

Contents

Abbreviations	XIX
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Notes on nomenclature and conventions	4
1.2 The transmission of Akkadian scholarship and literature ...	5
1.2.1 Transmission through copying	6
1.2.2 Transmission through dictation	7
1.2.3 Transmission through learning by heart	13
1.2.4 Differences in transmission between the second and first millennia?	15
1.2.5 Manners of transmission: summary	16
1.3 Transmission as a source of textual change	16
1.4 Attitudes to transmission	20
1.4.1 Ancient notions of fidelity	20
1.4.2 Non-restoration	22
1.4.3 Restoration	23
1.4.4 The use of multiple exemplars	24
1.4.5 Annotations by transmitters	25
1.4.5.1 <i>hepi</i> 'it is broken' and similar	25
1.4.5.2 Other annotations	27
1.4.6 How did transmitters deal with (perceived) obscurities?	27
1.4.7 Summary	28
1.5 The problem of apprentices	28
1.6 Attitudes to manuscripts among Akkadianists	32
1.7 Potential rewards deriving from the study of textual change	38
2 Some issues of method	41
2.1 Problems pertaining to authors and <i>Urtexts</i>	41
2.2 Problems in dealing with errors	44
2.2.1 Oddities of various kinds, and problems in identifying them	45
2.2.1.1 Oddities of grammar and orthography	45
2.2.1.2 Oddities of style	46
2.2.1.3 Oddities of sense	47

2.2.1.3.1	A two-line incongruity: <i>Gilgameš</i> I 298-299	52
2.2.2	Linguistic and orthographic oddities, and problems in explaining them	54
2.2.2.1	Orthographic conventions and the problem of normativity	55
2.2.2.2	Error or phonetic spelling?	58
2.2.2.3	Ignorance or inadvertence?	60
2.2.3	Problems in dealing with oddities: summary	63
2.3	Problems with establishing how extant manuscripts were understood by their writers	64
2.3.1	The ‘courier effect’	64
2.3.2	Variability and the ‘chameleon effect’	65
2.3.3	The <i>caveat</i> of somnolence	68
2.4	Evidence for relations between manuscripts	70
2.4.1	Judging whether anomalies are diagnostically significant	72
2.4.2	The problem of orthographic ‘convergence’	75
2.4.3	Examples of relations at the same scribal centre	76
2.4.4	Examples of relations between different scribal centres	78
2.4.5	Stemmata	80
2.5	On the role of quantification in the study of a corpus language	82
3	Mechanisms of textual change	88
3.1	The importance of a typology of scribal errors	88
3.2	A typology of Akkadian scribal errors	90
3.2.1	Errors of sign similarity	92
3.2.1.1	Errors of sign identification	93
3.2.1.2	<i>Lapsus styli</i> and errors of tactile memory ..	95
3.2.2	Errors of sign interpretation	96
3.2.3	Errors of phonetic similarity	98
3.2.4	<i>Saut du même au même</i>	103
3.2.5	<i>Aberratio oculi</i>	104
3.2.6	Lipography	104
3.2.7	Haplography	105
3.2.8	Dittography	106
3.2.9	Incomplete signs	106
3.2.10	Polar errors	107

3.2.11	Errors of gender polarity	109
3.2.12	Errors of attraction	109
3.2.13	Errors of syllable inversion	111
3.2.14	Synonymous substitutions	112
3.2.15	Misremembering of words learned by heart	112
3.2.16	Errors of sign metathesis	112
3.2.17	Assyrianisms	113
3.2.18	Errors of ‘cut and paste’ and interpolation	113
	3.2.18.1 Spellings as evidence for different entries’ separate origins?	114
3.2.19	Hypercorrection	115
3.2.20	Other errors	116
3.3	Transmitters misunderstanding their exemplars	116
3.3.1	Examples of misunderstanding in medicine	118
3.3.2	Examples of misunderstanding in literature	119
3.3.3	Examples of misunderstanding in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions	121
3.3.4	How well did transmitters know the compositions?	125
3.4	Transmitters making conscious changes	127
3.4.1	Sennacherib Rassam, MSS A and FF	128
3.4.2	Assurbanipal B/D VIII	132
3.4.3	Šalmaneser III 44 (and 45)	133
3.4.4	Two manuscripts of the <i>Diagnostic Handbook</i> XVII	135
3.4.5	Glosses?	138
3.4.6	Correction of (supposed) errors ?	140
	3.4.6.1 Examples of correction	140
	3.4.6.1.1 Hypercorrections on Assurbanipal MS A21	142
	3.4.6.2 An example of non-correction	144
3.5	The effects of ‘cut and paste’ redaction	146
3.5.1	Adad-nērārī II’s <i>kisirtu</i>	146
3.5.2	Sennacherib’s ‘Walters’ inscription	147
3.5.3	Assurnasirpal II 17	149
3.5.4	Assurnasirpal II 19	150
3.5.5	<i>Gilgameš</i> X 151, <i>idnī</i>	151
3.5.6	<i>eli mahrê</i> and <i>eli ša mahri</i> ‘than the previous one’ ..	151
3.5.7	Spelling patterns in a compendium of oracle questions	152
3.6	Errors of sign similarity by stonemasons	154
3.6.1	Some simple examples of stonemasons’ errors	155

3.6.2	Two <i>cruces</i>	156
3.6.3	How were stone inscriptions produced?	158
3.7	Assyrians transmitting Babylonian	160
3.8	Conclusions	162
4	Some patterns in orthography–phonology–morphology	164
4.1	Introduction	164
4.2	Issues of orthographic consistency and convention	167
4.3	‘Soft’ auto-corrections	168
4.4	Sounds and spellings at word boundaries	174
4.4.1	‘Split’ sandhi spellings	177
4.4.2	‘Enriched’ sandhi spellings	178
4.4.3	‘Truncated’ spellings	181
4.4.4	Spellings involving the conjunction <i>u</i>	183
4.4.5	Sandhi spellings across determinatives	185
4.4.6	Sandhi spellings mingling with sumerograms	186
4.4.7	A ‘trap’	188
4.4.8	Glides between <i>i-Auslaut</i> and vocalic <i>Anlaut</i>	189
4.4.9	Summary	190
4.5	The ‘honorific nominative’	190
4.5.1	Old Babylonian examples	193
4.5.2	Clear examples in Assyrian royal inscriptions	193
4.5.2.1	Assurnasirpal II 26	193
4.5.2.2	Adad-nērāri III 1 and 2	194
4.5.2.3	Sargon	195
4.5.2.4	Esarhaddon	195
4.5.2.5	Assurbanipal	195
4.5.3	Likely examples in the Assyrian royal inscriptions ..	196
4.5.4	Other examples from the first millennium	197
4.5.4.1	Neo-Assyrian	197
4.5.4.2	Standard Babylonian	197
4.5.5	Further discussion	197
4.6	The destabilisation of case concord	198
4.7	Analyses of case markers on individual manuscripts	200
4.7.1	<i>Gilgameš</i> I MS B	201
4.7.1.1	Enkidu as an axe of meteoric iron	204
4.7.2	<i>Gilgameš</i> VI MS a	209
4.7.3	TCL III+	215
4.8	The distribution of pairs of interchangeable signs	216
4.8.1	Orthographic flourishes: MAN vs LUGAL	217

4.8.2	Consistent use of <i>šá</i>	218
4.8.3	Consistent use of <i>šu₁</i>	220
4.9	Orthography as evidence for pseudepigraphy	220
4.10	<i>Plene</i> spellings in feminine plurals	222
4.10.1	Some evidence from Assyrian manuscripts	223
4.10.1.1	TP I 1, MSS 1-5	223
4.10.1.2	Sargon's 8 th Campaign (TCL III+)	225
4.10.1.3	Asb Prism A, MS A1	226
4.10.1.4	<i>Gilgameš</i> VI MS a	228
4.10.2	Glimmers of the situation in Babylonian	229
4.10.3	Phonological interpretation	232
4.10.4	What about <i>-ūt-</i> ?	234
4.11	Spellings of verb-final contracted vowels before <i>-ma</i>	235
4.12	Conclusions	239
5	How easily were scholarship and literature sight-read in the first millennium?	241
5.1	Previous statements	244
5.2	Differences between ancient and modern reading	248
5.2.1	Issues of exposure and familiarity	248
5.2.2	The relevance of unfamiliar manuscripts	251
5.2.2.1	Allochthonous exemplars at Nineveh	254
5.2.3	Issues of textual typology	255
5.3	Potential obstacles to smooth sight-reading	257
5.3.1	Excursus on spacing and punctuation	261
5.4	Spellings calculated to assist readers in decipherment	264
5.4.1	Double consonants as aids to parsing	265
5.4.2	<i>Plene</i> spellings as aids to reading	265
5.4.2.1	Augmentative <i>plene</i> spellings	266
5.4.2.2	Disambiguatory <i>plene</i> spellings	266
5.4.3	Splitting the syllable <i>šam</i> as an aid to reading	269
5.4.4	<i>ša₁</i> vs <i>šá</i>	269
5.4.4.1	always <i>šá</i> , except <i>ša₁</i> for disambiguation ...	270
5.4.4.2	<i>ša₁</i> for the word, <i>šá</i> for the syllable	271
5.4.4.3	<i>šá</i> for the word, <i>ša₁</i> for the syllable	277
5.4.4.4	<i>šá</i> for the syllable, the word written with both signs	279
5.4.5	<i>-tum</i> as a marker of singular word ends	280
5.4.6	<i>-tu</i> as a marker of nom./acc. singular	282
5.4.7	The use of MEŠ to mark sumerograms	284

5.4.8	The use of <i>-TIM</i> to mark sumerograms	287
5.5	Recapitulation on ancient misreadings in § 3.3	287
5.6	Towards a model of ancient sight-reading	288
6	Some issues of edition and interpretation	292
6.1	Choosing between variants	292
6.1.1	<i>Codex optimus</i>	293
6.1.2	<i>Eliminatio codicum descriptorum</i>	294
6.1.3	The ‘majority text’	295
6.1.4	Treacherous duplicates	297
6.2	Formulating conjectures	298
6.2.1	The fallibility of manuscripts	299
6.2.2	The conjectural aspect	299
6.2.3	<i>Lectio difficilior potior?</i>	301
6.2.4	Enkidu as a powerful king	303
6.2.5	Ea, the wall and Ūta-napišti: who talks to who? ...	305
7	Summary	309
8	References	310
	Alphabetical index (selective)	335
	Index locorum	347