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11 Neo-Assyrian Scribes, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty," and the Dynamics of Textual Mass Production

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study the method by which the various exemplars of the text commonly called "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty" (SAA 2: 6; hereafter abbreviated as EST) were produced. Specifically, I consider how different aspects of variation between exemplars can help us understand the role that copying and/or dictation played in the process of textual transmission.[1] EST provides a fascinating case study in the transmission of cuneiform texts for two reasons: First, the various tablets were considered to be Tablets of Destinies by their ancient producers and users (see below), and so the tablets are at one and the same time texts and religious objects, perhaps closer akin to icons (Steymans 2003: 93, Radner 2006: 373); and second, an enormous number of tablets inscribed with the text of EST was produced within a relatively brief period of time (for the estimate of a minimum of 110 tablets, or over 73,000 lines of text, in perhaps a month's time, see below), and so EST offers an example of textual mass production that has no parallel in the cuneiform world to my knowledge.

1 For the specific nuances of terms used in this sentence such as "variation," "exemplar," "production," etc., see the section Terminology, below.

2 Background

EST and similar Neo-Assyrian texts record something designated in the Neo-Assyrian period with the Akkadian word *adê*.[2] Although *adê*-texts are frequently described as "treaties" or "loyalty oaths" in the secondary literature, these designations do not adequately capture the texts' character. The designation "treaty" improperly restricts the texts to the realm of international relations, when in practice an *adê* was imposed not just on client kings but also on members of the royal family, the palace administration, and the populace of Assyrian cities, among others. The designation "loyalty oath" focuses too narrowly one important component of the *adê*, the oath that was sworn during the establishment of the *adê*, and overlooks the larger context of the oath. More accurately, the *adê* seems to have been an obligatory behavior that was imposed on an individual or group of individuals and transformed into a destiny by projecting it into the divine realm (Lauinger 2013, and cf. Fales 2012: 153 on the text of the *adê* as "a truly 'theophorous' substance," the result of "a transformation from a legal tool [the loyalty oath] to a legal subject [the supernatural Loyalty Oath]".

We know of *adê*'s from a variety of sources, such as royal inscriptions, letters, and oracle queries. We are also fortunate to have the texts of actual *adê*'s, such as Esarhaddon's *adê* with Baal, king of Tyre (SAA 2: 5), which regulates commercial matters, Assurbanipal's *adê* with the Qedar tribe of Arabs (SAA 2: 10), which requires hostility towards a former leader of the tribe who had rebelled, or EST, which demands support for the succession of Esarhaddon's heir Assurbanipal to the throne.[3] The longest of the extant *adê* texts (approximately 670 lines), EST is also the best preserved, and there is reason to think that its structure is fairly representative:

– a preamble naming the parties with whom the *adê* is made;
– a list of the gods before whom it is made;
– a series of stipulations that delineate the obligatory behavior;
– a series of curses should the tablet inscribed with the *adê* be destroyed, damaged, or rendered inaccessible;
– the wording of an oath taken by the person or persons on whom the *adê* was imposed;

2 For a brief discussion of proposed Aramaic and Akkadian etymologies for *adê*, see Lauinger 2013: 100, citing previous literature.
3 The texts are collected in SAA 2 and now WVDOG 121 No. 66–71.

–   another series of curses should the stipulations be broken that were proba-
    bly accompanied by ritual actions;
–   a final colophon with date.[4]

The extant tablets inscribed with the *adê*-texts fall into two categories: A tablet
may be a *ṭuppi adê* ("*adê*-tablet"), the ancient term used for the actual in-
scribed object that was produced for the occasion of the *adê*'s establishment
and was ritually transformed into a Tablet of Destinies; or it may be a chancel-
lery copy of *ṭuppi adê* (Radner 2006: 373).

　We have but a single exemplar of each *adê*-text known from a chancellery
copy. For the most part, these tablets were found at Nineveh, although one
tablet from Assur (SAA 2: 3) has also been identified by Frahm (2009: 133) as
an abridged version or extract of a longer *adê*-text. Like this Assur text, the
chancellery copies from Nineveh also comprise small single column tablets
that are extracts (e.g., SAA 2: 12, an *adê* of Sin-šarru-iškun) and drafts (e.g.,
SAA 2: 8, the so-called Zakutu treaty, see Lauinger 2013: 108 n. 35) of longer
adê-texts as well larger multi-columned tablets that probably included the
complete *adê*-texts when whole (e.g., SAA 2: 2, Aššur-nerari V's *adê* with Mati'-
ilu of Arpad or SAA 2: 5, Esarhaddon's *adê* with Baal of Tyre). The tablets with
complete *adê*-texts may have been written and stored for consultation.[5] The
extracts and drafts may have been made during the process of composing new
adê-texts.[6]

　However, the focus of this paper is on the other type of tablet inscribed
with an *adê*-text, the *adê*-tablets (*ṭuppi adê*). In contrast to the situation with
the chancellery copies, where we have but a single exemplar for multiple *adê*-
texts, we have probably 11 *adê*-tablets, and all are exemplars of a single *adê*-
text, EST. These tablets are distinguished by their large size (approximately
45×30 cm), their unusual rotation on the vertical axis, and the fact that they

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4 Fales (2012: 139) considers the structure of EST to be generally the same as outlined here,
although he seems to understand the two groups of curses to be occasioned by the same
behavior ("Next comes a series of curses befalling any violation of the adê itself, in two vast
groupings [§ 37–56; 58–106], separated by the final vow of loyalty [§ 57]"). He goes on (p. 139–
42) to provide a useful précis and analysis of the stipulations found in § 4–36.
5 The *adê* with Baal of Tyre ends with a descriptive label that specifies the *adê* has been
concluded, the name of the contracting party, and perhaps the time or place of its conclusion:
"Tablet of an *adê*-oath that was established. Made by (lit. that of) Baal, the Ty[rian]. In/when
[...]" (*tup-pi a-d[e]-e kun-nu šá* ᵐ*ba-a-lu* ᵏᵘʳ*šu[r-ra-a-a] ina* [...], SAA 2: 5 iv 20′–21′). On the
translation, see Lauinger 2013: 108 n. 34.
6 For the suggestion that the *adê* fragments KAL 3 67 and 68 may have served as *Vorlagen* for
EST, see Frahm 2009: 132–33.

were sealed by the divine seals of the god Aššur (Watanabe 1985; Watanabe 1988; Radner 2006: 367). They were displayed in temples and probably utilized as part of annual *akītu*-ceremonies to renew the destinies inscribed upon them (Lauinger 2013, and cf. Assmann 2006: 10 who sees SAA 9: 3 iii 2–15 as evidence that "a memory ritual was introduced that had to be repeated periodically in order to refresh their memories").

Nine exemplars of EST were found in the Nabu temple at Nimrud by Max Mallowan in 1955 (see Wiseman 1958 for the *editio princeps*; Watanabe 1987 for a score and extensive commentary; and SAA 2: 6 for the most recent edition). These tablets were found broken into over 300 fragments; subsequent joins have reduced this number to 92. But significantly, while one can conclude that these 92 fragments originally comprised 9 different tablets – because there are generally not more than 9 instances of a given line of text preserved among these fragments – one cannot yet isolate which fragments belonged to which manuscripts (I will return to this important point later in the paper). In these tablets, independent "city lords" from Assyria's eastern periphery conventionally described as "Media" have the *adê* imposed on them and their cities. Three fragments of the *adê* were also found during Walter Andrae's excavations at Aššur in the early 20th century (Weidner 1939–1941; Frahm 2009 Nos. 70–71), but owing to the absence of archaeological records and the fragments' small size it is unclear where they were found, whether these fragments derive from one or more *adê*-tablets, and on whom the *adê* was imposed. Finally, in 2009, the Tayinat Archaeological Project discovered a tablet in an unidentified temple at the Neo-Assyrian provincial capital of Kullania, modern Tell Tayinat (Lauinger 2012). In this tablet, the *adê* is imposed on the provincial governor of Kullania, his administration, and the province's populace.

As mentioned above, the succession of Esarhaddon's younger son Assurbanipal to the throne is EST's primary concern. Esarhaddon probably made the decision to appoint Assurbanipal to be the crown prince of Assyria and Assurbanipal's older brother, Šamaš-šumu-ukin, to be the crown prince of Babylonia sometime late in his eighth regnal year. The decision may have been made under pressure from the dowager queen Zakutu following the death of Esarhaddon's wife that same year (Wiseman 1958: 6); or in response to the disastrous Egyptian campaign of the previous regnal year (Tadmor 1983: 42–44); or for fear that the king's health was going to worsen, as, in fact, it subsequently did (Parpola 1983: 428). The actual ceremony installing Assurbanipal in the House of Succession as the crown prince of Assyria took place in the second month of the Esarhaddon's ninth regnal year (672 BC).

Evidence external to the exemplars of EST helps us appreciate the enormous scale of the ceremony, which included the imposition of the *adê*. Consid-

er Assurbanipal's statement in his royal inscriptions concerning this *adê*, that his father "gathered the people of Assyria, great and small, from the Upper to the Lower Sea. In order to protect my status as crown prince and afterwards the exercising of the kingship of Assyria, he caused them to swear an *adê* sworn by the (great) gods."[7] Assurbanipal's statement is lent credence by the fact that the surviving exemplars of EST involve both Median city lords and a provincial administration, *contra* some scholarship prior to the discovery of the Tayinat exemplar that doubted its veracity.[8] Since so many persons had to swear the oath to support Assurbanipal's succession, the ceremony probably lasted many days. A long duration would explain why some exemplars of recension F of Assurbanipal's inscriptions date the ceremony to the 12th of Ayyaru while others give the day as the 18th – Cogan (1977: 99) has suggested that the latter date commemorated "the ceremony's completion rather than its inception" (the exemplars of EST are variously dated to the 16th and the 18th of Ayyaru, see below).

Because the exemplars of EST were Tablets of Destinies and because each exemplar established the destinies not just of the political unit's elite but of that political unit's entire populace,[9] we may conclude that one and only one tablet was produced for each and every province or client kingdom. This conclusion allows us, in turn, to put forward the following formula for determining a minimum number of the exemplars of EST that were produced:

# of provinces + # of client kingdoms = minimum # of exemplars of EST.

Thanks to the work of Karen Radner (2006–2008), the first part of this formula is easy to fill in. If we exclude uncertain cases, 71 different provinces or provin-

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7 *u-pah-hir* UN.MEŠ KUR AN.ŠÁR^ki TUR *u* GAL *ša tam-tim e-li-ti ù šap-lit a-na-ṣir* DUMU LUGAL-*ti-ia ù* EGIR-*nu* LUGAL-*tu* KUR AN.ŠÁR^ki *e-pe-še*(var. *-eš*) *a-de-e* MU DINGIR.MEŠ (var. adds GAL.MEŠ) *ú-šá-áš-kír-šú-nu-ti ú-dan-ni-na rik-sa-a-te*, BIWA 15–16: 18–22.

8 E.g., Liverani 1995: 62, "Thus, the fact that we have recovered only the Mede oaths can now be explained in the simplest terms: there were no similar oaths with other 'vassals.'" We can infer from the surviving exemplars that Assurbanipal considered "the people of Assyria" in this instance to consist of, at a minimum, both the provinces and tribute-paying client kingdoms. Cf. Wiseman's (1958: 4) remark: "In 672 B. C. Esarhaddon was at the peak of his political power and the countries whose delegates were present would have included others forced to acknowledge his suzerainty, Egypt, Elam, the Arabs of the western deserts, the city-states of Syria and Palestine (including Manasseh of Judah), Tyre, Sidon and even distant Cilicia, Cyprus, N. Arabia and all those peoples recorded as bringing him tribute following his campaigns."

9 E.g., "(The *adê* of Esarhaddon) … with the Nahšimartians, the men in his hands, young and old, as many as there are," TA* ^uru*na-ah-ši-mar-ta-a-a* ^lúERÍN.MEŠ ŠU^II-*šú gab-bu* TUR GAL *ma-la ba-šu-u* (SAA 2: 6 l. 4–5, cf. *JCS* 64: 92 i 11–12).

cial governors are attested in the reign of Esarhaddon.[10] To get a rough esti-
mate of the number of client kings, we can use Esarhaddon's inscription Nine-
veh A: The dated exemplars of that inscription were produced in 673 and 672
BC, with one dated to only a month before the exemplars of EST were pro-
duced; and one of the exemplars of EST records an *adê* made with a Median
city lord who is named as a tributary in Nineveh A.[11] If we count only those
instances in which a client king explicitly "pulls the yoke" of Assyria, pays
tribute, or visits Nineveh (i.e., we exclude instances in which the Assyrian army
simply conquers and plunders a city), Nineveh A attests 31 client kings. To this
number we can add the eight Median city lords known from the Nimrud exem-
plars of EST (not including Ramataya of Urakazabanu, who appears in Nineveh
A and so is counted among the 31 recorded in that text) for a total of 39 client
kings.[12] Accordingly, we complete the formula presented above:

> 71 provinces + 39 of client kingdoms = minimum 110 exemplars of EST

This number is undoubtedly too low if we remember that only one of the nine
client kings known from the Nimrud exemplars of EST is mentioned in Nineveh
A. Indeed, Fales (2012: 148) has recently and independently suggested there
were 200 exemplars, an estimate

> absolutely personal and very rough ... based on an initial number of no more (and possi-
> bly less) than 70 provincial seats as still extant/operational at the time of Esarhaddon
> (drawing from the numbers of the Assyrian provinces given in Radner 2006–2008), plus
> a certainly smaller but not irrelevant number of vassal/client polities, and finally a more
> consistent total of 'inner' professional groups, which could have even comprised subdivi-
> sions between palace and temple, and among residents of a number of major cities of the
> empire (n. 96).[13]

In addition to Fales's apt observation that scholars and other officials at the
Assyrian court would have entered into the *adê* (see below), we should also

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10 The 66 provinces listed by Radner up to and including the reign of Esarhaddon (2006–
2008: 45–64) and the provinces in Babylonia (Babylon, Der, Dur-Šarrukku, Nippur, and Ur,
but not Gambulu or Sippar; the former is not attested in the 7th century and the latter is only
attested as a province in the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukin, see Radner 2006–2008: 64–56).
11 Ramataya of Urakazabanu, see Ms 27 of EST and RINAP 4 001 iv 34.
12 The client kingdoms listed in Nineveh A are the Sealand (RINAP 4 001 ii 58–64); the land
in Cilicia next to Tabal (iii 47–55); Bit-Dakkuri (iii 62–70); the kingdom associated with the city
Ša-pi-Bel (iii 71–83); the Arabs (iv 1–16); three Median cities, including Urakazabanu (iv 32–
45); the district of the city Bazu (iv 72–77); and twenty-two kingdoms in Syria-Palestine and
Cyprus (v 54–vi 1).
13 Cf. now Watanabe 2014: 161, where the tablets are described as "mass produced."

consider that it might have been established with members of the royal family (cf. the Zakutu Treaty [SAA 2: 8]), and perhaps non-state actors such as the leaders of important Aramean and Chaldean tribes. Nonetheless, the figure of 110 exemplars of EST put forward above can serve as a conservative minimum estimate that still allows us to comprehend the scale of textual production that the establishment of this *adê* required – at approximately 670 lines per exemplar (the exact line count varies among the exemplars), the scribes of the Assyrian chancellery produced a minimum of 73,700 lines of text solely in conjunction with this event.

To my knowledge, the only possible mention of how this work was accomplished occurs in three letters written by Issar-šumu-ereš, the chief scribe and astrologer at the court of Nineveh during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. These letters concern an upcoming *adê*-ceremony (see Parpola 1983: 3–4 and 6 on the identification of this *adê*-ceremony with that for which EST was produced). Two of these letters, SAA 10: 6 and 7, are about the days that scribes from various cities and various scholars will enter into (*erēbu*) and establish (*šakānu*) the *adê*. Interestingly, the day that eventually seems to be settled on is the 16th of Nisannu, that is, about a full month prior to the date found in the colophons of the extant exemplars of EST, the 18th of Ayyaru in two and the 16th of the same month in another (the day is damaged in Tayinat exemplar; as preserved, the day could be from the 16th–19th).

Parpola has discussed the lack of agreement between the dates found in the letters and in the examplars of EST. While he acknowledges that the king may simply have preferred later dates than those proposed by his chief scribe, Parpola raises the possibility that "scribes who would draw up treaty documents in their home towns should be adjured before the rest of the population" (Parpola 1983: 4). Indeed, it seems only logical that the scribes who were entrusted with the task of drawing up what would become the destinies of the entire empire would need first to be bound to protect the crown prince themselves. Fales (2012: 149) has noted that if the subject of these letters is, as assumed, the *adê*-ceremony for which EST was produced, then "it would seem that operations of oath-taking had begun already one month before the dates on the tablets at our disposal – at least as far as the 'innermost' sectors and circles of Assyrians were concerned."

In fact, we may find some further support for Fales's "temporal parameters" (p. 148) in Issar-šumu-ereš's third letter on this *adê*, SAA 10 5. This letter concerns another set of days for the *adê* ceremony:

UD.20.KÁM UD.22.KÁM UD.25.KÁM *a-na šá-ka-ni ša a-de-e ṭa-a-ba im-ma-at* LUGAL *be-li i-qab-bu-u-ni nu-šá-aṣ-bi-it liš-ku-nu* (obv. 8–rev. 6)

The opening statement is clear: "Day 20, day 22, and day 25 are auspicious for the establishment of the *adê*." In SAA 10: 5, the remaining lines are translated, "We shall undertake (that) they may conclude it whenever the king, my lord, says."

While *nušaṣbit* can certainly be analyzed as the Neo-Assyrian form of the cohortative (and the following precative may lend support to this analysis), the form can also be translated instead as a simple preterite. A translation that reflects this analysis might be as follows: "We have undertaken (the work), and so let them conclude it (the *adê*) whenever the king, my lord, gives the command." Since Issar-šumu-ereš, the chief scribe, speaks in the 1st person plural, presumably he is reporting on the scribes under his supervision. The implication that follows is that the scribes had already finished writing some exemplars of EST, perhaps their own *adê*-tablets, about a month before the exemplars that have come down to us.[14]

In brief, then, we can describe the circumstances in which the exemplars of EST were written as an event of mass textual production in which at least 110 tablets of about 670 lines each (probably more than 73,700 lines in total) were reproduced over the course of a period of time that may have been only a month. The remainder of this paper will focus on trying to reconstruct some of the mechanics of this process of textual production *en masse*, beginning with a brief comment on previous scholarship and some necessary terminological and methodological preliminaries.

3 Previous Studies

To my knowledge, no attempt has yet been made to explore aspects of textual transmission *vis-à-vis* EST in a sustained and systematic manner. In the pages of previous editions of the text (Wiseman 1958; Watanabe 1987; SAA 2: 6), one can find insightful observations on individual variants, and I reference these observations when relevant; but the analytic value of the observations is somewhat diminished by the fact that the variants are generally discussed in isolation. The same observation holds for Borger's (1961) early collection of textual variants in EST. An important exception to this approach to variation is Parpola and Watanabe's (1988: xl) discussion of the variant form of the verbs in the

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14 Assuming that the date in the colophons of EST refers to the day on which the writing of the tablet was completed and not the day on which the ceremony was performed for the persons named in the tablet (as does Cogan [1977: 99]), though these two need not be different.

stipulations of EST. Their focus, however, is on language, not on the processes of transmission that enable such variation to appear in the extant exemplars.

With respect to broader discussions of textual criticism in the first-millennium, there is little scholarship that is directly concerned with the transmission of EST. Luukko (2004) frequently cites variants found in EST in his discussion of grammatical variation in Neo-Assyrian, but again, the focus is on language not textual transmission. On the other hand, in a study concerned precisely with processes of transmission in first millennium Akkadian texts, Worthington (2012) makes reference to EST just once (p. 106, pointing to an instance of dittography in one exemplar).

The royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings have received a good deal of attention from a text-critical perspective, but these studies tend to be interested more in issues of composition and redaction (e.g., *inter alii*, Levine 1973; Cogan and Tadmor 1977; Levine 1981; Liverani 1981; Levine 1984; Frahm 1997: 248–61) than methods of transmission (e.g., Cogan 2005). In any event, it is unclear the degree to which any conclusions as to the method by which individual Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions were transmitted are applicable to the particular historical situation presented by the transmission of EST. Phrases, lines, and even entire episodes were routinely omitted from later recensions of royal inscriptions in order to allow for the narration of new events to be included in a finite amount of space. This approach to textual production should stand in sharp contrast to the production of EST when we remember that the exemplars of that text that were produced were intended to be transformed into Tablets of Destinies and so, at least in theory, no text could be omitted. Indeed, a comparison of the methods of textual production used for EST with those used for royal inscriptions could prove a useful avenue of future research.

4 Terminology

In this section, I clarify some terms that I have already used and will subsequently use with an increased degree of precision in the discussion that follows, although the terminology largely follows Assyriological convention. First, by *text*, I mean simply the whole of the signs inscribed on a particular tablet. By *composite text*, I mean an ancient or modern abstraction, "probably not having an exact counterpart in any of the manuscripts" (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xlviii). I refer to the ancient abstraction as EST and acknowledge that postulating the existence of such an abstraction is probably anachronistic

(on which, see below); nonetheless, it is necessary to do so for heuristic reasons. Unfortunately, even as an anachronistic abstraction, EST is not homogeneous, and I will on occasion have to discuss a revision that was made by an ancient editor, designating the different versions that resulted as *recensions*. The composite text that is the modern abstraction is the product of scholarly editorial interpretation and for the purpose of this paper is SAA 2: 6. As we will see, the reconstruction of a modern composite text is extremely important not only for allowing one to comprehend the text as a whole but also for providing a point of reference to which individual texts may be compared.

I distinguish between *textual composition* and *textual production*. The former refers to the act or acts by which the first recension of EST was created; the latter refers to the process by which a tablet is inscribed with a text. The agent of textual production is a *scribe*. In the case of EST, in which a scribe produced a text by reference to one or more other texts, I speak of *textual transmission* or *textual reproduction*. I refer to these various tablets as *exemplars* or *manuscripts*, identifying individual tablets or fragments by the sigla found in Watanabe 1987: 47–52 with the addition of T for the Tayinat exemplar. I preface sigla with the abbreviation Ms. I consider two methods by which the text of EST was transmitted: *Dictation*, in which the scribe had aural access to the text; and *copying*, in which the scribe had visual access to the text.[15] Finally, while many physical and textual aspects of the extant exemplars of EST are identical, no two exemplars have exactly the same text. I designate this phenomenon as *variation* and specific manifestations of the phenomenon as *variants*, further distinguishing *comprehensible* variants, which would have been meaningful to an ancient consumer of the text, from *incomprehensible* ones.

5 Methodological Considerations

Having established the terminology that will be used in this paper, I move on now to three methodological considerations: The fixedness of the text of EST; the number of scribes who produced a particular exemplar; and the extent to which variants can be diagnostic of dictation or copying when taken in isolation.

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15 In light of the non-canonical status of EST, I do not consider here a third method of transmission, memory or "learning by heart," the existence of which has been ably demonstrated in the production of Old Babylonian literary texts by Delnero (2012a). On the possible role of learning literary texts by heart in the first millennium, see Worthington 2012: 13–15.

5.1 The Fixedness of the Text

Worthington (2012: 20) begins his discussion of ancient attitudes towards textual transmission with a series of important questions: "Did Akkadian transmitters feel obliged to reproduce their exemplars as seen, or did they feel free to change the signs and wording? If so, to what extent and under what circumstances? How did they cope with damage and obscurities?" As Worthington goes on to discuss (p. 21), scholars working in different fields have shown that we cannot assume the "notion of exactitude" prized in our culture is shared in other times and places. Obviously, where we should locate a particular scribal subculture or even a particular scribe on a spectrum of "standards of textual fidelity" can only be understood by detailed work within a group of texts that has been carefully defined for this particular purpose. The exemplars of EST present a natural group and such an investigation could prove to be very valuable. However, such an investigation would take us away from the paper's aim of exploring the processes for the textual reproduction of EST, and specifically the role of dictation and copying, and so is not pursued here.

Rather, I consider the fixedness of EST from another perspective, namely whether multiple recensions of EST might have been in circulation either contemporaneously or successively over the period of time in which the text was being reproduced. Because the method I will employ later in this paper involves comparing different exemplars of EST, I want to establish at the outset whether the possibility exists that I might be comparing exemplars of different recensions of the text, and, if so, the degree to which that outcome might affect the results of my comparison.

Indeed, the existence of different recensions of EST is clear from the very outset of the text, the Preamble (see Appendix 1). Apart from minor textual variants (which are only selectively indicated in Appendix 1 in order to not detract from the focus of discussion), the two versions of the preamble differ in two substantive ways: The addition of two and a half lines at the end of the Preamble 2; and the sequence of lines 6–10/12. How are we to understand these differences?

One observes that the shorter preamble, Preamble 1, makes no reference at all to the subject matter of EST. Although the preambles of other extant *adê* are unfortunately poorly preserved, we find a structure and phraseology in Preamble 1 that is similar to Esarhaddon's *adê* with Baal of Tyre (SAA 2: 5), Zakutu's *adê* on behalf of Assurbanipal (SAA 2: 8), and Sin-šarru-iškun's *adê* with the Babylonians (SAA 2: 11). One can deduce a standard opening for *adê*'s:

> *adê ša* RN TA* PN_1 (TA* PN_2, etc.)
> "The *adê* of RN with PN_1 (and with PN_2, etc.)."

In its structure, then, Preamble 1 of EST seems to employ a basic template in which the names of the relevant parties are simply inserted where appropriate. However, because Preamble 1 employs this template, it necessarily lacks any details about the *adê* and, in particular, any mention of the crown prince Assurbanipal.

Evidently, at some point someone involved in the composition of EST desired more specificity, for Preamble 2, ends with the additional qualification that the *adê* concerns Assurbanipal. Prior to the discovery of the Tayinat exemplar of EST, Preamble 2 was extant in only one exemplar from Nimrud, so that it might have been considered simply a deviation from the text of the preamble as preserved in five other Nimrud exemplars. However, the presence of Preamble 2 in the Tayinat exemplar confirms that it is a valid recension in its own right so that at least two recensions of the text were in circulation during the period of textual production.[16]

5.2 The Number of Scribes who Produced a Given Exemplar

Dittography is of course a common means by which variants occur. However, most occurrences of dittography typically introduce an extra sign or word into the reproduced text. In this regard, Ms T is noteworthy because of an example of dittography comprising eight lines in which § 30 of EST is written twice (I designate the second as § 30a; see Appendix 2).[17] Interestingly, § 30a contains three errors in its first two lines (two erasures and the omission of the *Personenkeil*), not to mention the error of the dittography itself. There are also a number of variants in § 30a, such as in the orthography, the most striking example of which is the very rare use of LUGAL instead of MAN in § 30a in writing the common phrase *mār šarri rabî*. Also in § 30a, UŠ is followed by the phonetic complement *-ti* for the Babylonian genitive whereas it is followed by *-te* for an Assyrian form in § 30. This is likely the deployment of a standardized orthography in § 30a, however, for three lines later the logogram NIG$_2$.BA.MEŠ is fol-

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16 We should not automatically assume that Preamble 2 necessarily postdated Preamble 1. As Frankena (1965: 126) has observed, the additional lines do not fit smoothly with the syntax of the template. Preamble 1 may present an abbreviation of Preamble 2 designed to smooth the syntax. It seems likely that the additional qualification in Preamble 2 is related in some way to the order of the preceding lines, but the precise nature of that relation eludes me. On the existence of "several templates" of the text, cf. now also Watanabe 2014: 147.

17 The transition from § 30 to § 31 is preserved without dittography in three of the Nimrud exemplars (Mss 35 +, 45 C, and x 15 +).

lowed by *-te* (and note the verbal form *inaṣṣuru* written with Assyrian vowel harmony in both versions).

Individually, these errors and variants carry little significance but their cumulative weight in a section of the text that is itself an example of dittography suggests that § 30 and § 30a in Ms T may have been written by two different scribes. In other words, without evidence to the contrary, we should not assume that any extant exemplar of EST is the product of a single scribe's hand. In fact, when one considers that the work of producing a text as long as EST might take many hours, it seems reasonable to suppose that the textual reproduction of a given exemplar was performed by more than one scribe.

5.3 The Extent to which Isolated Variants are Diagnostic of Dictation or Copying

The previous two methodological considerations are important for helping guide the questions we ask when we compare the exemplars of EST. The third and final methodological consideration, namely that isolated variants are not diagnostic of dictation or copying, threatens to compromise the entire project. The difficulty lies in the fact that variants of an obviously visual derivation are not diagnostic of copying, because the error could have been made by either someone reading the text aloud or copying it; and variants of an obviously aural derivation are not diagnostic of dictation because of the demonstrated existence of interior dictation during the copying process (Worthington 2012: 98–99, citing previous literature). I illustrate the difficulty with two concrete examples taken from the exemplars of EST (see Appendix 3).

Example 1: SAA 2: 6 l. 374:
§ 32 of EST contains a stipulation against stratagems to nullify the oath to uphold Assurbanipal's succession. The end of line 374, in which appears the last of three in a sequence of nouns, is preserved in three exemplars. Two exemplars have *lubultakunu*, "your garment," while only one has *napultakunu*, "your throat." Yet the parallelism *lū ... lū ... lū* implies that this exemplar, Ms 45 J, presents the original rendering of the line. At some point, an ocular elision of the first sign of *napultakunu*, NA, occurred, and the resulting sequence of signs LU-<NA>-BUL-TA-KU-NU was reinterpreted intelligibly as *lubultakunu*, as in Ms x 14. But who committed the ocular elision – a copyist or someone giving dictation? The variant present in Ms 35+ adds still another wrinkle, for the determinative TUG_2 is added to *lubultakunu*. Evidently, the scribe who wrote this line also had access to a version in which the ocular elision of NA had

occurred and so heard or copied *lubultakunu*; he chose to precede the word with the determinative with which it frequently appears.[18]

Example 2: SAA 2: 6 l. 418:

§ 38 of EST is a short curse invoking the goddess Mullissu. Three different forms of the preterite *ay išbat* in the vetitive construction of the second sentence are among the interesting variants found in the exemplars that preserve this curse.[19] Ms 29 has the expected form of the preterite in which stress is on the first syllable of the word, i.e., *íšbat*. However, both Ms 27 and Ms T display phonological variants of this verb form. While the final -a of *išbata* in Ms 27 conceivably could be interpreted as the ventive, it seems more likely that we meet in this word an example of prosodically marked stress in which intonation has shifted the stress to the final CVC syllable of the word and that closed syllable has opened as a consequence, i.e., *išbáta*.[20] A similar shift of stress is apparent in Ms T, which shows still further phonological change with the addition of an anaptyctic vowel before the stressed syllable, i.e., *išibáta*.[21]

Conceivably, these three different forms of the preterite could derive from dictation: Perhaps the three exemplars reflect three different pronunciations of the vetitive made during three distinct readings; or perhaps a less colloquial pronunciation of the preterite *išbat* was rendered colloquially by two of the scribes. However, the phenomenon of interior dictation allows one to posit an equally valid scenario in which, for instance, the scribe of Ms T transformed the less colloquial preterite into a more colloquial form *išibata* when he pronounced the word to himself, whether audibly or not, as he copied it.

These two examples are meant to illustrate succinctly that isolated instances of textual variation are not diagnostic as to the method of textual reproduction, as copying may introduce not just visual but also phonetic variants while dictation may introduce not just phonetic but also visual variants. In light of these ambiguities, can we still examine textual variation with the aim of reconstructing the process of textual production? At least three approaches seem plausible. First, one could focus on identifying visual variants that are incomprehen-

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18 Cf. Watanabe 1987: 188, "Die beiden Varianten … deuten an, daß die verschiedenen Textvertreter der VTE nicht auf einmal diktiert wurden, sondern teilweise anhand einer Vorlage abgeschrieben oder weiter diktiert worden sind. Dadurch erklärt sich, daß einige Texte manchmal die gleichen Fehler aufweisen."

19 E.g., Ms T has *a-ma-ti-ku-nu*, "your words," in place of the genitival construction *a-mat* ᴋᴀ-*šú*, "the word of his [i.e., Aššur's] mouth," preserved in one other exemplar (Ms 27).

20 Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 28, cf. Luukko 2004: 107-08.

21 Luukko 2004: 103-04.

sible. Presumably, these variants should not occur during dictation (a speaker would correct an incomprehensible form before uttering it), and so the presence of such should be diagnostic of copying. However, the identification of such variants presupposes that we can determine with certainty what would or would not have been comprehensible to an ancient reader, and so this approach needs to be employed with due caution, ideally in tandem with another avenue of investigation. Second, one could adopt the approach taken by Delnero (2012a, 2012b) in his work on the Sumerian literature produced in the Old Babylonian Edubba where the variants found in a closely defined corpus of texts are discussed not in isolation but as the object of "systematic and comprehensive study" (2012b: 199). Operating systematically and within such a corpus allows Delnero to discern a meaningful pattern of distribution for the various types of variants that are encountered and thereby also the method used to reproduce the texts. In a third possible approach, one could focus less on the individual words themselves and more on uniformity and variation in their placement on the tablet, e.g., variations in line breaks, spacing, script density, and the like, in the hope that these features may reflect the method of textual reproduction with less ambiguity. For the remainder of this paper, I pursue this third approach.

6 Case Study: Line Breaks and Horizontal Script Density

The surviving exemplars of EST show great uniformity in their physical appearance. Where the total height and width are preserved, the exemplars are quite similar in size.[22] The layout is also quite consistent across the exemplars: Vertical rulings, perhaps made with string, create about 1 cm of blank space between the columns; where visible in the published photographs, two more vertical rulings, very close together, border the left and right sides of the text; two horizontal rulings, made 1 cm apart at the very top of the obverse, frame the caption to the seal impressions; and two more horizontal rulings, made about 7 cm and 17 cm down the obverse, make a roughly 10 x 28 cm box in which the divine seals of Aššur were impressed.[23]

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22 Ms 27 = 45 × 30 cm; Ms 31 + 51 = 42.5 × 28.4 cm; Ms 36: 42 × 28; and Ms T = 40 × 28 cm.

23 See also Fales's (2012: 136–37) discussion of the tablets' physical layout, with his observation that although the layout is unlike any other contemporary Neo-Assyrian text, "it bears some resemblance to contemporary contracts, with their typical seal-identification text at the beginning of the Obverse, and the space for the sealing placed below it." See also SAA 12: 1

This uniformity of physical appearance is most likely connected to uniformity in the process of tablet production. For instance, from the way the text occasionally runs over the column lines, clearly, the layout was put into place before anything was written on the tablet. Significantly, the horizontal rulings that divide the different sections of the text were not made at this time, as their placement on the tablet varies from exemplar to exemplar (discussed in more detail below). Only after the layout of the tablet was put in place was the tablet inscribed with text of the *adê*. Finally, once the composition of the text was complete, the tablet was impressed with the three divine seals of Aššur.[24] This order of production also makes the most sense: Surely something needed to be written on a tablet before the Seal of Destinies transformed it into a Tablet of Destinies.

In general, the arrangement of the text itself on the exemplars is also uniform. The text is always arranged into four columns on obverse and reverse for a total of eight columns. In all exemplars for which both faces are preserved, unusually, a reader must rotate the tablet along the vertical axis to move from the obverse to the reverse, as with a book, instead of along the horizontal axis, as is typical. Correspondingly, the order of the columns proceeds from left to right on the reverse in all exemplars preserving more than one column on the reverse. In all exemplars, the text is regularly divided into sections by horizontal rulings and these divisions are typically quite consistent across the surviving exemplars, although omissions and additions exist.[25] Vertical script density of the exemplars is also highly consistent at about 2.5 lines/centimeter (so also Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xlviii).

In the face of such uniformity, then, it is somewhat surprising that the line breaks within the sections are, as a rule, not consistent. This is illustrated well

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and 86 for royal grants which "have superscriptions invoking the seal of Aššur (and Ninurta in no. 1); although the seal is not on the tablet, it was doubtless on the originals from which these tablets, according to the colophons, were copied" (Kataja and Whiting 1995: xx).

24 The obvious reason for the box around the seal impressions was to ensure that the scribe left enough room for the seal impressions when he was reproducing the text (in fact, the demarcated space is more than is necessary). In this regard, one can see in the published photos of Ms 27 (especially Wiseman 1958: pl. I, reproduced as Watanabe 1987: tf. I) that the rolling of the seal has flattened and faded some vertical column rulings that encroach into the space demarcated for the seal impressions. Cf. the unsealed contracts where space nevertheless has been put aside by horizontal rulings for fingernail or seal impressions, e.g., SAA 6: 10, 12, and 13.

25 E.g., a ruling to distinguish § 6 and § 7 is present in six exemplars and absent from one (Ms 36); conversely, lines 526–29 and 530–33 are conventionally divided into two sections (§ 63 and § 64), but as Watanabe (1987: 198–99) notes, a ruling between lines 529 and 530 is present in only one exemplar (Ms 27) and absent from six.

by comparing the opening lines of § 10 (see Appendix 4). Variation in line breaks begins with the negated statives *lā tarṣatuni lā ṭābatuni*. In Ms 46 E and 45 A, these statives are divided over lines 110 and 111; in 45 E, they are both written with wide spacing and occupy all of line 111. But the two exemplars that agree in dividing the statives over two lines also vary in their line breaks: The scribe of Ms 46 E attempted to fit two prepositional phrases, *lū ina pī nakrišu lū <ina> pī salme<šu>*[!?] into line 111, while the scribe of Ms 45 A ended the line after only the first prepositional phrase.[26] The scribe of Ms 46 E continued in the following line to squeeze more words together so that he was able to write [*lū ina p*]*ī ahhīšu ahhī abišu mārī ahhī abišu* in line 112, while the scribe of 45 A managed only the prepositional phrase *lū ina pī salmešu lū ina pī* – ending the line in the middle of a construct chain!

Such variation in line breaks occurs throughout the exemplars of EST to such a degree that I do not know of one section for which a significant number of exemplars are preserved where the line breaks are uniform in every exemplar (and see Appendix 2 for the different line breaks in the two versions of a single section, § 30 and 30a, that appear in Ms T). Of course, orthographic factors, such as logographic versus syllabic spellings, the presence or absence of determinatives, or plene writings can affect the length of a word and thus the number of words that can be written in a given line. But one of the greatest determining factors for line breaks is the size and especially the proximity of signs in a line, a feature that I designate horizontal script density and that is illustrated by the opening lines of Ms 28A (see Fig. 1, and, in particular, the contrast between the horizontal script density in lines 1–2 and 3–4).

However, before we can explore whether variation in horizontal script density might reflect the method of textual production, we need a way to measure it. While we could simply count the signs per line, it is unclear what we would learn from this exercise because, as was mentioned above, the majority of the extant documentation, the nine original tablets from Nimrud, exists in the form of 92 fragments, and there is currently no way to determine which fragments belong together. Therefore we cannot compare horizontal script density in the tablets simply by comparing the signs per line in the extant fragments because we do not know which tablets we would be comparing.

Here is where is the power of the modern composite text, SAA 2: 6, comes in. Crucially, though the exemplars of EST exist mostly in the form of small isolated fragments, some of these fragments preserve the beginnings of col-

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26 The scribe of Ms 46's attempt to fit the second prepositional phrase into the limited available space at the end of the line may account for the errors in the line: the omissions *<ina>* and *-<šu₂>* as well the indecipherable sign ⌜*x*[?]⌝- for *sal*-.

Fig. 1: Wiseman 1958: Plate 12.

umns. SAA 2: 6 allows us to compare horizontal script density by letting us see what line of the composite text has been reached in all fragments with the beginning of the same column (I will refer to this line number as the fragment's line count for that column). For instance, as I discuss in more detail below, one fragment preserving the beginning of column ii has a line count of 93 while another has a line count of 73 for that same column. Therefore, we know that the tablet from which the first fragment came contained the equivalent of twenty more lines of the composite text in its first column than that tablet from which the second fragment came.

Appendix 5 provides the line counts for all of the exemplars that preserve the beginning of a column. Of course, the exemplars preserving the beginning of column i all have a line count of 1, but the exemplars preserving the beginning of the other columns show a great amount of variation in their line count. I list here the range in line counts as drawn from the data assembled in Appendix 5:

- Col. ii range = 20 lines
- Col. iii range = 43 lines
- Col. iv range = 59 lines
- Col. v range = 53 lines
- Col. vi range = 65 lines

– Col. vii range   = 60 lines
– Col. viii range   = 39 lines

The exemplars vary enormously in how many lines of the composite edition of the text they fit into a column. As mentioned above, the variation is apparent already in column i, for Ms 31 has a line count of 93 for column ii while three other exemplars have a line count of 73 for the same column. The greatest range is found in column vii, where Ms x 12 has a line count of 455 while Ms 36 has a line count of 390. This range signifies that the equivalent of 65 additional lines of the composite text, or almost 10 % of the entire composition, were written through column vi on the tablet from which the first fragment comes!

A number of factors might conceivably affect the line count found at the beginning of a column and jeopardize our ability to use line counts as a means of measuring horizontal script density. For instance, the number of words written in § 1 demonstrably increased if the *adê* concerned a province, and sections might have been longer or, indeed, present only in certain exemplars owing to recensional differences.[27] The dittography of an entire section, as seen by the example above of § 30 and § 30a in Ms T, could also increase the number of words in a text.[28] We might expect any exemplar with text added in these ways to have a lower line count at the beginning of columns subsequent to the additions because some space of their preceding columns is occupied with text not found in the composite edition. These exemplars would thus misleadingly *appear* to have fewer lines of the composite text written in the preceding columns relative to exemplars without the additional text.

However, Ms T acts as a control for these factors and shows that none of them should affect our use of the composite text as a metric in a decisive manner. As expected, Ms T begins column ii with the lowest line count of all surviving exemplars because it has both the longer Preamble of § 1 and additional words required to enumerate the members of the provincial government – but two other exemplars from Nimrud which did not require the additional 98 words in the Preamble have the same line count! Nor has the dittography of

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27 In the Nimrud exemplar Ms 36, naming the Median city lord and mentioning his sons, and the populace of his city requires 32 signs written over two lines. In Ms T, listing the officials of the provincial government and mentioning the populace of the province takes 80 signs written over nine lines. The longer preamble requires 41 additional signs written in two extra lines in § 1 of Ms 27 and T. And § 38 A, present in four of the five surviving exemplars (absent from Ms 27), adds 34 signs written in two lines.

28 The dittography of § 30a adds 98 words in eight lines to the text of Ms T.

an entire section in column v of Ms T caused it to have a lower line count for column vi than the other exemplars; instead it is in the middle of the range. Therefore, it seems that horizontal script density is a primary factor for determining how many words were written in a column.

But how does variation in horizontal script density help us determine whether textual reproduction of EST occurred via copying or dictation? If we assume horizontal script density, whether high or low, remained consistent within a exemplar, we expect the range in line counts in all exemplars to increase with each subsequent column as a scribe with a cramped hand wrote more and more of the text and a scribe with a wide hand wrote less and less. Now, since we know that more than one scribe may have contributed to the writing of a single tablet, this assumption of consistency may not be warranted; but when one charts the range of line counts for columns, an interesting pattern emerges:
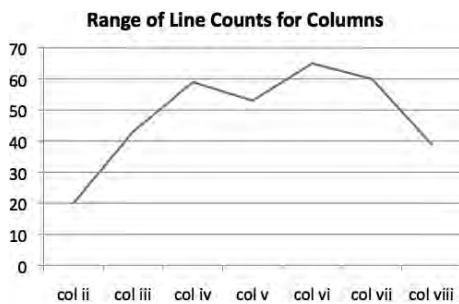

Chart 1: Range of Line Counts for Columns of the Extant Exemplars of EST.

As we expected, we see a 300 % increase in range, from 20 lines to 60 lines, between columns ii and vii. But we also see a brief dip at the beginning of column v and then a sharp drop at column viii. I come back to column v at the end of this article, but for now I consider why the range drops so sharply in column viii instead of continuing to increase.

Since as many exemplars are preserved for the beginning of column viii as for any other column, the incongruity should not derive from insufficient data, and a similar pattern can be seen in the few instances in which we can track horizontal script density across the columns of a single exemplar. For instance, Ms 36 consistently has the lowest line count of all extant exemplars until the beginning of column viii, where it moves up to third lowest. The reason for this change is that the scribe fit the equivalent of 125 lines of the composite text into column vii – by comparison, column vi of the same exemplar con-

tained the equivalent of only 88 lines, or 30 % less text. Of course, the dramatic increase in the amount of text contained in column vii of this exemplar increases its line count at column vii and contributes the sharp drop in the range of line count among all exemplars at column viii.

The reason for the decrease in line count at the beginning of column viii most likely occurred because the scribes realized that they were approaching the end of the text while they were writing columns vi or vii. Accordingly, some wrote signs more closely while others spaced out lines in order to fit or fill the remaining text into the available space as necessary. How did scribes recognize when they were approaching the end of the text? Obviously, the most straightforward way would be by having visual access to an exemplar, which, in turn, would imply that that textual reproduction took place via copying. But aural recognition is also conceivable. A scribe who was familiar with the general outline of EST or even with the texts of *adê*'s in general and who was reproducing the text via dictation might recognize that he was approaching its end when he heard the beginning of the so-called Ceremonial Curse Section (§ 58– 106) that comprises the final quarter of the text.

However, if we dive deeper into the data collected in Appendix 5, I believe we can find some confirmation that the scribes did indeed have visual access to the text. Our interest now is in column v, which remarkably begins at line 336 of the composite text in three of the 11 extant exemplars. Significantly, the beginning of column v has the added weight of being also the beginning of a tablet's reverse, so that three times a scribe ended the obverse and turned to the reverse of his tablet at the exact same point in the text. This concurrence suggests that a scribe had visual access to a particular manuscript and was adjusting his script density in order to finish the obverse at the same point in the text as in the manuscript that he was copying – adjustments that would explain the slight dip in our chart precisely at column v.

Finally, I note that the conclusion that at least some exemplars of EST were reproduced via copying finds some confirmation in the existence of those textual variants that are diagnostic in isolation, incomprehensible visual variants. For instance, five exemplars preserve the verb in line 530 (see Appendix 6). In two exemplars, the verbal form is *izannununi*, with the second /u/ representing the subjunctive marker. In two exemplars, the verbal form is *izannunanni*, with the second /a/ representing the ventive, which necessarily replaces the subjunctive /u/. In the fifth exemplar, Ms 28 A, we meet a verbal form that is written as ⌜*i*⌝-*za-nun*-A-AN. Clearly, the closely preceding šEG₃ (=A.AN) has influenced the copying of an intended writing *i-za-nun-a-ni* in an example of the visual error of dittography.[29] Yet the resulting verb form is not meaningful and there-

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29 So already Watanabe 1987: 199.

fore should not have been made by someone reading the text aloud, for presumably a reader would have corrected the visual error before he spoke it.[30] Therefore, we have some confirmation for concluding that at some point in the process of textual production, certain exemplars of EST were copied. I address the caveats in this statement at the end of this paper.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the dynamics of textual production involved in the transmission of EST, the results of which I briefly recapitulate here. I have argued that EST was transmitted during a period of mass textual production in which at least 110 exemplars of the text were produced in perhaps a month's time (although time span of production is less secure than the estimated minimum number of exemplars). At least two recensions of EST circulated during this period of mass textual production, and more than one scribe may have contributed to the reproduction of any given exemplar. While our extant exemplars of EST preserve numerous textual variants, I illustrated that these variants are not diagnostic of the method of an exemplar's transmission (copying or dictation) when studied in isolation. Studying the varying horizontal script density in the exemplars was more conclusive. By focusing on fragments that preserve the beginning of columns, I was able to observe a pattern in the range of script density across the eight columns of EST in both across extant exemplars and also within a single exemplar. I suggested that this pattern was the result of scribes' having visual access to, i.e., having copied, the text, and I then briefly raised some supporting evidence for this conclusion by identifying an incomprehensible visual variant.

Nonetheless, we cannot conclude from this study that every exemplar of EST was reproduced via copying. We can only conclude copying was used to reproduce certain exemplars at some point in the process of textual transmission. This restriction is necessary because the method of investigation employed in this paper is designed to capture only the "signal" of transmission via copying. It is possible, for instance, that a handful of exemplars of EST were reproduced via copying; then those exemplars were read aloud to scribes

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30 Conceivably, the writing could reflect the apocope of the final vowel, but Luukko (2004: 110) does not list any instances of this phenomenon with the subjunctive marker *-ni* and I do not know of any instances among the exemplars of EST (although apocope is quite common with other morphemes).

who reproduced still more via dictation. In fact, there is good reason to think that this might have occurred, as, with copying, each reading produces only a single exemplar; with dictation, however, ten, twenty, or even more exemplars can conceivably be reproduced from a single reading. Faced with the need to reproduce over 73,000 lines of text within a relatively short period of time, the officials in charge may have prioritized efficiency, in which case we would expect for manuscripts to have been reproduced via dictation. Yet the method I have employed in this paper cannot capture the "signal" of this dictation. The next step, of course, is to design additional studies that can capture it or, harder still, rule dictation out completely.

Appendix 1: The Preamble

Preamble 1[31]

1   The *adê* of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria,
2   son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria,
3   with PN, the city lord of GN,
4   (with) his sons and grandsons, with the people of GN,
5   all the men of his hands, great and small, as many as there are,
6   from the east to the west,
7   all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria,
8   exercises kingship and lordship, with you,
9   (with) your sons and grandsons
10   who are born after the *adê* in the future.

Preamble 2[32]

1   The *adê* of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria,
2   son of Sennacherib, also king of the world, king of Assyria,

31 ¹ *a-de-e ša₂* ᵐ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠU₂ MAN KUR *aš-šur*ᵏⁱ ² DUMU ᵐᵈ30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN ŠU₂ MAN KUR *aš-šur*ᵏⁱ ³ TA⋆ PN EN URU GN ⁴ (TA⋆) DUMU.MEŠ-*šu₂* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*šu₂* TA⋆ GN-*a-a* ⁵ ˡᵘ²ERIN₂.MEŠ ŠUᴵᴵ-*šu₂ gab-bu* TUR GAL *mal ba-šu₂-u₂* ⁶ TA⋆ *na-pa-ah* ᵈUTU-*ši a-di ra-ba*(var. *e-reb*) ᵈUTU-*ši* ⁷ *am-mar* ᵐᵈ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur* LUGAL-*tu* EN-*tu* ⁸ *ina* UGU-*hi-šu₂-nu up-pa-aš₂-u-ni is-se-ku-nu* ⁹ (TA⋆) DUMU.MEŠ-*ku-nu* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*ku-nu ša* EGIR *a-de-e* ¹⁰ *a-na u₄-me ṣa-a-ti ib-ba-aš₂-šu₂-u-ni* (Mss. 28 A, 31, 32, 36, 43 +; Ms 45 I is preserved through line 7).
32 ¹ *a-de-e ša* ᵐ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ MAN ŠU₂ MAN KUR *aš-šur* ² DUMU ᵐᵈ30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN ŠU₂ MAN KUR *aš-šur-ma* ³ TA⋆ PN EN URU GN ⁴ TA⋆ DUMU.MEŠ-*šu₂* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*šu₂* TA⋆ GN-*a-a* ⁵ <ˡᵘ²ERIN₂.MEŠ ŠUᴵᴵ-*šu₂*>(not omitted in Ms T) *gab-bu* TUR GAL *mal ba-šu₂-u* ⁶ *is-se-ku-nu* 0 DUMU.MEŠ-*ku-nu* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*ku-nu* ⁷ *ša* EGIR *a-de-e ina u₄-me ṣa-a-ti ib-ba-šu₂-u-ni* ⁸ TA⋆ *na-pah* ᵈUTU-*ši* a-*di e-reb* ᵈUTU-*ši* ⁹ *am-mar* ᵐᵈ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur* LUGAL-*tu be-lu-tu* ¹⁰ *ina* UGU-*šu₂-nu u₂-pa₂-šu₂-u-ni*(Ms T: *up-pa-aš₂-u-ni*) *ša₂ ina* UGUᵐ*aš-šur*-DU₃-A ¹¹ DUMU MAN

3   with PN, the city lord of GN,

4   with his sons and grandsons, with the people of GN,

5   all <the men of his hands>, great and small, as many as there are,

8   with you, your sons and grandsons,

9   who are born after the *adê* in the future,

6   from the east to the west,

7   all those over whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, exercises kingship and lordship,

10   concerning Assurbanipal,

11   the great crown prince designate, the son of Esarhaddon,

12   king of Assyria, on whose behalf he established the *adê* with you.

Appendix 2: The Dittography of § 30 in ms T

§ 30

    v 9   *šum-ma ta-da-ga-la a-na* $^{\text{m}}$*aš-šur*-DU$_3$-A DUMU MAN

    v 10   GAL-*u ša*$_2$ E$_2$ UŠ-*te* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šu*$_2$ *la pal-hu-uš*

    v 11   *la kan-šu-uš* EN.NUN-*šu*$_2$ *la i-na-ṣu-ru at-tu-*⌜*nu*⌝

    v 12   *ki ra-ma-ni-ku-nu ṣa-a-li la ta-ga-ra-šu*$_2$*-nu-ni*

    v 13   *pu-luh-tu*$_2$ NIG$_2$.BA.MEŠ-*te ina* ŠA$_3$-⌜*bi*⌝-*šu*$_2$-*nu*

    v 14   *la tu-še-rab-a-ni ma-a* AD-⌜*ku-nu*⌝ *ina* ŠA$_3$-*bi*

    v 15   *a-de-e is-sa-ṭar is-sa-kan u*$_2$-[*t*]*am-ma-na-a-ši*

§ 30a

    v 16   *šum-ma ta-da-ga-la a-na* <$^{\text{m}}$>*aš-šur*-(erasure)-DU$_3$-A

    v 17   DUMU LUGAL GAL-*u ša*$_2$ E$_2$ UŠ-*ti* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-(erasure)-*šu*$_2$

    v 18   ⌜*la pal-hu-uš la*⌝ *kan-šu*$_2$-⌜*uš*⌝ EN.NUN-*šu*$_2$ *la i-na-ṣu-*[*r*]*u*

    v 19   *at-tu-nu ki ra-*[*ma-ni-ku-nu*] *ṣa-a-li*

    v 20   *la ta-ga-ra-šu*$_2$*-nu-ni pu-*⌜*luh-tu*$_2$ NIG$_2$.BA.MEŠ-*te*⌝

    v 21   *ina* ŠA$_3$-*bi-šu*$_2$-*nu la tu-še-rab-a-n*[*i*]

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gal *ša* E$_2$ UŠ-*ti* DUMU $^{\text{m}}$*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ ^{12} MAN KUR *aš-šur ša ina* UGU-*hi-šu*$_2$ *a-de-e is-se-ku-nu iš-ku-nu-ni* (Mss. 27 and T; for "with PN, the city lord of GN, with his sons and grandsons, with the people of GN," ms T substitutes, "with the governor of Kunalia, with the deputy, the major-domo, the scribes, the chariot drivers, the third men, the village managers, the information officers, the prefects, the cohort commanders, the charioteers, the cavalrymen, the heavy infantry, the regular infantry, the specialists, the shi[eld bearers (?)], the quartermaster troops"; the translation of some professions follows Fales 2012: 147).

v 22   *ma-a* AD-*ku-nu ina* ŠA₃ *a-de-e is-sa-ṭar*
v 23   *is-sa-kan u₂-tam-ma-na-a-ši*

Translation:
"If you look, (and) his (i.e., Assurbanipal's) brothers are not protecting Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, without reverence or submission, you shall fight them as if fighting for yourselves. You shall bring frightful terror into their hearts, saying: 'Your (pl.) father wrote (this) in the *adê*, he established it, and he makes us swear (it)'" (SAA 2: 6 l. 353–59, see now *JCS* 64: 96, 112, 116 for the text, translation, and commentary; the translation of the first three lines of the section follows the analysis of Watanabe 2014: 157).

Appendix 3: The Non-Diagnostic Character of Isolated Variants

Example 1: SAA 2: 6 l. 374

35 +   *lu* [*pa-ni*]-*ku-nu lu* [ŠU^II]-*ku-nu* ^tug2*lu-bul-ta-ku-n*[*u*]
45 J   [*lu pa-ni-ku-nu lu* š]U^⌜II⌝-*ku-nu lu na-pul-ta-ku-nu*
x 14   *lu pa-ni-ku-nu lu* ŠU^II-*ku-nu lu-bu*[*l-ta-ku-nu*]
T   *lu pa-ni-ku-nu lu* ŠU^II-*ku-*⌜*nu*⌝ [(x) x x x *k*]*u-nu*

(Translation of the larger context: "You shall anoint neither your faces nor your hands nor your throat with the SAR-BU, which is *against* the gods of the assembly.[33] You shall not bind (it) in your lap. You shall not do anything that undoes an oath.")

Example 2: SAA 2: 6 l. 418

27   [*a*]-*a iṣ-ba-ta ab-bu-tu-ku-un*
29   *a-a iṣ-bat ab-bu-tu₂-k*[*u-un*]

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33 The sentence is difficult, in part because the ambiguity of the prepositional phrase *ina muhhi ilāni* obscures the nature of SAR-BU, as Parpola and Watanabe (1988: 43 note to line 373 ff) observe. They note also that previous interpretations of the direct object as *sarbu*, "tallow," (Watanabe 1987: 187–88) or, dividing the wedges differently, as *šaršerru*, "red paste," (Reiner 1969: 537 n. 13 and *passim* in the *CAD*) are unlikely because whatever SAR-BU signifies must also be able to be bound (*rakāsu*, "to bind," in the subsequent clause).

35 +   *a-<a> iş-b[at/a-ta …]*[34]
T   *a-a i-şi-ba-ta a-bu-tu₂-ku-nu*

(Translation of the larger context: "May Mullissu, his wife, his beloved, make his (i.e., Aššur's) speech evil! May she not intercede for you!")

Appendix 4: Line Breaks in Exemplars Preserving the Opening Lines of § 10

(The line numbers follow the composite edition SAA 2 6)

46 E

108   [*šum-ma a-bu-t]u₂ la* DUG₃.GA-*tu₂ la de-iq-tu₂ la ba-ni-tu₂*
109   [*ša₂ ina* UGU] ⸢ᵐ⸣*aš-šur*-DU₃-A DUMU MAN GAL *ša* E₂ UŠ-*ti*
110   [DUMU ᵐ*aš-šur*-PAP-AŠ] MAN KUR *aš-šur*ᵏⁱ EN-*ku-nu la tar-şa-at-u-ni*
111   [*la ţa-bat*]-*u-ni lu ina pi-i* ˡᵘ²KUR₂-*šu₂ lu <ina> pi-i* ˡᵘ²⸢*x*⸣-*me*⸣-<*šu₂*>
112   [*lu ina pi*]-⸢*i*⸣ ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šu₂* ŠEŠ.AD.MEŠ-*šu₂* DUMU.ŠEŠ.⸢AD⸣.MEŠ-*šu₂*

45 A

108   […]
109   [… E₂ UŠ-*ti*]
110   DUMU ᵐ*aš-š*[*ur*-PAP-AŠ MAN KUR *aš*]-⸢*šur*⸣[(ᵏⁱ) EN-*ku-nu la tar-şa-at-u-ni*]
111   *la ţa-*⸢*bat-u-ni lu*⸣-*u ina* ⸢*pi-i*⸣ [ˡᵘ²KUR₂-*šu₂*]
112   *lu-u ina pi-i sal-me-šu lu-u* ⸢*ina pi*⸣-[*i*]

45 E

108   [*šu*]*m-ma a-bu-tu₂ l*[*a* DUG₃.GA-*tu₂ la* S]IG₅-*tu₂ la ba-ni-tu₂*
109   [*ša₂*] UGU ᵐ*aš-š*[*ur*-DU₃-A DUMU MAN GAL *ša₂*] E₂ UŠ-*te*
110   [DUMU ᵐ*aš*]-⸢*šur*⸣-[PAP-AŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur*⁽ᵏⁱ⁾ EN]-*ku-nu*
111   [*la tar-şa-at-u-ni la ţa-bat*]-*u-ni*
112   [*lu*(-*u*) *ina pi-i* ˡᵘ²KUR₂-*šu₂ lu*(-*u*) *pi-i* ˡᵘ²*sa-l*]*i-me-šu₂*

(Translation of the entire section: "If you hear something malicious, harmful (or) ugly – (something) [which] is inappropriate and malicious concerning

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34 Only the beginning of a single horizontal wedge is preserved before the break, and so the traces fit either B[A] or B[AD].

Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord – whether from the mouth of his enemy or the mouth of his friend or from the mouth of his brothers, his uncles, his cousins (or) his family, the seed of his father's house, or from the mouth of your brothers, your sons, (or) your daughters, or from the mouth of a prophet, an ecstatic, (or) an interpreter of oracles, or from the mouth of anyone at all, you shall not conceal (it). You shall come and tell (it) to Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate.")

Appendix 5: Line Counts of Exemplars Preserving the Beginning of Columns

Col ii begins	93 (Ms 31)	84 (Ms 45 I)	79 (Ms 27)	79 (Ms 28 A)	78 (Ms 39)	77 (Ms 43 +)	73 (Ms 30 A)	73 (Ms 36)	73 (Ms T)		
Col iii begins	190 (Ms x 7)	185 (Ms 31)	180 (Ms 38 A)	178 (Ms 46 P)	170 (Ms 46 E)	163 (Ms 39)	155 (Ms 27)	147 (Ms 36)			
Col iv begins	277 (Ms x 7)	266 (Ms 51 T)	264 (Ms 31)	260 (Ms 46 N)	257 (Ms T)	244 (Ms 45 G)	230 (Ms 27)	218 (Ms 36)			
Col v begins	345 (Ms T)	340 (Ms 46 N)	336 (Ms 31)	336 (Ms 49 F)	336 (Ms x 16)	327 (Ms 38 B)	321 (Ms 45 G)	320 (Ms 56)	316 (Ms 35)	302 (Ms 27)	292 (Ms 36)
Col vi begins	455 (Ms x 12)	437 (Ms 31)	431 (Ms T)	402 (Ms 27)	390 (Ms 36)						
Col vii begins	537 (Ms 38 A)	537 (Ms x 12)	530 (MS 51 N)	527 (Ms 31)	521 (Ms 28 A)	514 (Ms 37)	513 (Ms T)	502 (Ms 27)	477 (Ms 36)		
Col viii begins	627 (Ms 31)	613 (Ms x 9)	608 (Ms 28 A)	606 (Ms T)	603 (Ms 36)	601 (Ms x 21)	599 (Ms 27)	594 (Ms 32)	594 (Ms 36 C)	590 (Ms 30 C)	588 (Ms 48 I)

Appendix 6: SAA 2 6 530, Showing an Unintelligible Visual Variant

27   *ki-i ša₂* ⌜TA⋆ ŠA₃ AN⌝[*-e ša₂*] ZABAR ŠE[G₃] ⌜*la*⌝ *i-za-nun-*⌜*a-ni*⌝

28 A   *ki-i ša₂* TA ŠA₃ AN*-e* [*ša₂* ZABAR] ŠEG₃(=A.AN) *la* ⌜*i*⌝*-za-nun-*A-AN

31   ⌜*ki-i*⌝ *ša₂* TA⋆ ŠA₃ [AN]*-e ša₂* ZABAR ŠEG₃ *la i-za-nun-u-ni*

51 N   [...   ŠE]G₃ *la i-za-nun-u-*[*ni ...*   ]

T   *ki-i ša₂* ⌜TA ŠA₃⌝ A[N*-e*] *ša₂* ZABAR [š]EG₃ *la i-za-nun-a-ni*

(Translation: "Just as rain does not fall from a sky of bronze")

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