

Antimachus's Enigma On Erytheia, the Latvian Sun-goddess and a Red Fish^{*}

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In this paper I focus on a character named Ἐρύθεια ('the red one'), who, according to Antimachus of Colophon, escorts Helios's golden cup. I compare the characteristics and the role played by this figure with those of the Latvian Sun-goddess Saule, who is associated to the color red in various ways. In particular, in one Latvian *Daina*, it is a red fish, the *rauda*, which guides Saule's vehicle. Therefore, I argue that the *rauda* fish, whose name is etymologically related to Greek Ἐρύθεια, has a similar role as that of Helios's *red guide*. Finally, I compare the Latvian tradition about the solar fish with the iconography of the Danish razors from the Late Bronze Age, on which a fish escorts the Sun-boat between the end of the night and the beginning of the day.

§1 In the eleventh book of *The Learned Banqueters*, the antiquarian scholar Athenaeus (3rd century CE) preserves a set of passages concerning the 'golden cup' (χρύσειον δέπας) which Helios, the Greek Sun-god, lent to Heracles on the occasion of his tenth labor. According to the most widespread account of the story, Heracles sailed on that cup to the island of Erytheia, where he stole the cattle of the giant Geryon (cf. Pherecydes *FHGr* I 80+). Ancient poets tell us that this was the very vehicle

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that Helios used to cross the waters during the night and reach a land in the East, from which his daily journey started.¹

One of the passages mentioned by Athenaeus of Colophon contains the following two verses by Antimachus of Colophon (second half of the 5th century BCE) which offer an interesting detail about Helios's journey:

Antimachus F86 Matthews (= 66 Wyss)

τότε δὴ χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαι

Ἥλιον πομπεύειν ἀγακλυμένη Ἐρύθεια

"Then the high-glorified Erytheia guided Helios in a golden cup"²

Antimachus's verses stand out as unique because of the role they attribute to Erytheia.³ This name, which literally means 'the red one', occurs in several other passages dealing with Helios's cup. Sometimes it is the name of Geryon's island (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 289-290), sometimes Erytheia is one of the Hesperides (see below, §2). Only Antimachus makes her the Sun-god's guide (cf. Gk. πομπεύω 'escort/accompany solemnly; guide'), a fact that might be seen as indicative of an original poetic invention by Antimachus himself.

However, in this paper, I will provide a parallel for the link between the 'red one' and the 'journey of the Sun-god' within other Indo-European poetic and religious traditions. First of all, I will focus on Erytheia's possible role and connection with Helios's nocturnal journey on the δέπας (§2). In this context, I will argue that the descriptions of Helios's δέπας in some lyric passages of the 7th-6th century BCE ultimately hint at a ship (§3). Then, I will compare the Greek phraseological and onomastic data with that of the Latvian *Dainas*—folksongs redacted in the 19th century, but originating

¹Athenaeus attaches the account to the definition of a vessel called Ἡράκλειον ('huge drinking cup'). On the δέπας and its possible Asianic background see Watkins 2004.

²Athenaeus 11.469e (3.32 Kaibel). I stick with Ἥλιον (West). Jessen reads χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαι || Ἥλιον and assumes that Heracles, not Helios, is travelling on the golden vessel in Antimachus's fragment.

³The fragment probably belonged to the *Lyde*, cf. Matthews 1996: 245-246. According to West (1974: 169), the fragment may just refer to the early sunset in an elaborate way.

from a genuine, conservative oral tradition (§4-6). The *Dainas* provide us with abundant information on the journey of the Latvian Sun-goddess Saule. In this connection, I endeavor to show that:

- (a) Saule's nocturnal journey also takes place both on a boat and on a hybrid, wheel-less vehicle called *kamaņiņa* ('little sledge'), each of which may respectively be connected to different moments of her journey, the night and, I would suggest, the early morning.
- (b) Saule's vehicle is guided by a red fish which may be seen as the missing link between 'the red one' and the 'nocturnal journey of the Sun'.
- (c) Finally, I will attempt to show that the reference to the fish in Saule's journey matches the iconography of Scandinavian razors of the Late Bronze Age (1100-500 BCE, §7). Here, the solar boat is led by a fish between the end of the night and the beginning of the day.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to place the tradition preserved by Antimachus in its inherited mythological and religious framework by recomposing the phraseological, onomastic and iconographic puzzle of the journey of the sun in at least three branches of the Indo-European linguistic family: Greek, Baltic and Germanic. A comparative analysis of this sort can shed light on Erytheia's character and role in Antimachus's verses.

§2 The name Erytheia can be straightforwardly traced back to a PIE root **h₁reyd^h-* 'turn red; redden',⁴ which underlies a wide set of words, such as the adjective 'red' in several IE languages; compare Gk. ἐρυθρός, Lat. *ruber*, Umbr. *rufro*, OCSl. *rdbrъ*, To. A *rtär*, B *ratre*, all reflecting a *ro*-derivative to **h₁reyd^h-*. Besides occurring as a toponym (§1), Erytheia is the name of a character that ancient mythographers and historians connect with the above-mentioned Geryon in different ways. According to Hellanicus (5th century BCE), Erytheia begets Eurytion—the herder of Geryon's cattle—from Ares: τὸν Εὐρυτιῶνά φησιν Ἑλλάνικος γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ Ἄρεος καὶ

⁴See the dossier in *NIL* 580-584, Nussbaum 1976: 13-14.

Ἐρυθείας “Hellanicus says that Eurytion was born from Ares and Erytheia” (Hellan. *FHGr* 110.3).

On the other hand, Pausanias’ *Periegesis* (10.17.5) preserves a tradition according to which Erytheia is the daughter of Geryon: παῖδα δὲ Ἐρυθείας τε τῆς Γηρυόνου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Νώρακα “they say that Norax is the son of Erytheia, the daughter of Geryon, and Hermes.” An epigram collected in the pseudo-Aristotelic *Mirabilium auscultationes* consistently tells us that Heracles abducted Erytheia together with her father’s cattle, cf.

[Aristot.] *Mirabilium auscultationes* 133⁵

Ἡρακλέης τεμένισσα Κυθήρα Φερσεφάασση
Γηρυονείας ἀγέλας ἐλάων ἦδ’ Ἐρύθειαν ἄγων

“I, Heracles, created a *temenos* for the Cythera Phersephassa, when I led away the Geryonian cattle and abducted (: married) Erytheia.”⁶

Finally, a part of the ancient tradition in our possession identifies Erytheia as one of the Hesperides, i.e. the goddesses of the ‘Evening’, cf.

[Apoll.] 2.114.2 μετὰ τούτου δὲ Ἑσπερίδες ἐφύλαττον,
Αἴγλη Ἐρύθεια Ἑσπερία Ἀρέθουσα

“With it (: the dragon) the Hesperides also were on guard, to wit, Aegle, Erytheia, Hesperia, and Arethusa”

Schol. in Clementem Alexandrinum 303.1

ἦ δὲ Ἐρύθεια καὶ Ἑσπερέθουσα βοῶπις. ὡς φησιν
Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ρόδιος

⁵According to Preger 1891: 79-81 the epigram, which was written on an inscription, is to be dated to approximately the 4th century BCE. On the verses see Barigazzi 1988.

⁶Though preserved in a text of relatively late age, the collocation Ἐρύθειαν ἄγων, which reflects [LEAD – WOMAN : ABDUCT], constitutes a significant match to YAv. *uta he vaṇta azāni* “and that I may carry off his (Aži Dahāka’s) two wives” (Yt. 5.34). Several particulars of the Avestan mythological digression about Aži Dahāka match, on the one part, those about the Vedic monster Viśvarūpa (Benveniste – Renou 1934: 195), on the other, those about Geryon (Watkins 1995: 464-468). Among others, the hero carries off a booty from his enemy, consisting of cows (Greek, Vedic) or women (Avestan).

"Erytheia and cow-eyed Hesperothousa. So says Apollonius of Rhodes"⁷

Serv. ad *Aen.* 4.484.1

Hesiodus has Hesperidas Aeglen, Erytheam, Hesperiam, Arethusam, Noctis filias, ultra Oceanum mala aurea habuisse dicit

"Hesiodus says that these Hesperides, (named) Aegle, Erythea, Hesperia, Arethusa, daughters of the Night, kept some golden apples beyond the Oceans"

The link between the Hesperides and Geryon's island can be easily reconstructed within the Greek poetic tradition. Indeed, Heracles's tenth labor, the raid on Geryon's cattle, has some characteristics in common with his eleventh labor that consisted of stealing the Hesperides' apples: In both cases Heracles has to steal valuable goods—a herd, the golden apples—, guarded by a dangerous, monstrous guardian—Geryon in the tenth labor, the serpent in the eleventh—, which the hero ultimately kills. Furthermore, both labors take place somewhere far away, the island Erytheia itself being sometimes identified as neighboring the Hesperides.⁸

§3 The association between Erytheia and Helios's golden cup in the above-mentioned passage by Antimachus suggests that Erytheia is a Hesperis. Indeed, we learn from a passage by the lyric poet Mimnermus that the starting point of Helios's nocturnal journey was the land of the Hesperides. According to Athenaeus (*The Learned Banqueters* 11.470a), who is our source for Mimnermus's passage, the lyric poet mentions the 'golden δέπας' in a riddling way (αἰνισσόμενος τὸ κοῖλον τοῦ ποτηρίου) in his lost work *Nanno*. Mimnermus's verses furthermore allow us to recover a bunch of accurate details on Helios's daily and nocturnal journey.

⁷Cf. *Schol. in Clementem Alexandrinum* 302.34-35 Stählin Treu "the Hesperides (Ἑσπερίδες) protect the so-called golden apples".

⁸According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Gorgons live where the Hesperides are located and Geryon, the inhabitant of Erytheia, is the son of Chrysaor and Challirhoe, i.e. Medusa's grandchild (vv. 274-294).

Mimn. F 12.1-10 Allen / West (F7 Davies)
 Ἡέλιος μὲν γάρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἦματα πάντα
 οὐδέ ποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία
 ἵπποισιν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπεὶ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως
 Ὠκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῆη.
 τὸν μὲν γάρ διὰ κῦμα φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή,
 κοίλῃ, Ἥφαιστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη,
 χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, ὑπόπτερος, ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ
 εὔδονθ' ἀρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων
γαῖαν ἐς Αἰθιοπῶν, ἵνα δὴ θοὸν ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι
 ἐστᾶσ', ὄφρ' Ἥως ἠριγένεια μόλῃ.

“For the Sun’s lot is toil every day and there is never any respite for him and his horses, from the moment rose-fingered Dawn leaves Oceanus and goes up into the sky. A lovely bed, hollow, forged by the hands of Hephaestus, of precious gold and winged, carries him, as he sleeps soundly, over the waves on the water’s surface from the place of the Hesperides to the land of the Ethiopians, where his swift chariot and horses stand until early-born Dawn comes.”⁹ (Gerber 1999)

This passage is a riddle in which Mimnermus hints at Helios’s nocturnal vehicle without naming it. However, the poet provides us with some clues for solving the enigma: Helios’s vehicle is ‘a lovely bed’ (πολυήρατος εὐνή), ‘hollow’ (κοίλῃ), ‘created by the hands of Hephaestus’ (Ἥφαιστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη), ‘golden’ (χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος) and ‘under-winged’ (ὑπόπτερος). In my opinion, a possible solution to the puzzle may be provided by a combinatory phraseological analysis, that is to say, by looking at the occurrences of κοίλος and ὑπόπτερος within Greek poetic phraseology. Both adjectives are epithets of ships, as the following examples show:

e.g. *Il.* 22.115-116

πάντα μάλ' ὅσσά τ' Ἀλέξανδρος κοίλης ἐνὶ νηυσὶν

ἠγάγετο Τροίηνδ'(ε) [...]

“All the many treasures that Alexander brought in his hollow ships to Troy”;

⁹For a commentary to the fragment see Allen 1993: 94-109.

Pi. O. 9.24-25

καὶ ναὸς ὑποπτέρου παντᾶ
ἀγγελίαν πέμψω ταύταν

"More swiftly than a winged ship I shall send this
announcement everywhere."¹⁰

The image of the 'winged' ship, on the other hand, is probably not an original creation by Pindar. In the *Odyssey*, oars are explicitly identified as 'the wings of the ships', cf. *Od.* 11.125 ἐνὴρε' ἐρετμά, τά τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται "shapely oars, which are a vessel's wings."¹¹

By assuming that Mimnermus and Antimachus imagine Helios's journey in a similar way, we shall conclude: Antimachus's 'golden cup' is Mimnermus's 'winged lovely bed', on which the god travels during the night from the West (the land of the Hesperides) to the East (the land of the Aethiopes). Erytheia, the 'red' Evening goddess guides or escorts Helios during the night, while he is probably sleeping in his lovely bed (πολυήρατος εὐνή).

§4 It has long been observed (Mannhardt 1875) that the Latvian Sun-goddess Saule has many features in common with the Greek Sun-god Helios (West 2007: 194-215). To begin with, Latv. *saule* 'sun, Sun-goddess', just as its close Baltic congener, Lithuanian *saulė* 'id.', derives from a stem **séh₂ul-* (cf. Ved. *s_uvár-*, Av. *hvarə-*, Goth. *sauil* 'sun') by means of a suffix *-(i)ie_h₂ (Petit 2010: 6). The corresponding masculine has the form **séh₂ul-(i)io-* and lies at the basis of Gk. ἥλιος, while ἡέλιος (Hom.+) reflects **séh₂uel-(i)io-*. Additionally, Vedic *Sūrya-* may reflect **suh₂l(i)io-* with laryngeal metathesis (*h₂u > uh₂*).

The details of Saule's daily routine match those found in Mimnermus's fragment, and can be briefly presented as follows: During the day, Saule passes through earthly or heavenly realms using untiring horses and a chariot,¹² during the night

¹⁰Cf. also Aeschl. *Suppl.* 734 νῆες ὡς ὠκύπτεροι "swift-winged ships."

¹¹Pherecydes (F I 2 Diels Kranz) identifies the 'wings' with the ships' sails.

¹²Saule's horses vary in number and color: they are 'two yellow horses' (LD 33807, 33873, 33914, 33915), 'three yellow horses' (LD 33913), 'two brown horses' (LD 33876), 'six brown horses' (LD 32614, 33875), 'five brown horses'

she crosses the waters (rivers, lakes, the sea) on a golden boat (Table 1).

		DAY-TIME	ROUTE/LANDSCAPE	VEHICLE	ANIMAL
Saule	<i>tek/brauca</i>	<i>dienu</i>	<i>par siliņu</i>	<i>ratiņos</i>	<i>kumeliņi</i> <i>ne tie kusa /</i> <i>ne ceļāi</i> <i>dusināmi</i> ‘horses’ ‘untiring, unstoppable’
Ἡέλιος		‘day’	‘forest’	‘chariot’	καὶ ἵπποι ἄμπαυσις οὐδεμία
Saule		<i>nakti</i>	<i>par jūriņu</i>	<i>zelta</i> <i>laiviņā</i>	no animals (?)
Ἡέλιος		‘night’	‘water’	‘golden boat’	?
			διὰ κύμα, ἄκρον ἐφ’ ὕδωρ	κοίλλη, χρυσοῦ, ὑπόπτερος	

Table 1.

The single elements of the scheme occur in several *Dainas*, as a few selected examples illustrate:
Saule passes through the forest on a chariot and crosses the sea on a boat, cf.

LD 33811

Kas to teica, tas meloja

Ka Saulīte kājām tek.

Par siliņu ratiņos

Par jūriņu laiviņā

“Whoever said it, he lied (about the fact) that Saule runs by foot, (she runs) through the forest on a chariot, across the sea on a boat”

(LD 33935), or ‘two grey horses’ (LD 33771, 33772, 33773, 33874). Sometimes Saule has a single (little) horse (LD 33945, 33989, 29729).

Saule travels on untiring horses,¹³ cf.

LD 33914

*Saule brauca olu kalņu,
Div' dzeltenī kumelīņi
Ne tie svīda, ne tie kusa
Ne celāi dusināmi*

“Saule went on the pebble hill, with two yellow horses. They did not sweat, did not tire, without resting on the way”

By combining the information of different folksongs, we can connect two different landscapes that Saule crosses—the forest on the one hand, the waters (the Daugava river, the lakes, the sea), on the other—with two different parts of the day, cf.

LD 33860

*Mēnestiņis tā vaicāja:
Kur, Saulīte, nakti gulī?
Sak' Saulīte raudādama:
Vai es arī nakti gulū?
Dienu teku zaļu birzi,
Nakti zelta laivīnā*

“Mēnesis asked as follows: – Where, o Saule, do you sleep at night? Saule says, crying: – Do I, too, sleep at night? During the day, I run in the green birch-forest, during the night on a boat”

§5 Just as Helios is associated with the ‘red one’ in Antimachus’s fragment, Saule is associated with the color ‘red’ on several occasions:

To begin with, Saule puts on a red garment in the evening. The image of the *Daina* strikingly fits that of the Hesperis Erytheia in more than one way: Gk. Ἑσπερίς ‘Evening (goddess)’ is derived from ἔσπερος ‘evening’ by means of a substantivizing/individualizing *i*-morpheme. As for ἔσπερος, Janda (1998-1999) and Katz (2000) interpret it as a derivative from **ues-p-* ‘shroud’, a secondary enlargement of the root **ues-* ‘wear’.¹⁴ Significantly, Saule’s *evening clothes* are red, while Erytheia is ‘the red Hesperis’.

¹³West (2007: 211) stresses that the Sun-god is ‘untiring’ in Greek (ἄκάμας Ἡέλιος, *Il.* 18.239+, *HHymn.* 31.7, *Hes. Th.* 956), Vedic (*ájasra-* RV 10.12.7, *atandrita-*, *MBh.* 3.160.35+), while Saule ‘never sleeps’ (*Saule, Mēness i neguļ* “Saule and Menesis do not sleep”, LD 6702, 33812, 33813, 33860).

¹⁴According to Olsen 2016, the putative enlarged root **ues-p-* does not exist. The derivational basis of Hittite *wašpa-* ‘clothing’ and Latin *uespillō* ‘undertaker for the poorest classes’ and further nominal derivatives, including

LD 33791

Kālabad ik vakara
Gaisa gali atsārkuši?
Saule savus zīda svārkus
Ik vakara vēdināja.
 (variant 4)
Noiet Saule vakarā,
Mežiem gali atsārkuši:
Saulīt' savus zīda svārkus
Uz jūriņu vizināja

“Why does the edge of the sky glow red every evening? The Sun airs her silk skirt every evening.”
 “Saule goes to bed in the evening, the forests’ peaks glow red, Saule airs her silk skirt on the sea”

In other mythological folksongs, Saule is associated with the color red in the very early morning: She is so red when she gets up (Latv. *lēce, lēca*) that the poet wonders if she is blushing because of a fight with another goddess, cf.

LD 33793

Kālabad šo rītiņu
Tik sarkana Saule lēce?
Vai tā bija rājusies
Ar Dieviņa māmuļiti?

“Why has Saule woken up so red this morning? Did she quarrel with the Mother of God?”

In another *Daina*, Saule awakens in a red tree, cf.

LD 33786

Ik rītiņa Saule lēca
Sarkanāi kociņā;
Ķauni kungi veci tapa,
To kociņu meklēdami

“Every morning Saule woke up in a red tree; young men grew old while searching for this tree”

The association between Saule and the ‘red tree’ is reminiscent of that of the Hesperis Erytheia, one of the divine guardians of a golden apple tree within the Greek tradition (§2). The connection between the Hesperides and the apple tree was so close that Apollonius of Rhodes, who calls Erytheia Ἐρυθίς, has the three Hesperides turning into trees, cf. A.R. 4.1427-1428 Ἐσπέρη ἀίγειρος, πελέη δ’ Ἐρυθίς ἔγεντο || Αἴγλη δ’ ἰτείης ἱερὸν στύπος “Hesperes became a poplar, Erytheis an elm, and Aegle the sacred trunk of a willow”.

ἔσπερος ‘evening’, is **ueb^h*- ‘weave’. Hittite *wašpa-* would then reflect **uospo-*, an *o*-grade thematic derivative to an *s*-stem **uob^h-s-o-* with assimilation and metathesis (**uob^h-s-o-* → **uospo-*).

Finally, Saule, *waking up in red*, leads her boat ashore:

LD 33908

*Saulīt' bāla noiedama,
Atstāj laivu uz ūdeņa;
Rītā, sārta uzlēkdama.
Pārved laivu maliņā*

“Saule, pale when she goes to bed, leaves her boat on the water. In the morning, when she wakes up in red, she brings the boat ashore”

The passage in question does not really allow us to recover a difference between Saule's diurnal and nocturnal vehicles: she would appear to be travelling by boat both day and night. However, we might recover some interesting facts about Saule's *evening dress* on the basis of the passage quoted above. Thus, we can infer that red is the color of the night: Saule is 'pale' (*bāla*) at the end of the day, when she goes to bed (*noiedama*), while she is 'red' (*sārta*) when she awakes, that is to say, early in the morning. Therefore, the goddess seems to turn her color from white to red during the night. A comparison between the passage mentioned above and other *Dainas* allows us to go further in tracking down Saule's colors in the evening and in the morning. The goddess dresses in white when she gets up (*celdamās*), cf.

LD 33910

*Saulīt' bālta noiedama,
Guļās zelta laiviņā
No rītiņa, celdamās,
Apģērbjās sudrabā*

“Saule, pale when she goes to bed, lies down in a golden boat. In the morning, standing up, she dresses up in silver”

The Greek fragments about Helios's travel do not refer to the sun-god as changing his color. However, it is striking how the image of the 'red goddess' who 'leads the (golden) Sun-boat' matches that found in Antimachus's fragment, where, however, Erytheia does not overlap with Helios.

§6 The cumulative evidence I have provided so far shows that the association between Saule and the color red survives on a phraseological level. It is possible, furthermore, that the tradition of the 'red one, who/which leads the sun-boat' might also have lived on in Latvian at a deeper level. In this regard, I would like to bring out a folksong in which an actor called

rauda ‘the red one’ is mentioned in connection with Saule and her *kamaņiņa* ‘pretty little sledge’. On this vehicle made of fish-bones, Saule crosses the Daugava. Although the *kamaņiņa* is pulled by fish, a horse is mentioned as well, cf.

LD 33916

<u>Saule brauca pār Daugavu</u>	“Saule crossed the Daugava on
<u>Laša kaula kamaņiņas</u>	a little sledge of salmon’s
<u>Asarītis zirgu dzina</u>	bones. The pole impelled the
<u>Rauda tura kamaņiņas</u>	horse, <u>the rauda (gardon/roach)</u>
	<u>held the little sledge”</u>

The occurrence of a diurnal animal, the horse, in the same context as Saule’s nocturnal route, the Daugava River, might suggest that the folksong refers to a ‘moment of transition’. Indeed, the *kamaņiņa* is a vehicle of a hybrid nature: an ancient type of sledge that has no wheels and resembles a ship but moves across earthly realms (Figure 1). Hence, I propose that in LD 33916 (above), Saule is completing her nocturnal route and beginning the diurnal one, which explains the appearance of fish and a horse together.

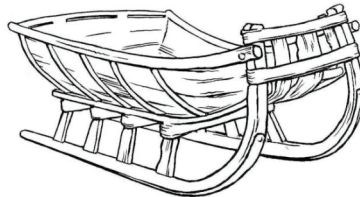


Figure 1: a *kamana*

A further, striking lexical coincidence is to be emphasized here. The fish-name *rauda* is a linguistic congener of Ἐρυθρία, reflecting an *o*-grade thematic derivative **h₁roud^h-o-* ‘red’, cf. Ved. *lohā-* ‘red metal’, Umbr. *rofu, rofa* ‘red’, Goth. *rauþs* ‘id.’, Old Irish *rúad* ‘id.’ etc. Even today, the *rauda* is identified with the *Rutilus rutilus* (‘gardon’ or ‘roach’), a fish that has red eyes and red fins.¹⁵ It is remarkable that once again the Latvian

¹⁵In another folksong, the *kamaņiņa* is accompanied by the Sons of God, who are commonly mentioned as Saule’s wooers, cf. 33894 *Rauda brauca par ezeru / Rakstītām kamanām; / Dieva dēli pavadija / Puškotām cepurēm* “Le gardon allait à travers le lac, sur un traîneau incrusté; les Fils de Dieu l’accompagnaient avec les chapeaux ornés de fleurs” (Jonval 1929, 115). As a typological parallel for a fish called ‘red one’, see Gk. ἐρυθρίνος (also

Dainas exhibit an association between the 'the red one' (IE **h₁reud^h*-) and the Sun-goddess's hybrid vehicle, which she probably uses between the night and the day.

As a thought experiment, I shall now try to recompose the patchwork of Saule's travel, by adding the information concerning the 'evening' and 'early morning' as well as that regarding the different 'colors' that the goddess takes on at different moments of the day. Saule *whitens* during the day and *reddens* during the night (Table 2).¹⁶

	DAY-PART	ROUTE/ LANDSCAPE	VEHICLE	ANIMAL	COLOR	
Saule	<i>tek/brauca</i> 'runs/crosses'	<i>dienu</i> 'day'	<i>par siliņu</i> 'forest'	<i>ratiņos</i> 'chariot'	<i>kumeliņi</i> 'horse'	'white' (?) 'white/pale'
	<i>noiet</i>	<i>vakarā</i>	<i>mežiem</i>		<i>bāla</i>	<i>noiedama</i>
		<i>ik</i>	<i>uz jūriņu</i>		<i>atsārkuši</i>	
	'goes to bed'	<i>vakara</i> in the evening	'forest', 'water'			'redden'
	<i>tek/brauca</i>	<i>nakti</i> 'night'	<i>par jūriņu</i> 'water'	<i>zelta</i> <i>laiviņā</i> 'golden boat'	(?)	'white' → 'red' (?)
	<i>lēca</i>	<i>ik rītiņa</i>	<i>pār</i>	<i>kamaņiņa</i>	fish (?)	<i>sārta</i>
	<i>uzlēkdama</i>	<i>rītā</i>	<i>Daugavu</i> <i>maliņā</i>		<i>laša,</i> <i>rauda</i>	cf. <i>rauda</i>
	'awakes'	'in the morning'	'through the Daugava'	'sledge'	'salmon'	'red', cf. 'red fish'
	<i>apģērbjās</i> 'dresses up'		'ashore'		'gardon'	<i>sudrabā</i> 'in silver' 'red' → 'white' (?)

Table 2.

The comparison between Erytheia in Antimachus's fragment and the figure and attributes of Saule in the Latvian *Dainas* shows that Erytheia is, on the one hand, comparable to

ἔρυθίνοϛ) identified as the *Serranus anthias* (Arist. *HA* 538a.20) or as the *Pagellus erythrinus*. I thank Stefan Höfler for providing this parallel to me.

¹⁶Similarly, cf. RV 1.96.5a *náktošāsā várṇam āmémyāne* "night and Dawn, ever exchanging their color." (Jamison – Brereton 2014).

the red Saule (early morning/evening Saule), who drags her boat ashore; on the other hand, functionally and etymologically comparable to the *rauda* ('red fish'), the animal that pulls Saule's sledge.

§7 The association between the 'fish' and the Sun-god(dess) is not exclusively restricted to the Baltic poetic tradition. Ancient artifacts from Scandinavia actually provide a striking iconographical parallel. As is well known, Danish razors from the Late Bronze Age (1100-500) allow us to reconstruct the complex daily routine of the sun-boat. The razors contain several illustrations of the Sun-ship, moving with the help of several different animals. On the basis of an iconographical pattern—the orientation of the different ships on the razors—Flemming Kaul (1998, 2018: 240) has reconstructed the main actors and events of the Scandinavian Sun-ship (Figure 2). According to this model, different animals are associated with different phases of the day: Animals found on ships sailing from left to right are associated with the daytime. Conversely, animals and symbols associated with ships sailing from right to left are associated with the night-time.

The scheme can be summarized in ten passages, namely: (1) the Sun's travel begins with a fish accompanying his ship; (2)-(3) the sun is delivered to a couple of falcons, then (4)-(5) to a horse. Later on, the sun (6) arrives at a certain destination, where (7) a snake takes charge of it and (8) conceals it; (9) during the night the sun travels on a ship, until (10) in the early morning a fish undertakes the task of guiding the Sun-boat again.

As highlighted in Kaul's study (1998: I 216-221), the fish occurs on ships sailing both to the right and to the left. Therefore, this animal has been regarded as a "mediator between night and day, the creature which can bring the sun from the night-ship to the morning-ship." In other words, the task of the solar fish consists in escorting the sun-boat between the end of the night (10) and the beginning of the day (1-2). The parallel with the role of the Latvian *rauda* is striking. Given the fact that the Baltic region and Scandinavia are neighboring areas, it is possible that some of the Latvian *Dainas* borrowed

the Scandinavian image and therefore exhibit a tradition in which the journey of the Sun-goddess (in red) merges with that of the solar fish.

§8 To sum up:

In a fragment by Antimachus of Colophon (second half of the 5th century BCE) Ἐρύθεια, 'the Red One', guides Helios in his golden δέπας. The synchronic analysis of Greek passages dealing with the journey of Helios reveals that the poetic image of the golden δέπας 'cup, vessel' hints at the solar boat. Specifically, a fragment by Mimnermus makes clear that Helios uses the boat to travel during the night from the land of the Hesperides (χώρου ἄφ' Ἑσπερίδων) to that of the Aithiopes. Therefore, it is possible that one of the Hesperides, Erytheia the 'Red One', took on the role of guiding the Sun-god's vessel.

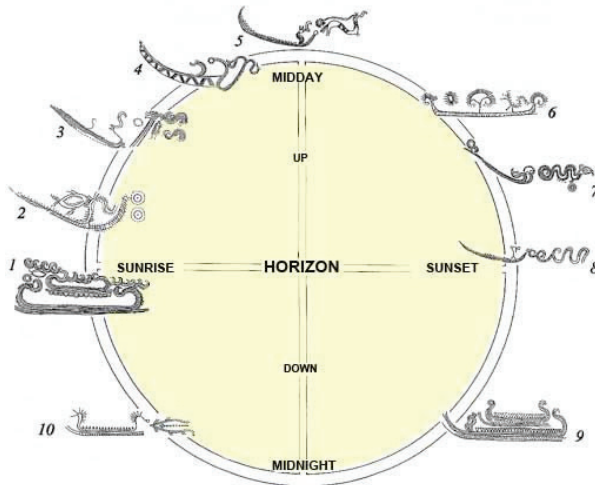


Figure 2: the voyage of the solar boat.¹⁷

In the Latvian *Dainas*, Saule's journey resembles that of Helios: she traverses the same realms as him during identical parts of the day, namely: earth/sky during the day (*dienu* [...] *zaļu birzi*), water during the night (*nakti zelta laiviņā*; ἄκρον ἔφ'

¹⁷<https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-bronze-age/the-sun-chariot/the-journey-of-the-sun-across-the-sky/> (last access: 27/11/2018, 14:53).

ὑδωρ, Mimnermus). Additionally, they use the same vehicles and the same animals - (*ratiņos, kumeliņi, zelta laiviņā*; ἄρμα καὶ ἵπποι, Mimnermus; χρυσέω δέπαι, Antimachus).

Moreover, Saule is connected to the colors ‘red’ and ‘white’: She is pale at the beginning of the evening (*bāla noiedama*) when she makes forests or the air glow red (*gaisa gali / mežiem gali atsārkuši*), or wears red clothes (*zīda svārkus*). Early in the morning, Saule wakes up in red (*sarkana lēce*) and drags her boat ashore (*pārved laivu maliņā*). Furthermore, early in the morning, she dresses in white (*no rītiņa apģērbjās sudrabā*). This image resembles that found in Antimachus’s fragment (χρυσέω ἐν δέπαι / Ἥλιον πόμπευεν [...] Ἐρύθεια). On the other side, Erytheia is the ‘red Hesperis’, etymologically ‘the goddess dressed up in red’.

Additionally, in one *Daina*, Saule travels on a *kamaņiņa* driven by a red fish, the *rauda*, a close cognate of Ἐρύθεια from a purely etymological point of view. The combinatory analysis of the *Dainas* detailing Saule’s journey suggests that the *rauda* might escort her between the end of the night and the beginning of the day, when she uses a hybrid vehicle, i.e. a ‘sledge’.

In turn, the role of the red fish within Saule’s travel parallels that of the fish in the iconography of the Scandinavian razors of the Bronze Age (Denmark, 1100-500 BCE; Figure 3). Here, the solar boat is led by a fish between the end of the night and the beginning of the day.

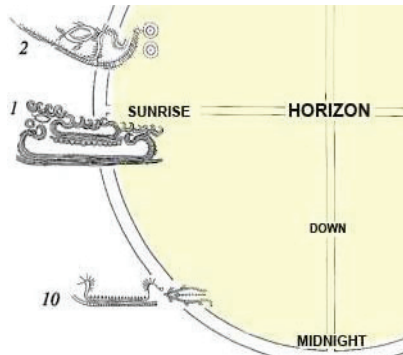


Figure 3: A fish overtakes the solar boat (end of the night [10], beginning of the day [1-2]).

In conclusion, I have made the case that the role of Erytheia in Antimachus's fragment parallels that of the 'red one(s)' in the Latvian tradition. The analogous roles played by *red* actors in the Greek and Baltic traditions can count as a further feature that Helios's and Saule's journeys have in common. Finally, the comparison between the Baltic 'solar fish' and the Scandinavian iconography from the Late Bronze Age suggests that these two traditions share the same image.

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