347-420) sind uns überliefert: (1) das *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* (ca. 390), übersetzt aus einer griechischen Vorlage, und (2) das *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (ca. 392), übersetzt aus einer hebräischen Vorlage. Bei der Übersetzung des hebräischen Textes von 1. Chronik (ca. 396) wurde Hieronymus mit mehreren langen Zitaten aus Ps 95, 104 und 105 in Kapitel 16 konfrontiert. Als Ergebnis haben wir jetzt drei Übersetzungen dieser Psalmen, von denen zwei auf einer fast identischen hebräischen Vorlage basieren (nämlich die *iuxta Hebraeos* Versionen und 1 Ch 16). Obwohl die masoretischen Texte dieser Passagen im Psalter und in der 1. Chronik sehr ähnlich sind, enthalten die beiden lateinischen Versionen auch einige interessante Unterschiede. Die vorliegende Studie wird tiefer in die Mechanismen eintauchen, die diese Abweichungen verursacht haben und was sie uns über (die Entwicklung von) Hieronymus' Übersetzungstechnik sagen.

SCHLAGWORTE • Hieronymus – Vulgata – Übersetzungstechnik – Chronik – Psalmen

<sup>1</sup> My research project, entitled 'Where "the Translator" Meets Translation Studies', endeavors to characterize Jerome's Latin translations of the Book of Psalms in light of modern Translation Studies. The project is supervised by Prof. Reinhart Ceulemans (supervisor) and Prof. Bénédicte Lemmelijn (co-supervisor). I am grateful to both Reinhart Ceulemans and Michael Graves for their valuable remarks on a previous draft of this chapter.

### Introduction and overview of the corpus

By the end of 392, Jerome had completed two translations of the book of Psalms. The first was translated from Origen's hexaplaric revision of the LXX Psalter.<sup>2</sup> This translation is referred to as the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* (hereafter: Hg), but is also called the *Gallicanum* because of the early popularity of this translation in the Roman province of Gallia. Frequently used in liturgy and later even incorporated in the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, Hg was the most popular Latin Psalter. It preserves a lot of vocabulary and phraseology of the Old Latin tradition, especially the *Psalterium Romanum*, and is therefore often regarded as a revision or emendation of the *Psalterium Romanum*, and is therefore often regarded as a revision or emendation of the *Psalterium Romanum* rather than a brand new translation.<sup>3</sup> The *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (hereafter: Hh), Jerome's second Psalm translation that has come down to us, was based on a Hebrew instead of a Greek *Vorlage*. Most probably, Hh was Jerome's very first translations of books of the Hebrew.<sup>4</sup> In the years following 392, he continued to produce Latin translations of books of the Hebrew Bible, a project which he finished around 405.<sup>5</sup> Around 396, Jerome completed his Latin translation of the Hebrew text of 1–2 Chronicles. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein characterized it as a translation that is rather 'detached' from its Hebrew *Vorlage*, in contrast to Jerome's more 'rigid' and 'imitative' Psalter translations.<sup>6</sup>

A specific chapter in the books of Chronicles, viz. 1 Chron 16, provides interesting material for research on Jerome's translation technique. The chapter relates how the Ark of the Covenant is brought to Jerusalem under the reign of king David. Subsequently, the chronicler recounts how David 'first appointed the singing of praises to the Lord by Asaph and his kindred' (v. 17).<sup>7</sup> The

- <sup>2</sup> The chronology of Jerome's Biblical translations in this article is based on Williams' overview of Jerome's life and work in Williams, Megan H., *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2006, 267-301. Not all scholars agree, however, on the chronology and order of Jerome's translations: some have argued that Hh was translated first, but others have suggested Isaiah or the books of Samuel. For an overview and bibliography on these questions, see Graves, Michael, "Vulgate", in Lange, Armin & Tov, Imanu'el (eds.), *Textual History of the Bible (1A)*, Brill, Leiden 2016, 278-288.
- <sup>3</sup> In epistle 106.12 and elsewhere Jerome himself uses the verb *emendare* when referring to his work on Hg.
- <sup>4</sup> The current *communis opinio* that Jerome had completed a (lost) first translation in Rome (different from the *Psalter-ium Romanum*) in ca. 384 before producing Hg and soon after Hh in the years 389-392, was heavily refuted by Arthur Allgeier in several publications, such as: "Ist das Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos die letzte (3.) Psalmenübersetzung des Hl. Hieronymus?", *Theologie und Glaube* 18 (1926) 671-687; Idem, "Schlussbemerkungen zum Gebrauch der Hexapla bei Hieronymus", *Biblica* 8.4 (1927) 468-469; Idem, "Die Hexapla in den Psalmenübersetzung des Heiligen Hieronymus und das Psalterium Romanum", *Biblica* 12 (1931) 447-482; Idem, *Die Psalmen der Vulgata: ihre Eigenart, sprachliche Grundlage und geschichtliche Stellung* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 22.3), Schöningh, Paderborn 1940. Allgeier's views were countered by the French Biblical scholar Donatien de Bruyne, see especially De Bruyne, Donatien, "Le problème du psautier romain", *Revue Bénédictine* 42 (1930) 101-126, and are not commonly accepted today.
- <sup>5</sup> For a general overview of Jerome's translations of the Hebrew Bible, see Kedar-Kopfstein, Benjamin, *The Vulgate as a Translation. Some Semantic and Syntactical Aspects of Jerome's Version of the Hebrew Bible* (doctoral dissertation), Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1968.
- <sup>6</sup> Kedar-Kopfstein, *The Vulgate as a Translation*, 284.
- <sup>7</sup> The English translation used here is the New Revised Standard Version (Updated Edition).

text then quotes Psalms 95(96): 1-13, 104(105): 1-15 and 105(106): 47-48, albeit slightly modified. These parallel passages provide excellent material to examine how (or if) Jerome's translation technique vis-à-vis these Psalm texts changed during the five-year period between the completion of Hh Psalter and Vg Chronicles, and what this can tell us about the text-critical value of Jerome's translations for the reconstruction of his Hebrew *Vorlage*. Therefore, the present study will delve deeper into Jerome's Latin translation of these psalm citations in 1 Ch 16 by comparing them with the previously translated Hh version of these psalms. A table displaying Jerome's translation of the Psalter verses in question and the parallel verses in Vg Chronicles has been included in the appendix.<sup>8</sup>

Our analysis below will lead to four conclusions. First, ample evidence demonstrates that Jerome translated both the Hh Psalms and the quotations in 1 Ch 16 faithfully and with respect to the Hebrew source texts. This can be inferred from the fact that both Latin versions reflect textual variants in the Hebrew text tradition as presented in the BHS and Kennicott very diligently. Second, Hh and Vg parallels contain some lexical inconsistencies that were to be expected since the two texts were translated five years apart from one another. Third, some of these lexical inconsistencies might be due to the Psalter text was a very central document in Jerome's liturgical life,<sup>9</sup> and as such the Hh translation was more eager to conserve tradition-oriented OL language, semitisms and septuagintalims. Fourth, some renderings in Vg Chronicles echo the language of Hg instead of the Hh. This is most probably caused by Jerome's continued use of Hg in his daily liturgical praxis.

### **Analysis**

#### 1. Jerome's faithfulness to the source texts

As has already been mentioned above, the psalm citations in 1 Ch 16 are not fully identical to the parallel Psalms in the Psalter. A comparison of the two Latin versions reveals that Jerome did

- <sup>8</sup> I cite Hg from Weber, Robert & Gryson, Roger (eds.), Biblia Sacra Vulgata iuxta Vulgatam Versionem (Editio Quinta), Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 2007, and Hh from De Sainte-Marie, Henri (ed.), Sancti Hieronymu Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (Collectanea Biblical Latina 11), Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, Rome 1954, which has a more detailed critical apparatus than Weber-Gryson. The Hebrew text is based on the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, copied from parabible.com. The LXX Psalms verses in this chapter are cited according to Rahlfs, Alfred (ed.), Psalmi cum Odis (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 10), Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1979). The rest of the LXX is cited from Rahlfs, Alfred (ed.), Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart 1971.
- <sup>9</sup> For the central place of Psalmody in fourth-century Christian liturgy and monasticism, see Buchinger, Harald, "Psalm (liturgisch)", *RAC* 220/221 (2018), 459-495; McKinnon, James M., "The Book of Psalms, Monasticism, and Western Liturgy", in Van Deusen, Nancy (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture in the Middle Ages*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1999, 43-50; Idem, "Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement", *Music & Letters* 75.4 (1994), 505-521; Dyer, Joseph, "The Desert, the City and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century", in Gallagher, Sean, Haar, James, Nádas, John & Striplin, Timothy (eds.), *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium. Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, Aldershot Ashgate 2003, 11-45.

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not simply copy-paste his earlier Hh translation of these Psalms, but rather translated the entire passage of 1 Ch 16 anew, while taking into account these differences in the Hebrew texts. Some straightforward examples include the following:

1 Ch 16: 13	ָזֶרַע <b>יִשְׂרָאֵל</b> עַבְדּו בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירָיו:			
	semen <b>Israhel</b> servi eius filii Iacob electi illius			
Ps 104(105): 6 גָי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירָיו: β גָי יַעֲקֹב אָרָדָהָם עַבְדּוֹ				
	semen Abraham servi eius filii Iacob electi eius			
1 Ch 16: 15a	<b>זָכְרוּ</b> לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתֹו			
	recordamini in sempiternum pacti eius			
Ps 104(105): 8a	<b>זָכַר</b> לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתׂו			
	recordatus est in aeternum pacti sui			
1 Ch 16: 20	וַיִּתְהַלְּכוּ מָגּוּי אֶל־גּוּי וּמָמַמְלָכָה אֶל־עֵם אַחֵר:			
	et transierunt de gente in gentem <b>et</b> de regno ad populum alterum			
Ps 104(105): 13	וַיִּתְהַלְכוּ מָגּוי אֶל־גּױ מָמַמְלָכָה אֶל־עַם אַחֵר:			
et transierunt de gente in gentem $\{ \boldsymbol{\mathscr{O}} \}$ de regno ad populum alterum <sup>10</sup>				

Similar cases can be found in 1 Ch 16: 22 [Ps 104(105): 15], 1 Ch 16: 23 [Ps 95(96): 1], 1 Ch 16: 27 [Ps 95(96): 6], 1 Ch 16:28 [Ps 95(96): 8], 1 Ch 16: 31 [Ps 95(96): 10], 1 Ch 16: 32 [Ps 95(96): 12], 1 Ch 16:33 [Ps (95)96: 12], 1 Ch 16:35 [Ps 105(106):47], and 1 Ch 16:36 [Ps 105(106): 48].

Some of the differences in the Latin versions even reflect even more subtle changes in the Hebrew:

1 Ch 16: 21a	לא־הִנִּים <b>לְאִישׁ</b> לְעָשְׁקָם			
	non dimisit <b>quemquam</b> caluminiari eos			
Ps 104(105): 14a	לא־הִנִּיח <b>ַ אָדָם</b> לְעָשְׁקָם			
	non dimisit <b>hominem</b> ut noceret eis			

In this example, Jerome correctly identified the Hebrew use of איש as an *indefinitum* and translated adequately as *quisque* in Latin, instead of *homo* in Ps 104(105): 14a.

Since these aforementioned variants show that Jerome translated the two Hebrew texts very faithfully while taking into account even minor variants in the Hebrew texts, suggests that also other differences in the Latin texts of 1 Ch 16 and Hh go back on textual variants in Jerome's Hebrew *Vorlage*, even when these variants are not recorded in BHS.<sup>11</sup> A comparison with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The apparatus of De Sainte-Marie (p. 150) indicates that many manuscripts have *in gentem et de regno*, which runs smoother in Latin and is in accordance with the text in 1 Ch 16: 20 and Hg. The shorter reading, without *et*, is the *lectio difficilior*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the BHQ edition of Psalms is not yet available. Once completed, such a critical edition of the Hebrew Psalter text will greatly contribute to the study of Jerome's Hh.

overview of textual variants in the broader Hebrew tradition by Kennicott<sup>12</sup> affirms that in some cases, Jerome's *Vorlage* indeed differed from the Masoretic Text presented in the BHS.

For instance, the plural form *in carminibus tuis* in 1 Ch 16:34b might reflect a non-vocalized Hebrew plural form בתהילתיך or בתהילתיך that is attested in 4 manuscripts for Ps 105(106): 47 and in 1 manuscript for 1 Ch 16: 35 (still according to Kennicott).<sup>13</sup> The LXX ἐν ταῖς αἰνἑσεσίν σου probably goes back to a similar plural form.

The minus of the dative pronoun *illi* in 1 Ch 16: 9a indicates that Jerome's Hebrew *Vorlage* of that verse lacked the prepositional phrase  $i^{2}$  2°, which was present in Ps 104(105): 1a:

1 Ch 16: 9a	שִׁירוּ כוֹ זַמְרוּ־כׂו canite ei et psallite {Ø}
Ps 104(105): 2a	שִׁירוּ כוֹ זַמְרוּ־כוֹ canite ei et psallite <b>illi</b>

Kennicott indeed reports one Chronicles manuscript that lacks the second <sup>14</sup>.

The Latin texts of 1 Ch 16: 25 shows that a *waw conjunctivum* was present in his *Vorlage* of Chronicles (גָוֹנָאָרָא), while the conjunction was absent Ps 95(96) 4 (which is also reported in the BHS). The plus of the predicate *est* in the Psalm verse seemingly reflects a different reading tradition of the two verses:

1 Ch 16: 25	ָכִּי גָדּוֹל יְהוֶה וּמְהֻכָּל`מְאֹד וְנוֹרֵא הָוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים: quia magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis et horribilis <b>{ø}</b> super omnes deos
Ps 95(96): 4	ַכֵּי גָּדְוֹל יְהוֵה וּמְהָלֶל מְאָד נוֹרֵא הֿוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים: quia magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis <b>(ø)</b> terribilis <b>est</b> super omnes deos

Whereas the Latin rendering of 1 Ch 16: 25 is constructed as one long phrase, the predicate *est* in the parallel verse in the Psalter seems to cut the verse into two parts. The Masoretic accentuation marks, which postdate Jerome, propose a similar distinction between the two verses: the Psalm verse is divided into two parts by *atnach* on מָאָד, a major verse divider, followed by a *revia* on הוא, while the verse in Chronicles only has a *zakef qatan*, a minor verse divider, on T<sup>h</sup>.<sup>15</sup> Jerome's interest in correct divisions of Hebrew verses was already noted by Michael Graves and

- <sup>13</sup> Note that the construct state of ההלה can be written as תהלות or תהלות (see HALOT 10059 s.v. תהלה), which might contribute to the confusion between the singular and plural form of this word.
- <sup>14</sup> Kennicott, Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, 668. A similar omission also occurs in one Psalter manuscript (see p. 398), but the pronoun *illi* in Hh suggests that Jerome's Hebrew Vorlage of Psalms did have ל. Note that the Old Latin of 1 Ch 16: 9 cited in Rufinus' translation of Origen's commentary on the Song of Songs also lacks a second dative pronoun: *canite ei, et hymnum dicite {Ø}, narrate omnes adinuentiones eius quas decit Dominus* (quoted from the Beuron Vetus Latina database).
- <sup>15</sup> Note that the LXX, whose rendering of 1 Ch 16: 25 is identical to Ps 95(96): 4, makes no such distinction between the two verses and twice reads ὅτι μέγας κύριος καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα φοβερός ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς θεούς.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Kennicott, Benjamin, Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus, Typographeo Clarendoniana, Oxford 1776.

Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, Jerome highlights in his *Tractatus LIX in Psalmos* that the Origenists make a wrong verse division (*distinctio*) in Ps 89: 2, resulting in a misinterpretation of these verses as proof of the pre-existence of the soul.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, he refers in *Ep.* 140.25 to the fact that the Hebrew and the Greek have a *diversa distinctio* in Ps 89(90): 11. These examples evidence that Jerome was in some way or another familiar with the verse divisions in the Hebrew text, long before the system of cantillation and accentuation marks were added by the Masoretes towards the end of the first millennium CE.<sup>18</sup>

In these cases in which Vg Ch and Hh correspond to textual variants found in Kennicott, Jerome's translations are valuable witnesses to the Hebrew textual tradition. Yet, it is unwarranted to conclude that every difference in the Latin text reflect a variant in Jerome's Hebrew *Vorlage*. It is also possible, for instance, that Jerome deviated from a literal reading of the Hebrew text because of idiomatic concerns (cf. *non uerbum e uerbo sed sensum de sensu*). For example, the Latin translation of 1 Ch 16: 21a cited above does not use any equivalent to represent the Hebrew preposition <sup>-7</sup>. Kennicott lists five Hebrew manuscripts that omit the preposition.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps Jerome's *Vorlage* lacked it too. But the minus could be explained in a different way, too: a literal translation *dimittere \*ad quemquam* would have been unidiomatic, and in his letters, Jerome repeatedly expresses his concern for the Latin *proprietas* in his Bible translations.<sup>20</sup>

A similar case occurs in the following verses:

1 Ch 16: 35b	ָלְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם קְדְשֶׁך <b>לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּח</b> בִּתְהִלָּתֶך: ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo <b>et</b> exultemus in carminibus tuis
Ps 105(106): 47	ָלְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם קָדְשֶׁךְ <b>לְהִשְׁתַּבֵח</b> בָּתְהֹפְתָרְ: ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo <b>et</b> canamus laudantes te

- <sup>16</sup> Graves, Michael, Jerome's Hebrew Philology: A Study Based on his Commentary on Jeremiah (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 90), Brill, Leiden & Boston 2007, 31-33. See also Kedar-Kopfstein, Benjamin, "The Hebrew Text of Joel as Reflected in the Vulgate", Textus 9.1 (1981) 16-35, esp. 21-23.
- <sup>17</sup> See Capone, Alessandro (intr., tr. & comm.), *Girolamo. 59 Omelie sui salmi (1-115). Omelia sul salmo 41 ai Neofiti* (Opere di Girolamo 9), Città Nuova, Roma 2018, 298-299.
- <sup>18</sup> See Tov, Emmanuel, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Fortress, Minneapolis <sup>3</sup>2012, 4. For more information on verse structures in the Hebrew Bible before the Middle Ages, see idem, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54), Brill, Leiden & Boston 2018, 131-165.
- <sup>19</sup> Kennicott, Benjamin, Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, 668.
- <sup>20</sup> E.g. *Ep.* 106.30.1: 'On the Forthy-Ninth (Psalm): "Sitting, you were speaking against your brother." In place of this in Greek you say that you have found: κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις, and you think this was not well translated, because we said, 'you were speaking against your brother,' and we ought to have said: 'you were disparaging against your brother.' But it is clear even to fools that this is stylistically faulty and does not stand in the Latin language. Of course, I am not unaware that καταλαλιά means 'disparaging'. But if we want to use this word, we cannot say, 'you were disparaging against your brother,' but 'you were disparaging concerning your brother.' Yet if we were to do that, then some contentious nitpicker of words would ask why we did not represent κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, that is, 'against your brother.' These matters are superfluous, and we should not twist ourselves around in sickening explanations of words when there is no loss to the sense. As I already said before, each language speaks in its own particular idioms.' Translation by Graves, Michael (intr., comm. & tr.), *Jerome, Epistle 106 (on the Psalms)* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 47), SBL Press, Atlanta 2022, 101.

The textus receptus of BHS lacks a *waw conjunctivum* in both verses. However, the apparatus of the Psalm verse does list a variant reading with a *waw*, attested in some Hebrew manuscripts, in the Samaritan and in the Syriac version as well as in Hg, making it probable that also the *Vorlage* of Jerome's Hh had a *waw*. For 1 Ch 16: 35, the BHS does not list any evidence of an extra *waw* in the Hebrew text outside of the *targum*. Yet, Kennicott lists 14 manuscripts of Psalms and 6 of Chronicles with a *waw*.<sup>21</sup> Despite all these attestations, it is still hard to determine whether *et* in both Latin versions is coming from a *waw* in Jerome's Vorlage, or if it was added by Jerome without manuscript support but in order to connect the anaphorically placed infinitive manuscript with the preceding part of the verse.<sup>22</sup>

#### 3. Lexical inconsistencies

The previous section has demonstrated that Hh Psalms and Vg 1 Ch 16 are similar to a very high degree, and that variants in the Latin texts often reflect underlying variant readings in the Hebrew tradition. Some lexical inconsistencies, however, cannot be explained by inference from the source texts. Whereas the previous section demonstrated Jerome's diligent approach to lexical differences in the *Vorlage*, the lexical inconsistencies in this section illustrate that Jerome at the same time was rather detached from the phrasing of his previous Hh translation. This was to be expected, since a period of five years lies between Jerome's completion of Hh and the second translation of these parallel Psalms in 1 Chronicles.

One example is Jerome's translation of Hebrew μ as *terribilis* in the Hh (Ps 95(96): 4) and *horribilis* in Chronicles (1 Ch 16: 25). *Ep.* 106.57.1 might give us some insight in Jerome's use of these terms. In that passage, Jerome defends his rendering of Greek φoβερός as *horrendus* in Hg Ps 88(89): 8 against the criticism that *terribilis* would be a more accurate equivalent:

On the Eighty-Eighth (Psalm): "Great and **horrible**." [magnus et **horrendus**] In place of this in Greek you say that you found φoβερός, which means "terrible," "fearful," "dreadful." [*terribilis, timendus, formidandus*]. But I think this is precisely what is signified by "horrible" – not as commonly understood, "filthy" and "despised" – but in this sense: "cold horror shook my limbs" [Aen. 3.29-30]; "everywhere, the horror in my soul and the silence itself terrify" [Aen. 3.658]; and "a horrible monster, enormous," [Aen. 2.755] and many passages similar to these.<sup>23</sup>

This passage illustrates that Jerome understood 'horrere' in a broader sense and seemingly used the adjectives derived from *horrere* interchangeably with those derived from *terrere*, which might explain the alternation between *horribilis* and *terribilis* in 1 Ch 16:25 [Ps 95(96):4].

Jerome furthermore seems to have used pronouns such as *is, ea, id* and *ille, illa, illud* interchangeably without implying any real difference in meaning (see e.g. 1 Ch 16: 30 [Ps 95(96): 9]),

- <sup>22</sup> Translators often have the tendency to clarify obscure collocations in their translations (this is a so-called 'translation universal'). For translation universals and their implications for textual criticism, see Tully, Eric J., "Translation Universals and Polygenesis: Implications for Textual Criticism", *The Bible Translator* 65.3 (2014) 292-307.
- <sup>23</sup> Apology against Rufinus 2, 24. Translation by Graves, Epistle 106, 125, with some slight changes in lay-out by me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Pages 403 and 669 in Kennicott respectively.

#### 3. Developments in Jerome's translation technique

Not every difference between the *iuxta Hebraeos* translation of 1 Chronicles 16 and Hh can be attributed to a variant reading in the Hebrew *Vorlage* (see section 1) or can be regarded as mere lexical inconsistencies (see section 2). Sometimes, the differences in the Latin texts reflect a change in Jerome's translational norms and attitude toward the source text. A first subgroup includes cases where a verse in 1 Chronicles 16 gives a more idiomatic (or free) rendering of a Hebrew word or phrase (*sensum de sensu*), whereas the parallel verse in Hh follows the Hebrew text more closely and literally (*verbum e verbo*):

1 Ch 16: 27a	הוד וְהָדָר <b>לְפָנָיו</b>			
	confessio et magnificentia <b>coram eo</b>			
Ps 95(96): 6a	הוד וְהָדָר <b>לְפָנָיו</b>			
	gloria et decor <b>ante vultum eius</b>			

A similar case occurs in 1 Ch 16: 33 [Ps 95(96): 13]. The Latin rendering *ante vultum eius* in Hh can be regarded as a Semitism, rendering **יְפְנְיו** in a very literal way (lit. 'before his face'). In the verse of Chronicles, Jerome translated the same Hebrew construction with a more idiomatic Latin equivalent turn *coram eo* (lit. 'in his presence').

Since Jerome completed his translation of the book of Chronicles (ca. 396) some years after Hh (ca. 392), one could argue that these changes in Chronicles are in fact 'improvements' introduced by Jerome after having become a more experienced translator over time. One must not jump to this conclusion, however. I am hesitant to label these changes as a positive 'evolution' or *retrac-tationes* in Jerome's translation technique. We cannot exclude that the different position of Chronicles and the Psalms in Christian life and praxis motivated some of Jerome's translational choices. In fact, the Psalter occupied a very central position in Jerome's own life and might therefore have prompted a more tradition-oriented approach with typical OL and LXX Semitisms, while the more peripheric and story-like nature of Chronicles lent itself to a more 'detached', idiomatic and reader-oriented translation technique.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In a recent comparison of the synoptic material of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in the Vulgate, David Everson affirmed Kedar-Kopfsteins conclusion that Vg Chronicles is a rather 'detached' translation, compared to Vg Samuel-Kings which played a more central role in early Christianity. See Everson, David, "An Examination of the Synoptic Portions in the Vulgate", *Vetus Testamentum* 58 (2008) 178-190.

In fact, elsewhere in Hh, Jerome the *coram* + dative construction five times for Hebrew לְפָנָין,<sup>25</sup> which evidences that he was well aware of the more idiomatic meaning of לְפָנָין. Yet apparently he believed the literal rendering *ante vultum* more acceptable in the register of Hh than in his translation of Chronicles. This confirms that his choices are not governed by experience only: other factors play along. One of these factors might be the central position of the Psalter in Christian liturgy which required a more 'tradition-oriented' approach that incorporated literal renderings from the Old Latin (and Septuagint) translations, while Chronicles lent itself better to a more idiomatic and reader-oriented Latin register.<sup>26</sup>

Other examples from a second subgroup are stylistically motivated, and include the avoidance of the repetition of the same Latin words in close proximity.<sup>27</sup> This phenomenon occurs already frequently in Hh, but is not omnipresent. This phenomenon of *variatio* is applied more frequently in Vg Chronicles than in Hh: verses 27-29, for instance, clearly avoid the repetition of the words *gloria, fortitudo* and a triple anaphora of *adferte* in 1 Ch 16: 27-29, whilst the parallel passage in Ps 95(96): 6-8 does not refrain from iterating these words.

In some other cases, however, the meaning of the Latin translation of 1 Chronicles *does* appear to be in closer alignment with the Hebrew text than Jerome's version of the counterpart verse in the Psalms is. In contrast to the previous examples in this section, these cases are motivated by linguistic or theological reasons and cannot be regarded as mere stylistic alternations depending on the different norms surrounding the liturgical position of Hh versus Vg Chronicles. For instance, the rendering of ובאו in Ps 95(96):8 (*et introite*, perhaps influenced by Hg)<sup>28</sup> is replaced by a more correct *et venite* in 1 Ch 16: 29.<sup>29</sup> In 1 Ch 16: 8b, believers are asked to proclaim God's 'inventions' (*adinventiones*) instead of God's 'thoughts' (*cogitationes*, cf. Ps 104(105): 1b), while the Hebrew uses two times the same word אַלילה.<sup>30</sup> The use of *adinventiones* instead of

<sup>25</sup> Viz. in Psalm 21(22):28; 49(50):3; 61(62):9; 57(58):5 and 99(100):2.

- <sup>26</sup> Marieke Dhont points out that LXX translators appear to have consciously introduced Semitisms in their Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, not because they were unable to translate the source text in an idiomatic way, but because these Semitisms had become acceptable and even "desirable in Jewish-Greek compositions and translations as part of the literary code within the system", see Dhont, Marieke, "Towards a Comprehensive Explanation for the Stylistic Diversity of the Septuagint Corpus", *Vetus Testamentum* 69 (2019) 38-407, here 406.
- <sup>27</sup> See e.g. Condamin, Albert, "Un procédé littéraire de St Jérôme dans sa traduction de la Bible", in *Miscellanea Geronimiana. Scritti varii pubblicati nel XV Centenario dalla morte di San Girolamo*, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, Rome 1920, 89-96.
- <sup>28</sup> LXX: εἰσπορεύεσθε.
- <sup>29</sup> However, note that some Old Latin translations also use the verb *venire* in 1 Ch 16: 29 (e.g. *Antiphonale Mozarabicum* & *Concilia Toletana*).
- <sup>30</sup> Cf. Vulgata Tusculum Deutsch 2018: 'Macht den Völkern seine Gedanken bekannt!' (p. 545, Hh), versus 'Macht unter den Völkern seine Erfindungen bekannt!' (p. 861, Chronicles). עַלְילָה is rendered inconsistently by Jerome throughout the whole Latin Bible. It is eight times translated as *adinventio* (Is 12: 4; Ez 14: 22, 23; Ez 24: 14; Ez 36: 19; Zeph 3: 11; Ps 77: 13; 1 Chr 16: 8), six times as *cogitatio* (1 S 2: 3; Ez 21: 24; Zeph 3: 7; Ps 103: 5; Ps 105: 1; Ps 141: 4), three times as *commutatio* (Ps 9: 12; Ps 78: 11; Ps 99: 8). It occurs in Dt 22: 14, 17; Ez 20: 43, 44; Ez 36: 17; Ps 14: 1 and Ps 65(66): 5 as well, where the word is rendered as *occasiones, [nomen] pessimum, scelerum, scelera, studiis, studiose* and *consilia respectively.*

*cogitationes* in Chronicles might reflect Jerome's effort to avoid a too anthropological representation of a 'thinking' God in his Chronicles-translation.

#### 4. Hg influence in Vg 1 Chronicles 16

Psalmody played a central role in Jerome's life. As a result, it was hard for him as a translator to distance himself from the traditional readings preserved in the LXX/OL/Hg traditions he was familiar with, even though he was aware that the Hebrew text did not always correspond with these readings:

Am I likely to have said anything derogatory to the seventy translators, whose work I carefully purged from corruptions and gave to Latin readers many years ago, and daily expound it at our conventual gatherings; whose version of the Psalms has so long been the subject of my meditation and my song? Was I so foolish as to wish to forget in old age what I learned in youth? All my treatises have been woven out of statements warranted by their [= the LXX] version.<sup>31</sup>

Others have already amply demonstrated that Hg retook much material from the OL tradition,<sup>32</sup> and that Hh is in turn to a large extent influenced by Hg.<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere Jerome confessed that he did not want to deter his readers by introducing too many new elements in his Hg translation.<sup>34</sup> The translator advised that Churchgoers should sing according to the LXX (i.e.: Hg), even when the text differs from the Hebrew original – one needs be aware of the *Hebraica veritas*, but the Hebrew does not overrule the *vetustas* of the LXX version.<sup>35</sup> Eva Schulz-Flügel has convincingly

- <sup>31</sup> Translated by Fremantle, W. H., in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers II*, vol. 3., <a href="https://www.newadvent.org/fa-thers/27102.htm">https://www.newadvent.org/fa-thers/27102.htm</a> (retrieved 29.08.2022).
- <sup>32</sup> This is the conclusion reached by André Thibaut in his study of Hg translation of Ps 24: 'D'une façon plus générale, le fait que S. Jérôme n'ait apporté aucune modification syntaxique au psaume 24 est significatif, si l'on tient compte de la liberté avec laquelle il corrige, pour d'autres livres, les anciennes versions. Ainsi, dans ses traductions sur l'hébreu des livres historiques, la Genèse par exemple, il n'hésite pas à remanier le texte jusque dans la structure même de la langue, modifiant les constructions syntaxiques pour donner au texte plus de fermeté en même temps que plus de légèreté dans son tour latin. Ici il reste comme à la superficie de la langue, se contentant de corrections purement lexicographiques. Solution de facilité? L'attention avec laquelle il a refait le point sur le texte grec en est un démenti. Sans doute faut-il y voir un des aspects sous lesquels se manifeste sa volonté de respecter, pour le Psautier, le texte des anciennes versions' (Thibaut, André, "La revision hexaplaire de saint Jérôme", in Salmon, Pierre (ed.), *Richesses et déficiences des anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 13), Abbaye Saint-Jérôme Libreria Vaticana, Rome Vatican City 1959, 107-150, here 129).
- <sup>33</sup> 'Eine Reihe von Ausdrücken, die H. aus dem *Psalterium Gallicanum* wörtlich beibehalten hat, beweist aber auch klar, dass es ihm schwer geworden ist, vom alten Text sich ganz zu trennen' (Ecker, Jacob, *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi in seinem Verhältnis zu Masora, Septuaginta, Vulgata mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen alten Versionen*, in Endres, Bernhard Johann (ed.), *Festschrift des Priesterseminars zum Bischofs-Jubiläum*, Paulinus-Druckerei, Trier, 1906, 392-496, here 461-462.
- <sup>34</sup> Hieronymus, *Epistula* 106, 12: '[...E]t nos emendantes olim psalterium, ubicumque sensus idem est, veterum interpretum consuetudinem mutare noluimus, ne nimia novitiate lectoris stadium terreremus' (ed. Hilberg CSEL 55, 255).
- <sup>35</sup> Hieronymus, *Epistula* 106, 46: '[...P]erspicuum est sic psallendum, ut nos interpretati sumus, et tamen sciendum, quid Hebraica veritas habeat. Hoc enim, quod Septuagint transtulerunt, propter vetustatem in ecclesiis decantandum est et illud ab eruditis sciendum propter notitiam scripturarum' (ed. Hilberg CSEL 55, 269-270).

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demonstrated that Jerome did not all of a sudden reject the authority of the Septuagint text after having discovered the value of the Hebrew text.<sup>36</sup>

Jerome's continued use of Hg has left traces in his translation of 1 Chronicles 16. Some verses in Chronicles resemble Hg instead of Hh, even though Hg was translated from a different (= Greek) source text.

1 Ch 16: 9b	שִׁיחוּ בְּכָל־נִפְלְאֹתֵיו					
	et narrate omnia mirabilia eius					
<b>Ps 104(105): 2b</b> שִׁיחוּ בְּכָל־נִפְלְאֹתָיו						
(Hh) et loquimini in universis mirabilia eius						
	(Hg) et narrate omnia mirabilia eius					
1 Ch 16: 11b	בַקְשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד					
	quaerite faciem eius semper					
Ps 104(105): 4b	בַקְשׁוּ פָנָיו תָמִיד					
	(Hh) quaerite faciem eius iugiter					
	(Hg) quaerite faciem eius semper					
1 Ch 16: 22	אַל־תָגָעוּ בָּמָשִׁיחָי וּבְנְבִיאַי אַל־תָּגַעוּ					
	nolite tangere christos meos et in prophetis meis nolite malignari					
Ps 104(105): 15	אַל־תָּגְעוּ בָמְשִׁיחָי וְלְנְבִיאֵי אַל־תָּגַעוּ					
	(Hh) nolite tangere christos meos et prophetas meos nolite adfligere					
	(Hg) nolite tangere christos meos et in prophetis meis nolite malignari					

More examples can be found in 1 Ch 16: 10a (which uses Hg *laudare*, instead of Hh *exultare*), 1 Ch 16: 17 (which uses Hg *praeceptum*, instead of Hh *lex*) and 1 Ch 16: 30 (which uses Hg *enim* and *commovere*, instead of Hh *siquidem* and *pavere*). Whereas Hh consistently renders הוד־והדר as *gloria et decor*,<sup>37</sup> 1 Ch 16: 27 has *confessio et magnificentia*, which is used in Hg Ps 110(111): 3. Hg verses Ps 95(96): 6 and 103(104): 1 also use *confessio* in a similar way, even though it is not followed by *magnificentia* in these verses.

Hg influence can furthermore be discerned in 1 Ch 16: 19, where the construction with *numero parvi* looks similar to Hg *numero breves* against Hh *modici*, and the verse ending with *coloni eius* resembles Hg *incolas eius* against Hh *advenae in ea*, as well as in 1 Ch 16: 29 (*sacrificium* refers to a sacerdotal interpretation like Hg *hostias* against the neutral Hh *munera*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Schulz-Flügel, Eva, "Hieronymus, Feind und Überwinder der Septuaginta? Untersuchungen anhand der Arbeiten an den Psalmen", in Aejmelaeus, Anneli & Quast, Udo (eds.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2000, 33-50, esp. 37-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ps 20(21): 6, 44(45): 4, 95(96): 6, 103(104): 1 and 110(111): 3.

## Conclusion

This comparison between Jerome's translation of the Psalm citations in 1 Chronicles 16 and the corresponding sections in his Hh version of the Psalter leads to four conclusions about (the development of) Jerome's translation technique.

First of all, Jerome's Hebrew *Vorlage* of 1 Ch 16 and the parallel Psalm verses must have been very similar to the later Masoretic text, as was to be expected. The Latin translations of these two passages often reflect minor textual variants attested in the BHS or in Kennicott, so that these Latin texts can be regarded as important witnesses to the Hebrew textual tradition, even though some changes are probably due to Jerome's concerns for idiomatic Latin.

The second section evinced that not all differences in the Latin texts can be attributed to variants in Jerome's Hebrew *Vorlage* or Latin *proprietas*, however. The lexical inconsistencies cited there revealed that Jerome most probably had no exemplar of Hh at hand when he was translating 1 Ch 16. Rather, 1 Ch 16 was retranslated from the Hebrew ca. five years after the completion of the Hh Psalter, and this period of time unavoidably brought along some small inconsistencies in the Latin texts.

Third, I have pointed out that 1 Ch 16 sometimes uses more idiomatic translations in verses where Hh contains Semitisms or more literal renderings. I have argued that these changes do not necessarily prove that Jerome had only a limited knowledge of Hebrew when he was translating Hh nor that he tried to 'correct' his earlier 'translationes' of Hh to a more idiomatic translation in 1 Ch 16. Rather, the latter translation asked for a more reader-oriented approach, while the book of Psalms was used in a liturgical, tradition-oriented context which did not lend itself easily to sudden changes and novelties and was more acceptable toward semitisms and septuagintalisms, similar to the OL tradition and Hg.

Finally, the phraseology of Hg was still very familiar to Jerome because he continued to use Hg in his daily office, even after completion of Hh. This continued use of Hg influenced his translation of the Psalm quotations in 1 Ch 16 on both a lexical and phraseological level.

## Appendix

	1 Chronicles 16: 8-22			Psalm 104(105): 1-15		
	Hebrew text (BHS)	Vulgate		Hebrew text (BHS)	Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos	
8	הודוּ לַיהוָה קָרְאוּ בִשְׁמׂו הודִיעוּ בָעַמִים עֲלִילֹתָיו:	confitemini Domino invocate nomen eius notas fa- cite in populis adinventiones illius	1	הודוּ לֵיהוָה קְרְאוּ בָּשְׁמו הודִיעוּ בָעַמִים עַלִילוֹתָיו:	confitemini Domino invocate nomen eius notas facite populis cogitationes eius	
9	שִׁירוּ לו זַמְרוּ־לו שִׂיחוּ בְּכָל־נִפְלְאֹתָיו:	canite ei et psallite et narrate omnia mirabilia eius	2	שִׁירוּ־לו זַמְרוּ־לו שִׂיחוּ בְּכָל־נִפְלְאוֹתָיו:	canite ei et psallite illi loquimini in universis mirabilibus eius	
10	הִתְהַלְלוּ בְּשֵׁם קֶדְשׁו יִשְׂמַח לֵב מְבַקְשֵׁי יְהוָה:	laudate nomen sanctum eius laetetur cor quaerentium Dominum	3	הִתְהַלְלוּ בְּשֵׁם קָדְשׁו יִשְׂמַח לֵב מְבַקְשֵׁי יְהוַה:	exultate in nomine sancto eius laetetur cor quaerentium Dominum	
11	דְּרְשׁוּ יְהוָה וְעֻאֿו בַּקְשׁוּ פָנָיו מָמִיד:	quaerite Dominum et virtutem eius quaerite faciem eius semper	4	ָּדְרְשׁוּ יְהוָה וְעֻזּו בַּקְשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד:	, quaerite Dominum et virtutem eius quaerite faciem eius iugiter	
12	זִכְרוּ נִפְלְאֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה מֹפְתָיו וּמִשְׁפְּטֵי־פִיהוּ:	recordamini mirabilium eius quae fecit signorum il- lius et iudiciorum oris eius	5	זָכְרוּ נִפְלְאוּתָיו אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה מֹפְתָיו וּמשִׁפְּטֵי־פִיו:	recordamini mirabilium eius quae fecit signorum et iudiciorum oris eius	
13	דָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדּו בְּנֵי יַעֲכָּב בְּחִירָיו:	semen Israhel serui eius filii Iacob electi illius	6	ָזַרע אַכְרָהָם עַכְדּו בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירָיו: גַרע אַכְרָהָם עַכְדּו בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירָיו	semen Abraham serui eius filii Iacob electi eius	
14	הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּטָיו:	ipse Dominus Deus noster in uniuersa terra iudicia eius	7	הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּטָיו:	ipse Dominus Deus noster in uniuersa terra iudicia eius	
15	זַכְרוּ לְעׂוּלָם בְּרִיתׂו דָּבָר צַּוָּה לְאֶלֶף דּור:	recordamini in sempiternum pacti eius sermonis quem praecepit in mille generationes	8	זָכַר לְעׂוּלֶם בְּרִיתֿו דָּבָר צִוָּה לְאֶלֶף דֹּוֹר:	recordatus est in aeternum pacti sui uerbi quod praecepit in mille generationes	
16	אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וּשְׁבוּעָתֿו לְיִצְחָק:	quem pepigit cum Abraham et iuramenti illius cum Isaac	9	אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וּשְׁבוּעָתֿו לְיִשְׂחָק:	quod pepigit cum Abraham et iuramenti sui cum Isaac	
17	ויַעֲמִידֶהָ לְיִעֲקֹב לְחֹק לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרִית עׂוּלָם:	et constituit illud Iacob in praeceptum et Israhel in pactum sempiternum	10	ויַעֲמִידָהָ לְיַעֲקֹב לְחֹק לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרִית עוֹלָם:	firmavit illud cum Iacob in lege cum Israhel pactum sempiternum	
18	לֵאמֹר לְרָּ אֶתֵּן אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן חֶבֶל נַחֲלַתְכֶם:	dicens tibi dabo terram Chanaan funiculum hereditatis vestrae	11	לֵאמֹר לְךּ אֶתֵּן אֶת־אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן חֶבֶל נַחַלַּתְכֵם:	dicens tibi dabo terram Chanaan funiculum hereditatis vestrae	
19	בַּהְיוּתְכֶם מְתֵי מִסְפָּר כָּמְעַט וְגָרִים בָּהּ:	cum essent pauci numero parvi et coloni eius	12	בְּהְיוּתָם מְתֵי מִסְפָּר כָּמְעַט וְגָרִים בָּה:	cum essent viri pauci modici et advenae in ea	
20	וַיִּתְהַלְכוּ מָגּוי אֶל־גּוי וּמַמַּמְלָכָה אֶל־עַם אַחֵר:	et transierunt de gente in gentem et de regno ad populum alterum	13	וַיִּתְהַלְכוּ מָגּוי אֶל־גּוי מִמַּמְלָכָה אֶל־עַם אחר:	et transierunt de gente in gentem de regno ad populum alterum	
21	לאֹ־הִנִּיחַ לְאִישׁ לְעָשְׁקָם וַיּוּכַח עֲלֵיהֶם מְלָכִים:	non dimisit quemquam calumniari eos sed in- crepuit pro eis reges	14	ַלָּא־הָנִּיחַ אָדָם לְעָשְׁקָם וַיּוּכָח עֲלֵיהָם מַלַכִים:	non dimisit hominem ut noceret eis et corri- puit pro eis reges	
22	:אַל־תָּגְעוּ בָּמְשִׁיחָי וּבָנְבִיאֵי אַל־תָּרַעו	nolite tangere christos meos et in prophetis meis nolite malignari	15	אַל־תָּגְּעוּ בָּמְשִׁיחָי וְלְנְבִיאֵי אַל־תָּרֵעוּ: אַל־תַּגְעוּ בָמְשִׁיחָי וְלְנְבִיאֵי אַל־תָּגַעוּ	nolite tangere christos meos et prophetas meos nolite adfligere	

	1 Chronicles 16: 23-33			Psalm 95(96): 1-13		
	Hebrew text (BHS)	Vulgate		Hebrew text (BHS)	Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos	
23	שִׁירוּ לִיהוָה כָּל־הָאֶרֶץ בַּשְׂרוּ מִיּום־אֶל־יום יְשׁוּעָתו:	canite Domino omnis terra adnuntiate ex die in diem salutare eius	1	שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה שִׁיר חָדָשׁ שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל־ הָאָרֶץ:	canite Domino canticum novum canite Domino omnis terra	
24	סַפְּרוּ בַגּוּוִם אֶת־כְּבוֹדּו בְּכָל־הָעַמִים נִפְלְאֹתָיו:	narrate in gentibus gloriam eius in cunctis populis mirabilia illius	2	שִׁירוּ לֵיהוֶה בָּרֲכוּ שְׁמו בַּשְׂרוּ מִיּום־לְיום יִשוּעַתו:	canite Domino benedicite nomini eius ad- nuntiate de die in diem salutare eius	
25	כִּי גָדול יְהוָה וּמְהֻכָּל מְאֹד וְנוֹרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־ אֵלהִים:	quia magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis et horri- bilis super omnes deos	3	סַפְּרוּ בַגּוּיִם כְּבוֹדו בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים נִפְלְאוֹתָיו:	narrate in gentibus gloriam eius in univer- sis populis mirabilia eius	
26	ָּ כְּי כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֱלִילִים וַיהוָה שָׁמַיִם עָשָׂה:	omnes enim dii populorum idola Dominus autem caelos fecit	4	כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻכָּל מְאֹד נוֹרָא הוּא עַל־ כָּל־אֵלֹהִים:	quia magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis terribilis est super omnes deos	
27	הוד וְהָדָר לְפָנָיו עֹז וְחֶדְוָה בִּמְקֹמו:	confessio et magnificentia coram eo fortitudo et gaudium in loco eius	5	ָ כִּי כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֱלִילִים וַיהוָה שָׁמַיִם עשה:	omnes enim dii populorum sculptilia Dominus autem caelos fecit	
28	הָבוּ לַיהוָה מִשְׁפְּחות עַמִּים הָבוּ לַיהוָה כָּבוד וָעֹז:	adferte Domino familiae populorum adferte Do- mino gloriam et imperium	6	הוד־וְהָדָר לְפָנָיו עֹז וְתִפְאֶרֶת בְּמִקְדָּשׁו:	gloria et decor ante vultum eius fortitudo et exultatio in sanctuario eius	
29	הָבוּ ליהוָה כְּבוּד שָׁמוּ שָׂאוּ מִנְחָה וּבֹאוּ לְפָנָיו הִשְׁתַּחוּ ליהוָה בְּהַדְרַת־לְדָשׁ:	date Domino gloriam nomini eius levate sacrifi- cium et venite in conspectu eius et adorate Domi- num in decore sancto	7	הָבוּ ליהוָה מִשְׁפְּחות עַמִּים הָבוּ ליהוָה כָּבוּד וָעז:	adferte Domino familiae populorum ad- ferte Domino gloriam et fortitudinem	
30	חִילוּ מִלְפָנָיו כָּל־הָאָרֶץ אַף־תִּכּון תֵּבֵל בַּל־תִּמּוּט:	commoveatur a facie illius omnis terra ipse enim fundavit orbem inmobilem	8	הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוד שְׁמו שְׂאוּ־מִנְחָה וּבֹאוּ לְחַצְרוֹתָיו:	adferte Domino gloriam nomini eius levate munera et introite in atria eius	
31	יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשֶׁמיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ וְיאׁמְרוּ בַגּוּיִם יְהוָה מָלָרְ:	laetentur caeli et exultet terra et dicant in nationi- bus Dominus regnavit	9	הִשְׁתַחוּ לֵיהוָה בְּהַדְרַת־קֹדֶשׁ חִילוּ מִפָּנָיו כָּל־הָאָרֵץ:	adorate Dominum in decore sanctuarii pa- veat a facie eius omnis terra	
32	יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמְלואו יַעֲלֹץ הַשָּׂדָה וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בּוּ:	tonet mare et plenitudo eius exultent agri et omnia quae in eis sunt	10	אָמְרוּ בַּגּוּיִם יְהוָה מָלָךּ אַף־תִּכּוּן תֵּבֵל בַּל־ תִּמּוּט יָדִין עַמִּים בְּמִישָׁרִים:	dicite in gentibus Dominus regnavit si- quidem adpendit orbem inmobilem iudica- bit populos in aequitate	
33	אָז יְרַנְנוּ עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר מִלְפְנֵי יְהוֶה כִּי־כָא לְשְׁפֿוּט אֶת־הָאָרֶץ:	tunc laudabunt ligna saltus coram Domino quia ve- nit iudicare terram	11	יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמִיִם וְתָגֵל הָאֶרֶץ יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמָלאו:	laetamini caeli et exultet terra tonet mare et plenitudo eius	
			12	עַלז שָׂדַי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בּו אָז יְרַנְנוּ כָּל־עֲצֵי־ יַעַר:	gaudeat ager et omnia quae in eo sunt tunc laudabunt universa ligna saltus	
	1 Chronicle	s 16: 34-36		Psalm 105(10	6): 1 & 47-48	
	Hebrew text (BHS)	Vulgate		Hebrew text (BHS)	Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos	
34	הודוּ לַיהוָה כִּי טוב כִּי לְעוּלָם חַסְדּו:	confitemini Domino quoniam bonus quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius	1	הודוּ לַיהוָה כִּי טוב כִּי לְעוּלָם חַסְדּו:	confitemini Domino quoniam bonus quo- niam in aeternum misericordia eius	
35	וְאִמְרוּ הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ וְקַבְּצֵנוּ וְהַצִּילֵנוּ מָן־ הַגּוּיִם לְהֹדׁוּת לְשֵׁם קַדְשֶׁךּ לְהִשְׁתַּבֶּחַ בָּתְהַלֶּתֶך:	et dicite salva nos Deus salvator noster et congrega nos et erue de gentibus ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo et exultemus in carminibus tuis	47	הושִׁיעֵנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְקַבְּצֵנוּ מִן־הַגּוּיִם לְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם מַדְשֶׁך לְהִשְׁמַבֵּם בַּתְהַלֶּתֶך:	salva nos Domine Deus noster et congrega nos de gentibus ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo et cana- mus laudantes te	
36	בָּרוּהְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הָעׂוּלָם וְעַד הָעֹלָם וַיּאמְרוּ כָל־הָעָם אַמָן וְהַלֵּל לִיהוָה: פ	benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel ab aeterno usque in aeternum et dicat omnis popu- lus amen et hymnus Domino	48	בָּרוּהְ־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הָעׂוּלָם וְעַד הָעֹוּלָם וְאָמֵר כָּל־הָעָם אָמֵן הַלְלוּ־יָהּ:	benedictus Dominus Deus Israhel ab aeterno et usque in aeternum et dicet om- nis populus amen	