



Ugaritic pwt: A Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry

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more striking is the fact that even a word for which there are several *Shōgakuhen* characters may be represented by an entirely different character today. I give below an example of one such word,

together with one for which the modern character is found in *Shinsen Jikyō*.

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kasugai "clamp"

konoshiro "Chatoessus
punctatus"

Ueda

糸, 鋙
魚

Shinsen Jikyō

銑, 鋙
鋙, 製, 魚祭, 魚冬

Glossary

a. 新撰字鏡
b. 昌住
c. 小學篇
d. 王義
e. 王義之

f. 煮, 金, 耳金, 赤金, 平所
g. 志, 自久戸
h. 立金
i. 己万志
j. 立鬼

Ugaritic pwt: A Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry

The Ugaritic noun *pwt* has attracted attention during recent years because of its possible bearing on the question of the origins of the ethnic terms "Punic" and "Phoenician."¹ In published texts

* It gives me great pleasure to express my indebtedness here to Professors William W. Hallo of Yale University and W. von Soden of Münster for the general guidance and specific information which they generously contributed to this short study. They are not to be held accountable for every viewpoint proposed herein, for the author has taken the liberty to disagree with his counselors at certain points.

¹ Aside from the purely lexical observations of Virolleaud (*PRU* III, p. 137), Gordon (*UT*, p. 467, entry no. 467 no. 2031), and Aistleitner (*WUS*, p. 254), the term has been subjected to study by M. Astour in *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden, 1965), p. 146. Astour proposes that *pwt* via the gentilic form *pānī* is the source of both Latin *Punicus* and Greek Φοίνιξ and Φοίνικες. [Cf. also *JNES* 24 (1965) 348 f. Ed.]

the term is found only in *PRU* II, text 138 (= *UT* 1106:10) and *PRU* V, text 66 (= *UT* 2051:6). The first text records allocations of clothing and the second the "desiderata of a guild" (the *yšhm*).² In both texts *pwt* is found in the company of terms for materials of the dyeing industry: linen (*pttm*),³ blue-purple (*iqni*),⁴ glaze (*spsg*),⁵

² *UT*, p. 274 and 282-3.

³ On the signification "linen" rather than "flax" for *pttm* see Dietrich & Loretz, *WdO* III (1966), 224 f.

⁴ On the signification "dark, blue purple" (vs. *phm* "bright, red purple") for *iqnu* see *WdO* III (1966), 220, 227 f., 231.

⁵ Not much can be added to the many observations on *spsg* (Ginsberg, *BASOR* 98, 21 ff.; Albright, *BASOR* 98, 24; Goetze, *JCS* 1, 1947, 311-15), including the latest ones by E. M. Good (*JBL* 77, 1958, 72-4), M. Lee (*UT*, p. 543), and W. W. Hallo (*BiOr* 20, 1963, 140, n. 66). The term has been restored in the passage from the royal

and "stones of the dyer" (*abn šrp*).⁶ For this reason and because a cognate (*fuwwatu(n)* "dyer's madder") is available in Arabic, the *UT* glossary now defines *pwt* as "red, purple dye(?)." ⁷ The *Wörterbuch* of Aistleitner-Eissfeldt, on the other hand, adopts Virolleaud's suggested rendering "bracelet."⁸

As an occurrence of *pwt* outside of the Ugaritic texts, *UT* (following Virolleaud) lists *pu-a-ti* in EA 14 I 74, II 27, 28. EA 14 is a list of presents from Amenophis IV to the Kassite ruler Burra-buriaš II. A number of the gifts are provided with "native" (i.e., non-Babylonian or "western") appellatives, which could be either Egyptian, West Semitic, or possibly Hurrian.⁹ The term *pu-a-ti* (or *bu-a-ti*) is applied in the first two occurrences (II 27 and 28) to objects whose description is largely obscured by the lacuna in the text. In column I, line 74, however, it is clearly attached to *šemir qāti ša hurāši tamlū* "a hand-bracelet trimmed/edged with gold."¹⁰ In short,

funerary ritual published by H. Otten (*Heth. Totenrituale*, Berlin: 1958, p. 32, line 32; pp. 58-9, line 7, and compare therewith VII 37: 10-11, in all of which passages *zapzagai* is placed on the scales of a balance). One should not conclude that the term is Indo-European simply because it occurs frequently in Hittite texts. Friedrich (*HWb*, 260) calls it a "Wanderwort." The same term also occurs in Akkadian texts as *zabgū* (*CADZ*, 8) and *zabzabgū* (*CADZ*, 10) and possibly survives in Arabic *sifsigatu(n)* (cited in *UT*, p. 451). The formation of the word is not Indo-European in appearance (Kronasser, *EHS*, I, 114:4 and 117:4). If it designated a mineral substance mined in Anatolia or the rocky areas of North Syria, the name probably antedates the arrival of the Indo-Europeans and may even be Hattic or Hurrian. The semantic range of this term is broad. In Hittite texts it can refer to a mineral substance (twice bearing the NA₄ determinative: Bo 862 obv. 9, cited in Sommer & Ehelolf, *Papanikri*, II, 361, and IBoT III 148 rev. iii 9) listed with gold, silver, and precious stones, or to objects coated with this substance (XXIX 1 obv. ii 14; cf. *ANET*, 357, where it is translated "glassware"; note also Otten, *Totenrituale*, 32). The OT occurrence (Prov. 26:23) indicates a white glaze which coats an earthen vessel.

⁶ The correct Akkadian cognate to *šrp* in this expression is *šarāpu* B "to dye, steep" rather than *šarāpu* A "to refine (metals)" (*CADŠ*, 102-5).

⁷ Page 467, entry no. 2031.

⁸ Page 254, entry no. 2208.

⁹ Ranke (apud Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1549) classifies *bu-a-ti* as Egyptian, as does T. O. Lambdin, *Orientalia* NS 22, 364; *CADB*, 298a.

¹⁰ Transliteration: *ḤAR ŠU^a ša GUŠKIN tam-lu*. On the meaning of Sumerian *HAR* see W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 20 (1963), 138.

this passage should only be cited as extra-Ugaritic evidence for *pwt* if one is persuaded that *pwt* in Ugaritic texts is "bracelet," but not if one believes that it is rather a term for a dye or colored paste.

The elimination of EA 14 leaves only Arabic *fuwwatu(n)* and the Hebrew PN *Puwwa* (with the ethnicon *ha-Pûni*) as clear examples of early Semitic cognates to Ugaritic *pwt*.¹¹ Attested from a later period is the Hebrew noun *pû'ā* "dyer's madder."¹² But there is yet one more possible second millennium cuneiform term which is to be connected with Ugaritic *pwt*, not to be sure as a cognate, but as a loan.

The Boğazköy text KBo I 42 has been classified by Landsberger with those vocabularies which form a part of the lexical series Izi Bogh., Tablet A.¹³ Schuster has shown¹⁴ that the sequence of Sumerian entries in the IZI = *išātu* series is governed by the acrophonic principle. The entries consisting of simple DA occupy lines 31-38 (*CADI* 10d sub *idu*; the Akkad. column contains *i-du*, *ṭe₄-hu*, *iš-tu*, and four additional entries in the lacuna). Line 39, whose Sumerian column contains the reduplicated DA.DA, begins the section of compound Sumerograms of which DA is the initial component. Lines 44 and 45 contain the last of the compound entries in DA (DA.Rf.AN.ŠI). Von Soden prefers to read these four signs as DA.Rf. *il^l₂* "darium-sacrifice of the deity" (see *AHw*, 164, 607-8 sub *dariu* I and *maqqu*). The *CAD* (following Landsberger), on the contrary, interprets DA.Rf.AN.ŠI as a variant of DA.Rf.AN.ŠUB "to be careless, neglectful (of duty)" (*CAD*, 48 sub *egū*). It reads the signs *me-ku-ú* of line 44 as *mēkū* "inactive, negligent (man)" (*CAD*, 48; *AHw*, 643a; *MSL* IV, 125). In line 45 the Akkadian rendering is written *pa-da-nu* (see *pa-ta-nu* in 49). This the *CAD* reads as *bā-ṭa-lu*! "to be idle, inactive" (*CADB*, 174-6; *AHw*, 116b). The spelling of *baṭālu* with *nu* is an error which may have arisen during an earlier period when the final sign in the nom. sg., if written with the *lum* sign (Deimel/Labat #565), could have been read as *lum* or *nūm*. When one

¹¹ M. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 146.

¹² R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Anc. Technology*, IV, 100, 106, 143 (n. 30).

¹³ H. G. Güterbock apud E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, entry 561. For the interpretation of the Sumerian and (original) Akkadian readings of KBo I 42, I am largely indebted to Prof. Hallo.

¹⁴ H. S. Schuster, *ZA* 44 (1938), 267.

considers the Hittite column at this point, the conclusion is well nigh inescapable that the Hittite scribe misunderstood the forerunner. In *me-ku-ú* he probably saw *meqqû* (*AHw*, 607-8) "sacrifice" and rendered it with *šippanduwar* "to make an offering, libate." In the Akkadian *pa-da/ta-nu*, which he may well have read as *pa-da/ta-lu*!, he probably saw the verb *patālu* "to twist"¹⁵ and rendered it with Hittite *malkiyawar* "to twist, spin." Beginning at line 44 the Mesopotamian forerunner inserts a section of entries with Sumerian ŠE.BE.DA. This violates the acrophonic principle governing the IZI = *išātu* series, and must be explained on another principle, that of allied meaning. ŠE.BE.DA like DĀ.RĪ.AN.ŠĪ conveys the idea of idleness (and perhaps negligence). The entries in the Akkadian column should be interpreted from this point of view. *Egû* (*e-gu*₅, line 47) was not intended by the forerunner to represent *egû* "antimony paste" (*CADE*, 47d-48a), much less *ekû/ikû* (*CADI*, 69; unit of surface measure), which Ungnad correctly perceived to have been the Hittite scribal editor's understanding (*OLV* 1923, col. 572; cited by Goetze, *Tunnawi*, 94), but rather the verb *egû* "to be careless, negligent" (*CADE*, 8-49). *Bedû* (*bé-du-ú*, line 48) was not intended by the forerunner to represent *pedû* "to release, send away," as possibly misunderstood by the Hittite editor (= Hitt. *pišgatallaš*; see *Tunnawi*, 95 and n. 377), nor even *petû* "to open (the grain on the threshing floor)," as proposed by Goetze (*Tunnawi*, 95), but rather the verb *bedû/betû*, which von Soden (*AHw*, 117d) refrains from translating, and which the *CAD* defines as "to cheat(?)" (*CADB*, 215a sub *betû*). The passage in VAB VI, 266:23 (at the close of an OB letter) reads: *lā tebetṭi iššūrātīm šūbilaššu*, "do not delay(??)! Have him bring the birds to me!" The meaning "to delay" is proposed (quite tentatively) on the basis that one expects warnings against delay at the end of such letters. That there are other terms for "to delay" does not rule out the attribution of such a meaning to *betû*. Furthermore, a possible cognate to *betû* exists in Arabic *baṭu'a* "to tarry, linger, delay, daily." If this interpretation is correct, it places *betû* squarely in the same general semantic range as the verb *egû* and *baṭālu* discussed above. One cannot be sure that the Sumerian column of line 50 con-

tained ŠE.BE.DA. If so, then *ap-pu-tù* may have been intended by the forerunner as *apputtu*, a term frequently used at the end of letters for somewhat the same purpose as the verbal expressions *lā tebetṭi* and *lā teggi* (see *AHw*, 60d). In the synonym list published and discussed by von Soden in *ZA* 43, pages 243, 273 f. *apputtu* = *nāpultu* "reply (requested)" and *lā teggi* "do not be negligent!" Thus the signs in the Akkadian column of line 50 were not intended by the forerunner to be read as *abbuttu* (the hairstyle; *CADA*, 48-50; *AHw*, 5d; so Goetze in *Tunnawi*, 95) nor even (as was probably the interpretation of the Hittite editor) *ṭub-bu-tù* (= Hitt. *la-az-z[i-iš]* "good"; see Otten, *AfO* 16, 70). The proposed *ṭubbūtu* "goodness(?)" although probably close enough to satisfy the Hittite editor, cannot be satisfactorily connected with the verb *ṭiābum* "to be good" in any of its derivative formations. Accordingly, it can hardly have been the intended reading of the forerunner.

The only Akkadian entry in these lines at first glance resists this interpretation of ŠE.BE.DA is *ši-in-du* (line 46), for to my knowledge no Akkadian word exists which phonetically resembles *šindu* and conveys the notion of idleness, carelessness, or delay. The shape of the sign read *in* in *ši-in-du* is, however, a rare form at Boğazköy (see Forrer, *BoTU* I, sign no. 120 and Friedrich, *HKL*, II, no. 283, neither of whom attest this shape). Though within this very same tablet (and even in the Hittite column) there is a convincing example of this shape for *in*: *hi-in-ga-ni-ya-wa-[ar]* in obv. iii 13c, we may therefore reconstruct the original entry as *ši-i-tù* "to neglect, sin."^{15a}

It seems clear enough that the Hittite editor had no understanding of the Sumerian column at all and could only supply approximate Hittite translations of what he regarded as the Akkadian words represented by the somewhat ambiguous orthography of the Akkadian column. In *me-ku-ú* (line 44) he saw *meqqû* ("an offering"; = *šippanduwar*). In *pa-da/ta-nu* (lines 45, 49) he saw *patālu* "to twist" (= *malkiyawar*). In *e-ku* (line 47) he saw *ikû* (the unit of surface measure) and rendered it *IKU-aš*. In *bé-tù-ú* (line 48) he saw *pēdû*

¹⁵ Bezold, *Babyl.-assyrisches Glossar*, 231b; compare the root **ptl* in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.

^{15a} Cf. *nu-še-bi-da* = *la i-še-et*, OECT 6:23:15 f., quoted Deimel, *SL* 2:367:123c; *le-qu-u še-tu-ut-ni*, Gössmann, *Era-Epos* I 77 (p. 95 as restored from Lambert, *AfO* 18:397 [Rm. 2:477]).

"he who releases, frees" and rendered it with *pišgatallaš* ("he who sends away"). And in *ap-pu-tù* (line 50) he apparently saw *ṭub-bu-tù* and rendered it *lazziš* ("good"). The Akkadian entry of line 46 he read as *šindu* and connected with the *šindu* best known to him, the noun which (according to information generously contributed to me by Prof. von Soden) derives ultimately from the root **wšm*. This *šimtu* (later *šindu*) denotes a colored paint, salve, or paste (usually gold-colored),¹⁶ and often (especially in Neo- and Late-Babylonian documents)¹⁷ a brand or ownership-mark. From this latter meaning is derived the late verb *šamātu* "to designate with a mark."¹⁸ It is probable that, when the Hittite editor entered *pu-wa-at-ti-iš* in the right-hand column, he was thinking of this *šindu*, which denoted a colored paint or paste. *Puwattiš* is not attested elsewhere in published texts.

But is *puwattiš* a native Hittite word, which was loaned into Ugaritic as *pwt*, or is it a Semitic word borrowed by the Hittites to denote a colored paste which they had become familiar with from the Semites? The presence of *fuwwatu(n)* in Arabic and the PN *Puwwa* in Hebrew incline one to the view that the term is native Semitic. In the light of other names applied by the ancients to madder, Semitic **puwwatu* could have meant "the red (one)"¹⁹ or simply "the root."²⁰ If *puwattiš* is Hittite, it might be connected etymologically with the primary verb *puwai-* "to crush(?)."²¹ Related to the verb *puwai-* are the Luwian iterative verb *puššai-*, as well as the reduplicated *pupušša-*²² and the noun *pupulli-* "crushed, tram-

pled down ruins."²³ It is not likely that the *putiš* which occurs in HT 3 obv. 4; VII 29 obv. 14; and XXXV 142 rev. iv 14, and which designates a small unit of dry measure employed for salt, is related.²⁴ The term *puwattiš*, if it is a native Hittite word, might then denote that which is crushed or ground, i. e., "powder, salve, paste."

In summary, we have attempted to demonstrate: (1) that Ugaritic *pwt* in both of its occurrences (*UT* 1106:10 and 2051:5) designates a substance useful to persons (the *yšm*?) engaged in dyeing or tanning; (2) that the El Amarna word (probably Egyptian) *b/pu-a-ti* should not be connected with *pwt* unless one is convinced that the latter also designates a "bracelet"; and (3) that another linguistic relative of *pwt*, "Hittite" *puwattiš*, not only resembles it phonetically but was apparently used by the Hittite editor of IziBogh. A to render what he understood as Akkad. *šindu* "(colored) paste." The evidence of IziBogh. A does not warrant in itself the determination of the specific color of the paste. If *pwt/puwattiš* is red or red-purple, we can determine this only on the basis of the Semitic cognates. We have intentionally left open the question of the direction of the loan, since, although a suitable Hittite etymology of *puwattiš* is readily at hand in *puwai-*, one would certainly expect the loan to follow the opposite direction *a priori* in view of the acknowledged Canaanite superiority over the other peoples of the East Mediterranean in the technique of dyeing.

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¹⁶ The information on which much of the discussion of *šindu/šimtu* is based was generously supplied to me by Prof. von Soden.

¹⁷ E. Ebeling, *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen*, pp. 229 (sub *šindu*) and 227 (sub *šamātu*).

¹⁸ See Ebeling, p. 227, and R. Labat, *Manuel*, 323b.

¹⁹ R. J. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 143, n. 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²¹ Goetze, *JCS* 1, 1947, 316 ff.; Güterbock, *Or* NS 25, 123 ff.

²² *HWb* Erg. 2 1961), 21 citing Laroche, *RHA* f. 63 (1958), 107. See also N. van Brock, *RHA* f. 75 (159, n. 9). The *-šša-* may be the Luwian iterative again.

²³ To the only occurrence of *pupulli* heretofore (Hittite law 173) may now be added with plausibility the broken lexical text passage KBo I 42 obv. iii 6: GÜ.BAL = *te-lu* = URU-*aš* p[u-*pu-ul-lu*]. Regardless of the Mesopotamian forerunner's intended meaning of *te-lu* (normalized *tēlū*, *telū*, or *tellu*?), the Hittite editor apparently understood the entry as *tellu/tillu* "city ruins, tell." Hence, he rendered it in Hittite as "of a city the ruins."

²⁴ HT 3 obv. 4 has now been read by Rosenkranz (*ZANF* 23, 238) as *kut?-pu-te-iš* and connected with Akkad. *kutpū*. For my objections to this see my review of Friedrich's third supplementary fascicle to *HWb* in *JAOS* 87.3, pp. 353-357 (below).