

Phraseology, Onomastics, Indogermanische Dichtersprache: the Chariot (and the Wheel) of Justice, the Straight Path of Justice, and the (Greek) Straight Justice¹

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Road map

- A [CHARIOT – of JUSTICE ~ TRUTH]: ἄρμα ... δίκ[ης (Simon.) [MN Ἀρμό-δικος] , Ved. *rátha-* *ṛtásya*.
- B [WHEEL – of JUSTICE ~ TRUTH]: Ἄληθειā εὐκυκλής* (Parm.) , Ved. *cakrá-* *ṛtásya*. Obscure Hitt. *hurki-* ‘wheel’ and ‘legal procedure’
- C [PATH – of JUSTICE~TRUTH]: δίκας κέλευθος (Bacch.), ἀληθείας ὁδός (Eur.) , Ved. *pánthā-* *ṛtásya* , OAv. *paṇtā-* *aśahiiā*.
- D [STRAIGHT – PATH] : ιθεῖα ὁδός/κέλευθος , Ved. *sādhú-* *pánthā-* , OAv. *ərəzu-* *pantā-*. Hitt. [RIGHT (NÍG.SI.SÁ) – COURSE (KASKAL (: *palša-i-*)].
- E [STRAIGHT (RIGHT) – JUSTICE] (εὐθεῖα/ιθεῖα (όρθη) – δίκη]: ιθείης ... δίκ[ης (Simon.) : εὐθύ-δικος / ιθν-δίκας ‘of straight judging’ [MN Εὐθύ-δικος / Ιθύ-δικος, Όρθο-δικος]. No evidence in Indo-Iranian

A-D Rather discontinuous evidence, *disiecta membra* of an inherited (Core Indo-European) complex of metaphors (different lexemes): **RIGHT(NESS)**, **JUSTICE ~ TRUTH** as a **CHARIOT** (: *FITTED par excellence*) moving along a **STRAIGHT PATH**.

E: Specific Greek, based on the aforementioned inherited patterns C,D.

1 CHARIOT (ἄρμα, Ved. *rátha-*) and WHEEL (Myc. *a-mo* , κύκλος, Ved. *cakrá-*), PATH (κέλευθος, ὁδός , Ved. *pánthā-*, OAv. *paṇtā-*), STRAIGHT (Gk. εὐθύς / ιθύς² and Ved. *sādhú*, Gk. ὄρθος, OAv. *ərəzu-*).

2 RIGHT (JUSTICE, TRUTH, ORDER ... (conventionally JUSTICE~TRUTH)

- (a) **a well-fitted order** (**h₁ar-*/h₁r-* ‘to fit together’: aor. ἀφαρεῖν ‘to make fitted’, Arm. *arari*)
 Hitt. *āra-* ‘fitting, right’ (**h₁or-o-*), (*natta*) *āra-* ‘(not) permitted’, CLuv. (➤) *aranuwa-* ‘to make right, justify’
 Ved. *ṛtā-* ‘truth’,‘order’ (IIr. **Hṛ-tá-*), Av. *aśa-* ‘truth’,‘harmony’ (**Hár-ta-*): **h₁ar-*/h₁r-* ‘to fit together’).
 Ved. *ṛṇā-* (**Hṛ-ná-* *to be fitted) ‘reparation, adjustment’ (: ‘debt’, ‘revenge’ or ‘punishment’, ‘misdeed’) ~ YAv. *arəna-** ‘misdeed’ (**Hár-na-*, or **Hṛ-na-*), *arənāt.caēša-* (hapax), Sogd. ’rn, ’rn̥ ‘unjustice’, Khot. *ārra-* ‘sin, misdeed’ (GR 2024)
 Gk. ἀρετή ‘excellence’ (**ar-etā-* “ordine aggiustato in modo retto è armonico” (Masssetti 2013/14, esp. 144, cf. ἀρέτησαν · ἤρμοσαν Hsch.) and ἀρμονία ‘ordering’

(b) **authoritative expression of a truth** (Lat. *iū-dex*, OLat. *dicis causa*)

“*dico ... dīkē ... la prescription impérative de la justice*” (Benveniste 1969: 2.108-110);
 “... **intellectual force, verbally expressed**, which ensures the society’s prosperity” (Watkins 1979=1994; 1995: 85-6): on the terms for ‘justice’ and ‘truth’ in other IE languages.

“**feierliches Ausprechen einer Wahrheit ...**” (Lüders 1959: 86 on *ṛtā-*)

Gk. **δίκη** ‘justice’ and **ἀλήθεια** ‘truth’ (equivalent of Av. *aśa-* : Plutarch)

3 JUSTICE~TRUTH as CHARIOT and as WHEEL: it has been fitted out and is fitting *par excellence*

¹ Warm thanks are due to Craig Melchert, Alexander Nikolaev, Elisabeth Rieken for their remarks and references.

² De Lamberterie 1991: 287-299. Merritt 2022: εὐθύς and ιθύς as -u-derivatives (**d^h(h₁)-ú-*) from thematic **°d^h(h₁)-ó-* “facere” in compounds with **séh₁u*° and **séh₁i*° respectively (**seh₁-* ‘extension’: Lat. *sērus* ‘late’, OIr. *sír* ‘long’), i.e. **séh₁u-d^h(h₁)-ú-* (εὐθύς), **sh₁i-d^h(h₁)-ú-* (ιθύς) ‘elongated, straightened’, beside Ved. *sādhú-* ‘id.’ (**séh₁-d^h(h₁)ú-*).

Ved. *ará-* ‘spoke of a wheel’

RV IV 19.9d *nír bhūd ukhachít sám aranta párva*

“the man broken in the “pot” [= hip?] set out; his joints fit together”

Gk. ἄρμα ‘chariot’ (Hom.+ : Ἀρμό^o) vs. κύκλος ‘wheel’ (Hom.+)

Myc. *a-mo* ‘wheel’ /^(h)*armo(t)-/(*-/^(h))armn/*: **ar-(s)mñ-* ‘something fitted’), cf. ἀρμονίā ‘agreement’, ‘means of joining’ Hom.+ vs. *i-qi-ja* ‘chariot [of horses]’: *^(h)*ikw-ijā-*

A [CHARIOT – of JUSTICE~TRUTH]:

A1 ἄρμα δίκης (*hapax*) “the first cognate of RV *ṛtásya rátha-*” (Watkins 1995:16).³

Some truisms: (a) “Ist das Konzept von δίκη aber wirklich dasselbe wie das von *ṛtā-?*”, (b) “Und selbst wenn dies zutreffen sollte, wie ist möglich, bloße Koinzidenz von Erbe zu trennen?” (Keydana 2001:288).

Simon. fr. 11.11/2 W. τοὶ δὲ Αλεξά]γδροι κακόφρ[ονο]ς, ως σ . [

/ – νν] ιθεῖνς ἄρμα καθεῖλε δίκ[ης]

‘... of evil-minded Alexander ... the **chariot of straight Justice** destroyed (or ‘overtook’)⁴

2 ἄρμα ... δίκ[ης] : MN Αρμό-δικος (Cythera, ca. 230-200), WN Αρμό-δίκα (Amphissa, a.189+) (†Δίκ-αρμος)⁵; v.l. τέρμα ‘end (of a race)’, ‘power, supremacy’⁶ unnecessary.

??? “Nor is there any reason to think that Simonides’ image owes anything to an Indo-European chariot of justice” (Sider 2020: 267)

3 Αρμό^o: continuity of Myc. /^(h)*armo(t)-/* (like ἀρμόττο/ε-), or -o- *voyelle de liason*.

Αρμό-δᾶμος , Αρμο-κύδης, Αρμό-λᾶος, Αρμό-νικος, Αρμο-νόā *et al.* as against rare Αρμα^o (only Αρμα-γένης Scythia, 3rd).

4 δίκη object of (°)ἀρμόττο/ε-, ἀρμόζο/ε- (Solon): ‘to (make) fit together’ (sc. as a chariot , a wheel)

Sol. fr. 36.15-7 W. ... ταῦτα μὲν κράτει / ὁμοῦ βίην τε καὶ δίκην ἔναρμόσας / ἔρεξα ...

‘... this I have done by my power, **fitting together** force and **justice** ...’ (cf. Arist. *Ath.Pol.* 124),

.18/9 θεσμὸν δ’όμοιώς τῷ κακῷ τε κάγαθῷ, / εὐθεῖαν εἰς ἔκαστον ἄρμόσας δίκην / ἔγραψα

‘... laws for the bad and the goods alike I have written, **making straight justice fitting** for each’.

P. *Nem.* 10.12/3 πατρὶ δ’ Άδραστοι Λυγκεῖ τε φρενῶν καρπὸν εὐθεία / συνάρμοξεν δίκα

‘and in Adrastos father and in Lynceus he **fitted out** the fruit of his thought with **straight justice**’.⁷

5 Myc. (Knossos) ptc. *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na /ar^(h)armotmenā-/* ‘fitted out’ (of CUR(RUS), and privative *a-na-mo-to /an^(h)armosto-/* ‘not fitted out’ (only CAPS ‘chariot frame’)).

Od. 6.69/70 ἀπήνην / εὔκυκλον, ὑπερτερίη ἄρμυνταν

‘... (four-wheel) wagon with **good wheels** and **fitted** with a box above’.

6 Αρμοξί-δᾶμος Petelia, ? 475), Αρμοσί-λᾶς (Kamiros, 285+), “Kf” Αρμοξού (Atrax, 4th)

Pi. *Nem.* 8.11 οἴ τε ... ἄρμοζον στρατόν ‘those who set in order the host’,

Pl. *Resp.* 519e συναρμόττων τοὺς πολίτας πειθοῖ τε καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ‘harmonising the citizens’, *Leg.* 628a τί δ’ ὁ τὴν πόλιν συναρμόττων.

7 CHARIOT, STRAIGHT PATH: Att. ἄρμα εὐθύνειν ‘to straighten the chariot’ (drive it on the straight path):

³ Also Massetti (2013/14: 131-134,138, with discussion of all passages); GR (2021: 49-51).

⁴ ἄρμα object (‘was destroyed (or overtaken)’) or subject of καθεῖλε ‘destroyed (or overtook)’ [sc. the ὕβρις of Alexander]?

⁵ *Aliter* ἄρμα δίκαιον ‘evengoing chariot’ (X. *Cyr.* 2.2.26 οὕτε γὰρ ἄρμα δίπου ταχὺ γένοιτ’ ἀν ... ἵππων ... δίκαιον ἀδίκων συνεζευγμένων): technical sense δίκαιος ‘equal, even, well-balanced’ (also ἵππος δίκαιος ‘horse fit (for another’s use)’ X. *Mem.* 4.4.5).

⁶ *Pace* Sider (2020: 267) “τέρμα ... may well be correct” cf. A. Ag. 781 πᾶν δ’ επὶ τέρμα νωμᾶ [sc. Δίκη] ... “Justice brings everything to term”.

⁷ Cf. also Pi. *Isth.* 1.15/6 ... εὐθέλω / ἡ Καστορείω ἡ Ιολάοι’ εναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ ‘I whish to fit (: include) him (sc. Herodot of Thebes) in a hymn to Castor or Iolaos, ...’.

Isocr.1.32 ταῦτα πάσχει τοῖς ἄρμασι τοῖς τὸν ἡνιόχους ἀποβαλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ ἀτάκτως φέρεται διαμαρτάνοντα τῶν εὐθυνόντων

‘... the same happens to chariots which have lost their drivers; for they plunge along in disorder when they miss those who should guide them straight’.

A1 Ved. *rátham rtásya* (*hapax*):

RV II 23.3ab ā vibādhyā parirāpas támā̄ṣi ca jyótismantam rátham rtásya tiṣṭhasi

“Having pressed away evasive chatter and darkness, you mount **truth’s** light-bearing **chariot**” (“den glänzenden **Wagen der Wahrheit**” W.-G.) (*rátham rtásya* metaphorical expression for ‘Sun’: internal development within Vedic

2 *rtá-* with *rathī-* ‘charioteer’⁸

III 2.8c *rathīr rtásya bṛható vīcarṣanīḥ ...*

“The **charioteer** of the lofty **truth** who has no boundary” (also IV 10.2d)

3 *rátha-* associated with **PATH** (VIII 68.13c ...), with **PATH of TRUTH** (VIII 12.3c)

VIII 68.13c *urúṁ ráthāya pánthām*

“as a path wide ... for our chariot”

VIII 12.3bc *ráthāṁ iva pracódayah / pánthām rtásya yávate ...*

“(That) by which you impel (the great waters ...) like **chariots** to travel the **path of truth**”.

VII 39.1c *bhejāte ádrī rathyēva pánthām*

“The two (pressing-)stones take to the **path** like **charioteers**”

B [WHEEL – of JUSTICE ~ TRUTH]

B1 Parm. fr. 1.51/3 χρεὼ δέ σε πάντα πυθέσθαι

(129 DK) ήμεν Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος ἀτρεμὲς ἥτορ

ἥδε βροτῶν δόξας, ταῖς οὐκ ἔνι πίστις ἀληθής.

‘you need to find out everything, the unmoved heart of the **truth of beautiful wheels** and the opinions of the mortals, in which there is no true reliability’.

1 εὐκυκλής = εὐκυκλος ‘of good (: strong) wheels’ (Hom.+), of ἀπήνη ‘four-wheel wagon’, ὅχος ‘id.’ Od. 6.58 ... ἀπήνην / ὑψηλὴν εὐκυκλον ‘... high and with good wheels’ (Od. 6.69/70 ἀπήνην / εὐκυκλον, ὑπερτερή ἀραριαν), A. Prom. 710 ἐπ’ εὐκύκλοις ὅχοις

B2 Ved. *cakrá- rtásya* ‘wheel of *rtá-*’ (I 164.11), *rtásya raśmí-* ‘rein of *rtá-*’

I 164.11ab *davyādaśāram ... várvari cakrám pári dyám rtásya*

“Twelve-spoked, the **wheel of truth** [=Sun] ever rolls around heaven – yet not to old age”.

V 7.3d *rtásya raśmím á dade*

“he for his part has taken the **rein of truth**”

I 136.2b *pánthā rtásya sám ayamsta raśmibhih*

“the **path** (of truth?) has been firmly guided by the **reins of truth**”.

B3 MN Αρτα-ύκτης Hdt.+ *Rta-íuxta- “mit Rta verbunden/zusammengeschirrt” (Schmitt 2011n°71), cf. *rtá-yukti-* ‘yoking of Rta-’:

Y.49.9d *aśā.yuxtā yāhī dājāmāspā*

“un (...) attelé par l’Harmonie, pour (gagner) la très bonne récompense” (K.-P.); “at the (act of) **yoking** (them) **together with truth**, at the sharing (of good things), O Jamāspa” (Hu.).

RV X 61.10b *rtám vásanta rtáyuktim agman*

“(Navagvas) came to the fellowship of the maiden [=Dawn] and, speaking the **truth**, to the **yoking of truth**”.

⁸ Also with *vah* ‘to convey’, cf. IV 56.6c *ūhyáthe sanád rtám* “You have constantly conveyed the truth from of old” (VII 41.6d *rátham ivásvā vajína á vahantu* “Like prizewinning horses a chariot let them convey the goods-finding”).

- B4** Hitt. *hurki-* ‘wheel’ (^{GIS}UMBIN, ^DDUBBIN), actually ‘turning’ (*hurkil-* ‘perversion’) With *lam]ni̥ja-mi* ‘to call (to) *hurki-*’, with *hal[i]jenzi* (*hala-*, *halai-* ‘to put in motion’, hardly *halija-* ‘to kneel’ for ‘justice’, ‘legal machinery’, ‘court’; like *rota?* “most likely ... the arrangement of the benches on which the judges sat (and maybe still do) a circular arrangement”(Melchert p.c.)

KUB 1.1 i 36 ANA ^{GIS}UMBIN *lam]ni̥jat* (^DDUBBIN : dupl. KBo 3.6 + ABoT 62) (Apology of Hattusilis) “(my brother Muwatallis) called me to *h.*,” “zitierte mich zum Rade” (Otten, StBoT 24), “assigned me to the (divine) wheel” (CHS); “rufen vor Gericht” (Christiansen 2018: 88-9).

KUB 31 68 vs. 16/7 *nu̥ya=mu=za=kan* ANA ^{GIS}GIGIR *katta halzaiš* ‘he called me to the chariot’ Il. 10.195 ὅσοι κεκλήσατο βουλήν ‘(the kings of the Argives), those who **had been called to the council**’ Att. **καλέο/ε-** ‘summon before court’ (εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον D. 19.211)

KBo 6.26 rs. iv 14 *ta hurkin* (erasure of *-il*) *hal[i]jenzi kuenziuš* / LUGAL-uš *huišnuzijaš* LUGAL-uš
“... they (authorities) **set in motion/crank up** the *hurki-*, the king lets them be killed, ... live on” (“legal machinery ... part of a metaphor for ‘start the wheels of justice turning” Puhvel); “dann **setzen sie das Rad in Bewegung**” (“Handlung der Gerichtinstanzen ... förmliche Eröffnung des Kriminalverfahrens...oder einen spezifischen Bestandteil des Verfahrens” Christiansen 2018: 88f. with n.130).

- C** [PATH – of JUSTICE ~ TRUTH] (along which the CHARIOT of JUSTICE travels)
C1 [PATH – of δίκη]⁹: (i) δίκας κέλευθος (Bacch.), δίκας ὁδός (Pi.), ὁδόν εὐθυπορεῖν (Pi.), ὁδός ἐς τὰ δίκαια (Hsd.), as against (ii) ἄδικος ὁδὸς (Th.), κέλευθος ἄδικος (E.)

(i) Bacch. fr. 11.24/7 φάσω δὲ καὶ ἐν ζαθέοις / ἀγνοῦ Πέλοπος δαπέδοις / ...,
δίκας κέλευθον / εἰ μή τις ἀπέτραπεν ὁρθᾶς
‘and I will declare that in the sacred precinct of revered Pelops, ... if someone had not turned aside the **path of straight justice**’ (“...den Pfad des geraden Rechtes zur Seite gebogen” (Maehler)).

Pi. fr. 94b ἐνῆκεν καὶ ἔπειτ[.....]λοσ / ... ἐχθρὰν [ε]ριν οὐ παλίγ/γλωσσον, ἀλλὰ δίκας ὁδούς /
π[ισ]τὰς ἐφίλη[σε]ν
‘instilled ... a hateful , unrelenting strife, but he cherished the faithful **paths of justice**’

Pi. Ol.7.90/1 ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν / εὐθυπορεῖ
‘for he **walks straight** down a **path** enemy of arrogance’.

Hsd. Op.216/8 ... ὁδός δ’ ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν / κρείσσων ἐς τὰ δίκαια
‘the better **path** is to pass by on the other side **towards what is right**’

(ii) Th. 3.64.4 μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἄδικον ὁδὸν ιόντων ἐχωρήσατε
‘...who were going the **wrong path**’¹⁰

- C1** [PATH – of ἀληθεία] (*hapax*)
E. fr. 289.2/3 ... τῆς δ’ ἀληθείας ὁδός / φαύλη τίς ἐστι· ψεύδεσιν δ’ Ἄρης φίλος
‘The **path of truth** is a feeble one, and Ares is friend to lies’
C2 Vedic PATH of TRUTH travelled by a CHARIOT (VIII 12.3), ‘practicable’ (*yāna-* X 110.2), ‘easy to go’ (*sugá-* VIII 31.13; cf. OAv. *x̄aēta-* Yt. 34.12):

⁹ Cf. Maehler (1982: 214-215): [PATH – of JUSTICE] “nicht so sehr Weg als solcher”, but “die auf ihm schreitende Dike”, i.e. “der Gang des Rechts”, which can be turned aside by mortals (Hsd. *Op.226*) or bent off (cease to be straight).

¹⁰ Also E. Herc. 432/3 τὰν δ’ ἀνόστιμον ... / βίου κέλευθον ἄθεον ἄδικον ‘... that **path** out of life, without return, contrary to gods and **justice**’.

VIII 12.3bc *yéna síndhum mahír apó ... ráthāṁ iva pracodáyah / pánthāṁ rtásya yávate*
 “(That) by which you impel the great waters forth to the Sindhu like **chariots** to travel the **path of truth**”.

X 110.2ab *tánūnapāt pathá rtásya yānān mádhvā samañján ...*
 “*Tanūnapāt*, anointing with honey the **paths of truth, practicable**” (“travelling to truth...” J.-Br.).

VIII 31.13c *... sugá rtásya pánthaḥ*
 “(Just as Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa are our protectors, so) are the paths of truth, which are easy to travel”.¹¹

C3 Avestan *pāntā-* *aśahiiā* (*hapax*), in close vicinity to *ərəzaoš haiθiia-* ‘reality of (what is) straight’: Y. 51.13a *tā drəguuatō marədaitī , daēnā ərəzaoš haiθīm /...* /
 13c *x'āiš šiiaoθanāiš hizuuascā aśahiiā nāsuuā paθō*
 “... la conscience du partisan de la Tromperie néglige la (formule) cultuelle du **chemin direct**, lui qui, à cause de ses actes et de ceux de sa langue, a depuis toujours perdu ce **chemin de l’Harmonie**” (K.-P.; “... the religious view of the deceitful one neglects the reality of (what is) straight ... (faced with the fact) that he had strayed from the path of truth through his actions and those of (his) tongue” H.).

2 Variant [PATH – of **GOOD (uohu-)**]: gen. *uaγhāuš* ... *manayhō* ‘of good thought’ (instead of [and beside] *aša-*)
 Y. 34.12c *sīšā nā ašā paθō uaγhāuš x'aētāng manayhō*
 “show us with truth (*ašā*) the **paths of good thought**, easy to travel” (H.; “enseigne-nous grâce à l’Harmonie les **chemins aisés de la divine Pensée**” K.-P.).

D [STRAIGHT] (εὐθεῖα/ιθεῖα, ὄρθη) – PATH (όδός, κέλευθος, ἀτραπός)], Ved. *pánthā-* ... *sādhú-*, OAv. *ərəzu-* *pāntā-*)

D1 Pi. *Nem.* 1.25 χρὴ δ’ ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φυῖ
 ‘one must travel in **straigth paths** and strive by natural talent’.¹²
 Pi. fr. 108a3 εὐθεῖα δὴ κέλευθος ἀρετὰν ἐλεῖν
 ‘straight indeed is the path to achieve excellence’.¹³

CThgn. 945 εἰμι ... παρὰ στάθμην ὄρθην ὁδόν¹⁴
 ‘I shall go along a **path as straight as a rule**’.¹⁵
 Pi. *Pyth.* 11.39 ... ὄρθαν κέλευθον ιὸν τὸ πρίν
 ‘... when before I was going on the **straight road**’.

2 εὐθύς/ιθύς ‘straight’ – ὄρθος ‘steep, upright’ Class.Greek (quasi-)synonymity ‘right’ (: δίκαιος) vs. σκολιός ‘crooked’ (→ ‘unright’)
 Hyper. fr. 257 ὄρθην δ’ ἐντυγχάνει ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθύς (Suid.)

¹¹ Also IX 73.6d *rtásya pánthām* ná taranti duṣkṛtaḥ “evildoers do not traverse the path of truth”, and X 31.2ab pári cin márto dráviṇam mamanyād *rtásya pathá* “a mortal should await material wealth along the path of truth”, I 79.3b *rtásya pathibhiḥ rájiṣṭhaiḥ* “... along the straightest paths of truth” VIII 22.7b *yātám rtásya pathibhiḥ* “drive right up to us along the paths of truth”.

¹² Also Th. 2.100.2 ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε, X. *Cyr.* 1.3.4 ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἡ ὁδός ἐστιν.

¹³ Heracl. fr. 59.1 DK γναφείω ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα καὶ σκολιή) Cf. also P.Ol. 790 ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν / εὐθυπορεῖ ‘for he goes straight down a path that is enemy of arrogance’.

¹⁴ *Aliter* ὄρθιος ‘upright, steep’, cf. Hes. *Op.* 292 μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἴμος ἐς αὐτὴν / καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον ‘long and steep , and rough is at first the path to her’ (291 τῆς ἀρετῆς).

¹⁵ Cf. also X. *An.* 6.6.38 πορευόμενοι τὴν ὄρθην ὁδόν, Pl. *Ep.* 330d ὄρθη πορευομένης ὁδῷ τῆς πολιτείας)

Hdt. 1.96.2 ὁ δὲ δή ... ιθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν ‘and he was honest and just’, Th. 4.118.3 ... ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρώμενοι

3 Minimal pairs: with λόγον ‘word, utterance’, with ‘man, comrade’

: ιθύν λόγον (Hdt. 1.118.1), ὁρθῷ λόγῳ (Hdt. 2.17.1) vs. ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν σκολιὸν λόγον (C.Thgn. 1147). – εὐθείας ῥήτρας (Tyrt. fr. 4.6), εἰρηκας ὁρθᾶς (S. El. 1040)

κοινῶνι παρ' εὐθυτάτῳ (Pi. Pyth. 3.28), οὐκ ὁρθοὶ (sc. ἄνδρες) τὰς ψυχάς (Pl. Thet. 173a) vs. ιθύνει σκολιόν ‘straight the crooked one’ (Hsd. Op.7).

4 Transferred epithets (ἡ) εὐθεῖα ‘(the) straight path’,¹⁶ (ἡ) ὁρθή ‘id.’¹⁷

A. fr. 195 (= 327.9) εὐθεῖαν ἔρπε τήνδε ‘he was walking the **straight path**’,
E. Med.384 κράτιστα τὴν εὐθεῖαν ‘best to proceed by the **direct route**’.¹⁸

Ar. Thesm.1223 ὁρθὴν ἄνω δίωκε ‘go **straight on!**’,

S. Ant. 994 δι’ ὁρθῆς τήνδε ναυκληρεῖς πόλιν ‘you captained this city **on the straight course**’.

D2 Ved. *sādhū-* *pánthā-*, OAv *ərəzu-* *paṇtā-*, occasionally ‘through/with truth’ (instr. Ved. *ṛtā* : Av. *aśā*) or ‘easy to go’ (Ved. *su-gá-*)

RV II 27.6ab *sugó hí vo aryaman mitra pánthā anṛkṣaró varuṇa sādhúr ásti*

“Since easy is your path, o Aryaman, Mitra, and Varuṇa—harmless to men and leading straight” (“good to go is your path. ... straight is it” (Watkins 1979: 184 =1994: 629).¹⁹

Y. 33.5bc *apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm ā xšaθrəm vaŋžuš manayhō ašāt ā ərəzūš paṇtō*

“Having reached long life and the power of good thought (sc. I reached) in accordance with the truth (*ašāt*) the **straight paths** ...” (H.).

Cf. also 43.3bc *yā nā ərəzvš sauuayhō paθō sīšōi* “(that man) who might show the **straight paths** of benefit (*sauuah-*)” (“les chemins directs de l’opulence” K.-P.).

D3 Hittite [RIGHT – PATH] ([NÍG.SI.SÁ ‘rightness’, SIG₅ : *aššuuant-* ‘good’), KASKAL [: *palša/i-* ‘path’]),

KUB 36.60 iii 9+24.8 iii 14/5 **NÍG.SI.SÁ-an KASKAL-an** Ū[UL ēppir

“inasmuch my paternal gods did not [take] the **proper course** for him, but held themselves to an evil course”²⁰

KUB 17.28 ii 59-60 ūg=za ammel SIG₃-andan **KAS~KAL-an** *iŋahhat*

‘I travelled my good way’ (ritual, MH/NS).

E [STRAIGHT (εὐθεῖα/ιθεῖα) – JUSTICE (δίκη) ~TRUTH], [RIGHT (εὐθεῖα/ιθεῖα, ὁρθό) – JUSTICE]: (δίκη also ‘judgement’): Greek, not attested Vedic or Avestan.

1 **εὐθύ-δικος / ιθυ-δικᾶς** (the one) who has straight (εὐθεῖα / ιθεῖα) justice’ (or ‘... judgement’):

Εὐθύ-δικος (Thasos, ca. 490-460; Athens, a. 510 [vases]+), **Εὐθύ-δίκη** (Athens, 5th-4th+), **Εὐθύ-δικᾶ** (Corinth, ca. 540-525; Megara. *aet. hell.*)

Ιθιού-δικος (Thespiae or Orchomenos, ca. 222-200), **Ιθυ-δίκᾶ** (Thespiae, 5th).

¹⁶ Also ‘(the) straight line’ (εὐθυτέρα ἡ γραμμή, ἡ εὐθεῖα Arist.+) or ‘nominative case’ (sc. πτῶσις: D.T., A.D.+; κατ’ εὐθύ ‘in the nominative’ Arist.+).

¹⁷ Also ‘(the) right angle’ (sc. γωνία Arist. +) or the ‘nominative case’ (sc. πτῶσις Arist. +).

¹⁸ Also εὐθείᾳ ‘by the straight path’ (Pl. Leg.716a θεός ... εὐθείᾳ περαίνει), ἀτραπός · ὄδος εὐθεῖα μὴ ἔχουσα ἐκτροπάς (Apoll.Soph.).

¹⁹ Also instr. *sādhūnā pathā* “along the path that leads straight to the goal” (X 14.10b), *sādhiṣṭhebhīḥ pathibhīḥ* “along the paths that lead straightest to the goal” (I 58.1c).

²⁰ Almost literal repetition in. 20/1 (Appu-tale, pre-NH/NS) “da ihm meine väterlichen Götter den rechten Weg nicht einschlugen und den schlechten Weg hielten”(Siegelová 1971:11-2, 23 with commentary). For more data cf. CHD – P, 73, s.v. **palša, palši-**.

2 ὁρθό-δικος* ‘(the one) who has right justice’ (or ‘... judgement’) MN Ὁρθό-δικος (West Locris, 2nd).

3 ιθείης ἄρμα δίκης (Simov.)

Hsd. Th. 85/6 ἐς αὐτὸν ... διακρίνοντα θέμιστας / ιθείησι δίκησιν

‘to him ... as he gives verdicts with **straight sentences**’ (as against *Op.* 221 σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας ‘... with crooked sentences’.- Bacch. fr. 1.56 Δίκαν ιθεῖαν,²¹ Il. 18.508 δίκην ιθύντατα εἴποι.²²

Hsd. *Op.* 230 ιθυδίκησι μετ’ ἀνδράσι, Bacch. fr. 5.6 φρένα δ’ εὐθύδικ[ο]ν),

Sol. fr. 436 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς

‘straightens out crooked judgments’, P. P. 4.153... Κρηθεῖδας ιππόταις εὐθυνε λαοῖς δίκας

4 Bacch. fr. 15.16 δίκας κέλευθον ... ὁρθᾶς ‘the path of right Justice’,

Pi. Pyth. 11.9/10 ὁρθοδίκαν γὰς ὄμφαλὸν, Bacch. fr. 12.9 κούρα Σ[τυγὸς ὁρ]θοδίκουν, 13.23 ὃς φιλοξείνου τε καὶ ὁρθοδίκουν).²³

E2 No evidence for Ved. *[*sādhú- rtá-*] ‘straight (to the goal)’:

1 *sādhú-* epithet of *pánthā-* (but not *rtá-*): instr. *sādhúnā pathā* X 14.10)

X 14.10ab áti drava sārameyaú śu,vānau yama rakṣitārau *sādhúnā pathā*

“Outrun the two dogs of Saramā’s breed ... along **the path that leads straight** to the goal”

2 Adverbial *sādhú*, *sādhúnā* instr. *sādhuyā*, ptc. *sādhant-* (*sādh* ‘lead to goal’) **not constitutive of a noun phrase with *rtá-*** even when in close vicinity of *rtá-* (or *rtásya pánthā-*)

Free extension of sentences where *pánthā-* may or may not occur, e.g.

I 155.1cd yā sānuni párvatānām ádābh,yā mahás tashthátur árvateva *sādhúnā*

“who stand on the back of the mountains mightily like (riders) on a steed **heading straight to the goal**”

X 66.12b *prāñcaṇ no yajñám prá ḥayata sādhuyā*

“lead our sacrifice forth toward the east **straight to goal**”.

VI 66.7d ví ródasī *pathyā* yāti *sádhan*

“it travels through the two “world-halves along its paths, heading **toward its goal**”, “Durch Verfolgen des Weges zum Ziel gelangend” (Go.)

Also beside [*pánthā- rtásya*] (/D/ collocation):

I 124.3cd *rtásya pánthām* ánv eti *sādhú*

“she follows along the path of truth, **straight to the goal**”.

I 46.11ab ábhūd u párám étave *pánthā rtásya sādhuyā*

“and **the path of truth** has come into being to lead right to the far shore” (“Jetzt ist der Pfad der Wahrheitskraft entstanden um gerade ans andere Ufer zu gehen” W.-Go.)

3 Two different phraseological patterns

Vedic (and Avestan) [PATH – of JUSTICE] [STRAIGHT to goal]

RV X 66.13ab *daivyā hótārā prathamā puróhita rtásya pánthām* ánv emi *sādhuyā*

“The two divine Hotars, the first two in front, do I follow along the [path of truth] [**straight**] to the goal”

²¹Also Hsd. *Op.* 36 ιθείησι δίκης, HCer. 152 βούλησι καὶ ιθείησι δίκησιν, A. *Eum.* 433 κρῖνε δ’ εὐθεῖαν δίκην.

²²Watkins (1979: 188 = 1994: 2.633); de Lamberterie (1990: 279).

²³Also ὁρθοδίκαιος A. *Eum.* 993/5 ... καὶ γῆν καὶ πόλιν / ὁρθοδίκαιον / πρέψετε ... ‘you will keep land and city as having right justice’ (“on the straight road of justice” Sommerstein).

Greek: [STRAIGHT (RIGHT) – JUSTICE] [PATH]

Bacch. fr. 11.26/7 ..., **δίκας κέλευθον** / εἰ μή τις ἀπέτραπεν ὁρθᾶς
‘if someone had not turned aside the [path] of **[straight justice]**’.

4 Conclusion: in Vedic no collocation [STRAIGHT – JUSTICE~TRUTH] proper, even *in statu nascentis*, although the premises for its creation also existed in Vedic, namely [PATH – of JUSTICE] and [STRAIGHT – PATH].

5 Greek [STRAIGHT (RIGHT) – JUSTICE]; two possible origins:

(a) a merging of inherited [PATH – of JUSTICE] and [STRAIGHT – PATH]
→ [PATH] – [of STRAIGHT – JUSTICE]

(b) a dislocation of the complex syntagm [PATH – of JUSTICE~TRUTH] – [(adverbial) STRAIGHT]
→ [PATH] – [of JUSTICE – STRAIGHT]

In both (a) and (b): STRAIGHT JUSTICE inseparable from the metaphor of the CHARIOT of JUSTICE moving along a STRAIGHT PATH.

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