

Dr. Wilhelm KAMLAH

I

The  
**SPIRAL**  
STENOGRAPHER'S NOTE BOOK

A SUPERIOR NOTEBOOK WITH LEAVES  
THAT TURN FAST AND LIE FLAT.

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Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie  
(Apocalypse and Historical Theology)

Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse  
vor Joachim von Fiore.

(The Interpretation of the Apocalypse in the Middle  
Ages before Joachim of Flores)

Publ., Dr. Emil Ebering  
Berlin 1935

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
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This research was ready as a dissertation (thesis) as early as (already) in 1931. The literature published since then has been added. To the Philosophical Faculty on Philosophy of Göttingen I am thankful for the <sup>award</sup> bestowal of their <sup>state</sup> prize of state (1932). Furthermore, I am thanking Prof. P. E. Schramm in Göttingen for his help which has made possible at all my scientific (scholarly) work, as well as for his untiring advice.

Göttingen, April 1935

p. 34 = glona, 2 kinds: ord. & interlinear  
sometimes contradict each other. f. inst.

7 vials - ord.: all vials in time of anti-christ

— int.: foll. Hains, with 1st vial apostles  
begin preaching to the Jews.

Comparison shows that this contrad. due to later  
insertion — thus early 12 cent. glona were  
still <sup>being</sup> supplemented esp. between lines — completed  
2nd half of cent. when fr. Paris school distrib. began.



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Introduction

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Since Wolfflin's publication of the Bamberg Apocalypse, research has brought to light diverse (several) Ap-illustrations of the early Middle Ages' [Note 1: Here but two important titles: W. Neuss, Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen u. altchristlichen Bibelillustration; das Problem der Beatus-Handschriften (2 vols., Münster 1931). M. R. James, The Apocalypse in Art (London 1931).] These pictures are to show the reader what the apostle saw in his mysterious visions. But how they are to be understood, how they are to be interpreted already then could not be learned from them <sup>themselves</sup> ~~itself~~, but from "doctrina" and "praedicatio" = teaching and preaching. Inasmuch as scholarly (scientific) exegesis ~~is put~~ <sup>comes</sup> ~~before~~ <sup>ahead</sup> of preaching, the following ~~investigation~~ <sup>research</sup> can of the Ap-Interpretation of the Middle Ages can be limit



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p.7. itself ~~on~~ <sup>to</sup> the Commentaries. In concentrating [~~directing~~ <sup>itself</sup>] chiefly ~~on~~ <sup>to</sup> the beginning of the Hochmittelalter Middle Ages, this is done because the real classical answer of the MA to the Ap. can be grasped <sup>right</sup> here with the greatest certainty. (confidence, sureness?)

Since long, and in recent years with increased vigour, one has ~~been~~ <sup>become</sup> interested in the abbat Joachim of Fiore (died 1202). Joachim brings about a change in the Ap.-Interpretation, and thru his successors, the Franciscan Spirituals, he becomes the involuntary forerunner of heresy\* and the Renaissance, i.e. for ~~the~~ crisis and end of the Middle Ages. Thus the real answer of the Middle Ages to the Ap. is not spoken by Joachim but rather by his conservative opponents, yet more distinct, because unpolemically, by those who have interpreted the Ap. before him.

For it is not as tho this



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p.7 older (earlier?) time has merely preserved the Ap. in the stock of its rich and <sup>certainly</sup> often ~~certainly~~ yet unawakened tradition.

p.8 The dawn of the <sup>Hochmittelalter</sup> Middle Ages in theology means that the patristic tradition gathered in the Carolingian epoch now at last after a long lull is expressly being grasped and assimilated. Hereby pushes forward what in the new situation evinces new significance. Around the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Ap. <sup>was</sup> again interpreted with keen attention. ~~Here~~ ~~Now~~ it is not only collected (~~gathered~~), nor does one yet cogitate (brood) for a change and protest—here the legitimate importance of the Ap. in the MA comes to light undisguised.





## First Chapter

Bruno von Segni and the Gloss Tradition.

## 1. The Exegetical Tradition.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse exists by a tradition in which two components are active<sup>1</sup>. One of them stands (is) under the authority of Hieronymus. In the time of Diocletian bishop Victorinus von Pettau (died about 303 as martyr) had compiled old Christian tradition in a concise commentary to the Apocalypse. This book ~~was~~ was revised by Hieronymus and left to the Middle Ages in a slightly changed form.<sup>2</sup> In its coinage (stamp) by Hieronymus<sup>3</sup> the here gathered tradition has rid itself of the chiliasm, but still retained many antique features.

[Note 1: The following review refers ~~fishand~~ not only to the history of Ap.-interpretation up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century in general but merely to the history of the tradition which was active in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In this connection (here) do not belong: the Greek interpretation which goes its own ways, and the Spanish



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§.9 commentaries of Springius & Beatus.  
 Even Martin <sup>(1000)</sup> ~~of~~ Leon has not used the old Spanish interpretation which is rather significant in view of the numerous Beatus-MSS we still possess to this day. -

||| The history of the Sp-interpretation was first written by NT scholars, namely, Fr. Rucke (Versuch einer vollst. Einl. i. d. Offbz Joh. 2 Aufl. 1852 - Attempt to a complete introduction<sup>2</sup> into the Revel. of John, 2nd edit. 1852) later by Wilh. Bousset (D. Offbz. Joh. 6 Aufl. 1906 - Rev. of John, 6<sup>th</sup> edit. 1906). A survey is given in the catholic commentaries by J.S. Tiefenthal (Paderborn 1892) and E.-B. Allo (Paris<sup>3</sup> 1933). With Bousset and still more pronounced with other NT ~~researcher~~ ~~scholars~~ <sup>scholars</sup> the perspective understandably is that they see the beginning of the Sp-interpretation in the old church, to which nothing "new" follows in the Middle Ages, until the "~~new~~ <sup>series</sup> (line) of compilers" (E. Lohmeyer, Die Offb. d. Joh. Hdb. 3. NT 16 (1926)<sup>p.2</sup> - E. Lohmeyer, The Revel. of John, Handbook to NT 16 (1926) p.2) leads to Joachim of Floris. Thus one derives the impression



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of a depressing barrenness and pure scribbling copy work of the Middle Ages.]

[Note 2, p. 1: Victorin's Comm. and the revision by of Hieronymus in: Victorini opera ed. J. Hausleiter, CSEL 49 (1916).]

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The other component of the exegetical tradition goes back to the Donatist Tychonius<sup>3</sup>. [Note 3: As to the writing & spelling of the name: Th. Zahn, Die Offb. d. Joh. I (1924) p. 104.]. The Ap-Commentary of this heretic<sup>4</sup> has by far exceeded the one of Hieronymus with regard to ~~text~~ influence. [Note 4: The plan of a reconstruction of the Tychonius-Comm. has been suggested and devised from different<sup>5</sup> sides but not yet carried out. A compilation of the text parts by Beatus which in great probability stem from Tychonius is given by T. Hahn, Tychonius Studies (1900), p. 11 and on.] That would have been quite inexplicable - especially in view of the power of the name Hieronymus<sup>6</sup> - had not Tychonius found very authoritative



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recommendations<sup>7</sup> with Augustin<sup>5</sup>  
and with Cassiodor<sup>6</sup>. [Note 5: Augustinus<sup>5</sup>  
remarks about Tych. see T. Hahn, *idem*, p 1 ff.]

[Note 6: *Inst. divin. et saec. lect.* 9 (MSL 70, 1122).]

[Note 7: The 19 Ps.-Augustinic Homilies on  
the Ap. (MSL 35, 2417 ff) ascribed by Morin to  
Caesarius of Arles are already absolutely  
based on Tychonius, besides on Victorin  
(G. Morin, *Rev. Bénéd.* 45 (1933), p. 43 ff.; Bousset, *idem*,  
p. 66 f.).]. The African bishop Primasius,  
also a contemporary of Cassiodor,  
interested himself in the Ap-Interpretation  
of his countryman <sup>n</sup> (~~compatriot~~) <sup>out</sup> burned <sup>8)</sup> the  
heresy ~~out~~ and then wrote a new commentary<sup>8)</sup>  
(with occasional insertions from Augustinus;  
this commentary which now is nothing  
else <sup>than</sup> as a Tychonius purged ~~cleaned~~ by the  
church. [Note 8: MSL 68, 793 ff.] The  
interpretation of this line of the tradition  
is in sharp contrast to the one of Victorin.  
Tychonius was a theologian with great  
thoughts. His interpretation <sup>of the Ap.</sup> tried every-  
where to volatilize the concrete illustrations  
For this he creates the tools ~~(means?)~~ of



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his own hermeneutics. Far-reaching after effects, especially in the Ap.-interpretation, had above all <sup>not</sup> three <sup>out of</sup> among the seven rules of Tychonius? [Note 9: His *liber regularum* is published by F.C. Burkitt, *Texts and Studies III*, 1 (1894).] "De specie et genere" (4), "De recapitulatione" (6), and "De diabolo et eius corpore" (7). The genus-species rule says that in the text a species can be understood as the superordinate genus - it is clear how this road (~~method?~~) could lead from the concrete to the abstract and dissolve the hypotyposis (~~perceptibility, clearness?~~) of the apocalyptic mythologeme. The recapitulation rule is not as clear as the practice (~~usage?~~) of interpretation. Already Victorin had seen (~~found out~~) that in the Ap. one cannot get thru with chronologically consecutive explanation, that one must assume repetitions.<sup>10</sup> [Note 10: CSEL 49, 84, 86.] Of this difficulty Tychonius makes a principle with comprehensive validity and coins for it a characteristic

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methodically precise idea: recapitulation.  
The last rule puts ~~(place)~~ the corpus diaboli  
as against the first discussed corpus  
Domini. As the church is the body  
of Christ, so are all evil ones the body  
of the devil. According to this for inst.  
the beast of the Ap. can be interpreted  
as the "multitudo malorum", so the  
rule <sup>again</sup> gives you the means with which  
the apocalyptic separate illustrations  
can be dissolved in <sup>the</sup> abstract...

These rules of Tychonius for a long  
time had their after-effects on inter-  
pretation, time and again they are  
quoted, "above all: the explanations  
formulated with their aid are being  
passed on.

[Note 11: First of all - in detail and  
consenting <sup>with it</sup> - by Augustin, De doctr. christ.  
III, 30-37, then by Isidor, Sentent. I, 19  
(SSh 83, 581), by Hugo v. St. V., Didasc. V, 4 (MSL 176,  
791 ff.) and ö.; furthermore in the pre-  
faces of the Ap. Comm. of Beda (MSL 93,  
129 ff.) and Alcein (MSL 100, 1087 ff.; after Beda).]



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The conflict (~~struggle~~) against the Apocalyptic, unchained under the influence of the Origenistic theology in the old church was aimed especially against the chiliasm. (~~millenarism~~).

This, however, could ~~refer~~ <sup>point</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> chapt. of the Ap. So the aim was to neutralize ~~chiliasm~~ <sup>millenarism</sup> in the Ap. itself. Hieronymus who stands already under the influence of Tychonius<sup>12</sup>, undertook his interference in the interpretation of Victorin proceeding just from this view point.<sup>13</sup>

[Note 12: Haussleiter, CSEL 49, p. XLII ff.]

[Note 13: Comp. his preface CSEL 49, p. 14.]

Tychonius' Commentary from the very beginning is anti-chiliastic. His explanation of the 1000 yrs in Ap. 20 became ~~authoritative~~ <sup>standard</sup> for the future, for Augustin incorporated it in "De civitate Dei". According to this the thousand years ~~are~~ the time of the church from the first coming of the Lord to his second advent.<sup>14</sup>

[Note 14: Augustin in his De civitate Dei



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Footnote 14.

xx, 7, says himself that earlier he was of a different opinion and that he took the thousand years as the coming Sabbath of the saints in <sup>delightful spirituality.</sup> ~~delicacies~~. Accordingly, eternal life would come only on the eighth cosmic day. Later, however, he has the 1000 years coincide with the sixth day (CSEL 40, 440f.). Here he leaves open two possibilities. Either Christ was born within this day which now already approaches its end - this still Beda accepted as his explanation of the thousand years! (MSB 93, 191) - or - the interpretation of Tychonius - the thousand years span the time from Christ to his second advent. 1000 does not mean a certain number, but perfectio, 1000 years therefore = all years. This devaluation of the number 1000 took away the foundation to all apocalyptic calculation. ~~The~~ The turn of the one thousand years therefore brought for the interpretation of the Ap. not a small shock. Richard of St. Victor remarks but casually, to

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understand the number 1000 literally is <sup>now</sup> quite impossible, for the first thousand years since Christ has expired long ago.

Thus he found the Augustin explanation confirmed <sup>and made sure</sup> by the course of history.

[MSH 196, 853D]. - While Augustin still develops his opinion by discussing it with Chiliarism, this polemic later is ~~backed up~~ <sup>eliminated</sup>. With the Ap.-expositors of later times the interpretation of Tychonius is so self-evident that they sometimes pass over the millenium with but ~~passing~~ <sup>few</sup> [curious] remarks.]

The chapters of "De civitate Dei" dealing with this problem have supplanted in the exegetical tradition (by Primasius and Beda) the text of Tychonius, yet by this means they have made his opinion to become the ruling one.<sup>15</sup>

[Note 15: In the Hieron.-form <sup>(version?)</sup> of the Victorin-Comm. Augustinus interpretation of Ap. 20 has been interpolated (<sup>Reception</sup> ~~Criticism~~ of Haussleiter, S. LVIII), thus it has gained a footing (settled down) in both lines



of interpretative tradition.]

At the ~~door~~ gate of from the patristic to the Middle Ages stand two theologians of whom the first was the better known and probably also the more important one: Beda and Ambrosius Autpertus. Beda once more undertakes the work of Primasius, as a result he produces a new ecclesiastical Tychonius. [Note 16: MSH 93, 129ff. - Beda uses, besides Primasius, always Tychonius direct.]. His commentary is concise and clear, he does not yet dare to ~~to~~ present to his Angeln?? a protracted reading.<sup>17</sup> [Note 17: MSH 93, 134A.], Ambrosius Autpertus (died 778 or 781) (On the contrary) abbot of an Italian monastery and eyewitness of the collapse of Langobard rule, writes a work of immense volume.<sup>18</sup> [Note 18: Max. Bibl. vet. Patr. (Lyon 1677), l. XIII, p. 403-639.]. He has used everything accessible in the way of older commentaries, above all Primasius and, besides, has taken from the works of St Gregor what he



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<sup>Thus</sup>

could use. Autpertus and Beda, the exegets of the transition period, both represent essentially the Tychonius tradition.

Upon its shoulders rests the effort of the Carolingian theologians about the Ap. While Ambrose Autpertus wants to undertake something of his own, <sup>defending</sup> ~~proving~~ for the right of his new commentary - tho he then produces hardly anything characteristic - while Beda proceeds from the basis of the ~~old~~ ancient ecclesiastical Exegesis without seeing his own work <sup>diminished</sup> ~~cut out~~ by it, the theologians of France (Franconia?) established the authority of the patres (fathers) in the <sup>best</sup> sense, they were decisive for the early middle ages. The political and intellectual guidance of Charles and his advisors saw himself with astonishing lucidity before the task to place the formation of clergy and laity in the whole expanse of the empire on the basis of distinct and uniform norms. <sup>(19)</sup> as to instruction (education?), literature



Note 19, p. 13: Comp. S. Hellmann,  
Einhard's literarische Stellung  
(Hist. Vjschr. 27, 1932, p. 40 ff.), p. 84 f.



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preaching (sermon), liturgy, dogma, Bible text, and also as to the exegesis.

The understanding of the Bible now is tied to two kinds of word, the Bible itself and the interpretation of the fathers. In the same Carolingian theology, Allegory attains the <sup>peak</sup> zenith of its domination, which means:

Every understanding has to pierce thru the surface of the first semblance in order to find its goal (~~aim~~) in the depth of allegorical secrets & mysteries. The meaning (~~opinion~~) of human speech handed down by tradition readily lends itself to these hermeneutics. Speech at first view is mere littera or mere sound (vox). That it is necessary to pierce through the superficies litterae in the intelligentia spiritualis is the general opinion still in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Such necessary agreement between letter and intellectual understanding forces <sup>into our</sup> the letter of the Bible ~~with~~ the interpretation of the fathers ~~for into~~ for the generation of these pious students. no. 20



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+

[Note 20: To this paragraph see H. F. Klunz, History of the Vulgate in England (Cambridge 1933), p. 75 ff.]

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The leading teacher of the Franconian theology, Alcuin, lays the ground (foundation) for this new exegesis. In his Ap-Commentary he depends on Autpertus and uses besides Bede, <sup>besides</sup> He can hold with good conscience to these patterns for he knows that they continue the authoritative exegesis of the fathers.<sup>21</sup> [Note 21: MSL. 100, 1087 ff.]

In the praefatio Alcuin <sup>aut to:</sup> after Autpertus gives as interpreters of the Ap.: Vict., Hier., Tych., Primas. (Augustin), Gregor.

Furthermore he names his immediate predecessors: Ambros. Autpert. and Bede.

- The Cod. lat. Monac. 13 581 (9. Jahrh.) contains f. 3 ff. an "Explanatio Apocalypsis per interrogationes et responsiones". Mr. Dr. B. Bischof-Munich calls my attention to this interpretation in which he surmises a second Ap-Commentary of Alcuin.]



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His student Araban according to the report of Notker Balbulus<sup>22</sup> glossulae has written glossulae "in totam diuinam scripturam", hence also on the Ap. but these glossulas<sup>23</sup> ~~are~~ were lost. Araban has again enlisted his students, like Walafrid Strabo, hupus von Ferrières in Fulda to cooperate in the Bible studies.<sup>23</sup>

[Note 22: E. Dümmler, Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III von Konstanz (1857), p. 69.]

[Note 23: Glunz, idem, p. 104 f.]

This tradition can be traced according to Duxerre via hupus. Here in the probably most important school of late Carolingian scholarship originated those commentaries which have exerted, quite an astonishing influence (under the name "Haimo") on the high and late Middle Ages. Their diligent (industrious?) originator - be that now Heirics teacher Haimo or Heirics famous student Remigius - has also written on the Ap.<sup>24</sup> [Note 24: MSH 117, 937 ff (under the name of Haimo of Halberstadt). About Haimo von Duxerre: E. Riggensbach,



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Hist. Stud. z. Hebr. Brief I (Th. Zahn's Forschg. z. Geschichte d. N.T. Kanons ... 8, 1907), p 41 ff.

R.'s investigation of the connection between the Ap. Commentary and the other Haimo-Commentaries still needs a re-examination (further tests?).

Hauck essentially joined in the suppositions (~~conjectures~~) of R.

R E<sup>3</sup> 23, p. 614; likewise - on the basis of his own new ~~inve~~ original research - Wilh. Neuss, Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts (Beitr. z. Gesch. d. alten Mönchtums u. d.

Benediktinerordens, hg. v. P. Ildef. Herwegen, H. 1-2, 1912), p 298 ff. - In the following I am speaking of "Haimo" according to the usage of the high ~~the~~ MAs, without <sup>therewith</sup> attempting to decide the old polemic. ]

Quite similar as earlier Alcuin <sup>1</sup> he there took out Autpertus and occasionally looked up also Bede. Through a student of Remigius, Odo von Fleury (died 942) the Auxerre tradition of the exegesis is continued.

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Odos' Commentary on the Ap. is not preserved<sup>25</sup>. [Note 25: Blenz, p.128 ff.] In Fleury it seems Bible interpretation was cultivated for a long time after an constantly. Looking on the whole, however, the decline <sup>into</sup> ~~with~~ which the alertness (activity?) of the Carolingian epoch ~~was~~ gradually <sup>fully</sup> ~~meets~~ becomes noticeable also in the history of the Ap. interpretation<sup>26</sup>. [Note 26: It can be assumed that in the 9th to 11th centuries yet many a commentary on the Ap. was written of which we know nothing definite any more. Thus, f. inst., a scholastic of the monastery S. Matthisae near Trier, by the name of Theodor (died 1012) is supposed to have interpreted the Ap. (Eysengrein, Catalogus testium veritatis... (1565), p.78 repeats the epitaph). But it is of no use here to further investigate such mostly uncontrollable statements of catalogues since Trithemius. - The enigmatic and important commentary of Berengaudus (9th cent. (?) ; MSh 17, 843 ff;



Boussset, idem p. 70) would be worth a special investigation. To be sure, he stands also in the Tych.-tradition, yet <sup>and</sup> he goes his own unusual ways and, as far as I could see, has not influenced the commentaries of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. I know but one - by the way little important - Ap. Commentary of the early Middle Ages, which betrays the after-effects of Berengandus: cod. lat. B. 19 of the Public & City Library Düsseldorf (12<sup>th</sup> cent.; Mr. Dr. B. Bischoff-Munich called my attention to this MS), f. 88<sup>a</sup> - f. 151<sup>d</sup>. The initium reads: Incipit prologus Herennii lugdunensis episcopi in apok. Sciendum est quia iohannes apostolus et evangelista...". Hence the commentary wishes to adorn itself with the prestige of Iren<sup>a</sup>us (comp. Harnack, Altchristl. lit. gesch. I, p. 264). He combines the average Tych.-Tradition with comments on the history of the OT, which are taken from Berengandus.]



2. Bruno von Segni

The 11<sup>th</sup> century sees the passionate struggle of the church with the secular powers. The alert spirit of this restless <sup>time</sup> spirit<sup>27</sup> produces in Italy, <sup>a new</sup> consultation of the Bible. [Note 27: A. Brackmann deals with the epochal turn to the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. in connection with the investiture disension; Die Ursachen der geistigen und politischen Wandlung Europas im 11. u. 12. Jahrh., [Reasons for the Intellectual and Political Change in ~~of~~ Europe in the 11. & 12. cent.] H. Z. 149 (1934), p. 229 ff.] Bruno, Bishop von Segni (died 1123) comments on Biblical books of the Old & New Testaments, among them also the Ap.<sup>28</sup> [Note 28: According to the statement of Bruno Bruni (Rom 1791) reprinted M. S. L. 165, 605 ff. A Monography on Bruno: B. Kizalski, Bruno, Bischof von Segni, abbat of Monte Cassino (1049-1123) (1898). To the book by Nic. Risi, S Bruno Astense..., Prato 1918 was I had no access.]. This radical Gregorian, this restless politician - for decades he lived



~~in the surroundings~~ associated with  
 popes, Gregor VII to Paschalis II., he traveled  
 as a legat in France - all thru his life  
 he had a strong yearning (~~longing~~?)  
 for monastic calm (~~quietness~~) and  
 submission of meditation. After he had  
 been a bishop for a long time, he took <sup>the</sup>  
 monks garb at Monte Cassino. A special  
 He had a very special burden for the  
 study of <sup>lit.</sup> ~~occupation~~ with) the Holy Scripture.  
 He considered Bible interpretation the  
 center of theology. He was a politician  
 and a monk and ~~this corresponds to his~~  
<sup>was</sup> ~~literary~~ <sup>accor- dings</sup> activity. We have an overly  
 severe (~~vehement~~) polemical paper by  
 him <sup>29</sup> besides and aside from that,  
 mainly preponderantly Bible comment-  
 aries and sermons. As an exeget he  
 is conservativ and like Peter Damiani  
 a declared enemy of dialecticians.  
 In his Ap.-commentary he names  
 philosophers in one breath with the  
 heretics. <sup>30</sup> [Note 29: De symoniacis, ed  
 E. Saekur, M.G. libelli de lite II, s. 543 ff.]



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[Note 30: MSL 165, 648 A, 693 A: the fourth preacher thanks God, "quia homines iniquos et superbos, qui magis haereticorum et philosophorum stultam sapientiam, quam veram et catholicam fidem credere et imitari voluerunt, in sua stultitia erroreque permisit."]. The use of dialectica argumenta et syllogismorum concatenatio<sup>31</sup> to him seem ~~just about~~ directly characteristic (~~indicative?~~)

of the heretics. [Note 31: MSL 165, 653 D, comp. 653 B: Faces of people have the locustae = haeretici, "quia de scripturis divinis testimonia profanates rationabiliter se loqui velle promittunt. Sed quia in his facile superantur, quasi scorpini cauda ferientes, ad dialecticas quaestiones sese convertunt." On the basis of Bible testimony it is thus good to speak rationabiliter. The evil with the dialecticae quaestiones is not the use of the ratio, but the lack of Testimony Bible. Comp. also 654 A:



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"... unde cum strepitu, superbia et garrulitate eorum (the heretic) praedicatio magis agi videtur quam cum ratione et veritate", ratio together with veritas on the side of the right theology.]

As is <sup>evident</sup> seen from the praefatio, Bruno has written the explanation of the Ap. already early, i. e. soon after his elevation to the Bishop of Segni (1079)<sup>32</sup>, or in the most exciting years of the struggle between Henry and Gregor.

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[Note 32: Ligalski assumes ca. 1080/82 as the time of its writing, idem, p. 262.]

There, too, the proof of the authenticity of the commentary.] Occasionally the stir (or noise) of the time resounded down to this unpolitical theological work.<sup>33</sup>

[Note 33. Comp. f. inst. the following <sup>extraordinary</sup> ~~remark~~ very significant remark for the then attitude of the church (664 C): "... his nostris temporibus..., cum reges et principes, Simoniacos et schismaticos nulla alia



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de causa contra sanctos insurgere videamus, nisi quia ab eis admonentur, ut a peccatis cesserint..." ~~See~~ To Ap. 16 Bruno says: A privilegio maioris partis regnum nostrum sacerdotes appellat, quoniam non tyranni (!) et homicidae, sicut in aliis, imo sacerdotes et episcopi in Ecclesia Dei obtinent principatum" (609 [C/D]).]

Bruno knows that ~~it~~ he again takes up the interpretation of the Ap "post multos alios" <sup>34</sup>. [Note 34: 605 A.]

He starts from the Carolingian exegesis. <sup>from</sup> In the commentary of Haimo he gets the connection with the authoritative tradition - on this he bases his interpretation <sup>35</sup>. [Note 35: Instead of many samples taken at random I give but one especially revealing proof: In the explanation of the first trumpet (Ap. 87) Bruno (647C) took over the three-division praelati, subiecti, haeretici (MSh 117, 1047 B). This division is quite different from the one of Tychonius given by Beda, yet different, too, than the one of Autpertus,



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whom Haimo apparently did not quite understand. Though he joins (conforms?) with Autpertus yet he makes the explanation much simpler and somewhat changed. It is not always so plain that Bruno is (using) making use of Haimo because he expresses himself peculiarly and because as to contents the explanations often are the same with all interpreters.] Besides, he is using Beda but only for occasional corrections and additions (supplements).<sup>36</sup> [Note 36: Zig. (p. 265f.) holds Beda as Bruno's first source and considers the use of Haimo - for which he <sup>also</sup> gives proofs - as secondary. But the matter (situation?) is exactly reversed. The leading pattern for Bruno is Haimo. When he does not agree with Haimo - and probably only then - he inserts an explanation from Beda. Zig.'s proofs for the use of Beda <sup>for the greater part</sup> mostly do not mean much, for mostly they can be explained just as well, or even better, as <sup>those?</sup> utilizations (?) of Haimo. On the contrary,



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the interpretation of the precious stones chalcedonius, sardius, beryllus, topacius & hyacinthus (Ap. 21, 20) remain as really proven. Here Bruno has read up in Bedas commentary. The interpretation of the precious stones in particular <sup>is</sup> are given by Beda unusually detailed. As for the rest (otherwise?) Beda is very brief, Haimos interpretation is much richer and wider, it offered to an exegete of later time more material for his own personal work. This explains perhaps that the same source — Haimo as the main pattern, besides occasionally a look into Beda — occurs repeatedly. We find it with Bruno, and we shall again find it in the Glosses and with Rupert von Deutz. By the by, Bruno quotes neither Haimo nor Beda.] Haimo had extracted from the gigantic commentary of Autpertus, and in <sup>Hor.!</sup> details turned to Beda. <sup>37</sup> [Note 37: Sigalski's statements about the source connections

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(p. 265/66) are not exact, <sup>and</sup> partly completely wrong.] Moreover, he arranged his text understandingly (with comprehension); not merely copying, and leaving out after consideration what to him seemed dispensable. Yet on the whole his commentary still was only an excerpt. Quite differently with Bruno. He writes so independently that only seldom his <sup>(copy?)</sup> pattern can be seen quite distinctly. With this first interpreter of the Sp. at the beginning of a new epoch, the freedom to proceed is essentially greater than in the average carolingian theology. Bruno writes (has!) a rather lively at times rhetorical style, one perceives the experienced preacher.<sup>38</sup>

[Note 38: A sample: "Sic, sic, diabole, Diligis tuos, hoc est tuum consilium. Vos autem sancti, cavete, ne decipiamini..." (695B). He allows interjections by the "listener": "Sed dicis: Quomodo bestiam illam, quae nondum venit, superare poterò? Audi quid beatus Joannes..." (688C). Eiq.



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[idem p. 129 passes a few remarks on the Bruno's style.]

Nor does he any more feel obliged merely to repeat the authoritative exegetical tradition. In explaining the number 666 at the end of Ap. 13 he once says: "sufficiant autem hoc in loco, quae ab antiquis dicta sunt, nihilque de nostro ponentes ea solummodo, quae ab eis accepimus, ad memoriam reducamus".<sup>39</sup> [Note 39: 678 D.] According to this he seems to consider it a normal thing that he supply something of his own to the interpretation. In connection with the explanation of Gog & Magog (Ap. 20, 8) he closes his report on "quidam" and "alii": "... haec illi dixerunt,"<sup>40</sup> and continues: "Nos autem secundum nominum interpretationem, salva fide, ista exponamus." [Note 40: 714/15]. One thinks, now he will bring something new. But no, there follows merely the translation -

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interpretation common everywhere since Augustin. Bruno finds it with Haimo, <sup>41</sup> from where he takes also the report about the rejected interpretations including the rejection. - [Note 41: MSH 117, 1186/87.

It is noteworthy that Bruno following Haimo pushes aside the Apocalyptic interpretation to certain people (Goths or Geten and Massageten or the peoples closed in by Alexander the Great in the mountains and emphasizes (values?) exclusively the dogmatic explanation (log = tectum = peccatores; Magog = de tecto = vitia spiritusque immundi). The form (expression?) from which Bruno makes "nos autem" reads with Haimo: "... haec sententia humana est, non quidem hos viginti quattuor... intelligo..." (627A), though the following also he has taken from Haimo (MSH 117, 1006 C).] - This case is characteristic. With regard to authorities Bruno has indeed a self-consciousness



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not common for this period. But in reality he nowhere goes farther on his own beyond the contents of tradition.

Only in one respect it seemed necessary to him to adjust the older interpretation. The impulse for the explanation of the Ap. was caused in him by the desire of some friends; but that he accedes to it he explains thus: "In cuius expositione ideo nos post multos alios, qui eum exposuerunt, laborare curavimus, quoniam etsi sententias bene sint executi, in visionum tamen continuatione distinctioneque parum quid dixisse videntur." 42 [Note 42: 605 A (prae-fatio).] He divided the Ap. into 7 books according to the 7 principal visions, "quarum etsi verba diversa, sententia tamen pene eadem esse videtur. In omnibus enim Ecclesiae persecutiones narrantur, praeter quod in ultimo coelestis Ierusalem aedificia describuntur." He now gives the following outline



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which then serves as a base for the commentary:

- 1. 1<sub>1</sub> - 3<sub>22</sub> (The seven <sup>epistles</sup> letters ✗)
- 2. 4<sub>1</sub> - 8<sub>1</sub> (The seven seals)
- 3. 8<sub>2</sub> - 11<sub>18</sub> (The seven trumpets x 2 witnesses)
- 4. 11<sub>19</sub> - 14<sub>13</sub> (The woman x the beast)
- 5. 14<sub>14</sub> - 19<sub>10</sub> (The seven vials x the great Whore Babel)
- 6. 19<sub>11</sub> - 21<sub>8</sub> (Christ x the Judgement)
- 7. 21<sub>9</sub> - 22<sub>21</sub> (The new Jerusalem)

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The first 6 visions all cover the time from Christ to the end, the 7<sup>th</sup> vision, however, describes the "sabbatismus populo Dei".

It is very probable that Bruno with his opinion as to the need of correcting the older outlines has in mind his pattern (original?), Haimo. Haimo divides his commentary x with it the Ap. also in seven books, i. e.:

Haimo	Antipetrus.
1. 1 <sub>1</sub> - 3 <sub>13</sub>	1. 1 <sub>1</sub> - 1 <sub>19</sub>
2. 3 <sub>14</sub> - 9 <sub>21</sub>	2. 1 <sub>20</sub> - 3 <sub>13</sub>
3. 10 <sub>1</sub> - 12 <sub>12a</sub>	3. 3 <sub>14</sub> - 5 <sub>14</sub>
4. 12 <sub>12b</sub> - 14 <sub>13</sub>	4. 6 <sub>1</sub> - 9 <sub>21</sub>
5. 14 <sub>14</sub> - 16 <sub>21</sub>	5. 10 <sub>1</sub> - 12 <sub>12a</sub>
6. 17 <sub>1</sub> - 19 <sub>10</sub>	6. 12 <sub>12b</sub> - 14 <sub>13</sub>
7. 19 <sub>11</sub> - 22 <sub>21</sub>	7. 14 <sub>14</sub> - 16 <sub>21</sub>
	8. 17 <sub>1</sub> - 19 <sub>10</sub>
	9. 19 <sub>11</sub> - 21 <sub>8</sub>
	10. 21 <sub>9</sub> - 22 <sub>21</sub>



Haimo takes over the outline of Autpeters but reduces the number of the books from 10 to 7 by combining twice ~~at~~ the beginning & once at the end two books into one. This was possible due to his compression of the whole, he merely gives an excerpt from Autpeters. The newly created outline from Autpeters is a very superficial division of his material (abundance of m.!) It has little to do with the ~~contentual~~ order of contents according to visions or recapitulation. Beginning 1,20-16,21 the real division of the Ap. is completely distorted. And with Haimo's condensation the division now has become completely senseless.

Thus Bruno with his criticism is completely in the right. The unfortunate division in (et?) 14,13 he has retained & condensed. put together books 5 & 6 of Haimo in his book 5,



a <sup>blunder</sup> mistake to which he possibly felt compelled by the unsumountable number 7. This he makes up by dividing Haimos book 7 into his two last books. With this he again arrives at the here very good division of Autpertus.<sup>43</sup> [ Note 43: Whether he newly discovered it or saw it with Autpertus cannot be decided with certainty.

The former seems to be ~~the~~ probable ]

It is quite evident that he wants to isolate the "Sabbath" Vision. Beginning with 14<sub>13</sub> the Haimos outline, on which it is based is still clearly recognizable. Earlier, however, (1-14<sub>13</sub>) he has very aptly corrected Haimos. Therefrom results the conformity of this changed division with the one of Beda.

For Bruno is not the first who occupies himself with the question of the outline.<sup>44</sup> [ Note 44: The Victorin-Hieronymus commentary has no outline at all. Tychonius gives 3 books: 1. 1-3; 2. 4-8; 3. 8<sub>2</sub>-22 (Hahn,



idem, p. 19). The two incisive divisions are well made but a more exact division of the whole Ap. does not seem to interest him. Primasius divides his commentary into 5 books: 1. 1, - 4<sub>11</sub>; 2. 5, - 8<sub>1</sub>; 3. 8<sub>2</sub> - 12<sub>18</sub>; 4. 13<sub>1</sub> - 17<sub>18</sub>; 5. 18, - 22<sub>21</sub>.

This, not very deeply thought-through but also not quite inapt, outline has had no aftereffects (only the division at 18<sub>1</sub> (and 8<sub>2</sub>, according to Tychonius) is found again with Beda).] The first who ponders over it seriously and successfully, who gives ~~a~~ more than a scanty division was already Beda.<sup>45</sup>

[Note 45: The oldest testimony for the awakening of the question of an outline as such is a (P.-Hieron.) Prologue to the Ap. found already since the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. in the manuscripts (see Berger, Les préfaces jointes aux livres de Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate, Mémoire présentée à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres XI, 2, 1904, p. 68) and which concludes with the following peculiar



explanation: "Cuius tamen scripturae dispositio vel libri ordinatio ideo a nobis per singula non exponitur, ut ne-scientibus inquirendi desiderium collocetur et quaerentibus laboris laboris fructus et Deo magisterii doctrina seruetur" (MSL 114, 709D).] He divided once more the 3<sup>rd</sup> book of Tychonius once more in 5 paragraphs and thus established 7 periochae of the whole Ap: 46. [Note 46: See his explanations in the preface (MSL 93, 129 ff) and at the beginning of each periochae.]:

1. 1, - 3<sub>22</sub>
2. 4, - 8<sub>1</sub>
3. 8<sub>2</sub> - 11<sub>18</sub>
4. 11<sub>19</sub> - 14<sub>20</sub>
5. 15<sub>1</sub> - 17<sub>18</sub>
6. 18<sub>1</sub> - 20<sub>15</sub>
7. 21<sub>1</sub> - 22<sub>21</sub>

p. 22 Thus he discovered that the number seven actually represents the basis to structure of the Ap. It does not disappear in the time following



from the outlines <sup>47</sup>, & is decisive determines also the exegesis of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Bedas divisions mostly are correct, especially at 1, - 14<sup>20</sup>.

[Note 47: Perhaps Beda gave Haimo also the idea as to the division into seven.]

The outlines authoritative in the Middle Ages thus do not stem from the Patristic exegesis, but from the two intermediaries of the transition: Beda & Autpertus. Now as to contents the later interpretation has mostly drawn from Autpertus, but as to outline Beda had the stronger influence. This might be traced back to the factual superiority of his outline. While Autpertus gives only any division, Beda has carefully investigated the construction of the Ap. That is the first own accomplishment of the Ap interpretation in the early Middle Ages. The Carolingian theologians at first



hold to Autpertus also in the classification (division).<sup>48</sup> [Note 48: Characteristic for their unsteadiness (uncertainty!) is the method of Sleuin. In the preface he copies Bedas outline - after his (the other's) preface - but in the commentary itself he follows as to interpretation and division outline exactly after Autpertus! This fact, by the way, speaks also for the age of the Autpertus outline, which, <sup>otherwise</sup> might be doubted on the basis of its <sup>condition?</sup> from the state of the manuscript.

For the oldest by Denifle found ~~was~~

Autpertus-MS (10<sup>th</sup> cent. Cod. Vat.

Reg. 96) is not at all divided into books (on the contrary, a Paris-MS of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. in 10 books <sup>like</sup> as the printed;

H. Denifle, <sup>The Occidental</sup> *Scripturae Interpretes*

... p 347 f.) The tradition of the Haimo outline, too, does not seem unequivocal

A Berlin MS of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. (Görres 61, Schillmann p 62) has, in contrast to the print, 9 books. All this shows at least that the outlines



of the Autpertus-Haimo-Tradition could be understood as mere division of the material also by the writers (copyists?) of the Middle Ages.]

On the contrary, however, in the glossa Beda completely knocks out the competing outline. During the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. Beda's outline is considered as unimpeachable authority in the whole wide sphere of interest of the glossa<sup>en</sup>. The unfortunate Autpertus outline, still more corrupted by Haimo, was no more bearable and placed <sup>ic<sup>is</sup></sup> exegetis (?) like Bruno (and Rupert von Deutz, see farther on), who had used Haimo as a pattern and who did not yet know the glossa and its authoritative value ~~Geldung~~ before the task of ~~th~~ anew pondering (thinking through?) over the outline problem.

Bruno did not arrive at a solution all his own, he gives a combination of the outlines according



to Haimo and Beda. Their fusion in the center was a complete failure but all the same he tackled the problem and sought a new way.

At the place where he breaks Haimo's closing book into two, he remarks conscious of his interference (encroachment?): „Cogimus autem inaequales efficere libros” - here he thinks of the smallness of the newly by him created books in contrast to the shapelessness of his 5th book - „quoniam visiones permiscere nolumus” - therefore here the elimination of the Sabbath vision - „et continuationem interrompere timemus” - therefore, if necessary, one has to put up with an excessively long book.

Thus his object is - and it was no different with Beda - to give an outline motivated by contents. Each book is to coincide with a vision. This he promised already in his prologue (see earlier) adding that the visions 1-6 with different words („verba



diversa") as to contents almost repeat themselves ("sententia tamen pene eadem"). While the presentation of the eternal reward is reserved for the closing vision, each of the books 1-6 describes the "ecclesiae persecutiones", and at that namely, in Bruno shows this especially clearly for books 2-6 <sup>every</sup> each time "a principio nascentis Ecclesiae .. usque in finem." 49 [Note 49: 606 A; comp. the whole paragraph (606 A-C) and the endings and beginnings of the books.]

The fate of the church is represented in 6 parallels. That is a system of recapitulations in the sense of Tychonius. Though the word is no more familiar to Bruno, but he is all the more occupied with the matter itself. But while earlier little value was placed on a orderly relationship between visions and recapitulations, 50 [Note 50:

More about this see farther on, p. 96 f.]

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Bruno tries to establish just such a relationship: a vision equals a



recapitulation! The text of the Ap, to be sure - that does not remain hidden to Bruno - does not always submit without friction to this clear program. There is, f. inst., <sup>(discontinuation)</sup> a dead-lock at the beginning of Ap 10. Bruno thinks John seems to digress here,<sup>51</sup> "Cum enim de septem angelis tuba canentibus loqui proposuisset, cumque ad septimum nondum pervenisset, quaedam alia interposuit, quae longe ab hac materia videntur esse diversa." And in the 6<sup>th</sup> book the chronological confusion is getting so great that in the end Bruno is able to rescue himself only by pointing out that this jumping about is after all customary with the prophets.<sup>52</sup> [Note 51: Haimo (MSH 117, 1059D) begins (starts?) here a new recapitulation, in wherein Bruno cannot follow him.] [Note 52: He has the 6<sup>th</sup> book start as customary "a principio nascentis Ecclesiae" (709A),



but this time he does not get far with it. Already Ap 19, 19 it quite plainly concerns an event of the end, the struggle with the antichrist: "Hoc autem in loco illud praelium beatus Joannes narrare videtur, quod Christus Dominus noster in saeculi consummatione contra Antichristum facturus est" (711 C).

Between the lines of this remark one feels the embarrassment of the author about such ~~an~~ a sequence. In chapter 20 now follows the binding of Satan, which since Tychonius and Augustin must be applied to the beginning of the time of the church. Here Bruno believes, he has to excuse John: "Prophetarum etenim est, nec tempus curare nec ordinem, sed nunc de futuris loqui, nunc ad praeterita reverti, quae quidem beatus Joannes hoc in loco facere videtur" (712 C).

Haimo expresses himself here similarly (MSL 117, 1181 C), but when Bruno



takes up such a thing he overlooks his outline is based on the assumption that the prophet is heeding tempers and ordo very exactly!.] Because of such difficulties he did not doubt the correctness of his outline as a whole.

The theological intention of this recapitulation order will have to be explained later. To begin with, here will be shown the peculiar face of this first commentary of the new epoch (period?) in its relationship to the carolingian exegesis. Bruno again ties to the interpretation of this theology which lies fully 250 years back. The fact that such a thing was possible, that in the meantime practically nothing had changed, is a measure for the theological stagnation of the preceding centuries. On the other hand Bruno is not simply the student of Haimo, he comes forward with considerable

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self-assurance, to be sure, criticism is the motive to his work. However, the noise is greater than what is really accomplished, Brucko criticizes, as to interpretation as well as in the question of outline, always the one tradition by means of the other.

But he takes sides resolutely, he definitely feels as the leader in the discussion, and when he decides <sup>in favor of</sup> ~~for~~ one side he likes to give to the preferred the appearance (face?) of his own opinion. The vivacity with which he makes tradition his own, the attention (watchfulness) with which he contemplated (weighed) everything is especially evident in his interest for the survey. He does not lose himself in details but looks on the whole and <sup>thus</sup> tries to organize the parts anew.

### 3. The blossa-work of the Laon School



(Anselm and Meuegandus).

The Carolingian exegesis had its nucleus of dogma-traditions in western France (Franconia?). The Bible studies in the other lands - England, Germany, Italy - received their stimulation time and again from this center. Bruno, too, had to hold on to an exegetist interpreter from Auxerre. Thus it is not ~~be~~ wondered at strange that the new start of theological work decisive for the future, again takes place in France, i. e. in the school of the normanic monastery Bec. Especially through the conquest of England the Normandy had proven its political power.

Lombardians like Lanfranc and Anselm teach at Bec and become English church leaders. The exchange between Italian jurisprudence and French theology, between Bologna and Raon and Paris still remains



lively,<sup>53</sup> and the conquest of the English church by the masters of Bee is being <sup>completed</sup> concluded from Raon and Paris in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Only Germany stands still aside for a time; the history of the Sp.-exegesis, too, will show this.

[Note 53: Fr. Blumetzrieder, Gratian and the school of Anselm of Raon (Arch. f. Kathol. Kirchenrecht 112 (1932), p. 37 ff.).

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The new <sup>start</sup> beginning has already in Bee all its three dimensions: Dogmatism, Canonism and exegesis. The awakening of the interest in the ancient logic and simultaneously for ancient law is able to <sup>have</sup> do its effect. In Bee the attempt is dared to make the dangerous dialectics fruitful for a legitimate theology. This bold meditative energy immediately undertakes in the dogmatical monographs of the great Anselm a



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hardly comprehensible mighty  
encroachment on the future.

What a  
mouthful!

That was still too powerful for  
the breath (tempo?) of the contemporaries.  
But gradually they came up  
thanks to the constant compulsion  
of an institution which was  
gave the mark (put the stamp) and  
the name to the coming epoch:  
the school. Not until now the  
Middle Ages with its carefully  
guarded tradition really went  
to school.







[Note 57: hit on the glossa-problem:  
 S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate...* (Paris 1893),  
 p. 132 ff. H. Denifle, *Luther & Lutherdom...*  
 1. Eng. Ed., *Die abendländischen Schrift-  
 ausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei* (Mainz  
 1905), p. XIII, 16 f, 28, 36 f, 357 f. P. Mandouret,  
*Chronologie des écrits scripturaires de  
 saint Thomas d'Aquin. 3. enseignement de  
 la Bible „selon l'usage de Paris”* (Rev. Thom.  
 34, 1929, p. 489 ff). G. Paris. *idem* p. 229 ff  
 (there more lit.). Kling in his here often  
 quoted *History of the Vulgate in England*  
 has opened instructive so far unknown  
 material and examined from many  
 sides the question of the glossa origin.  
 His thesis (theory?) that Petrus Lombardus  
 be the author of the glossa, however,  
 has not convinced me, neither in  
 regard to the Psalter and the Paulines.  
 If Gerhoh von Reichersberg as early as  
 1143 (oder 1142) as outstanding authors  
 of the glosae in apostolum names:  
 „Anselmus et magister Gillibertus et  
 novissime Petrus Longabardus” (M<sup>h</sup> lib.



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de lite III, p 275), he surely had nothing else in mind than one century later Vinzenz von Beauvais who reports of Petrus Lombardus: "... glosaturam Epistolarum et Psalterii ab Anselmo (Laudunensi) per glosulas interlineares marginalesque (!) distinctam, et post a Gilberto (Porretano) continuative productam, latius et apertius explicuit, multaque de dictis Sanctorum addidit "

(Spec. hist. 29, 1. Quoted in the edition of the Sentences of Lombardus (1916) T, p. XXVII.

Comp. Spec. hist. 26, 26). The MSS collected by Kling sometimes speak practically against his thesis.

T.O.



[Note 58, p. 28: Klingz (p. 228, A.1) has observed that the text form of the gl. ord. is stable from the time of the oldest MSS. (ca 1160). (Allgem. Angaben über die handschriftl. Überlieferung, § p. 202.)]

[Note 63, p. 30: As is known, the prints of the glossa are rather inadequate. Here the Antwerpen Bible edition <sup>of 1634</sup> (is used (Vol. 6) and Migne's print of the gl. ord. (MSh. 114) is used f. comparison.]

[Note 64, p. 30: To Prof. Klingz who discovered this commentary in Durham (A. II. 4) & briefly described in his book (p. 163 & 191 f) I am indebted for the following information by letter: "The Commentary to the Apok. in Durham A II. 4, which I ascribe tentatively to Lanfranc, is a real commentary, i.e. it offers first a small part of Ap. text <sup>followed</sup> then by a longer explanation. Besides <sup>to</sup> some text words are added short interlinear glossa (in the following bracketed)."

'Apocalipsis' (i.e. revelatio), hec inter reliquos novi testamenti libros prophetica vocatur, sed aliis excellentior prophetica. . . . 6 more lines

This short excerpt shows that this is taken from Haimo (comp. Bl. p. 192, A.1) The Comment. stands at the close of a Bible-Ms (ca 1080-1090) left by Wilh. v. Corisef at his death (1095) to the Cathedral in Durham . . .



Dr. Ludwig Ideler:

"Handbuch d. Mathem. & techn. Chronologie".

Vol. I

Berlin, August Recker, 1825.

Introduction p. III: "... the deep scholarly & too often each other contradicting works of Scaliger, Petavius & other Heros of the subject."

p. IV: (P. 3) Look in my book only for investigations on such epochs of history which are connected with <sup>year-</sup>calculations.

p. V: In accordance with the development of the science I begin with the Egyptians, then follow Babylonians, Greeks, Macedonians, Syrians & Hebrew. The latter with <sup>whom</sup> ~~which~~ my predecessors usually begin play a secondary role in my work. Do not reproach me for this until having read my presentation of their time computation. Whatever in it is scientific has developed only late.



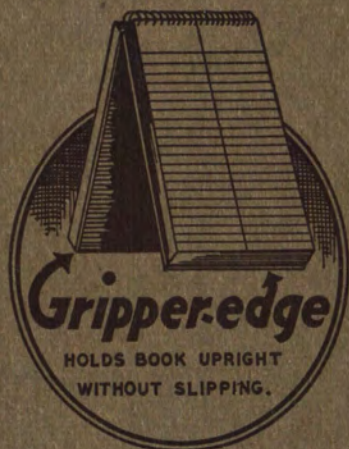




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An Astronomical Observation Text  
from the 37th year of Nebucadnezar II  
(- 567/66)

Session of May 1, 1915

II

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p. 29.

An Astronom. Observat. Text from the 37th yr of N. II (-567/66)  
by Paul V. Neugebauer & Ernst F. Weidner.

Among the <sup>astronomical</sup> cuneiform texts in the Near East department of the Berlin Museums table VAT 4956 takes by far the first place in importance. For it represents the most ancient astronomical observation text known today worded in the detailed form of the Babylonian <sup>late period</sup>. So far this honour (repute?) had to be adjudicated (adjudged?) to the text 78, 11-7, 4 in the British Museum, which dates from the 7th year of Cambyses, i.e. the year -522/21.]

[Note 1]: Published by Strassmaier, "Inscriptions of Cambyses, No. 400 and elaborated on by Epping in the periodical for Assyriology I, p. 281 et on, and by Kugler, ib. XVII, pp. 2037<sup>on</sup> and in "Sternkunde" (Astron. Science) I, p. 617 on.]

Thus it was worded as early as in the time of the Persian Kings. Our new text (now) dates from the 37th year of Nebucadnezar II, which is the year -567/66 thus is the first



greater purely astronomical document from the time before the downfall of the Neobabylonian empire. As to its contents, it is made up, like all later similar documents, of moon, sun and planet observations in detail, data on meteorological & geological events, notes on the level (height?) of the water and food prices as well as, at the end of several paragraphs, information on some interesting curiosities. For all details, which mostly are new & of



the greatest interest, we refer to the here following discussion in detail of the text. We now <sup>here</sup> wish to express our respectful thanks to Privy Councillor Delitzsch for his kind permission to publish the text.')

[Note 1]: The original text is to be published in the Vorderasiatische Schrift-  
denkmäler (Near East Literary Monuments).]

### I. Philological <sup>2</sup>Dissection of the Text.

Paraphrase

Front page



1. 37th year of Nebucadnezar, the King of Babylon.  
Nisan 1st (the intercalary Adar had 29<sup>d</sup>) the moon became visible behind the Hyades; 64<sup>m</sup> duration of visibility [ ]
2. Saturnus opposite the southern fish of the zodiac.  
On the morning of the 2nd a rainbow formed an arch in the west. In the night of the 3rd the moon 2 cubits before (in front of?) [ ]
- 3... At the start of night of the 8th. 1 cubit the moon before the star at the rear foot of the lion. On the 9th the sun in the west was surrounded with a halo [ ]
4. on 12th Jupiter seemingly (evidently?) rose aconic.  
On the 14th the god was visible with the God; 16<sup>m</sup> passed by between sunrise and moon set. on the next morning. [On the 15th it was cloudy. On the 16th Venus [ ]
5. On the morning of the 20th the sun was surrounded with a halo. From noon to evening rainpours (?). A rainbow arched in the east [ ]
6. From the 8th intercalary adar until the 29th the flood rose 3 cubits 8 fingers;  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits to (?) its flood (?) [ ]



7. Upon the order the kings sacrifice.  
In this month a fox penetrated into  
the city. Coughing and .... [7].

8. On the 1st Aine (Misan had 30<sup>d</sup>) the  
~~moon~~ became visible while the sun  
was still there, the moon became  
visible 4 cubits under the western  
near star of the great Twins; she  
was wide, wore a tiara [7].

9. Saturn opposite the southern fish  
of the Zodiac. Mercurius, which had  
set heliacal, was not visible.  
In the night of the 1st violent  
south-east storm. On the 1st all  
day [7].



10. Venus was going (moving?) towards the greatest digression in the west. On the 2nd blew a violent<sup>(?)</sup> north wind. On the 3rd Mars entered the presepe, (7.5) on the 5th it came out again. On the 10th Mercury rose in the evening back behind the [...] Twins [... heliacal... ].
11. On the 15th <sup>serpentine</sup> snake clouds (?). On the 18th Venus above Regulus 1 cubit 4 finger. On the 26th (the moon was still) 1<sup>h</sup> 32<sup>m</sup> (visible). On the 27th. [ ].

12. On the 1st Sivan (the Sirius had 29d) the moon became visible behind the Cancer; she was wide, 1<sup>h</sup> 20<sup>m</sup> was the visibility duration. A northwind was blowing. At that time Mars and Mercury 4 cubits before Regulus [ ].
13. Mercury went on below Mars toward the east. Jupiter over Antares, Venus in the west opposite the lion's tail. [ ]
14. 1 cubit. At the beginning of the night of the 5th, the moon overtook 1 cubit the northern star from the foot end of



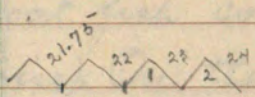
the lion toward the east. At the beginning of the night of the 6th. [ ]

15. .... On the evening of the night of the 8th the moon stood  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits under the north star of the Libera. On the evening of the night of the 9th the moon 1 cubit before [ ]

16. moved toward the east. On the 9th the summer solstice. On the eve of the night of the 10th the moon balanced over Antares  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits. On the 12th Mars <sup>with</sup>  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits over [ ]

17. [ ] On the 15 hod was seen with the god. 30<sup>m</sup> time between sun rise and moon set on the next morning. Eclipse of the moon which [ fell out -EB ] was wanting [ ]

18. [ ] under the western star from the foot end [ ] . . . . . 1.02



Conf. = Apr 21.71.

1 Nisan = Apr 24 (Th) 2.07 14.63 May 6.34 = F.M.

year = 354.



Reverse Side

1. On the eve of the night ..... [ ]
2. center star of the front star cluster of the Sagittary 1 cubit ..... [ ]
3. 20<sup>m</sup> of the day on the morning(?).... the sun was surrounded with a halo. On the 19<sup>th</sup> Venus under the middle star of the horn of Capricorn 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> cubits. In the night [ ]
4. In this month the price for 1 Eur 12 KA barley, for 1 Eur 60 KA dates, for 1 Eur.... Kassia.... [.... 1 shekel silver.... ]

5. On the 1<sup>st</sup> Sebat (Tebet had 29<sup>d</sup>) the moon became visible in the southern fish of the Zodiac. 58<sup>m</sup> visibility duration. Northwind was blowing. At the time: Jupiter behind the starcluster of Sagittary [ ]
6. On the 4<sup>th</sup> the flood rose. On the 4<sup>th</sup> Venus 1/2 cubit above the goat fish counterbalanced each other (equipoise). On the eve of the night of the 6<sup>th</sup> the moon was surrounded by a halo. The Pleiades, Hyades,  $\beta + \xi$  Tauri [..... stood therein.....]
7. the moon was surrounded with a halo,



Lion and Cancer were within it.  
In the halo Regulus counterbalanced  
the moon 1 cubit below her. In the  
morning dawn 12<sup>m</sup> of the night... [ ]

8. 1<sup>h</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> time between sunrise and  
moon set on the next morning.

[The moon] did not reach [the sun].  
The sun was surrounded by a halo.

From the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> the flood rose  
by 1/2 cubits, on the 16<sup>th</sup> it fell again. In  
the night of the 18<sup>th</sup> and on the 18<sup>th</sup> rain  
pours (2) [ ]

9. Bēl during the earthquake went  
along like a wulf, two of the ships  
of first-class need it tore away.

On the 22<sup>th</sup> earthquake. In the night  
of the 23<sup>th</sup>. [ ]



10. counterbalanced the little star which stands  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits back of the fishtail of Capricorn. In the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> red-shining clouds gleamed in the west,  $60^\circ$  high.....

In this month the price was]

11. for but 1 Gur barley, for 1 Gur 60 KA dates, for 1 Gur 36 KA Cassia, for 24 Ka Sesame.... [..... 1 shekel silver.... ]

12. On the 1st Adar (Sebat had.  $30^d$ ) the moon became visible behind the Aries, while the sun was still there.  $1^h 40^m$  was her visibility duration. Serpent clouds (?). She wore the tiara. A north wind was blowing. At that time: Jupiter [ ]

13. were not visible. On the 1st the flood rose. On the eve of the night of the 2nd the moon counterbalanced the Pleiades 4 cubits below them. On the beginning of the night of the 3rd  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cubits [ ]

14. From 1st to the 5th the flood rose by 8



fingers, on the 6th the flood fell again.  
 On the night of the 7th the moon was  
 surrounded with a halo, cancer and  
 Regulus [stood] within it [ ]

15. The halo surrounded Cancer and lion,  
 towards the south it was open. In the halo  
 the moon stood 1 cubit ~~high~~ in front of <sup>broken off</sup>.  
 1 cubit the moon toward the east. On the  
 eve of the night of the 10th [ ]

16. In the night of the 11th it was cloudy. On  
 the 11th toward sunset and in the night of  
 the 12th . . . rain. Toward evening of the 12th  
 the God was seen with the God; 6<sup>m</sup> time between  
 sunrise and moon set on the next morning.  
 Toward sunset [ ]

17. in front of the belt of the southern fish  
 of the Zodiac,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cubit below Venus; 8 fingers  
 Mars stood farther to the east. . . . [ ]



18. 6 fingers above Mercury,  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits  
 under Venus <sup>counter</sup> ~~the~~, balanced, and Mars  
<sup>counter</sup> balanced  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits below the western star  
 of the <sup>broken</sup>, after [ ]].
19. Toward sunrise on the 28<sup>th</sup> it was cloudy.  
 The flood rose. About the 20<sup>th</sup> Venus and  
 Mercury entered the belt of the southern  
 Fish of the Zodiac.. [ ]].
20. .... turned toward the west. About on  
 the 26<sup>th</sup> Mercury & Venus [stepped] out] of the  
 belt of the northern fish [..... ]
21. The flood increased by 8 fingers. On  
 the 26<sup>th</sup> of this month a leopard (?)  
 penetrated into Borsippa and killed  
 two dogs. He could not be driven out,  
 so he was killed [ ]].

- 
22. 38<sup>th</sup> year of Nebucadnezar. On the  
 1<sup>st</sup> Nisan (Adar had 29<sup>d</sup>) hazy all.. [ ]
23. 37<sup>th</sup> year (Nebucadnezari).



left side margin.

[37th year of Nebu]Kadnezar.

The present copy of our observation text does not originate in the year -567/66 itself. Rather, we have to deal with a much later copy. This is proven first of all by the twice found note *hi-bi* "broken, obliterated" (Rs 15, 18) wherewith the writer wanted to indicate that he could no more decipher a word of the writing-copy. Furthermore reference should be made to the signature (Rs 2) which cites the first line of the following table dealing with the 38th year of Nebukadnezar. Thus our table <sup>belongs</sup> ~~is part~~ of a collection of astronomical observation texts very likely covering a great period and which probably was to serve as material for theoretic-astronomical works. Finally, the terminology speaks for the assumption that this is a late copy. As is known, it has been the endeavor of the Babylonian astronomers



to make it ever shorter & more concise.  
 For inst., in later astronom. text we find  
 throughout: e for slat "over", šap for šaplal "under",  
ar for arkat "behind", na for namurtu "visibility",  
zib for siblāti "tails" (= zodiacal constellation  
 of the Fishes), A for UR-A, "Lion" etc. (comp.  
 Kugler, Sternkunde I, Table I). Now in our  
 text there prevails a remarkable medley  
 in the terminology. By the side of ar  
 (Vs 1.3.10.12, Rs 5.10) stands arkat (Rs 12), next  
 to šap (Vs 8.13.15.18 Rs. 3.6.7.13.17) šap-lat  
 (Rs 3), next to šim (Vs 2) SIM-MAH (Vs 9, Rs. 5.17) etc.  
 While in the late texts nowhere is found a  
 determinative, we read here besides SAG-  
ME-GAR (Vs 13) <sup>il</sup>SAG-ME-GAR (Vs 4, Rs 5.12),  
 besides Kangaru (Vs 10.12) <sup>Rakkab</sup>Kangaru (Rs.  
 7.14). The planet Saturn once carries  
 the older name <sup>il</sup>SAG-UŠ (Vs. 13), once the  
 later name <sup>il</sup>GIN (Vs 9.) [Note: S. Weisner,  
 Seltene assyrische Ideogramme, No. 2739.]  
 All this indicates that we are dealing  
 here not with an original but a later  
 copy. The writer obviously tried to equip  
 it with the later customary terminology;



To be sure, the care applied has not been very great, besides, as will be shown, it was not done without mistakes. But as to contents, our copy naturally represents an exact picture of the original

We shall now add a number of single philological notes.

Vs. I. We read here: Nisannu 30. This means 1st Nisan, simultaneously including the remark that the preceding month, the intercalary Adar, had 29<sup>d</sup>. Nisan 1, as the 30th day, concludes the period. 2) Note: In theory, the Babylonians always figured the month at 30 days; comp. A. Jeremias: Handbuch d. alt-orient. Geisteskultur, p. 76. 7. In line 8 we find: Sivu 1. That indicates that Nisan had 30d. and that with 1st Sivu a new period begins. This exceedingly ingenious procedure, <sup>implicitly</sup> to give the length of the months, was first found by Epping (Astronomisches aus Babylon, p. 15) from astronomical texts of the last period.



In "Zeitschrift f. Assyriol." XXVII, p. 385 et on Weidner proved that it was in use as early as in the new Assyrian period.

At the end of the conserved part of the line the duration of the visibility of the new moon crescent after sunset is given. NA is abbreviation for namurtu "visibility" (for the complement comp. Vs 12. Rs. 5.12). The visibility duration here on Nisan 1. amounts to 14, i. e.

14 US = 56<sup>m</sup>. As to the equation 1 US = 4<sup>m</sup> (= 1 grade (degree) of the arc) see Kugler, "Zeitschr. f. Assyriol." XV, p. 385 et on and Jimmern, "Das Princip unserer Zeit- & Raumteilg" p. 56; as to the whole comp. Epping, "Astronomisches aus Babylon" p. 43 and on.

2. ina mihrit "opposite" means so much as "standing at the longside of the constellation" (comp. Miss. Arnolt, "Assyr. Handwörterbuch," p. 532). Saturn stood on Nisan 1 about at 326° (s. p. 72), the constellation ŠIM (southern fish of Zodiac) at the time extended about from 305° to 348° (s. p. 85).

TIR-AN, in earlier time TIR-AN-NA, in Semitic-Babylonian is <sup>read</sup> marratu (see



Weidner, "Beitr. z. Assyriol." VIII, 4, p. 82).  
 The fact that it concerns the rainbow  
 already Thompson had realized, Reports  
 of the Magicians II, p. LXXIX. This explanation  
 is also confirmed by our text; [Note 1:  
 comp. also Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI p. 237, line 10  
 and p. 238, line 35.] according to Vs 2 the TIR-AN  
 becomes visible in the morning in the west,  
 according to Vs. 8 in the evening in the east.  
 Inasmuch as it is known that the rain-  
 bow always stands opposite the sun,  
 another interpretation of TIR-AN is pract-  
 ically excluded (out of the question).

ŠU probably should be read erêku  
 "going down, west". Elsewhere for it stands  
 more completely <sup>d</sup>UD-ŠU-A - erêb <sup>il</sup>Šamši  
 "sunset".

For the measurements in the sky the  
 cubit (U = ammatu) is used as basis. It  
 is divided into 24 fingers (U or (ŠU) si-  
 ubānu). As to the size of the cubit  
 more in detail will be said on p. 78  
 and further on.



3. The text offers here mīšū 9. It surely should read mīšū 8 (!) instead. For ~~as early~~ already by Epping, Astronomisches aus Babylon p. 128, the <sup>KAKKAB</sup>šēpu ar ša UR-A here named was determined as β Virginis. As taught by the calculation (see p. 67), on 8th Nisan, and not on the 9th, the moon stood one cubit before this star. Thus we dare make the indicated change in the text (without hesitation). The mistake is easily explained; the writer had misread the <sup>'''</sup> of the text as <sup>'''</sup> and changed this in <sup>'''</sup>, the only common form in the late period. Perhaps also in the second half of the line it should read 8(!) ina ŠU instead of 9 ina ŠU.

With rēš mīšī "beginning of the night" the time of the breaking in of complete darkness is designated. The twilight after sunset is called šimētan "evening" (c. Vs. 15. 16. Rs 1 etc.); comp. also p. 63 and on.

As an ideogram for KAKKAB here the sign  $\llcorner$  is used. This equation up



to now was completely unknown. The sign is found, as it is noted here, as a determinative before star names, also in numerous unpublished astronomical and astrological texts of the late period, especially of those which come from the hill ruins of Warka.

The end of the line according to Vs. 5. Rs. 6<sup>et</sup> has been supplemented. tarbasu indicates the halo (ring) with a radius of  $22^\circ$  drawn around sun and moon (s. Weidner, Beitr. z. Assyriol. VIII, 4, p. 81 etc.; Kugler, Sternkunde II, p. 99 etc.) Halo observations are mentioned rather often in our text. About halos around the sun is reported Vs. 3. 5. Rs. 3. 8 about halos around the moon Rs. 6. 7. 14. 15. Especially the latter are important; since it is stated regularly what star and constellations were seen in the halo, an important indication is given for their identification with the approximate fixing of the boundaries.

4. At the end of line 3 11 should be supplemented. The Babylonian astronomer could not definitely decide whether Jupiter



rose on the 11th or 12th Nisan seemingly acronical (acronyctous?). From the calculation it results with certainty that <sup>with</sup> ME-T is meant the seemingly acronical rise (p. 72). Here we have a parallel expression to ME-E-A "Opposition" (s. Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 274b). That it concerns a matter of two similar occurrences is shown by the fact that both ideograms start with ME, the meaning of which, by the way, cannot be determined with certainty. How ME-T should be read in Sumerian-Babylonian can either be said with certainty.

ilu itti ili ittanmar "the God (moon) was seen with the God (sun)." The two celestial bodies in the evening stand in opposition (to each other), i. e. it is full moon, the moon on the eastern horizon, the sun on the western horizon. This expression since long is known from the astrological texts of the library of Assurbanipal (s. Thompson, Reports II, p. 139; Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Sin III, 24, 39, 52, 57, 62, 65 etc.) Also found is the parallel expression: Sin itti Šamaš ittanmar "the



moon was seen with the sun" (Thompson, as cited; Virolleaud pass.).

4 NA. This statement <sup>(Angabe)</sup> (?) <sup>EB</sup> refers to the morning of Nisan 14. [Note 1: The full day, as is known, began with the Babylonians at eve; s. A. Jeremias, "Handbuch der altoriental. Geisteskultur", p. 166.] NA is the abbreviation for mamurtu "visibility" (s. p. 39.) The text here gives as the time of the visibility of the moon after sunrise 4 (UŠ) = 16<sup>m</sup>. comp. Epping, "Astronomisches aus Babylon" p. 61 et on; Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 65.

15 irrup. That ŠU is to be understood as irrup "is cloudy" (from erēpu) has been shown by Ungnad, Oriental. Literaturztg. 1912, Sp. 449.

5. šeru "morning" indicates the beginning of the light day, after the sun rose completely. The morning dawn (the time of getting light before sunrise) is called namāru ("becoming light"), see p. 53.

AN-BIL should be read Karanū, and, as proven by Weidner in Babyloniaca VI, p. 65 etc., is to be understood as noon time.



ME must have the meaning "late afternoon" or "evening" (comp. also Kugler, *Stonkunde I*, Tafel I, No. VII). This can not only be deduced from the whole <sup>time</sup> data but can be concluded with great probability from the immediately following note that a rainbow became visible in the east. Naturally, this could have happened only in the evening. How ME (in the Semitic-Babylonian) can be expressed cannot be said with certainty; perhaps, LAL should be read instead. Comp. also p. 63 and on.

With zunnu MAL comp. IM-MAL = *āsamsute* "storm" (Brünnow, List, No. 8433). Since IM-MAL should be understood as "violent wind (IM-šānu)", accordingly zunnu MAL would mean "violent rain, rainpour".

The equation NUM = "morning, east" is known since long (s. Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, p. 169). Vs 13 of our text finally gives us the Semitic reading of the Ideogram; it is *šertu*. This word is found quite often in the astrological inscriptions from Ashurbanipal's library (f. inst. Thompson,



Reports 185, 1; 186, 1; 196, 11; 271, Rd I; Krolland, *l'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Sôtar II*, 6 etc.). Up to now it was mostly translated incorrectly with "brightness" (radiance, shine?) comp. Weidner, *Babyloniaca VI*, p. 85, Note; Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens II*, p. 639, Note 2; see also Ungnad-Köhler, *Hammurabis Gesetz II*, p. 174); the right translation "morning, east" gave already Kugler, *Sternkunde II*, p. 20, Note 3.)

6. Here the first note is given about the water stand (level?). Naturally, it concerns the water of Euphrates. From 8. intercalary Adar until the 28th Nisan it is supposed to have risen by 3 Ú8SI "3 cubits and 8 fingers". Ú, as is known, is the ideogram for *ammatu* "cubit" and SI abbreviation of ŠV-SI = *ubānu* "finger" (see Kugler, *Sternkunde I*, p. 276b). The babylonian cubit in the new-babylonian time had a length of 0,495 m. (see Thureau-Dangin, *Journal asiatique* 1909,

Comp. also Köhler-Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, B3, 4; Bezold, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriol.* XXVIII, p. 412.



p. 98). In the astronomical texts one cubit equals 24 ubāni (s. Kugler, Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. XV, p. 387; Sternkunde I, p. 25). <sup>hence,</sup> 1 ubāni would be 0,020625 m. Thus the level of the water in the given time has increased by 1,65 m. The time in question is April/May (8th intercalary Adar = 1st April, 28th Nisan = 18th May). That is the time of the latter rains, which give the grain altogether the necessary moisture to stand the dry heat of the early summer, without which therefore there would be a crop failure." (Benzinger, Hebraische Archäologie<sup>2</sup>, p. 22; comp. also H. Schagen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Landesnatur & der Landwirtschaft Syriens, p. 6 + on). In the sequel (after-times?) the remarks re height of the water are lacking; <sup>for</sup> at the end of May the rainless time begins which lasts until October. Important is further the fact derived from the present notice before us that the 36th year of Nebuchadnezzar (-568/67) was an intercalary year with a second Adar; but that was known already



A	8	=	1	A
D	9	=	2	R
A	10	=	3	R
	11	=	4	L
R	12	=	5	L



1 p 44 continued

from other documents (s. Weissbach, *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p 284).

7. The beginning of this line informs that King Nebucadnezar in this month had ordered sacrifices. It is not evident for what reason, then it is being told that in Nisan a fox has been seen in the "city" (Babylon). This insignificant notice has here found a place merely in order to attach to it some ominous interpretations. As is known we possess several chronic-like voluminous texts which report on a great number of such to the superstitious Babylonian significant events (mostly pertaining to animals) (see Boissier, *Choix de textes I*, p. 253 ff.; *Cuneiform Texts XIX*, pl. 48 f.; Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens II*, S. 965 ff.; Frank, *Zeitschrift d. deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1914, S. 157 ff.; *King Chronicles concerning early Babyl. Kings II*, p. 70 ff., 157 ff.). Such notices are found quite often also in the new & late Babylonian astronomical texts; comp. for inst. VAT 4924, Vs. 3; arhi šuāti šēlibu ina SIL-

The simple designation du "city" (nat' 𒂗𒍪𒍪) for Babylon (comp. ubo for Rome) is found elsewhere too, f. inst. *Babyl. Chronik III*, 22 (Keilinschr. *Bibl.* II, p. 280 and on) etc.



DAGAL-LA ali innamir "in this month (Nisan) a fox was seen on the wide street<sup>1)</sup> in the city<sup>2)</sup>";  
 Rs. 9f. : 6 lahou ulid-ma la-hu-u la irsi 7 lahou  
 ulid-ma la-hu-u la irsi "on the 6th (intercalary adar) a lamb brought forth a young one and it (the new-born) had no lower jaw"; Rs 12:24 inurn  
 ik-lu-up-ma 3 šepē<sup>m</sup>-in "on the 24th (intercalary adar) a bird broke the shell with three legs" etc.

The last of line 7 seems to deal with a sickness epidemic which occurred in Nisan in Babylon. It is known since long that ruālu, the first of the here named sicknesses, means coughing (see Kießler, Beitr. z. assyr.-babyl. Medizin, p 65; Meissner, Köttinger gelehrte Anzeigen 1904, p. 740 and Seltene assyr. Ideogramme, No. 99; Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéenne, Dstar XXX, 48 and Adad VII, 7).

<sup>1)</sup> SIL-DAGAL-LA = ruku rapšu ("broad way") is the name of one of the main streets in Babylon (see Weisbach, Der Alte Orient I, 4, p. 28).

<sup>2)</sup> The simple designation alu "city" (κατ' ἐξοχήν) for Babylon (comp. uobes for Rome) is also found elsewhere, for inst. Babyl. Chronik III, 22 (Keilinschr. Bibl. II, p 280f.) etc.



On the contrary, it cannot be decided with certainty whether in the now known word *rišūtu* (see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 629; Muss-Arnolt, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 999) the sickness name found here is already before us.

8. Sira 1. Thus the Nisan had 30<sup>d</sup> (2. p. 39). The moon now has become visible on the 1st Sira 4 cubits under  $\beta$  Kemin, and that *ina Šamaš nazâzi* „while the sun still stood in the sky.” This additional sentence is found also elsewhere in the late Babylonian astronomical texts, for inst. *Pm. IV*, 397, 3. 63 (*Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI*, p. 240), still more often in the astrological texts from Assurbanipal's library (see Weidner, *Beitr. z. Assyriol. VIII*, 4, p. 69). The fact that the new moon crescent became visible while the sun still stood above the horizon proves that the time [junction? - EB] of the astronomical new moon was considerably earlier what is confirmed also by calculation (see farther on p. 68). The further additional sentence, too,



points to this) Ra-bar "the crescent was wide [broad-EB]". In the last note agâ a-pir "he wore the tiara", the light of the earth was meant [refers to the light of the earth-EB] (see Weidner, Beitr. z. Assyriol. VIII, 4, p. 23 ff.).

9. In the second half of this line again we find ~~4~~ meteorological data. It reads there that in the night of 1st Airm a violent hurricane was raging: me-hi is the known word mehiu "hurricane", KUR abbreviation of IM-KUR-RA = <sup>sâr</sup>sadiu "east" and URU abbreviation of IM-URU-LU = <sup>sâr</sup>satu "south". ~~HI~~ HI may denote something like "strong" or similar (comp. HI = mâdu, Brünnow, list, No. 8226, etc.). Similar data occur often in the astronomical texts: IM HI "violent wind" (Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI, p. 234, l. 5.7; p. 235, l. 28; p. 238, l. 20; p. 239, l. 44.46 etc.), MAR HI "violent westwind" (ib., p. 234, l. 15), URU HI "violent southwind" (ib. p. 236, l. 2) etc. The note on the day of the 1st Airm probably is to be complemented by saying that it was cloudy all day long, or dark or so (comp. Rs. 22 of our text etc.).



Notes to p 46:

1/ In the astrological texts from the Ashurbanipal's library *ka-bar* occurs in this sense [meaning-EB], cf. inst. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, 2. Suppl. VIII, 4 ff.:  
*šumma šin ina tamartū-šū ka-bar KI-MIN ku-ri*  
 "when the moon at her appearance is wide or narrow".

2/ Which means Venus is evening star. This specialization simultaneously is included in ŠU which also means evening (see earlier on p. 40). Consequently "greatest elongation in the east (as morning star)" would be called NUM.



10. Venus goes to ŠV. First of all one is inclined to suppose that here it is spoken of heliacal setting [going down - EB] (see Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 278a). Calculation shows, however, that the planet was evening star and stood a short time before [prior? EB] to the eastern elongation from the sun. Thus ŠV should be taken as the "greatest elongation in the west" 2). This meaning of ŠV is new.

On 2nd line a violent northwind raged. ŠI is an abbreviation of IM-ŠI-DI = šar iltānu "north"; as for the rest see earlier remarks to line 9.



Mercury is rising heliacal on the eve of the 10th Aire behind the "twins".

The Babylonians knew three twin constellations, <sup>KakKab</sup> MAŠ-TAB-BA-GAL-GAL "the big twins" =

$\alpha + \beta$  kemin, <sup>KakKab</sup> MAŠ-TAB-BA-TUR-TUR "the small twins" =

$\delta + \xi$  kemin, <sup>KakKab</sup> MAŠ-BAB-BA ša ina mihrūt <sup>KakKab</sup> ŠIB-

ZI-AN-NA izzagū<sup>pl</sup> "the twins standing opposite the Orion" =  $\gamma + \epsilon$  kemin. As taught by Through

calculation it is taught that here we probably have to complement <sup>KakKab</sup> MAŠ-TAB-[TUR] "small twins" ( $\delta + \xi$  kemin).

11. On the 15th si-ir. It concerns the full moon date. But what is meant by si-ir?

As to the word itself, the <sup>assumption</sup> supposition should find general approval that here we have to deal with phonetic writing of the MUŠ = šir which quite often occurs in astronomical texts<sup>2)</sup> and is also found in our text Rs.12.

Epping and Strassmaier first endeavored to interpret it. They pointed out that it occurs only in connection with data on the new light, full moon

1) But not: MAŠ-TAB-[BA-TUR-TUR]! Comp. in l. 8: MAŠ-TAB-GAL

2) Comp. f. inst. Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI, p. 233, l. 35 + on.



and old light; therefore they surmised in  
Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI, p. 96: "Therefore under  
zir [MUS] hardly anything else can be under-  
stood than the light (at the beginning and end  
of the month) or dark (at the time of fullmoon)  
strip of the moon." However, this opinion  
they must have given up very soon, for in  
Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VII, p. 227 they add this  
note to MUS: "a meteorological allegation?"

In order to determine the exact meaning of  
MUS two things have to be taken into account:

- 1/ MUS is the Ideogram for *šim* "Serpent";
- 2/ At the time of the new light, fullmoon and  
old light <sup>(moon)</sup> the moon appears near the horizon.  
It would be most likely therefore to look  
in MUS = *šim* for the long stretched cloud  
strips which settle down morning and  
evenings near the horizon and which ap-  
propriately could be designated as



"serpents".<sup>1)</sup> A few especially important places in the text S.+1949 published by Epping & Strassmaier in *Zeitschrift f. Assyriol.* VI, p. 231 ff. agree throughout with this translation. They are: 1. S.+1949, Rs., Sp. 3, 3. 38 (p. 233): Ululu 1 17 RIM

MUŠ ana Šamši išappal "1. Elul (Ab had 30<sup>d</sup>), 1<sup>h</sup> 8<sup>m</sup> (was the new moon crescent visible

after sunset). (It wore) the lightning."<sup>2)</sup> The clouds of the horizon reached down to the sun"; 2. ib., Sp. 4, 3. 4: Šabātu 1 19 RIM MUŠ

ana Šamši išappal "1. Šebat (Tebet had 30<sup>d</sup>),

1<sup>h</sup> 16<sup>m</sup> (the new moon crescent was visible after sunset). (She It wore) the light ring. The

clouds of the horizon reached down to the sun." In both cases it seems to

indicate a wide bank of long stretched horizon clouds which lay between the sun and the new moon

crescent. 3. ib., Sp. 2, 3. 40: Nisannu 1 20 12 a-na MUŠ illak ittanmar "1. Nisan (the intercalary adar had 30<sup>d</sup>), 1<sup>h</sup> 20<sup>m</sup> 48<sup>s</sup> (was the

1) As to the comparison of clouds with animals see also Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, 2 Suppl. CXI, 6 ff.

2) S. Weidner, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* VIII, 4, p. 26 f.



new moon crescent visible after sunset).  
 It went towards the horizon clouds  
 when it appeared." In both cases it  
 deals with a long visibility duration of  
 the crescent. Since the astronomical new  
 moon had occurred considerable time earlier,  
 it [the crescent-EB] stood in the evening already  
 rather high in the western sky, thus, naturally,  
 too, at a considerable distance above the  
 strip of the horizon clouds. The counterpart  
 to this is the following: 5. ib., Sp. 3, 3.44; Tešrite  
 30 10 Sin šaplāt MUŠ "1. Tešrit (Elul had 29 d).  
 40<sup>m</sup> (was the new moon crescent visible after  
 sunset). The moon (stood) under the  
 horizon clouds." The short visibility duration  
 of the new moon crescent depended [resulted] <sup>from</sup> [EB]  
 on its low position above the horizon.

The equation MUŠ (šim) =

nothing is used in the Babylonian  
 astronomical texts (see Kugler  
 Sternkunde, T. 1, p. 3), but occurs also  
 in the Talmud (Berachot 59a, the plain text  
 45b, 131b under 131b).



horizon clouds is very probable according to all these places [citations - 8B].

Venus stood above Regulus 1 U' 4 U. About U' (= III) = ammatu "cubit" has already been discussed earlier. U (K) is = ukânu "finger", and not an abbreviation of it as thought by Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 279a, it is a well known ideogram (see Brünnow, list, No 8771). LAL very likely is istakal (or similar) "she (Venus) counterbalanced it (Regulus)"<sup>1)</sup> As to the meaning of this expression see farther on page 78.

26 23 Sin la ikassad. That means: On the 26th the visibility of the old <sup>light</sup> moon still amounted to 23 UŠ = 1<sup>h</sup> 32<sup>m</sup>; the moon "did not (yet) reach (the sun)", i. e. did not yet set heliacal. KUR = Kassadu "to get (at the sun)", meaning a heliacal setting, is used very often in late Babylonian astronomical texts (see Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 23), but occurs also

1) Comp. Thompson, Reports, the places cited Vol. II, p 131 b under šakâlu.



in the older astrological texts (f. inst. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, Sin<sup>III</sup> 22). At the close of the line there must have stood that the moon set heliacal on 27th Aivu, then it would have to be supplemented, 27 Si[n ikašad].

12. Simānu 30. Thus Aivu had 29 d. As to Ka-bar see earlier on p. 46, as to MA p. 39. The statement that the moon was visible 1<sup>h</sup> 20<sup>m</sup> after sun set is confirmed by calculation.

13. On širtu has already been written on page 43. The phrase: (ana) NUM LU-širtam (ana širti) eteku "to go on to the east" is well known from the late Babylonian astronomical texts (see Rugler, *Sternkunde I*, p. 276a). As to ana tar-sa "opposite, in the direction of" see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 715. It means that the near the ecliptic standing planet Venus and the rather far distant from the ecliptic fix star  $\alpha$  Leonis had about the same latitude.



As to <sup>is</sup> zibbat UR-A =  $\delta$  Leonis see Epping-Strassmaier, Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VII, p. 225 and Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 29.

16. Here again a scribal error can be ascertained. Between the night of the 9th and the night of the 10th Sivan naturally is the day of the 9th not of the 8th as presented in the text. It is plain that the writer read a <sup>'''</sup> into a <sup>'''</sup> of the text copy. Had he read <sup>'''</sup> correctly <sup>'''</sup>, he would have changed this also into <sup>'''</sup> (see earlier on p. 41). It is known since long that with Šamaš izzag "the sun stands (still)" the solstices are indicated (see Epping, Astronomisches aus Babylon, p. 157; Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 274a). By the way, the latin solstitium is an exact translation of it.

17. About the meaning of ilu itti ili ittanmar and of NA has already been spoken earlier on p. 42. The lunar eclipse of the 15th Sivan (= -567 July 4) was not visible in Babylon. The Babylonian astronomer had determined it merely on the basis of an eclipse period known to him (probably



Saros') and therefore written: ataliû Sin  
 „calculated lunar eclipse.”) After that  
 very likely it should be read: ša etetk (LU)  
 "which falls out" (i.e. is invisible in Babylon;  
 see Kugler, Sternkunde I, p. 268a). Traces of ša  
 LU will surely still be recognizable.

18. It stands to reason to supplement  
 here: Kakkab K'UR ša Kit š[ēpi UR-A] "the western  
 star at the foot end of the lion"; comp. l. 14!

With this the front page of the text  
 breaks off. The rest of the Sivan observations,  
 all observations for the months Tammuz to  
 Kislev and the beginning of the Tebet ob-  
 servations are lacking. Where the reverse page  
 begins, we are already in the second  
 half of the month Tebet.

Rs. 2. The here named Kisir  
 mahri ša PA-BIL "the anterior Kisir of the  
 Archer is once more mentioned in line 5.

) ataliû Sin "calculated lunar eclipse", Sin ataliû  
 "observed lunar eclipse" see Kugler, Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. XV,  
 p. 181 and on.



Calculation teaches that it is identical with the star cluster near  $\Pi$  Sagittarii which consists mainly of the stars  $\tau_1, \tau_2, \xi, \theta, \pi, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36$  Sagit. What does Kirir mean? There is a word (in Babylonian Kisru) "host, heap", which is used also as an expression for "star heap" as shown by Jensen (Keil-inschr. Bibliothek VI, 1, p. 431). Since the stars in question indeed lie very close together, surely that <sup>must</sup> will be the word here used.

The "middle star of the anterior starheap" named in our line in that case would be  $\xi$  Sagit. By the way, where to look for the "posterior star heap of the Archer"?

3. Here we find the full form šap-lat "under" instead of the elsewhere always used abbreviation šap (see p. 39).

4. Here for the first time in the conserved part of the text the height of the grain prices for the past month are given. As early as in the old Babylonian time the high or low level of the prices passed as a sign for prosperous or unlucky conditions in the country (comp. Singāsīd, Tonnage, line 154 on; Thureau -



Dangin, Vorderasiat. Bibliothek I, p. 222 f. 1). Šamiši-Mēr 2) I., Steintafelinschrift, Kol. III, 16 and on.;

1) In Revue d'Assyriologie III, p. 91, n. 3, Thureau-Dangin, however, thinks that here it concerns an ideal condition desired by Singāšid. But in view of the statement of Šamiši-Mēr this opinion seems to be void; there we read: i-nu-ma.....

- see photostat next 4 lines.....

"When I was building the temple Enlil, my lords, the tarif in my city Assur was: for 1 shekel silver one could buy 2 kur barley, for 1 shekel silver 15 mines wool, for 1 shekel silver 12 KA oil in my city Assur." It deals here, naturally with a description of ~~real~~ actual conditions, and the same one should think also of Singāšid.

2) So in the old Assyrian texts the name of the weather god can be read, not Adad. In an unpublished manuscript a so far unknown Assyrian ruler (about 1500 B.C.) writes his name: <sup>m</sup>Tukulti <sup>ti</sup> <sup>ir</sup> Me-ir. The reading Adad for the ideogram <sup>d</sup>IM seems to have been introduced into Assyria thru the over flooding with aramaic tribes. Mēr, as is known, is the



Meneschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur I, p. 3 etc.). No wonder therefore if in the late Babylonian astronomical texts the food prices are quoted almost regularly. Naturally it is highly interesting politico-economically to investigate more closely their relationship in the different centuries. We shall therefore discuss this farther on more in detail. Be it merely emphasized here that at the time of Nebucadnezar II as compared with later centuries foods could be regarded extraordinarily cheap. [inexpensive? - EB]. Foods named in our text are the following: šer, suluppū, Ka-ri and šamaššammu (see line 11). It is known that šer means "barley", suluppū "dates" and šamaššammu "sesame"; but Ka-ri will be nothing else as the well known Karū = Greek καρία, lat. casia "cinnamon" (see Langdon, Proceed. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. 1914, p. 192f.). The given quantities of food were to be had for 1 Shekel silver; at the end it should be added: ana 1 šikil Karpi sumeric name of the weather god (see Thureau-Dangin, Vorderasiat. Bibl. I, p. 255; Ebeling, Oriental. Literaturztg. 1913, col. 254; Delitzsch, Sum. Glossar, p. 186 etc.)



p. 52 - cont'd.

ibšū (see Zeitschrift f. Assyriol. VI, p. 234, l. 10; p. 235, l. 29; p. 237, l. 12; p. 239, l. 49; p. 240, l. 62).

5. Šabātu 30. Thus Tebet had 29<sup>d</sup>.

As to NA at new moon observations see earlier p. 40; as to SI = iltānu see p. 46 and <sup>finally</sup> on Kirir mahri ša PA-BIL see what was remarked to Rs 2.

6. Here we find again a new note about the water level of the Euphrates. From now the water rises almost uninterruptedly (comp. l. 8, 13, 14, 19, 21); it is "the time of the great winter rain which saturates the soil, fills the cisterns and feeds the springs, - middle of December to the middle or end of March" (see Benzinger, Hebr. Archäologie 2, p. 22).

In the following again a mistake of the Babylonian writer is to be recorded. Venus was not under, but rather over above  $\gamma + d$  Capricorni. Instead of šap thus surely it should read e. By the way, the two signs are easily confounded in badly kept late Babylonian tables which are in bad condition.



7. *namáre* designates the time before sun rise when it is getting light as already stated p. 42. At that time "night", i. e. the time between sunset & sunrise, has not yet come to an end, an observation made in this time therefore still falls in "night time". Thus the statement: 3 VŠ miši = 12<sup>m</sup> during the night time. The counterpart to this lies in l. 3 before 5 VŠ šimi = 20<sup>m</sup> during the daytime (time between sunrise & sunset).

8. The beginning of the line refers to the observation of the full moon. When the full moon rose the was had already set, hence the remark: *lá ikašad* "(the moon) reached (the sun) no more". The phrase: "the full moon reached the sun" is well known from the astrological texts of Šurkapipals' library (see Thompson, Reports II, p. 140; Weidner, Beitr. z. Assyriol. VIII, 4, p. 75); it means that both stars stand in opposition near the horizon, the moon rising in the east, the sun disappearing in the west. According to our text it did not get to this opposition position in Šebat,



[p. 53 cont'd.

for the sun had already set when the moon emerged.

Under the 4. Šabat it was noted (written-28) that because of abundant rainfalls the water of the Euphrates begins to rise. Here, now, it is stated that the rise of the water level from the 4. to 15. Šabat <sup>was</sup>  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cubits, i.e. about 0,7425 m (see earlier p. 44 f.). Beginning with the 16 again a falling off of the water was observed. As to *matū* "to fall, said of the water", see Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 406a.

The statement *mišir 18 18* "in the night of the 18. and on the 18." proves anew that with the Babylonians the night preceded the day, hence the full day began in the evening (see p. 42). As to *zunnū MAL* see p. 43.

9. Here we find an extraordinarily interesting report on the earthquake. The earthquake is traced back to the striding of Bēl, who walks over the earth like a wolf. Since Bēl-Enlil is the god of the earth (see Jeremias, *Handbuch der*



altorient. Geisteskultur, p. 237 and on),  
 therewith a full explanation is given for  
 the fact that here he passes as the one  
 who causes the earthquake. let us add  
 the following detail: at the end of l. 8  
 very likely šipū "foot" should be added. As to  
 ŠU = rabu see Meissner, Seltene assyr. Ideogramme,  
 No. 8382, as to rabu = tremble (said about the  
 earth) see Thompson, Reports II, p. LXXI + on and  
 Streck, Babyloniaca II, p. 209 + on. UR-IDIM accord-  
 ing to Cuneiform Texts XIV, pl. 1, Kol. I, 27 read  
 also in the Semitic-Babylonian uridimmu<sup>1)</sup>.

There also, in line 28, as a second explanation of  
 the ideogram [-graph? EB] Kalbu šegū "mad,  
 wild dog" is given. The fact that our con-  
 stellation Lupus with the Babylonians was  
 called <sup>Kakkab</sup> UR-IDIM shows that it meant  
 the wolf (VR 46 33ab; Cuneiform Texts XXXIII, pl. 3,  
 l. 28 etc.). Continuing we read that at the  
 earthquake two ships "of first class reed"  
 were driven away. The Babylonian ships put  
 together of common reed bunches are well known

<sup>1)</sup> Comp. Delitzsch, Handwörterbuch, p. 644f.; Jensen, Kos-  
 mologie, p. 277, Remark 3 and Keilinschr. Bibl. VI, 1, p. 6. l. 18 + remark 4.



to us from the reliefs (comp. of inst. Hayard, Nineveh and Babylon, Tafel XIII c). It is quite obvious that these light vessel were easily damaged in an earthquake. SUD is = rēku "to distance oneself" (see Meissner, Seltene assyr. Ideogramme, Nr 5588); here should be in place the otherwise not yet covered [? EB] Šafel meaning "to make oneself draw away" = "tear away, drive away". The earthquake just discussed could have taken place in the night of the 22. Šebat. According to the further wording of our text it continued also on the day of the 22. Šebat.

Earthquakes must not have been rare in Babylonia & Assyria. In any case, in the astrological reports from Assurbanipal's library rather often mention is made of it. As to all the details we refer to Thompson, Reports II, p. 134<sup>b</sup>; Kugler, Sternkunde II, p. 116<sup>f</sup> and Bezold, Astronomie, Himmelschau und Astrallehre bei den Babyloniern, p. 56. Special attention is called to Thompson, Reports 267, 10-11,



where the earthquake is explained as the roar of the underworld goddess Erškiḡal (see Babyloniaca V, p. 96. Note 2). This is a counterpart to the earlier discussed mythological presentation of our text.

10. In the night of the 29th Šabat a phenomenon 4-#A-#A-#A-TUM has been observed. Here surely must be a mistake in writing. There exists a phenomenon ha-Ki<sup>2</sup> Ki-tum, which is also spelled a-Ku-Ku-tum. Our writer evidently wanted to combine both ways of writing. Remembering the three #A, he then had the misfortune (in ha-Ki-Ki-tum) instead of twice Ki to write <sup>down</sup> three times. Thus there should be no doubt that we have to read a-Ki-Ki-(Ki)-tum. To which phenomenon does it now refer? Weidner in Babyloniaca VI, p. 1ff based on exceedingly trivial material tried to make it seem probable that hakukutum<sup>is</sup> the common name for morning and evening glow. In the meantime now an almost complete yet unpublished text has turned up which <sup>to a great extent</sup> greatly combines, complements and essentially enlarges the so far known sparse data

on hakukutum. This is to be passed on here in extenso:



Front Page.

For first 13 lines see photostat.

1) The question whether the perpendicular cuneus [wedge-13] at the beginning of the different omnia should or should not be read, until now was undecided. The large majority of the Assyriologists had decided for the latter while Bezold still in the work *Reflexe astrol. Keil-inschriften bei griech. Schriftstellern*, p. 46 pleaded for the equation  $\nabla = \text{enuma}$ . The question now is decided by an unpublished Vocabulary to the Omnia texts where we read:  $\text{di-}i\bar{s}\nabla = \text{sum-ma}$ . Thus it remains with the decision made by Weidner, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* VIII, 4, p. 68 f.: " $\nabla$  should be read summa if the sentence it introduces contains an interpretation; otherwise  $\nabla$  merely serves to introduce a paragraph."

2) After lines 1-12 there should be complemented 81, 2-4, 317, line 6 and on (Bezold, *Catologue IV*, p. 1781) and Voolleand, *L' Astrologie Chaldéenne*, 2. Suppl. CIX, 1 ff.

3) According to this Thompson, *Reports* 275, 1 f. should be complemented (comp.  
[added?])



p. 56 cont'd.

Babyloniaca VI, p. 7). There we find the variation <sup>sal</sup> mukurtu for <sup>sal</sup> nukrātu pl.

4) U-GUG = sunku "Need [distress? 𒊕𒍪]" according to Brünnow, List, No. 6099. Possible are also the readings ubkutu (ib. 6102) or hušakku (ib. 6069).

5) After line 13 and on should be added Virolleaud, L'Assyriologie Chaldéenne 2. Suppl. CVII, v. 3 ff. and CVIII, 4 ff.



First 13 lines see photostat.

- 1) Comp. Ungnad, Oriental. Literaturztg. 1912, Col. 449. Line 14 serves as a supplement to Thompson, Reports 275, 3f. There the variant *imū<sup>m</sup>* for *imū*
- 2) Virrolleaud, 2. Suppl. CVII, 5 the variant: *tibūt<sup>ut</sup>*.
- 3) According to this should Thompson, Reports 275, 5f. be supplemented?
- 4) Between line 19 and 20







Conj. = Apr. 21.71

T.P. W.P. F.M.

1 Nisan = Apr 24 (Th)

2.07 14.63 May 6:37

Year = 354



