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# Introduction

## 1. A Short History of Akkadian Lexicography

### 1.1. Friedrich Delitzsch: *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*

Friedrich Delitzsch was the actual founder of Akkadian lexicography,<sup>1</sup> the initial beginnings of which date to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Delitzsch<sup>2</sup> was the first to habilitate within the new academic discipline of Assyriology in Germany, in 1874. In the following years, he published three fascicles of an “Assyrisches Wörterbuch” (Delitzsch 1887–1890) totaling 488 pages, which contained the first half of the letter aleph. Delitzsch then gave up this unrealistic project and wrote a concise “Assyrisches Handwörterbuch” on the basis of his unpublished manuscript (Delitzsch 1894–1896). This masterful dictionary was 730 pages long and contained approximately six thousand lemmata and between thirty and thirty-five thousand references.<sup>3</sup> Wolfram von Soden later referred to the title of Delitzsch’s dictionary when he published his own “Akkadisches Handwörterbuch”.

### 1.2. William Muss-Arnolt: *A Concise Assyrian Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*

Between 1894 and 1905 William Muss-Arnolt<sup>4</sup> published 19 fascicles, 1202 pages altogether, of “A Concise Assyrian Dictionary of the Assyrian Language.” Whereas the first fascicles can be regarded as almost scientifically useless, the following fascicles relied on Delitzsch’s “Handwörterbuch” but offered more material than Delitzsch’s dictionary.<sup>5</sup> For decades, the “Muss-Arnolt” was used side-by-side with the “Handwörterbuch” in cuneiform studies.

### 1.3. Carl Bezold: *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*

In 1912, Carl Bezold<sup>6</sup> (at Heidelberg since 1894) decided to write an Assyrian thesaurus, a project similar to the one which Delitzsch had abandoned. In the space of nine years Bezold produced 200,000 file cards. Upon realizing that he would not live to publish his extensive collections, he prepared a short glossary (343 pages without references), which appeared posthumously (Bezold 1926). It contained approximately 12,000 lemmata, twice as much as Delitzsch’s “Handwörterbuch.”<sup>7</sup> Bezold’s file cards were removed to the “Semitistisches

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1 For the first glossaries and dictionaries of Akk. s. CAD A/1, ix; Borger 1984, 79f.

2 On Delitzsch s. Streck 2009, 345–349.

3 Borger 1984, 82.

4 On Muss-Arnolt s. Borger 1993–1997a.

5 On Muss-Arnolt’s dictionary s. CAD A/1, x; Borger 1984, 85–89.

6 On Bezold s. Weißbach 1938.

7 On Bezold’s glossary s. CAD A/1, x; Borger 1984, 90–93. A copy of Bezold’s glossary, which had belonged to Bruno Meissner and later to Wolfram von Soden, is kept in the Altorientalisches Institut of the University of Leipzig. It shows some annotations by the latter.

Institut” of the University of Leipzig, which was the center of Ancient Near Eastern studies in 1930s Germany. The file cards were destroyed by bombings in 1943.<sup>8</sup>

#### 1.4. Bruno Meissner

In the nineteen-twenties, Bruno Meissner<sup>9</sup> (Berlin) began to prepare a new Akkadian dictionary. At the time of his death in 1947, the manuscript contained only the letters b, g, d, w, z, ḥ, ṭ, j, and k, as well as half of the letter l; in other words, the first letters of the Hebrew alphabet omitting the difficult aleph. This manuscript was transferred to Wolfram von Soden in 1949, who mentions it as one of the reference materials he used on the title page of his “Akkadisches Handwörterbuch”.<sup>10</sup> Meissner’s plentiful file cards had also been in von Soden’s keeping, but were mostly disposed of after the latter’s death in Münster in 1996. Two hundred of Meissner’s original file cards were saved in a Mon Chéri box, which was kept by Walter Sommerfeld, who transferred them to the present author in 2016. These materials now repose in the Altorientalisches Institut of the University of Leipzig (s. fig. 1).

#### 1.5. Wolfram von Soden: Akkadisches Handwörterbuch

Wolfram von Soden<sup>11</sup> showed a marked lexicographical interest long before he began to publish his “Akkadisches Handwörterbuch” (AHw, von Soden 1958–1981).<sup>12</sup> His dissertation on the hymnic-epic register of Akk. literature, written in Leipzig under the guidance of Benno Landsberger (von Soden 1931/1933), contained a chapter on the vocabulary of literary texts.<sup>13</sup> In 1933, he published an edition of the synonym lists of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (von Soden 1933). During World War II he wrote an Arabic-German dictionary of military language, which is today almost totally forgotten or overlooked (von Soden 1942). In 1946 von Soden initiated a series of articles in the periodical *Orientalia*, entitled “Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch.” These were continued until 1958, one year before the first fascicle of the “Akkadisches Handwörterbuch” appeared, and the treated Akkadian words were labelled with consecutive numbering from 1–104 (von Soden 1946–1958).

In 1959 the first fascicle of the AHw appeared, which included the letters A, B and the first section of D. The final fascicle, out of a total sixteen, was published in 1981. The three volumes of the AHw contain more than 1,600 pages and 14,611 lemmata,<sup>14</sup> which is twice as many lemmata as in Delitzsch’s dictionary and 2,500 more lemmata than in Bezold’s glossary. Table 1 presents the publication dates for each letter of the AHw, and table 3 the number of lemmata for each letter.

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8 The reasons behind the reprinting of Bezold’s glossary in 2008 by the publishing house Wipf and Stock, after the publication of AHw, CAD and CDA, remains a mystery.

9 On Meissner s. Borger 1993–1997.

10 On Meissner’s manuscript s. CAD A/1, xf.; Borger 1984, 100f.

11 On von Soden s. Borger 2009–2011.

12 This should be noted, even if Borger 1984, 102 n. 65 may be right in recording that von Soden had not intended to write an Akk. dictionary.

13 Von Soden 1933, 160–173.

14 Borger’s (1984, 107) estimate of 19,000 lemmata is wrong.

A B D	D E G	<b>G</b> <b>H</b> <b>I</b>	<b>I</b> <b>J</b> <b>K</b>	K L	M	M N	N P	P Q R	R S	<b>Š</b> <b>Š</b>	Š	Š T	T T U	U W <b>Z</b> Ntr.
59	60	62	63	65	66	67	69	71	72	74	76	77	79	81

Table 1: Publication dates of the AHw (in bold the volumes which appeared after the same letters as treated by the CAD).

In the pre-digital era the references were collected on thousands of file cards by von Soden and his assistants.<sup>15</sup> Von Soden marked the words chosen for his dictionary in the text editions of his private library, now in the Altorientalisches Institut of the University of Leipzig (fig. 2).

It seems that von Soden rather neglected the Assyriological secondary literature, with one important exception: the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD). His private copy of the CAD is full of annotations (fig. 3).

The typewritten manuscripts of the AHw, as sent to the publisher, look quite different from the “clean” manuscripts written with the help of computers today (fig. 4).<sup>16</sup>

More than half of the volumes of the CAD appeared at the same time as von Soden’s AHw (table 2).<sup>17</sup>

<b>G</b> <b>H</b>	E	<b>I</b> <b>J</b>	D	Z	<b>Š</b>	<b>A</b> <b>/1</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>A</b> <b>/2</b>	<b>K</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>M</b>	N	Q	S	<b>Š/</b> <b>1</b>	<b>Š/</b> <b>2-</b> <b>3</b>	R	P	<b>T</b> <b>!</b>	<b>U</b> <b>W</b>
56	58	59	59	61	62	64	65	68	71	73	77	80	82	84	89	92	99	05	06	10

Table 2: Publication dates of the CAD (in bold the letters which appeared after the AHw).

### 1.6. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

The CAD<sup>18</sup> was initiated in 1921; by the 1950s it had produced between 1,500,000 and 1,750,000<sup>19</sup> file cards. After Ignace Gelb had withdrawn from the project, the CAD was overseen by three editors-in-charge over the course of the years: A. Leo Oppenheim, Erica Reiner and Martha Roth. The first volume of the CAD was published in 1956, the last in 2010, covering a time-span of fifty-four years. The CAD consists of 21 volumes with 9,164 pages in total. It contains 16,526 lemmata – nearly 2000 more than the AHw (table 3).<sup>20</sup>

15 Cf. Borger 1984, 106 and 108.

16 I thank W. Sommerfeld who handed over to me in 2016 the typewritten manuscripts of the AHw (starting with the letter T) saved from destruction after von Soden’s death. They are kept in the Altorientalisches Institut of the University of Leipzig.

17 On the relationship between the AHw and the CAD s. Reiner 2002, 77f.

18 On the history of the CAD s. CAD A/1, xix–xiii; Borger 1984, 94–100; Reiner 2002.

19 This was estimated by Ignace Gelb (Borger 1984, 97).

20 Cf. also Streck 2014b, 105 for a survey of lemmata and loanwords in the CAD.

Whereas the AHw presented the references in an abbreviated form – frequently only the reference itself – the CAD was designed to provide the word within a larger context.<sup>21</sup>

	A	B	D	E	G	Ḫ	I/J	K	L	M
AHw	1,169	513	361	622	412	976	525	1,143	410	1,271
CAD	1,315	570	380	630	480	1,250	600	1,170	431	1,662

	N	P	Q	R	S	Ṣ	Š	T	Ṭ	U	W	Z
AHw	968	637	335	417	708	387	1,589	860	133	621	161	383
CAD	1,170	850	424	480	860	285	1,560	1,116	143	753	72	325

Table 3: A comparison of the total lemmata by letter in AHw and CAD.

### 1.7. Concise Dictionary of Akkadian

The last Akkadian dictionary to be mentioned here is the CDA, which is for the most part an English translation of the AHw, however, with all references omitted and updated by the information contained in the CAD and in a limited amount of other secondary literature.

## 2. The Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries

### 2.1. The Development of the Project

The Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries (SAD) was planned as a by-product of the Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian (EDA), directed by Manfred Krebernik, with the collaboration of Leonid Kogan. It was meant to provide the EDA with the most important new lexical material (primary sources and secondary literature) which appeared after the completion of the two standard Akkadian dictionaries, the AHw and the CAD. The original concept envisaged a three-year project, the results of which would be published on the internet, and subsequently continued on a small scale for another seven years, in order to process new text editions and lexicographical studies. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft approved this plan.

However, SAD has since shared the same fate as many dictionaries: “Ein Leitmotiv (oder Leidmotiv) jeglicher lexikographischer Arbeit ist zeitliche Planung, die sich nicht entfernt einhalten läßt”.<sup>22</sup> We too underestimated the amount of new lexicographical material available. Moreover, the original idea to scan all reviews of AHw and CAD and the numerous word indices in text editions in order to make them available online under the proper entries proved to be time-consuming and ineffective from a lexicographical standpoint. This idea was thus given up, and other aspects of the concept have also changed during the first three years of funding:

21 Reiner 2002, 1 stressed that the contexts provided by the CAD are not so much necessary “in syntactic terms but in cultural and semantic terms” and thus became a “tool for recapturing an ancient civilization”.

22 Borger 1984, 76. In this regard, Borger speaks of “typischen Lexikographen-Optimismus”, a quality which shows up in Borger’s essay more than once (p. 76, p. 81 n. 17, p. 98).



First it was decided not to include every Akkadian text, nor all the secondary literature published after the completion of the dictionaries AHw and CAD, but to evaluate only a strictly defined text corpus and a limited amount of secondary literature. The reason for covering only a selection of texts and secondary literature is one of efficiency: the project is, of course, limited in time and resources and therefore forced to concentrate on sources that produce the most fruitful results within a given time. A further limitation of the SAD should be mentioned here: SAD does not cover the Ebla texts because a separate Ebla glossary is part of the EDA program.

Secondly, the supplement will appear in separate volumes in print, as well as being published on the internet. As in the EDA, the order of the volumes does not follow strict alphabetic order but is organized according to phonetically related letters:

- Fascicle 1: Letters B and P.
- Fascicle 2: Letters D, T and Ṭ.
- Fascicle 3: Letters G, K and Q.
- Fascicle 4: Letters S, Š, Š and Z.
- Fascicle 5: Letters L, M, N and R.
- Fascicle 6: Letters A, E, Ḫ, I, U, W and Y.

Thirdly, the entire project will continue for seven years on the same scale as during the first three years of funding. The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has approved these changes.

The daily work was organized as follows: the present author is responsible for including material from new text editions, with Nadezda Rudik fulfilling the duty of sifting through the secondary literature. The results were discussed in weekly sessions by both of the above authors. Every week, the new material was uploaded to the internet (<http://www.altorient.gko.uni-leipzig.de/etymd.html>). Last minute additions to and corrections for Old Assyrian material were kindly sent to us by Bert Kouwenberg. Finally, the entire manuscript was revised by the present author. English corrections were made by Emily Zeran. The print version was formatted by Ellen Rehm in collaboration with Rudik.

## 2.2. The Corpus

The corpus covered by the SAD is a selection of texts and text groups which seem to be especially important for the Akkadian lexicon. Three criteria define the selection of texts:

1) We prefer texts from periods and/or places hitherto not well-documented in the dictionaries. Particular examples are the Middle Babylonian texts from Qatna and the Neo-Babylonian texts from Nippur.

2) We prefer texts and text genres which produce rich lexicographical materials due to their content. Examples are the letters from the palace archives from Mari which touch on so many subjects not attested elsewhere in the cuneiform corpus, or the Old Babylonian literary texts from the Schøyen collection.

3) We prefer texts edited in full, preferably with complete indices, as this facilitates the work of the lexicographer. Good examples are the Old Babylonian texts from Tuttul or the Middle Assyrian texts from Dūr-katlimmu.

For the fascicle B/P of the SAD the following texts were used:<sup>23</sup>

### 2.2.1. *Old Akkadian*

- Tall Baydar: Subartu 2 and 12.
- Sargonic letters: FAOS 19.
- Garšana, Ur III documents: CUSAS 4.
- For royal inscriptions see Kienast / Sommerfeld 1994 under secondary literature, below.

### 2.2.2. *Old Babylonian*

- Early OB letters from Ešnunna: AS 22.
- Late OB texts from the sealand dynasty: CUSAS 9.
- Letters from Babylonia: AbB.
- Mari, texts from the palace archive: ARM (esp. the latter volumes), FM, MARI.
- Tuttul: KTT.
- Shemshara, letters: Shemshara 1.
- Šubat-Enlil, Royal Archives: RATL (Eidem).

### 2.2.3. *Middle Babylonian*

- Ekalte: WVDOG 102.
- Emar: Emar 6/1–4.
- Qatna: QS 3.
- Ur: Gurney 1983.

### 2.2.4. *Neo-Babylonian*

- Nippur, Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's archive: OIP 114.
- Letters: SAA 17, 18 (esp. new texts from CT 54).

### 2.2.5. *Late Babylonian*

- Letters: AOAT 414/1.
- Bēl-rēmānī archive: Bēl-rēmānī (index).

### 2.2.6. *Old Assyrian*

- Letters and documents (all texts new): AKT 1–7 (AKT 3 = FAOS Bh. 3). Prag 1 (Hecker et al.); TPAK 1 (Michel; Garelli).

### 2.2.7. *Middle Assyrian*

- Dūr-Katlimmu: BATSH 4/1, BATSH 9.
- Giricano: Subartu 14.
- Tall Chuera: Jakob 2009.

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23 With series like AbB and ARM only the volumes not already covered by AHW and CAD were used.

### 2.2.8. *Neo-Assyrian*

- Aššur: documents, STAT 1–3.
- Dūr-Katlimmu: BATSH 6.
- Kalḫu, Ninive etc.: SAA (esp. new texts such as those in CT 53 and CTN 5).

### 2.2.9. *Literary Texts*

- Aššur literary texts: KAL 1–4.
- Babylonian divinatory texts in the Schøyen Collection: CUSAS 18.
- Emar literary texts: Emar 6/4.
- Epic of Gilgameš: George 2003 and recent publications.
- Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection: CUSAS 32.
- Old Babylonian literary texts in the Schøyen Collection: CUSAS 10.
- Old Babylonian Flood Account: Finkel 2014.
- Ugarit literary texts: Arnaud 2007.
- Uruk literary texts: SpTU 1–4 (indices).
- For further literary texts from the OAKk, OB, MB, OA and MA periods see [www.seal.uni-leipzig.de](http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de).

### 2.2.10. *Lexical Texts*

- Edubba 7, 100: list of birds.
- Lexical texts in the Schøyen Collection: CUSAS 12.
- Malku-šarru, synonym list: AOAT 50.
- UET 7, 93.

### 2.2.11. *Secondary Literature*

The following is a selection of the secondary literature which was used. We prefer lexicographic studies:

- Reviews of AHw and CAD.
- Abraham / Sokoloff, AfO 52 (2011) 22–76: Aramaic Loanwords.
- Beaulieu 2003, Pantheon of Uruk: philological notes.
- Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture: terminology of plants and agriculture.
- Jursa 2009: Late Babylonian list of aromatic plants and substances.
- Kienast / Sommerfeld 1994: glossary of Old Akkadian inscriptions.
- Mayer 2016 and 2017: additions to the Akk. dictionaries.
- Michel / Nosch (ed.) 2010: textile terminology (esp. the articles by Michel / Veenhof on Old Assyrian and by Zawadzki on Late Babylonian textiles).
- McEwan 1988 (Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period, Klio 70, 412–421): Greek loanwords.
- Moran 1992: The Amarna Letters.
- Pentiuć 2001: West Semitic Loan Words in Middle Babylonian texts from Emar.
- Sallaberger 1996: Terminology of pottery.
- Sivan 1987: Northwest Semitic loanwords in Akk. texts of the Middle Babylonian period.

- Streck 2000, 82–123: Amorite Loanwords.
- Streck 2003a: Verbal stems with ta-infix.
- Moreover, we went through the Archiv für Orientforschung, after W. Sommerfeld (ed.), <https://www.uni-marburg.de/cnms/forschung/dnms/apps/agi>.

The above corpus is preliminary and will be modified and supplemented during the course of this project.

### 2.3. Selection of References

None of the standard dictionaries, the AHW and CAD nor the SAD, aim to serve as a thesaurus. Therefore, even within the narrow corpus defined above (2.2), not all references for words starting with B and P have been here collected. Rather, we paid particular attention to references according to the following criteria:

1) New words not listed in AHW or CAD. They are marked by a preceding +. Examples are *baq(a)ru* “cow”, *barkarrû* “a coarse textile”, *pādu* “fetter, handle” or *pāḫu* “breathing”.

2) New verbal stems not attested in AHW or CAD, marked by a preceding +. Examples include *bāru* I N “to be caught”, *batāqu* Š “to take away”, *paḫāru* DRt “to gather” or *parāqu* D “to separate”.

3) New references for hapax legomena and other rare words, which may help to define the meaning, form, or etymology of a word. An example is the word *papātu*, previously attested in Alalah (in the dictionaries as *papatu*, etymology unknown) and translated in AHW 824 as “ein Holzgegenstand”, in CAD P 106 as “a wooden implement or furnishing”. New attestations from MB Qatna make clear that the word designates a container, that the second syllable contains a long /ā/ and that the word is probably of Hurrian origin (note the Hurrian plural-suffix *-na*). Another example is the word *burḫiš* “yak(?)”; the new reference shows that the reading *burḫiš* in AHW and CAD is incorrect.

4) References which testify to new variants of words, marked by a preceding +. Examples are the by-forms *b/pi/enzurru* and *pezzurru* of *bunzerru* “web”, or the by-form *per'azu* of *pi'āzu* “mouse”.

5) References which expand the distribution of a word. The word *pargallu*, for example, is listed in the dictionaries as Late Babylonian. The new references expand its distribution into Old and Middle Babylonian. The word *buṣinnu* “lamp wick” is now also attested in Old Assyrian. New periods/dialects are marked by a preceding +.

6) References which testify to a new use of a well-attested word. The word *ba'ālu* “to be exceptionally big”, for example, is now also attested with the abstract subject *ibissû* “loss”, and the word *pasāsu* “to erase” is attested with the object *dīnī* “my verdict”.