

Hittite *handā(i)*- ‘to align, arrange, etc.’ and PIE Metaphors for ‘(morally) right’

I. Ziegler (2014) has explained Hittite *handā(i)*- ‘to arrange, etc.’ as denominative verb < PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-o-* ‘(that which is) woven; start of weaving’ to a root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-* ‘to set the warp, begin to weave’ attested in Greek ἄτρομαι ‘idem’ and Albanian *end* ‘to weave’ < *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-ye/o-*. Janda (2016) has adduced further support in Greek ἀντίον ‘(upper) loom beam’. Highly illuminating for Hittite verb, but many aspects of handbook treatments of *handā(i)*- (*HW*<sup>2</sup>: 3.163-7, Puhvel 1991: 96-107, Kloekhorst 2008: 289-91) inaccurate. True basic meaning reinforces Ziegler’s account.

II. Oldest and fundamental sense of active and medio-passive *handā(i)*- is ‘to align’, (m.-p.) ‘to align oneself’ in both concrete and moral sense:

(1) KBo XVII 21 + Ro 9 (KI.LAM Festival; OH/OS):

[LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>B]ANŠUR<sup>NINDA</sup> *zippulašne* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*arimpi handāizzi*  
“The table-man aligns/arranges the z.-bread on the a.”

Thus with *HW*<sup>2</sup>: 3.163, whose basic meaning ‘ordnen’ is not far off.

(2) KUB 17.10 iv 22 (Myth of Telipinu; OH/MS):

*ištananiš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš handantati*

“The altars of the gods were put in order/alignment” or “The altars were put in order for the gods.”

NB: opposite of *we/išuriyantat(i)* “became twisted, disordered”. See Melchert 2016: 215 with multiple references.

(3) KUB 17.10 ii 31-2 (Myth of Telipinu; OH/MS):

GI-*az lazzaiš māhhan handānza zik* <sup>d</sup>*Telipinuš QATAMMA handahhut*

“As a/the l. reed is well-aligned (i.e. straight), so may you, Telipinu, become well-aligned!”

Outstanding characteristic of a reed is that it is *straight* because its individual sections are all *aligned* in a straight line. Likewise the out-of-sorts soul of the angry Telipinu is to again become well aligned and hence also order in the world to be restored. See further Melchert 2016: 216-9.

Medio-passive also used to mean ‘to draw even with, line up with’:

(4) KBo 25.31 ii 8-12 and duplicates (Festival with NIN.DINGIR-priestess; OH/OS)

NIN.DINGIR-*aš* LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>GIDRU-*aš pēran huwāi* N[(IN.DINGIR-*aš uezzi* 2 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL ŠĀ-BA *kētt=a*)] 1-*iš kētt=a* 1-*iš harzi* 15 LÚ.MEŠ *hā[(piēš URU Hatti EGIR=ŠU)] išgarantēš haššan=kan* 1-ŠU [(*huwāi*)] § *mān=ašta* LUGAL-*i* NIN.DINGIR-*aš handāētta* L[Ú x (LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>GIDRU)] *āppianzi ta A.ŠAR=ŠUNU appanzi*

“The staff-bearer of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess precedes. The NIN.DINGIR-priestess comes. There are two palace officials of whom one keeps to one side, one keeps to the other. Fifteen *hapiya*-men are lined up behind her. She runs (around) the hearth once. When the NIN.DINGIR-priestess draws even with the king, the [ ] (and) the staff-bearer step back and take their places.”

Thus correctly Puhvel (1991: 97) and Goedegebuure (2014: 281-2) *contra* HW<sup>2</sup>: 3.163-4.

(5) IBoT 1.36 ii 29 (Royal Bodyguard Instructions; MH/MS)

*nu=šši=kan māḥ[ḥa]n LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDI DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL=ya ḥandāntari*  
 “And when the bodyguards and palace officials draw even/are lined up with him...”

Thus correctly Güterbock & van den Hout (1991:17) and *passim*. Also already replaced in this sense by active intransitive *ibid.* iii 45&48. Also KUB 28.99,5 (*contra* Puhvel 1991: 97): “When the king draws even with the *huwaši*-stone...”

(6) KBo 14.3 iv 29-30 (Deeds of Suppiluliuma; NH)

*nu=kan edani pangawi LÚ.[(KÚR 1-anki=pat anda ḥ)]andaizzi*  
 “And he (my father) drew even/caught up with that entire enemy all at once.”

Similarly Güterbock (1956: 76). Duplicate KUB 19.18 i 24-25: *anda ḥandānzi* “they caught up”.

(7) KBo 4.14 ii 75 (Treaty/Protocol of Suppiluliuma II; NH)

*zik=ma=šmaš=kan anda ḥandāši*  
 (Or some lords desert/defect on me,) “and *you* align yourself with them.”

Likewise *ibid.* ii 49. Equivalent to ‘to join (up with)’ (Puhvel 1991: 96)

III. Other genuine senses of *ḥandā(i)*- also derivable from ‘to align’

A. ‘to equate/compare with’ (compare German ‘gleichstellen, vergleichen’):

(8) KUB 21.38 Ro 13 (Puduhepa Letter to Ramses II; NH)

*n=an=kan kuedani ḥandami ANA DUMU.MUNUS KUR<sup>URU</sup> Kara-<sup>d</sup>duniya[š KUR] <sup>URU</sup>Zulapi  
 KUR<sup>URU</sup> Āššur ḥandam[i]*

(The daughter of heaven and earth that I give to [my] brother,) “to whom shall I equate/compare her? Shall I equate/compare her to the daughter of the land of Babylon, of the [land] of Zulapi, of the land of Assur?”

Thus with Edel (1994: 217), Hoffner (2009: 283), *et al.*, *contra* Puhvel (1991: 97) “betroth” (non-existent meaning!).

B. ‘to match up’

(9) KUB 55.20+9.4 i 2-3 (“Ritual of the Ox”; ?/NS)

*12<sup>UZU</sup>ÚR.ḪI.A=ya anda ḥandāmi SAG.DU-aš=kan SAG.DU-i ḥandanza...*

(Now I am treating him through this day.) “I also match the twelve body parts: the head is matched with the head...”. (that is, those of the patient and the ram serving as ritual substitute)

Thus with Puhvel (1991: 96); less accurate Beckman (1990: 45) “arrange together”. Likewise *ibid.* i 19 *ḥandanun* “I have also matched up”.

C. in a spiritual sense ‘to make/be a match/compatible/like-thinking’

(9) KUB 1.1 iii 2-3 (“Apology” of Hattusili III; NH)

*nu ḥandāwen [(nu=nn)aš DINGIR-LUM ŠA<sup>LÚ</sup>MUDI D[A]/M āššiyatar pešta*

(I took as my wife the daughter of the priest Pentipšarri, Puduhepa, at the word of the deity,) “and we were a match/compatible, and the deity gave us the love of a husband and wife.”

Otten (1981: 17) renders “wir hielten zusammen”; verb defined (*ibid.* 86) as “(sich) fügen”. Correctly also Güterbock (1983: 160) “we were in harmony”. False Puhvel (1991: 100) “we got married”. Likewise KUB 24.7 i 19-21 (Güterbock 1983: 156&160) *contra* Puhvel (1991: 100).

(10) KUB 21.38 Ro 58 (Puduhepa Letter to Ramses II; NH)

*nu=mu ITTI ŠEŠ=KA ḥandait nu=za DUMU.NITA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ DÙ-nun*

(My personal deity, who had also done that, when the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god, Hebat, and Šaušga made me queen,) “made me compatible with your brother, and I produced sons and daughters.”

Less likely with Edel (1994: 221) “hat mich gleichgestellt”. False Puhvel (1991: 99) “married me off to your brother”.

(11) KUB 30.56 iii 10-11 (Tablet Inventory; NH)

*Mān ÛKU-ši ARAD.MEŠ=ŠU GÉME.ME[Š=ŠU=ya ŪL] SIxSÀ-anzi našma LÚ-LUM MUNUS-TUM=ya ŪL ḥandanzi*

“If a man’s male and female slaves do not get along, or a man and woman/husband and wife do not get along...”

Correct Dardano (2006: 213) & *HW*<sup>2</sup>:3.165 “übereinstimmen”. False Puhvel (1991: 98) “marry”.

D. Participle *ḥandānt-* ‘in alignment with’ (a model/archetype), hence ‘corresponding/true to’:

(12) KUB 31.143 ii 17 (Invocation of Hattic Deities; OH/OS) (and *passim*)

[ ]x <sup>d</sup>*Inaraš maltešnaš ḥandān*

“[This is] true to/corresponds with the recitations/ritual of/for Inara.”

(13) KUB 2.6 vi 3-4 (Winter Festival; OH/NS)

*ANA GIŠ.ḪUR ḥandān*

“True to/corresponding with an archetype.” (thus often in colophons)

Hence KBo 3.23 iv 12 (OH/NS) *ḥandān memian* “true word” (Puhvel 1991: 102); “mot juste” (Archi 1979: 42).

★E. morally aligned > ‘virtuous, just, right(eous)’

(14) KUB 24.8 iv 4 (Tale of Appu; pre-NH/NS)

[<sup>LÚ</sup>Ḫ]UL-aš ŠEŠ-aš <sup>LÚ</sup>NÍG.SIxSÁ ŠEŠ=ši *mem[iškewan dāiš]*

“Brother Bad began to speak to his brother Just.”

And throughout this text. See Siegelová 1971: 12,18, and 24 with refs. Also *ibid.* iii 14-15: NÍG.SIxSÁ-an KASKAL-an “the right path/way.”

(15) KUB 31.127 i 51 (Prayer/Hymn to Sun-god; pre-NH/NS)

*n=an ḥantantan ARAD=KA <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš kišar[t]a ēp*

“And may you, Sun-god, take him, your just/loyal servant, by the hand!”

Singer (2002: 37) “your just servant”. Rieken *et al.* (2016) “deinen treuen Diener.”

Probably also EME-aš *ḥandanza* and EME-an *ḥandan* ‘true speech’ (thus Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 23). See Puhvel 1991: 103 for further examples of “righteous, true.”

As adverb “accordingly, properly, rightly”:

(16) KUB 1.1 iii 76-77 and dupl. (“Apology” of Hattusili III; NH)

[(*mān*=*war*=*aš*=*mu*=)]*kan šul*[(*liy*)]*at kuwapi ŪL* [(*mān ḥandā*)]*n LUGAL.GAL* [(*ANA LUGA*)]*L.TUR katterrah*[(*her*)]

“If he had not become insolent towards me, would they (the gods) accordingly/rightly have subordinated a great king to a petty king?”

F. ‘to align, arrange’ (physical objects) > ‘to arrange events, ordain, determine’, especially in *parā ḥandant-* and *parā ḥandantātar*, freely translatable respectively as ‘providential’ (of deities and humans) and ‘providence’, but literally ‘(favorably) pre-ordaining’ (deity), ‘(favorably) pre-ordained, blessed’ (human) and ‘(favorable) preordination, predetermination’. Thus with Puhvel (1991: 105). Note archaic use of *p(a)rā* < \**pró* in locatival temporal sense ‘before’, not synchronic directional ‘forth, out’ (see Melchert 2008: 202).

G. ‘to determine, fix, ordain’ > ‘to determine, ascertain’ (compare English ‘to determine’ and French *determiner*); attested in sense ‘to determine by an oracular inquiry’ (Puhvel 1991: 98-100), *HW*<sup>2</sup>: 3.164-5).

III. Hittite <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥanza(n)-* ‘(upper) loom beam’

A. For the sense see Tanaka 2008 (*contra* Hoffner 1997: 119-20):

1. Type of beam, not cutting tool, suggested by ritual passage; passage in Laws thus refers to unlawful removal of partially woven cloth from loom beam: ()

(17) KUB 7.13 Ro 5-8 (purification ritual; ?/NS)

*andurzi=ya=kan* [...] <sup>GIŠ</sup>*kattal*[*uz*]*ziyaš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŪR.MEŠ <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥanza* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ru*[(*-*)...] *arḥa* [*ḥašḥ*]*aššanzi*  
ANA É.MEŠ.ŠÀ=*ya=kan da*[*pia(nt)-* <sup>GIŠ</sup>] ŪR.MEŠ <sup>GIŠ</sup>AB.ḪI.A=*ya arḥa ḥašḥaššanzi*

“Also inside [...] they scrape off the beams of the lintel(s), the *hanzan*, the wood[en?...] Also inside the house they scrape off a[ll] the beams and the windows.”

(18) KBo 6.10 iii 11-13 (Laws §144; OH/NS; restorations from KUB 29.29 ii 4; OS)

*takku* TÚG.SIG <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥanzani* [*ku(iški tuḥšari)*] 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi t*[*akku...*]  
*kuiški tuḥšari* [(5 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi*)]

“If someone cuts off/removes fine cloth from a *hanzan*, he shall pay ten shekels of silver. If someone cuts off/removes [...], he shall pay five shekels of silver.”

2. Tentative Morphological Analysis (with thanks to Alan Nussbaum!)

a. Assume that \**h<sub>2</sub>ento-* was substantivized (with Ziegler) as ‘that which was aligned’ > ‘(vertical) warp threads’ from which secondary noun \**h<sub>2</sub>antí(y)on* ‘that which was aligned’ > ἀντίον ‘(upper) loom beam’ (compare πέδον ‘ground’ → πεδίον ‘plain’).

b. From original adjective \**h<sub>2</sub>ento-* ‘aligned’ was derived substantive \**h<sub>2</sub>ent-i-* ‘aligned thing’ (arguably attested in Latin *antēs*, *antium* ‘rows’), whence \**h<sub>2</sub>enty-o-* ‘aligned’ > \**h<sub>2</sub>entyo-Hon-* ‘the thing aligned’ > <sup>GIŠ</sup>*ḥanza(n)-* ‘(upper) loom beam’. See for (idealized) derivational chain Melchert 2003: 136. Several other possible scenarios, *inter alia* depending on how many cognates elsewhere in IE are assumed.

## IV. Indo-European Metaphors for Moral Order/Propriety

## A. ‘to fit together’ (trans. or intrans.) &gt; ‘(what is) fitting’

1. PIE *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)ar-* ‘to fit together’ > Hittite *āra* ‘moral order’ (thus with Puhvel 1984: 120, following already Hrozný), comparing Skt. *āram* = Av. *arəm* ‘fittingly’, Skt. *rtá-* ‘universal Order’ etc. See for exhaustive treatment of Hittite *āra* etc. Cohen 2002. Matching moral sense in Hittite and Indo-Iranian suggests inheritance. Based on words for ‘(body) joint’, root was probably intransitive (with LIV<sup>2</sup>: 269).

2. PIE *\*(h<sub>x</sub>)reith<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to join, blend, unite’ > ‘(what is) fitting, proper’

Weiss (2015: esp. 190-4) has argued for this root as the source of Latin *rīte* ‘correctly, properly’ and TocharianAB *rittwatär/rittetär*, which in Tocharian B also has the sense ‘is fitting’. The Tocharian verb also preserves the sense ‘to attach, blend’. Whether the moral sense is an archaism (Randerscheinung) or reflects independent developments is hard to determine, but there is no trace of the base verb in Latin or Italic.

## B. ‘to make straight, align’ &gt; ‘aligned, in proper order’ &gt; ‘right, proper’

1. PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>reǵ-* ‘straight, draw straight’ > *\*h<sub>3</sub>reǵ-to-* ‘straight; right, proper, correct’: Lat. *rēctus*, Gmc. *\*rehta-*. Also moral sense in other derivatives in multiple branches: surely inherited.

2. Italic *\*ord-ye/o-* ‘to set the warp, begin to weave’ > *\*ord-n-* ‘order’ in both various physical senses and morally ‘proper order’ (Ziegler 2014: 213-4), but *\*teks-* in PIE meant ‘to unite, fit together’, not ‘to weave’ (Melchert, forthcoming, with reference to Olsen 2017 on Arm. *t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>em* as ‘forge, hammer into shape, whet’, *not* †‘to weave’). Italic moral sense unlikely to be inherited *per se*.

3. PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-* ‘to set the warp, begin to weave’ via *\*h<sub>2</sub>ent-o-* ‘the aligned threads of the warp’ > Hittite *handā(i)-* ‘to align’, also in sense ‘properly/harmoniously align’, hence participle *handānt-* ‘just, moral, right(eous)’. <sup>GIS</sup>*hanza(n)-* assures weaving sense also in Anatolian. Moral sense likely also *einzelnsprachlich*. But do examples B.2 and 3 reflect lexical renewal of PIE metaphor?

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