Laura Massetti
Fashioning Immortality

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Fashioning Immortality

Comparative Studies in Three Pindaric Odes

DE GRUYTER

Μητρὶ ἐμῇ, συμφιλεῖν πεφυκυίᾳ

Preface

This book collects comparative studies about three Pindaric odes: *Pythian Three*, *Nemean Three*, and *Nemean Five*. I presented several of the themes of the book in talks, conferences, and workshops which I took part in between 2022 and 2025. The attendance of these academic events and the redaction of the book itself were possible thanks to my work on the project "The Lords of the Rings: A Comparative Lens on Ring-Compositions of Greek Lyric Poetry" (MSCA_0000083 project LORACOLA, CUP: C61B22002760001), carried out at University of Naples "L'Orientale" from December 2022 to December 2025. The project received funds from the program "NEXT Generation EU, NRRP M4C2." Furthermore, a consistent part of the book was redacted and edited during my stay at the Fondation Hardt (May 2024).

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Ancient Authors and Works (Editions)

The names/titles of Greek and Latin authors and works are abbreviated as per the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (abbr. OCD): https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/3993 (last accessed: 04.07.2025). The names of authors and works who/which do not appear in the OCD are not abbreviated.

Old Indic

AiBr.		Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Keith [1920])
ĀpŚS		Āpastambaśrautasūtra (Garbe/Kashikar/Fushimi [1983])
AVP		Atharvaveda Paippalāda (different editors, AVP 4.15, Griffiths/Lubotsky [2000–2001])
AVŚ		Atharvaveda Śaunakīya (Kim [2021])
JB		Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (Ehlers [1989])
MBh		Mahābhārata (Sukthankar et al. [1937–1964])
MS		Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā (von Schroeder [1881–1886]; transl. books I–II, Amano [2009])
RV		Rigveda (van Nooten/Holland [1994])
ŚB		Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Kāṇvīya Recension, Caland [1926], rev. Vira [1983], Mādhyandina Recension, Weber [1855])
TS		Taittirīya Saṁhitā (Keith [1914])
Y.	Nir.	Yāska, Nirukta (Śankar Śarma 'Rishi' [1961])

Avestan

S.	*Sirōza* (Darmesteter [1883], Geldner [1896], Raffaelli [2014])
Vd.	*Vidēvdād* (Darmesteter [1880], Geldner [1896], Dhabhar [1949])
Vr.	*Visperad* (Geldner [1896], Dhabhar [1949])
N.	*Nirangistān* (Kotwal/Kreyenbroek [2009])
Y.	*Yasna* (*Yasna* 29, Pirart [2018], Peschl [2022], *Yasna* 27–54, Kellens/Pirart [1988–1991] vol. 1, Humbach/Elfenbein/Skjærvø [1991], Martinez Porro/Cantera [2019–])
Yt.	*Yašt* (Darmesteter [1883], Geldner [1896], Martinez Porro/Cantera [2019–])

Old Norse

GSúrs	*Lv*	Gísli Súrsson, *Lausavísur* (Gade [2022])
KormQ.	*Lv*	Kormákr Qgmundarson, *Lausavísur* (Marold [2022])
	Skd	Snorri Sturluson, *Skáldskaparmál* (Faulkes [1998])

Anatolian Languages

KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (1979–2015), various eds.
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi* (1921–), various eds.

Other Abbreviations

acc.	= accusative	IE	= Indo-European
adj.	= adjective	ind.	= indicative
adv.	= adverb or adverbial	instr.	= instrumental
Aeol.	= Aeolic	interr.	= interrogative
Alph. Gk.	= Alphabetic Greek	Lat.	= Latin
aor.	= aorist	Latv.	= Latvian
arg.	= *argumentum*	lit.	= literally
Arm.	= Armenian	Lith.	= Lithuanian
Av.	= Avestan	masc.	= masculine
BCE	= before Christian Era	MN	= man's name
cat.	= catalogue	Myc.	= Mycenaean
dat.	= dative	nom.	= nominative
du.	= dual	nr.	= number
encl.	= enclitic	ntr.	= neutral or neuter
Eng.	= (Modern) English	OAv.	= Old Avestan
ex(x).	= example(s)	OIr.	= Old Irish
FCM(s)	= first compound member(s)	ON	= Old Norse
		pass.	= passive
fem.	= feminine	pf.	= perfect
ff.	= and the following pages/lines	PIE	= Proto-Indo-European
		PIIr.	= Proto-Indo-Iranian
fn.	= footnote	pl.	= plural
fr(r.)	= fragment(s)	pres.	= present
gen.	= genitive	pret.	= preterite
Gk.	= Greek	ptc.	= participle
Hitt.	= Hittite	SCM(s)	= second compound member(s)
HLuw.	= Hieroglyphic Luwian		
Hom.	= Homeric	sg.	= singular
id.	= identical	sth.	= something

st(t).	= stanza(s)	Ved.	= Vedic
subst.	= substantive	voc.	= vocative
superl.	= superlative	vs.	= in contrast to
TA	= Tocharian A	WN	= woman's name
TB	= Tocharian B	YAv.	= Young Avestan

Phraseological and Linguistic Conventions, Definitions

I refer to the same conventions that I employed in my previous study (Massetti 2024a), which I report here, without any significant change.

+   = **"and elsewhere":** the sign usually follows the abbreviation of an author's name, a work/text passage/textual corpus.

*x   = **reconstructed form/root:** A nominal or verbal stem or root is reconstructed on the basis of the comparison between two or more linguistic cognates. This does not necessarily mean that reconstructed forms existed as such in Proto-Indo-European, but that they might have existed as such at a certain stage of Indo-European.

x > y   = **'x becomes y'** (i.e. 'y derives from x')

y < x   = **'y derives from x'** (i.e. 'x becomes y'): The sign marks the passage from a linguistic shape that existed or might have existed to a following linguistic stage, which may or may not be historically attested.

x*   = **unattested form:** A certain form is not attested in a certain case or ending, but might have existed as such within the synchrony of a language. The convention often applies to the first singular of rare verbs or to the nominative case of inflected *hapax eiremena*.

x°   = **first compound member (FCM)**

°x   = **second compound member (SCM):** A compound form consists of two or more compound members that are counted left to right. The first compound member (FCM) is the first part of a compound from the left, the second compound member (SCM) is the next member, which most times contains the word ending.

x : y   = **minimal pair or set:** Two (minimal pair) or more forms are part of one and the same pattern, e.g. a distribution pattern, the same inflectional paradigm (suppletivism) or the same derivational pattern.

[x]   = **concept:** The convention is used here to refer to a lexeme, to a hyperonym of a group of synonymic terms, or their semantic field.

[x – y]/   = **collocation:** A collocation is the frequent co-occurrence of two (or
[x–y]   more) individual lexical items, in a sort of semantic or phraseological connection.[1] The combination of the term is not fixed, but relatively free.

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1 See Bußmann (2008), s.v. Kollokation: "[…] characteristic word combinations which have developed an idiomatic relation based on their frequent co-occurrence" (translated into English by the author), Crystal (2004), s.v. collocation: "the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items."

Furthermore, the lexemes may combine in different structures: [SUB-STANTIVE – ADJECTIVE], [SUBSTANTIVE – SUBSTANTIVE], [SUBSTAN-TIVE – VERB] etc. For purely stylistic purposes the following terms are sporadically used in this study as synonyms of 'collocation': *iunctura* (pl. *iuncturae*), phraseme.

In collocations of the type [SUBSTANTIVE – ADJECTIVE], featuring Greek, Vedic or Avestan forms, I conventionally provide the nominative singular or plural (*pluralia tantum*) (Greek) or the stem-form (Vedic/Avestan) even if they occur in a different case in the texts. In collocations of the type [SUB-STANTIVE – SUBSTANTIVE] too, substantives are indicated in nominative singular or plural (*pluralia tantum*) (Greek), stem-form (Vedic/Avestan), different cases are subscribed to the second substantive, e.g. [ABODE – DEITY$_{gen.}$] means 'abode of a deity'. In collocations of the type [SUB-STANTIVE – VERB], the substantives are indicated in nominative (Greek), stem-forms (Vedic/Avestan); different cases are subscribed to the substantives; verbs are indicated in the 1sg. ind. pres. (Greek) or their root in guṇa (Old Indic and Avestan) is provided, e.g. [to FIND – WORDS] will appear as Gk. [εὑρίσκω–ἔπος$_{acc.(pl.)}$] and Ved. [*ved* – *vácas*-$_{acc.(pl.)}$]. Through the phrase-ological comparison different types of matches can be identified, namely:

Perfect match = the constitutive members of a collocation go back to the same root and display identical formations, e.g. Gk. ἱερὸν μένος 'holy energy' : Ved. *iṣiréṇa mánasā* 'with a vigorous mind' (see Kuhn 1853b).

Partial match = the constitutive members of a collocation go back to the same root and display non-identical formations, these include: (i) cases of collocations in which both members go back to the same root, but are formally non-identical, e.g. Ved. *ákṣiti-* – *śrávas-*, Gk. κλέος ἄφθιτον 'unperishable fame' (Kuhn 1853a); (ii) cases of collocations in which one member of the collocation is a perfect or partial match and another/others is/are expressed by means of a different lexeme, as a consequence of lexical renewal, e.g. the pair Gk. Ἐτεο-κλῆς 'having authentic fame' and Ved. *Satya-śravas-* 'having authentic fame'.

[x]–[y]   = **association:** A phraseological connection between two concepts that are attested in a text, although it is not reflected by a collocation of the type [SUBSTANTIVE – ADJECTIVE/SUBSTANTIVE/VERB]. That is, two concepts/ideas or images are attested in the same context, at close distance, but they are not part of the same collocation. Take, for instance, the following passage: Pind. fr. 205.1–2 ἀρχὰ μεγάλας ἀρετᾶς, ‖ ὤνασσ᾽ Ἀλάθεια "Beginning of great excellence, queen Truth!" The verses do not reflect a collocation [ἀρετά–ἀλάθεια₍ₑₙ.₎] or [ἀλάθεια–ἀρετά₍ₑₙ.₎]. Yet the ideas of ἀρετά and ἀλάθεια are associated in the passage: the two concepts occur at a close distance from one another and are somehow linked together.

[x+y]   = **joining of two concepts:** Two concepts are connected together in a single unity, such as a compound word, or a merism, i.e. a structure whose components are joined together to signify a different notion.

~   = **similar to, comparable to:** Two or more concepts, phrases, or formulations are comparable.

Introduction

1 Topic and Structure of the Study

Pythian Three, *Nemean Three* and *Nemean Five* seem to have little in common besides their all having been written by Pindar. While the two *Nemeans* celebrate Aeginetans who won at the Nemean Games,[1] the dedicatee of *Pythian Three*, Hieron of Syracuse, is of a different geographic provenance. Moreover, the ode is not an encomium ἐπὶ νίκῃ,[2] but a *consolatio* to Hieron, who failed to win at the Pythian Games in 474 BCE and was ill when Pindar composed the ode.[3] In fact, my criterion for selecting these works is of a stylistic/linguistic nature: I concentrate on odes in which Pindar uses the term τέκτων 'builder, craftsman, *fashioner*' metaphorically.

As arbitrary as my selection might at first appear, a quick check of the τέκτων entry in Slater's (1969) *Pindaric Lexicon* confirms that the distribution of the word in the extant Pindaric poems is, actually, remarkable, especially if it is compared with the instances of the noun in traditional hexameter poetry. Pindar uses the term τέκτων, which in Homer is applied exclusively to "fashioners of objects from solid materials,"[4] principally within metaphors. In only one of the five instances in Pindar, namely, in *Pythian Five*, does the term refer directly to skilled chariot makers of Cyrene:

> *Pyth.* 5.34–37
>   ... ἀλλὰ κρέμαται
> ὁπόσα χεριαρᾶν
> τεκτόνων δαιδάλματ᾽ ἄγων
> Κρισαῖον λόφον
>
> ... But it is hung in dedication all that ornate handiwork of skilled fashioners which he drove past the hill of Crisa ...[5]

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1 Take, for instance, Pfeijffer (1999), who groups the two odes together, as both are dedicated to Aeginetan winners.

2 The hypothesis that the ode is not an epinician was formulated by Heyne (1824), 182 and developed by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922), 280, 283.

3 Cingano (1991). Gentili (1995), 81, fn. 7 talks of "impure encomium," pointing out that the consolatory themes of the ode include encomiastic elements.

4 Riedenauer (1873), Müller (1974), LfgrE s.v. τέκτων.

5 Snell/Maehler (1987): δαίδαλ᾽ ἄγων. I read here δαιδάλματ᾽ ἄγων with Gentili (1995). Giannini (1995), 522 notes that this is a reference to the makers of Cyrenean chariots, which were renowned in antiquity, e.g. Antiphanes *PCG* 88 *apud* Ath. 3.58, Mnaseas *FGH* 40 *apud* Hsch. β 237 (see also

Significantly, this is also the only case in which the term does not occur in proximity to the beginning and/or the end of an ode. In all the other four instances of the word, τέκτων (i) applies to creators of *immaterial* objects and (ii) occurs close to the first and/or the final words of the ode (see Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of τέκτων in the extant Pindaric odes

τέκτονες of material things	*Pyth.* 5.36 **τεκτόνων δαιδάλματ᾽(α)**	builders	ode middle
τέκτονες of immaterial things	*Pyth.* 3.6 **τέκτονα νωδυνίας**	physician	ode beginning-proximity
	Pyth. 3.113 ἐξ **ἐπέων** ... **τέκτονες**	poets	ode end-proximity
	Nem. 3.4–5 μελιγαρύων **τέκτονες** ‖ **κώμων**	performers	ode beginning-proximity
	Nem. 5.49 **τέκτον᾽ ἀεθληταῖσιν**	trainer	ode end-proximity

In a way, these metaphors are the protagonists of my book. Starting from the peculiar distribution of the τέκτων-metaphors, the study 'decomposes' the intricate Pindaric expressions and attempts to frame them within their poetic contexts. It also compares them and the macro-structures in which they occur to analogous metaphors and structures in the oldest poetic texts of India and Iran. This analysis provides novel insights into Pindar's style and compositional technique. It turns out that not only do the metaphors involving τέκτων have parallels in other Indo-European languages of old attestation, but the occurrence of the metaphors in 'special' places of the Pindaric odes is also no coincidence, since it is paralleled by the analogous use of cognate words in Old Indic and Avestan religious hymns. The metaphors and the structures of the poems thus acquire a meta-thematic relevance in these three Indo-European traditions.

The book aims at casting new light on the following aspects:

(i) the Pindaric art of the word at the level of *phraseology*, that is, how words are chosen and combined in Pindar's poems. In this respect, I argue that the poet selects images from an ancient background according to the demands of the occasion. Such metaphors correlate with specific themes that are linked to one another in a system of poetic images;

Schol. Soph. El. 727), Steph. Byz. s.v. Βάρκη. On the structure of the Cyrenean chariots see Chamoux (1990) and West (2012).

(ii) those features peculiar to Pindar's compositional technique which are in a relation of historical continuity with features attested in the hymns of the Avesta and the *Rigveda*, that is to say, texts that were orally composed circa one thousand years before Pindar, in Iran and the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. This is the case of phraseological and structural devices which Pindar may have inherited from a previous, unattested (Indo-European) phase of poetic grammar. *Fashioning*-metaphors and specific textual organisation strategies thus appear to be features that were transmitted, mostly orally, from teacher to student, for centuries, in different geographic regions, inhabited by speakers of Indo-European sister languages.

The book is divided into three parts, one for each of the three odes of interest. Each part begins with the Pindaric text I intend to focus on, and includes a chapter on one or more Indo-Iranian parallels. I print Pindar's text as per Snell/Maehler's (1987) edition; the texts of the *Rigveda* are taken from van Nooten/Holland's (1994) edition and the translations from the original Vedic, if not otherwise indicated, are Jamison/Brereton's (2014); *Yasna* 29 is printed as per Pirart's (2018) edition. Other Avestan texts are printed in Humbach/Elfenbein/Skjærvø's (1991) edition; the English translation of the Avestan passages is my own, but relies on those by Kellens/Pirart (1988–1991), Humbach/Faiß (2010) and Kreyenbroek (2023).

In Part 1, I compare the structure, themes and phraseology of *Pythian Three* to a Rigvedic hymn to the Aśvins (*Rigveda* 10.39). I focus on the two τέκτων-metaphors of the poem, paying special attention to their inherited background and the ode's ring-composition. I then move on to the phraseology, structure, and themes of my Old Indic comparandum. Part 1 concludes with a discussion on the 'weight' of the numerous identified thematic matches and includes a reflection on the 'effects of *fashioning*'.

In Part 2, I concentrate on the structure and themes of *Nemean Five*. In this ode, the term τέκτων seems to be connected with the capacity of making something or someone move. In this respect, I compare the products of Pindaric *fashioners* to those of the Old Indic carpenters and healers, as they are described in textual sources: here, a verb linguistically related to Greek τέκτων, i.e., Old Indic *takṣ*, is connected with the capacity of producing or restoring movement in things and people. The reference to the mythology of Ὀρφεύς and the Ṛbhus (*Rigveda* 4.36) supports the reconstruction of the inherited background of the Pindaric metaphor.

In Part 3, I focus on the τέκτων-metaphor and the structure of *Nemean Three*. In this ode, the metaphor is implicitly connected with a further complex metaphor, that of the drink of song. Therefore, I compare these metaphors and the structure of *Nemean Three* to those of some Rigvedic hymns dedicated to and/or mentioning gods who share analogous associations with ritual and poetic drinks: the Aśvins and

the R̥bhus. I finally concentrate on the structure of *Yasna* 29, an Old Iranian hymn in which derivatives of Avestan *taš*, another congener of Greek τέκτων, acquire a ritual relevance. A closing chapter recapitulates the main themes of the book and draws conclusions about common themes, structures and phraseology as well as about the similar 'states of things' reflected by the Greek and Indo-Iranian texts.

2 Comparing Greek and Ancient Indo-Iranian Poetic Texts

The identification of word-by-word (or even phoneme-by-phoneme) matches between combinations of words in Greek poetic texts from the Archaic and Classical Ages, Vedic and/or Iranian religious hymns falls within the so-called field of 'comparative philology', which is almost as old as the beginning of Indo-European Studies.[6] Comparative philological work relies on the linguistic comparative method, which establishes the genetic kinship of two or more languages on the basis of systematic formal correspondences testified on every level of grammar. Furthermore, it is generally assumed that artistic aspects of texts belonging to cognate languages are just as related as their grammatical ones. Linguistic studies then set up reconstruction models on the basis of formal comparisons. However, this does not allow us to parse out the details of historical transmission: how, when and from whom Pindar and the Rigvedic poets learned 'the inherited' poetic collocations of κλέος/ *śrávas*-, ἀρετά/r̥tá-, ἔπος/*vácas*- and the like remain unsolved questions.

In the case of Pindaric-Rigvedic comparisons, the chronological and geographical gap between our comparanda allows us to exclude that correspondences between our comparanda are due to borrowings. Pindar and Vedic r̥ṣis ('seers') never met: the Greek poet lived in Greece, in the 6th–5th centuries BCE; the Rigvedic collection began to be composed in the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BCE in India and is attributed to several different poets. The same applies to Pindar and poetic material from the *Avesta*. Pindar did not meet Zaraϑuštra or any other poet of the *Avesta*, since the original oral composition of the most ancient parts of the *Avesta* began in Iran from the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BCE.

The possibility of polygenesis is much more difficult to exclude. On theorical grounds, it is anti-economic to think that two related traditions innovated in the same way independently, instead of theorising that two expressions containing the same lexemes derived from a common ancestor. However, the hypothesis of an independent origin is still not put to rest: one could imagine that a pair of related words came to be combined in poetic texts of different traditions because

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6 Kuhn (1853a), (1853b), and (1864).

two poets, one from Greece and one from Iran or India, wanted to express a certain concept and independently arrived at the same solution. According to this explanation, formal matches are due to the fact that Greek and Indo-Iranian languages are cognate, not to the fact that two traditions share the same 'poetic grammar'. To exclude this possibility, I embrace a methodological criterion clearly formulated by Marcello Durante in his 1976 book on Indo-European inheritance in Greek poetry:[7]

> The probability of the single match [sc. to be inherited] does not assume value in itself, but rather insofar as it contributes to the overall evaluation of sets of correspondences in which the single case is coordinated. [...] Deeper understanding is accomplished, for example, when one integrates the above-discussed formula of unperishable glory within a dense set of other matches concerning the semantic field of glory [...]; and likewise, when one ascertains what impact the archaisms have in noun and epithet associations that present themselves to comparative study.[8]

Single matches of poetic collocations should be framed within a system of complementary expressions and images, attested in two or more cognate traditions. In this respect, comparison gains from the methodology of associative and combinatory semantics:[9] 'states of things', that is, systems of poetic images/metaphors, can be reconstructed on the basis of complementary traits, which are reflected at a lexical and phraseological level: taking into account complementary expressions makes it less likely that formal or partial matches between the comparanda are merely fortuitous. It is thanks to phraseological analysis of complementary, cumulative evidence that the *disiecta membra* of a certain metaphor or a complex poetic image may be recomposed. If the above-mentioned condition of *complementarity* is fulfilled, the comparative phraseological method can also operate with partial matches, that is to say, combinations of words which overlap semantically, but not, or only in part, formally. It is often the case that matches between expressions of cognate languages are not perfect. In fact, the phenomenon of lexical renewal affects all living and dead languages, Greek, Vedic and Avestan are no exceptions. However, an in-depth analysis of the phraseological data enables us to reconstruct (i) patterns of semantic overlap between lexical archaisms and 'new' word(s),

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7 Durante (1976), 9–10.

8 Original Italian: "La probabilità della corrispondenza singola non assume valore in sé stessa, bensì in quanto contribuisce alla valutazione complessiva degli insiemi di corrispondenze in cui il caso singolo si coordina. [...] Si compie opera di approfondimento, per esempio, quando si integra la formula sopra discussa della gloria che non perisce entro un fitto insieme di altre corrispondenze concernenti il campo semantico della gloria [...]; e altresì quando si verifica quale incidenza abbiano gli arcaismi nelle associazioni di sostantivo ed epiteto che si presentano alla comparazione."

9 Watkins (1977), Campanile (1977), (1986).

which are constituents of comparable collocations, and (ii) linguistic mechanisms that played a role within the phenomenon of lexical renewal, such as the transfer of epithets or suppletion.

3 Pindar and the *Rigveda*

Pindaric odes preserved in their entirety and hymns from the *Rigveda* are the main comparanda of the book. This choice deserves an explanation. Comparisons between Pindar and the Rigvedic corpus are more than one hundred years old.[10] Moreover, they have received new impetus through recent phraseological and structural studies, which have proven that the two corpora share several themes and expressions.[11] One may thus wonder why comparing Pindar to the *Rigveda* awakens so much interest. On this question, I quote a sentence from a 2002 paper by Calvert Watkins, which, as far as I am concerned, is as illustrative as it is dangerously deceptive: "The coeditor of this volume once remarked that she never understood Pindar until she read the *Rigveda.*"

Taken literally, this sentence is misleading. It does not make sense to try to elucidate something difficult, like Pindar's poetry,[12] through the *Rigveda*, that is, something even more difficult,[13] *obscurum per obscurius*. For the exegesis of the Pindaric texts, we need and always shall need a variety of synchronic and diachronic references coming from the Greek tradition. Needless to say, the same also applies to the *Rigveda*: we do not *need* Pindar to better understand the cryptic art of the word of Vedic *kavi*s ('poets').

Nonetheless, the sentence appears to be true, when it is transferred to the *impression* that a simultaneous reading of Pindar and the *Rigveda* produces on a modern audience, even in translation. Similarities between Greek and Old Indic texts are occasionally remarkable. Indeed, as I have recently argued,[14] our

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10 Particularly relevant to this study are the contributions by James von Darmesteter (1877) and (1878).

11 Relevant studies on Pindar and the *Rigveda* span over the century, see Wüst (1968), Watkins (1995), (2002a), (2002b), but also Toporov (1997), Meusel (2020).

12 Pindar was already famed for being 'a difficult poet' in antiquity, see Hamilton (2004), Thomas (2012), 224. For the opinion of modern-day scholars and readers see Hubbard (1985), 1 and, in short, Most (1985), 11: "Pindar seems, for us, to be the very paradigm of poetic difficulty."

13 "While there is much that remains obscure in the Ṛgveda, interpreters of the text have been able to make progress by the simple assumption that the hymns do make sense and that the poets did know exactly what they were doing" (Jamison/Brereton [2014], 32).

14 Massetti (forthc./a).

perception of common traits between Pindar and the *Rigveda* "is affected by the akin character of individual literary genres, destinations, and performance contexts of our comparanda." Indeed,

a. Both Pindaric odes and Rigvedic hymns feature encomiastic components: Pindar's epinicians are dedicated to human patrons, most of the Rigvedic poems are celebrative hymns, dedicated to the deities of the Vedic pantheon and to some local chieftains.

b. Even though Pindaric odes and Rigvedic hymns had different dedicatees, they were commissioned by human patrons. Therefore, these texts contain references to analogous dynamics of gift and exchange that are peculiar to the relationship laudandus-laudator.

c. Both Pindaric epinicians and Rigvedic hymns were performed in front of a human audience. While the chanting of Rigvedic hymns was a structural part of rituals, Pindar's poems were not always bound to rituals,[15] as they were performed on different occasions: sometimes in front of a Panhellenic audience, sometimes the patron's community (the *polis*), sometimes only the inner-circle of the patrons. There were, however, some victory odes performed on occasion of public festivals in honour of gods.[16]

In the light of all the above, it is no coincidence that the phraseological material common to Pindar and the *Rigveda* concerns three interrelated notions, which are typical of ancient encomiastic poetry: (i) glory, (ii) 'goodness'/'excellence', and (iii) poetics.[17] Recurrent *topoi* can be summarised as follows: through his own excellence and skill, the poet makes his dedicatee glorious and immortal; in addition, the patron, who is excellent and generous, achieves eternal glory through the poet's work.[18] Therefore, the patron's excellence shines out through the poet's excellence, but the excellence of the poet too reflects on the patron's excellence. Analogously, the patron's glory is increased by the poet's glory and, in a complementary fashion, the poet's glory reflects on the patron's glory. Most importantly, in Pindar's poems just like in the *Rigveda*, the poet's mastery in the art of the word for *the praise of excellence* and the performance of an ode provide a concrete manifestation of the patron's *glory*, κλέος, etymologically, this being *what is heard*, or δόξα, *what is perceived/received.*

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15 For a different opinion, cf. Nagy (1990b).

16 This applies to the epinicians. The situation is different for other Pindaric poems, cf. Calame/Ellinger (2017).

17 For a presentation of the phraseological material see Massetti (2019).

18 See Kurke (1991), 73–140, Nagy (2017a), (2017b).

My study focuses on a further common feature perceived by the naked eye of modern readers and, maybe, by the naked ear of ancient audiences: the organisation of themes and phraseological materials in relatively flexible circular structures. In doing so, the comparative approach of the book attempts to enhance our understanding of the history behind the compositional strategies of ancient poetic texts. One of the methodological backbones of 'comparative philology' is that the conservative character of the inherited compositional technique offered poets traditional equipment, which was sufficiently flexible to guarantee semantic integrity as well as historical continuity of the inherited themes through time and space. In focusing on comparable compositional structures and how phraseology interacts with them, the book addresses the question of which possible compositional strategies were available to ancient Indo-European poets. This issue has not yet been studied in great depth, at least by Indo-Europeanists, because stylistic devices like ring-composition are universals, i.e. independent creations of linguistic creativity found at any time and space. Therefore, before delving into the details of the study, I owe the reader a clarification on how this study copes with the possible identification of Indo-European poetic inheritance within ring-compositions.

4 Are There Such Things as Inherited Rings?

A ring-composition (or circular structure)[19] is a way of arranging narrative and rhetoric material in a text that all poets and composers have at their disposal. We have to imagine a fluid creative situation, in which a poet or a musician has a series of options to choose from for shaping his/her poem's opening, development, and end. A ring-composition provides some fixed reference points for these three sections. In its simplest form, it is a chiastic structure: a frame, built by the repetition of a sequences of sounds and/or words, call it sequence A, and a central section, call it sequence B, which differs from the repeated A frame:

$$A–B–A$$

It is generally assumed that ring-composition helps a linguistic message to be more incisive. Beginning and end of a musical and/or verbal composition can be defined as two special places of artistic products: in modern western musical performances,

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19 Seminal studies on the topic are Fränkel (1924) and van Otterlo (1944), who contributed to establishing *Ringkomposition* as a term to describe the phenomenon of circular repetitions within single texts.

beginning and end are adjacent to silence; more generally, in different musical and poetic traditions, which may involve diverse performance contexts, beginning and end contrast with what precedes and follows, which may or may not be silence. In fact, we can define them as the moments in which patterns of rhythm and/or sound of a certain regularity and intonation start and stop. As such, these special places of poems and musical pieces correspond to peaks in the audience attention. It is for this reason that beginning and end are tied to tendencies that may be described as more stylised or conventional than elements employed in other parts of poetic or musical pieces.[20]

Without doubt, ring-composition can be recognised as a universal device, which responds to universal needs of human listeners and readers: beginning and ending with the same lexical items provides unity and cohesion to a text or can reproduce patterns of iconicity; it may enhance memorisation and contribute to the memorability of a piece: we tend to remember the lyrics of a refrain better than those which are not repeated. In other cases, ring-compositions can aim at creating variation (B) within predictable patterns (A) in a way that puts emphasis on the varying pattern, i.e. the central one, analogously to what happens on the iconographic level, when we look at a framed painting.

At the same time, there are various types of ring-composition: 'rings' may combine into much more complex patterns; they can be built through different means, such as identical or complementary lexical items. Given the simplicity of the main scheme A–B–A and the virtually infinite range of its possible enactions, scholars have been able to identify an abundance of parallels for ring-compositions in Greek texts of the Archaic and Classical Ages, as well as from all sorts of ancient and modern traditions. Moreover, they have proposed all manner of explanations for their interpretations.[21] In the light of this, it seems legitimate to ask whether 'Indo-European' ring-compositions exist at all as something distinct and definable and, if so, what they are.

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20 Rutherford (2013) focuses on common traits peculiar to 'ends' of Pindaric epinicians. Katz (2023) and (2024) proposes that derivatives of the IE root *men- 'to think' are placed in privileged positions of poetic creations (the beginning and the end) in three Indo-European traditions: Greek, Vedic and Avestan.
21 For typological comparisons between Greek ring-compositions and those of other traditions see Parks (1988) (Homer and *Beowulf*) and Reece (1995) (*Odyssey* 17–22 and the Serbo-Croatian tradition). For studies on ring-compositions within other traditions than Greek see e.g. Lord (1991) on the Anglo-Saxon tradition; Foley (1983) and Lord (1986) on South Slavic epics; Niles (1979) on Old French epics; Fox (1977) on Austronesian, Rotinese and Indonesian traditions; Douglas (2007) on Old Testament; Okpewho (1979), 196–197 and Mulokozi (2002), 120 on African epics; Prior (2002), 97–114 on Kyrgyz epics.

On the pure level of structure, it makes no sense to speak of 'inherited' or Indo-European ring-compositions: not only is the Indo-European-ess or non-Indo-European-ess of ring-compositions ultimately unprovable, but pursuing such a goal would also be a moot point. *Au contraire*, it is possible to identify 'inherited' ring-compositions, if the analysis of textual structures is combined with the study of thematic, phraseological, and lexical material. In this book, by 'inherited (Indo-European) ring-composition(s)' I do not simply mean ways of organising some lexical material in connection with some themes, but rather, I refer to ways of organising specific lexical and phraseological material in a poem, because specific metaphors acquired a certain thematic relevance within cognate traditions. In other words, the study compares ring-structures found in cognate traditions, which are built by means of the same lexical items in connection to the same themes. Such structural and phraseological devices feature as possible strategies available to archaic poets for textual organisation. The study seeks to prove that, just like fixed combinations of words, repetitions of combinations of words worked as poetic building blocks and were employed in traditional compositional techniques. In the end, the study proves that though ring-composition *per se* is not an Indo-European inherited device, some rings are certainly inherited.

I hope this approach to the subject is the first step towards the elaboration of a more nuanced and complex methodology for the field of comparative studies on classical texts. The nature of scientific research is under refinement, making progress without reaching completion. So, the potential of Pindaric texts for comparative investigations will not be exhausted by this book. However, I hope to make a contribution to our understanding of Pindar's style and the history of the constituents of Pindaric texts.

The perspective of the book is comparative, but mainly Graeco-centric, as it reflects my hybrid scientific background of classicist and linguist. Therefore, I imagine the ideal audience of the book to be a wide, not necessarily highly specialised one, ranging from students and scholars in the fields of Classics and Indo-European Studies, to those of Greek Linguistics, and Comparative Philology with an interest in the reconstruction of inherited structures, themes, and phraseology. Furthermore, I would be happy if this book were also to spark the interest of students and scholars of classical literature in comparative linguistic aspects of Greek poetics, and, especially, Pindaric language. Indeed, my personal goal will be accomplished, if this study stimulates further reflection and interdisciplinary discussion on Pindar's style and language among Indo-Europeanists and classicists.

Part 1: **Fashioning Health and Poetic Glory: A Comparative Study in Pindar's** *Pythian Three*

1 Pindar's *Pythian Three*: Text and Translation

1.1 Text

1	Ἤθελον Χίρωνά κε Φιλλυρίδαν,	Α'
2	εἰ χρεὼν τοῦθ᾽ ἀμετέρας ἀπὸ γλώσσας	
	κοινὸν εὔξασθαι ἔπος,	
3	ζώειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον,	
4	Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου,	
	βάσσαισί τ᾽ ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ᾽ ἀγρότερον	
5	νόον ἔχοντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φίλον· οἷος ἐὼν θρέψεν ποτέ	
6	τέκτονα νωδυνίας	
	ἥμερον γυιαρκέος Ἀσκλαπιόν,	
7	ἥρωα[1] παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων.	
8	τὸν μὲν εὐίππου Φλεγύα θυγάτηρ	
9	πρὶν τελέσσαι ματροπόλῳ σὺν Ἐλειθυί-	
	ᾳ, δαμεῖσα χρυσέοις	
10	τόξοισιν ὕπ᾽ Ἀρτέμιδος	
11	εἰς Ἀίδα δόμον ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέβα,	
	τέχναις Ἀπόλλωνος. χόλος δ᾽ οὐκ ἀλίθιος	
12	γίνεται παίδων Διός. ἁ δ᾽ ἀποφλαυρίξαισά νιν	
13	ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν,	
	ἄλλον αἴνησεν γάμον κρύβδαν πατρός,	
14	πρόσθεν ἀκερσεκόμᾳ μιχθεῖσα Φοίβῳ,	
15	καὶ φέροισα σπέρμα θεοῦ καθαρόν	
16	οὐκ ἔμειν᾽ ἐλθεῖν τράπεζαν νυμφίαν,	
17	οὐδὲ παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων, ἅλικες	
18	οἷα παρθένοι φιλέοισιν ἑταίρᾳ	
19	ἑσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς· ἀλλά τοι	
20	ἤρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων· οἷα καὶ πολλοὶ πάθον.	
21	ἔστι δὲ φῦλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον,	
22	ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω,	
23	μεταμώνια θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν.	

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1 I print ἥρωα with Gentili (1995), who assumes a shortening in hiatus, instead of ἥροα, Schroeder's correction, cf. Snell/Maehler (1987).

24 ἔσχε τοι ταύταν μεγάλαν ἀυάταν   Β'
25 καλλιπέπλου λῆμα Κορωνίδος· ἐλθόν-
      τος γὰρ εὐνάσθη ξένου
26 λέκτροισιν ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας.
27 οὐδ' ἔλαθε σκοπόν· ἐν δ' ἄρα μηλοδόκῳ
      Πυθῶνι τόσσαις ἄιεν ναοῦ βασιλεύς
28 Λοξίας, κοινᾶνι παρ' εὐθυτάτῳ γνώμαν πιθών,
29 πάντα ἰσάντι νόῳ·
      ψευδέων δ' οὐχ ἅπτεται, κλέπτει τέ μιν
30 οὐ θεὸς οὐ βροτὸς ἔργοις οὔτε βουλαῖς.
31 καὶ τότε γνοὺς Ἴσχυος Εἰλατίδα
32 ξεινίαν κοίταν ἄθεμίν τε δόλον, πέμ-
      ψεν κασιγνήταν μένει
33 θυίοισαν ἀμαιμακέτῳ
34 ἐς Λακέρειαν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Βοιβιάδος
      κρημνοῖσιν ᾤκει παρθένος· δαίμων δ' ἕτερος
35 ἐς κακὸν τρέψαις ἐδαμάσσατό νιν, καὶ γειτόνων
36 πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον, ἁμᾶ
      δ' ἔφθαρεν· πολλὰν δ' {ἐν} ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνός
37 σπέρματος ἐνθορὸν ἀίστωσεν ὕλαν.
38 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τείχει θέσαν ἐν ξυλίνῳ
39 σύγγονοι κούραν, σέλας δ' ἀμφέδραμεν
40 λάβρον Ἁφαίστου, τότ' ἔειπεν Ἀπόλλων· 'Οὐκέτι
41 τλάσομαι ψυχᾷ γένος ἁμὸν ὀλέσσαι
42 οἰκτροτάτῳ θανάτῳ ματρὸς βαρείᾳ σὺν πάθᾳ.'
43 ὣς φάτο· βάματι δ' ἐν πρώτῳ κιχὼν παῖδ' ἐκ νεκροῦ
44 ἅρπασε· καιομένα δ' αὐτῷ διέφαινε πυρά.
45 καί ῥά νιν Μάγνητι φέρων πόρε Κενταύρῳ διδάξαι
46 πολυπήμονας ἀνθρώποισιν ἰᾶσθαι νόσους.

47 τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὅσσοι μόλον αὐτοφύτων   Γ'
48 ἑλκέων ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη τετρωμένοι
49 ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ,
50 ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ
      χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων
51 ἔξαγεν, τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀμφέπων,
52 τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πί-
      νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
53 φάρμακα, τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθούς·

54   ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται.
55   ἔτραπεν καὶ κεῖνον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ
          χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶν φανείς
56   ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι
57   ἤδη ἀλωκότα· χερσὶ δ᾽ ἄρα Κρονίων
          ῥίψαις δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρνων κάθελεν
58   ὠκέως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκιμψεν μόρον.
59   χρὴ τὰ ἐοικότα πὰρ
          δαιμόνων μαστευέμεν θναταῖς φρασίν
60   γνόντα τὸ πὰρ ποδός, οἵας εἰμὲν αἴσας.
61   μή, φίλα ψυχά, βίον ἀθάνατον
62   σπεῦδε, τὰν δ᾽ ἔμπρακτον ἄντλει μαχανάν.
63   εἰ δὲ σώφρων ἄντρον ἔναι᾽ ἔτι Χίρων, καί τί οἱ
64   φίλτρον <ἐν> θυμῷ μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
65   ἁμέτεροι τίθεν, ἰατῆρά τοί κέν νιν πίθον
66   καί νυν ἐσλοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἀνδράσιν θερμᾶν νόσων
67   ἤ τινα Λατοΐδα κεκλημένον ἢ πατέρος.
68   καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἰονίαν τάμνων θάλασσαν
69   Ἀρέθοισαν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ᾽ Αἰτναῖον ξένον,

70   ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς,   Δ᾽
71   πραῢς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξεί-
          νοις δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ.
72   τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας
73   εἰ κατέβαν ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν
          κῶμόν τ᾽ ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις,
74   τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἕλεν Κίρρᾳ ποτέ,
75   ἀστέρος οὐρανίου
          φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ φάος
76   ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.
77   ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεύξασθαι μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλω
78   Ματρί, τὰν κοῦραι παρ᾽ ἐμὸν πρόθυρον σὺν
          Πανὶ μέλπονται θαμά
79   σεμνὰν θεὸν ἐννύχιαι.
80   εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων,
          ὀρθὰν ἐπίστᾳ, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων
81   ἓν παρ᾽ ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς
82   ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὦν
          οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν,

83 ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.
84 τὶν δὲ μοῖρ᾽ εὐδαιμονίας ἕπεται.
85 λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται,
86 εἴ τιν᾽ ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος. αἰὼν δ᾽ ἀσφαλὴς
87 οὐκ ἔγεντ᾽ οὔτ᾽ Αἰακίδᾳ παρὰ Πηλεῖ
88 οὔτε παρ᾽ ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμῳ· λέγονται {γε} μὰν βροτῶν
89 ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἳ σχεῖν, οἵτε καὶ χρυσαμπύκων
90 μελπομενᾶν ἐν ὄρει Μοισᾶν καὶ ἐν ἑπταπύλοις
91 ἄιον Θήβαις, ὁπόθ᾽ Ἁρμονίαν γᾶμεν βοῶπιν,
92 ὁ δὲ Νηρέος εὐβούλου Θέτιν παῖδα κλυτάν,

93 καὶ θεοὶ δαίσαντο παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις,   Ε᾽
94 καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἴδον χρυ-
            σέαις ἐν ἕδραις, ἕδνα τε
95 δέξαντο· Διὸς δὲ χάριν
96 ἐκ προτέρων μεταμειψάμενοι καμάτων
            ἔστασαν ὀρθὰν καρδίαν. ἐν δ᾽ αὖτε χρόνῳ
97 τὸν μὲν ὀξείαισι θύγατρες ἐρήμωσαν πάθαις
98 εὐφροσύνας μέρος αἱ
            τρεῖς· ἀτὰρ λευκωλένῳ γε Ζεὺς πατήρ
99 ἤλυθεν ἐς λέχος ἱμερτὸν Θυώνα.
100 τοῦ δὲ παῖς, ὅνπερ μόνον ἀθανάτα
101 τίκτεν ἐν Φθίᾳ Θέτις, ἐν πολέμῳ τό-
            ξοις ἀπὸ ψυχὰν λιπών
102 ὦρσεν πυρὶ καιόμενος
103 ἐκ Δαναῶν γόον. εἰ δὲ νόῳ τις ἔχει
            θνατῶν ἀλαθείας ὁδόν, χρὴ πρὸς μακάρων
104 τυγχάνοντ᾽ εὖ πασχέμεν. ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἀλλοῖαι πνοαὶ
105 ὑψιπετᾶν ἀνέμων.
            ὄλβος {δ᾽} οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται
106 σάος, πολὺς εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἕπηται.
107 σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
108 ἔσσομαι, τὸν δ᾽ ἀμφέποντ᾽ αἰεὶ φρασίν
109 δαίμον᾽ ἀσκήσω κατ᾽ ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.
110 εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἁβρὸν ὀρέξαι,
111 ἐλπίδ᾽ ἔχω κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.
112 Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν᾽, ἀνθρώπων φάτις,
113 ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοὶ
114 ἅρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν· ἁ δ᾽ ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς
115 χρόνια τελέθει· παύροις δὲ πρᾶξασθ᾽ εὐμαρές.

1.2 Translation[2]

I wish that Chiron son of Philyra – if it is right to utter that common word from our tongue – were still living, the departed, wide-ruling offspring of Cronus son of Uranus, and the wild creature, who had a mind friendly to men, still reigned in Pelion's glades. Being as such, he once reared a gentle fashioner of body-strengthening painlessness, Asclepius, a hero and protector from all kinds of diseases.

Before the daughter of the horseman Phlegyas could bring him to term with the help of Eleithyia, who stands by mothers, through Apollo's designs she was overcome by the golden arrows of Artemis in her chamber and went down to the house of Hades. The anger of Zeus' children is no vain thing. Yet she made light of it in the folly of her mind and unknown to her father consented to another union, although she had previously lain with long-haired Phoebus and was carrying the god's pure seed. She did not wait for the marriage feast to come or for the sound of full-voiced nuptial hymns with such endearments as unmarried companions are wont to utter in evening songs. But she loved remote things – such longings as many others have suffered, for there is among mankind a very foolish kind of person, who scorns what is at hand and peers at things far away, chasing impalpable things, with hopes which will never come true.

Indeed, headstrong Coronis of the beautiful robes experienced that great delusion, for she slept in the bed of a stranger, who came from Arcadia. But she did not elude the watch: while he was in flock-receiving Pytho as lord of his temple, Loxias perceived it, convinced by the surest confidant, his all-knowing mind. He does not touch falsehoods, and neither god nor mortal deceives him by deeds or designs.

And at this time, when he knew of her sleeping with the stranger Ischys, son of Elatus, and her impious deceit, he sent his sister raging with irresistible force to Lacereia, for the maiden was living by the banks of Lake Boebias.

An adverse fortune turned her to ruin and overcame her; and many neighbours shared her fate and perished with her. Fire that springs from one spark onto a mountain can destroy a great forest.

But when her relatives had placed the girl within the pyre's wooden wall and the fierce blaze of Hephaestus ran around it, then Apollo said: "No longer shall I endure in my soul to destroy my own offspring by a most pitiful death along with his mother's heavy suffering." Thus he spoke, and with his first stride came and snatched the child from the corpse, while the burning flame parted for him. He took him and gave him to the Magnesian Centaur for instruction in healing the diseases that plague men.

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2 The provided translation is based on Race (1997a) and has been modified by the author.

Now those who came to him afflicted with natural sores or with limbs wounded by gray bronze or by a stone that hit them from afar, or wracked in their bodies by summer fever or by winter, he relieved each of them of their various pains and let them go. Some he tended with calming incantations, while others drank soothing potions, or he applied remedies to their limbs from every side; still he made others stand upright with surgery.

But even skill is enthralled to gain. Gold appearing in his hands with its wage, which makes men arrogant, prompted even him to bring back from death a man already carried off. But then, with a cast from his hands, Cronus' son took the breath from both men's breasts in an instant; the burning thunderbolt hurled down doom. It is necessary to seek what is proper from the gods with our mortal minds, by knowing what lies at our feet and what kind of destiny is ours.

Do not, my soul, strive for the life of the immortals, but exhaust the practical means at your disposal. Yet if wise Chiron were still living in his cave, and if my honey-sounding hymns could put a charm in his heart, I would surely have persuaded him to provide a healer now as well to cure the feverish illnesses of good men, someone called a son of Apollo or of Zeus. And I would have come, cleaving the Ionian sea in a ship, to the fountain of Arethusa and to my Aetnaean host, who rules as king over Syracuse, gentle to townsmen, not begrudging to good men, and to guests a wondrous father. And if I had landed, bringing him two blessings, golden health and a victory revel (to add) lustre to the crowns from the Pythian games which Pherenicus once won when victorious at Cirrha, I swear that I would have come for that man as a light shining from further away than (any) heavenly star, upon crossing the deep sea.

But for my part, I wish to pray to the Mother, to whom, along with Pan, the maidens often sing before my door at night, for she is a venerable goddess. But, Hieron, if you can understand the true point of sayings, you know the lesson of former poets: the immortals apportion to humans a pair of evils for every good. Now fools cannot bear them gracefully, but good men can, by turning the noble portion outward.

Our share of happiness attends you, for truly if great destiny looks with favor upon any man, it is upon a people-guiding ruler. But an untroubled life did not abide with Aeacus' son Peleus or with godlike Cadmus; yet they are said to have attained the highest happiness of any men, for they even heard the golden-crowned Muses singing on the mountain and in seven-gated Thebes, when one married ox-eyed Harmonia, the other Thetis, wise-counseling Nereus' famous daughter; the gods feasted with both of them, and they beheld the regal children of Cronus on their golden thrones and received their wedding gifts. By the grace of Zeus, they recovered from their earlier hardships and they raised up their hearts. But then in

time, the bitter suffering of his three daughters deprived the one of a part of his joy, although father Zeus did come to the longed-for bed of white-armed Thyone.

But the other's son, the only child immortal Thetis bore him in Phthia, lost his life to an arrow in war, and as he was consumed by the fire, he raised a lament from the Danaans. If any mortal understands the way of truth, he must be happy with what good the blessed gods allot him. Now here, now there blow the gusts of the high-flying winds. Men's happiness does not come for long unimpaired, when it accompanies them, descending with full weight.

I shall be small in small times, great in great ones; I shall honour with my mind whatever fortune attends me, by serving it with the means at my disposal. And if a god should grant me luxurious wealth, I hope that I may win lofty fame hereafter. We know of Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, still the talk of men, from such echoing verses as talented artists (: fashioners) constructed. Excellence endures in glorious songs for a long time. But few can win them easily.

2 The Structure of Pindar's *Pythian Three*

Benefattor degli uomini
Riparator de' mali ...
Donizetti/Romani, *L'elisir d'amore*

2.1 Synchronic Background of the Ode and Overall Value of Lexical Repetitions

Alexandrian editors incorporated *Pythian Three* into the Pindaric epinicians because the ode refers to Hieron's agonistic success(es) (73–74).[1] However, the poem does not mention any specific victory.[2] As most modern-day commentators and translators have argued,[3] the ode is a "poetic epistle"[4] to the tyrant of Syracuse, who was ill and had failed to win at the Pythian games of 474 BCE.[5]

As for its composition date, we know that
- *Pythian Three* postdates Hieron's founding of Aetna (Αἰτναῖον ξένον, *Pyth.* 3.69), in 475/476 BCE;
- Hieron was ill at the battle of Cyme, in 474 BCE (*Pyth.* 1.50–57);
- Hieron did not win at the Pythian games of 474 BCE (Bacchyl. 4.11–14).[6]

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1 On the date see Cingano (1991), who at 104, fn. 25 points out that the term στεφάνοις at 73 is ambiguous, since it may apply to a single victory, compare *Pyth.* 2.6, *Nem.* 9.53, *Isthm.* 3/4.11.
2 *Schol. Pyth.* 3 *inscr.* ab connect the ode to Hieron's victories in 482 and 478 BCE (29th and 27th Pythiads).
3 Since 74 mentions Hieron's horse Pherenicus (on which see Henderson [2011]), which won in Delphi in 478 BCE and in Olympia in 476 BCE, commentators argue that the omission of the Olympic victory predates the ode. Therefore, Farnell (1932) and Duchemin (1967), 31–40, following Gaspar (1900), 79–80 and Turyn (1948), propose 476 BCE as a *terminus ante quem* for *Pythian Three*. Pavese (1975), 68–69 too claims that the ode celebrates Hieron's victory in 478 BCE; Young (1983), 35–42 interprets the ποτέ at 74 as an 'inscriptional ποτε' and proposes 477 BCE as a tentative date.
4 This theory was first formulated as such by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1922), 280–283, who proposed 473 BCE as a date. Boeckh (1821), II 254 proposed 470 BCE, Schroeder (1922), 24 argued that the ode was written in 474 BCE, on the occasion of a feast celebrating past victories of Hieron.
5 Currie (2005), 345.
6 Bacchyl. 4.11–14 mentions a victory Hieron failed to achieve because no god tipped the scale in his favour. This event is dated 474 BCE and provides the occasion for *Pythian Three*, see Cingano (1991).

Therefore, 474/473 BCE is the earliest possible composition date for *Pythian Three*.[7] Given the personal character of the poem, it is likely that it was performed in Syracuse, in front of the dedicatee and his inner-circle.

The ode consists of five triads, each of them comprising a seven-verse strophe, a seven-verse antistrophe and a nine-verse epode, for a total of 115 verses. Semantic and lexemic repetitions connect paired dipole leitmotifs with each other:

(i) distance, correlating with hybris, vs. proximity, correlating with soundness of mind and awareness of limits;

(ii) illness and death vs. longevity and immortality.

In what follows, I provide a list and a short comment on the value of the main lexemic and semantic repetitions. Depending on the order in which the first repeated lexemes appear and which parts they connect, I group repetitions under alphabet letters in small capitals (A, B, C, etc.).

2.2 A-Repetitions: Choosing Closeness over Remoteness

A-Repetitions are both lexemic (Table 2.1) and semantic (Table 2.2), and are only found in the first half of the poem, as they join its opening (1–7) and its centre (63–77).

Table 2.1: *Pyth.* 3, A-repetitions (lexemic)

[to WANT]	ἤθελον (1)	:	ἐθέλω (77)
[IF … CHIRON]	Χίρωνα … εἰ (1–2)	:	εἰ … Χίρων (63)
[OUR]	ἀμετέρας (2)	:	ἀμέτεροι (65)
[UTTER]	εὔξασθαι (2)	:	(ἐπ)εύξασθαι (77)
[protecTOR – DISEASE$_{gen.pl.}$]	(ἀλκ)τῆρα νούσων (7)	:	(ἰα)τῆρα … νόσων (65–66)[8]

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7 A later date, closer to Hieron's death (467 BCE), was also defended by Race (1997a), 248.

8 Note the tautometric position of this last pair.

Table 2.2: *Pyth.* 3, A-repetitions (semantic)

[CHIRON'S ABODE]	βάσσαισί τ᾽ ἄρχειν Παλίου (4)	:	ἄντρον ἔναι᾽(ε) (63)
[CHIRON'S QUALITIES]	νόον ἔχοντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν φίλον (5)	:	σώφρων ... Χίρων (63)
[REARING of HEALER]	θρέψεν ... Ἀσκλαπιόν ... ἀλκτῆρα νούσων (5–7)	:	ἰατῆρά ... παρασχεῖν ... νόσων ... Λατοΐδα κεκλημένον (65–67)[9]

A-Repetitions frame the longest mythological excursus (see Sections 4–6) and the so-called 'break-off verses' of the ode (59–62)[10] with a wish and a prayer. At 1–7 and 63–67, Pindar wishes that Chiron were still alive so that the poet would be able to provide a healer to suffering Hieron. As shown by Pelliccia (1987), 47, the first verses of *Pythian Three* do not contain a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence,[11] but a sort of "false-start *recusatio*":[12] the poet regrets not being able to achieve his desire, but he ultimately dissociates himself from such wishful thinking. Therefore, verses 63–67 strengthen the expression of the poet's unachievable desire: if Chiron were still alive, Pindar would have persuaded him to provide a healer to Hieron and would have reached his patron as a saving light (68–76). But this is impossible, hence the conditional sentence referring to a desirable but impossible scenario.

At the same time, the reprise of [to WANT] and [to UTTER] at 77 contrasts with the use of the same verbs in the beginning of the ode. The unattainability of the first desire, expressed through an imperfect indicative + conditional clause of unreality (ἤθελον ... Χίρωνά κε ... ζώειν, 1–3),[13] is opposed to the reality of Pindar's prayer,

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9 On the purely phonic point of view, the sequence ΦΙΛ-, heard in ΦΙΛλυρίδαν, ΦΙΛον (1, 5), seems to be reprised by ΦΙΛτρον, at 64: Chiron, son of *Phil*yra is said to possess a mind *friendly* (i.e. loving φίλον) to men; later on, Pindar wishes he could influence the Centaur's mind with a *phil*tre, literally, a means to make someone lovely or loving. On the history and function of the τρον-suffix see Olsen [Rasmussen] (2010).

10 Race (1989), 191–192.

11 Young (1968), 28–31.

12 Pelliccia's (1987) interpretation is convincingly supported by a variety of Greek literary parallels, including *Od.* 1.253–270, 4.342–345, 20.89–90.

13 I concur with Landreth (1978), 13–18 and Goldstein (2010), 220–221, according to whom 1 does not contain a violation of the so-called Wackernagel's Law on enclitics (: clitic particles occupy the second position in the sentence, see Wackernagel [1892], Fraenkel [1932]): κε is to be joined to Χίρωνα, the first word of the infinitive sentence. I disagree with Pelliccia (2017), who proposes that Wackernagel's Law is violated in order to create a wordplay between Χίρωνα and Hieron's name (Ἰέρων). Pindar, who writes for a Panhellenic audience, always (including in *Pyth.* 3.80) spells Hieron as Ἰέρων ∪∪–, i.e. with a disyllabic sequence ἰε-. This makes it unlikely that Pindar is alluding to a monophthongised pronunciation of the name. To this one may add that *Pythian Three*

formulated in present indicative (ἐθέλω, 77). Therefore, 77, situated at the very centre of the ode, marks the transition to a new section.

Pindar opts for an attainable way to connect with the divine, a prayer and, as explained by Young (1968), chooses closeness over remoteness. Indeed, the dipole distance vs. proximity (see Section 1 [i]) dominates 1–79. At 3, in formulating his first impossible wish, Pindar calls Chiron 'the departed' (τὸν ἀποιχόμενον). Hankering for what is out of one's reach is the main fault of Coronis and Asclepius. Coronis 'loved remote things' (ἤρατο τῶν ἀπεόντων, 20): she deluded herself that she would escape Apollo's all-knowing mind and she chose to unite with a stranger (ξένου, 25, ξεινίαν κοίταν, 32), rejecting all those who were close and available (αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια, 22). As for Asclepius, he brought back a man from death (ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι, 56), concretely fulfilling the common, i.e. human, wish (κοινόν ... ἔπος, 2) formulated by Pindar in the opening of the ode ("I wish that Chiron son of Philyra were still living ..."). A-Repetitions thus introduce the theme of remoteness, further developed through the mythological excursus of 8–58. However, these verses also reinforce the thematic break-off of 59–62,[14] i.e. the lines that mark "the transition from a negative example to the positive program of the ode."[15] Having reached the darkest point of Asclepius' story, Pindar dissociates himself from the negative example and chooses 'what lies at our feet' (τὸ πὰρ ποδός, 60), both in a spatial and an abstract sense: the poet turns to the Mother Goddess, a deity worshiped in a realm close to him (τὰν κοῦραι παρ᾽ ἐμὸν πρόθυρον ... μέλπονται, 78).[16]

2.3 в-Repetitions: The Work of a τέκτων

в-Repetitions only involve the term τέκτων. Even though this repetition type is built on a single lexeme, fashioner-images stand out because the noun τέκτων is

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was probably performed in Hieron's Doric-speaking milieu. In Syracuse Hieron's name was spelled *h*ιαρōν (*DGE* §144.2, on which see Cook [1987], 56–57). This makes it unlikely that the wordplay would be perceived by the audience.

14 As pointed out by Race (1989), just like other Pindaric break-offs, *Pythian Three*'s follows an "emphatically postponed word denoting death" (μόρον, 58) and contains a χρή-sentence *gnōmē* followed by a (self-)exhortation (χρή, 59, μή, φίλα ψυχά ... σπεῦδε, 61–62).

15 Race (1989), 191.

16 According to *Schol. Pyth.* 3.137ab the verse refers to a temple close to Pindar's house. Slater (1971) proposes that the verses make reference to a temple of Demeter in Syracuse, that is, close to the performing chorus (and, obviously, Hieron), but this hypothesis is criticised by Carey (1981), 16, fn. 37, Henrichs (1976), 256–257, with fn. 10, and D'Alessio (1994), 139.

employed metaphorically at both 6 and 113. Moreover, the repetitions are connected with the dipole illness/mortality vs. longevity/immortality.

Table 2.3: *Pyth.* 3, ʙ-repetitions

[FASHIONER – IMMATERIAL OBJECT$_{gen.(pl.)}$]	τέκτονα νωδυνίας (6)	:	ἐπέων ... τέκτονες (113)

The τέκτων-metaphors create a parallel between Asclepius and poets. The best healer and the best bards are both said to construct something. However, if we consider what they build, Asclepius and poets are opposites. Asclepius cannot grant any kind of immortality. When he does effect a successful resurrection, the person brought back to life and the healer himself are not permitted to live (57–58). Pindar knows that physical immortality is out of everyone's reach (see Section 2), but claims that poets can offer a different kind of immortality, namely, immortality-among-the-mortals. Nestor and Sarpedon, who are probably paired at 112 as paradigms of longevity,[17] are said to have become ἀνθρώπων φάτις ('still the talk of men', 112) thanks to the work of skillful fashioners of verses.

2.4 ᴄ-Repetitions: Suffering and Immortality

ᴄ-Repetitions are applicable to the mythological sections of the ode, namely, 8–58 and 86–103. The narrative excursus of the first half of the ode (8–58), consists of three main parts: the first (8–46) concerns Asclepius' birth, the second Asclepius' deeds (47–53), the third Asclepius' death (54–58). The second mythological section is shorter and concerns myths relating to Peleus and Cadmus. These mythological examples support the *gnōmai* of 80–85 (gods allot men two evils for every good, but noble men succeed in bearing disgrace gracefully). Just like in the case of the account of Coronis' death, the mythological examples of 86–103 are organised through mechanisms of mirroring and expansion (see Section 5). At 87–88, exemplary figures are first named in one order (i.e. first Peleus and then Cadmus), then in reverse, within a more extensive description of the heroes' fortunes (88–95) and misfortunes (96–103), and from 91 onwards, the order is always the Cadmus myth, the Peleus myth.

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17 See Miller (1994).

Table 2.4: *Pyth.* 3, c-repetitions (lexemic and semantic)

[FIRE], [PYRE]	Φλεγύα (8), πῦρ (36), σέλας ... Ἀφαίστου (39–40), πυρά (44), αἴθων ... κεραυνός (58)	:	πυρί (102)
[BOW]	τόξοισιν (10)	:	τόξοις (101)
[MARRIAGE]	γάμον (13)	:	γᾶμεν (91)
[BANQUET]	τράπεζαν νυμφίαν (16)	~	καὶ θεοὶ δαίσαντο παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέροις (93)
[WEDDING-SONGS]	παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων (17)	~	μελπομενᾶν ... Μοισᾶν ... ἄιον (90–91)
[SUFFERING]	πάθον (20), πάθᾳ (42)	:	πάθαις (97)
[BURNT]	καιομένα (44)	:	καιόμενος (102)

A first group of lexemic and semantic reprises seem to highlight that some life events and accomplishments of Coronis and Asclepius parallel those of Peleus, Cadmus and their offspring. The repetition of the dative plural of τόξος at 10 and 101, as well as that of [FIRE], [PYRE] and [BURNT] at 36, 44, 102, juxtapose Coronis' and Achilles' deaths and funerals. The sufferings of those who seek the distant and unattainable (πάθον, πάθᾳ, 20, 42) stand close to the sufferings of Cadmus' daughters (πάθαις, 97).

At the same time, the repetition of the lexeme γαμ- (13, 91) and other semantic repetitions put Coronis and the two Panhellenic heroes in contrast. Since Coronis' secret union was out of wedlock, it was not legitimised by the gods, whereas Peleus and Cadmus hosted the gods at their weddings. The semantic reprises between 16–19 and 89–95 highlight the absence or presence of a wedding banquet and songs in the different stories. Coronis' union was not publicly celebrated with a banquet (16) nor with *hymenaioi* (17–19). In contrast, Cadmus and Peleus heard the Muses sing at their weddings (89–92) and feasted with the gods (93).

A last common image of thematic relevance is fire, an element which seems to be connected with the dipole death/illness/mortality vs. longevity/immortality (see Section 1, [ii]). At 8, Coronis is introduced as "the daughter of Phlegyas," a name synchronically associated to both φλέγω 'kindle, inflame' and the *nomen loquens* of the Phlegyans, the people who had set Apollo's temple in Delphi on fire (Pherec. 209, *Schol. Il.* 13.302b). The image of destructive fire returns in connection with the deaths of Coronis and Asclepius: at 36–37, Pindar compares the outbreak of plague to a fire that destroys a huge forest. From this point, 'fire' iconically spreads in epode B: at 38–40, Pindar captures the moment in which Coronis' pyre is set ablaze.

Again, at 44, after describing Apollo's rescue of Asclepius, we are brought back to the image of the burning pyre in which Coronis' corpse disappears. Later on, we learn that some of Asclepius' patients were consumed in the body by 'summer fire' (i.e. fever, 50) and Asclepius is reduced to ashes by Zeus' αἴθων ... κεραυνός ('burning thunderbolt', 58) after effectuating a resurrection. With the exception of the episode of the birth of Asclepius, all the other fiery images of the first mythological excursus seem to be linked to the idea of destruction. On the contrary, references to fire found at 98–103 might actually be connected with the idea of immortalisation. At 98–99, Pindar recalls the union between Zeus and Semele. Although fire is not mentioned in these verses, we know that, according to the most widespread version of the myth, Zeus' lightning incinerates Semele before she gives birth to Dionysus.[18] The fates of the mother and child Semele-Dionysus and the mother and child Coronis-Asclepius are similar:[19] the two mothers are destroyed and the two children come into the world as sons born of 'dead' mothers. Furthermore, the episode can be taken as an implicit reference to the immortalising power of fire. At 99, Semele is called Thyone, which, according to some ancient sources only referred to her after Dionysus had fetched her from Hades.[20] Here, Achilles' pyre may also count as an example of immortalisation: Pindar chooses to focus on the funeral of Peleus' son, that is, on the first memorial of the hero (ὦρσεν ... ἐκ Δαναῶν γόον, 102–103). In *Odyssey* 24.55 ff. and in Pind. *Isthm.* 8.56a–58, we read that odes, the means to achieve longevity/immortality among the mortals (*Pyth.* 3.112–115), did not abandon Achilles when he died, since the Muses performed a *thrēnos* at his funeral. The link between Achilles' funeral and immortalisation will appear stronger, if one frames the couples Coronis-Asclepius, Semele-Dionysus, and Thetis-Achilles within alternative traditions on the birth of Dionysus and the death of Achilles, which Pindar's audience could have had in mind. These traditions, in turn, reflected the widespread ancient belief that immortality could be reached through a death by fire, thanks to a divine intervention that rescued the would-be victim from the pyre. As shown by Currie (2005), several texts seem to allude to

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18 Eur. *Bacch.* 88–93, 241–245, 288–289, 520–525, Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.4.3, Diod. Sic. 4.2, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.14, Ov. *Met.* 3.255 ff., Hyg. [*Fab.*] 167, 179.

19 Burgess (2001), 215–222 presents a complete dossier on these common points arguing that, within the double polarity feminine-mortality vs. masculine-immortality, fire has the function of purifying the feminine-mortality-component in myths reflecting a patriarchal scheme.

20 Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.5.3 ὁ δὲ ἀναγαγὼν ἐξ Ἅιδου τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυώνην, μετ᾽ αὐτῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνῆλθεν; Diod. Sic. 4.25 ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν μητέρα Σεμέλην ἐξ ᾅδου, καὶ μεταδόντα τῆς ἀθανασίας Θυώνην μετονομάσαι.

Apollo, Hermes[21] or Zeus as snatching different figures who are about to die on the pyre/by fire, often with the scope of immortalising them: Asclepius' miraculous birth from dead Coronis may belong to the same mythological type. In this connection, it is noteworthy that Euripides (*Bacch.* 288–289, 521–524) and Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.4.3 describe Zeus' rescue of Dionysus in similar terms as Pindar does with Apollo's rescue of Asclepius.[22] Significantly, the *Aethiopis* preserved an analogous tradition in connection with Achilles' death.[23]

To sum up: lexical and semantic c-repetitions provide cohesion between mythological sections through a set of images, including the ambivalent element fire, which is a symbol of destruction in the Coronis episode and a path to achieve immortality at 98–103.

2.5 D-Repetitions: The Punishment of Coronis and the Birth of Asclepius

Further repetitions, which I identify as 'D-, E- and F-repetitions', are located in the innermost section of the ode. D-Repetitions are found in the first mythological section, which is symmetrically constructed (Scheme 1). The content of the narrative is as follows: Asclepius' mother Coronis had lain with Apollo. Pregnant with Asclepius, she did not wait to marry in order to have intercourse with another man, Arcadian Ischys. However, omniscient Apollo found out about it and sent Artemis to kill his former lover. While Coronis' corpse was being laid on a pyre, Apollo decided to save his child and seized it from the mother's dead body. The Pindaric narration is organised in a mirroring and expanding way: the main facts of the story, interspersed by comment-like and enlarging *gnōmai*, are first told in reverse chronological order, from Asclepius' birth to Coronis' pregnancy, (8–15), then in chronological order, from Coronis' pregnancy to Asclepius' birth (15–44).

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21 Paus. 2.26.6 ἐξημμένης δὲ ἤδη τῆς πυρᾶς ἁρπάσαι λέγεται τὸν παῖδα [= Ἀσκληπιόν] Ἑρμῆς ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός.

22 Eur. *Bacch.* 288–289 ἐπεί νιν ἥρπασ' ἐκ πυρὸς κεραυνίου ‖ Ζεύς, ἐς δ᾽ Ὄλυμπον βρέφος ἀνήγαγεν νέον; 524–525 ὅτε μηρῷ πυρὸς ἐξ ἀθανάτου Ζεύς ‖ ὁ τεκὼν ἥρπασέ νιν; Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.4.3 ἐξαμηνιαῖον τὸ βρέφος ἐξαμβλωθὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἁρπάσας ἐνέρραψε τῷ μηρῷ.

23 *Aethiopis arg.* §4ab (West [2013], 153–156, 19–22 B/47, 24–28 D) ἔπειτα Ἀντίλοχόν τε θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως προτίθενται. καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει. On this episode see Cingano (2023), 25–27. The same tradition could lie at the basis of a Thessalian Hymn to Thetis quoted by Philostr. *Her.* 53.10, on which see Hommel (1980), 41–42.

Scheme 1: *Pyth.* 3, mythological excursus, 8–44

8–9	Asclepius is born from dead Coronis
9–11	Coronis is killed by Artemis
11–12	*Gnōmē:* the wrath of an Olympian god cannot be avoided
12–13	Coronis' hybris makes her sleep with a man out of wedlock
14	<u>She had had intercourse with Apollo</u>
15	<u>Coronis is pregnant with Apollo's son</u>
16–19	She does not wait to marry in order to sleep with another man
19–20	She 'loves what is afar'
21–25	*Gnōmē*: chasing what is afar is hybris and has dire consequences: such was Coronis' hybris
25–26	Coronis sleeps with a man from Arcadia
27–32	Apollo finds out what Coronis did
32–34	Apollo sends Artemis to kill Coronis
34–37	Artemis kills Coronis and her neighbours with the plague
38–44	Asclepius is rescued by Apollo

The re-narration of the story adds some particulars in the form of expansion. At 13, we are informed that Coronis 'consented to another union' (ἄλλον αἴνησεν γάμον); but at 29 ff., in a more detailed retelling of the story, the poet focuses on the moment in which the omniscient mind of Apollo (πάντα ἰσάντι νόῳ, 29) finds out about Coronis' union. In his retelling, Pindar makes the audience party to Apollo's complete knowledge, as the stranger's name and patronymic, withheld in the first instance, are revealed (γνοὺς Ἴσχυος Εἰλατίδα, 31).

Verses 8–44 contain lexemic and complementary semantic repetitions (Table 2.5), which build a series of reprises. Two forms of δαμάζω, applying to Coronis' death, open and conclude the entire Coronis' excursus (δαμεῖσα, 9, ἐδαμάσσατο, 35); σπέρμα (15) and σπέρματος (37) frame the 'retelling' of the events in chronological order (15–44); πάθον (20) and πάθᾳ (42) apply to the punishment of Coronis' hybris and are placed at the end of the verse. The repetition of the substantive and the adjective for 'stranger', both connected with a term denoting Coronis' bed, i.e. metonymically referring to the sexual union (ξένου λέκτροισιν, 25–26; ξεινίαν κοίταν, 32), frame Apollo's discovery of Coronis' transgression, and put emphasis on the theme of 'remoteness'. Further complementary reprises of terms create pairs of opposites: at 13, κρύβδαν πατρός denotes how Coronis' clandestine love

escapes the attention of her father; at 27 οὐδ᾽ ἔλαθε σκοπόν refers to the same clandestine union, which is discovered by Apollo's all-knowing mind.

Table 2.5: *Pyth.* 3, ᴅ-repetitions

[to TAME]	δαμεῖσα (9)	:	ἐδαμάσσατο (35)
[SECRECY]	κρύβδαν πατρός (13)	~	οὐδ᾽ ἔλαθε σκοπόν (27)
[SEED]	σπέρμα (15)	:	σπέρματος (37)
[SUFFERING]	πάθον (20)	:	πάθα (42)
[STRANGER]	ξένου (25)	:	ξεινίαν (32)

2.6 ᴇ- and ꜰ-Repetitions: Recovery and the Death of Asclepius

Verses 45–53 focus on Asclepius' accomplishments and fate. After saving his son, Apollo entrusts him to Chiron who teaches him how to heal diseases (ἰᾶσθαι νόσους, at the end of 46, recalls both ἀλκτῆρα νούσων, at the end of 7, and 65–66 ἰατῆρα … νόσων; incidentally, νόσους, νούσων, and νόσων are all placed at verse-ends). The verses reveal what Asclepius learned from Chiron: 47–50 are a catalogue of patient types that Asclepius cured, 51–53 a catalogue of the remedies that he mastered. The verses do not contain repetitions, but the main verbs of the clause ἔξαγεν 'he let go' (51) and ἔστασεν ὀρθούς 'he made stand upright' (53) are placed in emphatic positions: they both follow secondary clauses, and are located at the beginning and the end of their respective verses. At 51, ἔξαγεν is preceded by the catalogue of Asclepius' patients and followed by the catalogue of remedies; at 53, ἔστασεν ὀρθούς follows the catalogue of the remedies. The two catalogues each seem to consist of *three* elements:

Scheme 2: *Pyth.* 3, Asclepius's patients and remedies

Patients affected by	Remedies
[CONGENITAL PLAGUES]: αὐτοφύτων ἑλκέων	[INCANTATIONS]: μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς
[WOUNDS]: μέλη τετρωμένοι	[POTIONS&OINTMENTS]: προσανέα (potions) + φάρμακα
[CONSUMPTION]: περθόμενοι δέμας	[OPERATIONS]: τομαῖς
	Results
'he let go': ἔξαγεν	'he made (them) stand upright': ἔστασεν ὀρθούς

It is noteworthy that the two lists follow a 'diagnostical' order: diseases are first recognised, then cured. However, ἔξαγεν and ἔστασεν ὀρθούς, which refer to the results of the healing process, describe two actions or, say, moments, which occur in opposite chronological order (hysteron proteron). First, the healer restores the capacity of the patients to stand upright (ἔστασεν ὀρθούς) and later discharges them (ἔξαγεν). The results of the healing process within Asclepius' narrative (ἔστασεν ὀρθούς, 53) are paralleled by the rewards that Zeus gave to Cadmus and Peleus (see Section 4) after their troubles (ἐκ προτέρων μεταμειψάμενοι καμάτων ἔστασαν ὀρθὰν καρδίαν, 96). The repetition of the collocation [ἵστημι–ὀρθός$_{acc.}$], which I call 'ᴇ-repetition' links the second part of the first mythological excursus to the final mythological excursus of the poem.

At 54–58 we learn that Asclepius resurrected a dead man and was incinerated by Zeus. Within this relatively short and fast-moving account, the repetition of χερσί(ν) (ꜰ-repetition, in my scheme) creates an almost cinematographic effect of expansion of key-moments of the dramatic events: at 55, we visualise the instant in which Asclepius accepts a payment 'in his hands', which immediately precedes the resurrection; at 57, χερσί refers to the hands of Zeus, which bring death to Asclepius.

Beside this lexical repetition, both 51–53 and 54–58 may be linked to the preceding mythological section (8–44) again by the references to the notion of *destructive fire* (see Section 4). Implicit and explicit references to fire frame the entire mythological section (Φλεγύα, 8, αἴθων ... κεραυνός, 58).

Scheme 3: *Pyth.* 3, ᴀ–ꜰ-repetitions

ᴀ	ἤθελον, Χίρωνα ... εἰ, ἀμετέρας, εὔξασθαι, (ἀλκ)τῆρα ... νούσων			
ʙ	**τέκτονα**			
ᴄ		πῦρ, πυρά, τόξοισιν, γάμον, πάθον, πάθᾳ, καιομένα,		
ᴅ		δαμεῖσα, σπέρμα, ξένου		
ᴅ		ἐδαμάσσατο, σπέρματος, ξεινίαν		
ᴇ			ἔστασεν ὀρθούς	
ꜰ				χερσίν
ꜰ				... χερσί
ᴀ	ἐθέλω, εἰ ... Χίρων, ἁμέτεροι, ἐπεύξασθαι, (ἰα)τῆρα ... νόσων			
ᴄ		τόξοις, πάθαις, γᾶμεν, πυρὶ καιόμενος		
ᴇ			ἔστασαν ὀρθάν	
ʙ	**τέκτονες**			

2.7 The *tetk*-Composition of Pindar's *Pythian Three*

The structural description carried out in the previous pages shows that main themes of the poem are embedded in the ode by means of lexemic and semantic repetitions. The selection of the leitmotifs is conditioned by the synchronic background of the ode: Hieron was suffering from an illness when the ode was composed and he was probably worried about his upcoming death and his legacy.[24] However, framing the ode within its synchronic context does not reveal anything about the antiquity of the images and compositional strategies Pindar employs. In the next chapters I will try to delve into the background of one specific compositional device of our poem, which I call here '*tetk*-composition'.

A '*tetk*-composition' is a ring-composition in which derivatives of the IE root *tetk*- 'to fashion' are used as framing devices. *Pythian Three* offers an example of this compositional possibility, since в-repetitions are built by means of the term τέκτων 'fashioner' (see Section 3), an *n*-stem derived from the IE root *tetk*- 'to fashion'. As already observed, the use of the double metaphor at the beginning and the end of the poem has a deep thematic relevance, as it is connected to the dipole illness and death vs. longevity and immortality: Asclepius was able to produce painlessness, poets produce odes, which, through glory, grant immortality-among-the-mortals to their laudandi and to the poets themselves. This kind of immortality, one may argue, is 'what is at hand' for Pindar and Hieron and, therefore, a very much desirable outcome.

In a way, the finale of the ode contains an implicit promise of non-physical longevity/immortality, which Pindar happens to retain two thousand five hundred years after he fashioned the resounding verses of *Pythian Three*. It is no coincidence that the final τέκτων-metaphor (113) is surrounded by references to κλέος 'glory' (ἐλπίδ᾽ ἔχω κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω, 111; ἀ δ᾽ ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς ‖ χρονία τελέθει, 114–115). As already pointed out (see 'Introduction', Section 3), odes and their performance are the concrete manifestation of Hieron's κλέος, namely, what is heard about Hieron's ἀρετά. It is by fashioning Hieron's glory, through the special arrangement of his words, that Pindar creates 'immortality-among-the-mortals' for this laudandus.

In the light of the structural analysis, one may finally add that the *tetk*-composition itself offers an example of how words are arranged (ἄρμοσαν, 114) in one ode. Therefore, the *tetk*-composition features as a concrete example of Pindar's skill as a τέκτων. It might have been because of this highly metapoetic value

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24 Eisenfield (2022).

of the **tetk*-composition that this compositional strategy came to be employed by poets in connection with particular themes.

In the next pages, I will try to prove that in other Indo-European traditions **tetk*-compositions are connected with the same themes of immortality and glory, and are recognisable as compositional devices that poets inherited from an ancient tradition. Let us now turn to a Vedic comparandum to *Pythian Three*.

3 Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī's *Pythian Three: Rigveda* 10.39, a Hymn to the Aśvins

Les dieux, gracieusement, nous donnent *pour rien* tel premier vers;
mais c'est à nous de façonner le second, qui doit consonner avec l'autre,
et ne pas être indigne de son aîné surnaturel.
P. Valéry, "Au sujet d'Adonis," in *Adonis* par Jean de La Fontaine

3.1 Introduction: Poet or Poetess?

Together with *Rigveda* 10.40 and 41, *Rigveda* 10.39 celebrates the Aśvins. The Anukramaṇī ascribes RV 10.39 and 40 to Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī ("Ghoṣā, daughter/descendent of Kakṣīvant") and RV 10.41 to her son, Suhastya Ghauṣeya. Their ancestor Kakṣīvant (Dairghatamasa) is, in turn, identified as the author of RV 1.116–126. Five hymns of this series, RV 1.116–120 are dedicated to the Aśvins and display a certain stylistic similarity to RV 10.39–41.[1] G.J. Pinault (2001) and M. Witzel (2009), 8–9 argue that RV 10.39 and 40 were probably composed by a male poet but credited to a female one, because they mention women (see below, RV 10.39.3, 6, and 7). As interesting as the gender of the author may be, it cannot be determined with certainty and is not at all relevant for this study, so, for convenience, I shall refer to the composer of RV 10.39 simply as a poet, providing pronoun alternatives (he/she, his/her, him/her), leaving open the extremely unlikely possibility that the hymn was composed by a woman. Indeed, even if the hymn were composed by a male poet, the central stanza of the hymn includes direct speech attributed to a female 'I'.

Before presenting the content of the hymn, its translation and structural features, I introduce its dedicatees, the Aśvins, because some of their main characteristics are recalled in our hymn.[2]

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1 The Anukramaṇī, an index of the Rigvedic hymns, provides details about the author, the dedicatee, and the metre of each Rigvedic hymn. Although we are told that different Anukramaṇī-s existed, the most frequently quoted Anukramaṇī is the Kātyāyana or Sarvānukramaṇī (reference edition: Macdonell [1885]).
2 Jamison/Brereton (2014), 1438: "This first hymn in the series is in most ways a standard Aśvin hymn, especially in the Kakṣīvant mode."

3.2 Who Are the Aśvins?

The Aśvins or Nāsatyas (du. *Aśvínā*/*Aśvínau*; *Nā́satyā*/*Nā́satyau*),[3] also called the 'Grandsons of Heaven' (*divó nápātā*), are the prominent twin deities of the *Rigveda*.[4] Their appellatives have transparent etymologies:

– *Aśvín-* 'horseman' is a substantivised *ín*-possessive derivative to *aśvá-* 'horse'[5] (: IE *$h_1$ekų̯ó-*, underlying Av. *aspa-*, Gk. ἵππος, Lat. *equus* etc.).[6]
– *Nā́satya-* reflects *$nēset$-i̯o-* 'pertaining to the return home', a lengthened grade of an -i̯ó-adjective built on *nes-ét-/-ét-*,[7] a derivative of the PIE root *nes-* 'to return home safely and arrive at the desired goal'.[8]

The designation *divó nápātā* 'children of Heaven' also parallels epithets and collocations applying to their Indo-European counterparts,[9] Gk. Διόσκουροι, Lith. *Diẽvo sunẽliai*, and Latv. *Dieva deli*. All these designations commonly feature a substantive meaning 'young man', i.e. 'son' or 'grandson', e.g. Ved. *nápāt-* (compare Av. *napāt-*, Lat. *nepos* [NIL 520–524] etc.) which reflects IE *népot-* 'grandson', and a genitive singular of IE *di̯eų̯-* '(Luminous) Sky/Heaven' or *di̯eų̯o-* (Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dìevs*), a thematic derivative of IE *di̯eų̯-*.

In the *Rigveda*, the Aśvins often interact with deities of light: Pūṣan, a god associated with sun-deities,[10] chooses them as his fathers (RV 10.85.14d); Uṣas, the

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3 These duals are 'elliptical'. That is, "the dual form is used as an associative marker of two separate individuals" (Clackson [2007], 101), as in Hom. Αἴαντε, meaning Ajax Telamonius and his brother Teucer (as *per* Wackernagel [1877]). A dat. sg. *Nā́satyāya* is attested in RV 4.3.6c. According to Pirart (1995), 403, in this passage the twins bear different names: Nāsatya and Rudra.
4 The Nāsatyas are protector deities of the Mitanni-treaty (first half of the 14th c. BCE, KBo I 1 Bo 55 rev. 56). On the daēva *Nā̊ŋhaiϑiia-* (Vd. 10.9f, 19.43f) and Av. *aspin-** (Y. 42.2, S. 1.7, 2.7), which might reflect *aśvín-*, see Pirart (1995), 18–22, 25, 423–424.
5 On *ín*-derivatives see Tucker (2013) and Grestenberger (2021), who proposes that the suffix consists of an original *i*-substantivating/individualising suffix, which was recharacterised by a *n*-suffix.
6 It is possible that *$h_1$ekų̯ó-* is a thematic derivative to a *u*-stem *$h_1$ek-u-*, underlying Hitt. ANŠE.KUR.RA-*u-*, HLuw. *asu* <EQUUSá-sù> (as thought by Schindler, see Kloekhorst EDHIL, s.v. *ekku-*, Hackstein [2013], 99) and ultimately related to Gk. ὠκύς, Ved. *āśú-* and Av. *āsu-* 'swift', which may reflect a reduplicated formation: *h_1o-h_1k-ú-*.
7 See Ginevra (2022), differently Pinault (2014), 272–273, and (2015).
8 The semantics of the root are debated: LIV^2 454–455 proposes 'to return safely home', García Ramón (2004) 'to arrive at one's desired goal'; Malzahn (2007) supports a meaning 'to get near with joyful participation, to seek, desire' cf. also Pinault (2015).
9 On these similarities see Mannhardt (1875), 309–314.
10 On this god see de Coster Atkins' (1941) seminal study. For a comparison between Pūṣan and Hermes see Watkins (1970) and Oberlies (2000).

Dawn-goddess, is their sister;[11] moreover, they woo the Sun-Maiden Sūryā,[12] who picks them as husbands[13] and rides on their chariot.[14] Nevertheless, scholars struggle to connect the Aśvins with a specific light-phenomenon.[15] Since they are said to have been born in different places, to different fathers (Sumakha and Dyaus),[16] they were identified with the complementary morning and evening appearances of Venus: Lucifer and Hesperus.[17] As explained by Gotō (2009), the *Rigveda* may indeed preserve reminiscences of two different myths. The gods move differently by day and night: morning-twin Aśvin rides a chariot drawn by quadruped animals through the sky, while evening-twin Nāsatya rides a vehicle (a chariot or a boat)

11 RV 1.180.2c. The identification of Uṣas as the Aśvins' sister is supported by passages in which the Aśvins accompany Uṣas (RV 8.5.2) or are awakened by her (RV 8.9.17), see Zeller (1990), 103–104.
12 RV 10.85.15 on which see Jamison (1996), 222–224.
13 So RV 1.119.5, 4.43.2, 6, 7.69.3–4. Elsewhere Sūryā marries Pūṣan (RV 6.58.4) or Soma (RV 10.85).
14 So RV 1.116.17, 8.8.10. In Massetti (forthc./b) I argue that the association between the Divine Twins and the Sun-Bride is a mythological isogloss shared by the Vedic and the Baltic pantheons.
15 Y. *Nir*. 12.1: *dyāvapr̥thivyāvityeke 'horātrāvityeke sūryācandramasāvityeke rājānau puṇyakr̥tāvityaitihāsikāḥ* "According to some they are heaven and earth; day and night, according to others. Some take them to be the sun and the moon, (while) the historians regard them as two virtuous kings." I list here further interpretations by 19th century scholars: Geldner/Pischel (1897), 31 propose to take the gods as 'saviours', Weber (1862), 234, as the 'Gemini-constellation', Vodskov (1897), 485–503 as 'rain gods', Ludwig (1878), 111, 334 as 'the sun and the moon', Goldstücker in Muir (1858), 255 as 'twilights'.
16 RV 1.181.4 *ihéha jātā́ sám avāvaśītām , arepásā tan₍ụ₎vā nā́mabhiḥ svaíḥ / jiṣṇúr vām anyáḥ súmakhasya sūrír , divó anyáḥ subhágaḥ putrá ūhe* "Born (one) here, (one) there, the two have always bellowed together with (one) flawless body but with their own (multiple) names. One of you is lauded as the victorious patron of the good battler, the other as the son of heaven dispensing a good portion." The Dioscuri, sons of Zeus and the mortal Tyndareus, have different fathers too, as recounted by several sources, including Pind. *Nem.* 10. On the separate birth(places) of the Aśvins see also RV 5.73.4c and Y. *Nir.* 12.2. The Aśvins' mother is once identified with the River Sindhu (RV 1.46.2a). Pirart (1990), 262 proposes that Sindhu is violated by her father Dyaus, but also unites with Rudra. Indeed, *súmakha-* may be taken as an epithet of Rudra (as in RV 4.3.7b): *ex Vedico ipso* this explanation would clarify why the Aśvins are addressed as (a) Rudras (RV 1.158.1+) or *ráudrau* 'the two sons of Rudra' (RV 10.61.15a) (b) 'grand-sons of Heaven', but also 'sons of Sumakha and the Heaven', and (c) 'the ones who have Sindhu as their mother'. On the different genealogy in RV 10.17.2, in which the Aśvins are sons of Vivasvant and Saraṇyū, see also *Br̥had-devatā* 6.162–163. On the Purāṇic version of the story see Blau (1908). Jackson [Rova] (2006) compares the myth of Helen and the Dioscuri to that of RV 10.17.
17 Oldenberg (1917), 207–215, Güntert (1923), 253–277, criticized by Hillebrandt (1927–1929), III 367–396.

drawn by winged animals, through the waters.[18] However, the characteristics of the gods merged at an early stage, so they feature as twins in the *Rigveda.*[19]

Physical descriptions of the Aśvins are vague: they are 'brilliant' (*dīdiváṃsā*, RV 10.106.3c), 'young' (*yúvānā*, RV 1.117.14b+), 'splendid/auspicious' (*śubhrá-*, RV 7.68.1a+),[20] 'adorned with gold' (*híraṇyapeśasā*, RV 8.8.2c), and 'lotus-garlanded' (*púṣkarasrajā*, RV 10.184.2d). They are 'honey-rich' (*mā́dhvī*, RV 5.75.1e+), 'honey drinkers' (*madhupau*, du. voc. in RV 1.180.2d, see also RV 8.22.17b), their whip and chariot are 'honeyed'/'honey-bringing' (RV 1.157.3a, 4b+),[21] and are connected or directly compared to bees or flies (RV 1.112.21, 10.40.6, 106.10).[22] This all suggests that honey was once a different offering for the Aśvins and that their grafting onto the soma rite came later, albeit early on.[23]

3.3 The Aśvins' Chariot

Although the Aśvins do not ride horses, they are called 'horse-owners'.[24] Steeds, which in the *Rigveda* often stand for metaphorical designations of light beams,[25] pull their chariot (e.g. RV 1.117.2). The vehicle, which was built by the fashioner

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18 In Massetti (forthc./b), I identify correspondences between the diurnal and nocturnal journey of the Aśvins, those of Helios' voyage in Mimnermus fr. 12 and the Latvian Sun-goddess Saule. Frame (2009) also argues for an original separation between a morning- and an evening-twin, identifying Periclymenus as the Greek counterpart of Aśvin and Nestor as that of Nāsatya. Nestor takes on Periclymenus' appellative ἱππότα 'horseman' (matching *aśvín-*) after his death, hence the Homeric formula ἱππότα Νέστωρ#'s matching *aśvín nā́satya-*.*
19 In RV 2.39 the gods are compared to paired body parts (eyes, hands and feet, st. 5; lips and ears, st. 6) and paired animals (twin goats, st. 2; geese, st. 3).
20 Gonda (1959), 116–117 stresses that *śubh-* refers to "what is pleasant, agreeable, useful, virtuous, honest, righteous, prosperous etc." On the epithets of Nakula and Sahadeva, sons of the Divine Twins in the *Mahābhārata*, see Wikander (1957) [1958].
21 The priest who makes offerings to the Aśvins is 'honey-handed' in RV 10.41.3a.
22 Hillebrandt (1927–1929), I 239–244 emphasises that, although *mádhu-* often means 'sweetness' in the *Rigveda*, it means 'honey' when connected with the Aśvins and bees.
23 In JB 3.120–129, MS 4.6.1 and TS 4.4.9 the Aśvins are excluded from the Soma rite.
24 On the iconography of the Aśvins see Jog (2005). Compare also the epithet *dravátpaṇi-* 'whose horses have running hooves' as per Pirart (1992), 56 and (1995), 32 (RV 1.3.1b, 8.5.35b), *dravádaśva-* 'possessing running horses' (RV 4.43.2c).
25 Macdonnell (1897), 53. On quadruped animals drawing chariots/carts as symbolical for light-beams see Campanile (1986). The Aśvins' chariot is also said to be drawn by different kinds of winged animals (RV 10.143.5; like geese, RV 4.45.4+, falcons, RV 1.118.4+ or bird-steeds, RV 6.63.7), and other quadrupeds: the bull (RV 1.30.19) and the donkey (RV 1.34.9, 116.2, 8.85.7ab, see also AiBr. 4.7–9). On the association of this latter animal and the Aśvins see Zeller (1990), 111–112.

gods, Ṛbhus (RV 1.20.3+),[26] is a prominent possession of the twins.[27] As Zeller (1990), 92 remarks, "the Aśvins' chariot is more than just a means of transport, it is a part of themselves. The epithets of the chariot are to a large extent identical with those applying to its owners."[28] Just like the Aśvins, their vehicle is 'sky-touching' (*divispṛ́ś-*, RV 8.5.28), 'unaging' (*ajára-*, RV 4.45.7b) 'immortal' (*ámartya-*, RV 5.75.9d), 'most wondrous' (*dáṃsiṣṭha-*, RV 8.22.1b), 'much gleaming' (*puruścandrá-*, RV 7.72.1b) etc.[29] In a complementary fashion, the Aśvins 'possess a good chariot' and 'are the best chariot-riders' (*suráthā rathī́tamā*, RV 1.22.2a). Praise of their vehicle is so frequent that it can be regarded as a standard feature of the Rigvedic hymns to the Divine Twins, including RV 10.39. At the same time, the extraordinary features of the Aśvins' chariot may turn out to be revealing about the gods' prehistoric background.

The vehicle, the orbit of which is called *vartís-*,[30] is described as threefold in all its parts,[31] especially in connection with its three passengers: the Divine Twins and the Sun-Maiden Sūryā, in whose wedding the Aśvins take part.[32] As I have recently proposed,[33] the third wheel of the Aśvins' chariot (RV 1.34.9+) is the sun, a celestial body compared to or directly represented as a wheel in the *Rigveda* (e.g. RV 1.130.9a) and other Indo-European traditions.[34] In this scenario, the literary portrayal of the Aśvins' chariot matches the Scandinavian iconography of the sun-chariot of the Bronze Age, like the Trundholm Sun-chariot (ca. 1400 BCE) and Scandinavian rock art.[35] The Aśvins are said to 'carry Sūryā as (their) goods' (*sūryāvasū*, du. voc. in RV 7.68.3c). As a consequence of their embodiment of the diurnal and nocturnal escorts of the sun (see Section 2), they came to be associated with swift animals

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26 On the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda* see Chapter 10.

27 The association between Divine Twins and horses is a trait the Aśvins share with their Greek and Baltic cognates, see West (2007a), 187–191.

28 The English translation from the original German is my own.

29 See Zeller's (1990) appendixes VI and VIII.

30 This term only applies to the Aśvins' chariot except for in RV 10.122.6d, where it refers to Agni's movements.

31 According to the 14th century Rigvedic commentator Sāyaṇa (on RV 1.34.9 and 1.47.2), the Aśvins' cart is triple because it has a triangular shape or because it is capable of travelling through the three worlds. Hillebrandt (1927–1929), I 64 suggests that the number 'three' refers to the course of the year, whereas Caland (1921) proposes that 'three' is a shortened reference to the one thousand verses dedicated to the Aśvins.

32 According to Gonda (1976), 75, the number three may symbolize perfection; according to Zeller (1990), 107–108 it may hint at the union of a twofold male principle with a single female one.

33 Massetti (forthc./b).

34 See Schmitt (1967), 166–167.

35 See Kristiansen (2018).

(horses, birds), which traditionally pull the sun-vehicle.[36] Elsewhere the sun is said to be the felly that rolls towards Mitra and Varuṇa (RV 5.62.2) or the chariot that Mitra and Varuṇa set in heaven (RV 5.63.7d).[37]

The complementary voyages and series of attributes of the Aśvins-Nāsatyas match those of the Greek and Baltic Sun-deities. Moreover, the Aśvins' vehicle exhibits the same features as the sun and as the sun-deities' chariots: like the sun (RV 1.46.10) and the chariot of the light-god Savitṛ,[38] it is golden (*hiraṇyáyena ... ráthena*, RV 4.44.4–5) in all its parts.[39] It is also 'sun-skinned' (*sū́ryatvac-*, RV 8.8.2b) and has 'a thousandfold raiment' (*sahásraniṛṇijā ... ráthena*, RV 8.8.11ab). The sun and the Aśvins' chariot also move alike: they traverse the entire sky in a single day (Aśvins' chariot: RV 3.58.8cd, sun: RV 1.115.3cd+).

At a very early stage, which appears to date back to a stage in which at least the Vedic and the Baltic pantheons were still closely aligned, the Aśvins acquired individual traits and were integrated into the solar wedding myth. Their role in the passage of the sun came to be compared to that of the groomsmen or suitors in the cosmic wedding, a myth which always features a Sun-bride, even in the Vedic pantheon, where the Sun-deity is a god. The solar bride may be the personified she-sun (Ved. Sūryā, Latv. Saule), which is carried by the Aśvins as if it were their most precious goods.

The threefold chariot of the Aśvins, strictly connected to the presence of Sūryā as its passenger, may reflect an intermediate stage of the mythological elaboration, in which the sun is imagined either as the passenger or the goods of the Aśvins' vehicle.

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36 The same animals are often associated with the Sun, who possesses 'swift horses' or is 'swift', compare *āśú- ... sūryá-* (AVŚ 13.2.2b), ὠκὺς Ἥλιος (Mimnermus fr. 11a), *rapidus ... sol* (Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.12+).

37 The association between the Sun-god and the chariot, not always explicit in the *Rigveda*, becomes a standard feature of the god in post-Vedic Hindu art. Take, for instance, the 13th century Hindu temple of Kornak, built in the shape of a 200-foot high chariot of Sūrya.

38 RV 1.35, in which both the god's body parts and parts of the chariot are golden. This might hint at a parallel between body and chariot.

39 RV 1.180.1c *hiraṇyáyā vām paváyaḥ* "your golden wheel-rims"; RV 8.5.29 *hiraṇyáyī vāₐm rábhir , īṣā́ ákṣo hiraṇyáyaḥ | ubhā́ cakrā́ hiraṇyáyā* "golden your chariot-shaft, golden your chariot-pole and your axle; golden both your wheels"; RV 8.22.5ab *rátho yó vāṃ trivandhuró , híraṇyābhīśur aśvinā* "your chariot with its three chariot-boxes and golden reins, O Aśvins."

3.4 Powers of the Aśvins

Gods with a 'swift-tracked' (*raghúvartani-*, RV 8.9.8a), 'smooth-rolling' (*suvŕ̥t-*, RV 10.39.1a) chariot, which is 'swift as the thought' (*manojū́-*, RV 1.119.1+) and 'quicker than the wink of an eye' (RV 8.73.2ab), the Aśvins are the quintessential gods in movement: they are invoked to come to the sacrifice from various realms: 'from afar' (*parāvátaḥ*, RV 8.5.30b), 'from the luminous realm of heaven' (*diváḥ cit rocanā́t*, RV 8.8.7a), 'the air' (*antárikṣāt*, RV 8.8.3b), 'the sea' (*samudrā́t*, RV 4.43.5b), 'the flood of heaven' (RV 8.26.17),[40] and from all directions ("from the West or from the East ... from the South or from the North ... from everywhere," *paścā́tāt ... purástāt ... adharā́t údaktāt ... viśvátaḥ*, RV 7.72.5ac).

The great speed of the Aśvins is further manifested in their readiness to come to the rescue of devotees seeking their help, hence their epithets *suhávā* ('good to invoke', RV 8.22.1c+) and *havanaśrútā* ('hearing a summons', RV 5.75.5b+).[41] The gods are credited with rescuing people from all kinds of difficulties: they found Viṣṇāpū, the lost son of Viśvaka, and brought him back to his father (RV 1.116.23+),[42] rescued Atri from an earth cleft (RV 5.78.4) as well as from threatening heat (RV 1.112.7). Finally, they saved Bhujyu, who had been abandoned by his father Tugra in the sea (RV 1.116.3+),[43] by providing him with a ship 'endowed with an own self and wings':

> RV 1.182.5ab
> *yuvám etáṃ cakrathuḥ síndhuṣu **plavám***
> ***ā́tmanvántam pakṣíṇaṃ** taugr̥yā́ya kám*
>
> For Tugra's son [Bhujyu] in the rivers you made **a boat endowed with an own self and wings**.

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40 *yát stháḥ dīrgháprasadmani , yád vādó rocané diváḥ / yád vā samudré ádhᵢy ā́kr̥te gr̥hé , ᵤ'ta ā́ yātam aśvinā* "If you are at (the place) providing a long seat [= earth/ritual ground], or if you are yonder in the luminous realm of heaven, or if on the sea or in a house made ready, from there drive here, O Aśvins."

41 Semantic studies (such as García Ramón [2016]) highlight the tie between words meaning 'run' and 'help' in Indo-European.

42 RV 1.116.23 *avasyaté stuvaté kr̥ṣṇiyā́ya , r̥jūyaté nāsatᵢyā śácībhiḥ / paśúṃ ná naṣṭám iva dárśanāya , viṣṇāpᵤ̀vàm dadathur víśvakāya* "To Viśvaka Kr̥ṣṇiya, who was seeking your help and singing your praise, who was aiming straight, Nāsatyas, you gave by your powers, Viṣṇāpū [who is most likely Viśvaka Kr̥ṣṇiya's son] to be seen (once more), like a lost animal." In the light of the possible identification between one of the Divine Twins and the 'evening-star', it is tantalising to compare the content of this passage and the sequence of beings named in Sappho X.95 Finglass (forthc.) (cf. 104a V) ἔσπερε πάντα φέρων ὄσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αὔως ‖ φέρης ὄιν, φέρης αἶγα, φέρης μάτερι παῖδα.

43 On the myth, see Oettinger (1988) (comparative perspective), Ronzitti (2010) (relationship with RV 10.129).

Furthermore, the Aśvins are *dasrā* ('wondrous', du. voc. in RV 1.46.2a+) and bestow fertility as well as abundance on all animate beings. They gave a white prizewinning horse to Pedu (RV 1.116.6+), caused the cow Śayu to give milk (RV 1.116.22cd+), and poured out a hundred pots of *madhu* from a horse's hoof (RV 1.117.6d). They gave a wife to Purumitra (RV 1.116.1+), a son to Vadhrimatī (RV 1.116.13+), and are invoked in RV 10.39.6 to give a husband to an unnamed woman. Indeed, they are often invoked by women to favour future marriage and offspring (RV 10.184). The tie between the Aśvins and brides, as well as childless couples, may once again rely upon their association with Sūryā and their role in the solar wedding (see Section 3). Furthermore, Zeller (1990), 49–53 connects the association between the Aśvins and fertility with the circumstances of their births: since the Aśvins have two fathers, they are believed to be endowed with greater sexual potency.

The Aśvins are occasionally addressed as Rudras (RV 1.158.1+) and, at least once, as the 'two sons of Rudra' (RV 10.61.15a).[44] Like Rudra who 'bears remedies in his hand' (RV 1.114.5c), they are healers (*bhiṣájā*, RV 1.157.6a+).[45] They restored the sight of Ṛjrāśva (RV 1.116.16+) and replaced the lost foot of the mare Viśpalā with a metal shank (RV 1.116.15). They 'raised up' (Ved. *út … aírayatam*) men who were confined and left for dead or were already dead, such as Rebha and Vandana (RV 1.112.5b, 118.6ab+), restored vigour and youth on old Cyavāna (RV 1.117.13+) and aging Kali (RV 10.39.8).[46] Since they are healers and saviours, the Aśvins are commonly considered to be gods who are 'close to men'.[47]

3.5 Content of *Rigveda* 10.39

The hymn consists of fourteen four-pāda stanzas: thirteen of them are in jagatī-metre (1–12, 14), one in triṣṭubh (13).[48] The poem begins with the praise of the Aśvins' chariot, which is 'good to invoke' like the name of one's father (1). The poet asks for the lavish gifts of the gods (2), recalls their qualities as helpers of women

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44 See Pirart (1990), 262.

45 On the etymology see Chapter 4, Section 4.

46 Myths involving resurrection and rejuvenation share some similarities, which has suggested that the Aśvins were also connected with the realm of death. In this regard, Parpola (2015) connects the Aśvins' wonders to the urns and burial types of the Gandhāra region, proposing that "the Kāṇvas originally worshipped the Aśvins with a horse sacrifice and with funeral rituals implying revival of the dead" (p. 121).

47 See ŚB. 4.1.5.14.

48 The jagatī-stanza consists of four times twelve syllables, the triṣṭubh of four times eleven syllables.

and sick people (3), makes reference to the Cyavāna and Bhujyu episodes (4), and expresses his/her intention to proclaim the deeds of the Aśvins, who are healers and embodiments of joy (5).

The praise of the gods is interrupted by or, one may also say, takes on the new shape of a direct speech of an unmarried woman who calls on the Aśvins for help (6). This invocation is followed by a catalogue of the gods' accomplishments (7–10). It is uncertain whether this latter section is to be imagined as a continuation of the direct speech begun at 6. Since the catalogue of divine endeavours is a common trait of hymns dedicated to these deities,[49] I argue that the catalogue may be taken as a part of the direct speech begun at 6: it is possible to imagine that the speaker of 6 is invoking the gods in the typical way they are addressed, that is, as deities who help their protégés like parents (1 and 6), and by recalling their acts of benevolence. Therefore, I treat 6–10 like an 'invocation-in-the-hymn'. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the Aśvins' deeds listed in 7 broadly pertain to the sphere of marriage and fertility (namely: Vimada's marriage, Vadhimatrī's impregnation and Puraṃdhi's easy childbirth) and seem to suit the needs of the speaker of 6, who identifies herself as an unmarried woman without kin. The accomplishments of 8 concern physical restoration of strength and salvation (Kali's rejuvenation, Vandana's rescue, Viśpalā's healing); those of 9 are episodes of salvation and/or resurrection (Rebha's resurrection and Atri's rescue). Stanza 10 contains a reference to the horse the Aśvins once provided for Pedu.

The gods are again invoked as protectors (11), with further reference to their chariot (12) and two other miracles (13), namely: Śayu's milk-cow and the freeing of a quail. The hymn concludes with two metapoetic images: the fashioning of the Aśvins' praise is like that of a chariot, while the closeness between the poet and his/her poetic creation resembles that of lovers or parents with their child (14). This set of metaphors thus reprises the images of chariot fashioning, rejuvenation and fertility (4 and 6–7).

3.6 *Rigveda* 10.39: Text and Translation

The provided translation is based on Jamison/Brereton's (2014). Variations in the translation proposed by the author are accompanied by footnotes reporting Jamison/Brereton's translation.

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49 See Jamison/Brereton (2014), 1438–1439.

1. *yó vāṃ párijmā suvŕd aśvinā rátho*
*doṣā́m uṣáso háv*ᵢ*yo havíṣmatā*
śaśvattamā́sas tám u vāṃ idáṃ vayám
pitúr ná nā́ma suhávaṃ havāmahe

1. Your earth-encircling, smooth-rolling chariot, O Aśvins, (which is) to be invoked at evening and at the dawns by the man who offers oblation – that (chariot) of yours do we now invoke, (we) as the latest of those who constantly do so – the (chariot) good to invoke like the name of one's father.

2. *codáyataṃ sūnŕ̥tāḥ pínvataṃ dhíya*
út púraṃdhīr īrayataṃ tád uśmasi
yaśásam bhāgáṃ kṛṇutaṃ no aśvinā
sómaṃ ná cā́rum maghávatsu nas kṛtam

2. Stimulate liberal giving; swell our insightful thoughts; rouse profusions – we are eager for that. Make us a glorious portion, O Aśvins; make it dear to our generous patrons like soma.

3. *amājúraś cid bhavatho yuvám bhágo*
ₐ*'nāśóś cid avitā́rāpamásya cit*
*andhásya cin nāsat*ᵢ*yā kṛśásya cit*
yuvám íd āhur bhiṣájā rutásya cit

3. You become good fortune even for the woman growing old at home, the helpers even of the one lacking speed, even of the one furthest behind. Even of the blind man, O Nāsatyas, even of the emaciated,[50] even of the broken – they say just you are their healers.

4. *yuváṃ cyávānaṃ sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham*
púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ
*níṣ ṭaugr*ᵢ*yám ūhathur adbhyás pári*
*víśvét tā́ vāṃ sávaneṣu pravā́c*ᵢ*yā*

4. You two fashioned old Cyavāna, like a chariot, into a youth again, (for him) to move about. You pulled the son of Tugra out from the waters. All these (deeds) of yours are to be proclaimed at the pressings.

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50 According to Grassmann/Kozianka (1996) s.v. *kṛśá-*, whom I follow in my translation, the term means 'abgemagert, mager, schwälich, kränklich' (see also EWAia s.v.). Watkins (1995), 538 renders 'consumptive', Jamison/Brereton (2014) opt for 'starving'.

5. *purāṇá̄ vāṃ vīr₍y₎ā̀ prá bravā jáné*
  ₍á₎'tho hāsathur bhiṣájā mayobhúvā
  tá̄ vāṃ nú návyāv ávase karāmahe
  ₍a₎'yáṃ nāsatyā śrád arír yáthā dádhat

5. I shall proclaim your ancient heroic deeds before the people. And you were also healers, embodiments of joy. Now we shall make you new (for you) to help us, O Nāsatyas, so that this stranger will place his trust (in us?).

6. *iyáṃ vām ahve śṛṇutám me aśvinā*
  putrá̄yeva pitárā máhyaṃ śikṣatam
  ánāpir ájñā asajāt₍y₎ā́matiḥ
  purá̄ tásyā abhíśaster áva spṛtam

6. [A woman:] "It's I who invoked you: hear me, O Aśvins. Like parents for their son, do your best for me. I am without friends, without kin, without blood relatives, and heedless: rescue me in the face of this shame."

7. *yuváṃ ráthena vimadá̄ya śundhyúvaṃ*
  n₍y₎ ūhathuḥ purumitrásya yóṣaṇām
  yuváṃ hávaṃ vadhrimatyá̄ agachataṃ
  yuváṃ súṣutiṃ cakrathuḥ púraṃdhaye

7. You two with your chariot carried down to Vimada the sleek maiden of Purumitra (to be his wife). You two came to the call of Vadhrimatī. You two made an easy birth for Puraṃdhi.

8. *yuváṃ víprasya jaraṇá̄m upeyúṣaḥ*
  púnaḥ kalér akṛṇutaṃ yúvad váyaḥ
  yuváṃ vándanam ṝśyadá̄d úd ūpathur
  yuváṃ sadyó viśpálām étave kṛthaḥ

8. You two made youthful vigour again for the inspired poet Kali, who was approaching old age. You two dug Vandana out from the antelope snare. You two in an instant made Viśpalā go.

9. *yuváṃ ha rebháṃ vṛṣaṇā gúhā hitám*
  úd airayatam mamṛvá̄ṃsam aśvinā
  yuvám ṛbī́sam utá taptám átraya
  ómanvantaṃ cakrathuḥ saptávadhraye

9. You two raised up Rebha, set in hiding and already dead, O bullish Aśvins. You two made the earth-cleft and the heated (pot) comfortable for Atri, for Saptavadhri.

10. *yuváṃ śvetám pedáve ₐ'śvínáśvaṃ*
navábhir vájair navatí ca vājínam
carkŕ̥t₎yaṃ dadathur drāvayátsakham
bhágaṃ ná nŕ̥bhyo háv₎yam mayobhúvam

10. You two gave to Pedu a white horse, a prizewinner with nine and ninety prizes, O Aśvins, (a horse) to be celebrated, one setting its comrades to running, to be invoked by men like good fortune, and the embodiment of joy.

11. *ná táṃ rājānāv adite kútaś caná*
* náṃho aśnoti duritáṃ nákir bhayám*
yám aśvinā suhavā rudravartanī
puroratháṃ kr̥ṇutháḥ pátn₎yā sahá

11. O you two kings and Aditi – not from anywhere does distress or difficulty or fear reach him for whom you arrange that his chariot, along with his wife, will be in front, O Aśvins good to invoke, you who follow the course of the Rudras (= Maruts).

12. *á̄ téna yātam mánaso jávīyasā*
ráthaṃ yáṃ vām r̥bhávaś cakrúr aśvinā
yásya yóge duhitá̄ já̄yate divá
ubhé áhanī sudíne vivásvataḥ

12. Drive here with your chariot swifter than thought, which the R̥bhus made for you, O Aśvins, and at whose hitching up the Daughter of Heaven [= Uṣas] is born and both bright-lit day halves of Vivasvant.

13. *tá̄ vartír yātaṃ jayúṣā ví párvatam*
ápinvataṃ śayáve dhenúm aśvinā
vŕ̥kasya cid vártikām antár ās₎yàd
yuváṃ śácībhir grasitá̄m amuñcatam

13. You drove your course with your victorious (chariot) through the mountain. You made the milk-cow swell for Śayu, O Aśvins. With your powers you two freed the quail, which had been swallowed, even from within the mouth of the wolf.

14. *etáṃ vāṃ stómam aśvināv akarm₎ₐ*
ₐtakṣāma bhŕ̥gavo ná rátham
n₎y àmr̥kṣāma yóṣaṇāṃ ná márye
nítyaṃ ná sūnúṃ tánayaṃ dádhānāḥ

14. We have made this praise song for you, O Aśvins. We have fashioned it, like the Bhr̥gus a chariot. We have clasped it to ourselves like a dashing youth a maiden, holding it close like our own son who continues our lineage.

3.7 The Structure of *Rigveda* 10.39

It is possible to distinguish two main sections in the hymn:

(i) a frame, consisting of the 'external stanzas', 1–5 ('frame-beginning') and 11–14 ('frame-end'), in which we recognise a complex ring-composition;

(ii) a centre, comprising the call for help in direct speech (6) and the catalogue of the Aśvins' deeds (7–10), which I treat here as a unit. Indeed, stanzas 6–10 are circularly organised: derivatives of the root *hav* occur at st. 6 (*ahve*, 6a), 7 (*hávam*, 7c) and 10 (*hávỵam*, 10d).

Table 3.1: RV 10.39, themes, sections, repetitions [GODS' NAMES], [YOU TWO]

1	*aśvinā*	*invocation*	(i) frame
2	*aśvinā*	*invocation*	
3	*yuvám + nāsatyā yuvā́m*	miracles: healing	
4	*yuvám*	miracles: Cyavāna; Bhujyu	
5	*nāsatyā*	*praise*	
6	*aśvinā*	*invocation-in-the-hymn*	(ii) invocation-in-the-hymn
7	*yuvám yuvám yuvám*	miracles: Vimada, Vadhrimatī, Puraṃdhi	
8	*yuvám yuvám yuvám*	miracles: Kali, Vandana, Viśpalā	
9	*yuvám yuvám*	miracles: Rebha, Atri, Saptavadhri	
10	*yuvám aśvinā*	miracles: Pedu	
11	*aśvinā*	*invitation to the sacrifice*	(i) frame
12	*aśvinā*	*praise*	
13	*aśvinā + yuvám*	*invitation to the sacrifice +* miracles: Śayu's cow; the quail and the wolf	
14	*aśvinau*	*conclusion*	

The hymn is characterised by several lexical repetitions. A number of elements occur throughout, namely the gods' appellatives: *aśvinā* (1a, 2c, 6a, 10a, 11c, 12b, 13b), *aśvinau* (14a), and *nāsatyā* (3c, 5d), and the pronoun 'you two' *yuvám* (3a, d [acc.], 4a, 7a, c, d, 8a, c, d, 9a, c, 10a, 13d). Brief references to the Aśvins' wondrous deeds (4: Cyavāna; Bhujyu; 13: Śayu's cow; the quail and the wolf) frame stt. 7–10. The catalogue of analogous deeds in favour of different worshippers of the gods

or beings contains various reprises: the rejuvenation of Cyavāna (4ab) parallels that of Kali (8b); Cyavāna's restored capacity to move (*caráthāya takṣathuḥ*, 4b) parallels Viśpálā's (*viśpálām étave kr̥thaḥ*, 8d).[51] In this connection, it is noteworthy that all the stanzas making reference to the Aśvins' accomplishments as helpers or saviours feature a pronoun *yuvám* 'you two' at the beginning of one or more pādas (frame-beginning: 3d [acc.], 4a, central catalogic part: 7a, c, d, 8a, c, d, 9a, c, 10a, frame-end: 13d, see Table 3.1).

3.8 *Rigveda* 10.39: Lexemic and Semantic Repetitions

Further lexemic and semantic repetitions create parallelisms in the hymn. Following the same convention employed for the analysis of Pindar's *Pythian Three*, I mark lexemic and semantic repetitions with different alphabetic letters in small capitals (A, B, C etc.), depending on the order in which they occur and the parts they link (see Table 3.2).

A-**Repetitions:** A-repetitions connect the frame-beginning, the centre, and the frame-end of the hymn. They involve the lexemes 'chariot' (*rátha-*, A_1), the root 'to invoke' (*hav*, A_2), and the combination of the same root with the term 'father' (*pitár-*, A_3; du. 'parents'). A prominent attribute of the Aśvins, the gods' chariot, is invoked at 1 (*ráthaḥ* [1a]) and is a term of comparison for Cyavāna's rejuvenation at 4 (*rátham* [4a]). It is further mentioned in the central catalogue of the gods' deeds, in connection with the Vimada episode (7a), re-invoked at 11d, praised at 12b, and finally used within a simile at 14b, where the work of poets is compared to the work of skilled chariot makers. Two similes, which refer to 'a chariot', (4 and 14) create a parallel between the Aśvins' skills and the skills of poets, which is also reinforced through other lexical repetitions (see Tables 3.2–3.3).

Further interlocking repetitions are created through derivatives of the root *hav* 'to call/invoke' (*hávyo havíṣmatā* [1b], *suhávaṃ havāmahe* [1d], *ahve* [6a], *hávam* [7c], *hávyam* [10d], *suhavā* [11c]). Within these repetitions, the parallel between 1 and 6 stands out. In these stanzas, *hav* combines with *pitár-* 'father/parents' (see Tables 3.2–3.3, A_3). The poet thus creates a sort of *mise en abyme* between the frame-beginning and the invocation-in-the-hymn. At 1, the Aśvins' chariot is said to be 'good to invoke' (*suháva-*) like the name of one's father (*pitúr ná náman*, 1d);

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51 The same verb, though with different prefixes, applies to Bhujyu's (*niḥ ... ūhathuḥ*) and Vimada's (*ny ùhathuḥ*) episodes. This coincidence, however, may be considered trivial, since the verbs denote different ways of conveying vehicles: Bhujyu is 'led out' of the waters, Vimada's wife is 'led to' her new house.

significantly, the unnamed woman who invokes the Aśvins in direct speech (*ahve* [6a]) compares their benevolence to that of 'parents' (*pitárā* [6b]) towards a son. Therefore, the invocation-in-the-hymn reproduces the modes of the hymn which contains it. Although the word 'father' does not occur within the end-frame of the hymn, the complementary term 'son' applies to the poetic creation.[52] Together with other lexemic repetitions this contributes towards establishing a link between the Aśvins' wonders and the skills of poets.

B-Repetitions: B-repetitions involve verbal forms of the root *pínv* 'to swell', located at 2 and 13. These reiterations connect the frame-beginning and the frame-end of the poem. At 2a, the Aśvins are asked to make the poet's poetic thoughts 'swell', at 13b they are said to have made Śayu's cow swell. The repetition creates a parallel between material and immaterial gifts of the Aśvins.

C-Repetitions: C-repetitions connect the frame-beginning and the centre of the hymn. From a thematic point of view, they concern the Aśvins' benevolence; so, they create further parallels between the gods' generosity towards poets and the help they provided to mythological characters. In particular, at 2c, the Aśvins are asked to create a 'glorious portion' for poets (*yaśásam bhāgám kṛṇutam*). In parallel, at 3 they are said to make the 'fortune' (*bhága-*) of women, while at 10d, it is the horse the gods gave to Pedu which embodies 'good fortune' (lit. 'good-fortune-portion', *bhága-*). Through the repetition *bhāgá-* (2c) : *bhága-* (3a, 10d), both nominal derivatives of the root *bhaj* 'to allot' (IE **bhag-* 'allot', LIV^2 65), the poet highlights the Aśvins' gifts to women (i.e. wedding and fertility) and to Pedu, which are concrete manifestations of the 'good portion' (sc. of wealth/fortune) the gods generously bestow to their worshippers, including the poet of RV 10.39 himself/herself. The pair *púraṃdhi-* (2b) : *púraṃdhaye* (7d) (Tables 3.2–3.3, c_2) may be added to the same dossier of repetitions from the semantic point of view. At 2b, the Aśvins are asked to stimulate 'profusions' (*púraṃdhi-*) for their worshippers, while at 7d the same term is the proper name of a worshipper helped by the gods. The repetition of *út-īr* at 2b (*út púraṃdhīr īrayatam*) and 9b (*úd airayatam mamṛvāṃsam*) creates a further parallel between the acts of benevolence of the gods (Tables 3.2–3.3, c_3).

D-Repetitions: D-repetitions join two almost contiguous stanzas (3d and 5b) situated within the frame-beginning. The reiteration of the epithet *bhiṣáj-* 'healer' emphasises one of the main prerogatives of the gods, the manifestations of which are then exemplified in the centre of the poem.

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52 The image can be compared to that of Simon. 12.5–7 (= *PMG* 519.92) τὸν δ᾽ ε[ ] ‖]μα .[.]χαίρων ἀμφὶ πᾶχυν, ὥσθ᾽ υἱῷ μάτηρ ὀψιγόνῳ] . . γμένως ἔχω "I joyfully put my arm around him, like a mother around her long-awaited son." However, the metaphor may apply to the victor, and not to the poetic creation here.

E-Repetitions: E-repetitions connect the frame-beginning and the centre of the hymn (4, 8). Indeed, the repetition of *yúvan-* 'young' creates a parallel between the episode of Cyavāna and that of Kali, as both these characters are said to have been rejuvenated by the Aśvins.

F-Repetitions: F-repetitions belong to the semantic field of 'making', as they involve the verbs *takṣ* 'to fashion' (F_1) and *kar* 'to make' (F_2), and create a parallel between the Aśvins, other fashioner divinities and the poet/worshipper. In particular, F_1-repetitions connect the frame-beginning and the frame-end of the hymn and are built through derivatives of IE **tetk-*. So, they build a **tetk*-composition in RV 10.39. The parallel with *Pythian Three* is actually impressive from both the structural and the thematic/phraseological points of view. Not only do *takṣ*-forms occur at the beginning- and end-proximity of the hymn, just like the τέκτων-metaphors of *Pythian Three*, but they also occur within similes analogous to Pindar's: the first simile belongs to a 'treatment' context, the second to a metapoetic one.

The resemblance of the actions of the Aśvins, the construction of their chariot, and the composition of the poem is further reprised through the repetitions of *kar* (F_2), which link the frame-beginning, the centre and the frame-end of the hymn. At 5c the poet's speech-act is compared to the action of 'making the gods new for help' (*návya- … ávase kar*). This poetic intention implicitly recalls Cyavāna's rejuvenation (4ab). Despite the formal difference *takṣ* and *kar* semantically overlap. Indeed, at 8b *kar* applies to another episode of rejuvenation. The reference to the fabrication of the Aśvins' chariot, which in other texts is described by means of *takṣ*, recalls the rejuvenation of Cyavāna, who, at 4 is said to have been 'made young, *like a chariot*'. Finally, both *takṣ* and *kar* are employed by the poet to describe the fashioning of RV 10.39, at 14.

G-Repetitions: the repetition of the epithet *mayobhū́-* 'embodiments of joy',[53] 'who become refreshment/joy'[54] connects the frame-beginning and the central part of the hymn with the effect of creating a further parallel between the poet's address to the gods and the concrete manifestation of their generosity (see above, repetitions B, C): at 5b the poet states that the Aśvins are 'embodiments of joy', at 10d Pedu's horse, i.e. a gift of the Aśvins, is 'to be invoked as embodiment of joy' (*háv_{i-} yam mayobhúvam*).

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53 Jamison/Brereton (2014).

54 Scarlata (1999), 365: "die zur Labung/Freude werden."

Table 3.2: RV 10.39, lexemic and semantic repetitions

	frame-beginning (1–5)	invocation-in-the-hymn (6–10)	frame-end (11–14)
A₁	ráthaḥ (1a) : rátham (4a)	: ráthena (7a)	: °rathám (11d) : rátham (12b) : rátham (14b)
A₂	hávyaḥ, havíṣmatā (1b)	: ahve (6a) : hávam (7c) : hávyam (10d)	: suhávā (11c)
A₃	pitúḥ ... suhávam havāmahe (1d)	: ahve ... pitárā (6ab)	complementarity [like a SON], ná sūnúm (14d)
B	pínvatam (2a)	:	ā́pinvatam (13b)
C₁	bhágām (2c) : bhágaḥ (3a)	:	bhágam (10d)
C₂	púraṃdhdhiḥ (2b) :	púraṃdhaye (7d)	
C₃	út ... īrayatam (2b) :	út ... airayatam (9b)	
D	bhiṣájā (3d) : bhiṣájā (5b)		
E	yúvānam (4b)	:	yúvat (8b)
F₁	takṣathuḥ (4b) :		átakṣāma (14b)
F₂	karāmahe (5c) :	akṛṇutam (8b)	: cakrúḥ (12b) : ákarma (14a)
G	mayobhúvā (5b) :	mayobhúvam (10d) :	

Table 3.3: RV 10.39, distribution of the lexemic and semantic repetitions

		Label	Text
i	1	A_{1-2}	*ráthaḥ ... hávyaḥ, havíṣmatā*
		A_{2-3}	*pitúḥ ... suhávam*
		A_2	*havāmahe*
	2	B	*pínvatam*
		C_1	*bhāgám*
		C_3	*út ... īrayatam*
	3	C_{2-1}	*púraṃdhīḥ ... bhágaḥ*
		D	*bhiṣájā*
	4	A_1	*rátham*
		E	*yúvānam*
		F_1	*takṣathuḥ*
	5	D	*bhiṣájā*
		F_2	*karāmahe*
		G	*mayobhúvā*
ii	6	A_{1-3}	*ráthena ... ahve pitárā*
	7	A_2	*hávam*
		C_2	*púraṃdhaye*
	8	E	*yúvat*
		F_2	*akṛṇutam*
	9	C_3	*út ... airayatam*
	10	A_2	*hávyam*
		C_1	*bhágam*
		G	*mayobhúvam*
i	11	A_{1-2}	*°rathám ... suhavā*
	12		*rátham*
		F_2	*cakrúḥ*
	13	B	*ápinvatam*
	14	A_1	*rátham* (complementary) *ná sūnúm*
		F_2	*akarma*
		F_1	*átakṣāma*

3.9 Pindar's *Pythian Three* and *Rigveda* 10.39

Pindar's *Pythian Three* and *Rigveda* 10.39 display striking similarities. Although correspondences are to be expected to a certain degree, since both poems deal with healers, common traits seem to concern multiple aspects of the poems, since they apply to:

– themes: the Aśvins and Asclepius are healers of three types of patients, whose diseases seem to overlap; moreover, they are known to have effected resurrections,

– phraseology: analogous metaphors or similes, in connection with healing, rejuvenation and metapoetics occur in both contexts, and

– structural devices: each poem displays a **tetk*-composition, both compositions having analogous thematic relevance.

In order to assess to what extent identifiable matches are coincidences, I will address each of these features in the next chapters.

4 The Best of the Healers

4.1 Incantations, Herbs, and Surgery

Scholars in Comparative Philology have long pointed out that the list of Asclepius' patients in *Pythian Three* matches that of the Aśvins' patients in RV 10.39.[1]

Pyth. 3.47–51
τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὅσσοι μόλον **αὐτοφύτων**
ἑλκέων ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ **μέλη τετρωμένοι**
ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ,
ἢ **θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας** ἢ
      χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων
ἔξαγεν

Now those who came to him **afflicted with natural sores**[2] or **with limbs wounded** by gray bronze or by a stone that hit them from afar, or **wracked in their bodies by summer fever**[3] or **by winter**, he relieved each of them of their various pains and let them go …

RV 10.39.3cd
andhásya cin nāsatₐyā **kŕ̥śásya** cid
yuvám íd āhur bhiṣájā **rutásya** cit

Even **of the blind man**, O Nāsatyas, even **of the emaciated**, even **of the broken** – they say just you are their healers.

The hypothesis that some kind of cultural (Indo-European) inheritance underlies the two passages was supported through other comparisons, which centred on *Pyth.* 3.51–53:

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1 See Darmesteter (1877), Benveniste (1945a).
2 As Fox (2021), 33 notices, αὐτόφυτος is never used by Homer nor Hesiod in connection with disease: "where Hesiod would have seen a punitive action of a god, Pindar saw a natural outbreak."
3 Summer fevers were connected with the rising of the star Sirius in the sky, e.g. *Il.* 22.27–31, Hes. *Op.* 417, 586–588, on which see West (1978), 304–306.

... τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς **ἐπαοιδαῖς** ἀμφέπων,
τοὺς δὲ **προσανέα** πί-
    νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
φάρμακα, τοὺς δὲ **τομαῖς** ἔστασεν ὀρθούς

... Some he tended **with** calming **incantations**, while others drank **soothing potions**, or he applied **remedies** to their limbs from every side; still he made others stand upright **with surgery**.[4]

The remedies attributed to Asclepius parallel medical treatments and/or narrative details documented in Avestan and Celtic texts. Chapter seven of the Young Avestan *Vidēvdād*, the "Law Repudiating the Demons,"[5] lists three types of physicians, who master techniques similar to those of Asclepius:

Vd. 7.44[6]
yaṯ pouru.baēšaza haṇjaså̄ṇte
spitama zaraϑuštra
karǝtō.baēšazāsca
uruuarō.baēšazāsca
maϑrō.baēšazāsca
tǝm iϑra haṇjaså̄ṇte
yaṯ maϑrǝm spǝṇtǝm baēšazǝm
aēšō zī asti baēšazanąm baēšaziiōtǝmō
yaṯ maϑrǝm spǝṇtǝm baēšaziiō
yō narš ašaonō haca uruϑbąn bišaziiāṯ

When (physicians) who have different kinds of healing (techniques) come together, O Spitama Zaraϑuštra – **ones who heal with the knife, and ones who heal with herbs, and ones who heal with the holy word** –, (so) let them turn to this one, (who) heals with the holy word; he is the most able healer: (who) heals with the holy word, who heals (also) the bowels of the man who believes in *aṣ̌a*.

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4 The juxtaposition of incantations and other techniques is vaguely reminiscent of Soph. *Tr.* 1001–1003 τίς γὰρ ἀοιδός, τίς ὁ χειροτέχνας | ἰατορίας, ὃς τάνδ᾽ ἄταν | χωρὶς Ζηνὸς κατακηλήσει; The passage is discussed by Lloyd (1987).

5 Benveniste (1970). For an overview of the *Vidēvdād* see Malandra (2000), who reports that the composition of the text does not predate the Achaemenid Empire (550–332 BCE).

6 Vd. 7.36–43 are concerned with who may practice the art of healing and what his compensation should be. However, healers other than *karǝtō.baēšazās* are only named at Vd. 7.44.

An analogous list is found in *Ardwahišt Yašt*[7] (i.e. Yt. 3), where it is enlarged with two other categories:[8]

> Yt. 3.6bg
> *aṣ̌ō.baēšazō dātō.baēšazō*
> **karətō.baēšazō uruuarō.baēšazō**
> **mąϑrō.baēšazō** *baēšazanąm baēšaziiōtəmō*
> *yaṱ mąϑrəm spəṇtəm baēšaziiō:*
> *yō narš aṣ̌aonō haca uruϑβąn baēšaziiāṱ:*
> *aēšō zī asti baēšazanąm baēšaziiōtəmō*

(There is) one (physician who) heals with *aṣ̌a*, one who heals with the law, **one who heals with the knife, one who heals with the herbs, one who heals with the holy word**. He who heals with the holy word, he who heals the bowels of a believer, that is the most healing among the healers.

Pindaric and Indo-Iranian matches may be summarised as follows:

Table 4.1: Asclepius' patients, the Aśvins' patients, Asclepius' remedies, remedies in the *Vidēvdād*

Patient Types		Remedies	
Pyth. 3.47–50	RV 10.39.3cd	*Pyth*. 3.51–53	Vd. 7.44
αὐτοφύτων ἑλκέων ξυνάονες (47–48)	*andhásya*	ἐπαοιδαῖς (51)	*mąϑrō.baēšaza-*
μέλη τετρωμένοι (48)	*rutásya*	τομαῖς (53)	*karətō.baēšaza-*
περθόμενοι δέμας (50)	*kṛśásya*	προσανέα + φάρμακα (52–53)	*uruuarō.baēšaza-*

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7 The Yašt is a hymn to Aša Vahišta, which is recited in rituals to cure the sick. It mostly consists of praise of the *Airyə̄mā īšyō*, a prayer addressed to the healer Airyaman, which is said to be the most effective utterance against sickness. According to Boyce (1986), Yt. 3 is to be dated to an age when the recitation of the Yašts came to be connected with the calendar. The earliest evidence for this practice is the 4th century BCE.

8 Puhvel (1970), 375 tries to frame this passage within a trifunctional IE pattern. Consequently, the two accretions (*aṣ̌ō.baēšazō dātō.baēšazō*, Yt. 3.6b) may reflect a canonical list of Indo-Iranian mythic medicine, in which each remedy corresponds to prerogatives of different Indo-Iranian deities: *aṣ̌ō.baēšaza-* is thus to be connected to the 'law' of Varuṇa, *dātō.baēšaza-* to the 'rule' of Miϑra-Varuṇa, *karətō.baēšaza-* to Xšaϑra, *uruuarō.baēšaza-* to Amərətāt, *mąϑrō.baēšaza-* to medical spells of a magic character.

According to Jaan Puhvel (1970), 370, the threefold lists of *Pythian Three* could "reflect a borrowed Iranian or Indic-Iranian concept of the healing arts" that might have ended up in Pindar's text thanks to Greek physicians who attended the Achaemenid court in the 5th century BCE (compare Hdt. 3.125.1 on Democedes).[9] In turn, the threefold Indo-Iranian categorisation appears to fit into the trifunctional structure, which, according to Benveniste (1945b) and Dumézil (1946),[10] was peculiar to Indo-European societies. One could imagine that the patients affected by natural sores represent the priestly class, those wounded by weapons the warriors, and those affected by exhaustion the 'third estate'. Regardless of whether such a clear-cut categorisation of ancient societies is plausible,[11] the threefold pattern of cures may actually reflect an inherited theme. Indeed, it parallels narrative details of Middle Irish *Cath Maige Tuired*.[12] According to an episode of the saga preserved at §§33–35,[13] after Núadu is mutilated in the first battle of Mag Tuired,[14] the physician Díach Cécht provides him with a silver hand, which Díach Mech's son Míach heals by means of an incantation.[15] Míach uses an Irish ἐπαοιδή to cure Núadu (who is μέλη τετρωμένος)[16] and thus qualifies as a physician who heals with the 'spoken' formulation (YAv. *ma̹θrō.baēšaza-*). Later on, Míach is killed by his father Díach Cécht, who hits him four times with his sword.[17] In doing so, Dían Cécht, a

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9 On Democedes see Hofstetter (1978), 46–47, Huyse (1990), 141–148.

10 See also Dumézil (1955), (1958), 7–32.

11 Dumézil's studies had a huge impact on the field of comparative mythology but were highly controversial: some scholars were strongly critical, e.g. Belier (1991), others fruitfully built on the trifunctional theory, see, e.g. Frame (2009), Allen (2019), Nagy (2020a), (2020b), (2020c), (2020d), (2020e), (2020f), (2020g).

12 A mythological Irish saga, which, according to Murphy (1953–1955), 195 was written down between the 11th–12th century and based on material composed about two centuries before.

13 Puhvel (1970), 378, Watkins (1995), 537–539.

14 Núadu Airgetlám ('silver-handed' Núadu) is the chief of the Túatha Dé Danann, the faction fighting the Fir Bolg in the great battle of Mag Tuired. §§33–35 seem to recount how Núadu came to be named 'silver-handed'.

15 §33 "Now Núadu was being treated, and Dían Cécht put a silver hand on him which had the movement of any other hand. But his son Míach did not like that. He went to the hand and said 'joint to joint of it, and sinew to sinew'; and he healed it in nine days and nights. The first three days he carried it against his side, and it became covered with skin. The second three days he carried it against his chest. The third three days he would cast white wisps of black bulrushes after they had been blackened in a fire" Gray (1982).

16 The ἐπαοιδή in question has precise parallels in other IE traditions, namely Vedic (AVŚ 4.12, AVP 4.15), Germanic (Second Merseburg Spell), Hittite (KUB 55.20 + KUB 9.4 rev. I 1–42, on which see Dardano [2024]), and Tocharian.

17 §34 "Dían Cécht did not like that cure. He hurled a sword at the crown of his son's head and cut his skin to the flesh. The young man healed it by means of his skill. He struck him again and cut his

karətō.baēšaza- of the Irish tradition, reverses the healing power of cutting (Gk. τομαῖς) in order to cause an unhealable wound to his own son. After Dían Cécht buries Míach, three hundred and sixty-five curative herbs grow on his son's grave.[18] Therefore, Míach's death produces φάρμακα, i.e. the resource of 'healers who heal with plants' (YAv. *uruuarō.baēšaza-*).

The Celtic parallel supports the existence of a way to refer to the totality of techniques that a well-rounded physician mastered, which is common to two, maybe three, cognate branches: Iranian, Celtic, and, possibly, Greek. Even supposing that the Greek passage reflects a borrowing from Iranian, the match between the state of things attested in Iranian and Celtic is impressive enough to suggest, at the very least, that the *topos* of the three remedies is Indo-European. The question arises as to whether the pattern of the three patients, observed in *Pyth.* 3.47–51 and RV 10.39.3cd, is inherited as well.

Table 4.2: *Pyth.* 3.51–53, *Vidēvdād* 7.44, *Cath Maige Tuired* §§33–35

Pyth. 3.51–53	Vd. 7.44	*Cath Maige Tuired* §§33–35
ἐπαοιδαῖς (51)	*mąθrō.baēšaza-*	Míach 'heals' Núadu's silver hand with an incantation
προσανέα + φάρμακα (52–53)	*uruuarō.baēšaza-*	Herbs grow on Míach's grave
τομαῖς (53)	*karətō.baēšaza-*	Díach Cécht kills Míach with four surgical cuts

4.2 Three by Three

It is tantalising to hypothesise that *Pyth.* 3.47–51 and *Rigveda* 10.39.3cd reflect medical categories inherited from a prior linguistic phase common to Greek and Vedic. On the other hand, the triads of patients may simply convey totality, i.e. they

flesh until he reached the bone. The young man healed it by the same means. He struck the third blow and reached the membrane of his brain. The young man healed this too by the same means. Then he struck the fourth blow and cut out the brain, so that Míach died; and Dían Cécht said that no physician could heal him of that blow" Gray (1982).

18 §35 "After that, Míach was buried by Dían Cécht, and three hundred and sixty-five herbs grew through the grave, corresponding to the number of his joints and sinews. Then Airmed spread her cloak and uprooted those herbs according to their properties. Dían Cécht came to her and mixed the herbs, so that no one knows their proper healing qualities unless the Holy Spirit taught them afterwards. And Dían Cécht said, 'Though Míach no longer lives, Airmed shall remain'" Gray (1982).

might stand for, say, 'all patients' or 'all diseases' in both languages. Pindar's text itself calls Asclepius "the hero who warded off all kinds of diseases" (παντοδαπᾶν ... νούσων, 7).

Therefore, the patients of 47–51 may embody concrete examples of "diseases of all kinds." The threefold categorisation happens to nicely correlate, though only from a stylistic point of view,[19] with the three types of remedies. In turn, catalogue-like patterns are typical of hymns to healer gods (see Section 4) and analogous cletic patterns (including the enumeration of the *aretai*) not only apply to Greek and Indic saviours, but also to virtually all saviours of ancient Mediterranean cultures and beyond.

Further scepticism on the 'inheritance-hypothesis' arises through analysis of the stylistic elements of RV 10.39. The triad 'blind, broken, emaciated' constitutes a deviation from standard collocations applying to people who are sick and/or in difficulty, whom the Aśvins and other gods help. A Rigvedic passage from the eighth mandala makes clear that the couple *andhá-* 'blind' + *śróṇa-* 'lame' is a binomial pair[20] denoting [ALL SICK PEOPLE]:

> RV 8.79.2
> *abhy$_i$ ừrṇoti yán nagnám*
> ***bhiṣákti víśvaṃ yát turám***
> *prém **andháḥ** khyan níḥ **śroṇó** bhūt*

> He (sc. Soma) covers over what is naked; **he heals everything that is sick**. **The blind** man sees; **the lame** sets forth.

The pair [BLIND + LAME] mostly applies to people helped or healed by Indra (RV 2.13.12d, 4.30.19b) and Soma (RV 10.25.11e); in only one case does it refer to patients cured by the Aśvins. However, in that instance, the binomial turns into an 'enlarged' version, call it 'trinomial', of the couple [BLIND + LAME]:

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19 The hypothesis of a clear-cut correlation between the three categories of patients and the allegedly three remedies is to be rejected in the light of literary passages, in which remedies are used to cure different kind of wounds and diseases; see Fox (2021), 11–22. Fox (2021), 33 points out that the skills of Asclepius are "mostly no different from those ascribed by Homer to his hero-healers." The use of the knife and *pharmaka* is often referred to in Homer (take, e.g. *Il.* 11.515 ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν); in *Od.* 19.457–458, Autolycus and his companions stop Odysseus' bleeding through an ἐπαοιδή.

20 "The sequence of two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on an identical level of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected by some kind of lexical link" Malkiel (1959), 113. See also Watkins (1995), 46 (who calls the binomials 'merisms'), West (2007a), 99–100.

RV 1.112.8ab
yábhiḥ śácībhir vṛṣaṇā **parāvṛ́jam**
*pr*__**ándhám śroṇám**__ *cákṣasa étave kṛtháḥ*

Those powers with which, O bulls, **you (helped) the outcaste**, made **the blind** see, **the lame** walk.[21]

It is possible that the twofold collocation [*andhám śroṇám*] came to be enlarged with a third example because of the association between the Aśvins and the number 'three', which is embedded in the gods' biography and attributes: their parents are three, i.e. one mother, two fathers; their chariot is threefold (see Chapter 3, Section 3). That three is the number most associated with the Aśvins is made explicit by *Rigveda* 1.34, a hymn to the gods characterised by repetitions of the word 'three' in almost every stanza.[22] In turn, the tie between the Aśvins and the number 'three' is likely to have relied, to some extent, upon the participation of the gods in the Third Soma Pressing, to which some core-myths of the Indic Divine Twins are linked (see Chapters 6, 12, 14, and 15). A certain 'triadic' tendency may be detected in RV 10.39 as well. Stanzas 7–9, which list the defining endeavours of the gods, include mythical examples accumulated three by three: 7 mentions the episodes of Vimada, Vadhrimatī, and Puraṃdhi, 8 those of Kali, Vandana, and Viśpalā, 9 those of Rebha, Atri, and Saptavadhri.

Furthermore, the triadic mode may also underlie *Rigveda* 10.39.3ab and 3cd. The first and the second halves of the stanza are constructed alike. They both include triplets of generic examples of people the Aśvins usually help and heal: the examples of 3ab are about help and favour, those of 3cd are about healing:

RV 10.39.3
amājúraś cid bhavatho yuvám bhágo
ₐ'nāśóś cid avitárāpamásya cit
andhásya cin nāsatₐyā kṛśásya cit
yuvám íd āhur bhiṣájā rutásya cit

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21 Transl. modified by the author.
22 The first two stanzas of the hymn can give an idea of its unfolding: "1. Three times (*tríḥ*) today take cognizance of us. Extensive is your journey and your giving, O Aśvins. Because clasping you is like clasping on a garment in winter, become ones who can be clasped by men of inspired thought. 2. Three wheel-rims (*tráyaḥ paváyaḥ*) are on your honey-bringing chariot; all know the spoor of the soma through and through. Three props (*tráya skambhásaḥ*) have been propped up to take hold of; three times by night (*trír náktam*) you drive, Aśvins, and three times (*tríḥ*) by day."

> You become good fortune even for the woman growing old at home, the helpers even of the one lacking speed, even of the one furthest behind. Even of the blind man, O Nāsatyas, even of the emaciated, even of the broken – they say just you are their healers.

A number of structural similarities may be identified: both pādas 3ab and 3cd contain (i) a pronoun *yuvám* and (ii) three couples [PERSON HELPED$_{gen.sg.}$ + *cit*]: one such element is located at the beginning of pādas (a) and (c), while another (namely, the last [PERSON HELPED$_{gen.sg.}$ + *cit*]) is located at the end of pādas (b) and (d), preceded by a nominative dual with predicative value (*avitā́rā*, b; *bhiṣájā*, d). The repeated construction of the pādas suggests that they express the same thing: they provide a catalogue of people who the Aśvins favour (a), help (b), and heal (cd). This analysis invites us to re-think the comparison between our Greek and Vedic comparanda.

We cannot exclude the Pindaric mini-catalogue of Asclepius' patients and the Rigvedic catalogue of the Aśvins' patients having originated independently. The analysis of inner-Vedic evidence may indeed suggest that RV 10.39.3 displays the typical stylistic features of the hymns to the Aśvins, such as reflections of the gods' association with the number three.[23] However, as shown by the comparison between differently structured Vedic merisms and elements internal to the Pindaric ode, in both cases the triads are employed to the same purpose: providing examples or sample categories of [ALL KINDS OF DISEASES/PATIENTS].

4.3 Healing the Unhealable

A second common trait between Asclepius and the Aśvins is the peak of their healing skill: the resurrection of a dead.

> *Pyth.* 3.55–58
> ἔτραπεν καὶ κεῖνον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ
>   χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶν φανείς
> **ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκ θανάτου κομίσαι**
> **ἤδη ἁλωκότα·** χερσὶ δ᾽ ἄρα Κρονίων
>   ῥίψαις δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν στέρνων κάθελεν
> ὠκέως, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκιμψεν μόρον

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23 There is no particular association between number three and Asclepius, in classical literature, not even in Ovid's account of the resurrection effected by Asclepius (*Fasti* 6.753 *pectora ter tetigit, ter verba salubria dixit* "He [sc. Asclepius] touched the breast three times, three times he pronounced the words that restore health").

Gold appearing in his hands with its lordly wage prompted even him **to bring back from death a man already carried off**. But then, with a cast from his hands, Cronus' son took the breath from both men's breasts in an instant; the burning thunderbolt hurled down doom.

RV 10.39.9ab
*yuváṃ **ha rebháṃ** vr̥ṣaṇā gúhā hitám*
***úd** airayatam mamr̥vā́ṃsam aśvinā*

You two raised up Rebha, set in hiding and **already dead**, O bullish Aśvins.

The evaluation of possible overlaps between the two stories is limited by our different and relatively narrow degree of knowledge of the two accounts: while several Greek texts mention the resurrection effected by Asclepius, the information we possess on the episode of Rebha is scarcer.

Asclepius is credited with the resurrection of different men: according to Stesichorus (fr. 92a–e = 194 *PMG*) he resurrects Capaneus and Lycurgus,[24] according to *Schol. Pyth.* 3.96 Hippolytus;[25] according to others Glaucus (Ov. *Fast.* 6.750). Our sources further disagree on the epilogue of the story. While Pindar states that Zeus incinerates both Asclepius and the resurrected patient (ἀμφοῖν), other traditions seem to report that only Asclepius died (Hes. fr. 51, Stes. fr. 92 = *PMG* 194).

In the *Rigveda*, the episode of Rebha[26] is briefly mentioned only in the hymns dedicated to the Aśvins. Significantly, five out of the six total instances are found in hymns attributed to members of the Kakṣīvant family (namely, Ghoṣā and her father Kakṣīvant Dairghatamasa). More specifically, *Rigveda* 1.119.6a is enigmatic: here the Aśvins are said to have given space to Rebha 'from being besieged' (*párisūteḥ*), the term *párisūti-* possibly implying a generic reference to 'difficulty' metaphorised as 'oppression'. Otherwise, the Rebha episode is represented as the rescue of a dead man in the water. Some passages specify that Rebha had bobbed away and twisted in the waters (RV 1.116.24c), that he was 'confined, bound' and 'rasping' (RV 1.112.5ab) or 'bound and pierced by the malicious one for ten nights and nine days' (RV 1.116.24bc). The Aśvins are said to have 'brought Rebha back like a horse hidden by those of evil ways' (RV 1.117.4ac) or to have 'raised' or 'led him

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24 Capaneus takes part in the expedition against Thebes, while the identification of Lycurgus is debated, see Finglass (2014), 350–351.

25 On a possible iconographic reflection of the same story on a lekythos from Ruvo, early 4th c. BCE (inv. n. 36060, ant. inv. 1548, National Museum of Jatta) see Giudice (2017).

26 Synchronically, *rebhá-* means 'raising the voice', 'singing' (EWAia s.v., Grassmann/Kozianka [1996] s.v.). It occurs 20 times in the *Rigveda* (Lubotsky [1999] s.v., Grassmann/Kozianka [1996] s.v.). However, in most of the instances the term is an epithet. It may reflect a speaking name, applying to a seer, see RV 1.117.4b, where Rebha bears the epithet *r̥ṣi-* ('seer').

up' (*út … aírantam*, RV 1.112.5b, 118.6ab, *ún ninyathuḥ*, RV 1.116.24d). A resurrection may be implied by the use of *út-ar¹* (pres. ind. *út … íyarmi*) in RV 1.112.5b, where the verb 'to raise up' is followed by the clausula *s_uvàr dṛśé* 'to see the sun', which means 'to be alive/to live'.[27] Only RV 10.39.9 makes clear that Rebha was 'already dead' (9b) when the Aśvins raised him up.

Certainly, the accounts of the resurrections effected by Asclepius and the Aśvins differ in a variety of details. Crucially, at the time they intervene the healers do not have an equivalent status: the Aśvins are immortals, Asclepius is the mortal son of Apollo, who becomes a cult-hero after dying.[28] Consequently, the two resurrection episodes are treated differently: the Aśvins' wondrous deed is a gratuitous act of benevolence, whereas the resurrection executed by the bribed Asclepius is an act of hybris. As a result, the episode connected with the death of Asclepius is a negative mythological example in *Pythian Three*, while the Indic resurrection episode is a positive example of the Aśvins' generosity. Nevertheless, aspects of these defining deeds can be compared typologically:

–   In both contexts, the final outcome is summarised through the structure [VERB(to bring back, make stand up *vel sim.*) – PERSON_{acc.} – (already) DEAD_{pf.ptc.acc.}]. Incidentally, both in *Pyth.* 3.57 and RV 10.39.9 'dead' is expressed through a perfect participle (ἀλωκότα, *Pyth.* 3.57, *mamṛvā́ṃsam*, RV 10.39.9b). No further details are provided; so, we do not gain an insight into the resurrection procedure. Since resurrecting the dead demands mastering inaccessible, maybe esoteric knowledge, detailed descriptions might be taboo in poetic texts.
–   Both interventions mythologise a hyperbolic *topos*, which might actually apply to all the greatest healers: 'X is such a great healer that he can heal the unhealable: death'.

Hence although reflections of a unique Indo-European inheritance in the two resurrection episodes are difficult to recognise, we may identify how cognate traditions deal with the *topos* of the best healer and observe to what extent these treatments overlap.

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27 Dunkel (1993), Ginevra (2019a). In the *Rigveda s_uvàr dṛśé* always occurs at the end of a pāda (RV 1.50.5c, 112.5b, 7.81.4b, 8.49.8d, 9.48.4a, 61.18c, 10.136.1c) in order to express '(in order) to see the sun'.
28 On the notion of 'cult-hero' see the seminal studies of Nagy (2013b) and now Nagy (2024).

4.4 "Great Light to Mortals"

The first half of *Pythian Three* (and, in particular, 8–58, the verses concerning Asclepius) shares similarities with cletic hymns to healing deities, which feature an "invocation of the healing god, followed by appropriate epithets, genealogy and *aretai*" as well as "a prayer [that] require[d] the god to come and appear,"[29] like a saving light from the sea.[30] As already pointed out, Asclepius' epithets are listed at 6–7, his genealogy is recalled at 8–46 (Chapter 2, Section 5), and 47–53 catalogue his *aretai* (Chapter 2, Section 6). The image of the saving light occurs at 72–76:

> *Pyth.* 3.72–76
> τῷ μὲν διδύμας χάριτας,
> εἰ κατέβαν **ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν**
>   **κῶμόν** τ᾽ ἀέθλων Πυθίων αἴγλαν στεφάνοις.
> τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἕλεν Κίρρᾳ ποτέ,
> ἀστέρος οὐρανίου
>   φαμὶ τηλαυγέστερον κείνῳ **φάος**
> ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις

> And if I had landed, bringing him two blessings, **golden health** and a **victory revel** (to add) lustre to the crowns from the Pythian games which Pherenicus once won when victorious at Cirrha, *I swear that I would have come for that man as **a light** shining from further away* than (any) heavenly star, upon crossing the deep sea.

The metaphor of the healer as a saving light is a universal.[31] However, in this case, a consistent system of images, reflected in the lexicons and phraseologies of Indo-European sister-traditions can be recovered through comparative analysis: 'seeing the light of the sun' means 'to be alive' in Hittite, Vedic and Greek (Dunkel [1993], 106–108);[32] Greek and Old Norse terms for 'light' can be interpreted as 'saving/healing

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29 Slater (1988), 55.
30 Saviours and healers come from the sea in Soph. *Ant.* 1140–1145 (Dionysus); see also *SEG* 25.266. The *eiselasis* of the healers from the sea was re-enacted in rituals, see Nilsson (1976), 583, Pritchett (1979), 16–17.
31 See West (1997), 253, 574, 577 for Semitic parallels for the metaphor 'light' = 'salvation'. In both Greek and Hebrew, the expression 'to become the light of [PEOPLE]' means 'to become the salvation of [PEOPLE]', e.g. *Il.* 8.282 and Isa. 49.6.
32 E.g. KUB 24.5, 7–8 *nu=wa=za apūš dā ammuk=ma=wa arḫa tarni / nu=wa* ᴰUTU AN-*E* IGIᴴᴵ·ᴬ-*it ušgallu* "Now take those for yourself, but let me free. Let me see the sun of heaven with my eyes" (transl. Dunkel [1993]); RV 9.4.6ab *táva krátvā távotíbhir , jyók paśyema sū́ryam* "through your resolve and your help might we see the sun for a long time"; the Homeric formula ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο (*Il.* 3x, *Od.* 5x), which may contain a synonymic pair [to BE ALIVE + to SEE THE LIGHT of THE SUN(= to LIVE)].

light', especially when they occur in medical contexts.[33] Further comparanda allow us to locate even more precise correspondences for *Pyth.* 3.72–76. Take, for instance, the following passage from the Young Avestan *Hōm Yašt*:[34]

> Y. 10.7cg
> *yaϑra bāδa **upāzaiti***
> *yaϑra bāδa upastaoiti*
> *haomahe baēšaziiehe*
> ***ciϑrəm dasuuarə baēšazəm***
> *ahe vīse uta maēϑanəm*
>
> From the house (sc. *nmānāṭ*), to where he repeatedly(/clearly) **brings** (sc. **the brilliant health**), where he repeatedly(/clearly) praises aloud **the brilliant health, the healing power** of healing Haoma in his house and dwelling.

Similarities to *Pythian* 3.72–76 are detectable both on the lexical and phraseological level. More specifically,

– the verb *upāzaiti*, 3rd singular present indicative active to *upāz-*, is a compound of *az-* 'to lead', a cognate of Greek ἄγω, employed by Pindar at 73 (ὑγίειαν ἄγων);
– the phraseology *ciϑrəm dasuuarə baēšazəm* is semantically comparable to Greek ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν (73), and to the image of the saving light (φάος, 75). In fact,
– from the etymological point of view, the term *baēšaza-* is built with the same lexical material found in *Pyth.* 3.72–76. Just like its Old Indic match *bheṣajá-*, the Young Avestan word reflects PIIr. **bhaiṣaĵ-á-*, a thematic derivative with secondary vr̥ddhi of PIIr. **bhišaĵ-*, which underlies both Avestan *bišaz-* and Vedic *bhiṣáj-* 'healer'.[35] PIIr. **bhišaĵ-* is a compound consisting of a SCM derived from the same IE root underlying Greek ἄγω (PIE **h₁aĝ-* or **h₂eĝ-*)[36] and a FCM

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33 Compare Pind. *Pyth.* 4.270 ἐσσὶ δ᾽ ἰατὴρ ἐπικαιρότατος, Παιάν τέ σοι τιμᾷ φάος "But you are a most fitting healer, and Paean honours your saving light"; *Skd* 75 *Sól ok sunna, sýn, fagrahvél, leiftr; hrjóðr, leika, líknskin* "sun and day-star, sight, fair-wheel, lightning, coverer, toy, light of healing".
34 The *Hōm Yašt* is the name given to a section of the Avestan *Yasna*s (Y. 9–11.11). It consists of a collection of stanzas celebrating Haoma. Haoma, equating Vedic Soma, is the Avestan name for an exhilarating plant and its divinity. On the plant and its ritual employment see Flattery/ Schwartz (1989).
35 On the secondary vr̥ddhi in thematic derivatives of Iranian compounds see Rau (2007).
36 The IE root is commonly reconstructed as **h₂eĝ-* (LIV² 255–256). If HLuw. *katta aka-* (Poetto [1998], 111) belongs to the same root, a reconstruction **h₁aĝ-* may be preferable, since the Luwian verb shows no trace of the initial laryngeal 2.

bhiš°, reflecting the zero-grade of an *s*-stem to PIE **bʰeh₂-* 'to shine', a root connected to that of Greek φάος.[37]

Significantly, the epithet *bhiṣáj-* is a common epithet of the Aśvins, occurring twice in RV 10.39:

RV 10.39.3cd
andhásya cin nāsat_yā kṛśásya cid
*yuvám íd āhur **bhiṣájā** rutásya cit*

Even of the blind man, O Nāsatyas, even of the emaciated, even of the broken – they say just you are their **healers**.

RV 10.39.5b
*átho hāsathur **bhiṣájā** mayobhúvā*

And you were also **healers**, embodiments of joy.

In principle, the internal syntax of *bhiṣáj-* might reflect [to LEAD – to the LIGHT] or [to LEAD/BRING – the LIGHT]. In several Indo-European languages, including Greek, [to LEAD – to the LIGHT] means 'to bring (back) to life' or 'to rescue'.[38] The interpretation of Ved. *bhiṣáj-* as 'bringing to the light, i.e. to salvation' would suit the Aśvins (as well as their IE counterparts), given the role these characters play in several myths (Chapter 6). However, the interpretation [to LEAD/BRING – the LIGHT (= REMEDY)] may also be defended by means of phraseological arguments. A collocation with the structure [ἄγω–φάος_acc.] meaning 'to bring the light (of salvation)' is only

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37 The Greek *s*-stem φάος seems to be based on an enlarged version of the root **bʰeh₂-u̯-*. This enlarged root could be another instance of the pattern seen in the pairs **deh₃-* to give' (Gk. δῶρον 'gift') : **deh₃u̯-* (Ved. *dúvas-* 'id.'); **(s)teh₂-* 'to place (oneself)' (Gk. στήμων 'warp') : **(s)teh₂u̯-* (Ved. *sthūrá-* 'thick, dense'), **gʰeh₂-* 'to gape' (Gk. χάσκω 'id.') : **gʰeh₂u̯-* (Gk. χαῦνος 'empty'): PIE roots with the structure **CeH-* are occasionally enlarged with *-u̯-*, see GEW 984 and Chantraine DELG, 1170, 1172. According to Peters (1993), 107 φά(ϝ)ος is the result of the contamination between **bʰaos* (**bʰeh₂os*) and **bʰh₂u̯r-* (found in Ved. *vibhávan-*, *vibhávarī-* 'having [wide] shine'). Ginevra's (2019a) interpretation is convincing on linguistic and semantic grounds. The proposal of interpreting Ved. *bhiṣáj-* and Av. *bišaz-* as compounds was first put forth by Rix (1995), 246. According to him, the FCMs reflected **bʰh₂-s-* 'spell, remedy' (as *per* Kuiper [1934], 262, see Mayrhofer [2005], 64) and the SCMs were to be traced back to IE **h₂eǵ-* 'to speak' (LIV² 265). However, Rix also briefly mentioned the possibility that the SCMs were etymologically connected to **h₂eǵ-* 'to lead'.
38 E.g. Pind. *Ol.* 5.14 ἀπ' ἀμαχανίας ἄγων ἐς φάος τόνδε δᾶμον ἀστῶν "bringing this community of townsmen from helplessness to light." The phraseology of AVŚ 8.1, 2 is discussed by Ginevra (2019a), 76–78; on Ved. *s_u̯vàr dṛśé* see Section 3.

attested by an anonymous lyric poet of relatively late age, in connection with the goddess Τύχα,[39] compare

Adesp. *PMG* 1019.8
καὶ λάμπρον **φάος ἄγαγες** ἐν σκότεϊ

And you **have led (= brought)** brilliant **light** in (the) darkness.

Both *bhiṣáj-* and φάος ἄγω may be connected with the synonymic collocation [φέρω–φάος$_{acc.}$],[40] which is likely to apply to the Greek counterparts of the Aśvins in Alcaeus' fragment 34, the 'Hymn to the Dioscuri':

Alc. fr. 34.5–12[41]
οἲ κὰτ εὔρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ **θάλασσαν**
παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ᾽ ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ᾽ ἵππων,
ῥῆα δ᾽ ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε
    ζακρυόεντος
εὐσδ[ύγ]ων θρώσκοντ[ες ἐπ᾽] **ἄκρα νάων**
π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι προτο[ν... ...]ντες
ἀργαλέαι δ᾽ ἐν νύκτι φ**[άος φέ]ροντες**
    νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίναι

[Sc. the Dioscuri] who go on swift horses over the broad earth and all **the sea**, and easily rescue men, from chilling death, leaping on the **peaks of** their well-benched **ships** up the fore-stays, **brilliant from afar** as you run **bringing light to** the black **ship**.

Similarly, this passage exhibits common features with *Pyth.* 3.72–76, such as
– references to sea and ships, θάλασσαν ‖ παῖσαν (5–6), ἄκρα νάων (9), νᾶϊ (12), which can be compared to ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις (*Pyth.* 3.76);
– the phraseology [FAR-SHINING]: π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι (10, of the Dioscuri), which stands close to ἀστέρος οὐρανίου ... τηλαυγέστερον (*Pyth.* 3.75)
– the phraseology [to BRING – LIGHT], φ[άος φέ]ροντες (11), which may be compared to ὑγίειαν ἄγων χρυσέαν (*Pyth.* 3.73) and κείνῳ φάος ‖ ἐξικόμαν (*Pyth.* 3.75–76), since the 'arrival as a saving light' is imagined as the visible manifestation of two blessings, which Pindar would like to provide to Hieron (*Pyth.* 3.72–76).

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39 I thank Hayden Pelliccia for pointing out this passage to me.
40 The IE roots *b^her-* and *$h_1aǵ$-* are often employed in similar contexts. On occasions, their patterns of distributions can be described in a relatively precise way, as explained by Nagy (2017c).
41 I print the text as per Finglass (forthc.).

The reference to Alcaeus' passage may allow us to defend the interpretation of *bhiṣáj-* as 'bringing the light (= remedy)'. The medical remedy is called by Pindar the 'light' (*Pyth.* 4.270), while Asclepius, i.e. the *healer* Pindar would like to provide to Hieron (1–7, 63–69), is said to be a 'great light to mortals' (Ar. *Plut.* 640). At the same time, the comparison between Pindar's and Alcaeus' passages is even more impressive if we frame it in a wider comparative context since it allows recovering the 'Dioscuric' background of the Pindaric image of *Pyth.* 3.72–76. Just like the Dioscuri in Alc. fr. 34, the Aśvins are horse-owners who save people at the sea (see Chapter 3, Section 4), moreover, they are 'bringers of the saving light (= cure)' par excellence (*bhiṣáj-*).[42] It is also significant that Alcaeus refers πήλοθεν λάμπροι to the Dioscuri and Pindar to the light which outshines a star from the sky, since, as already touched upon, the Aśvins might have been identified as the morning and evening star (Chapter 3, Section 2).[43]

To sum up: the metaphor of 'saving light coming from the sea', located at 72–76 of *Pythian Three*, is likely to rely upon cletic hymns to healing and saving deities. Analogous phraseology is indeed attested in Alc. fr. 34 as well as in Iranian passages which (i) describe the 'bringing of the remedy' as the 'bringing of a brilliant gift' (Y. 10.7) and (ii) contain the same lexical material as ἄγων (*Pyth.* 3.72), φάος (*Pyth.* 3.75), the roots of which combine in the traditional epithet of the Aśvins, *bhiṣájā* (RV 10.39.3d, 5b).

4.5 Asclepius' Alternative Parents and the Names of the Aśvins

In the light of the "Dioscuric" background of *Pyth.* 3.72–76, further Greek mythological and onomastic data may be worth noting. According to Pindar, Asclepius is the son of Apollo and Coronis (see Chapter 2, Section 5). However, other literary sources preserve different names for Asclepius' parents. Significantly, each of these names and mythological figures allow us to recover an etymological connection with the Old Indic names of the Divine Twins: Aśvin and Nāsatya. According to Pseudo-Apollodorus and Pausanias, Asclepius is born by Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus and sister of the Leucippides, the twin sisters carried off by the Dioscuri:

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42 See also Iustinus *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* 20.2–3; Diod. Sic. 8.32 on the Dioscuri's intervention in the battle of Sagra.
43 See also RV 10.39.12cd *yásya yóge duhitā́ jā́yate divá , ubhé áhanī sudíne vivásvataḥ* "at whose [sc. of the Aśvins' chariot] hitching up the Daughter of Heaven [= Uṣas] is born and both bright-lit day halves of Vivasvant."

Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.10.45–54

Λευκίππου δὲ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο Ἱλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη· ταύτας ἁρπάσαντες ἔγημαν Διόσκου-ροι. **πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Ἀρσινόην ἐγέννησε·** ταύτῃ μίγνυται Ἀπόλλων, **ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν γεννᾷ**

The daughters of **Leucippus** were Hilaeira and Phoebe; the Dioscuri carried them off and married them. **Besides them he** (sc. Leucippus) **fathered Arsinoe**: Apollo united with her and **she gave birth to Asclepius**.

Paus. 3.26.4

Τούτου μοι δοκοῦσιν ἕνεκα οἱ ταύτῃ θεῶν μάλιστα **Ἀσκληπιὸν** τιμᾶν, ἅτε **Ἀρσίνοης παῖδα εἶναι τῆς Λευκίππου** νομίζοντες

It is for this reason, I think, that the inhabitants honour **Asclepius** most of the gods, supposing **him to be the son of Arsinoe the daughter of Leucippus**.

Cicero tells us that there is one Asclepius who is the son of Arsippus and Arsinoe:

Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.57

Aesculapiorum *primus Apollinis, quem Arcades colunt, qui specillum invenisse primusque volnus dicitur obligavisse, secundus secundi Mercurii frater: is fulmine percussus dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris;* ***tertius Arsippi et Arsinoae****, qui primus purgationem alvi dentisque evolsionem ut ferunt invenit, cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur.*

Of the various Aesculapii the first is the son of Apollo, and is worshipped by the Arcadians; he is reputed to have invented the probe and to have been the first surgeon to employ splints. The second is the brother of the second Mercury; he is said to have been struck by lightning and buried at Cynosura. **The third is the son of Arsippus and Arsinoë**, and is said to have first invented the use of purges and the extraction of teeth; his tomb and grove are shown in Arcadia, not far from the river Lusius.

Pseudo-Apollodorus and Pausanias thus preserve an (acquired) kinship link between the Asclepius and the Dioscuri, i.e. the Greek counterparts of Vedic Aśvin and Nāsatya. The names of Asclepius' parents and/or relatives (grandfather or father and/or mother) support a link between the best healers in Greece and India.

The MN Λεύκιππος, i.e. Asclepius' grandfather (Apollod., Paus.), overlaps the possessive compound λεύκιππος 'whose horses are white' based on a collocation [λευκός–ἵππος], e.g. *Il.* 10.436–437 ἵππους … λευκότεροι. Furthermore, it is comparable to λευκόπωλος 'whose horses are white', which remarkably applies to the Dioscuri in Pindar, compare *Pyth.* 1.66 λευκοπώλων Τυνδαριδᾶν, and matches a collocation [λευκός–πῶλος], found in Hipponax fr. 72.5–6 πώλων ‖ λευκῶν. Both compound members of Λεύκ°ιππος have IE etymologies: λευκός is a thematic adjective derived from the IE root *$leuk$- (LIV² 418–419, IEW 687–689); the word for 'horse' is reconstructed as *h_1ek-u-$ó$- on the basis of several IE congeners, such as Ved. *aśvá*-,

Av. *aspa-*, Lat. *equus*. Moreover, Λεύκ°ιππος matches a Vedic collocation [HORSE – SHINES], which contains Vedic cognate words, compare RV 3.29.6ab *yádī mánthanti bāhúbhir ví rocaté* , *ₐʼśvo ná vāj ̇y àruṣó váneṣ ̥v ā́* "When they churn him with their arms, he shines out, like a prizewinning horse, flame-red here in the wood."[44] Since Leucippus and the Dioscuri are so closely associated, it is worth stressing that the Old Indic Divine Twins are also connected with a 'white horse', the one they gifted Pedu which is mentioned in more than one Rigvedic hymn (including RV 10.39):

> RV 10.39.10a
> *yuváḿ **śvetám** pedáve ₐʼśvin**ā́śvam***

> You two Aśvins gave to Pedu **a white horse**.[45]

The names Ἀρσινόη and Ἄρσιππος are less transparent and open to different interpretations.[46] The FCM ἀρσι°/ἄρσι° may be traced back to ἀείρω 'to lift' (IE *$h_2$uer-*, see LIV² 290, IEW 1150) or to IE *(*H*)*ar-* 'to arrange, join',[47] underlying, among other forms, ἄρνυμαι 'to struggle for sth.', ἀραρίσκω 'to join/arrange', and ἀρτύνω 'arrange, prepare'. As for Ἀρσινόη, the SCM is synchronically connected to νόος 'thought, mind'.[48] However, it could be diachronically recognized as a nominal derivative of the root *nes-* 'to bring back' (LIV² 454–455, IEW 766–767),[49] compare the MN Ἀλκίνοος 'bringing back (°νοος) with his strength (ἀλκι°)', Gk. νόστος 'return' and Old Indic *Nā́satya-* 'the twin who brings (people) back/home'. The phraseological data do not allow us to prefer one explanation over the other. However, Greek νόος 'mind' combines with both ἀείρω and verbs derived from IE *(*H*)*ar-*. A collocation [ἀείρω–νόος_acc.] is attested in an epigram cited by Thucydides (6.59.3): οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην "yet was not her mind lifted up to vainglory."[50] A collocation [ἀρ-_vb. (ἀραρίσκω, ἀρτύνω, ἄρνυμαι)–νόος_acc.] is not attested, but may actually have been substituted by [ἀρτύνω–βουλή_acc.] compare πυκινὴν ἠρτύνετο

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44 Massetti (2019), 74–76.

45 Compare RV 1.116.6a, 118.9ab.

46 Ἀρσινόη is a so-called τερψίμβροτος type, i.e. a compound with verbal FCM in -σι-, see Risch (1974), 191–193. The origin of these compounds is debated, cf. Dunkel (1992), García Ramón (1992), Pinault (2018), and now Jamison (2024).

47 Massetti (2013–2014), de Meyer (2022) on ἄρμα.

48 Pinault (2019) proposes that νόος belongs together with *Hnas-* 'nose'.

49 On the meaning of IE root see Frame (2009), Forte (2017), Pinault (2015), and Ginevra (2022). The possibility that νόος 'mind' belongs to the same IE root seems considered plausible by Risch and Heubeck in Mühlestein (1965), 158, fn. 18.

50 A collocation νόος ὄρνυται occurs in *Od.* 1.347. The semantics of ἀείρω and ὄρνυμι partly overlap, as shown by García Ramón (2008a).

βουλήν (*Il.* 2.55, 10.302). The combinatory phraseological analysis shows that βουλή and νόος form a quasi-synonymic pair in hexameter poetry, compare the formula βουλήν τε νόον τε (*Od.* 2.281, 4.267, 11.177, compare also Hes. *Th.* 122 νόον καὶ ἐπί-φρονα βουλήν), as well as the expression 'Zeus' will comes to completion', occurring as Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή in *Il.* 1.5 and as Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο in *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 10.[51] The existence of [ἀρτύνω–βουλή$_{acc.}$] suggests that a collocation [ἀρ(τύνω)–νόος$_{acc.}$] may have existed and lie at the basis of the WN Ἀρσινόη.

Furthermore, a derivative of the IE root **nes-*, νόστος, combines with a derivative of IE *(*H*)*ar-*, ἄρνυμαι, in Greek phraseology:

> *Od.* 1.5
> **ἀρνύμενος** ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ **νόστον** ἑταίρων
>
> **Struggling for** his own soul and the **return** of his companions.

The couples Leucippus – Arsinoe (father – daughter) and Arsippus – Arsinoe (husband – wife) would thus display names whose SCMs are related to the same roots underlying the Old Indic Divine Twins' names.

4.6 Themes and Phraseology: Provisional Conclusion

Pythian Three and *Rigveda* 10.39 display impressive similarities on a thematic level. However, it is not guaranteed that these common traits are to be traced back to a common Indo-European thematic ancestor: we have no formal matches between the passages; moreover, analogous images and episodes may be accounted for in other ways, namely, through explanations internal to Greek and Vedic traditions. This result raises the question whether the other common features modern-day readers perceive between *Pythian Three* and *Rigveda* 10.39 are *Scheingleichungen* as well.

My analysis shows that, if we shift the comparative focus onto the phraseological level, formal linguistic matches within universal *topoi* can be identified. This is the case of the metaphor of the saving light found in *Pyth.* 3.72–76, which is built with the same lexical material underlying Indo-Iranian terms for 'healer', a traditional epithet of the dedicatees of RV 10.39. In the next chapters, I will further proceed with phraseological comparison, by concentrating on the two metaphors on which the *tetk-compositions of my comparanda are built: the poet-fashioner and the healer-fashioner.

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51 On the comparison between *Il.* 1.5 and *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 10 see Thomas (2020), 144. Note also [νόος–πυκινός] in *Il.* 15.461 besides [βουλή–πυκινός$_{fem.}$] (*Il.* 2.55, 10.302).

5 *tetk-Compositions in Comparison

Давно уже отмечено умными людьми, что
счастье – как здоровье: когда оно налицо, его не замечаешь
It has long been noted by intelligent people that
happiness is like health: when it is there, you do not notice it
M.A. Bulgakov, "Morphine," *A Young Doctor's Notes*

5.1 The Comparanda

As already pointed out (Chapter 3, Sections 8 and 9), *Pythian Three* and *Rigveda* 10.39 contain ring-compositions built with similar lexicons and imagery. Derivatives of IE *tetk-* occur within metaphors in the Greek text and within similes in the Vedic comparanda. Both poems compare the work of the healer to that of a fashioner in 'beginning-proximity' and propose a similar comparison between the work of the poet and that of a fashioner in 'end-proximity' (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: *Pyth.* 3 and RV 10.39: *tetk-metaphors and similes

[ʜᴇᴀʟᴇʀ] in beginning-proximity	[ᴍᴇᴛᴀᴘᴏᴇᴛɪᴄs] in end-proximity
Pyth. 3.6–7 **τέκτονα νωδυνίας** ἥμερον **γυιαρκέος** Ἀσκλαπιόν, ἥρωα παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα νούσων	*Pyth.* 3.112–114 Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν᾿, ἀνθρώπων φάτις, ἐξ **ἐπέων** κελαδεννῶν, **τέκτονες** οἷα σοφοί ἄρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν
... the gentle **fashioner of body-strengthening painlessness**, Asclepius, a hero and protector from all kinds of diseases	We know of Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, still the talk of men, from such echoing **verses** as talented **artists (: fashioners)** constructed.
RV 10.39.4ab *yuvā́ṃ **cyávānaṃ** sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham* ***púnar** yúvānaṃ caráthāya **takṣathuḥ***	RV 10.39.14ab *etáṃ vāṃ **stómam** aśvināv akarmₐ* *ₐ**takṣāma** bhṛ́gavo ná rátham*
You two **fashioned** old **Cyavāna**, like a chariot, into a youth **again**, (for him) to move about.	We have made this **praise song** for you, O Aśvins. **We have fashioned it**, like the Bhṛgus a chariot.

This twofold match is impressive, but for it to be recognised as a piece of Indo-European poetic inheritance some clarifications are needed. The first possibility I must try to rule out is that the two comparanda are random phraseological clusters or *ad hoc* creations. In this connection, I shall make a first distinction. The collocation ἐπέων

... τέκτονες has formal matches in Vedic and Avestan (see Section 2); moreover, the metaphor is part of a system of metaphors, which are common to Greek and Vedic.[1] No formal phraseological match can be identified for τέκτονα νωδυνίας. As a consequence, supporting the 'Indo-European-inheritance-hypothesis' implies attempting to exclude the possibility that τέκτονα νωδυνίας (*Pyth.* 3.6) as well as *cyánānam ... yáthā rátham púnar ... takṣathuḥ* (RV 10.39.4ab) were created by Pindar and the poet of RV 10.39 for 'internal'/intertextual reasons,[2] such as, for the sole purpose of creating a parallel for the more widespread metaphor of the 'carpenters of words'. In what follows, I will first recapitulate what we know about the match between Greek ἐπέων ... τέκτονες and Vedic *stómam ... átakṣāma*, then delve into the background of the 'healer-fashioner' metaphor. In this connection, comparative phraseological analysis will show that this metaphor, like many others, can be framed in a system of images, which is well attested in other Indo-European languages.

5.2 Common Wisdom on ἐπέων ... τέκτονες

In Greek epics of the Archaic Age, the verb (παρα)τεκταίνομαι refers to the creation of immaterial objects.[3] In particular, the wording of *Pyth.* 3.113 may be compared to the Homeric expression ἔπος παρατεκτήναιο (*Od.* 14.131); however, in this passage παρατεκταίνομαι applies to the fabrication of a false story.[4] In Greece, metapoetic usages of τέκτων and τεκταίνομαι only seem to become frequent from the 5th century BCE and are mainly attested in non-epic contexts. Some instances of the metaphor, including *Pyth.* 3.113, connect the notion of 'fashioning' with the hexametrical poets, but evidence suggests that the image of the 'craftsmen of words/verses' could be used indiscriminately in relation to a variety of poetic genres. Therefore, τέκτων and τεκταίνομαι combine not only with ἔπος (word, [epic] verse), but also with terms denoting different types of songs and musical performances:[5]

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1 See Darmesteter (1878), Schmitt (1967), 14–15, Nagy (2006), and now Massetti (2024c).

2 See Hubbard (1985), 26 on Pindar.

3 It combines with μῆτιν in *Il.* 10.19, and ἔπος in *Od.* 14.131, see Svembro (1984), 156–179.

4 From the semantic point of view, ἔπος παρατεκταίνομαι stands close to Heraclitus B 28 DK ψευδῶν τέκτονας "fashioners of lies." As noted by Nünlist (1998), 99, the use of ἀραρίσκω and cognates in poetological contexts is connected to the same metaphoric fields: poetry, music, but also dishonesty.

5 On Pind. *Nem.* 3.4–5 see Chapter 13.

1 *POxy* 2389, fr. 9.8–10
   ἀντίφαριν Λάκωνι **τέ-**
      κτονι πα]ρθενίων σοφῶν Ἀλκμᾶ-
      νι   ω]ν τε μελέων ποτίφορον

   A suitable emulator of Laconian Alcman, **fashioner of** refined **maiden choruses** and […] songs.[6]

2 Pind. *Nem.* 3.4–5
   μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ **μελιγαρύων τέκτονες**
   κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι

   By the Asopian water are waiting the **fashioners of honey-voiced revels**, young men who seek your voice.

3 Democr. B 21 DK
   Ὅμηρος φύσεως λαχὼν θεαζούσης **ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτήνατο** παντοίων

   Homer, having a divine nature, **fashioned an ornament of** all kinds of **words**.

4 Soph. *TrGF* 159
   τεκτόναρχος μοῦσα

   The Muse, chief of the builders …

5 HE Nicarchus III (= *Anth. Pal.* 7.159.3)
   τεκτοσύνη δ᾽ **ἐπέων** πολυίστωρ θεῖος Ὅμηρος

   Divine Homer, who knew a lot, (sc. won the highest prize) **by the art of his verse**.

6 Crat. fr. 70
   τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων **ὕμνων**

   Fashioners of skilfully built **hymns**.

7 Theocr. 7.45–46
   ὥς μοι καὶ **τέκτων** μέγ᾽ ἀπέχθεται ὅστις ἐρευνῇ
   ἶσον ὄρευς κορυφᾷ τελέσαι **δόμον** Ὠρομέδοντος

   For much I hate the **builder** who seeks to raise his **house** as high as the peak of mount Oromedon.
      transl. Gow (1952)

8 [Boeo] fr. 2.2 Powell
   πρῶτος δ᾽ ἀρχαίων ἐπέων **τεκτάναντ᾽ ἀοιδάν**

   (He) was the first **to fashion an ode of ancient verses**.[7]

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6 The passage is usually listed among Alcman's fragments (fr. 8 = *PMG* 13a). However, Lobel (1957) (*editio princeps*) proposed that the fragment belonged to Pindar. In support of this attribution hypothesis, see now Recchia (2017). If we read τέκτονα, the translation is "a suitable craftsman of refined maiden choruses and […] songs, equal to Laconian Alcman," see Fanucchi (2023).
7 The fragment is preserved in Paus. 10.5.8. On τεκτάνατ(ο) see Forssman (1966), 154–155. Note the resemblance with *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 25 Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ᾽ ἀοιδός.

It has long been noted that ἐπέων … τέκτονες (*Pyth.* 3.113) perfectly matches Indo-Iranian poetic collocations and compounds, in which the notion of poetic 'creation' is expressed by means of a derivative of the IE root *tetk- 'to fashion'.[8] The most striking correspondences are the Vedic collocation [*takṣ–vácas-*$_{acc.pl.}$] 'to fashion … word(s)' and the Young Avestan compound *vacastašti-* 'strophe of the *Gāϑās*':[9]

> RV 6.32.1
> *ápūrv$_i$yā purutámān$_i$y asmai*
> *mahé vīráya taváse turáya*
> *virapśíne vajríṇe śáṃtamāni*
> **vácāṃs$_i$y** *āsá sthávirāya* **takṣam**

> For him **I have fashioned** with my mouth these **words**, unprecedented, best of many, most wealful – for the great hero, powerful and precipitous, conferring abundance, bearing the mace, stalwart.[10]

> Y. 58.8ab
> *hauruuąm haṇdāitīm staotanąm yesníianąm yazamaide*
> *apanōtəmaiiā paitī* **vacastaštā**

> We pray the complete collection of Staota Yasnyas with the most effective **stanza**.[11]

Just like τέκτων and τεκταίνομαι in Greek ([1], [2], [4], [6]), in Indo-Iranian languages the verbs *takṣ* and *taš* combine with terms denoting different verbal and musical creations. The Vedic verbal root *takṣ* is joined to terms for 'sacred formulation' (*bráhman-*, RV 1.62.13b, 5.29.15, 73.10ac, 10.80.7a), 'chant', 'poetic vision' (*dhī́-*, RV 1.109.1d, 3.54.17d), 'poetic thought' (*mánman-*, RV 2.19.8ab), 'solemn utterance' (*mántra-*, RV 1.67.4b, 7.7.6b), and 'praise-song' (*stóma-*, RV 1.171.2ab, 5.2.11ab, 10.39.14ab).[12] In addition, it denotes the creation of different types of metres

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8 The comparison between the Pindaric and Indo-Iranian expressions was first proposed by Darmesteter (1878) (see also Schmitt [1967], 297–298), who however tried to connect Gk. τέκτων, Ved. *takṣ*, Av. *taš* 'to fashion' with Latin *texere*, a term that does not belong to the same etymological dossier. On the reconstruction of τέτκων see Benveniste (1937). Together with Latv. *tešu* 'to build', Lith. *tašaū, tašýti* 'to smooth, work', Ved. *takṣ*, and Av. *taš*, τέκτων can be traced back to the IE root *tetk- (Kujore [1970], Bendahman [1993], 246–247, LIV² 638–639, IEW 1058–1059). Latin *texere* is likely to be traced back to IE *tek-s-, which also underlies Hittite *takš-* 'to unite [harmoniously], to fit together', *takšan* 'jointly, together', as explained by Melchert (2018). Differently, Ronzitti (2001) tries to identify the primary meaning of the root *tetk- as 'to cut'.
9 Cf. also *vacastaštaštiuuaṱ* 'in strophes' (adv.) in Y. 57.8, N. 23, 24.
10 See also RV 8.6.33.
11 See also N. 42, 50, Vr. 13.3.
12 See also RV 1.61.4ab.

(RV 1.164.23). The Avestan cognate verb *taš* is connected with *maϑra-* 'mantra (i.e. holy/ritual formulation)', compare

> RV 10.39.14ab
> **etáṃ** vāṃ **stómam** aśvināv akarmₐ
> ₐ**takṣāma** bhŕ̥gavo ná rátham
>
> We have made **this praise song** for you, O Aśvins. **We have fashioned it**, like the Bhŕ̥gus a chariot.

> RV 7.7.6b
> **mántraṃ** yé vára̍ṃ nárᵧā **átakṣan**
>
> The manly ones who **fashioned the solemn utterance** and its desirable reward.

> Y. 29.7ab
> tə̄m āzūtōiš ahurō **maϑrəm tašaṯ** ašā hazaoṣō
> mazdå gauuōi xšuuīdəmcā
>
> In harmony with Truth, the Lord, Mazdā, **fashioned** that **formula** of fat and milk for the Cow; he is beneficent to the needy ones through his teaching.

Formal and semantic correspondences between collocations and compounds may be summed up in the following table:

Table 5.2: Metapoetic usages of IE *tetḱ*-: Greek, Vedic, Avestan

	IE *tetḱ-* 'to fashion'	IE *u̯ekʷ-* (u̯ekʷ-es-) 'poetic word'	[SONG] *vel sim.*	*men-* 'poetic thought'
Greek	τέκτονες (Pind.+) τεκταίνομαι (Democr.+) τεκτοσύνη (HE Nicarchus III)	ἐπέων (Pind.) κόσμον ἐπέων (Democr.) ἐπέων (HE Nicarchus III)	παρθενίων (Pind.?) κώμων (Pind.) ὕμνων (Crat.) ἀοιδάν ([Boeo])	Μοῦσα (Soph.)
Vedic (RV)	*takṣ*	*vácas-*	*stóma-* *bráhman-*	*mánman-/mántra-* (*dhī́-* 'poetic vision')
Avestan	*taš*, °*tašti-*	*vacas°*	——	*maϑra-*

In at least three sister languages, derivatives of the root *tetḱ*- are joined with derivatives of the IE root *u̯ekʷ*- 'to speak' within metapoetic metaphors. Since these expressions are employed in analogous contexts and overlap both formally and

semantically, it is likely that the perfect matches ἐπέων … τέκτονες, *takṣ–vácas-* and *vacastašti-* all derive from a previous stage of the poetic language, common to Greek, Vedic, and Iranian.

In all three languages **tetk-* also combines with other words, which are applied by poets to different 'poetic products' and/or different 'poetic products-in-performance':[13] revels, specific songs, ritual formulae. These partial matches may be explained as semantic specialisations of the metaphor [to FASHION – SONG/UTTERANCE/POETIC PRODUCT$_{acc.}$] which are likely to have taken place *einzelsprachlich.* Greek and Indo-Iranian derivatives also came to combine with derivatives of the root **men-* 'to think', from which words for 'poetic thought' are derived in all three poetic languages. The formal match between Vedic *takṣ–mántra-* and Avestan *taš–maϑra-* suggests that the collocation [**takp–*mántra-*] is a common Indo-Iranian innovation.[14] Although Greek Μοῦσα is etymologically the 'goddess of poetic thought',[15] the popularity of the fashioner metaphor in the 5th century BCE does not allow us to exclude τεκτόναρχος Μοῦσα being an independent creation by Sophocles. Nonetheless, the formal coincidence is still worth noting.

Finally, within the proliferation of metapoetic metaphors, we also record the tendency of some Greek poets to distribute the members of the collocations in structures of the type [**tetk-*$_{agent-noun}$ – WORD/SONG/UTTERANCE$_{gen.pl.}$], which may be recognised as kennings. A kenning is "a bipartite figure of two nouns in a non-copulative, typically genitival grammatical relation (A of B) or in composition (B-A/A-B) which together make reference to, 'signify', a third notion C."[16] In the Greek passages quoted above ([1], [2], [6]), τέκτων-metaphors substitute the term 'poet' or 'performer' in the poetic discourse. We may thus conclude that metapoetic τέκτων-kennings are probably built with a poetic lexicon inherited from the Indo-European tradition. In this connection, one may wonder whether the same applies to the *other* τέκτων-metaphor of *Pythian Three*: τέκτων νωδυνίας.

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13 Watkins (1995), 44.

14 On Avestan *mainyu-tāšta-* 'fashioned by the spirit' (Y. 9.26, Yt. 10.90, 143, Yt. 13.3, Vd. 20) see Panaino (2012). In RV 6.32.1d, the poet states that he fashioned (poetic) words *with his mouth*. This detail of the metaphor seems to hint at the 'composition-in-performance' of the Rigvedic hymn.

15 See Watkins (1997), Janda (2010), 278–294.

16 See also Schmitt (1967), 277–284, West (2007a), 81–83. For a collection of Greek kennings, see Wærn (1951), 114–144.

5.3 τέκτων νωδυνίας as a Kenning

The *ordo verborum* of Pindar's *Pythian Three* 6–7 is remarkable:[17] the constituents interlock in repeated appositional sequences [accusative + genitive], giving prominence to the name 'Asclepius', located at the end of 6:

[[τέκτονα νωδυνίας]$_{\text{subst.}}$ [ἤμερον γυιαρκέος]$_{\text{adj.}}$] **Ἀσκλαπιόν** ‖ [[ἥρωα$_{\text{subst.}}$ [παντοδαπᾶν$_{\text{adj.}}$ [ἀλκτῆρα$_{\text{subst.}}$] νούσων $_{\text{subst.}}$]]

Scheme 4: *Pyth*. 3.6–7, structure

[[subst.acc.$_1$ + subst.gen.$_1$] [adj.acc.$_1$ + adj.gen.$_1$]] Asclepius$_{\text{acc.}}$ ‖ [[subst.acc.$_2$ [adj.gen.$_3$ + [subst.acc.$_4$] + subst.gen.$_3$]]

Furthermore, the lexicon of the verses stands out. Even though the pair τέκτονα ... ἀλκτῆρα may vaguely recall the pair τεκταίνομαι ... ἀλεξίκακος in *Il.* 10.19–20 (εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα *τεκτήναιτο*, ‖ ἤ τις *ἀλεξίκακος* πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο), the Pindaric expressions apply to a completely different situation.[18]

In fact, the expression τέκτονα νωδυνίας, as far as we know, is unparalleled in Greek literature, although the metaphor that lies at the basis of the tropos can be framed in a widespread system of associations and images, as I shall make evident. The noun τέκτων soon came to metaphorically designate 'master in any art' (LSJ s.v. τέκτων, 2) and 'creator', e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 592–593 γένους ... τέκτων,[19] but there is no other record of medical metaphors involving the term. Other features of 6–7 are also noteworthy: the adjective γυιαρκέος is a *hapax legomenon* built with the same lexical material as the verbal compound ἀρκεσίγυιος (Antiphanes fr. 205 = Eur. *TrGF* 1098 = Philoxenus *PMG* 832).[20] The noun νωδυνία, just like the adjective νώδυνος[21] (Pind. *Nem.* 8.50, Soph. *Phil.* 44+), is not attested before Pindar,[22] and one

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17 On the construction of the verse see Schürch (1971). On chiastic syntactic constructions in Pindar see Watkins (2002b).

18 "In the hope that he (: Nestor) might *contrive* with him (: Agamemnon) some incomparable device that would serve *to ward off evil* from all the Danaans." Agamemnon hopes that Nestor might find the solution to the partiality that Zeus shows towards Hector. On *Il.* 10.1–52 and the nature of Nestor's μῆτις ('plan') see Dué/Ebbott (2010), III 10.19 ff., Nagy (2016) on 10.043–052.

19 On this passage see Ronzitti (1998).

20 A possible model is Hom. ποδάρκης 'swift-footed' (*Il.* 1.121+), displaying an identical second compound member to ἀρκέω.

21 Slater (1969) s.v. proposes 'relief from pain', see also the use of νώδυνος 'free from pain' in *Nem.* 8.50.

22 Both terms are compounds with a first compound member to the negative prefix *n̥- and a second compound member related to Gk. ὀδύνη 'pain', Aeol. ἐδύνη *'(biting) pain', derivatives of the PIE root *h₁ed- '(to bite) → eat', which also underlies Arm. *erkn* 'birth labor', OIr. *idu* 'pain', as

may wonder about its rendering. 'Painlessness' seems to be a preferable solution, especially in the light of 47–53. Here,

- the different patients of Asclepius (47–50) are representative examples of the παντοδαπᾶν ... νούσων (7) the physician was able to ward off (see Chapter 4, Sections 1–2);
- the reference to the restored capacity to stand upright (τοὺς δέ ... ἔστασεν ὀρθούς, 53) correlates with the restored efficiency of body-limbs (γυιαρκέος, 7);
- Asclepius is said to have dismissed his patients, after he had *freed them from pain* (λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίων ἀχέων, 50).[23] Therefore, the participle clause of 50 is an extensive poetic rendering of νωδυνία (6).

Table 5.3: *Pyth.* 3.6–7 compared to 47–53

6–7	47–53
τέκτονα **νωδυνίας** (6)	**λύσαις** ἄλλον ἀλλοίων **ἀχέων** (50)
... **γυιαρκέος** (6)	... **ἔστασεν ὀρθούς** (53)
παντοδαπᾶν ἀλκτῆρα **νούσων** (7)	τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὅσσοι μόλον **αὐτοφύτων ἑλκέων ξυνάονες**, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη **τετρωμένοι** ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ, ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ **περθόμενοι δέμας** ἢ χειμῶνι (47–50)

Finally, by combining the accusative of τέκτων with the genitive νωδυνίας, Pindar creates an intricate metaphor, which displays the structure [A$_{subst.}$–B$_{subst.gen.}$], that is, the standard structure of a kenning. The synchronic evidence seems to confirm this hypothesis. Indeed, according to ancient Pindaric commentators, 'fashioner of painlessness' means 'healer':

> *Schol. Pyth.* 3.11a Dr.
> **τέκτονα νωδυνίας**· τὸν κατασκευαστὴν τῆς νωδυνίας· **ἰατρὸς** γάρ
>
> **Craftsman of the painlessness**: the contriver of painlessness, for (it means) a **physician**.[24]

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pointed out by Schindler (1975). From the semantic point of view, the compound can be compared to νηπενθής (*Od.* 4.221 of φάρμακον).

23 The collocation [FREE(λύω) – from PAIN] is also found elsewhere in the Pindaric corpus, see *Isthm.* 8.6 ἐκ ... πενθέων λυθέντες, fr. 52l.13–14 (*Pae.* 12 = G1 R) λύετο τερπνᾶς ‖ ὠδῖνος.

24 Physicians and carpenters are compared by what they construct in Asclepius' Aristotelian commentary (*in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria*, p. 153) ἐν τεκτονικῇ φημι καὶ σκυτικῇ, ἔστι τέλος εὑρεῖν, οἷον ἐν ἰατρικῇ ὑγείαν, ἐν τεκτονικῇ οἶκον ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο, ὁμοίως

5.4 *Ex Graeco Ipso*

The interpretation of *Schol. Pyth.* 3.11a may be compared with descriptions of healer-fashioners in Greek literary works of the Archaic and Classical Age. From Homer onwards healers and craftsmen have often been juxtaposed, not simply because of their ability to create/fix something. *Odyssey* 17.384–385 contains a short list of δημιοεργοί (383), in which seers, healers, carpenters and singers are named one after the other,[25] μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων, ‖ ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοι-δόν. In this passage, however, different categories seem to be grouped together on the basis of the fact that their typical representatives are itinerant.[26]

In the fifth century BCE, the categories of healers and carpenters seem to be paired because they master τέχναι.[27] After Pindar, Plato seems to be the first author who compares craftsmen and healers because of the way they construct the parts of the objects or bodies they work on,[28] compare

> Pl. *Grg.* 503e–504a
>
> ὥσπερ καὶ **οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες δημιουργοὶ** [βλέποντες] πρὸς τὸ αὑτῶν ἔργον ἕκαστος οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐκλεγόμενος προσφέρει [πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ αὑτῶν,] ἀλλ᾽ **ὅπως ἂν εἶδός τι αὐτῷ σχῇ τοῦτο ὃ ἐργάζεται**. οἶον εἰ βούλει ἰδεῖν τοὺς ζωγράφους, τοὺς οἰκοδόμους, τοὺς ναυπηγούς, **τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δημιουργούς**, ὄντινα βούλει αὐτῶν, ὡς **εἰς τάξιν** τινὰ ἕκαστος **ἕκαστον τίθησιν** ὃ ἂν τιθῇ, καὶ προσαναγκάζει **τὸ ἕτερον τῷ ἑτέρῳ πρέπον τε εἶναι καὶ ἁρμόττειν**, ἕως ἂν τὸ ἅπαν συστήσηται τεταγμένον τε καὶ κεκοσμημένον πρᾶγμα· **καὶ οἵ τε δὴ ἄλλοι δημι-ουργοὶ καὶ οὓς νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν, οἱ περὶ τὸ σῶμα, παιδοτρίβαι τε καὶ ἰατροί**, κοσμοῦσί που τὸ σῶμα καὶ συντάττουσιν
>
> He is just like **any other craftsman**, who having his own particular work in view selects the things he applies that work of his to, not at random, but with **the purpose of giving a certain**

δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων "I say that in carpentry and in shoe-making, it's about reaching its scope, which is health in medicine, (the building of) a house in carpentry." A comparison between the two τέχναι by what they 'produce' is also found in Johannes Philoponus, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 14.2 ὡς τεκτονικὴ καὶ ἰατρική· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλην ἔχει τὰ ξύλα ἡ δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα, καὶ ἡ μὲν τὸ τῆς θύρας ἢ τὸ τοῦ θρόνου εἶδος ποιεῖ ἡ δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων "medical art is like carpentry: the latter has wood and dry pieces of wood, that one human bodies; so the first produces the form of a door or a throne, the other (produces) health from our bodies," see Section 4.

25 See Finley (1977), 56–57 on the passage.

26 Bertolini (1988). The triad 'healer, carpenter, singer' has a parallel in RV 9.112.1ad, although in the two passages the categories are juxtaposed for different reasons: *nānānáṃ vá u no dhíyo , ví vratáni jánānā₄m / tákṣā riṣṭáṃ rutám bhiṣág , brahmā́ sunvántam ichati* "truly our thoughts are various, and the obligations of peoples are different: a carpenter seeks the broken, a healer the injured, a formulator a man who presses soma."

27 Compare also Pl. *Cra.* 416d, *Prt.* 345a, *Ion* 537c, spuria 376d, 390c, 454d; see also Arist. *De an.* 403b, *Top.* 116a, Nausiphanes B 1 DK. On the theme of the τέχνη see the seminal study by Cambiano (1971).

28 I am greatly in debt with Amneris Roselli for pointing me to the passages I discuss in this paragraph.

form to whatever he is working upon. You have only to look, for example, at the painters, the builders, the shipwrights, or **any of the other craftsmen**, whichever you like, to see how each of them *arranges everything according to a certain order*, and forces **one part to suit and fit with another**, until he has composed the whole into a thing of order and system; **and so of course with all the other craftsmen, and the people we mentioned just now, who have to do with the body – trainers and doctors**; they too, I suppose, bring order and system into the body.

In the passage, carpenters and "all the ones who work with the body," i.e. trainers and healers (παιδοτρίβαι τε καὶ ἰατροί), seem to interact with their 'raw materials' in similar ways. Indeed, they combine together (συστήσηται), by positioning (τάξις, τεταγμένον, συντάττουσιν), arranging (ἁρμόττειν) and ordering (κεκοσμημένον πρᾶγμα, κοσμοῦσί) the parts of a whole, according to the right form.[29]

The idea that τέκτονες and ἰατροί are somehow comparable for bringing order to their raw materials is a theme later found in the Aristotelian commentary of Johannes Philoponus:

Johannes Philoponus *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria* 15, p. 37
ἐν γοῦν τῇ Μετὰ τὰ φυσικά φησιν ὅτι ὥσπερ ἡ τάξις διττή ἐστιν, ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἡ δὲ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ [ὅτι] ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ τάξεως γίνεται ἡ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ διττὴ ἡ ὑγεία, ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰατρῷ ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑγιαζομένῳ σώματι, καὶ **ἡ ἐν τῷ ἰατρῷ ποιητική ἐστι τῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι**, **οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τάξις ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δημιουργῷ τάξεως γέγονεν**

So, in the *Metaphysics* he writes that the order is double: there is one of the leader, and a second among soldiers, and that from order of the leader derives that of soldiers. So, health is also double: there is a first in the healer, and a second in the healed body, **and the making of the healer is for the body, so order in the *kosmos* has been generated from that of the Carpenter.**

5.5 *Ex Pindaro Ipso*

So, two complementary metaphors to τέκτων νωδυνίας and ἐπέων ... τέκτονες are found in Pindar. In the incipit of *Nemean Four*, songs touch and soothe the victors at games like healers do.[30] Moreover, in the final verses of *Nemean Eight*, the poet's words are said to achieve the same result as Asclepius' fashioning: 'lack of pain', compare

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29 On the passage see Dodds (1959), 327–329, Irwin (1972), 214.
30 For ἅπτομαι in medical contexts, compare e.g. Sol. fr. 13.62 τὸν δὲ κακαῖς νούσοισι κυκώμενον ἀργαλέαις τε ‖ ἁψάμενος χειροῖν αἶψα τίθησ' ὑγιῆ; for the semantics of θέλγω see Parry (1992) and Langella (2014).

Pind. *Nem.* 4.1–5
Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων
ἰατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαί
Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἀοιδαὶ **θέλξαν νιν ἁπτόμεναι**.
οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει
γυῖα, τόσσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος

The best healer for toils judged successful is joyous revel, but songs too, those wise daughters of the Muses, **soothe them with their touch**. Not even warm water makes the limbs relaxed as much as praise, the companion of the lyre.

Pind. *Nem.* 8.48–50
χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον
ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ κόμπον ἱείς, **ἐπαοιδαῖς** δ᾽ **ἀνήρ**
νώδυνον καί τις κάματον
        θῆκεν

I am glad to cast a fitting vaunt upon your accomplishment, **and many has a man with healing songs made even hard toil painless**.

The metaphors of the two passages can be considered as complementary to those of healers and poets in *Pythian Three*: just like the healer constructs absence of pain (νωδυνίας, *Pyth.* 3.6), so the τέκτονες of words construct relief from the pain endured while competing (θέλξαν … μαλθακὰ τεύχει ‖ γυῖα, *Nem.* 4.3–5; νώδυνον … θῆκεν, *Nem.* 8.50). In both *Nem.* 4 and 8, the poet-healer's work is described by means of 'fashioning' metaphors, through the verbs τίθημι ('to put, make') and τεύχω ('to make, construct'). Pindar applies both terms to his own poetic constructions, but also to the *transformations* that odes work on the laudandi (ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ‖ ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει ‖ φῶτα, *Nem.* 4.83–85) and on the audience (τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν ἀοιδαῖς ‖ ἕκατι στεφάνων θαητὸν ἐν ἅλιξι θησέμεν ἐν καὶ παλαιτέροις, ‖ νέαισίν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα, *Pyth.* 10.57–59).[31] *Ex Pindaro ipso* poets, craftsmen and healers use their respective skills to provoke changes in their laudandi as well as in their audience, and often achieve analogous results.

These passages show how the metaphor of the healer as carpenter came to be perceived and employed as a *technical* metaphor and how Pindar seems to associate not only healers and carpenters, but also healers and poets on the basis of their abilities. This study, however, is concerned with how old the tenor of the metaphor 'healer : fashioner' can possibly be. In this connection, it is useful to look for medical metaphors found outside of Ancient Greece. The analysis of Vedic metaphors

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31 For a comment to the Pindaric passage see Cannatà (2020), 346 ff. On the restoring bath athletes took after performing at competitions see Ginouvés (1962), 135–145, Patrucco (1972), 326–327.

attested in texts dealing with the healing of fractures may allow us to recover a further surviving echo of the metaphor 'healer' : 'carpenter': the image of the 'human body' as a 'vehicle'.

5.6 *Ex Atharvaveda Lux*

Reference to texts from the *Atharvaveda* is particularly revealing. This is a Vedic collection of charms and spells dated to ca. 1000 BCE,[32] which came to us in two recensions: the *Paippalādasaṃhitā* (AVP) and the *Śaunakasaṃhitā* (AVŚ).[33] Both the *Paippalāda-* and the *Śaunakasaṃhitā*s preserve a charm to heal open fractures, *Śaunakasaṃhitā* 4.12,[34] corresponding to *Paippalādasaṃhitā* 4.15.[35] These two texts will be my focus in what follows.

I must state at the outset that AVŚ 4.12 and AVP 4.15 count among the charms with the greatest 'comparative potential' from the point of view of Indo-European Studies. More specifically, AVŚ 4.12.3–5 display impressive similarities to the Hittite "Great Ritual (*šalli aniur*) and *dupaduparša*-Ritual" (CTH 760),[36] to the Old High German "Second Merseburg Spell" from a phraseological point of view,[37] and to the Old Irish *Cath Maige Tuired* §§33–35, from a thematic point of view.[38] However, in this

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[32] Witzel (1995b), 337–338, (1997), 290.

[33] The two recensions belonged to different schools of practice (*śākhā*s). Both the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* (49.4.1) and the fifth *Pariśiṣṭa* of the *Śuklayajurveda* agree on the existence of nine *śākhā*s, although they list different names (note that Paippalā/Paippalāda, Śaunakīya/Śaunaka, and Cāraṇavaidya/Cāraṇavidya seem to be common to both lists). On the *śākhā*s of the *Atharvaveda* see Bloomfield (1899), §10, Renou (1947), 58 and Lopez (2010), 6 ff. The *Śaunakasaṃhitā*, also known as the "Vulgate," was preserved mostly in western India through oral transmission and in numerous manuscripts. It was the basis for several editions of the *saṃhitā* (including Vishva Bandhu [1960]) and the standard translation of the collection (Whitney/Lanman [1905], Orlandi/Sani [1991]). The *Paippalādasaṃhitā* was known only through a single very corrupted manuscript from Kashmir until the discovery of a new set of manuscripts in Odisha, in the late 1950s. These manuscripts are the basis for the new ongoing edition of the *saṃhitā*. For an overview on the history of the scholarship of the *Paippalādasaṃhitā* see Selva (2019). The text discussed below is printed in the edition of Griffiths/Lubotsky (2000–2001) (AVP 4.15).

[34] I print the text as per Kim (2021).

[35] AVP 4.15.1–5 = AVŚ 4.12.1–5.

[36] Dardano (2024).

[37] Kuhn (1864).

[38] See Chapter 4, Section 1.

context, I only focus on the final stanzas (6–7) of AVŚ 4.12 and AVP 4.15, which concern the results of the healer's work and provide other particulars on the patient's wound:

AVŚ 4.12.7
yádi kartáṃ patitvá saṃśaśré
yádi vā́śmā práhṛto jaghā́na
ṛbhū́ ráthasyevā́ṅgāni
sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ

If he was hurt, having fallen in a pit or if a hurled rock has struck [him, then] may [Dhātar, the healer] unite the limbs, joint with joint, **as Ṛbhu (= the fashioner god) [the parts] of a chariot**.

AVP 4.15.6 (only AVP ◊ b+d: cf. AVŚ 4.12.7a+cd)
yadi vajro visṛṣṭas tᵤvāₐra
*kāṭaṃ patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam
vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa
⁺ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ

If a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well (?), or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree:[39] the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. I put together your joint **as Ṛbhu (= the fashioner god) [the parts] of a chariot**.[40]

The Atharvavedic patient in AVŚ 4.12.7 and Asclepius' wounded patients are said to be hurt in the same way, compare *vā́śmā … jaghā́na-* "or hit by a stone," μέλη τετρωμένοι ‖ ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ "or with limbs wounded by a stone that hit them

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39 AVP 4.15.6 mentions a different possible cause of injury, namely: the fall of the patient from a tree, *yadi vajro visṛṣṭas tᵤ vāₐra* , **kāṭaṃ patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam / vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa* , *⁺ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ* "if a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well (?), or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree: the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot." In this connection, I would like to highlight a significant coincidence with the healing practice performed by the bonesetters in the *siddha* tradition. According to Zysk (2008), 10: "the development of this special form of healing (sc. the art of *varmam*) appears to have evolved naturally from the fact that the men of this caste, while carrying out their task of climbing coconut and borassus trees to collect the fruits and sap for toddy, occasionally fell from great heights. In order to repair the injury or save the life of a fall-victim, skills of bone-setting and reviving an unconscious patient by massage [are put in place …]"
40 Differently, Bhattacharya (2008) reads *yadi vajro visṛṣṭas tvāra kāṭāt , patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam / vṛkṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa , ⁺ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*, and translates (p. 132) "if a thunderbolt, loosened, has moved towards you, and then falling into a pit if there is injury, or (by falling) from a tree (there is injury), that the ten headed genie has relieved, I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot."

from afar," *Pyth*. 3.48–49. The comparison can actually go beyond the formal differences. As argued by Kölligan (2000–2001), 443–448 τηλεβόλος (*Pyth*. 3.49) may be taken as a continuation of the phraseology [to SMITE – from AFAR].[41] This collocation underlies the Myc. MN *Qe-re-qo-ta* /*Kʷēleg*ᵘʰ*ontas*/ (PY En 659, Alph. Gk. Τηλεφόντας*, *Kurzform* Τήλεφος, Hes.+), i.e. a compound with a SCM °*qo-ta* to IE *gᵘʰen- 'smite, kill' and a FCM meaning 'far' that partly matches Vedic *ghnanti ... dūrā́t* "they hit from afar" (RV 2.27.13c). In the light of the semantic overlap of βάλλω and θείνω in Greek,[42] χερμάδι (τηλε)βόλῳ and *vā́śmā ... jaghā́na*- stand close.

It is significant, especially in relation to *Pyth.* 3.6, that the physician arranges the patient's body parts as a Ṛbhu does with the parts of a chariot. Moreover, in a complementary way, the restored body of the patient is compared to a robust vehicle:

AVŚ 4.12.6
*sá **út tiṣṭha** préhi prá drava*
ráthaḥ sucakráḥ supavíḥ sunā́bhiḥ
*práti **tiṣṭhordhváḥ***

Stand up, go forth, run forth. (Your) **chariot has good wheels, good felloes, good naves**. **Stand upright!**

AVP 4.15.7
***ut tiṣṭha** prehi sam *adhāyi te paruḥ*
saṃ te dhātā dadhātu tanvo viriṣṭam
rathaḥ sucakraḥ supavir yathaiti
sukhaḥ sunābhiḥ prati tiṣṭha evam

Stand up, go forth, your joint has been put together. Let Dhātar put together the injury of your body. **Be steady in this way, as a chariot goes with good wheels, with good felloes, with good axle-holes, with good naves**.[43]

The Ṛbhu-similes of AVŚ 4.12.6 and AVP 4.15.7[44] rely upon the Rigvedic descriptions of the Ṛbhus, a group of three deities credited with great dexterity who count as the Rigvedic fashioners par excellence (see Chapter 10), so that their association with the Vedic root *takṣ* must have come to be perceived as a distinctive trait of their divine personality. Take, for instance, the following passage:

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41 Differently, Slater (1969) s.v. τηλεβόλος 'far-flung'.
42 In Homer βάλλω and θείνω indicate that the enemy is struck by the projectile of archer gods, namely, Apollo and Artemis, e.g. *Il.* 24.605 τοὺς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ᾽ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο; *Od.* 15.478 τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα γυναῖκα βάλ᾽ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα.
43 Bhattacharyat (2008), 135 (pāda a) *ut tiṣṭha prehi sam u dhāyi te paruḥ* "Stand up, go forth, your joint is, indeed, put together."
44 The similes are not unparalleled, see AVP 16.35.8ab (= AVŚ 10.1.8), as per Kim (2019a, 2019b).

RV 1.111.1
tákṣan ráthaṃ *suvŕ̥taṃ vidmanápasas*
tákṣan hárī *indraváhā vŕ̥ṣaṇvasū*
tákṣan *pitŕ̥bhyām ŕ̥bhávo yúvad váyas*
tákṣan *vatsáya* **mātáraṃ** *sacābhúvam*

They fashioned the smooth-rolling **chariot**,[45] working with their know-how; **they fashioned the** two fallow **bays** that convey Indra and bring bullish goods.[46] **They fashioned – the R̥bhus** – **for their parents youthful vigour**; **they fashioned** for the calf **a mother** to stay by it.[47]

It is possible to state that the final stanzas of AVŚ 4.12 and AVP 4.15 reflect a state of affairs that apparently matches the Pindaric one. Asclepius is a 'fashioner of body-strengthening painlessness' (τέκτονα νωδυνίας … γυιαρκέος), the Atharvavedic healer Dhātar is compared to a skilled fashioner god of the Vedic pantheon, as he is said to fix his patient's body as if it were a chariot.

5.7 "Like a Chariot"

In our charms (see Section 6), the body of the patient is directly compared to a chariot. In AVŚ 4.12.6–7 and AVP 4.15.6–7, compounds with chariot parts as SCMs and the FCM *su°* (*sucakráḥ supavíḥ sunábhiḥ* AVŚ, AVP, *sukháḥ*, AVP only) emphasise the good shape of the patient after treatment.

The metaphor 'body' : 'chariot' is not a mere poetic *topos*, but it also reflects a widespread concept in IE traditions. As the dossiers collected by Pinault (2003), 138–140 and Jamison (1987), 71–88 make evident, the semantic field of 'body parts' crosses with that of 'chariot' and vice versa in Old Indic, Greek, and Tocharian.[48] In Vedic, some parts of the chariot are designated through a compound or a simplex noun, which usually denotes a body part: Ved. *ratha-mukhá-* 'chariot-head, i.e. front part of a chariot' (AV, JB, TS), *ratha-śīrṣá-* 'id.' (ŚB 9.4.1.13), and *ratha-śiras-* 'id.' (ĀpŚS 18.20.5) contain terms for 'head' (*mukhá-, śiras-, śīrṣá-*) as their second compound members; Ved. *nábhi-* (RV+) 'nave' and *nábhya-* (RV+) 'central part of a solid wheel'

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45 The collocation [*takṣ*–CHARIOT] is found in RV 1.130.6, 5.2.11b, 29.15d, 31.4a, 73.10c, 10.39.14b.
46 Scarlata (1999), 474 "die zwei Falben, die Indra fahren {und} soviel wert wie Stiere sind."
47 Witzel/Gotō (2007), 195: "Sie haben den gutrollenden Streitwagen (der Aśvins) mit Kenntnis vom Werk gezimmert. Sie haben das Falbenpaar, das den Indra fährt, das den Stier als (Lade)gut hat, gezimmert. Sie haben, die R̥bhus, ihren Eltern Jugendkraft gezimmert. Sie haben dem Kalb eine begleitende Mutter gezimmert."
48 On universal metaphors for the body see the seminal study of Johnson (1949).

are etymologically related to Gk. ὀμφαλός, meaning both 'navel' and 'knob in the middle of a yoke' (*Il.* 24.273, of a mule-cart); Ved. *kakṣ(i̊)yā́-* 'girth' (RV) and *kákṣa-* (RV+) 'Achselhöle'[49] are connected to both Av. *kaša-* 'id.' and Lat. *coxa* 'hip', OIr. *coss* 'foot'; Ved. *kukṣi-* 'nave' (Sparreboom [1985], 157) also means 'cheek', 'buttock' (Jamison [1987], Bodewitz [1992]);[50] Ved. *áṃsa-* 'panel which fitted into the rail at the top and the big beams at each side of the platform' (Sparreboom [1985], 152) also means 'shoulder' (Höfler [2018]) and is etymologically related to Gk. ὦμος, TA *es*, TB *āntse* 'shoulders'; Ved. *ákṣa-* 'axle' is a linguistic cognate of Lat. *axis*, Lith. *ašìs*, Gk. ἄξων 'axis' and 'shoulder span'; Ved. *āṇí-* 'axle-pin' (RV) also denotes 'the part of the leg above the knee' and may be connected to TB *oñi-* 'hip'.[51]

Finally, it is noteworthy that, just like in *Pythian Three* 51–53, the result of the healing process is said to manifest itself in the restored capacity of 'standing up' and 'going on one's way': Gk. ἔξαγεν … ἔστασεν ὀρθούς, Ved. *út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava … práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ* (AVŚ); *ut tiṣṭha prehi … prati tiṣṭha* (AVP). Gk. ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (*Pyth.* 3.53) is etymologically related to *tiṣṭhₐ ū̆rdhváḥ* (AVŚ 4.12.7d). Although Gk. [ὀρθός–ἵστημι] and its Vedic counterpart [*ūrdhvá-–sthā*] are documented in a variety of different passages, mostly not concerning healing,[52] the occurrence of identical collocations in the same context is remarkable.[53] The parallel use of the collocation turns out to be even more striking if we frame it within the complementarity of the metaphor 'body' : 'chariot' (AVŚ, AVP) and 'healer' : τέκτων (*Pyth.* 3).

5.8 Provisional Conclusions, New Questions

The comparison between τέκτονα νωδυνίας … γυιαρκέος (*Pyth.* 3.6–7) and the phraseology of two Atharvavedic charms 'to heal an open fracture' revealed a series of similarities, which concern (i) *topoi* pertaining to patients and their injuries; (ii) metaphors applying to the human body/body parts and the activity/capacities of the healers as well as to the effect of healing; (iii) the results of the healing treatment.

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49 Hoffmann (1966), 201.

50 Further examples are Gk. κνήμη 'leg, shank' (Hom.+) and 'spoke' (κύκλα … ὀκτάκνημα, *Il.* 5.722–723).

51 A further Tocharian parallel shall be brought out here: T5a8 *kwreṃntär lānte kokalyi olyapotstse pärsāñci | taik[n]esāk ra kektseñi kätsai[ññe]* [sic] [*yänmāskeṃ*] "Old [even] grow the chariots of the king, the very splendid ones. Thus also the bodies reach old age" (CEToM, see also Adams 2012 s.v. *taiknesa*), which translates Skr. *Udānavarga* 1.2.65b–75b *jīryanti vai rāja rathāḥ sucitrā hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti.* The same metaphor also occurs in THT5 b2.

52 See the dossier presented by Schmitt (1967), 248–252.

53 West (2007a), 339.

For (i), the patients of Asclepius and those of the Vedic healer suffer similar injuries. One possible cause of the fracture is described in the same terms in both Greek and Vedic, i.e. 'smiting stone/stone that hits from afar', compare ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ (*Pyth.* 3.49), *vā́śmā … jaghā́na-* (AVŚ 4.12.7). The overlap may be a pure coincidence, even though the analysis of phraseological patterns (collocations of Gk. βάλλω and Ved. *han*) allows us to observe that the two expressions stand close, at least from the semantic point of view.

For (ii), the metaphor 'healer' : 'carpenter' can be understood as complementary to the metaphor 'body' : 'chariot', which is found in AVŚ 4.12.6–7, AVP 4.15.6–7, and underlies several lexical items, denoting the chariot's components. In the next chapters, I will show how Greek τέκτων νωδυνίας (kenning for 'healer' in *Pyth.* 3.6) stands closer to *r̥bhū́ … ivá* ("like a R̥bhu," applied to the healer in AVŚ 4.12.7, AVP 4.15.6) than it might look at first sight. As already pointed out, the cross-reference to the Vedic phraseology applying to the R̥bhus in the *Rigveda* allows us to recover an association between Ved. *takṣ* (underlying Gk. τέκτων) and the R̥bhus' work. As a consequence, although the term *tákṣan-* 'carpenter, fashioner' does not occur in the Atharvavedic passages, the reference to the verb is automatically implied by the mention of the R̥bhu, the god who is able to fashion all kind of things in the *Rigveda.*

For (iii), in *Pyth.* 3.7, 53 and in the Atharvavedic comparanda, healing is a success when (a) the patient has strengthened/strong limbs (Gk. γυιαρκής), his metaphoric chariot (i.e. his body) is good in all its parts (*sucakráḥ supavíḥ sunā́bhiḥ* AVŚ, *sukháḥ,* AVP); (b) the healer restores the capacity of the patient to 'stand upright' τούς … ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (53), *práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ* (AVŚ 4.12.6).

Table 5.4: *Pyth.* 3, AVŚ 4.12, AVP 4.15: common traits

Common traits	Pind. *Pyth.* 3	AVŚ 4.12.6–7, AVP 4.15.7
(i) cause of injury	χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ (49)	*vā́śmā práhr̥to jaghā́na* (AVŚ 4.12.7)
(ii) healer : carpenter	τέκτων (6)	*r̥bhū́ … ivá* (AVŚ, AVP) → *r̥bhú-* : *takṣ*: *tákṣan … rátham* (RV+)
(ii) body : chariot	—— ὀμφαλός, κνήμη, ἄξων etc.	*r̥bhū rathasyeva saṃ dhā … paruḥ* (AVŚ, AVP) *nā́bhi-, nā́bhya-* (RV+), *kakṣ(í)yā́-* (RV), *kákṣa-* (RV+), *kukṣi-, āṇí-* (RV) etc.
(iii.a) recovery : robustness	νωδυνίας … γυιαρκέος (6–7)	*ráthaḥ sucakráḥ* (AVP, AVŚ)
(iii.b) 'stand upright'	τούς … ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (53)	*práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ* (AVŚ 4.12.6)

Since the first identification of the match among Gk. ἐπέων ... τέκτονες (*Pyth.* 3.113), Ved. *takṣ–vácas-*_{acc.pl.} (RV) and YAv. *vacastašti-* (Y.), the formal overlaps among these expressions have counted as a guarantee for their common Indo-European background. The phraseological matches identified for Pind. *Pyth.* 3, AVŚ 4.12.6–7 and AVP 4.15.6–7 show us the potential of combinatory phraseological analysis. The phraseological and thematic matches among the Pindaric ode and the Atharvavedic texts are indeed impressive for both their quantity and quality. As such, they suggest there would be some utility in reconstructing a common background, or 'state of things', reflected by the two diverse but related traditions. In the light of the presented textual material, we can also conclude that the kenning τέκτων νωδυνίας (*Pyth.* 3.6) was itself 'fashioned' from inherited phraseological and thematic stock.

The Vedic parallels provided in this chapter, however, portray physicians as craftsmen when they *heal* someone. But *Rigveda* 10.39.4ab, one may object, does not seem to mention any healing *stricto sensu*. In fact, the passage concerns a rejuvenation (*cyávānaṃ sanáyam ... púnar yúvānam ... takṣathuḥ* "you fashioned/transformed old Cyavāna into a youth again," RV 10.39.4ab). Therefore, the question that arises is whether Cyavāna's rejuvenation is an act of healing. Let us now turn to the analysis of the Cyavāna episode.

6 What Did the Aśvins Do to Cyavāna?

6.1 Once Again on RV 10.39.4ab

> *yuvám cyávānaṃ sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham*
> *púnar yúvānaṃ caráthāya takṣathuḥ*
> You two fashioned old Cyavāna, like a chariot,
> into a youth again, (for him) to move about.

In the preceding chapters, I argued that the simile of RV 10.39.4 can be linked, by means of association, to the Atharvavedic comparanda to *Pythian Three* that I provided, because the healed or rejuvenated patient is compared to a chariot in all these Indic texts. Since RV 10.39 refers to an Old Indic myth of rejuvenation, I now propose to take a closer look to this myth, so as to see to what extent rejuvenation is healing and why Cyavāna is compared to a chariot. The examination of the myth will prove that the cure performed on Cyavāna restores his movement. Production of life-like movement is thus perceived as a distinguishing skill possessed by Greek and Vedic metapoetic and non-metapoetic fashioners.

6.2 Cyavāna's Rejuvenation

In the *Rigveda*, Cyavāna is a character primarily characterised as old (*jujurúṣa-*, RV 1.116.10a, *járant-*, RV 1.117.13a, *juránt-*, RV 7.68.6a, *sanáya-*, RV 10.39.4a), 'left behind' (*jahitá-*, RV 1.116.10c), and pious: he is 'unduplicitous' (*ádvayāvín-*, RV 5.75.5d) and a 'giver of offerings' (*havirdá́-*, RV 7.68.6b).[1] His speech/prayer to the Aśvins is only referred to once.[2] The focus of Rigvedic hymns is set on the cure that the Aśvins performed on Cyavāna. Specifically,

- the gods run down (*ní yāthaḥ*) to him with their birds (RV 5.75.5cd);
- they 'extend' (*prá-tar*) his life-span (*á́yuḥ*, RV 1.116.10c, 10.59.1a);
- they 'lay' (*dhā*) on him an ageless appearance (RV 7.68.6);
- they 'release' (*prá-moc*) him from old age (RV 7.71.5a) or 'remove' (*prá-moc*) his skin like a garment or a cloak, so that he becomes appealing to his wife or young women (RV 1.116.10, 5.74.5);

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1 On this compound see Scarlata (1999), 213–214.
2 RV 10.61.2 seems to contrast Cyavāna's speech to that of Tūrvayāṇa, another client of the Aśvins, in favour of the latter.

– they 'make' (*kar*, RV 1.117.13ab, 118.6d) or 'fashion' (RV 10.39.4ab) 'him
   young' (*yúvānam*).

The story of Cyavāna/Cyavana[3] is told *in extenso* in Vedic prose texts, *Jaiminīya
Brāhmaṇa* (JB, ca. 900 BCE)[4] 3.120–128, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (ŚB, ca. 9th c. BCE)
4.1.1.17–24 and 4.1.5, in the epic of the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 500 BCE–500 CE)
3.121–125, and in two purāṇic versions (more or less coeval to the age in which the
Mahābhārata acquired its final form), *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* 7.2.30–7.43, *Bhāga-
vata Purāṇa* 9.3.1–28.[5] As explained by Emily West (2017), 84, the five renditions
belong to different genres and have their own agendas.[6] In what follows, I recapit-
ulate the main events of *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.120–128, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.1.5
and *Mahābhārata* 3.121–125, the most ancient versions of the story, which provide
interesting insights on Cyavana's rejuvenation.

6.2.1 Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 3.120–128[7]

Cyavana, a descendent of Bhṛgu, is an old sage who knows the brāhmaṇa of Vāstupa.
He asks his clan to leave him behind, as he expects to be rejuvenated thanks to the
brāhmaṇa of Vāstupa. Left alone on an abandoned offering ground at the Śaiśava[8]
of the Sarasvatī, he expresses his wish to be rejuvenated, marry a young maiden,
and be given a thousand cows. After he sings to the gods, the tribe of the descend-
ent of Manu Śaryāta settles in a territory close to him. The young men of the tribe

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3 Cyavana is the post-Rigvedic form of the name.
4 According to Witzel (1987), this Cyavana account might be coeval to the one found in ŚB.
5 On the story see Doniger (1985), 64–73 (cultural aspects reflected in the tale), Witzel (1987),
(frame-narrative and relative chronology of the different accounts), Doniger (1999), 134–140, Leslie
(2003), 126–136, Brodbeck (2009), 93 and West (2017) (evolution of the narrative).
6 In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, Cyavana's story illustrates the power of the brāhmaṇa of Vāstupa, a
secret mantra, which Cyavana is said to know and that allows him to obtain everything he desires,
including a rejuvenated body (*vāstupasya vai brāhmaṇaṃ veda … tena eva mama punaryuvatāyā
āśā* "I know the brāhmaṇa of Vāstupa … with that I expect to be rejuvenated"). In the *Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇa*, the story of Cyavana is aetiologically connected with a part of the soma ritual, so, it is
framed through descriptions of sacrificial gestures and vessels related to the Aśvins. The *Mahā-
bhārata* version puts less emphasis on the ritual implications of the story and seems to be more
characterized by a 'narrative' character. The purāṇic versions seem to be based on the *Mahābhā-
rata* account.
7 See also Caland (1919), 251–257, who provides a German translation of the story.
8 On the name Śaiśava see Chapter 14, Section 2.

smear Cyavana with dirt, and in revenge the old man makes strife arise among the tribe. Having found out that the conflicts originate from Cyavana's taking offense, Śaryāta tries to appease him. The sage asks for Śaryāta's daughter Sukanyā as wife. The chieftain reluctantly concedes, but advises his daughter to flee from her husband at the first possibility. However, her attempted flight fails thanks to Cyavana's power.

Some time later the Aśvins approach Sukanyā. They propose her leaving Cyavana for them, but the maiden refuses and later reports the episode to her husband, who instructs her on how to respond to them, should they approach her again the next day. She must tell them that they are 'incomplete' gods because they do not take part in the drinking of soma, unlike her husband, who does partake in the ritual. Sukanyā follows her husband's advice, so the rebuffed Aśvins ask Cyavana what they should do to take part in the soma ritual. Cyavana agrees to help them if they will rejuvenate him. The gods accept: they drag Cyavana down to the Śaiśava (pool) and make him come out young and handsome, looking just like one of them. Sukanyā will now have to choose her husband from among three men who all look the same. But proactive Cyavana, once again, had told his wife how to distinguish him, so, Sukanyā recognises her own husband. In exchange for his rejuvenation, Cyavana tells the Aśvins how to gain access to the soma ritual: the gods who make offerings in Kurukṣetra perform a 'headless' sacrifice, so he advises the Aśvins to ask Dadhyañc, a descendent of Atharvan, about the secret of the 'severed head' of the sacrifice. The Twin Gods approach Dadhyañc and, after transforming his head into that of a horse in order to avoid Indra's revenge on Dadhyañc's blabbing, they learn the secret of the *pravargya* cup, i.e. the head of the sacrifice. After that, they restore Dadhyañc's head, approach the gods and are permitted to participate in the sacrifice as *adhvaryu*s (*tāv adhvaryu āstāṃ; tat tāv apisomāv achavatam* "they [scil. the Aśvins] became *adhvaryu*s and obtained a portion at the soma ritual"). Cyavana joins the bride's father, Śaryāta, and performs a ritual for him with a particular melody. Thanks to this action he earns one thousand cows. At the end of the story, Cyavana's wish is fulfilled, the sacrifice is completed, and the Aśvins are allowed to take part in the soma ritual.

6.2.2 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 4.1.5

Cyavana, a descendent of Bhr̥gu, is decrepit, ghostlike and left behind on earth. Śaryāta settles in a place close to him and his boys pelt him with clods. Enraged, Cyavana raises strife among the tribe. When Śaryāta discovers the cause of the conflicts he goes to Cyavana and offers him his daughter Sukanyā as wife. While

wandering on earth and performing cures, the Aśvins come to Sukanyā and desire her, but Sukanyā rejects them. Later, she reports the event to Cyavana, who instructs her on how to respond, should the Aśvins approach her a second time. When the Aśvins make a second attempt, Sukanyā tells them that they are imperfect and that she will reveal them the cause of their imperfection if they will rejuvenate Cyavana (*pátiṃ nú me púnar yúvāṇaṃ kurutam átha vāṃ vakṣyāmíti* "make my husband young again and I will tell you!"). The Aśvins instruct her to take Cyavana to a pool from which the ascetic will come out with the age he desires. Once rejuvenated, Cyavana reveals to the Aśvins that at Kurukṣetra the gods perform a sacrifice from which they are excluded. The Aśvins come to the gods and ask them to be invited to the sacrifice. As the gods refuse, the Aśvins tell them that their sacrifice is headless and that they will reveal the head of the sacrifice to the gods if they admit them to the rite. In this way, the Aśvins become *adhvaryu*s of the sacrifice.

6.2.3 Mahābhārata 3.121–125

The sage Cyavana, son of Bhṛgu, stands still in the same spot, close to a lake, for a long time, so that he turns into a mound surrounded by an anthill. King Śaryāti comes to the lake with four thousand women. Among them there is also Sukanyā who, one day, comes across the anthill. Cyavana falls in love with her, so he first tries to talk to her, then gazes at her. Sukanyā pricks the anthill's (i.e. Cyavana's) eyes with a thorn, enraging the sage, who causes constipation among Śaryāti's army. Later Sukanyā reveals what she had done to her father and Śaryāti resolves to offer his daughter to Cyavana as wife. The appeased sage and his young wife live serenely on the lake and Śaryāti leaves. Some time later, the Aśvins see Sukanyā bathing and approach her, but she refuses their *avances*. The Twin Gods then offer to rejuvenate Cyavana and invite her to choose a husband from among the three of them. Cyavana accepts and plunges into the water, but when he comes out, his appearance is identical to that of the Aśvins. Sukanyā, however, manages to choose Cyavana, who bestows on the Aśvins the privilege of drinking soma.

Śaryāti learns about Cyavana's rejuvenation and visits him and his daughter. Cyavana celebrates a sacrifice for him. However, as he draws a cup for the Aśvins, Indra stops him stating that the Aśvins are unworthy of the soma ritual and threatens to incinerate him with his thunderbolt. Cyavana invokes Mada, a terrible monster which scares Indra, and continues the ritual. Paralyzed, Indra admits the Aśvins to the soma ritual. Mada is then scattered onto the ritual offerings. Cyavana completes the sacrifice and lives happily in the forest with Sukanyā.

6.2.4 Differences among the Three Accounts

Macroscopic differences between JB, ŚB and MBh concern the following details:
–   In ŚB and MBh there is no initial dialogue between Cyavana and his clan, nor
     do these accounts mention the brāhmaṇa of Vāstupa. In MBh 3.121 ff. Cyavana
     is also not said to be left behind, but to practice austerity. The particular detail
     concerning Cyavana's transformation into an anthill is absent from JB and ŚB,
     which, however, include episodes in which young men cover the sage with dirt;
–   The place where Cyavana is left behind is unnamed in ŚB and MBh;
–   Only in JB does Cyavana express a threefold wish;
–   According to JB and ŚB, Cyavana causes strife to arise in Śaryāta's tribe,
     whereas Śaryāti's army suffers constipation in MBh;
–   In ŚB and MBh Śaryāta/Śaryāti offers his daughter without being requested by
     Cyavana and does not advise her to run away;
–   In JB and ŚB it is Cyavana who instructs Sukanyā on how to respond to the
     Aśvins. The MBh does not include the dialogue. Indeed, we do not even learn
     the reason why the Aśvins are excluded from the soma ritual until the end of
     the story.
–   Sukanyā's encounter with the Twin Gods is also described differently: in JB and
     ŚB the gods are said to approach the maiden twice, whereas, in the MBh the
     Aśvins seem to approach her only once, after having spied on her bathing, a
     particular omitted by the other versions;
–   In all three versions, Cyavana is rejuvenated by plunging into a pool or a lake.
     However, JB and MBh include an episode concerning the stratagem of the
     Aśvins: in JB, Sukanyā manages to recognise her husband thanks to his advice.
     Differently, in ŚB Sukanyā is just said to take Cyavana to a pool in which he is
     rejuvenated 'to the age he desired', therefore, there is no mention of Cyavana
     acquiring the same appearance as the Aśvins. The MBh account resembles the
     JB's one, but in this version, Sukanyā manages to recognise her husband by
     trusting her own instinct;
–   In JB, the narrative does not include the encounter between the Aśvins and
     Dadhyañc and the account of how they learned about the secret regarding the
     'headless' sacrifice. After the rejuvenation episode, ŚB skips to the dialogue
     between the Aśvins and the gods, but as the Aśvins approach the gods they
     point out that their sacrifice is 'headless', so, we might infer that they know (or
     have learned) about the secret concerning the headless sacrifice. The MBh does
     not mention the 'headless' sacrifice at all.
–   In JB and MBh Cyavana performs a second sacrifice for Śaryāta/Śaryāti. JB only
     specifies that Cyavana obtains one thousand cows with this sacrifice. In the

MBh version, more emphasis is put on Cyavana's powers. Indeed, his sacrifice and the evocation of Mada seem to definitively enable the Aśvins to be admitted into the soma ritual. In ŚB there is no mention of the final sacrifice Cyavana performs for Śaryāta in order to obtain one thousand cows: the Aśvins ask the gods to participate in the ritual and earn the right to do so because of the information they have obtained about the 'headless sacrifice'.

6.3 Is Rejuvenation Healing?

The reference to post-Rigvedic accounts of the story urges reflection on the Vedic poetic texts I presented in the previous sections. The first relevant input is the question about whether rejuvenation can be equated to healing. JB and ŚB do not provide a clear answer to this question. However, these texts mention that the Aśvins meet Sukanyā, as they are going around (the earth), performing cures:

> JB 3.124
> *aśvinau vai tau darvihomiṇau **bhiṣajyantāv** idaṃ carato 'napisominau*
>
> Now the Aśvins, who took part in the darvi-ritual, but not in the soma-one, wandered about here (on earth), **bringing remedies** (to people).

> ŚB 4.1.5.8
> *aśvínau ha vā́ idám **bhiṣajyántau** ceratuḥ*
>
> Now the Aśvins then wandered about here (on earth), **bringing remedies** (to people).

One might therefore imagine that Cyavana's rejuvenation is equated to yet another act of healing performed by the gods. The *Mahābhārata* version may support this explanation. Here, the Aśvins introduce themselves to Sukanyā as healers who are able to rejuvenate her husband:

> MBh 3.123.11
> … *āvāṃ **devabhiṣagvarau***
> ***yuvānaṃ** rūpasaṃpannaṃ, **kariṣyāvaḥ patiṃ tava***
>
> We are the **great divine healers**. We shall **make your husband young** and handsome.

These passages may, therefore, support the notion that rejuvenation is healing. It is now time to turn back to the metaphor 'body' as 'chariot' to observe how Cyavana's rejuvenation manifests itself.

6.4 The One Who Gets in Motion

In *Rigveda* 10.39 the rejuvenation of the old man is compared to the fashioning of a chariot (Chapter 3, Sections 6 ff.). The same metaphor is also employed in Atharvavedic charms to heal a fracture (Chapter 5, Section 6). One may therefore wonder about what the cures performed in these two texts have in common. Certainly, the juxtaposition between the Rigvedic and the Atharvavedic passages might suggest that the healers perform some kind of manipulation on their patient's body. But analysis of the Vedic and epic accounts on Cyavana suggests that this inference is incorrect. Indeed, despite their differences on points of detail, JB, ŚB and MBh agree upon one specific aspect of the story: Cyavana is rejuvenated by plunging into a pool or a lake.

JB 3.125

taṃ ha sarasvatyai śaiśavam abhyavacakṛṣatuḥ; *sa hovāca: kumāri, sarve vai sadṛśā* **udeṣyāmo**, *'nena mā lakṣamkeṇa jānītād iti; te ha sarva eva sadṛśā* **udeyur** *yat kalyāṇataṃ rūpāṇām tena rūpeṇa; taṃ heyaṃ jñātvābibhede: 'yaṃ, mama patir iti*

They **dragged him down to the Śaiśava of the Sarasvatī**. He [Cyavana to Sukanyā] said: "Maiden, all of us **will come out of the water** with the same appearance, you must recognise me through this sign." All of them **came out of the water** with the same appearance, with the most beautiful body, but she chose him after she had recognised him (thinking/saying) "That is my husband."

ŚB 4.1.5.12

taú hocatuḥ

etáṃ hradám abhyávahara *sá yéna váyasā kamiṣyáte tén***odáíṣyatí***ti táṃ* **hradám abhyávajahāra** *sá yéna váyasā cakame ténodéyāya*

They [sc. the Aśvins] said: "**Take him down to the yonder pool** and he **shall come forth** with whatever age he shall desire!" [**She**] **took him down to that pool**, and he came forth with the age he desired.

MBh 3.123.15–17

śrutvā tad aśvinau vākyam, tat tasyāḥ kriyatām iti
ūcatū rājaputrīṃ tāṃ, **patis tava viśatv apaḥ**
tato 'mbhaś cyavanaḥ śīghraṃ, rūpārthī **praviveśa ha**
aśvināv api tad rājan, **saraḥ praviṣatāṃ** *prabho*
tato muhūrtād uttīrṇāḥ, sarve te **sarasas** *tataḥ*
divyarūpadharāḥ sarve, yuvāno mṛṣṭakuṇḍalāḥ
tulyarūpadharāś caiva, manasaḥ prītivardhanāḥ

On hearing her declare that it should be done, the Aśvins said to the princess: "**Your husband must get into the water**." Whereupon Cyavana, who was desirous of beauty, rapidly **plunged into the water**, and the Aśvins too **jumped into the lake**, my lord king. A little while later

they all climbed **out of the lake**, all young and divinely beautiful, with shining earrings, wearing the same outward appearance.

The answer to the question concerning what Cyavana and chariots have in common, may be concealed in the *nomen loquens* of the protagonist of the story. As shown by García Ramón (1999), the Rigvedic MN Cyavāna (with long *ā*) is identical to the middle aorist participle (masc. sg.) of the Indo-European root *$\hat{k}i\underline{e}u$- 'to get in motion',[9] *$\hat{k}i\underline{u}(\underline{u})$-$mh_1nó$-.[10] The form *Cyávāna*- instead of the expected outcome *cyuvāná*- is the result of the reinterpretation of the form as the pres. mid. ptc. of *cyávate.* Therefore, it can be taken as a transferred epithet, i.e. an "adjective of former nominal phrases after deletion of the noun that was the head of its phrase."[11] Since *cyav* with various preverbs may be used in sexual contexts,[12] the participle might allude to the connection between Cyavāna's rejuvenation and his new-found capacity to attend to his wife's (or wives') desire, a detail already alluded to in Rigvedic accounts of the story.[13] Alternatively, Cyavāna might be simply taken as 'the one who gets in motion'.[14] All post-Rigvedic narratives insist on the character's immobility, which is later reversed thanks to the Aśvins' intervention. The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* is not explicit on this detail: Cyavana asks to his clan 'to be left behind'

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9 On the root see now Nikolaev (2024).

10 García Ramón (1999) further discusses the match between Ved. *Cyávāna*- and Gk. Σύμενος (MN in Rhodes).

11 García Ramón (2010), 94. Since post-Rigvedic versions of the story depict Cyavāna as an old man, abandoned in a deserted place (e.g. JB 3.120 *taṃ sarasvatyai śaiśave nidhāya prāyan*; *so 'kāmayata vāstau hīnaḥ* "They put him down at the Śaiśava of the Sarasvatī. Abandoned on a [empty offering] ground he expressed a wish …"), Witzel (1987), 387 proposes that *cyávāna*- is an epithet originally belonging to Praskaṇva, an old man, who, according to RV 8.51.2, has been left behind, and desired to win a thousand cattle (RV 8.51.2ac *pārṣadvāṇáḥ práskaṇvaṃ sám asādayac , cháyānaṃ jívrim úddhitam / sahásrāṇ₂y asiṣāsad gávām ṛ́ṣiḥ* "Pārṣadvāṇa made old Praskaṇva, who was lying down, sit upright together. The seer sought to win thousands of cattle"). If Witzel is correct, one should imagine that RV 8.51.2 preserves a variant or another myth about Cyavāna, in which, just like in RV 8.54.8, he benefits from Indra's help.

12 Fišer (1966), 57, 99, see also García Ramón (1993).

13 RV 1.116.10cd and 5.74.5. In all post-Rigvedic versions of the story, Cyavāna's narrative is bound to the story of his marriage with princess Sukanyā and her encounter with the Aśvins (see Section 1).

14 Note that, in MBh 1.6.2, Pulomā, i.e. Cyavana's mother, named her son after the incredible circumstances of his birth: the woman gives birth to her son, who is carried alive in his mother's womb, while she is carried off by demon Puloman, (*tataḥ sa garbho nivasan, kukṣau bhṛgukulodvaha / roṣān mātuś cyutaḥ kukṣeś, cyavanas tena so 'bhavat* "and the child she bore alive in her womb, O descendant of the Bhṛgus, angrily fell from his mother's womb and thus became known as Cyavana").

(*taṃ mā vāstau nidhaya prayāteti* "you should leave me on an abandoned ritual ground and proceed further"). However, we can somehow infer that Cyavana is, if not incapable of moving, not efficient in doing so. When Śaryāta reluctantly resolves to give his daughter as a wife to the old man and urges her to leave him at the first possibility, he states:

> JB 3.122
> *kumāri* **sthaviro vā ayaṃ niṣṭhāvo nālam anusaraṇāya**; *yadaiva vayaṃ yunajāmahā, athānvādhāvatād iti*
>
> [Śaryāta to Sukanyā] "Maiden, **this old toothless man is not in condition to come after us**; as we leave you, run after us."

As a matter of fact, in this version of the story Cyavana does not run or walk after Sukanyā, but manages to stop her flight by stirring a cobra, which impedes the woman from running off.[15]

As already pointed out, ŚB differs from JB on this particular episode. Nevertheless, in that story too we recover clues on Cyavana's immobility. Not only is Cyavana said to be "left behind (*jahe*) here (on earth), decrepit and ghostlike" (*jīrṇiḥ kṛtyárūpo*, ŚB 4.1.5.1), but Śaryāta's men specify that Cyavana '*lies* down, covered with dirt':

> ŚB 4.1.5.5
> *té hocuḥ púruṣa evàyáṃ* **jīrṇiḥ kṛtyárūpaḥ śete** *tám anarthyám mányamānāḥ kumārá loṣṭaírvyápikṣanníti sá vidáṃ cakāra sá vaí cyávana íti*
>
> They said: "Yonder **lies** a man, **decrepit and ghostlike**: him the boys have pelted with clods, setting him at nought." Then Śaryāta knew that this was Cyavana.
>   transl. Eggeling (1885)

The *Mahābhārata* account is explicit on Cyavana's immobility: the sage stands so still that he seems to become one with the landscape:

> MBh 3.122.1–4
> *bhṛgor maharṣeḥ putro 'bhūc, cyavano nāma bhārgavaḥ*
> *samīpe sarasaḥ so 'sya, tapas tepe mahādyutiḥ*
> **sthāṇubhūto** *mahātejā, vīra sthānena pāṇḍava*
> *atiṣṭhat subahūn kālān, ekadeśe viśāṃ pate*
> *sa* **valmīko 'bhavad** *ṛṣir,* **latābhir abhisaṃvṛtaḥ**

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15 *sa hovācā: 'he paridhāva sakhāyaṃ jīvahāyiam iti, sā yadīti; kṛṣṇasarpa kaivaināṃ pratyuttasthau; sā tad eva nirvidyopaviveśā* "He [Cyavana] said: 'Serpent run to help your friend!', and a black snake rose in front of her. She lost her hope and sat back down."

kālena mahatā rājan, samākīrṇaḥ pipīlikaiḥ
*tathā sa saṃvṛto dhīmān, **mṛtpiṇḍa iva sarvaśaḥ***
tapyati sma tapo rājan, valmīkena samāvṛtaḥ

The great seer Bhṛgu had a son by the name of Cyavana Bhārgava, and this glorious man performed austerities close to this lake. **Rigid as a post**, the splendid ascetic maintained the *vīra* posture and **stood in the same spot for a very long time**, Pāṇḍava, lord of your people. Over a long span of time **the seer turned into an anthill overgrown by creepers**, O king, and was covered by ants. Thus the sage became, so to say, **a pile of earth on all sides**, king, while he continued his austerities surrounded by the anthill.

> transl. van Buitenenen (1975)

When the Aśvins rejuvenate Cyavana/Cyavāna they 'put him in motion', since they restore his capacity of moving efficiently. This detail may also be alluded to in RV 10.39.4. Here, we read that the Aśvins fashioned Cyavāna anew 'like a chariot *to move about*'.

RV 10.39.4ab
yuvám cyávānaṃ sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham
*púnar yúvānaṃ **caráthāya takṣathuḥ***

You two **fashioned** old Cyavāna, like a chariot, into a youth again, (for him) **to move about**.

We may conclude that Cyavāna's restored capacity of movement is the result most focused on in the Vedic and post-Vedic accounts of the story. The result of the rejuvenation is thus reminiscent of other traditional ways of healing performed by the physician of AVŚ 4.12 and AVP 4.15, who invites the patient to stand up and move (*sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava ráthaḥ sucakráḥ* "stand up, go forth, run forth. [Your] chariot has good wheels," AVŚ 4.12.7; *ut tiṣṭha prehi ... rathaḥ sucakraḥ supavir yathaiti* "stand up, go forth, as a chariot goes with good wheels," AVP 4.15.7). The body is repaired as a chariot would be, it is strengthened in all its parts and returns to move again efficiently.

In my next chapters, I will show how another Pindaric τέκτων-metaphor is ultimately connected with the capacity of τέκτονες to produce movement of the body-chariot.

Part 2: **Fashioning Movement: A Comparative Study in Pindar's *Nemean Five***

7 Pindar's *Nemean Five*: Text and Translation

7.1 Text

1   Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ᾽, ὥστ᾽ ἐλινύσοντα ἐργά-   Α᾽
    ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος
2   ἑσταότ᾽· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πάσας
    ὁλκάδος ἔν τ᾽ ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ᾽ ἀοιδά,
3   στεῖχ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας, διαγγέλλοισ᾽, ὅτι
4   Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενής
5   νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον,
6   οὔπω γένυσι φαίνων τέρεινας
    ματέρ᾽ οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν,
7   ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέν-
    τας καὶ ἀπὸ χρυσεᾶν Νηρηΐδων
8   Αἰακίδας ἐγέραιρεν
    ματρόπολίν τε, φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν·
9   τάν ποτ᾽ εὔανδρόν τε καὶ ναυσικλυτάν
10 θέσσαντο, πὰρ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου
11 στάντες, πίτναν τ᾽ ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἁμᾶ
12 Ἐνδαΐδος ἀριγνῶτες υἱοὶ[1]
    καὶ βία Φώκου κρέοντος,
13 ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ, ὃν Ψαμάθεια τίκτ᾽ ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου.
14 αἰδέομαι μέγα εἰπεῖν
    ἐν δίκᾳ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον,
15 πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον,
    καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους
16 δαίμων ἀπ᾽ Οἰνώνας ἔλασεν.
    στάσομαι· οὔ τοι ἅπασα κερδίων
17 φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει᾽ ἀτρεκές·
18 καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώ-
    τατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.

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1 Snell/Maehler (1987): υἱοί.

19   εἰ δ᾽ ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινῆ-   Β᾽
             σαι πόλεμον δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι
20   αὐτόθεν ἅλμαθ᾽ ὑποσκά-
             πτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ὁρμὰν ἐλαφράν·
21   καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ᾽ αἰετοί.
22   πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις ἄειδ᾽ ἐν Παλίῳ
23   Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορός, ἐν δὲ μέσαις
24   φόρμιγγ᾽ Ἀπόλλων ἑπτάγλωσσον
             χρυσέῳ πλάκτρῳ διώκων
25   ἁγεῖτο παντοίων νόμων· αἱ δὲ πρώτιστον μὲν ὕμνη-
             σαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν
26   Πηλέα θ᾽, ὥς τέ νιν ἁβρὰ
             Κρηθεῒς Ἱππολύτα δόλῳ πεδᾶσαι
27   ἤθελε ξυνᾶνα Μαγνήτων σκοπὸν
28   πείσαισ᾽ ἀκοίταν ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν,
29   ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον,
30   ὡς ἦρα νυμφείας ἐπείρα
             κεῖνος ἐν λέκτροις Ἀκάστου
31   εὐνᾶς· τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον ἔσκεν· πολλὰ γάρ νιν παντὶ θυμῷ
32   παρφαμένα λιτάνευεν.
             τοῖο δ᾽ ὀργὰν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι·
33   εὐθὺς δ᾽ ἀπανάνατο νύμφαν,
             ξεινίου πατρὸς χόλον
34   δείσαις· ὁ δ᾽ εὖ φράσθη κατένευ-
             σέν τέ οἱ ὀρσινεφὴς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
35   Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς, ὥστ᾽ ἐν τάχει
36   ποντίαν χρυσαλακάτων τινὰ Νη-
             ρείδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν,

37   γαμβρὸν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλει-   Γ᾽
             τὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν·
38   ἔνθα νιν εὔφρονες ἶλαι
             σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται,
39   καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ.
40   Πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς ἔργων πέρι
41   πάντων. τὺ δ᾽ Αἰγίναθε δίς, Εὐθύμενες,
42   Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων
             ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων.
43   ἤτοι μεταΐξαις σὲ καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάτρως ἀγάλλει
             κείνου ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα.

44   ἁ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν
        μείς τ᾽ ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ᾽ Ἀπόλλων·
45   ἅλικας δ᾽ ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ᾽ ἐκράτει
46   Νίσου τ᾽ ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ. χαίρω δ᾽ ὅτι
47   ἐσλοῖσι μάρναται πέρι πᾶσα πόλις.
48   ἴσθι, γλυκεῖάν τοι Μενάνδρου
        σὺν τύχᾳ μόχθων ἀμοιβάν
49   ἐπαύρεο. χρὴ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον᾽ ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν·
50   εἰ δὲ Θεμίστιον ἵκεις
        ὥστ᾽ ἀείδειν, μηκέτι ῥίγει· δίδοι
51   φωνάν, ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἱστία τεῖνον
        πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου,
52   πύκταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίου
        φθέγξαι ἑλεῖν Ἐπιδαύρῳ διπλόαν
53   νικῶντ᾽ ἀρετάν, προθύροισιν δ᾽ Αἰακοῦ
54   ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρε στεφανώ-
        ματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.

7.2 Translation[2]

I am not a statue-maker, so as to sculpt stationary statues that stand still on one and the same base. Rather, on board every ship and in every boat, sweet song, go forth from Aegina and spread the news that Lampon's mighty son Pytheas has won the crown for the pancratium in Nemea's games, not yet showing on his cheeks late summer the mother of the grape's soft bloom, and he has glorified the Aeacids, heroic warriors born from Cronus and Zeus and from the golden Nereids, and his mother city, a land welcoming to foreigners, which Endais' illustrious sons and mighty prince Phocus, son of the goddess Psamatheia who bore him on the seashore, prayed would one day be a land of brave men and renowned for sailing, as they stood by the altar of father Hellanios and together stretched their hands towards the sky.

I shrink from telling of a mighty deed, one ventured not in accord with justice, how in fact they left the glorious island and what fortune drove the brave men from Oenona. I will halt, for not every exact truth is better for showing its face, and silence is often the wisest thing for a man to observe.

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2 The provided translation is based on Race (1997b) and has been modified by the author.

But if it is decided to praise happiness, strength of hands or steel-clad war, let someone dig for me a jumping pit far from this point, for I have a light spring in my knees and eagles leap even beyond the sea.

Gladly did that fairest chorus of the Muses sing for those men on Pelion, while in their midst Apollo swept his seven-tongued lyre with a golden plectrum, and led them in tunes of all kinds. And, after a prelude to Zeus, they first sang of august Thetis and Peleus, telling how elegant Hippolyta, Cretheus' daughter, sought to snare him by a trick after she persuaded her husband, overseer of the Magnesians, to be an accomplice through her elaborate designs: she put together a falsely fabricated tale, claiming that in Acastus' own marriage bed he was trying to gain her wifely love. But the opposite was true, for again and again with all her heart she begged him, trying to manipulate him. But her precipitous words provoked his anger, and he immediately rejected the wife, for he feared the wrath of the father who protects hospitality. And cloud-stirring Zeus, king of the immortals, observed it well and gave him a sign from heaven that he would soon make a sea nymph, one of the Nereids of the golden distaffs, to be his bride, after persuading their kinsman, Poseidon, who often goes from Aegae to the famous Dorian Isthmus, where joyous crowds receive the god to the sound of the pipe and compete with the bold strength of their limbs. Inherited Destiny decides the outcome of all deeds. Euthymenes, twice from Aegina did you fall into Victory's arms and enjoy elaborate hymns.

Indeed, Pytheas, now too your maternal uncle, following in your footsteps, glorifies that hero's kindred race. Nemea stands firm for him, as well as the local month that Apollo loved. He defeated those of his age who came to compete at home and at Nisus' hill with its lovely glens. I rejoice that the entire city strives for noble prizes. Remember that it was truly through Menander's good fortune that you won that sweet reward for your toils. A fashioner of athletes ought to be from Athens. But if it is Themistius you have come to sing, hold back no longer: give forth your voice, hoist the sails to the topmost yard, proclaim that as a boxer and in the pancratium he won at Epidaurus a double victory, and to the portals of Aeacus' temple bring the leafy crowns of flowers in the company of the fair-haired Graces.

8 Structure and Themes of Pindar's *Nemean Five*

8.1 Synchronic Background of the Ode

Nemean Five is dedicated to Pytheas from Aegina, winner in the boys' pancratium.[1]
Pytheas is one of the sons of Lampon and the older brother of Phylacidas, who is
celebrated in *Isthmian Five* and *Isthmian Six*. From internal textual elements we
are able to reconstruct the relative chronology of the three odes: *Nemean Five* is
the oldest, *Isthmian Five*, which also provides an element of absolute chronology,
the most recent:

– *Isthm.* 5.48–50 (καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει μαρτυρήσαι κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθεῖσα
  ναύταις ‖ ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμὶς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ ‖ ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζάεντι
  φόνῳ) make reference to the battle of Salamis (480/479 BCE) as a recent event;
– From *Isthm.* 5.17–19 (ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ᾽ ἀρετά ... Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν,
  ‖ Πυθέα τε παγκρατίου) we learn that Phylacidas won twice at the Isthmian
  games, and he and Pytheas had both won at Nemea, Pytheas in the pancratium;
– From *Nem.* 5.6 (οὔπω γένυσι φαίνων τέρεινας ματέρ᾽ οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν) we
  infer that Pytheas won in the category of the ἀγένειοι in Nemea.[2] More-
  over, from *Isthm.* 5.59–60 (αἰνέω καὶ Πυθέαν ... Φυλακίδα πλαγᾶν δρόμον
  εὐθυπορῆσαι) we deduce that Pytheas had trained or advised his brother in
  the pancratium;[3]

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1 The same victory is celebrated by Bacchylides' *Epinician Thirteen*. For a comparison between the
Pindaric and the Bacchylidean victory odes see Cannatà (2020), 103–105, who recalls the hypothesis
formulated by Gärtner (1978) (see also Fearn [2007], 115 and Morrison [2010], 241), that the two
epinicians were commissioned by the maternal family (*Nemean Five*) and paternal family (Bacchyl.
13) of the victor. Differently, Nicholson (2005), 186–187 argues that Bacchylides' epinician was com-
missioned by Pytheas' trainer Menander.
2 According to Pfeijffer (1999), 105 (see also Pfeijffer [1998]) "conventions of the genre demand
that Pindar explicitly mentions the age category if the victory was won in any category other than
the ἄνδρες."
3 *Schol. Isthm.* 5.59 οὗτος ὁ Πυθέας ἐπεστάτησε τοῦ Φυλακίδα καὶ ἤλειψεν αὐτόν ... ἐπαινῶ οὖν,
φησί, καὶ τὸν ἀλείπτην αὐτοῦ ... ποιήσαντα τῶν πληγῶν δρόμον εὐθυπορῆσαι "this Pytheas was in
charge of Phylacidas and trained him ... So, Pindar says, 'I praise his trainer ... because he made the
course of [Phylacidas'] blows run straight.'" This interpretation of the verses is not accepted by Silk
(1998), 60–66 and Nicholson (2005), 17–28, 172–176.

- From *Isthm.* 6.57–62 (Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον, ὦ Μοῖσα, ταμίας ‖ Πυθέα τε κώμων Εὐθυμένει τε· [...] ἄραντο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου ‖ τρεῖς ἀπ᾽ Ἰσθμοῦ, τὰς δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ εὐφύλλου Νεμέας ‖ ἀγλαοὶ παῖδές τε καὶ μάτρως) we reconstruct that Phylacidas' first victory at the Isthmian games postdates the successes of his brother Pytheas and of his maternal uncle Euthymenes;
- From *Isthm.* 6.2–3 (δεύτερον κρατῆρα ... ἐν Νεμέα μὲν πρῶτον) we learn that Pytheas' victory in Nemea predates Phylacidas' first victory at the Isthmian games.

In the light of all the above, 478 or 480 BCE are the probable composition dates for *Isthmian Five.* The date of *Nemean Five* is debated: the earliest possible date for its composition is 487, the latest 483 BCE.[4]

The ode consists of three triads, each of them comprising a six-verse strophe, a six-verse antistrophe and a six-verse epode, for a total of 54 verses. As in the case of other Pindaric epinicians, it is possible to identify a variety of semantic and lexemic repetitions throughout the ode.[5] In what follows, I first provide a list of the lexemic and semantic repetitions of the poem, then concentrate on interconnected leitmotifs of *Nemean Five.*

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4 The date of Pytheas' victory is the subject of a long debate. Severyns (1933), 41–51, followed by Cannatà (2020), 100, proposes that Pytheas won in 485 BCE, seven years before Phylacidas' second victory. Differently, Pfeijffer (1995) submits that 487 BCE is the composition date for both Pindar's *Nem.* 5 and Bacchyl. 13; Privitera (2014), 142–143 and Nicholson (2005) propose two alternative chronologies for the three odes. First scenario is as follows: 485 BCE: Pytheas' victory, 484 BCE: Phylacidas' first Isthmian victory, 480 BCE: Phylacidas' second Isthmian victory. Second scenario: 483 BCE: Pytheas' victory, 482 BCE: Phylacidas' first Isthmian victory, 478 BCE: Phylacidas' second Isthmian victory.

5 See the analysis of Stern (1971), Segal (1974) and (1998).

8.2 Lexemic and Semantic Repetitions of *Nemean Five*

The poem has a circular structure: the first and the final triads frame the mythological excursus, which is built as a *mise en abyme*.[6] A certain circularity may be recognised within the first and the second triads,[7] as lexemic and semantic repetitions make evident (Tables 8.1, 8.2).

Table 8.1: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 5.1–18 (first triad)

c[8]	[to STAND], ἵστημι	ἐλινύσοντα … ἐσταότ᾽(α) (1–2)	: στάντες (11)	: στάσομαι (16)
	[SHIP]	ὁλκάδος … ἀκάτῳ (2)	: ναυσικλυτάν (9)	
c	[from AEGINA]	ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας (3)	: ἀπ᾽ Οἰώνας (16)	
	[to APPEAR], φαίνω	φαίνων (6)	: φαίνοισα (17)	
b	[VALIANT MEN] ἀνήρ	εὔανδρον (9)	: ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους (15)	

Table 8.2: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 5.19–36 (second triad)

c	[SWIFTNESS]	ἐλαφράν (20)	:	ἐν τάχει (35)
c, b	[SEA], πόντ-	πόντοιο (21)	:	ποντίαν (36)
	[CONSORT], ἀκοιτ-	ἀκοίταν (28)	:	ἄκοιτιν (36)
	[STORY], λόγος	λόγον (29)	:	λόγοι (32)
	[SPOUSE] νυμφ-	νυμφείας (30)	:	νύμφαν (33)

Further repetitions seem to build a frame between the first and third triads (Table 8.3).

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6 Cannatà (2000): the song of the Muses overlaps with that of the poet. At 25, the beginning of the song is marked by the expression ὕμνησαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι, but the end of the song is not explicitly marked. On the passage see also Mancuso (forthc.).

7 The only lexemic reprises within the third triad seem to be ἀγκώνεσσι (42) : εὐαγκεῖ (46) and the word [TWO]: δίς (41) : διπλόαν (52).

8 As explained later, (a), (b), (c) group the repetitions thematically.

Table 8.3: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 5.1–18, 37–54 (first and third triads)[9]

c	[to MAKE/FASHION]	ἀνδριαντοποιός (1)	: τέκτον᾿(α) (49)	
c	[WORK], ἐργ-	ἐργάζεσθαι (1)	: ἔργων (40)	
c	ἀγαλ-[10]	ἀγάλματ᾿(α) (1)	: ἀγάλλει (43)	
	[SWEET], γλυκύς	γλυκεῖ᾿(α) (2)	: γλυκεῖαν (48)	
c	[MOVE + ANNOUNCE]	στεῖχ᾿(ε) ... διαγγέλλοισ᾿(α) (3)	: δίδοι ‖ φώναν ... ἀνά ... ἱστία τεῖνον (50–51)	
c	[SONG/SING], ἀοιδά, ἀείδω	ἀοιδά (2)	: ἀείδειν (50)	
c	[from AEGINA]	ἀπ᾿ Αἰγίνας (3), ἀπ᾿ Οἰώνας (16)	: Αἰγίναθε (41)	
a	[VICTOR'S NAME], Πυθέας	Πυθέας (4)	: Πυθέα (43)	
a	[STRENGTH], σθένος	εὐρυσθενής (4)	: σθένει (39)	
a	[VICTORY], νίκα, νικάω	νίκη (5)	: Νίκας (42)	: νικῶντ᾿(α) (53)
a	[NEMEA], Νεμέα	Νεμείοις (5)	: Νεμέα (44)	
	[MOTHER/MATERNAL], μάτ(η/ε)ρ-	ματέρ᾿(α) (6), ματρόπολιν (8)	: μάτρως (43)	
a	[PANCRATIUM], παγκράτιον	παγκρατίου (5)	: παγκρατίου (52)	
a	[CROWN], στεφαν-	στέφανον (5)	: στεφανώματα (54)	
a, b	[AEACUS], Αἰακ-	Αἰακίδας (8)	: Αἰακοῦ (53)[11]	
	[ARMS]	χεῖρας (11)	: ἀγκώνεσσι (42)	

In turn, a variety of parallels and reprises interweave the first and the second triads (Table 8.4) as well as the second and the third triads (Table 8.5).

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9 Segal (1974) and (1998), 168 further points out the presence of the semantic field of [NATURAL GROWTH] in the first triad (6–8), which is reprised in the very final verses of the ode (54). On plant metaphors in Pindar's epinicians see Steiner (1986) and Salvador Castillo (1996), who discusses the vegetal lexicon of 6–8 at 126–130 (φυτεύω), 161–165 (beard). Segal (1974) further identifies this very semantic field as opposed to the semantic field of stasis.

10 The terms ἄγαλμα 'statue, monument' and ἀγάλλω, 'honour' (etym. 'to make big'), are etymologically related, as explained by Pinault (1991). They are both derived from the zero-grade of the IE word for 'big', *$m̥ĝ$-h_2-.

11 As Segal (1974), 406 points out, πίτναν (11) seems to be reprised through πίτνων (42), although they are different verbs.

Table 8.4: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 5.1–18, 19–36 (first and second triads)

c	[to MAKE], ποιέω	ἀνδριαντο°ποιός (1)	:	ποιητόν (29)		
c	[SONG/SING], ἀοιδά, ἀείδω	ἀοιδά (2)	:	ἄειδ᾿(ε) (22)		
	[ZEUS], Ζεύς	Ζηνός (7)	:	Διός (25)	:	Ζεύς (35)
b	[GOLDEN] ([NEREIDS]), χρυσέος Νηρηίς	χρυσεᾶν Νηρηΐδων (7)	:	χρυσέῳ (24)	:	χρυσαλακάτων Νηρηΐδων (36)
b	[NEREIDS]–[AEACIDS]	Νηρηΐδων Αἰακίδας (7–8)	:	Θέτιν Πηλέα (25–26)[12]		
b	[FATHER], πατήρ	πατέρος (10)	:	πατρός (33)		
	[ARMS], χείρ	χεῖρας (11)	:	χειρῶν (19)		
b, c	[SEA], πόντ-	πόντου (13)	:	πόντοιο (21)	:	ποντίαν (36)

Table 8.5: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 5.19–36, 37–54 (second and third triads)

	[ARMS]	χειρῶν (19)	:	ἀγκώνεσσι (42)
c	[SING], ἀείδω	ἄειδ᾿(ε) (22)	:	ἀείδειν (50)
b, c	[HYMN], ὑμνε/ο-	ὕμνησαν (25)	:	ὕμνων (42)
	[PERSUADE], πείθω	πείσαισ᾿(α) (28)	:	πείσαις (37)
c	[ELABORATE/VARIEGATED], ποικίλος	ποικίλοις (28)	:	ποικίλων (42)
c	[to MAKE/FASHION]	ποιητόν (29)	:	τέκτον᾿(α) (49)
	[APOLLO], Ἀπόλλων	Ἀπόλλων (24)	:	Ἀπόλλων (44)

It is possible to sort lexemes and thematic elements into three groups:

(a) repetitions concerning the fundamental data about the victory and the epinician, the mention of which can be considered conventional:[13] name of the victor, homeland of the victory, place of victory, and discipline in which the victory was obtained. These elements, together with the name of Aeacus and the patronymic Aeacid (Αἰακός, Αἰακίδας), the lexemes νίκα- (νίκα, νικάω),

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12 Stockert (1969), 53 highlights how this semantic repetition (orig. *semantische Wiederholung*) is located between the end of a period and the beginning of the next.
13 Schadewaldt (1966), 285–287.

στεφανο- (στέφανος, στεφάνωμα)[14] and γλυκύς (in fem. sg., epithet of the poetic celebration) are located in the poem's frame: the first and the final triads of the ode;

(b) repetitions conceptually or thematically connecting Pytheas and the glorious past of Aegina, located across the first and the second triads. These repetitions frame and intersect with the mythological excursus of the ode, concerning the events that led to the marriage of Thetis with the Aeginetan hero Peleus;

(c) repetitions building 'pairs of opposites' within interconnected themes, namely, words concerning the ideas of immobility and mobility; figurative and poetic art. These semantic and lexemic repetitions are scattered in the three triads of the ode and seem to be thematically relevant. Therefore, they will be my main objects of focus in the following paragraphs.

8.3 From Stasis to Motion

As lexical and semantic repetitions make evident, *Nemean Five* pivots around the concepts of stasis and movement. In his seminal 1974 paper "Arrest and Movement: Pindar's Fifth Nemean," Charles Segal argued that, in this antithetic pair, stasis is the negative pole and movement the positive one. Here, I slightly revisit this interpretation, by proposing that stasis does not have a negative value *per se*, but probably does in connection with artistic products. Indeed, Pindar proclaims that movement is more powerful than immobility and the ode seems to progressively detach from stasis and increase its own movement. In the first triad of the poem, static images abound, but, as the ode proceeds, dynamic images grow in number until they prevail over static ones, also thanks to the ring-structure of the poem. To assess the weight that the interaction between these opposite spatial references carries, it is useful to start from the possible performance venue of the ode.

Despite Pindar's usually being elusive on the celebratory settings of his odes,[15] it is likely that verses 53–54 refer to the performance venue of the Nemean ode:

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14 For στέφανος, στεφανόω and στεφάνωμα as words often employed to build a 'crown-composition' (ring-composition built with the lexemes στεφ-, alluding to crowning concrete and metaphorical objects) in Pindaric epinicians, see Massetti (forthc./d).

15 As Nagy (1994), 19 puts it, Pindar makes it "so that all the given self-references could not only possibly fit any one time and any one place of performance," see also Athanassaki (2012), 155, who, following Loscalzo (2003), 85–86, 102–103 and Hubbard (2004), considers the very opening of *Nemean Five* as evidence for the re-performance of the hymns.

Aegina's Aeaceum.[16] This *heroon* was "a quadrangular enclosure of white marble" (περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου, Paus. 2.29.6) that featured representations of salient moments of Aeacus' life.[17] As Pavlou (2010), 9 points out, Pindar "orchestrates his song in a way that complements the surrounding monuments." He infuses movement and voice into the ode's performance venue by putting some of the scenes represented in the Aeaceum into words, music, and dance. Furthermore, he *enacts* the ode's dynamism by loading his poem with references to the semantic field of movement.

Nemean Five opens with the poet proclaiming the superiority of odes over statues. These are "stationary" (ἐλινύσοντα, 1) and can only "stand still on one and the same base" (ἐπ᾽ αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος ‖ ἑσταότ᾽[α], 1–2). Therefore, they can only be enjoyed centripetally, *in situ*.[18] In inviting his ode to embark on every ship and boat departing from Aegina (ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ᾽ ἀκάτῳ ... στεῖχ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας, 2–3)[19] and to proclaim (διαγγέλλοισ᾽[α], 3) Pytheas' victory to everyone, Pindar emphasises that poems move and talk: that is, odes can be enjoyed centrifugally, everywhere.[20]

Despite the first image of maritime travel, the first triad of the ode contains three instances of the verb ἵστημι 'to stand still, to stop': as mentioned above, the statues of 1–2 are said to be ἑσταότ᾽(α) ('standing still'); at 10–11, Pindar portrays Aeacus and his sons standing and praying by the altar of Zeus Hellanios (πὰρ βωμὸν

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16 See Mullen (1982), 152, Steiner (1993), 163, (2001), 264, Pfeijffer (1999), 193, Pavlou (2010), 6. The Aeaceum was located not far from the centre of the island (see Walter-Karydi [1994], 132). The *heroon* is described by Paus. 2.29.72–73.

17 Paus. 2.29.7 ἐπειργασμένοι δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακόν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες. The pf. pass. of ἐπεργάζομαι often means 'to be sculptured on' in Pausanias (LSJ s.v.).

18 Pfeijffer (1999), 100–101 points out how ἐλινύω "is used with connotations of idleness" in *Isthm.* 2.46 and Aesch. *PV* 52–53, 529. The same value belongs to ἕστηκα in traditional hexameter poetry (*Il.* 4.246, 366–367+).

19 See Péron (1974a), 154–156, who points out that Pindar uses words denoting merchant ships because he "considers his ode to be a cargo of prizes" (p. 155, translation from the original French by the author). The term ὁλκάς denotes a sailing ship without oars, mainly used as a trading vessel (Morrison/Williams [1968], 244–245, Casson [1971], 169), while ἄκατος means (light) 'boat' or, in a more specialized sense, "merchant galley with oars and one square sail" (Pfeijffer [1999], 103). According to Kurt [1979], 82, the use of ἄκατος emphasises the speed of the vessel. Both terms occur within poetological metaphors: ὁλκάς occurs in Pind. fr. 355, Alcm. 199 C (142 D), Simon. fr. 251 P, and Bacchyl. 16.2–4 (Nünlist [1998], 273), ἄκατος in *Pyth.* 11.40 (on which see Finglass [2007], 111).

20 See Fearn (2017), 21–22. For parallels for the personification of the ode as some sort of herald or messenger see Nünlist (1998), 68–80. As Pfeijffer (1999), 102 remarks, "we are invited to imagine that Pindar's audience, when having returned to their duties after the victory celebrations are over, have his song in their heads and sing it in foreign harbours. Pindar envisages a similar kind of unregulated oral transmission of his songs in those passages where he stresses that his song will ensure that the victor's fame flies from mouth to mouth."

πατέρος Ἑλλανίου ‖ στάντες).[21] As pointed out by Maria Cannatà (2020), 385, not only does the ptc. στάντες occur at verse-beginning, i.e. following a pause, just like the preceding ἑσταότ᾽(α) at verse 2 beginning, but it might also be taken as a reference to a statuary representation of the Aeacids at Aegina. Indeed, the prayer to Zeus Hellanios was the final scene of a story which, according to Pausanias (2.29.7), was represented at the Aeaceum. The story goes that Greece was suffering because of a great drought caused by Pelops' impious deeds.[22] So, the oracle advised the Greeks to seek the intercession of the most pious man, Aeacus, with Zeus. Together with his three sons, he performed a prayer to Zeus and changed the destiny of Greece. He then consecrated an altar to Zeus Hellanios.[23] In our ode, the scene is followed by a brief allusion to a later event, Phocus' death. According to the standard version of the myth, this son of Aeacus and Psamathea (13) was killed by his brothers Peleus and Telamon in a φόνος ἀκούσιος that compelled them to leave the island.[24] Pindar is reticent about the account. Having mentioned the *departure* of the Aeacids from Aegina (δαίμων ἀπ᾽ Οἰνώνας ἔλασεν, 16),[25] which may vaguely recall the journey of the ode itself (3), at least in its directionality (movement from Aegina, see Tables 8.1 and 8.3), the poet stops: at 16, a third instance of ἵστημι, in the 1st sg. future, στάσομαι,[26] followed by an invitation to 'stay silent' in gnomic form (καὶ

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21 According to Segal (1974), 400 "This 'standing' of the Aeacids has ominous associations [...] This is the last time the three Aeacid brothers stand and act 'together' before the murder of Phocus by the other two divides this unity forever. Their common 'standing' in prayer before the altar of Zeus Hellanios, in turn, increases our horror at the impiety of the deed." However, since the Aeacids' common prayer invoked Zeus to put an end to Greeks' suffering it appears forced to me to describe the scene as 'ominous'.

22 Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.159.

23 Isoc. *Evagoras* 14–15, Diod. Sic. 4.61.1–3, Paus. 1.44.9, 2.29.7–8, Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.12.159, Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 4.3.28.4–6, *Schol. Nem.* 5.17b, *Schol. Pae.* 6.125. *Schol. Nem.* 5.17b also mentions a flood as an alternative cause for the embassy.

24 On this myth and the tradition followed by Pindar see Nagy (2011), 52–55.

25 *Schol. Nem.* 5.25a φασὶ γὰρ Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀνελόντας Φῶκον, τὸν μὲν δίσκῳ τύψαντα, τὸν Πηλέα, τὸν δὲ Τελαμῶνα σιδήρῳ τὰ μετάφρενα. Among other sources, compare *Alcmeonis* fr. 1 B, Eur. *Andr.* 687, Ap. Rhod. 1.92–93, Diod. Sic. 4.72.5–6, Plut. *Parallela Minora* 25.311e, Paus. 2.29.9–10, 10.30.4, Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.12.160–161, Ant. Lib. 38.1–2, Hyg. [*Fab.*] 14.8, *Schol. Lycophr.* 175c L.

26 Cf. ἀφίσταμαι in *Ol.* 1.52. According to Bundy (1962), I 21, who classifies the form as an 'encomiastic future', the future tense "refers to the present." Differently Pfeijffer (1999), 121, who, reprising Pelliccia's (1995), 320, 322–325 idea of "programmatic intra-carminal futures," states that the future is used here as a metanarrative tense that refers neither to the time of telling nor to that of the tale, but to [...] the 'space of the discourse'." On this category see Genette (1976). On the use of the future tense in Pindar, see now Sigelman (2016), 66–80, who argues that the tenses contribute to the effect of 'incompleteness' and 'perpetual renewal' of the odes.

τὸ σιγᾶν … ἐστὶ σοφώτατον, 18), marks the break-off section of the poem.[27] Pindar 'stands still' and 'mute', one may argue, like statues do: he refrains from recounting the facts connected with Phocus' murder. However, movement prevails and the ode proceeds further.

At 20–21 he introduces his new mythological journey by means of two dynamic metaphors. In mentioning the 'burst of speed of his limbs' (ἔχω γονάτων ὁρμὰν ἐλαφράν, 20), the poet prepares to jump ahead.[28] At 21, thanks to the metaphor of the eagles flying beyond the sea (καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ᾽ αἰετοί, 21), which here, just like elsewhere in the corpus of Greek melic poets, applies to the poet,[29] he moves on to the mythological excursus. At 22, we realise that the poet has followed the journey of Peleus to Thessaly. We are now on the Mount Pelion, where the wedding of Thetis and Peleus takes place. The re-evoked scene is full of movement and music: the Muses form a beautiful chorus (κάλλιστος χορός, 23), Apollo, holding the phorminx, *leads* all sorts of melodies (ἀγεῖτο παντοίων νόμων, 25). The Muses start singing (25) and recount the events that led to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis: Hippolyta, the wife of Acastus, had once tried to snare Peleus (πεδᾶσαι, 26) with deceit. She thus 'pieced together' (συνέπαξε, 29) a false story.[30] As correctly noticed by Segal (1974), 404, πεδᾶσαι (26) and συνέπαξε (29, on which see Section 5) may be considered as new verbs of stasis: in particular, πεδάω, which etymologically means 'to tie the feet (of someone)' (LfgrE s.v.), came to mean 'to impede, obstruct, make stop' in Greek traditional hexameter poetry; πάγνυμι recalls the fixity of objects adhering to a surface (the earth, the breast of a defeated enemy, etc.). But, as Peleus refuses Hippolyta, stasis is again overcome through movement and speed. When Pindar mentions Zeus' approval of Peleus' decision, the father of gods is said to be ὀρσινεφής ('who stirs up the clouds', 34).[31] His decision to give Thetis to Peleus as a bride also moves quickly (ἐν τάχει, 35).

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27 For Race (1989), 202, fn. 14: the verse offers an example of "turning from painful experience (in *praeteritio*) to success."

28 On sport metaphors in Greek archaic poetry see Lefkowitz (1984), Nünlist (1998), 142–161.

29 See Bernardini (1977), Pfeijffer (1994), Steiner (2007), but cf. Stoneman (1976), who proposes an identification between eagles and the laudandi (already found in Bury [1890], 85).

30 Note also the reading συνέπλεξε (Laurentianus graecus 32, 52, end of the 13th–beginning of the 14th century CE), accepted by Cannatà (2020), who points out possible parallels with passages in which πλέκω has an object meaning [WORD/HYMN] (Pind. *Ol.* 6.86, *Nem.* 4.94) and compounds such as δολοπλόκος (Sappho fr. 1.2 V+).

31 The epithet seems to be coined by Pindar. See García Ramón (2013), 67, on the perfect Vedic phraseological match *stómām̐ iyarmy abhríyeva vátaḥ* "I stir up the praise songs, like winds the rain clouds" (RV 1.116.1b), which, significantly, contains a metapoetic simile.

From this point onwards, stasis seems to almost disappear from the ode: the only clear reference to the semantic field of fixity is found at 44, where Nemea is said 'to stand firm' for Pytheas (ἀ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν, 44). Everything (and everyone) else jumps, moves and sings: at the beginning of the third triad, Pindar recounts that Zeus persuades Thetis' suitor Poseidon to renounce marrying the goddess.[32] Significantly, the sea god is then associated with movement and music: he is portrayed as often travelling from Aegae to the Isthmus (ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ νίσεται Ἰσθμὸν Δωρίαν, 37), where he is celebrated with music (εὔφρονες ἶλαι σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται, 38). As the ode slowly approaches the end, the references to movement, music and songs multiply: Pytheas' maternal uncle Euthymenes is said to 'have fallen' twice in the arms of Victory (Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων | ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων, 42); Pytheas has defeated the young men who had come to compete with him at home (ἄλικας δ᾽ ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ᾽ ἐκράτει, 45). At 50–51 the themes of travelling by sea and the verbal power of the ode return in a circular way. The two images are now presented in reverse order. While previously the poet had invited the ode to 'go forth' (στεῖχ᾽[ε], 3) and spread the news (διαγγέλλοισ᾽[α], 3), here he exhorts himself to "lift the voice" (δίδοι ‖ φωνάν, 50–51) and "hoist the sails to the topmost yard" (ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἱστία τεῖνον πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου, 51). In the final verses of the poem, with the expression ἵκεις ὥστ᾽ ἀείδειν (50), the exhortation to 'hold back no longer' (μηκέτι ῥίγει), and the invitation to crown the statue of Themistius (φέρε στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν, 54), the poet seems to explicitly *involve* the Aeaceum's statues in his performance.

In conclusion, a reading of *Nemean Five* guided by the lexicon of 'stasis and movement' reveals that these two opposite images interact at various levels: they are connected with heroes and gods mentioned in the poem and correlate with the metapoetic references, epithets and metaphors. At the same time, the interaction of stillness and mobility correlates with the dynamics of the ode's performance at the Aeaceum. Pindar not only "actively engages with the visible iconography of the performance venue,"[33] but he also chooses and combines images and themes so as to metapoetically reproduce the ode's kinaesthetics (the movement peculiar to the choral performance among the Aeaceum's statues). The circular structure of the ode, which in my view can have an iconic value, contributes to fashioning movement, peculiar to the poetic creation that overwhelms stillness.[34]

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32 *Isthm.* 8.27–29, Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 3.168. On the episode see the seminal study of Slatkin (1995).
33 Pavlou (2010), 9.
34 As Kirichenko (2016), 22 points out, "Pindar endows his own "figurative statue" (i.e. his ode) with speech and movement in order to transfer an image of the victory into the festive context of the victor's hometown and beyond."

8.4 Statues and Odes

The themes of stasis and movement seem to be embedded in the opposition between sculpture and poetry. In the incipit, Pindar proclaims the superiority of his work, which moves and talks, over stationary, mute statues.[35] The verses have been variously interpreted and clarified since antiquity. Ancient commentators provide a biographical line of interpretation, which is not taken particularly seriously by most modern-day scholars:[36] scholium 1a reports the anecdote according to which, Pytheas' family members had told Pindar, who had asked them to pay three thousand drachmas for an epinician, that a statue would have been a nicer gift for the same price. When they later changed their minds and paid him the requested sum, Pindar addressed the issue in the very opening of the poem.[37] Despite the possible presence of an allusion to a real event in the first verses of the ode, the incipit raises a variety of questions, namely, on (i) how to interpret the tone of verses 1–2 in the light of the synchronic background[38] of the ode and its performance venue, Aegina,[39] and (ii) how to harmonise the statement of *Nem.* 5.1–2 with other poetological metaphors employed by Pindar. The poet seems to express antipathy towards sculpture,[40] but occasionally he compares his work to a monument.[41]

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35 We know that statues, painted and carved objects can have a voice, at least potentially, thanks to their 'speaking inscriptions', which are traditionally formulated in 1st person singular (see Steiner [1993]).

36 On the general untrustworthiness of Pindaric scholia see Fränkel (1961), Lefkowitz (1975), (1985).

37 *Schol. Pind. Nem.* 5.1a φασὶν ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Πυθέου οἰκεῖοι προσῆλθον τῷ Πινδάρῳ παρακαλοῦντες ὅπως εἰς αὐτὸν γράψῃ ἐπίνικον· Πινδάρου δὲ αἰτήσαντος τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἔφασαν ἐκεῖνοι κάλλιον εἶναι χάλκεον ἀνδριάντα ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς ἢ τὸ ποίημα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον γνωσιμαχήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον τὸ αὐτὸ διδόντες· ὁ δὲ ἐξονειδίζων αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἤρξατο, καί φησι μὴ κατασκευάζειν ἔργα τὴν αὐτὴν κατέχοντα χώραν, καθὼς οἱ ἀνδριαντουργοὶ τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας, ἀλλὰ τὰ ποιήματα ἅπερ πανταχόσε διϊκνεῖται, ὥστε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἐπαινεθέντων πολλοῖς εἶναι δήλην.

38 See Yvonneau (2003), who connects the opening with an anecdote recounted by Hdt. 5.82–84.

39 See Burnett (2005) and Pavlou (2010).

40 Lee (1988) proposes that the tone is ironic. According to a prevalent view it expresses "antipathy towards sculpture" (words of Fearn [2017], 18), see also Svembro (1984), 155 and, as recent references, Golden (1998), 84–85, Benediktson (2000), 18, O'Sullivan (2003), 79–83, Ford (2002), 98, Sprigath (2004), 263, Männlein-Robert (2007), 18, Smith (2007), 92, 109.

41 Segal (1998), 179 notices that the ode's incipit "poses a deliberate paradox, for elsewhere Pindar is very much aware that statues and other solid commemorative forms are parallel to the ode." See also Steiner (1993), (2001), 251–265 and Morgan (2007), 230–231. Differently, Loscalzo (2003), 150: "Pindar, who compares his art to various forms of craftsmanship, distances himself from statuary and never explicitly uses the image of the statue to indicate his poetry" (translation from the original Italian by the author).

Here, again, I use the metaphoric employment of words belonging to the semantic field of construction as a guide to my analysis.

Table 8.6: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of [MAKE] and [VARIEGATED]

[to MAKE/FASHION]	°ποιός (1)	:	ποιητόν (29)	:	τέκτον᾽(α) (49)
[WORK], ἐργ-	ἐργάζεσθαι (1)			:	ἔργων (40)
ἀγαλ-	ἀγάλματ᾽(α) (1)			:	ἀγάλλει (43)
[ELABORATE/VARIEGATED], ποικίλος			ποικίλοις (28)	:	ποικίλων (42)

Terms for 'to make/fashion/work/decorate' are present in each of the three triads of the ode (see Section 2 and Tables 8.3, 8.4, and 8.5). The lexemic repetitions ἐργάζεσθαι (1) : ἔργων (40) and ἀγάλματα (1) : ἀγάλλει (43) are located in the ode's frame. Both ἐργάζεσθαι and ἀγάλματα are found at 1, within the opening reference to the statuary. The respective cognate words, ἔργων and ἀγάλλει, which apply to the victor's deeds and their 'impact' on Aegina, are found in the third triad of the ode. It is difficult to assess whether of the couple ἐργάζεσθαι (1) : ἔργων (40) has a thematic relevance. At 1, ἐργάζεσθαι seems to be used as a *terminus technicus* for the carving of statues. The verb only appears here and in *Isthm.* 2.45–46, within a metapoetic metaphor that can be conceptually linked to that found in the opening of *Nemean Five*: ἐπεί τοι ‖ οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν "I did not carve them [i.e. my hymns] to remain stationary."[42] However, the fact that ἔργον occurs in several Pindaric passages[43] suggests that it is a 'conventional word'. This throws doubt on the possible thematic value of the term at 40. As for the couple ἀγάλματα (1) : ἀγάλλει (43), ἄγαλμα occurs within the statuary reference: it denotes a "a concrete representation of glory, honour" (Pfeijffer [1999], 101), often in the form of statue portraying a god or a man. The use of ἀγάλλω may be connected to the *topos* of 'victor as ornament of the city', also found in *Ol.* 5.20–21 (Pindar asks Zeus to 'adorn' Camarina 'with good hosts of noble men', αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανορίαισι τάνδε κλυταῖς ‖ δαιδάλλειν), *Pyth.* 9.4 (Telesicrates is στεφάνωμα Κυράνας).[44]

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42 Incidentally, in *Isthm.* 2.46 ἐργασάμαν builds a ring-composition with another rare Pindaric word, ἐργάτις (of the Muse, *Isthm.* 2.6).

43 Fifty passages, according to Slater's (1969) lexicon, s.v.

44 A possible addition to this group is *Nem.* 4.83–85 ὕμνος … βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει ‖ φῶτα "and a hymn makes a man equal in fortune to kings."

Conversely, the repetitions of [MAKE/FASHION] and [ELABORATE/VARIEGATE] highlight two main contrasts: (i) deceptive words vs. poetic words, (ii) immovable, mute statuary vs. movable, resounding poetry.

8.5 The Art of Lying: ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν, ποικίλων ὕμνων

It has often been noted that the use of ποικίλος at 28 resembles that of the same adjective in another Pindaric passage,[45] in which the creation of a false story is described through the lexicon of construction:

> *Ol.* 1.28–33
> ἦ θαυματὰ πολλά, καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν
> φάτις ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον
> δεδαιδαλμένοι **ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις**
>   ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι
> Χάρις δ᾽, ἅπερ ἅπαντα **τεύχει** τὰ μείλιχα θνατοῖς,
> ἐπιφέροισα τιμὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστὸν
> ἔμμεναι τὸ πολλάκις

> Yes, wonders are many, but then too, I think, in men's talk stories are embellished beyond the true account and deceive **by means of elaborate lies**. For Grace, who **fashions** all things pleasant for mortals, by bestowing honour makes even what is unbelievable often believed.
>   transl. Race (1997a) modified by the author

At the same time, the pair ποικίλοις βουλεύμασι (28) : ποικίλων ὕμνων (42) can be framed within a Pindaric stylistic tendency. In the extant Pindaric corpus, construction-metaphors are used in both the semantic fields of lying and of poetry. The phenomenon is not a *unicum* in Greek literature: when the Muses reveal to Hesiod that they are capable of lying and telling the truth, the poet calls them ἀρτιέπειαι.[46]

> Hes. *Th.* 27–29
> "ἴδμεν **ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν** ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
> ἴδμεν δ᾽ εὖτ᾽ ἐθέλωμεν, **ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι**"
> ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς **ἀρτιέπειαι**

> "We know how **to tell many lies** similar to authentic things, we know, when we wish, how to **proclaim true things**." So spoke great Zeus' daughters, **whose words are well-arranged**.

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45 Segal (1998), 173, Steiner (2001), 263, Fearn (2017), 41–43.
46 On the compound see Calame (1977).

This epithet is a compound displaying a FCM ἀρτι°, etymologically connected with ἀραρίσκω 'to join together', and a SCM based on ἔπος 'word, verse'.[47] Hesiod's Muses are therefore depicted as 'arrangers of verses', but the content of their verses, as they declare, is occasionally a lie. Indeed, crafting lies is often portrayed, through metaphors, as some sort of construction in Homer and elsewhere in Greek archaic poetry. If we consider the metaphoric expressions applying to lies and poetry 'horizontally' (i.e. *ex Pindaro ipso*) and 'vertically' (i.e. *ex Homero et Hesiodo ipsis*), Pindar

(A) seems to align with the preceding tradition, although he often applies to [POETRY] lexemes that are associated with both [LIES] and [POETRY] elsewhere.

Moreover, Pindar *apparently* innovates the phraseology in Greek traditional hexameter poetry in two main ways:

(B) by applying a lexeme that elsewhere allegedly occurs only in [LIE]-metaphors within a metapoetic metaphor;

(C) by creating what, at first sight, looks like a set of *new* twin metaphors, in which a same verb or adjective combines with both [LIES] and [POETRY].

(A): The only verbs that seem to be employed in connection with both 'lies' and 'verses' in hexameter poetry are τεύχω, ῥάπτω, and those derived from the IE root *Har-* (LIV² *$h_2$er-*) 'to join, arrange'.

– τεύχω, joined with ἀοιδήν in *Od.* 24.197, applies to the deceitful nature that Hermes gives Pandora in Hesiod's *Works and Days*: ψεύδεά θ' αἱμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος ‖ τεῦξε (Hes. *Op.* 78–79). As already shown, in *Ol.* 1.31 (see above), the term applies to Charis embellishing false accounts. However, the verb also describes poetic creation: προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς (*Pyth.* 1.4) αὐλῶν τεῦχε πάμφωνον μέλος (*Pyth.* 12.19), Ἡροδότῳ τεύχων τὸ μὲν ἅρματι τεθρίππῳ γέρας (*Isthm.* 1.14).

– ῥάπτω is associated with the notion of [DECEIT] in *Od.* 3.118–119, κακὰ ῥάπτομεν ἀμφιέποντες ‖ παντοίοισι δόλοισι, but it is also found in a collocation [ῥάπτω–ἀοιδή_acc.], i.e. containing the same lexical material as the compound ῥαψῳδός, in [Hes.] fr. 357.2 (ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν). As far as we know, Pindar does not use ῥάπτω within [LIE]-metaphors, but reprises the metapoetic usage of the verb (ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων, *Nem.* 2.2).

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47 On the etymology of the word and IE parallels see Massetti (2020).

– The IE root **Har-* (LIV² **h₂er-*), underlying Gk. ἀραρίσκω, ἁρμόζω etc., is likely to be included in the speaking name 'Homer' (Ὅμηρος).[48] Moreover, the verb συναραρίσκω applies to the song of the Delian maidens of *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 164.[49] As just touched upon, ἀρτιέπειαι applies to the Muses in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Further derivatives of the same root, ἀρτύνω and ἀρτύω 'to prepare', are found in connection with 'lies, schemes/deceit' in Homer, compare the collocation [ἀρτύνω–ψεῦδος_acc.pl.] (*Od.* 11.366), [ἀρτύω–δόλος_acc.sg.] (*Od.* 11.439). As far as we can judge from what we possess of Pindar, he seems to innovate by not applying derivatives of IE **Har-* (LIV² **h₂er-*), such as ἁρμόζω and ἐναρμόζω, to the 'crafting of lies', but only to the creation of poetry, see ἐπέων ... οἷα σοφοὶ ἄρμοσαν (*Pyth.* 3.113–114), Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ (*Ol.* 3.5), ἐθέλω ... ἐναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ (*Isthm.* 1.15–16).

(B): Some of the lexemes that occur elsewhere within [LIE]-metaphors are present in Pindaric metapoetic metaphors.

– As already pointed out (Chapter 5, Section 2), this is the case of the derivatives of IE **tetk-*, such as παρατεκταίνομαι ἔπος 'to make up a false story'[50] (*Od.* 14.131) and the collocation ψευδῶν τέκτονας (Heracl. fr. 8.3 B DK), which seem to contrast with the usage of Pindar's τέκτων-metaphor in *Pyth.* 3.113.

– Further verbs belonging to the semantic field of weaving and spinning, such as ὑφαίνω, and πλέκω, apply to [LIES/DECEIT] in the epics, melic, and tragic poetry: [ὑφαίνω–δόλος_acc.] (*Il.* 6.187+); δολοπλόκος (Sappho fr. 1 V+), [πλέκω–δόλος_acc.] (Eur. *Ion* 692+). However, they apply to [POETRY] in Pindar, compare [ἐξυφαίνω–μέλος_acc.] (*Nem.* 4.44–45), [ὑφαίνω–ἄνδημα_acc.] (fr. 179), [πλέκω–ὕμνος_acc.] (*Ol.* 6.86–87), [διαπλέκω–θρῆνος_acc.] (*Pyth.* 12.8), [πλέκω–ῥῆμα_acc.pl.] (*Nem.* 4.94), [ἀοιδά–εὐπλεκής] (fr. 52c.12 = *Pae.* 3.12 = D3 R).

(C): Pindar applies verbs that in Greek hexameter poetry denote the construction of solid objects to [LIES] and [POETRY] in an apparently unprecedented way. However,

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48 The first to propose that the root underlying °ηρος was that of ἀραρίσκω was Durante (1957) (but see also West [1999]), who claimed a connection between Ὅμηρος and Ved. *samaryá-* 'contest'. The etymology of this Vedic noun, however, is ambiguous. As suggested by Nagy (2006), 322, with whom I align, from the synchronic point of view, the name Homer may refer to the compositional technique of the ἀοιδοί. The Pindaric usage of ἐναρμόζω matches that of *r̥ṇváti* in Rigveda 3.11.2cd (*hótāram mánuṣaś ca vāgháto , dhiyā́ rátham ná kúliśaḥ sám r̥ṇvati* "as an axe brings together a chariot, the chanters [bring together] with their insight the Hotar [= Agni], [who was] also [the Hotar] of Manu").

49 On this passage see Nagy (2013a).

50 On the 'negative' value of the preverb παρ(α)- see Section 6.

comparative investigations have proven that many of the collocations involving [to MAKE/CREATE–POETRY] have parallels in other IE traditions. Nevertheless, a number of Pindaric collocations of the type [ASSEMBLE/DECORATE–LIES] seem to be unparalleled, if considered from a comparative (at least Indo-European) point of view.

– This is the case of Pindaric collocations involving (συμ)πάγνυμι 'assemble/put (together)' (see Section 3). In traditional hexameter poetry, πήγνυμι takes the meaning 'to fix/assemble' and refers to the construction of ships (e.g. νῆας ἔπηξε, *Il.* 2.664+) and chariots (πήξασθαι ἄμαξαν, Hes. *Op.* 455). In Pindar, πάγνυμι occurs within a poetological metaphor of construction: χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντες εὐτειχεῖ προθύρῳ θαλάμου ‖ κίονας, ὡς ὅτε θαητὸν μέγαρον ‖ πάξομεν, *Ol.* 6.1–3.[51] At the same time, συμπάγνυμι denotes the construction of Hippolyta's false story in *Nem.* 5.29 (ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον).

– The use of ποικίλλω and δαιδάλλω/δαιδαλόω in the Pindaric corpus also stands out. In traditional hexameter poetry, ποικίλλω applies to the decoration of objects (LfgrE s.v.), while ποικίλος mostly applies to decorated objects (LfgrE s.v.). Compounds such as ποικιλόβουλος (Hes. *Th.* 521), built with the same lexical material as ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν (*Nem.* 5.28), and ποικιλομήτης (*Od.* 3.163+) 'of elaborated/variegated thought/mind' apply to wily characters, such as Prometheus, Odysseus, and Hermes, who are creative at lying. However, no collocation [ψεῦδος–ποικίλος] or [POETIC WORD–ποικίλος] seems to exist before the age of Pindar. Conversely, the poet applies ποικίλος to both the products of poetic creation, compare ὕμνος ποικίλος (*Ol.* 6.87, *Nem.* 5.42); ἄνθημα ποικίλον (fr. 179); [ποικίλος–κόσμος–λόγος$_{gen.pl.}$] (fr. 194.2–3 f.); μίτρα … πεποικιλμένα (*Nem.* 8.15); ποικιλόγαρυς φόρμιγξ (*Ol.* 3.8); ποικιλοφόρμιγξ (*Ol.* 4.2); ποικίλον κιθαρίζων (*Nem.* 4.14),[52] and to [LIES], compare ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις (*Ol.* 1.29). The very same phenomenon appertains to his use of the lexeme δαιδαλε/ο-: such lexemes only apply to the decoration of objects in traditional hexameter poetry (LfgrE s.v. δαιδάλλω); but in Pindar they are employed in connection with [LIES], δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις (*Ol.* 1.29) and [POETRY], δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς (*Ol.* 1.105, note the circular reprise with 29), μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν ἀοιδαῖς (*Nem.* 11.18); δαιδάλλοισ' ἔπεσιν (fr. 94b.32).

The rich dossier presented here raises the question of the possible motivation of such a lexical distribution. One answer to the question could be that, Pindar, just

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51 On these verses see the comment of Adorjáni (2014), 114–124.

52 IE parallels for these expressions have been identified by Jackson [Rova] (2002).

like Hesiod's Muses, is aware of the aesthetic potential of false stories and knows that poets can lie:[53]

> *Nem.* 7.20–27
> ... ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον’ ἔλπομαι
> λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν
>   διὰ τὸν ἁδυεπῆ γενέσθ’ Ὅμηρον·
> ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσί οἱ ποτανᾷ <τε> μαχανᾷ
> σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία
>   δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ’ ἔχει
> ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
> ἓ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὔ κεν ὅπλων χολωθείς
> ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν
> λευρὸν ξίφος

> I believe that Odysseus' story has become greater than his actual suffering because of Homer's sweet verse, for upon his fictions and soaring craft rests great majesty, and his skill deceives with misleading tales. The great majority of men have a blind heart, for if they could have seen the truth, mighty Ajax, in anger over the arms, would not have planted in his chest the smooth sword.

8.6 Makers vs. Fashioners: °ποιός, ποιητόν, τέκτονα

Concentrating on the reiterations of terms related to ποιέω, a common Greek verb for 'making', may seem to be laboured at first sight. However, a look at the distribution of ποιέω and cognates in Slater's (1969) Pindaric lexicon reveals otherwise. Not only does ποιέω *not* apply to the semantic field of poetry in Pindar (Briand [forthc.]),[54] unlike other verbs meaning 'to make/create, construct, build',[55] but ποιέω and derivatives are also barely present in the extant Pindaric corpus. Only the *to*-adjective ποιητός (*Nem.* 5.29) and the compound ἀποίητος (*Ol.* 2.16) are to be found; the SCM °ποιός appears in ἀνδριαντοποιός (*Nem.* 5.1) and κακοποιός (*Nem.* 8.33). Exception made for ἀποίητος in *Ol.* 2.16 (which applies to δίκα 'justice'), all instances of the lexeme ποιε/ο- seem to have a pejorative nuance in Pindar. In our ode, the SCM °ποιός is incorporated into the term ἀνδριαντοποιός 'sculptor'

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53 As Fearn (2017), 55 puts it, "Pindar's text very cleverly […] appears aware of the question of the relation between its own literarity and the historical truth beyond it."

54 This also applies to the verb in the extant works of other choral lyric poets, such as Bacchylides and Simonides, but not to Alcman (S5.22).

55 The entire dossier on the 'construction' metaphors in archaic Greek poetry can be found in Nünlist (1998), 83–125, Loscalzo (2003), Heim (2022).

(lit. 'statue-maker').[56] The compound, which can be defined as a prosaic word,[57] seems to have a non-positive nuance in *Nem.* 5.1, as Pindar refuses to identify with a sculptor. Therefore, though not a pejorative term *per se*, ἀνδριαντοποιός occupies the negative pole of the opposition poetry vs. figurative art. *Nem.* 5.29 seems to confirm the impression that the *to*-verbal adjective derived from ποιέω also has a non-positive semantic nuance: here ποιητός designates the story Hippolyta constructed to frame Peleus, who had rejected her.[58] Between 26 and 32, the deceitful nature of Hippolyta's version of the story (λόγος) is highlighted by means of several terms belonging to the semantic field of lying. Her speech aims to frame Peleus with a trick (δόλῳ, 26);[59] she persuades her spouse with 'elaborate designs' (ποικίλοις βουλεύμασιν, 28);[60] and 'puts together a falsely fabricated tale' (ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον, 29). As the poet reveals the truth (τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον ἔσκεν "but the opposite was true," 31), he specifies that Hippolyta "again and again had begged him, *trying to manipulate* him" (πολλὰ γάρ νιν ... *παρφαμένα* λιτάνευεν, 31–32). In Pindar, the verb πάρφαμι has a basic meaning 'to utter insincerely',[61] but occasionally may take on the semantic nuance 'to manipulate with words' (*Pyth.* 9.43 and *Nem.* 5.32), similar to that of the nominal derivative πάρφασις, "the exploitation and manipulation of human weakness by unprincipled rhetorical skill" (Miller [1982], 118).[62] Significantly, this very term occurs in *Nemean* 8.32–33, not far from the only other Pindaric °ποιός 'prosaic' compound (Cannatà [2020], 580):

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56 As pointed out by Pfeijffer (1999), 101, an ἀνδριάς primarily denotes the image of a man (or a woman, like in Ath. 10.425f), made in bronze (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1041ᵃ11), wood (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.40–42, Pl. *Resp.* 515a) or stone (Hdt. 1.92.2, Pl. *Resp.* 515a). From Bettinetti's (2001) study we actually have evidence for ἀνδριάς and ἄγαλμα being used as synonyms.
57 The only instances of the term in poetry are *Nem.* 5.1 and Philemon fr. 72.2 KA.
58 The episode is also recalled in *Nem.* 4.57–58. In this story we recognize the widespread Potiphar's wife motif, on which see Yohannan (1968), Tschiedel (1969), West (1997), 365.
59 On the Homeric background of this expression (*Il.* 23.585) see Sotiriou (1998), 84. In *Nem.* 4, Hippolyta is said to try to frame Peleus δολίαις ‖ τέχναισι (57–58). This collocation counts as a further phraseological reprise of an expression that features in hexameter poetry, compare *Od.* 4.455, 529, *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 76, Hes. *Th.* 160, 540, 547, 555, 560. On the term δόλος and the metaphor of catching or binding see the seminal study by Privitera (1967), 16–20.
60 The use of the adjective ποικίλος in the verse, the later reprisal of which in this ode can again be connected to the dipole poetry vs. figurative art, is reminiscent of the usage of the same adjective in Pindar's *Ol.* 1.28–29 see Section 5.
61 Slater (1969) s.v. πάρφαμι.
62 Slater (1969) s.v. πάρφασις 'misrepresentation', Race (1997b) 'deception'. As Miller (1982), 117 notes "the prefix quite clearly has the metaphorical sense of 'amiss' or 'wrongly' that is apparent in verbs like παράγω or παρακούω." On the use of the term in Pindar see also González de Tobia (2000). As noted by Henry (2005), 84, it may be significant that πάρφασις is one of the allegorical objects contained in Aphrodite's bra (ἱμάς) in *Il.* 14.217, see LfgrE s.v. and Bierl/Latacz/Sto-

Nem. 8.32–33

... ἐχθρὰ δ᾽ ἄρα **πάρφασις** ἦν καὶ πάλαι,
αἱμύλων μύθων ὁμόφοι-
    τος, **δολο**φραδής, **κακοποιὸν** ὄνειδος

Yes, hateful **manipulation** existed even long ago, the companion of wily words, planning **deceits**, **evil-working** disgrace.[63]

Nem. 8.32–33 and *Nem.* 5.26–32 both deal with deceit. It is probably for this reason, that they contain the same three lexemes:

– πάρφασις (*Nem.* 8.32) : παρφαμένα (*Nem.* 5.32)
– δολοφραδής (*Nem.* 8.33) : δόλῳ πεδᾶσαι (*Nem.* 5.26)
– κακοποιός 'evil-making' (*Nem.* 8.33) : ποιητός (*Nem.* 5.29).

The analysis of the distribution of the lexeme ποιε/ο- reveals that it often has a negative nuance in the extant Pindaric corpus. These data also provoke two further questions, namely, (i) whether τέκτων 'fashioner' (49), as a term opposed to ἀνδριαντοποιός (1), has a different nuance and if so, (ii) why Pindar applies the term, which he uses elsewhere for healers, poets and performers, to a trainer. These issues will be my object of focus in the next chapter.

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evesand/Krieter-Spiro (2015), 107 ("in an erotic context 'seduction', 'allure'," translation from the original German by the author).

63 αἱμύλων μύθων (*Nem.* 8.33, later reprised by Ap. Rhod. 1.792) can be compared with αἱμύλιος λόγος (*Od.* 1.56, *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 317, Hes. *Th.* 890, *Op.* 78, 789, Thgn. 1.704).

9 Fashioners, Poets, and Trainers

9.1 The [FASHION]-Composition of *Nemean Five*

Nemean Five cannot be considered as an instance of *tetk*-composition: the term τέκτων only occurs in connection with the figure of the trainer at end-proximity of the ode. However, one may argue that praise of trainers is often situated at the end of Pindaric and Bacchylidean odes.[1] Nevertheless, I pointed out in the preceding chapter that terms belonging to the semantic field of 'fashioning', which are combined with opposite images of stasis and movement, form the frame of the poem. So, though *Nemean Five* is no *tetk*-composition, fashioning references still shape rings within it.

In this chapter, I further argue that ποιέω and τέκτων are not employed as synonyms but that their appearance in the same ode is not by chance. I previously tried to show how ποιέω is linked to both the semantic fields of statuary and lies in our poem. Moreover, statuary (ἀνδριαντοποιΐα) and false stories (ποιητοὶ λόγοι) are associated with the notion of 'immobility/impediment': statues stand still, while Hippolyta aims at 'snaring' Peleus with deceit. I now make the case that the term τέκτων is associated with the capacity of fashioning movement rather than immobile objects. This proposal is supported by other instances of the term in Pindar: Asclepius is said to be able to make his patients stand upright and go (τέκτονα νωδυνίας, ἔξαγεν ... τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθούς, *Pyth.* 3.6, 51–53): other τέκτονες fashion 'resounding verses' (ἐξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες, *Pyth.* 3.113) as well as the ode's performance (τέκτονες ‖ κώμων, *Nem.* 3.4–5, on which see Chapter 13). In this connection, one may argue that *Nemean Five*, a poem of movement, is itself proof of Pindar's vibrant art as a τέκτων.

This chapter centres on the tenor of the τέκτων-metaphor at verse 49.[2] Modern-day commentators have repeatedly remarked that the verse is more than meets the eye: on the one hand, τέκτων reprises the lexicon of sculpture, dedicatory

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1 A counter-example to this tendency is found in *Olympian Ten*, quoted in Section 2.
2 The metaphor's tenor is "the underlying idea" of the metaphor see Silk (1974), 9, Bierl (2019), 550. "Tenor and vehicle denote two words the contexts of which stand in a specific field of tension, which is constituted by surprisingly evoked moments of comparison or similarity in the broadest sense, including consciously actualised disparities between the areas of imagination associated with the metaphorical elements." (Nieraad [1977], 53, transl. from the original German by the author).

epigraphs,[3] and, as just noted above, metapoetics.[4] On the other, scholars have wondered why Athens is named in the verse. Although other Pindaric epinicians praise trainers, this is the only ode we have featuring a reference to the trainer's homeland (Cole [1992], 42).[5] Various explanations have been provided for the reference to Athens. According to Pfeijffer (1999), 81, the statement at 49 is a "surprising way of praising" Menander. Hornblower (2004), 211 draws attention to the literary pun Ἀθανᾶν ἀεθληταῖσιν;[6] Fearn (2017), 57 argues that Pindar's words may be ironic or allude to Athens as the home of other craftsmen of words. Building on the proposal first made by Deborah Steiner (1993), 163, my analysis aims at showing that the mention of "a τέκτων from Athens" can be linked to dominant themes of the ode: the contrast between statuary and poetry, stasis and movement, which are combined in a [FASHION]-composition, i.e. a ring-composition built by means of words belonging to the semantic field of [FASHIONING].[7]

In what follows, I first address the question concerning the reason why Menander, Pytheas' trainer, is called fashioner by concentrating on what craftsmen and trainers may have in common. I then submit that the tenor of the 'τέκτων-trainer' metaphor is similar to that of the 'τέκτων-healer' metaphor. Indeed, Pindar seems to compare combat athletes to moving vehicles. Trainers are thus said to resemble fashioners because they *fashion efficient movements*. I finally show that the same skill is proper of the best fashioners of material and immaterial things in Archaic poetic texts.

9.2 Trainers and Artists

The metaphor of the trainer-fashioner of *Nemean Five* can be compared to a [HANDICRAFT]-metaphor of *Olympian Ten*. In juxtaposing the pair winner–trainer, Hagesidamus and Ilas, to Achilles and Patroclus, Pindar introduces a gnomic statement that draws from the semantic field of 'smithing':

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3 Day (2013).

4 Steiner (2001), 264.

5 Cole (1992), 42 takes Bacchyl. 13.191–195 (Menander is said to be honoured by Athena) as a further reference to the homeland of Menander.

6 This hypothesis is, in my opinion, unlikely. Pindar re-uses ἀεθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν in *Isthm.* 6.72, in connection with Lampon, but apparently without any possibility of creating any pun on Athens.

7 The question has been addressed recently by Fearn (2017), 53–58.

Ol. 10.16–21
… πύκτας δ᾿ ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδι νικῶν
Ἴλᾳ φερέτω χάριν
Ἀγησίδαμος, ὡς
Ἀχιλεῖ Πάτροκλος.
θάξαις δέ κε **φύντ᾿ ἀρετᾷ** ποτί
πελώριον ὁρμάσαι κλέος ἀ-
        νὴρ θεοῦ σὺν παλάμαις

Let Hagesidamus, victorious as a boxer at Olympia, offer thanks to Ilas, just as Patroclus did to Achilles. With the help of a god, one man can **sharpen another who is born for excellence**, and encourage him to tremendous achievement.

Despite the generalising tone of the verses, a reference to the work of the trainer seems to be implied in the passage.[8] As Nicholson (2005), 171–172 points out, here praise of the trainer is tempered by the aristocratic idea of inborn ἀρετά: the poet seems to undermine the trainers' merits or transfer them to the family members of the victor, so as to support the ideology of inherited 'excellence'. Accordingly, the mission of the trainer is reduced to uncovering the trainee's talent. A similar idea can be found in works of later age that associate fashioners and trainers. Both categories are said to be able to assess the potential of their raw materials and shape them in the best possible way, that is, according to the right proportions. In listing the qualities of an ideal trainer, Philostratus states that he should evaluate whether his trainee's body possesses the right proportions,[9] in order to decide whether he is fit for a sport:

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8 Gildersleeve (1890), 276 compares the passage to a metaphor applied to Lampon (Pytheas and Phylacidas' father) in *Isthm.* 6.72–73 … φαίης κέ νιν ἄνδρ᾿ ἐν ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν ‖ Ναξίαν πέτραις ἐν ἄλλαις χαλκοδάμαντ᾿ ἀκόναν "You might say that for athletes he is like the bronze-mastering Naxian whetstone among other stones," claiming that Lampon is presented here as a trainer for his own sons. This information seems to contrast with what we learn from *Nemean Five*, where Menander is said to be Pytheas' trainer (*Nem.* 5.48–49). Given the stellar record of Menander as a trainer (Bacchyl. 13.190–198), it is unlikely that Lampon later decided to renounce hiring professional trainers for his sons. Moreover, as Privitera (1982), 214 remarks, "Lampon is not a trainer who sharpens athletes like whetstone does other stones (whetstone sharpens metal objects, not stones): Lampon is a wise and prudent man who stands out among athletes for these qualities." (transl. from the original Italian by the author). We can safely infer that Lampon is not an ex-athlete either. Otherwise, Pindar would have praised his past victories.
9 Pfeijffer (1999), 179 and Cannatà (2020), 403 quote this passage as a parallel to the τέκτων-metaphor of *Nem.* 5.49.

Philostr. *Gymnasticus* 25

ἤδη δὲ αὖ τῶν σώματος <μερῶν> ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγαλματοποιΐα, ὧδε ἐπισκεπτέον· σφυρὸν μὲν καρπῷ ὁμολογεῖν, κνήμη δὲ πῆχυν καὶ βραχίονα μηρῷ ἀντικρίνεσθαι καὶ ὦμω γλουτόν, μετάφρενα θεωρεῖσθαι πρὸς γαστέρα καὶ στέρνα ἐκκεῖσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ἰσχίον, κεφαλήν τε σχῆμα τοῦ παντὸς οὖσαν **πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα ἔχειν ξυμμέτρως**.

The characteristics of the parts of the body are also to be considered (sc. by the trainer), as in the art of sculpture, as follows: the ankle should agree in its measurements with the wrist, the forearm should correspond to the calf and the upper arm with the thigh, the buttock with the shoulder, and the back should be examined by comparison with the stomach, and the chest should curve outward similarly to the parts beneath the hip joint, and finally the head, which is the benchmark for the whole body, **should be well proportioned in relation to all of these other parts**.

     transl. Rusten/König (2014)

As previously pointed out (Chapter 5, Section 4), Plato (*Grg.* 504a) also states that the work of sculptors, healers and *trainers* is inspired by the principle of right proportions as well as by the harmonisation of the different parts of a whole. At the same time, he seems to describe the result of combat training, i.e. the aesthetic experience of looking at a combat athlete, by means of a sculptural simile: men and boys at the wrestling school admire Charmides 'as if he were a statue' (Pl. *Charm.* 154c τότε ἐκεῖνος ἐμοὶ θαυμαστὸς ἐφάνη τό τε μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐρᾶν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκουν αὐτοῦ— οὕτως ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε καὶ τεθορυβημένοι ἦσαν, ἡνίκ᾽ εἰσήει [...] ἀλλὰ πάντες ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα ἐθεῶντο αὐτόν "That time he appeared to me as a marvel of stature and beauty; and all the others looked to me like they were in love with him – such was their astonishment and confusion when he came in [...] they all gazed at him as if he were a statue").[10]

    These first parallels confirm that the results achieved by trainers (of any sports) can be compared to those achieved by fashioners of statues. Both categories are able to bring about changes on their raw materials: marble, wood, bronze or human bodies.

9.3 Combat Athletes on the Move: Swiftness and a 'Homeric' Metaphor

Pindaric descriptions of combat athletes and their trainers reveal a further characteristic shared by fashioners and trainers: the capacity of making vehicles and

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[10] One could identify a variety of further parallels for people who are admired and considered by the beholder as a work of art, e.g. *Od.* 6.232–235, 23.159–162.

human bodies move efficiently. Besides strength, speed and efficient movement are essential qualities for combat champions, i.e. pancratium, boxing, and wrestling athletes, who throttle, pummel and kick their opponents with the aim of having them submit.[11] It is probably for this reason that Pindar repeatedly emphasises the unexpected moves of pancratiasts. In *Isthmian Eight*, the Aeginetan pancratiast Cleandros is said to have 'driven away' his adversaries with his inescapable hand.

> *Isthm.* 8.64–65
> ... ἐπεὶ περικτίονας
> ἐνίκασε δή ποτε καὶ
>   κεῖνος ἄνδρας **ἀφύκτα χερὶ κλονέων**
>
> Since that man too in his day conquered the men who lived around him by **driving** them back **with his inescapable hand**.

The verb κλονέω, 'to drive in confusion',[12] denotes all sorts of rapid movements: in *Pyth.* 9.48 it applies to wind gusts lifting sand and stones within a poetological image; in hexameter poetry, it often refers to natural elements, such as (storm-)winds (e.g. *Il.* 23.213, see also Hes. *Op.* 553), animals (e.g. *Il.* 4.302, 15.324), individual heroes (e.g. *Il.* 11.496: Ajax compared to a river), and groups of warriors (e.g. *Il.* 5.96, κλονέοντα φάλαγγας).[13]

Since combat athletes' moves are rapid, athletes are compared to quintessential swift animals. When Pindar describes a salient moment of Aristomenes' match in *Pythian Eight*, the victor is represented as swooping down on his opponents:

> *Pyth.* 8.81–87
> τέτρασι δ᾽ **ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν**
> **σωμάτεσσι** κακὰ φρονέων

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11 Homer mentions wrestling (*Il.* 23.700–701, *Od.* 8.103) and boxing (*Il.* 23.621+, *Od.* 8.103+), but no pancratium. The sport is also said to have been introduced at the Olympic games (33rd Oympiad), later than wrestling (18th Olympiad) and boxing (23rd Olympiad), see Gardiner (1906) and Gardiner (1910), 435. Heracles against the Nemean lion (Bacchyl. 13.44–57) and Theseus (*Schol. Nem.* 3.27a) against the Minotaur are recalled by ancient sources as the first pancratium matches. *Schol. Nem.* 3.27a additionally mentions that Aristotle (fr. 475) ascribed the invention of pancratium to Leucarus of Acarnania. Some techniques are described by Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6. *POxy* 5204.7–13 contains a fragment of a manual probably destined to the instruction of pancratiasts, dated to the second century CE, see also *POxy* 3.466 preserving fragments from a wrestling manual dated to the first century CE. Wrestling instructions are also parodied in Pseudo-Lucian's *The Ass Tale*, as the protagonist Lucius is instructed by Palaestra on how to make love to her through wrestling terminology. All these ancient sources are presented in translation by Stocking/Stephens (2021).
12 Slater (1969) s.v.
13 See LfgrE s.v.

τοῖς οὔτε νόστος ὁμῶς
ἔπαλπνος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη,
οὐδὲ μολόντων πὰρ ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκύς
ὦρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι
πτώσσοντι, συμφορᾷ **δεδαγμένοι**

And upon four **bodies you fell from above** with hostile intent, for whom no homecoming as happy as yours was decided at the Pythian festival, nor upon returning to their mothers did sweet laughter arouse joy all around; but clear of their enemies **they shrink down** alleyways, **bitten** by failure.

In the passage, the poet emphasises the superior position of the winner in the pancratium match.[14] The instance of σῶμα at 82, a term which, according to Aristarchus, only applied to corpses in Homer (Snell [1955], 5), "presents the victor's opponents as mere bodies, lacking any individual personality."[15] Space specifications further contribute to sharpen the contrast between the winner and his opponents. Aristomenes falls on his adversaries 'from above' (81), while losers 'shrink into themselves' (87). The passage has an epic tinge: ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν can be considered as a *reprise decalée*[16] of Homeric ὑψιπέτης 'high-flying',[17] an epithet of the eagle (compare *Odyssey* 2.147, in which ὑψόθεν … πέτεσθαι "to fly from the high" is referred to two eagles), a quintessentially swift animal (e.g. *Nem.* 3.80, see Chapter 13, Section 3). The implicit reference to the high-flying eagle as opposed to animals which timidly hide away, can be more easily recovered by making reference to an Iliadic passage that features the same images and lexicon as *Pyth.* 8.81–87:

Il. 17.674–678
… **ὥς τ' αἰετός**, ὅν ῥά τε φασίν
ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων **πετεηνῶν**,
ὅν τε καὶ **ὑψόθ' ἐόντα** πόδας ταχὺς οὐκ ἔλαθε **πτώξ**
θάμνῳ ὑπ' ἀμφικόμῳ κατακείμενος, ἀλλά τ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ
ἔσσυτο, καί τέ μιν ὦκα λαβὼν ἐξείλετο θυμόν

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14 As Pfeijffer (1999), 583 remarks, "ὑψόθεν adds graphic detail to ἔμπετες. It conjures up the image of the victor soaring down savagely from a superior position." The passage has been subject of different studies: for Vivante (2005–2006), this is a Pindaric 'sculptural moment', i.e. a moment in which the human figure stands out as a sudden presence; Brown (2019) argues that the passage reflects the initiatory dimension of athletics in society.

15 Pfeijffer (1999), 582. For σῶμα as 'corpse' in Pindar see *Nem.* 3.47, *Nem.* 9.23, fr. 128c.5, fr. 168.4. For σῶμα as the mortal dimension of the man, see *Ol.* 9.34, fr. 94a.15, 131b.1.

16 Le Feuvre (2007), 123: "the stylistic figure […] consists in replacing one element of a traditional syntagm or compound by an equivalent and [reuse] of the cancelled element in another place with a different syntactic function."

17 Epithet of the winds in Pind. *Pyth.* 3.105.

... **As an eagle**, which, men say, has the keenest sight of **all winged things** under heaven, of whom, though **he be on high**, the swift-footed **hare** is not unseen as he crouches beneath a leafy bush, but the eagle swoops upon him and forthwith seizes him, and robs him of life.

Common lexemes: πετεηνῶν (*Il.* 17.675) : ἔμ°πετες (*Pyth.* 8.81), ὑψόθ' ἐόντα (*Il.* 17.676) : ὑψόθεν (*Pyth.* 8.81), πτώξ (*Il.* 17.676) : πτώσσοντι (*Pyth.* 8.87).

Aristomenes attacks his adversaries *from above*, just like the eagle does with the hare (πτώξ) in the Homeric simile. By contrast, in *Pythian Eight* the action of 'shrinking into themselves' (πτώσσοντι, *Pyth.* 8.87) does not occur at the time when Aristomenes' opponents submit to him in the competition, but is shifted to when they return to their homelands and feel shame and remorse about having no reason to receive a welcoming festive celebration. It is also possible to imagine that the metaphor of the bite of failure reprises the epilogue of the Homeric scene: hares are bitten (and devoured) by eagles. Most relevant to the current analysis of 'combat scenes' is that the comparison between Pindar's *Pythian* 8.81–87 and *Iliad* 17.674–678 makes evident that the expression ἔμπετες ὑψόθεν (*Pyth.* 8.81) denotes the rapid movement of the fighting pancratiast.

9.4 Trainers and Vehicles

The idea that rapid movements are peculiar to combat sports lies at the basis of further Pindaric metaphors that may be considered as 'complementary' to that of the 'healer-fashioner'. Bodies are compared to chariots in Greek and Indic texts, in connection with healing metaphors or episodes (Chapter 5). Pindar further compares athletes to vehicles, which are driven by trainers. In *Isthmian Three/Four*, Orseas, the trainer of the pancratiast Melissus, is said to be a 'steersman who guides the tiller':[18]

> *Isthm.* 3/4.89b–90b
> ... **κυβερνατῆρος οἰακοστρόφου**
> γνώμᾳ πεπιθὼν πολυβούλῳ· **σὺν Ὀρσέᾳ** δέ νιν
> κωμάζομαι τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν
>
> When he heeded **his guiding helmsman**'s judgement rich in counsel. I shall sing of him **with Orseas** in my revel song as I shed upon them delightful grace.

In *Nemean Six*, Melesias, trainer of the Aeginetan victor Alcimidas, is said to be the charioteer of Alcimidas' strength and hands:

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18 For this and other Pindaric maritime metaphors involving the image of the steerman, see Péron (1974a), 101–143.

Nem. 6.64–66
δελφῖνί καὶ τάχος δι᾽ ἅλμας
ἴσον <κ᾽> εἴποιμι **Μελησίαν**
χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον

As swift as a dolphin through the sea would I say that **Melesias** is, that **charioteer of hands and strength**.
Transl. Race (1997b)

According to *Schol. Nem.* 6.108ab Dr., Melesias was able to prepare his trainees for competitions in a particularly short time and was therefore compared to the swift-est animal in the sea, the dolphin.[19] The dolphin metaphor is then combined with that of the chariot, as Melesias is called ἀνίοχος. As Burnett (2005), 123, fn. 25 points out, Pindar's wording has a parallel in an epigram dated to the first half of the 5th c. BCE: Theognetus, a boy wrestler, is said to be "a skilled charioteer of the fight" (παλαιμοσύνης δεξιὸς ἀνίοχος, see Ebert [1972], 12.2). In the light of this parallel, it is possible to state that the idea of 'leading' and 'mastering' underlies both the trainer- and the fighter-chariot metaphors of Pindar and Theognetus' epigram. Still the notion of movement is embedded in the metaphor.

A further vehicle-metaphor is preserved in the final verses of *Isthmian Five*: Pytheas is said to have 'guided straight' the course of Phylacidas' blows:

Isthm. 5.59–61
αἰνέω καὶ Πυθέαν ἐν γυιοδάμαις
Φυλακίδα πλαγᾶν δρόμον **εὐθυπορῆσαι**,
χερσὶ δεξιόν, νόῳ ἀντίπαλον

I praise Pytheas also among limb-subduing pancratiasts, skillful with his hands **in guiding straight** the course of Phylacidas' blows, and with a mind to match.

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19 *Schol. Nem.* 6.108a [...] Μελησίας εἷς τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀλειπτῶν· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τάχος, ἐπεὶ ταχὺ αὔξει τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀλειφομένους καὶ κατάγει εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. καὶ τοσοῦτόν φησι διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀλειπτῶν τῷ ταχέως τοὺς ἀλειφομένους κατάγειν, εὐχερείας καὶ ἰσχύος ἡνίοχον ὄντα, ὅσον ὁ δελφὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἐναλίων τῷ τάχει διαφέρει; *Schol. Nem.* 6.108b ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσον ἂν εἴποιμι καὶ τὸν Μελησίαν τῷ ταχεῖ δελφῖνι τῇ τε ἰσχύϊ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ. On the interpretation of animals in Pindaric scholia see Muckensturm-Poulle (2015). On animals in Pindar see Grinbaum (1988) and Henderson (1992), who focuses on dolphins.

According to ancient Pindaric commentators, the verses alluded to Pytheas training his younger brother Phylacidas:[20]

> *Schol. Isthm.* 5.75a
> οὗτος ὁ Πυθέας ἐπεστάτησε τοῦ Φυλακίδα καὶ **ἤλειψεν αὐτόν** ... **ἐπαινῶ** οὖν, φησί, καὶ τὸν **ἀλείπτην** αὐτοῦ ... **ποιήσαντα τῶν πληγῶν δρόμον εὐθυπορῆσαι**.

> This Pytheas was in charge of Phylacidas and **trained him** ... So, Pindar says, "**I praise his trainer**" ... because **he made the course of** [Phylacidas'] **blows run straight**.

All the metaphors presented suggest the idea that the role of trainers was similar to that of advisors: they *direct* the trainees' movements. In such a system, however, the athlete is presented as a *moving vehicle* (a ship or a chariot): if Orseas is the steersman of Melissus, then Melissus resembles a ship; if Melesias is Alcimidas' charioteer, the Alcimidas is like a chariot; if Pytheas directs the run of Phylacidas' blows, then Phylacidas can be imagined as a horse or a chariot. This set of metaphors, I argue, may shed light on the role of τέκτων-trainer of *Nemean Five*. The metaphor of the 'trainer : fashioner' may be considered to stand in a complementary relationship to that of the 'combat athlete : moving vehicle' *ex Pindaro ipso*. The complementary nature of the poetic images emerges if we consider the skills of τέκτονες, as they are described in traditional hexameter poetry: chariots and ships are among the products that τέκτονες can fashion, e.g.

> *Il.* 5.59–62
> Μηριόνης δὲ **Φέρεκλον** ἐνήρατο, **Τέκτονος υἱόν**
> Ἁρμονίδεω ...
> ... **ὃς** καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ **τεκτήνατο νῆας** ἐΐσας

> Meriones killed **Phereclus**, **son of Tecton** (speaking name: Fashioner) Harmonides, **who had built** well-balanced **ships** for Alexander.

> *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 12–13
> **πρώτη τέκτονας** ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους **ἐδίδαξε**
> **ποιῆσαι σατίνας καὶ ἅρματα** ποικίλα χαλκῷ

> **She was the first to teach to the fashioner** men who live on the earth **how to make chariots and wagons** wrought in bronze.

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20 See Thummer (1969), II 96–97. Silk (1998), 56–66, who reads Φυλακίδα (voc.) at *Isthm.* 5.60, proposes that the verses do not praise Pytheas for his training skills, but for prowess as an athletic champion. Even if we accept this interpretation, the pancratium match is still compared to a chariot race, so, the metaphor 'body (of the fighter)' : 'chariot' still stands.

If we take into account that trainers fashion and guide movement, then we are able to recover a missing link in the opposition static statuary vs. moving poetry: while sculptors (ἀνδριαντοποιός, *Nem.* 5.1) make stationary statues, the poet and the trainer (τέκτων, *Nem.* 5.49, τέκτονες, *Pyth.* 3.113) *fashion things that are capable of moving.* Further reference to the *topos* of the 'best τέκτων' will shed light on the skills that fashioners and poets have in common.

9.5 The Best Fashioners: Hephaestus and the Poets

Infusing movement and possibly voice into stationary, mute creations is peculiar to artists and craftsmen who have exceptional and/or (semi-)divine abilities. In *Olympian Seven*, as Pindar describes the marvellous sculptures of the Rhodians, he defines them as "works of art in the likeness of beings that lived and moved":[21]

> *Ol.* 7.50–52
> ... αὐτὰ δέ σφισιν ὤπασε τέχναν
> πᾶσαν ἐπιχθονίων Γλαυκ-
>   ῶπις ἀριστοπόνοις χερσὶ κρατεῖν.
> **ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἐρπόν-**
>   **τεσσί θ᾽ ὁμοῖα** κέλευθοι φέρον
>
> Then the gray-eyed goddess herself gave them every kind of skill to surpass mortals with their superlative handiwork. Their streets bore **works of art in the likeness of beings that lived and moved**.
>   transl. Race (1997a)[22]

While according to Aristarchus Pindar credits the Rhodians with an invention by Daedalus (on whom see Section 7),[23] a scholiast noticed how the phraseology of *Ol.* 7.52 resembles that applying to Hephaestus' work in the *Eighteenth Book* of the

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21 As Giannini (2014), 54, 99 points out, the *kouroi* from Camiros dated to the 6th c. BCE are portrayed as walking.

22 See O'Sullivan (2005) on the opposition between deceptive statuary and truthful poetry (ἄδολος σοφία). Differently, Giannini (2014), 54–55, who proposes that δάεντι simply refers to the talent of the Rhodians.

23 *Schol. Ol.* 7.95a ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἐρπόντεσσί θ᾽ ὁμοῖα· τὰ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν δημιουργούμενα καὶ ἐργαζόμενα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὀφθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἷα καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔμψυχα κινούμενα. ἄριστοι γὰρ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδριάντων κατασκευὴν οἱ Ῥόδιοι. [...] Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὰ κατὰ Δαίδαλον αὐτόν φησι μεταφέρειν νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥόδον τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι τοιαῦτα κατεσκεύαζον ἔργα. *Schol. Ol.* 7.95a additionally tells a story similar to the one Socrates tells on Daedalus' statues in Pl. *Meno* 97d–98: Πολέμων (FGH 146) μὲν γάρ φησι παρὰ Χίοις μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον δεδέσθαι, καὶ παρ᾽ Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ τὸ

Iliad, Schol. Ol. 7.95a Dr. ἔργα δὲ ζῳοῖσι· παρὰ τὸ Ὁμηρικόν· χρύσειαι, ζωῇσι νεήνισιν ἔργ' εἰκυῖαι. The Homeric echo is noteworthy because Hephaestus' work can be considered as a term of comparison for the work of both craftsmen and poets.

Despite several Iliadic passages making reference to δαίδαλα ('elaborate objects') crafted by Hephaestus' hands, the most famous and extended example of his superior technique is Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18. The characters engraved on the artifact play music, sing,[24] talk, shout, cheer,[25] and move.[26] But earlier, in the same book of the *Iliad,* the poet has already introduced the motif of the 'best τέκτων', by showcasing a series of impressive creations by the divine smith. Among these there are golden *amphipoloi* "in the semblance of living maids":

> *Il.* 18.417–421
> ... ὑπὸ δ' **ἀμφίπολοι ῥώοντο ἄνακτι**
> χρύσειαι, **ζωῇσι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι**.
> τῇς ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδή
> καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.
> **αἳ μὲν ὕπαιθα ἄνακτος ἐποίπνυον**
>
> **But there moved swiftly to support their lord handmaidens** wrought of gold **in the semblance of living maids**. In them is understanding in their hearts, and in them speech and strength, and they know cunning handiwork by gift of the immortal gods. **These busily moved to support their lord**.

The passage, also thanks to its circular organisation,[27] emphasises the movements that the servants perform around their lord (ὑπό ... ῥώοντο ἄνακτι, 417, ὕπαιθα ἄνακτος ἐποίπνυον, 421). From 419–420 we infer which characteristics were commonly

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ἕδος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὅλως πολὺν κατεσπάρθαι λόγον περὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὡς μὴ μενόντων, ἀλλὰ πορευομένων ἄλλοσε πολλάκις.

24 πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει, 493, αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον, 495, τερπόμενοι σύριγξι, 526, κιθάριζε ... ἄειδε, 570, μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες, 606.

25 ὃ μὲν εὔχετο ... πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ' ἀναίνετο ... λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπυον, 499–502, πολὺν κέλαδον, 530, ἐχέτην, 580, μεμυκώς, 580, ὑλάκτεον, 586, μυκηθμῷ, 575, κελάδοντα, 576.

26 ἤγίνεον, 493, ἐδίνεον, 494, ἤισσον, 506, ἵκανον, 520, ἕποντο, 525, ἐπέδραμον, 527, μετεκίαθον ... ἵκοντο, 532, ἕλκε, 537, ἔρυον, 540, δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον, 543, στρέψαντες ἱκοίατο, 544, στρέψασκον, 546, ἱέμενοι ... ἱκέσθαι, 547, πῖπτον, 552, ἕποντο, 572, ἕποντο, 578, μετεκίαθον, 581, ἕλκετο, 581, ὠρχεῦντο, 594, θρέξασκον, 599, 602, ἐδίνευον, 606. See Becker (1995), 108–110. Bierl/Latacz/Stoevesand/Coray (2016), 208: "In the description of the wedding feasts, movement (492–493a, procession, 494a, dance), light effects (492b), sound (493b, singing, 495a, music) and the effect on the audience (495b–496) are emphasised, so that the image of a lively wedding feast [arises] in the mind of the recipient (similar to Hes. [*Sc.*] 272–285a)" (translation from the original German by the author). On the topic see also Sbardella (2009).

27 Stanley (2016).

identified as peculiar to living beings (ζωῇσι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι, 418, compare ἔργα δὲ ζωοῖσιν ἑρπόντεσσί θ᾽ ὁμοῖα, Pind. *Ol.* 7.52). They possess perception (νόος, 419), voice (αὐδή, 419), strength (σθένος, 420) and knowledge of (women's) works thanks to a gift of the gods (ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασιν, 420). As pointed out by Steiner (2001), 116–117,[28] this description resembles that of Pandora in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (60–82). Indeed, various lexical usages are common to both passages: Zeus orders the divine smith to mould a woman and to put in her 'voice' and 'strength' (ἐν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπου θέμεν αὐδήν ‖ καὶ σθένος, 61–62), he then instructs Athena to teach her 'works' (αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνην ‖ ἔργα διδασκῆσαι, 63–64), and Hermes to infuse her with a 'dark mind' (ἐν δὲ θέμεν κύνεόν τε νόον ... ‖ Ἑρμείην, 67–68). Within the Hesiodic descriptions of the Pandora episode, the theme of the 'best τέκτων' is never absent. In the *Theogony*, Hephaestus creates a crown for Pandora, which features "many creatures which the land and sea rear up, he put most upon it, wonderful things, like living beings with voices."[29]

The golden maidens, Pandora and her accessories are only some of the objects that manifest Hephaestus' divine skill. In the *Odyssey*, he is credited with the fashioning of golden and silver watch-dogs who stand at the entry of Alcinous' palace:[30]

> *Od.* 7.91–94
> **χρύσειοι** δ᾽ ἑκάτερθε καὶ **ἀργύρεοι κύνες** ἦσαν,
> οὓς **Ἥφαιστος ἔτευξεν** ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι
> δῶμα **φυλασσέμεναι** μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,
> ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρως ἤματα πάντα
>
> On either side [sc. of the door] there were **golden and silver dogs**, immortal and unaging forever, which **Hephaestus had fashioned** with cunning skill **to protect** the home of Alcinous the greathearted.
>   transl. Faraone (1987)

Although the passage does not specify whether the dogs move to repel intruders, it is possible to think that the notion of 'giving the alarm' is implicit in the verb φυλασσέμεναι. In *Iliad* 10.180–187, φύλακες are compared to dogs which produce great clamour (πολὺς δ᾽ ὀρυμαγδός, *Il.* 10.185); according to Herodotus (8.37–39), one of the two *oplitai* that saved the Delphic sanctuary of Athena Pronaia from the

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28 See also Silverman (2022), 21.

29 κνώδαλ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἤπειρος δεινὰ τρέφει ἠδὲ θάλασσα, ‖ τῶν ὅ γε πόλλ᾽ ἐνέθηκε, χάρις δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄητο, ‖ θαυμάσια, ζωοῖσιν ἐοικότα φωνήεσσιν (Hes. *Th.* 582–584).

30 Faraone (1987) and (1992), who connects Hephaestus' inventions with prophylactic dog statues attested in the Near East, points out that this creation by Hephaestus can be compared to the Cretan dog stolen by Pandareus (*Schol. Od.* 19.518, *Schol. Ol.* 1.91a, Ant. Lib. 36). See also Barnett (1898) on iconographical sources.

Persians in 480 BCE was named Phylacus and was associated with the capacity of producing loud tumult. The connection between φυλάσσω and the notion of 'giving the alarm' may have an etymological ground, as both φυλάσσω and φύλαξ can be traced back to the IE root *b^helH- 'to produce noise' (Kölligan [2016], 127–131).

Further animated inventions are attributed to Hephaestus by various sources. According to Nicander of Colophon (fr. 97 = Poll. *Onom.* 5.39), Chaonian and Molossian dogs descended from an animated bronze dog (ψυχὴν ἐνθείς) that the god had created;[31] he also fashioned Talos, a bronze creature that patrolled the island of Crete to protect it.[32]

Finally, together with Athena Hephaestus is credited with the invention of the Κηληδόνες 'Charmers' in Pindar's *Eighth Paean*, bronze decorative elements featured in the mythical third temple of Delphi[33] that were able to sing and enchant the temple visitors:

> *Pae.* 8.102–117 (= B2 R = fr. 52h SM)
> ὦ Μοῖσαι, το<υ> δὲ παντέχ[νοις
> Ἀφαίστου παλάμαις καὶ Ἀθά[νας
> τίς ὁ ῥυθμὸς ἐφαίνετο;
> χάλκεοι μὲν τοῖχοι χάλκ[εαί
>   θ᾽ὑπὸ κίονες ἔστασαν,
> χρύσεαι δ᾽ ἒξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ
>   ἄειδον Κηληδόνες.
> ἀλλὰ μιν Κρόνου παῖ[δες
> κεραυνῷ χθόν᾽ ἀνοιξάμ[ε]νο[ι
> ἔκρυψαν τὸ πάντων ἔργων ἱερώτ[ατον
> γλυκείας ὀπὸς ἀγασ[θ]έντες

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31 Poll. *Onom.* 5.39 τὰς Χαονίδας καὶ Μολοττίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναί φησι κυνός, ὃν Ἥφαιστος [ἐκ χαλκοῦ] Δημονησίου χαλκευσάμενος, ψυχὴν ἐνθείς, δῶρον ἔδωκε Διὶ κἀκεῖνος Εὐρώπῃ, αὕτη δὲ Μίνῳ. A comparable invention is a bronze lion containing φάρμακα that, according to Alcaeus, Hephaestus had built and concealed in Lesbos (*POxy*. 53.3711 col. 1.14–32).

32 According to Ap. Rhod. 4.1639–1693, Talos is a brazen man; according to Apollod. [*Bibl.*] 1.140–142, he was a bull, see also Soph. *TrGF* 160, *Schol. Pl. Resp.* 337a (= Simon. 286 = *PMG* 568). On Talos see Federico (1989), and now Mayor (2023), 1–4. On the passage see also Power (2011), 77 ff.

33 According to Förstel (1972), 117 and Rutherford (2001), 219 the Κηληδόνες were acroteria. Differently, Kritzas (1980) contends that they were featured in the pedimental reliefs displayed above the base of the gable. On the four temples of Delphi see Paus. 10.5.12. For a comment to the passage see Rutherford (2001), 217–222: the first temple of Delphi was built of laurel by Apollo, but burnt down; the second was built by bees and birds, but flew away to the land of the Hyperboreans, the third was built by Athena and Hephaestus; the fourth by Trophonius and Agamedes and lasted until the 6th c. BCE. For a possible connection between the Pindaric narrative and the Septerion ritual see Haralampos (2019). On a metapoetic interpretation of the passage see Skempis (2016); on the performance of the text and its possible interaction in the space see Weiss (2016).

ὅτι ξένοι ἔφ[θ]<ι>νον
ἄτερθεν τεκέων
ἀλόχων τε μελ[ί]φρονι
αὐδᾷ θυμὸν ἀνακρίμναντες

But what was the pattern, O Muses, that the latter showed, through the artful strength of Hephaestus and Athena? Bronze were the walls, bronze pillars stood beneath, and six golden Charmers sang above the gable. But the sons of Cronus opened the ground with a thunderbolt and hid it, the most sacred of all works ... astonished at the sweet voice, that foreigners wasted away apart from children and wives, hanging up their spirit as a dedication to the sweet voice.
transl. Rutherford (2001)

Considered by Pausanias (10.5.12) an 'imitation of Homer's Sirens' (δὴ ταῦτα ἐς μίμησιν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ Σειρήνων ἐποίησεν),[34] the Κηληδόνες most likely prefigure the *danseuses de Delphes*. Indeed, as Power (2011) points out, the creation of Athena and Hephaestus[35] is endowed with a brazen, perpetual, entrancing voice[36] and, most likely, movement.[37]

9.6 Hephaestus and Animated Vehicles

Other creations of Hephaestus, though not shaped as voiced animals or humans, are said to move on his or someone's command[38] or 'possess their own will', just like the ship the Aśvins gave to Bhujyu.[39] Hephaestus' tripods seem to be endowed with remote control or autopilot:

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34 On possible similarities between the Κηληδόνες and the Sirens see Rutherford (2001), 220.
35 The assertion that the temple is the work of both Athena and Hephaestus may entail an Athenian connotation according to Snell (1962).
36 On value and aesthetics of the brazen voice and artifacts in antiquity see Ford (1992), 193–194, (2002), 102.
37 Power (2011), 89–90: "Pindar's text displays so marked a constellation of the semantic features that, as Claude Calame has shown, serve to define *choreia* – parthenic collectivity, uniform epichoric identity, singing, and, in some virtual fashion, dancing, both performed in sacred space."
38 *Il.* 18.468–469 Ὣς εἰπὼν τὴν μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ, βῆ δ᾽ ἐπὶ φύσας· ‖ τὰς δ᾽ ἐς πῦρ ἔτρεψε κέλευσέ τε ἐργάζεσθαι. Delcourt (1957) argued for recognising reflections of magic inventions in many of Hephaestus' creations, see also Kokolakis (1980), 103–107. For the motif of the 'self-moving magical object/*automaton*' in folklore see ATU D1523, 1600, 1620, A141–142.
39 RV 1.182.5ab *yuvám etáṃ cakrathuḥ síndhuṣu plavám , ātmanvántam pakṣíṇaṃ taugr̥yáya kám* "for Tugra's son [Bhujyu] in the rivers you made a boat endowed with an own self and wings," see Chapter 3, Section 4.

Il. 18.373–377

… **τρίποδας** γὰρ ἐείκοσι πάντας **ἔτευχεν**
ἑστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον ἐϋσταθέος μεγάροιο.
χρύσεα δέ σφ' ὑπὸ κύκλα ἑκάστῳ πυθμένι θῆκεν,
ὄφρα οἱ αὐτόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα
ἠδ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοίατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι

He was fashioning tripods, twenty in all, to stand around the wall of his well-built hall, and golden wheels had he set beneath the base of each that of themselves they **might enter the gathering of the gods at his wish and again return to his house**, a wonder to behold.[40]

Another invention by Hephaestus can be added to this group of αὐτόματα. At least two poets specify that the golden vehicle (εὐνή or δέπας)[41] on which Helios travels every night from the West to the East of the world was created by Hephaestus.

Mimnermus fr. 12.1–9

Ἥλιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἤματα πάντα,
    οὐδέ ποτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία
ἵπποισίν τε καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπὴν ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς
    Ὠκεανὸν προλιποῦσ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβῇ·
τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ κῦμα **φέρει πολυήρατος εὐνή**,
    ποικίλη **Ἡφαίστου χερσὶν ἐληλαμένη**,
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος, **ὑπόπτερος**, ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ
    εὕδονθ' ἁρπαλέως χώρου ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων
γαῖαν ἐς Αἰθιόπων …

For Helios' 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.
    transl. Gerber (1999), modified by the author[42]

Aesch. *TrGF* 69.1–4

ἔνθ' ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς
†ισου† πατρὸς **Ἡφαιστοτευχές**
δέπας, ἐν τῷ διαβάλλει
πολὺν οἰδματόεντα

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40 The adjective applies to the doors of the Horae in *Il.* 5.749, 8.393. On the passage see Kirk (1990), 136.
41 Other names for the vehicle are preserved: χαλκείη ἀκάτω (Euphorion *apud* Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. 558), ἐν λέβητι (Agatharchides of Cnidus *apud* Phot. *Bibl.* 443a.37), χαλκείῳ λέβητι (Alexander of Ephesus, *apud* Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. 558).
42 The fragment is commented by Allen (1993), 95–109.

Where at my father's setting is **the cup fashioned by Hephaestus**, in which he crosses the wide, swelling [sc. Ocean].

The reference to Hephaestus as the craftsman of Helios' cup looks like a *topos*: golden, marvellous inventions belonging to the Olympian gods are produced by no less than the divine fashioner. However, at least in Mimnermus' fragment, the idea that Helios' cup moves αὐτομάτως, and ultimately thanks to Hephaestus' skill, is implied: Helios does not drive the vehicle, because he sleeps in it (εὐνή, 5, εὕδονθ' ἁρπαλέως, 8). Therefore, we must infer that the cup is 'programmed' to travel from West to East, without its passenger driving it.

The literary representation of Helios' winged cup in Mimnermus is vaguely reminiscent of the red-figure Vatican hydria of the Berlin Painter (ca. 490–480 BCE): Apollo, the lyre in his hands, sits on a winged tripod, which hovers right above the sea (Figure 9.1). Apollo is not Helios;[43] his vehicle is a tripod, not a cup, and, one may add, the god is awake. Consequently, the comparison cannot go beyond the identification of common iconographic patterns and themes: both vehicles are winged (ὑπόπτερος) and move ἄκρον ἐφ' ὕδωρ (Mimnermus fr. 12.7). Nevertheless, one may imagine that Apollo is using one of Hephaestus' tripods for his journey.

Here, I would like to put forth a new explanation for this hydria's iconography. This will also allow me to circle back to the starting point of this chapter: the capacity of creating movement as peculiar to the best fashioners of material and immaterial things. Since Apollo is likely to be performing with the lyre,[44] one may think that the tripod is moving *because* he is playing the instrument. It is tantalising to compare dolphins jumping around the god's tripod with the fish which, according to Simonides, 'synchronised' their jumps with Orpheus' voice:

Simon. fr. 274 (= *PMG* 567)
[...] τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
πωτῶντ᾿ ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς,
ἀνὰ δ᾿ ἰχθύες ὀρθοὶ κυανέου ἐξ
ὕδατος ἄλλοντο καλᾷ σὺν αὐδᾷ

An innumerable flock of birds circled above his head. **Fish jumped straight up out of the dark water in time to the beautiful voice**.[45]

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43 The identification is late, but Bilić (2021) has backdated the phenomenon to the late 6th c. BCE.
44 Paquette (1984), 162–163.
45 We know that this fragment refers to Orpheus from Tzetz. *Chil.* 1.311–318. On other stories concerning Orpheus' kinetic capacities see Chapter 10, Section 7. On dolphins and chorality see Csapo 2003.

Apollo might have thus put 'wings' on the tripod thanks to his music. The claim of being able to produce things that fly as if they possessed their own will or on their creators' command is indeed made by several archaic poets, including Pindar, e.g.

Pind. *Pyth.* 8.32–34
... τὸ δ᾽ ἐν ποσί μοι τράχον
ἴτω τεὸν **χρέος**, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν,
ἐμᾷ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ

But the **debt** owed to you, my boy, which runs at my feet, the latest of the glories, let it take **flight through my art**.

Pind. *Isthm.* 1.64–67
εἴη νιν εὐφώνων **πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθέντ**᾽ ἀγλααῖς
Πιερίδων ἔτι καὶ Πυ-
θῶθεν Ὀλυμπιάδων τ᾽ ἐξαιρέτοις
Ἀλφεοῦ ἔρνεσι φράξαι χεῖρα τιμὰν ἑπταπύλοις
Θήβαισι τεύχοντ᾽(α) ...

May he, **lifted on the splendid wings** of the melodious Pierians, also from Pytho and from the Olympic games wreathe his hand with choicest garlands from Alpheus, thus fashioning honour to seven-gated Thebes.

Pind. *Isthm.* 5.63
καὶ **πτερόεντα** νέον σύμπεμψον **ὕμνον**

... And send along this **winged** new **hymn**.

Thgn. 237–239
σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ᾽ **ἔδωκα**, σὺν οἷς ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα πόντον
πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν **ἀειρόμενος**
ῥηϊδίως ...

I gave you wings, with which you will fly around on the boundless sea and the entire earth, lightly **lifted up** ...[46]

To sum up: the capacity of making an inanimate object ἔμψυχος, i.e. able to talk and move, is a skill shared by the best fashioners, such as Hephaestus and the poets. In connection with *Nemean Five*, one may wonder whether Pindar is alluding to a specific renowned fashioner. In order to provide a positive answer to this question, it is possible to start from a banal observation: Athens was home to several

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46 Besides the few examples provided here compare *Ol.* 9.11–12 (poetological image of the feathered arrow), *Pyth.* 5.114–115, fr. 227, Pratinas fr. 708.3–5 *PMG*, adesp. 954b *PMG*, Bacchyl. fr. 20b.3–5.

Figure 9.1: Hydria from Vulci, ca. 490–480 BCE, Berlin Painter, cat. nr. 16568, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Città del Vaticano. Photo © Goverantorato *SCV – Direzione dei Musei*.

good trainers, including Melesias and Menander,[47] but it is also the homeland of
the legendary τεκτόνων σοφώτατος (Bacchyl. fr. 26.6): Daedalus, eponymous of the
Daedalids' clan.[48] As I will try to show in what follows, this supreme human τέκτων
may be the 'missing link' between the city of Athens and the capacity of producing
moving things. Then let us turn to Daedalus' skills.

9.7 ἀπ᾽ Ἀθανᾶν τέκτων

From his very first appearance in Greek literature, Daedalus seems to be associated
with movement. Although he is only named once in the Homeric poems, within the
Shield *ekphrasis* of the *Iliad*, he is associated with a 'moving' dance scene:

> *Iliad* 18.590–594, 599–602
> **ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε** περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,
> τῷ **ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ**
> **Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.**
> ἔνθα μὲν ἠίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
> ὠρχεῦντ᾽, ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες. [...]
> οἳ δ᾽ ὁτὲ μὲν θρέξασκον ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσι
> ῥεῖα μάλ᾽, ὡς ὅτε τις τροχὸν ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσιν
> ἑζόμενος κεραμεὺς πειρήσεται, αἴ κε θέῃσιν·
> ἄλλοτε δ᾽ αὖ θρέξασκον ἐπὶ στίχας ἀλλήλοισι

> Therein furthermore the famed god of the two strong arms cunningly **wrought a *khorós* like
> unto that which in wide Cnossus Daedalus fashioned of old for fair-tressed Ariadne.**
> There were youths dancing and maidens, who produce cattle, holding their hands upon the
> wrists one of the other. [...] Now would they run round with cunning feet exceeding lightly, as

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47 Nicholson (2005), 135–190.

48 On Daedalus see Overbeck (1959) as well as the seminal study of Frontisi-Ducroux (1975). See
also Morris (1992), and Federico (2019). Δαίδαλος is a *nomen loquens* connected with δαιδάλλω 'to
decorate', δαιδαλέος 'wrought'. On the Athenian clan of the Daedalids and their tie with Daedalus,
see Pherec. 15 (= *Schol.* [LRM] *Soph. OC* 472 [= 1.29 de Marco] ἀνδρὸς εὔχειρος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαίδαλον ἡ
ἀναφορὰ περὶ οὗ Φερεκύδης φησὶν οὕτω, Μητίονι δὲ τῷ Ἐρεχθέως καὶ Ἰφινόῃ γίνεται Δαίδαλος ἀφ᾽
οὗ ὁ δῆμος καλεῖται Δαιδαλίδαι Ἀθήνησι, see also Diod. Sic. 4.76.7.4, Herodianus *De pros. cath.* 3.1
68.2, Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 4.6.1 ff., Phot. δ 10). Since the suffix -ίδης, -ίδαι often builds collective names
that are "characteristic of professional groups or of those who perform some traditional role in
ceremonies" (West [1999], 373), one may imagine that the Daedalids were a professional group of
sculptors that derived its name from Daedalus. For the association between Athens and monumen-
tality in Pind. *Pyth.* 7.1–4 see Loscalzo (2003), 130–131.

when a potter sits by his wheel that is fitted between his hands and makes trial of it whether it will run; and now again would they run in rows toward each other.[49]

Since antiquity the dance performed by the youths and maidens at 593 ff. has been identified as the *geranos* dance, "which the youths of Athens, led by Theseus, staged around the altar of Delos on their return journey from Crete after abducting Ariadne," (D'Acunto [2016], 208).[50] According to Plutarch (*Vit. Thes.* 21.1–2), the *geranos* dance imitated the "circling passages in the Labyrinth" (μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην).[51] The dance was thus connected with one of Daedalus' creations. But we do not clearly recover a link between the dance and the Labyrinth or other inventions by Daedalus from the Homeric verses.

The interpretation of χορόν ... ἤσκησεν at 590–592 was already a subject of discussion for ancient scholars and commentators. According to *Schol. Il.* 18.590b, χορός means 'dancing-place', as made evident by the use of ἔνθα ... ὠρχεῦντ᾽(ο) (593–594, "there, i.e. in the dancing-space, they danced").[52] Consequently, Warren (1984) proposes to connect the χορός of Daedalus to three circular platforms found in Cnossus (dating from soon after 1400 BCE), which he identifies as dancing floors.[53] According to others, the term denotes the "disposition of the dancers,"

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49 The dance is the final 'human' scene engraved on the shield. As Bierl/Latacz/Stoevesand/Coray (2016) point out, it reprises the first scene described by the poet, i.e. the wedding scene, which features references to singing and dancing (494 ff.). O'Donald (2019), 23–26 discusses the iconicity of the passage.

50 See *Schol. Il.* 18.591 E.

51 On the crane dance in Greece and elsewhere see Armstrong (1943), on the *geranos* dance see Lawler (1946), Frontisi-Ducroux (1975), Detienne (1989), 20 ff., Calame (1996), 241–242. As Menichetti (2006), 13–14 points out, it is likely that the dance had an initiatory character. Coldstream (1968), Langdon (2008), 177–178, D'Acunto (2013), 113–121, and (2016), 209–211 compared the dance to the iconography found on the frieze of an oinochoe from the British Museum dated to the mid-8th c. BCE (inv. 1849,0518.18). A further renowned iconographic comparandum is the François Vase (on which see Torelli [2007], 19–24, 88–91, Hedreen [2011], Shapiro/Iozzo/Lezzi [2013], 10–15).

52 *Schol. Il.* 18.590b E χορόν· τὸν πρὸς χορείαν τόπον. δῆλον δὲ κἀκ τοῦ ἐπιφερομένου "ἔνθα μὲν ἤϊθεοι ‖ ὠρχεῦντο" (*Schol. Il.* 18.593–595), δηλονότι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, followed, among others, by Marg (1957), 42, fn. 50, Elliger (1975), 33, fn. 8, Kirk/Edwards (1991), 228–229, Becker (1995), 143, Grandolini (1996), 65, D'Acunto (2010), 190, and Cerri (2010).

53 As Warren (1984), 318–319 and others (Lonsdale [1995], Lefèvre-Novaro [2001], Poursat [2008], 225) point out, clay figures found at Palaekastro and Kamilari (Late Minoan III) are shaped as small groups of dancers accompanied by a lyre-player.

i.e. a choreography allegedly invented by Daedalus.[54] For this reason, and since 593 ff. portray a dance, Schadewaldt (1938), 484–485 opts for rendering χορός as 'dance'[55] and Power (2011), 81 suggests that ἔνθα … ὀρχεῦντ᾽(ο) (593–594) indicates the place of the shield in which the χορός is represented.

On its part, χορός[56] is ambiguous enough to leave ample room for discussion: elsewhere in epic poetry, it means 'dance' (e.g. *Il.* 16.183+), 'dancing place' (as in *Od.* 8.260) or both things at once (e.g. *Il.* 3.393–394).[57] The verb ἀσκέω (*Il.* 18.592) means 'to craft with art, build, adorn' (LfgrE s.v.); therefore, it might apply to the creation of a space for the dance or, alternatively, to its decoration. However, as Steiner (2021), 62 remarks, "ἀσκέω, recurs later in another choral context: in Pindar's fr. 94b.71–72, one Andaisistrota 'equips' (ἐπάσκησε) or decks out the girl who heads the line of parthenaic choristers setting out to dance in the Theban Daphnephoria."

Schol. Il. 18.590c suggests that the passage refers to Daedalus' decorating the Cnossian dancing-space with a circular positioning of statues and columns.[58] This line of interpretation finds support in Pausanias:

> Paus. 9.40.3
> παρὰ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀριάδνης χορός, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, ἐπειρ-γασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου

> At which latter place is also Ariadne's dance, mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*, carved on white marble.[59]

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54 According to *Schol. Il.* 18.591–592b E, the "innovation" included in the Iliadic scene consists in having youths and maidens dancing together: ἄμεινον δὲ ἐκεῖνο φάσκειν ὅτι πρῴην διακεχωρι-σμένως χορευόντων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν πρῶτοι οἱ μετὰ Θησέως σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἤιθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀναμὶξ ἐχόρευσαν· ὅπερ μόνον ὁ θεὸς ἐμιμήσατο, οὐ τὸ κάλλος οὐδὲ τὴν τέχνην Δαιδάλου. ἴσως δὲ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ ποιητὴς μιμεῖσθαι τὰ χρηστά, εἰ καὶ ἐξ εὐτελῶν εἶεν.
55 See also Fittschen (1973), 15–16, Simon (1995), 131–132 and Calame (2001), 56–57: "chorus."
56 On the etymology see Chantraine DELG s.v. A possible etymological connection between χορός and χῶρος (*Il.* 23.189, *Od.* 9.181+, *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 244, 358, 413, 521, *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 394, Sappho 2.6 LP) is proposed by Dickmann Boedeker (1974), 85–91.
57 See Markwald in LfgrE s.v., who also collects a series of instances that he classifies as seman-tically 'uncertain'. The term is judged as ambiguous by Frontisi-Ducroux (1975), 136–137, Morris (1992), 14–15, Becker (1995), 143, Postelthwaite (1998), 94–95, Cavallero (2003), 192–196.
58 *Schol. Il.* 18.590c ἄλλως· ποίκιλλε· ἐν ποικιλίᾳ εἰργάζετο, οἷον κίονάς τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας τῷ τόπῳ προ<σ>κοσμήσας ἐν κύκλῳ. ἢ ὅτι ἐξ ἀρσένων καὶ θηλειῶν ἦν. It is tantalising to connect such a description with the iconography of the Caryatids, a group of six maidens supporting the Erech-theum, who evoke the imminent beginning of a choral performance, see Power (2011), 75–76. As Bowie (2011), 51–52 points out, the Caryatids were originally connected with the cult of Artemis Carya, who, as Lefkowitz (1996) suggests, was venerated through dance.
59 Pausanias describes a marble relief, however Robertson (1984), 207 argued that Daedalus' ani-mated chorus was featured in a story represented on the now lost South metope of the Parthenon.

That Daedalus' invention is a relief may be suggested by the expression ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου "on white marble." However, Pausanias mentions elsewhere that Daedalus made statues (ἀγάλματα) for Minos and his daughters "as shown by Homer":

> Paus. 7.4.5
> ἀγάλματα Μίνῳ καὶ τοῦ Μίνω ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐποίησε, καθότι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι ἐδήλωσε.
>
> He made statues for Minos and the daughters of Minos, as Homer showed in the *Iliad*.

The only passage by Homer mentioning Daedalus is *Iliad* 18.592 (see above). So, Pausanias probably imagined the χορός as decorated with a choreography of Daedaleia. As Frontisi-Ducroux (1975), 135–137 points out, the creation of an 'animated chorus' by Daedalus is further alluded to by Callistratus (*Statuaram Descriptiones* 2.3 καὶ χορὸν ἤσκησε κινούμενον Δαίδαλος "and Daedalus made a chorus moving").[60]

In this scenario, Hephaestus reproduces on the shield a *dance* similar to the one choreographed by Daedalus' statues in Cnossus' dancing place. It is possible to imagine that statues sculpted by Daedalus looked like they were performing a choreography or that they moved. Several ancient sources recount that Daedalus was able to produce ἔμψυχα ἔργα, i.e. statues endowed with sense, voice, and enough strength to move, take, e.g.[61]

> Pl. *Meno* 97d
> ΣΩ. Ὅτι τοῖς **Δαιδάλου ἀγάλμασιν** οὐ προσέσχηκας τὸν νοῦν [...]
> ΜΕΝ. Πρὸς τί δὲ δὴ τοῦτο λέγεις;
> ΣΩ. Ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα, **ἐὰν μὲν μὴ δεδεμένα ᾖ, ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ δραπετεύει**, ἐὰν δὲ δεδεμένα, παραμένει
>
> Socrates: "It is because you have not observed with attention **the statues of Daedalus**." [...]
> Meno: "What is the point of your remark?"
> Socrates: "**That if they are not fastened up they play truant and run away**; but, if fastened, they stay where they are."

Euripides' satyr play *Eurystheus* refers to the Daedaleia as 'seeming to move and look', while Diodorus Siculus provides lengthier explanation on the features that made the Daedaleia 'simulate' movement:

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60 See also Lucian *The Dance (of Pantomime)* 13 (ἀσκέω), Philostr. *Imag.* 10 (verb δίδωμι).
61 Aesch. *TrGF* 78a.6–7, Crat. fr. 74.4–5 KA (ἀλλὰ χαλκοῦς ὢν ἀπέδρα. πότερα Δαιδάλειος ἦν; ‖ ἤ τις ἔκλεψεν αὐτόν; "but, though being brazen, he ran off. Was it made by Daedalus or did somebody steal it?"), Plato Com. fr. 188 KA, Paus. 2.4.5, *Schol. Ol.* 7.95, Pl. *Euthphr.* 15b.1b, Arist. *Pol.* 1253b, Arist. *De an.* 406b.18–19.

Eur. *TrGF* 372.2–3 (*Schol. Eur*. *Hec*. 838 S [1, 67, 4])
τὰ Δαιδάλεια πάντα κινεῖσθαι δοκεῖ
βλέπει‹ν› τ' ἀγάλμαθ'· ὧδ' ἀνὴρ κεῖνος σοφός

All Daedalus' statues seem to move and look: that's how talented that man was.

Diod. Sic. 4.76
Δαίδαλος ἦν τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀθηναῖος, εἷς τῶν Ἐρεχθειδῶν ὀνομαζόμενος· ἦν γὰρ υἱὸς Μητίονος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως· [...] κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευὴν τοσοῦτο τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκεν ὥστε τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους **μυθολογῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ διότι τὰ κατασκευαζόμενα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ὁμοιότατα τοῖς ἐμψύχοις ὑπάρχει· βλέπειν τε γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ περιπατεῖν**, καὶ καθόλου τηρεῖν τὴν τοῦ ὅλου σώματος διάθεσιν, **ὥστε δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἔμψυχον ζῷον**. πρῶτος δ' ὀμματώσας καὶ διαβεβηκότα τὰ σκέλη ποιήσας, ἔτι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας διατεταμένας ποιῶν, εἰκότως ἐθαυμάζετο παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οἱ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου τεχνῖται κατεσκεύαζον τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῖς μὲν ὄμμασι μεμυκότα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔχοντα καθειμένας καὶ ταῖς πλευραῖς κεκολλημένας.

Daedalus was an Athenian by birth and was known as one of the clan named Erechthids, since he was the son of Metion, the son of Eupalamus, the son of Erechtheus. [...] In the carving of his statues he so far excelled all other men that later generations **invented the story about him that the statues of his making were quite like their living models; they could see, they said, and walk** and, in a word, preserved so well the characteristics of the entire body that the beholder **thought that the image made by him was a being endowed with life**. And since he was the first to represent open eyes and to fashion the legs separated in a stride and the arms and hands as extended, it was a natural thing that he should have received the admiration of mankind; for the artists before his time had carved their statues with the eyes closed and the arms and hands hanging and attached to the sides.

If Daedalus was believed to have decorated Cnossus' χορός with 'a choreography' of statues of youths and maidens that could move (or, actually, that looked like they could move), this would explain why the chorus engraved by Hephaestus on the shield is similar to that Daedalus once equipped/decorated for Ariadne (τῷ ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ ‖ Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν, *Il*. 18.591–592): youths and maidens perform a dance that reproduces the choreography of the *Daedaleia*, which, as Plutarch tells us, was, in turn, reproduced by *real* Athenian youths and maidens in Delos.

From this short discussion we have learnt that, be this the right interpretation for *Il*. 18.590–592 or not, Athenian Daedalus is associated with the notion of producing creatures that moved and, so to say, had their own life and voice. For this reason, I support Steiner's (1993) interpretation that *Nem*. 5.49 (χρὴ ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον' ἀεθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν) conceals a reference to the quintessential Athenian τέκτων, Daedalus, the only mortal able to make talking and walking statues. In this way, it is possible to recover a link between the work of σοφοί like Pindar, who are able to fashion travelling, resounding odes, that of Pytheas' Athenian trainer, Menander, who made his trainee move efficiently, and that of the 'Athenian τέκτων' Daedalus

who, just like Hephaestus, is a paradigm and term of comparison for all artists: fashioners of solid materials and poets.[62]

9.8 Not Any Metaphor

In this chapter, I have tried to show that a set of associations underlies the τέκτων-metaphor of *Nem.* 5.49:
- the reference to the "necessity" of having a τέκτων from Athens, beside obviously referring to the geographical provenance of Menander, Pytheas' trainer, is likely to allude to the figure of Daedalus, the legendary Athenian τέκτων, who, just like the divine smith Hephaestus, was credited with the fashioning of statues that could talk and move.
- Trainers and τέκτονες are said to share the capacity of shaping their raw materials: athletes, wood, stone or bronze. In addition, the analysis of passages that describe combat athletes on the move confirms that the sports championed by Lampon's sons involved a variety of rapid movements. For this reason, Pindar occasionally represents the athletes as vehicles that are guided by their trainers. Before, I had pointed out how the metaphor of the body as a vehicle (often a chariot) underlies a series of lexical items in Greek and Old Indic. My analysis now shows that the same metaphor of the body as a vehicle underlies Pindaric passages in which trainers are said to be the 'charioteers' or 'oarsmen' of their trainees.
- Finally, since Pindar elsewhere applies the τέκτων-metaphor to poets and performers, and since 'movement and voice' are among the main themes of *Nemean Five*, the employment of the metaphor at 49 contributes towards polarising 'fashioners of movement' against stasis and silence.

Building on this set of interconnected τέκτων-metaphors, I now move on to the analysis of the capacities of Vedic ritual fashioners, the R̥bhus, who were a term of comparison for the work of the healer in AVŚ and AVP (Chapter 5, Section 6).

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62 As underlined by Fearn (2017), 261 in connection with Bacchyl. fr. 26 (quoted in Section 6), "Daedalus provides a paradigm for the role of the lyric narrator and the effect of lyric narrative on audiences."

10 Like a R̥bhu

nānānáṃ vá u no dhíyo , ví vratáni jánānaam
tákṣā riṣṭáṃ rutám bhiṣág , brahmā́ sunvántam ichati
Truly our thoughts are various,
and the obligations of peoples are different:
a carpenter seeks the broken, a healer the injured,
a formulator a man who presses soma.
RV 9.112.1ad

τίς γὰρ ἀοιδός, τίς ὁ χειροτέχνας
ἰατορίας, ὃς τάνδ᾿ ἄταν
χωρὶς Ζηνὸς κατακηλήσει;
Who is the enchanter,
who the practiced healer,
save Zeus alone, who will charm
this catastrophe away?
Soph. *Tr*. 1001–1003

10.1 Carvers and Fashioners of the *Rigveda*

AVŚ 4.12.6
sá út tiṣṭha préhi prá drava
ráthaḥ sucakráḥ *supavíḥ sunábhiḥ*
práti tiṣṭhordhváḥ

Stand up, go forth, run forth. **(Your) chariot has good wheels**, good felloes, good naves. Stand upright!

AVŚ 4.12.7
yádi kartáṃ patitvā́ saṃśaśré
yádi vā́śmā práhr̥to jaghā́na
r̥bhū́ ráthasyevā́ṅgāni
sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ

If he was hurt, having fallen in a pit or if a hurled rock has struck [him, then] may [Dhātar, the healer] unite the limbs, joint with joint, **as R̥bhu the parts of a chariot**.

AVP 4.15.6 (only AVP ◊ b+d: cf. AVŚ 4.12.7a+cd)
yadi vajro visr̥ṣṭas tᵤvā̄ᵣa
*kāṭaṃ patitvā yadi vā viriṣṭam
vr̥kṣād vā yad avasad daśaśīrṣa
⁺**r̥bhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi** *te paruḥ*

> If a vajra that has been hurled has hit you, or if there is an injury due to falling into a well (?), or one that is there [due to falling] from a tree: the ten-headed one shall remove [it]. **I put together your joint as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot**.

In Chapter 5, Section 6 I quoted these three Atharvavedic passages to show how the work of a healer was compared to that of a Ṛbhu, i.e. a skilled craftsman who fashions the patient's body parts anew like the parts of a chariot. This chapter now pivots around the figures of the Ṛbhus (Skr. *Ṛbhávaḥ*, nom. pl.) and the phraseology applying to these characters. The Ṛbhus are a group of three deities, named Vāja, Vibhvan and Ṛbhu or Ṛbhukṣan (lit. 'Master of the Ṛbhus'), who, together with Tvaṣṭar, are the divine craftsmen of the *Rigveda*. Since they are not the only fashioner gods of the Vedic pantheon, I shall start by explaining how they resemble and differ from Tvaṣṭar, the Carver god, and later move on to the analysis of selected hymns dedicated to the Ṛbhus, including one that features a *takṣ*-composition.

10.1.1 Tvaṣṭar

Vedic *Tváṣṭar*- is a *nomen loquens* that can be traced back to IE **tu̯erk̑*- 'to carve' (LIV[2] 656),[1] which lies at the basis of Av. *θβōrəštar*- 'fashioner', as well as Gk. σάρξ 'flesh' (Aeol. and Dor. σύρξ 'flesh', as *per* Schindler [1972], 34), and ON *dvergr* 'dwarf'.[2]

Tvaṣṭar seems to be associated with the idea of primordiality, fertility, and impulse to movement. Indra is said to know all beings or rule over many forms like Tvaṣṭar (sc. does) (*tváṣṭeva víśvā bhúvanāni vidvā́n*, RV 4.42.3c, *bhū́ri tvā́ṣṭehá rājati*, RV 6.47.19b). Tvaṣṭar is also said to be the 'foremost' (*agriyá-*, RV 1.13.10a), the 'the first born' (*agrajā́-*, RV 9.5.9a), and the one 'who journeys in advance' (*puroyā́van-*, RV 9.5.9b). Progenitor of the entire human race through his daughter Saraṇyū (RV 10.17.1–2),[3] he begot Agni (RV 10.2.7b, 46.9ab, compare also RV 1.95.2a, 5c, and RV 3.7.4a [Agni is *Tvāṣṭrá-* 'son of Tvaṣṭar']) and Bṛhaspati (RV 2.23.17b), and is the father-in-law of Vāyu (RV 8.26.21ab, 22ab). Some passages also seem to refer to Tvaṣṭar as pre-existing Indra (RV 3.48.4c) or as the father that Indra overpow-

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1 On the root see also Lubotsky (1994).
2 Ginevra (2020), 129–133.
3 On the episode of Saraṇyū see Jackson [Rova] (2006), who proposes a comparison between Saraṇyū and Helen.

ers (RV 4.18.12).[4] Elsewhere, Indra or Trita defeats his three-headed son Viśvarūpa *Tvāṣṭrá-* (lit. 'Omniform, son of Tvaṣṭar', see also RV 2.11.19c, 10.8.8–9).

A prolific god (RV 3.55.19ab *devás tváṣṭā savitá viśvárūpaḥ* , *pupóṣa prajáḥ purudhá jajāna* "God Tvaṣṭar, the impeller providing all forms, flourishes; he has begotten offspring in great quantity"), Tvaṣṭar shapes all human and animal beings. This action is described through Ved. *añj* 'to anoint' (RV 1.188.9ab *tváṣṭā rūpáṇi hí prabhúḥ* , *paśún víśvān samānajé* "because preeminent Tvaṣṭar anointed all the beasts [with] their forms"), *peś* 'to carve' (*rūpaíḥ ápiṃśat bhúvanāni víśvā*, RV 10.110.9b, compare also RV 10.184.1b, the so-called 'Pregnancy Hymn') *kar* 'to make' (RV 10.10.5ab *gárbhe nú nau janitá dámpatī kar* , *devás tváṣṭā* "in the womb the god Tvaṣṭar, the Begetter made us two a married couple"), and *takṣ* 'to fashion' (RV 8.102.8b *tváṣṭā rūpéva tákṣiyā* "as Tvaṣṭar is at hand for the forms to be crafted"). He also presides over generation (e.g. RV 1.142.10+),[5] i.e. the shaping of babies in their mothers' wombs, and is invoked to provide offspring to worshippers.

Not only is Tvaṣṭar's fertility often visualised as some kind of 'shaping', but he is also credited with the construction of prominent mythical and ritual objects. He fashioned (Ved. *takṣ*) Indra's *vájra-* 'mace and/or thunderbolt'[6] (e.g. *tváṣṭāsmai vájraṃ svar‿yàṃ tatakṣa* "for him Tvaṣṭar had fashioned the resounding [/sunlike] mace," RV 1.32.2b+)[7] or turned (Ved. *vart*) it with a thousand spikes (*tváṣṭā yád vájraṃ súkṛtaṃ hiraṇyáyaṃ* , *sahásrabhṛṣṭiṃ s‿vápā ávartayat* "when Tvaṣṭar the good craftsman had turned the well-made golden mace with its thousand spikes," RV 1.85.9ab).[8]

The creativity of Tvaṣṭar is further underscored by his attributes and epithets. He sharpens a hatchet of good metal (*śíśīte nūnám paraśúṃ s‿vāyasám*, RV 10.53.9c), is *supāṇí-* 'of lovely palms' (RV 3.54.12a, 6.49.9b, 7.34.20b), *sugábhasti-* 'of lovely hands' (RV 6.49.9b), *sukṛ́t-* 'of good action' (RV 3.54.12a), *apásām apástamaḥ* 'the best worker of workers' (RV 10.53.9a). He is associated with the R̥bhus (RV 3.54.12,

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4 In RV 1.80.14 Tvaṣṭar is said to tremble in front of Indra; in RV 10.48.3 (*ātmastuti* 'Self-praise' of Indra) Ved. *takṣ*, which typically denotes Tvaṣṭar's activities, applies to both the vajra produced by Tvaṣṭar and Indra himself (3a *máhyaṃ tváṣṭā vájram atakṣad āyasám* "for me Tvaṣṭar fashioned the metal mace"; *té mā bhadrấya śávase tatakṣuḥ* "For auspicious power they have fashioned me," 11c). Although the verb applies to the gods (e.g. RV 10.48.11ab), a reference to the tradition about Tvaṣṭar being Indra's father might be implicit.

5 Compare also RV 2.3.9, 3.4.9 = 7.2.9.

6 On the etymology of Ved. *vájra-* (= Av. *vazra-*) see Watkins (1986) and (1995), 411–413, who reconstructs *ṷagro- as underlying the Vedic and the Avestan form and the SCM °αγής of ἀαγής 'unbroken' (*Od.* 11.575+).

7 RV 1.52.7cd, 61.6a, 5.31.4b, 10.48.3a.

8 RV 6.17.10ab.

10.64.10, 10.92.11c) and also once called *ŕbhva-* 'a skilful worker' (RV 6.49.9b), the form *ŕbhva-* reflecting a thematic derivative of *ṛbhú-*.

Just like the best Greek τέκτονες, Tvaṣṭar seems to be associated with the notion of 'movement'. He is called *savitár-* 'impeller' (RV 3.55.19a = 10.10.5b), he speeds horses (*abhipríyaṃ yát puroḷā́śam árvatā , tváṣṭéd enaṃ sauśravasā́ya jinvati* "when [they lead the goat] as the pleasing fore-offering along with the steed, it is Tvaṣṭar himself who stimulates him for [the deed] that brings good fame," RV 1.162.3), and chariots (*tvā́ṣṭā gnā́bhiḥ sajóṣā jūjuvad rátham* "and this god, the conqueror of the world, Tvaṣṭar, in concert with the Wives [of the Gods], will speed the chariot," RV 2.31.4b).[9]

10.1.2 The Ṛbhus

Vedic *Ṛbhú-* has long been connected to IE *$*h_3erb^h$-* 'to turn, change the side',[10] which underlies Hitt. *ḫarp(p)-ᵐⁱ* 'to change the side',[11] Lat. *orbis* and TB (and TA) *yerpe* 'disk', but also Modern German *Erbe* 'inheritance', *Arbeit* 'work', Old Church Slavonic *rabъ* 'slave',[12] and Greek Ὀρφεύς (see Section 6).

Like Tvaṣṭar the Ṛbhus are said to be 'workers' (*apásaḥ*, RV 4.33.1d), 'of good help, good work and good hands' (*sᵤvávasaḥ sᵤvápaso suhástāḥ* RV 4.33.8d),[13] are associated with the notion of 'good work' (*sukṛtyá-*, RV 1.20.8b; *svapasyā́-*, RV 1.110.8c, see also RV 4.35.9b)[14] or 'know how' (*vidmanā́pas-*, RV 1.111.1a); they are 'clever' (*dhī́rāsaḥ*, RV 4.33.2d), and 'toil with labour, with surpassing skill' (*viṣṭvī́ śámī taraṇitvéna*, RV 1.110.4a). They operate "with attentiveness, industry, and wondrous skills" (*páriviṣṭī veṣáṇā daṃsánābhiḥ*, RV 4.33.2b), have accomplished miracles by means of their 'ability' (*śácī-*, RV 4.35.5ac), operate 'with obedience' (*śruṣṭī́*, RV 4.36.4d), and are inspired to 'resolve and skill' (*krátve dákṣāya*, RV 4.37.2d).

Their descriptions are vague: they have the sun as their eye (*sū́racakṣas-*, RV 1.110.4c), possess a cart (RV 1.161.7, 4.37.4), drawn by steeds (RV 7.48.1), which are also said to be made 'of fat' (*pī́voaśva-*, RV 4.37.4a); they have lips of bronze and wear fine ornaments (*áyaḥśiprā ... suniṣkā́ḥ*, RV 4.37.4b).

While Tvaṣṭar, as a creator god, is often referred to as the 'father' of some divine beings, the Ṛbhus are called 'sons', 'grandsons' or companions of differ-

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9 According to Macdonell (1897), 117, the association between Tvaṣṭar and the Wives of the gods (RV 1.22.9, 2.36.3d, 6.50.13c, 7.34.20, 22, 35.6, 10.18.6, 64.10b, 66.3d) relies upon his connection to fertility.
10 Kümmel (2016), 44.
11 Melchert (2010).
12 Weiss (2006).
13 RV 7.35.12c *sukŕtaḥ suhástāḥ*.
14 *sukṛtyá-* also occurs in RV 4.35.2c, 8a; *svapasyā́-* is also found in RV 1.161.11b, 4.35.9b.

ent characters and gods. They are once said to have Agni as brother (RV 1.161.1–3) and the expression 'the sons of the Ṛbhus' (*sūnáva ṛbhūṇā́m*) might be a kenning for 'flames' in RV 10.176.1a. Moreover, they receive the patronymic *Saudhanvaná-* 'son(s) of Sudhanvan' (i.e. 'sons of the good archer').[15] Although *sudhánvan-* occurs as an epithet of Rudra (RV 5.42.11a)[16] and the Maruts (RV 5.57.2b), in the *Rigveda* the Ṛbhus are not treated as sons of these gods. Conversely, they seem "not to be regarded as having the divine nature fully and originally" (Macdonell [1897], 131). Indeed, we learn from several hymns that they were the mortal (*mártāsaḥ sántaḥ*, RV 1.110.4b) children of Manu (i.e. men), but achieved the friendship of Indra and/or the gods, i.e. the status of gods, thanks to five major accomplishments:

> RV 3.60.3
> **índrasya sakhyám ṛbhávaḥ sám ānaśur**
> *mánor nápāto apáso dadhanvire*
> *saudhanvanā́so amṛtatvám érire*
> *viṣṭvī́ śámībhiḥ sukṛ́taḥ sukṛtyáyā*
>
> **The Ṛbhus attained the companionship of Indra**. The artisans, the children of Manu, raced. The sons of Sudhanvan **rose to immortality** by applying themselves to their labours, ritually acting well by good ritual action.[17]

10.2 Fashioners at Work

As a short hymn to the gods by Medhātithi Kāṇva (8 gāyatrī-stanzas), *Rigveda* 1.20, makes evident, five accomplishments led to the Ṛbhus becoming immortal:[18] the

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15 RV 1.110.2c, 4c, 8c, 161.2c, 7c, 8c, 3.60.1d, 3c, 4d, 5d, 4.35.1b, 8d.

16 A reference to the Ṛbhus may be implicit in RV 5.42.12.

17 The Ṛbhus are said to have become companions of Indra in RV 4.35.7–9; the gods are associated in RV 1.110.9b, 3.60, 4.33.3c, 34.1a, 35.1, 9, 37.5, 6, 7.48.3c, 8.93.34. A Ṛbhu is said to be 'like a new Indra' (*ṛbhúr na índraḥ śávasā návīyān*) in RV 1.110.7a. They are also said to be 'sons of Indra and children of strength' (*índrasya sūno śavaso napātáḥ*, RV 4.37.4c), and are invited to drink the soma with Indra and the Maruts in RV 1.20.5. Other gods or characters are occasionally named Ṛbhukṣan 'chief of the Ṛbhus': Indra (RV 1.111.4a), Trita (RV 2.31.6c); the same term applies to the Maruts (RV 8.7.12+). In RV 4.33.9 each Ṛbhu is 'assigned' to a different god/group of gods (the gods, Indra, and Varuṇa); in RV 4.34.7 they are associated with Indra, Varuṇa and the Maruts, in RV 4.34.8 with the Ādityas and Savitar, in 4.34.11 with Indra and the Maruts; they are invoked together with Indra and the Nāsatyas in RV 4.37.8.

18 A series of expressions apply to the Ṛbhus changing their status: they are said to become recipients of the sacrifice (*sākám devaíḥ yajñíyāsaḥ bhaviṣyatha*, RV 1.161.2d) obtain (*naś*), go to or take (*bhaj*) a share (*bhāgá-*) of the sacrifice (*yajñíya-* RV 1.20.2c, 8bc, compare also RV 1.161.6, 3.60.1d); they are invited to satiate themselves with soma (RV 1.110.1d); they (win) as a prize to ascend to

creation of Indra's fallow bay horses (2ab), the building of the chariot of the Aśvins (3ab), the milking (?) of a cow (3c), the rejuvenation of their parents (4), and the multiplication of a cup which belonged to the carver-god Tvaṣṭar (6), e.g.

1	*ayáṃ devā́ya jánmane* *stómo vírprebhir āsayā́* *ákāri ratnadhā́tamaḥ*	This praise here has been made for the godly breed by the inspired poets by mouth – a praise that best confers treasures.
2	*yá índrāya vacoyújā* *tatakṣúr mánasā hárī* *śámībhir yajñám āśata*	Those who fashioned for Indra with mind the two fallow bays yoked by speech, they attained the sacrifice through their labours.
3	*tákṣan nā́sat ̥yābhiyām* *párijmānaṃ sukhám rátham* *tákṣan dhenúm sabardúghām*	They fashioned for the Nāsatyas an earth-circling, well-naved chariot; they fashioned a juice-yielding milk-cow.
4	*yúvānā pitárā púnaḥ* *satyámantrā ṛjūyávaḥ* *ṛbhávo viṣṭ ̥y àkrata*	They whose mantras come true, who aim straight – the Ṛbhus – made their parents young again through their toil.
5	*sáṃ vo mádāso agmat ̥ₐ* *ndreṇa ca marútvatā* *ādityébhiś ca rā́jabhiḥ*	Your exhilarating drinks have united with Indra accompanied by the Maruts and with the kingly Ādityas.
6	*utá tyáṃ camasáṃ návaṃ* *tváṣṭur devásya níṣkṛtam* *ákarta catúraḥ púnaḥ*	And this beaker of the god Tvaṣṭar new produced you made again into four.
7	*té no rátnāni dhattana* *trír ā́ sáptāni sunvaté* *ékam-ekaṃ suśastíbhiḥ*	On us, on the soma-presser confer treasures, three times seven, one after the other, for good lauds.
8	*ádhārayanta váhnayó* *ₐ'bhajanta sukṛtyáyā* *bhāgám devéṣu yajñíyam*	The conveyors secured and by their good work shared in the sacrificial share among the gods.[19]

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heaven (RV 1.110.6d); they achieve immortality (Ved. *amṛtatvám naś*, RV 4.33.4d, 36.4c), they attain divinity (RV 3.60.2d), they come to the companionship of the gods (RV 4.33.2c); they settle in heaven like falcons (RV 4.35.8b) and become immortal (RV 4.35.8d); their greatness is proclaimed among the gods (RV 4.36.3b); they establish a sacrifice for themselves among the clans of Manu (RV 4.37.1).
19 It is possible to identify a series of lexical repetitions in the hymn. Stanzas 1 and 2 correlate with 7 and 8 as the following pairs make evident: [GOD]: *devā́ya* (1a) : *devásya* (6b) : *devéṣu* (8c); [CONFER TREASURE]: *ratnadhā́tamaḥ* (1c) : *rátnāni dhattana* (7a); [SACRIFICE]: *yajñám* (2c) : *yajñíyam* (8c). Note also the repetition *índrāya* (2a) : *índreṇa* (5b), between the incipit and a middle position.

The hymn also offers a good example of how metaphors found in the hymns to the Ṛbhus reprise the lexicon of the endeavours that contributed to their achieving immortality: at 1, the poet claims that "this praise here has been made by the inspired poets by mouth" and that it "confers treasures." The verb *kar* (*ákāri* 'has been made') later on applies to the deeds of the Ṛbhus. At the same time, the praise 'confers treasures' (*ratnadhā́tamaḥ*, superl. masc. sg.) and the gods are invited to do the same by the end of the hymn (*rátnāni dhattana*, 7a). Finally, the praise is 'fashioned by poets' mouths' and seems to parallel the truthful words of the Ṛbhus *satyámantrā* (4b) 'whose mantra come true'.

The hymn also shows how the verbs *kar* 'to make' and *takṣ* 'to fashion' are most often employed to describe the Ṛbhus' activities in the *Rigveda*. The entire distribution of the verbs applying to the five miracles of the Ṛbhus is recapitulated in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Verbs for the endeavours of the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda*

	Indra's horses	Aśvins' chariot	cow	parents	cups
kar 'to make', cf. also *ví-kar* 'to divide'	RV 1.161.3b, 4.33.10ab	RV 1.161.3b, 4.33.8a, 36.2a	RV 1.161.3c, 4.33.8ab	RV 1.20.4, 110.8d, 161.3c, 7b, 4.33.2ab, 3ab, 35.5a	RV 1.20.6, 110.3, 161.2a, 4, 4.33.5, 6, 35.2, 3a, 4b, 5b, 36.4a
áram kar 'to make right'				RV 4.33.2a	
(ní-)takṣ 'to fashion'	RV 1.20.2ab, 111.1b, 161.7c, 3.60.2c, 4.34.9b, 35.5c	RV 1.20.3ab, 111.1a, (4.34.9)	RV 1.20.3c, 4.34.9b	RV 1.111.1c, 4.34.9a, 36.3cd	
(ní-)peś 'to carve (out)'			RV 1.110.8a, 4.33.4b (?)		RV 1.161.9d, 3.60.2a
(ní-)reṇ 'to flow'			RV 1.161.7a, 3.60.2b, 4.36.4b		
yoj 'to hitch'		RV 1.161.7d (?)			
(ví-)śak 'to cut (apart)'					RV 4.35.3b

10.3 *takṣ*-Proliferation

The use of Ved. *takṣ* in the hymns to the gods stands out: in more than one hymn, the verb is repeated in multiple, sometimes consecutive stanzas.[20] *Rigveda* 1.111, a short hymn to the Ṛbhus attributed to Kutsa Āṅgirasa, provides a good example of this phraseological phenomenon:

RV 1.111

1 ***tákṣan*** *rátham suvṛ́taṃ vidmanā́pasas*
   tákṣan *hárī indravā́hā vṛ́ṣaṇvasū*
   tákṣan *pitṛ́bhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyas*
   tákṣan *vatsáya mātáraṃ sacābhúvam*

They fashioned the smooth-rolling chariot, working with their know-how; **they fashioned** the two fallow bays that convey Indra and bring bullish goods. **They fashioned** – the Ṛbhus – for their parents youthful vigor; **they fashioned** for the calf a mother to stay by it.

2 *ā́ no yajñā́ya* ***takṣata*** *ṛbhumád váyaḥ*
   krátve dákṣāya suprajā́vatīm íṣam
   yáthā kṣáyāma sárvavīrayā viśā́
   tán naḥ śárdhāya dhāsathā s_uv índriyám

For our sacrifice **fashion** Ṛbhu-like vigor; for will, for skill (fashion) refreshment along with good offspring. So that we may dwell peacefully with a clan possessing hale heroes, you shall establish this Indrian strength for our troop.

3 *ā́* ***takṣata*** *sātím asmábhyam ṛbhavaḥ*
   sātím ráthāya sātím árvate naraḥ
   sātím no jaítrīṃ sám maheta viśváhā
   jāmím ájāmim pṛ́tanāsu sakṣáṇim

Fashion winning for us, O Ṛbhus, winning for our chariot, winning for our steed, O men. Might you bring to pass victorious winning for us always, conquering kin and non-kin in battles.

4 *ṛbhukṣáṇam índram ā́ huva ūtáya*
   ṛbhū́n vā́jān marútaḥ sómapītaye
   ubhā́ mitrā́váruṇā nūnám aśvínā
   té no hinvantu sātáye dhiyé jiṣé

Indra, master of the Ṛbhus, do I call upon for help, and the Ṛbhus, the Vājas, the Maruts for soma-drinking. Both Mitra and Varuṇa now and both the Aśvins – let them impel us to winning, to insight, to victory.

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20 Compare also RV 1.20.2–3, quoted in Section 2.

5   *ṛbhúr bhárāya sám śiśātu sātím*   Let Ṛbhu sharpen winning for the
    samaryajíd vájo asmáṁ aviṣṭu   taking; let Vāja, victorious in the
    tán no mitró váruṇo māmahantām   clash, help us. – This let Mitra and
    áditiḥ síndhuḥ pṛthivī́ utá dyaúḥ   Varuṇa grant to us, and Aditi, River,
                                          and Earth and Heaven.

The hymn opens by proclaiming the Ṛbhus' 'fashioning' achievements (*tákṣ*):[21] they fashioned a chariot, steeds, youthful vigour for their parents, and a cow. After this compact catalogue of creations, the focus shifts onto the things that the Ṛbhus can 'fashion' (*tákṣ*) for the worshipper. The poet-priest's requests seem to correlate with the Ṛbhus' achievements: at 1c, the gods fashioned youthful vigour for their parents (*tákṣan pitṛ́bhyām ... yúvad váyas*), at 2a they are invited to fashion a 'Ṛbhu-like vigour' for the worshippers' sacrifice (*ā́ no yajñā́ya takṣata ṛbhumád váyaḥ*); at 1ab they are said to have fashioned chariot and steeds for Indra and the Aśvins (*tákṣan rátham ... tákṣan hárī indravā́hā*), at 3b they are invited to fashion winning for both the chariot and the steed of the worshipper (*sātíṃ ráthāya sātím árvate naraḥ*). From stanza 3, the notions of [WINNING] and [VICTORY] expand throughout the hymn, as the repetitions of the term *sātí-* 'winning' and the lexeme *jay* 'to win' make evident (*sātím*, 3a, 3b, 3c; *sātáye*, 4d, *sātím*, 5a; *jaítrīm*, 3c, *jiṣé*, 4d, *samaryajít*, 5b).

The hymn is a good example of how, at a conceptual and phraseological level, the Ṛbhus came to be identified as the quintessential constructors of things. Consequently, their figures are a term of comparison for masters in any field, take, e.g.[22]

RV 6.3.8cd
śárdho *vā yó* **marút₍a₎aṃ tatákṣa**
ṛbhúr ná *tveṣó rabhasānó adyaut*

... Or who **fashioned the troop of Maruts like a Ṛbhu**, he, turbulent and wild, has flashed.

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21 Like in many other Rigvedic hymns, the divine name of the hymn dedicatees occurs in every stanza, in different cases or formations (polyptoton, on which see Klein [2000]): *ṛbhávaḥ*, nom. pl., 1c; *ṛbhumát*- 'Ṛbhu-like', ntr. sg., 2a; *ṛbhavaḥ*, voc. pl., 3a, *ṛbhukṣáṇam* 'Master of the Ṛbhus', acc. sg., 4a; *ṛbhū́n*, acc. pl., 4b; *ṛbhúḥ*, nom. sg., 5a.
22 On the Ṛbhus as craftsmen see Hillebrandt (1927–1929), I 522, MacDonell (1897), 131–134, Ryder (1901), Oldenberg (1917), 239–240, Keith (1925), 176–178, Kramrisch (1959), Gonda (1960–1964), 72, Oberlies (2012), 157–158.

AVŚ 4.12.7

yádi kartáṃ patitvắ saṃśaśré
yádi vắśmā práhṛto jaghắna
ṛbhúḥ ráthasyevắṅgāni
sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ

If he was hurt, having fallen in a pit or if a hurled rock has struck [him, then] **may [Dhātṛ, the healer] unite the limbs, joint with joint, as Ṛbhu [the parts] of a chariot**.

10.4 Fashioning Fame: A *takṣ*-Composition for the Ṛbhus

In the light of all the above, it is not surprising that a second example of *takṣ*-composition is found in a hymn to the Ṛbhus, *Rigveda* 4.36. Together with RV 4.33–37, this poem, consisting of 11-triṣṭubh-stanzas, belongs to a group of hymns of the fourth maṇḍala that celebrate the Ṛbhus and are attributed to the Vāmadeva Gautama.

1 *anaśvó jātó anabhīśúr ukthₐyò*
  ráthas tricakráḥ pári vartate rájaḥ
  mahát tád vo devₐyàsya pravácanaṃ
  dyám ṛbhavaḥ pṛthivĩṃ yác ca púṣyatha

Produced without horse and rein, the praiseworthy chariot with its three wheels rolls through the airy space. This is the great proclamation of your divinity: that you prosper heaven and earth, O Ṛbhus.

2 *ráthaṃ yé cakrúḥ suvṛ́taṃ sucétasó*
  ₐ'vihvarantam mánasas pári dhyáyā
  táṃ ū nₐv àsyá sávanasya pītáya
  á vo vājā ṛbhavo vedayāmasi

The very perceptive ones who made from mind by insight the smooth-running chariot, which never overturns – (to you,) O Vājas, O Ṛbhus, we now dedicate (the soma) of this pressing for you to drink.

3 *tád vo vājā ṛbhavaḥ supravácanáṃ*
  devéṣu vibhvo abhavan mahitvanám
  jívrī yát sántā pitárā sanājúrā
  púnar yúvānā caráthāya tákṣatha

Your greatness became well proclaimed among the gods, O Vājas, Ṛbhus, and Vibhūs: that you fashion your parents as youths for them to keep going, even though they were enfeebled, worn out by age.

4 *ékaṃ ví cakra camasáṃ cáturvayaṃ*
   níś cármaṇo gā́m ariṇīta dhītíbhiḥ
   áthā devéṣ_uv amŕ̥tatvám ānaśa
   śruṣṭī́ vā́jā ŕ̥bhavas tád va ukth_yàm

You divided the single cup into four; out of a cowhide you made a cow to flow (milk) by your insights. So then you attained immortality among the gods by your obedience, O Vājas, Ṛbhus: that is your praiseworthy (attainment).

5 *ṛbhutó rayíḥ prathamáśravastamo*
   vā́jaśrutāso yám ájījanan náraḥ
   vibhvataṣṭó vidátheṣu pravā́c_yo
   yáṃ devāso _á'vathā sá vícarṣaṇiḥ

From the Ṛbhus comes wealth that best brings the foremost fame, which the men famed as Vājas have produced, that is fashioned by the Vibhvan, that is to be proclaimed at the ritual distributions. Whom you help, O gods, he has wide boundaries.

6 *sá vāj_y árvā sá ŕ̥ṣir vacasyáyā*
   sá śū́ro ástā pŕ̥tanāsu duṣṭáraḥ
   sá rāyás póṣaṃ sá suvī́r_yaṃ dadhe
   yáṃ vā́jo víbhvām̐ ŕ̥bhávo yám ā́viṣuḥ

He is a prizewinning charger; he a seer through his verbal artfulness; he a champion, an archer, who is difficult to overcome in battles; he has received an increase of his wealth and he an abundance of good heroes – he, whom Vāja and Vibhvan, whom the Ṛbhus have helped.

7 *śréṣṭhaṃ vaḥ péśo ádhi dhāyi darśatáṃ*
   stómo vā́jā ŕ̥bhavas tā́ṃ jujuṣṭana
   dhī́rāso hí ṣṭhā́ kaváyo vipaścítas
   tā́n va enā́ bráhmaṇā vedayāmasi

An excellent, beautiful robe has been placed upon you: (this) song of praise, O Vājas, Ṛbhus. Take pleasure in it! Because you are insightful poets perceiving inspired words, we dedicate (it) to you with this formulation.

8 *yūyám asmábhyaṃ dhiṣáṇābhiyas pári*
   vidvā́ṃso víśvā nár_yāṇi bhójanā
   dyumántaṃ vā́jaṃ vŕ̥ṣaśuṣmam uttamám
   ā́ no rayím ŕ̥bhavas takṣatā váyaḥ

You who know all the things that nourish men, for us (fashion) from the Holy Places [= the ritual ground] the highest heavenly prize that brings the explosiveness of a bull; fashion for us wealth and vitality, O Ṛbhus.

9 *ihá prajám ihá rayíṃ rárāṇā*
   ihá śrávo vīrávat takṣatā naḥ
   yéna vayáṃ citáyemåti anyán
   táṃ våjaṃ citrám ṛbhavo dadā naḥ

Giving offspring here and wealth here, fashion here for us the fame that heroes accompany. The bright prize by which we would be brilliant beyond others, O Ṛbhus, have you given to us.

From the point of view of its content, the hymn seems to be divided into two sections:[23] its first half centres on the praise of the Ṛbhus, its second pivots around the gifts which the gods provide mortals. The hymn programmatically defines itself as the "great proclamation of the divinity" of the gods (*mahát tád vo devₐyasya pravå-canam*, 1c). At the same time the initial image of the chariot is immediately linked to a major creation by the Ṛbhus, the chariot of the Aśvins. The use of the perfect of *kar* at 2a seems to reprise the adjective 'three-wheeled' at 1b, thanks to the apparent similarity of *cakrúḥ* 'they have made' and *tri-cakráḥ* 'three-wheeled'. The Ṛbhus are further connected with *moving*/*movable* creations: not only did they build a chariot, but they are also said to have 'fashioned their parents young again to keep going' (*pitárā … púnar yúvānā caráthāya tákṣatha*, 3d). The employment of *takṣ* at 3d further connects with the theme of the gifts of the Ṛbhus. Just like the Ṛbhus fashioned (*takṣ*) their parents anew (3d); fame-bringing (*śrávas-*) wealth (*rayí-*) is said to be fashioned by Vibhvan, one of the three Ṛbhus (5ac), and, in the two last stanzas of the hymn, the Ṛbhus are invoked to fashion (*takṣ*) wealth, fresh energy, and glory (*rayí-*, *váyas-*, and *śrávas-*, 8–9). The repetitions of *takṣ*-forms are combined in an articulated circular structure, a '*takṣ*-composition' (Table 10.2).

I have previously argued that, in *Rigveda* 10.39, the circular usage of Vedic *takṣ* in connection with a qualifying exploit of the Vedic Twin Gods (Cyavāna's episode) and then within a metapoetic metaphor, creates a parallel between the deeds of the gods and those of the poet. In *Rigveda* 4.36 the use of *takṣ* in connection with the rejuvenation and the 'fashioning' of glory may have the same purpose.

In the first three stanzas of the hymn, the emphasis on the 'speech-act' lexicon shows that the divine status achieved by the Ṛbhus manifested and ritually manifests itself in an audibile form: the "greatness" of the Ṛbhus "became well proclaimed among the gods" (*tát … supravācanáṃ , devéṣu abhavan mahitvanám*, 3ab) and is now proclaimed by the poet (*mahát tát … pravåcanam*, 1c, *tád vaḥ … supravā-canám*, 3a, *tád va ukthₐyàm*, 4d), who sings about them and their creations. In a sense, one of the main creations the Ṛbhus made for themselves is glory, *śrávas-*; for this reason the poet invites them to 'fashion fame'.

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23 Jamison/Brereton (2014), 616.

Table 10.2: *takṣ*-composition of RV 4.36

theme	stanza	construction-lexeme	form
proclamation (*tád vo devɏàsya pravácanam*) + chariot	1	*rátha-* ──	
chariot	2	*rátha-* + *kar* 'to make'	*cakrúḥ*
proclamation (*tát … supravācanám*)	3	**takṣ** 'to fashion'	**tákṣatha**
proclamation (*tád va ukthₗyàm*)	4	*kar* 'to make'	*ví cakra*
gifts: wealth + glory (*rayíḥ prathamáśravas-*)	5	**takṣ** 'to fashion'	**vibhvataṣṭáḥ**
gifts: wealth + abundance (*rāyás póṣam*)	6	── (*dhā*) 'place'	*dadhe*
gifts: the poet to the gods: ornament	7	(*peś* 'to carve')	*péśo dhāyi*
gifts: wealth and vigour (*rayím … váyaḥ*)	8	**takṣ** 'to fashion'	**takṣatā́**
gifts: offspring, wealth, glory (*prajā́m … rayím … śrávaḥ*)	9	**takṣ** 'to fashion'	**takṣatā**

That the poet's and the Ṛbhus' work resemble each other may also be implicit in the first stanza. The three-wheeled chariot 'generated without horse and rein that rolls in the sky' (1ab), is a polysemic metaphor *ex Vedico ipso*: it alludes to the threefold chariot of the Aśvins that the Ṛbhus fashioned and to the Third Soma Pressing in which the Ṛbhus are celebrated (see Chapter 11, Section 2; Chapter 15). However, one may add, it is also reminiscent of the metaphor of the hymn as 'chariot', a common simile of the *Rigveda* and elsewhere in Indo-European,[24] take, e.g.

> RV 1.61.4
> *asmā́ íd u **stómaṃ sáṃ hinomi**
> **ráthaṃ ná tā́ṣṭeva** tátsināya
> gíraś ca **gírvāhase** suvṛ́ktᵢ
> ₗndrāya viśvaminvám médhirāya*

> Just for this one **I put together praise** – **like a carpenter a chariot** for the one whose gear it is – and hymns with a good twist for the **one whose vehicle is hymns** – for wise Indra (praise) that sets everything in motion.

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24 The Greek poetological material is presented by Nünlist (1998), 83–125, 255–265.

RV 7.34.1ab
*prá śukr$_a$$_e$tu devī́ **manīṣā́***
*asmát **sútaṣṭo rátho ná** vājī́*

Let the gleaming **divine inspired thought** go forth from us, **well-fashioned like a** prizewinning **chariot**.

The creations of the Vedic τέκτονες, the Ṛbhus, are thus visualised as things that move. *Rigveda* 4.36 happens to share a further lexical usage with Pindar's *Nemean Five*: at 7, Vāmadeva Gautama refers to his own hymn as a 'beautiful ornament', *śréṣṭhaṃ vaḥ péśaḥ ... stómaḥ* (RV 4.36.7ab). Certainly, Vedic *péśaḥ* (*s*-stem to IE **peik̑-* 'to carve') alludes to the work of the gods, since the verb *peś* 'to carve' is occasionally employed to describe one of their wondrous deeds (see Table 10.1), but here it is applied metapoetically, as it refers to *stómaḥ* 'praise song' (7b). Significantly, in *Nemean Five*, as well as elsewhere in Pindar (see Chapter 8, Section 5) ποικίλος (suffixed adjective to IE **peik̑-* 'to carve'), a linguistic cognate of *péśas-*, applies to the 'hymns' (ποικίλων ... ὕμνων, Pind. *Nem.* 5.42). That the work of the Ṛbhus and that of the poet (in Ancient India and Greece) have much in common is now clear. But, as usual, taking into account other Pindaric comparanda will lead to further impressive discoveries.

10.5 Fashioners and Poets

In RV 1.161 we hear words spoken by the Ṛbhus that, as noted by Martin West (2007a), 117, impressively resemble the incipit of Pindar's *Olympian One*:

RV 1.161.9
ápo bhū́yiṣṭhā ít$_y$ éko abravīd
agnír bhū́yiṣṭha ít$_y$ anyó abravīt
vadharyántīm bahúbhyaḥ praíko abravīd
ṛtá vádantaś camasā́m̐ apiṃśata

One (Ṛbhu) said, "Waters are most important," and the other said, "Fire is most important." (The third) one proclaimed the weapon-wielding (speech?) from among the many. Speaking truths, you carved the cups.

Pind. *Ol.* 1.1–2
Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου

Best is water, while gold, like fire blazing in the night, shines preeminent amid wealth that makes man great.

The coincidence between two *Priameln*[25] that juxtapose two prominent and opposite natural elements, fire and water, is probably trivial. However, it invites us to reflect on the poetic dimension of the Ṛbhus. The gods are often associated with the notion of poetic activity and music: they resound together (*samīcīnā́sa ṛbhávaḥ sám asvaran* "the Ṛbhus united sounded together," RV 8.3.7c), are called 'cantors' (Ved. *vāghátaḥ*), 'poets' (Ved. *kaví-*),[26] and their skill is said to be 'poetic art' (Ved. *kā́vya-*):[27]

> RV 1.110.4ab
> *viṣṭvī́ śámī taraṇitvéna **vāgháto***
> *mártāsaḥ sánto amṛtatvám ānaśuḥ*

> Toiling with labour, with surpassing skill, **the cantors**, though they were mortal, reached immortality.[28]

> RV 4.36.7cd
> *dhī́rāso hí ṣṭhá **kaváyo** vipaścítas*
> *tā́n va enā́ bráhmaṇā́ vedayāmasi*

> Because you are insightful **poets** perceiving inspired words, we dedicate (it) to you with this formulation.

> RV 4.35.4ab
> *kimmáyaḥ svic camasá eṣá āsa*
> *yáṃ **kā́vᵧena** catúro vicakrá*

> Of what was this cup made, which you divided into four **by your artistry**?

The gods are also said to 'fashion their poetic formulation' and are a touchstone for Vedic poets:

> RV 10.80.7a
> *agnáye **bráhma** ṛbhávas **tatakṣuḥ***

> For Agni did the Ṛbhus **fashion** their **formulation**.

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25 For a definition of the term see Hornblower/Parker (2016).

26 Since *víprebhiḥ* is in plural in RV 1.20.1b and as there are three Ṛbhus, one could also think that the term applies to them in the passage. In this scenario, the poet celebrates the Ṛbhus with a hymn created by the Ṛbhus. An implicit possible comparison with poets is *ābhogáyam prá yád ichánta aítanₐ ‖ ₐpākāḥ prā́ñco máma ké cid āpáyaḥ* "When, facing front, you shrewd ones went forth in search of your daily bread, kind of like my pals" (RV 1.110.2ab).

27 On the semantics of the term *kaví-* see Jamison (2007), who, in the light of RV 3.54.17, 9.87.3, argues that "the earlier *kavi* of the Rig Veda, and indeed of Indo-Iranian, was the word-master associated with royal power."

28 See also RV 3.60.4.

RV 10.105.6
prástaud r̥ṣvaújā r̥ṣvébhis
tatákṣa śū́raḥ śávasā
r̥bhúr ná krátubhir mātaríśvā

He of lofty might **has struck up the praise song** with the lofty ones. **The champion fashioned** it with his swelling strength, **like an artisan** [/R̥bhu] in accord with his intentions, (like?) Mātaríśvan.

Since the R̥bhus are associated with poetics and the verb *takṣ* applies to their manual and poetic work (RV 10.80.7a), they can be identified as the Vedic counterparts of Pindaric τέκτονες. The resemblance between these two comparanda concerns the dynamics and the consequences of their 'fashioning'. As just shown above, the gods are invited to 'fashion fame' because they have achieved the highest fame:

RV 4.36.9ab
ihá prajā́m ihá **rayím** rárāṇā
ihá **śrávo** vīrávat **takṣatā** naḥ

Giving offspring here and **wealth** here, **fashion** here for us **the fame** that heroes accompany.

RV 1.110.5
kṣétram iva ví mamus téjanenaḿ
ékam pátram r̥bhávo jéhamānam
úpastutā **upamáḿ** nā́dhamānā
ámart‿yeṣu śráva ichámānāḥ

Like a field with a sharp stick, the R̥bhus measured into parts the single cup, which was gaping – they who were crying in want at the praise-invocation, **seeking highest fame among the immortals**.

Besides the collocation [*śrávas-–takṣ*] perfectly matching the lexical material underlying the man's name Κλεοτέκτων (*IG* II² 6014, 3ʳᵈ c. BCE),[29] the phraseology of the two passages just quoted here can be compared with the final words of *Pythian Three*:

Pind. *Pyth.* 3.110–115
εἰ δέ μοι **πλοῦτον** θεὸς ἁβρὸν ὀρέξαι
ἐλπίδ᾽ ἔχω **κλέος εὑρέσθαι** κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.
Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν᾽, ἀνθρώπων φάτις,
ἐξ **ἐπέων** κελαδεννῶν, **τέκτονες** οἷα σοφοί

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29 See Massetti (forthc./c).

ἄρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν· ἁ δ᾽ ἀρετὰ **κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς**
χρονία τελέθει· παύροις δὲ πρᾶξασθ᾽ εὐμαρές

And if a god should grant me luxurious **wealth**, I hope that **I may win lofty fame** hereafter. We know of Nestor and Lycian Sarpedon, still the talk of men, from such echoing **verses** as **talented artists constructed**. Excellence endures **in glorious songs** for a long time. But few can win them easily.

The ideas of 'wealth' (*rayím*, πλοῦτον) and 'fame' (*śrávas-*, κλέος) are associated with and identified as *desiderata* for the poet-τέκτων. Furthermore, the Vedic collocation [*śrávas-–takṣ*] joins [GLORY] and [to FASHION] in one collocation, whereas the term τέκτονες in *Pyth.* 3.113 is surrounded by references to [GLORY], compare κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλόν (111), κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς (114). Finally, the hope expressed by Pindar (ἐλπίδ᾽ ἔχω κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω) overlaps with the R̥bhus' desire and fate in RV 1.110.5cd *upamám ... śráva ichámānāḥ* ("seeking highest fame"). Incidentally, the collocation κλέος ... ὑψηλόν stands close to [*upamá-–śrávas-*]: while κλέος and *śrávas-* are identical, Greek ὑψηλός may be based on the IE root **sup-* (enlarged with a suffix -*s*-, as in OIr. *ós* [< **oupso-*] 'above, over', Gaul. *Uxello-* < **oupselo-* 'higher'), which underlies Greek ὑπό 'under'. In Greek, Italic and Celtic, this root crosses with that of the particle **up-* 'up' (comparable to Greek ὑπέρ 'above'), on which Vedic *upamá-* 'highest', superlative form of *upá-* 'up', is based.[30]

The similarities between the work of the Vedic divine fashioners and the Greek poetic fashioners do not end here. As I will try to show in what follows, they further extend to the effect of fashioning in their performance and after it.

10.6 The R̥bhus and Ὀρφεύς

The transversal creativity of the R̥bhus is vaguely reminiscent of that of a Greek character who bears an etymologically cognate name to theirs: Orpheus. As already pointed out (see Section 1.2) both nouns derive from IE **h₃erbʰ-* 'to turn, change sides', which also underlies Hittite *ḫarp(p)- mi* 'to become an ally or a collaborator (of someone)': Ὀρφεύς is a secondary -*ēu̯*-stem to *órpʰos, a thematic derivative of IE **h₃erbʰ-*, while R̥bhú- is a -*u*-stem based on the same root.[31]

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30 Dunkel (2014), II 748–751.

31 On the etymological connection between the two mythological names see also Estell (1999). How the semantics of the names reflect a tie with IE **h₃erbʰ-* 'to turn, change sides' is debated: Jackson Rova (2014) and (2023) proposes that Ὀρφεύς and R̥bhú- reflect the condition of client (i.e. 'ally, someone who is by one's side'), which is peculiar to poets in several IE traditions of old attestation.

A poet son of Apollo or Oeagrus,[32] in Greece, Orpheus seems to have achieved the 'highest fame' by the 6th c. BCE. He is referred to as 'name-famed' by Ibycus (ὀνομάκλυτον Ὀρφήν, Ibyc. fr. 10a *PMG*)[33] and, by the 5th–4th c. BCE, came to be credited with various inventions: songs (φορμιγκτὰς ἀοιδᾶν πατήρ … Ὀρφεύς, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.176–177); 'ritualistic practices of initiations' Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ᾽ ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ᾽ ἀπέχεσθαι, Ar. *Ran.* 1035); the lyre (Timoth. *Pers.* [= *PMG* 15] 222–223), and the letters of the alphabet (γράμματα μὲν δὴ πρῶτος Ὀρφεὺς ἐξήνεγκε, παρὰ Μουσῶν μαθών, Alcidamas *Odysseus against the Treachery of Palamedes* 24).[34]

In other words, if the Ṛbhus are represented as fashioners and poets, Orpheus is a poet and a fashioner. Moreover, Orpheus and the Ṛbhus are associated with IE roots, which belong to the semantic field of 'creation' and 'carving'. Although neither τεκταίνομαι 'to build' nor τέκτων 'craftsman' seem to apply to Orpheus in the Greek sources in our possession, we may still be able to recover a distant link between Orpheus and the semantic field of creation. Timotheus tells us that Orpheus fathers (Greek τεκνόω) the lyre.

> Timotheus *PMG* 15.222–223
> πρῶτος ποικιλόμουσος Ὀρ-
> φεὺς ‹χέλ›υν ἐτέκνωσεν
>
> Orpheus honer of poetic thoughts was the first to **father the lyre**.

The verb τεκνόω 'to beget, father' is remotely related to Vedic *takṣ*, since Indo-European **tetk-* 'to fashion' may reflect a reduplicated root ultimately based on **tek-*

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[32] Both traditions are exemplified in *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1.23 (= Asclepiades *FGH* III 8) εἶναι δὲ Ὀρφέα, κατὰ μὲν Ἀσκληπιάδην, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Καλλιόπης, κατὰ δὲ ἐνίους Οἰάγρου καὶ Πολυμνίας. Ancient commentators disagreed on whether Pind. *Pyth.* 4.176–177 follows a tradition according to which Orpheus is the son of Apollo (as per Chaeris *apud Schol. Pyth.* 4.313a Dr.) or whether ἐξ + genitive refers to φορμιγκτάς '*phorminx* player' (as argued by Ammonius *apud Schol. Pyth.* 4.313a Dr.). Giannini (1995), 475 argues that ἐξ + genitive may indicate "sent from Apollo." In the *Argonautica*, taking part in the Argonauts' expedition seems not to be Orpheus' own idea. Orpheus participates following Chiron's advice (Ap. Rhod. 1.33 Χείρωνος ἐφημοσύνῃσι πιθήσας). According to Pind. fr. 128c.11–12 SM, Orpheus is the son of Oeagrus (υἱὸν Οἰάγρου ‹δέ› ‖ Ὀρφέα).

[33] Orpheus is probably represented on a marble relief from Delphi dated to 570–560 BCE (identified as the metope of the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury). The figure leading Argo is inscribed with ‹ΟΡΦΑΣ›, see *LIMC* s.v. Orpheus 6.

[34] On the text see Linforth (1931). The tradition might be connected with what we read in Plato's *Republic* (364e): charlatans refer to *bybla* which they attribute to the Muses or Orpheus (βίβλων δὲ ὅμαδον παρέχονται Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως). A connection between Orpheus and writing may be further recovered from the inspection of a 5th c. BCE red-figure cup by the Painter of Ruvo now in Cambridge (ARV² 1401): a man is writing down what seems to be dictated by Orpheus' head.

'to give birth'.[35] The semantic link between *teḱ-* and *tetḱ-*, as well as the overlap between the notions of first fashioner/inventor and father (which intuitively and idiomatically overlap),[36] can be further supported by making reference to the literary model of Timotheus' verses, the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. In this text, the lyre is said to be an invention of the god Hermes, but his skill is described by means of Greek τεκταίνομαι (Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ᾽ ἀοιδόν "Hermes was the first to transform the *khélus* [= turtle and lyre] into a singer," *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 25).

In Timotheus' passage, Orpheus is also given the epithet ποικιλόμουσος (rendered here as 'honer of poetic thoughts'). This compound displays a FCM related to IE **peiḱ-*, which underlies Greek ποικίλλω 'to decorate' and a SCM °μουσος related to the IE root **men-* 'to think' (see Chapter 5, Section 2).[37] Not only do ποικίλλω and ποικίλος occur within Pindaric metapoetic metaphors (see Chapter 8, Section 5), but, as already touched upon, the R̥bhus' work is also denoted by means of Ved. *peś* 'to carve', a cognate of ποικίλλω and ποικίλος 'decorated, variegated, wrought in various colours':[38]

> RV 3.60.2a
> *yábhiḥ śácībhiś camasā́m̐ **ápiṃśata***

> By the powers with which you **have carved** the cups ...

10.7 Making Things Move

Both the R̥bhus and Orpheus seem to be able to 'produce movement' and 'transfer or impose their will on objects and beings'. By constructing vehicles for the gods, the R̥bhus allow gods to join the sacrifice. Indeed, in the *Rigveda*, the participation of gods in rituals is portrayed as a movement or a journey: gods are invited to join the sacrifice and/or travel to it. Travel is, in turn, accomplished in different ways: some deities use a chariot, others a boat, others fly. Moreover, the gods can also be led or carried by Agni, compare, e.g.

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35 Bendahman (1993), see also LIV² 638–639.

36 Inventors are the *fathers* of their inventions, e.g. (*Mercurium*) *curvae lyrae parentem* "Mercury father of the hollow lyre" (Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.6).

37 See the seminal study of Jackson [Rova] (2002). For other derivatives of this root underlying speaking names of mythological characters with a cosmological relevance see Ginevra (2019b).

38 This common phraseological trait and the comparison between Orpheus and the R̥bhus is analyzed *in extenso* in McDonald (2014).

RV 1.1.2
agníḥ pū́rvebhir ŕ̥ṣibhir
íḍ₍y₎o nū́tanair utá
sá devā́m̐ éhá vakṣati

Agni, to be invoked by ancient sages and by the present ones – **he will carry the gods here to this place**.

RV 1.46.7
*á no **nāvā́** matīn₍ā₎ám*
yātám *pārā́ya gántave*
yuñjáthām aśvinā rátham

Travel here by the boat of our conceptions to go to the far shore! Hitch up your chariot, Aśvins!

We can conclude that since the Ṛbhus fashion means of transport for the gods (the chariot of the Aśvins, the fallow bay horses of Indra), they allow them to participate in the ritual. Occasionally, the vehicle they produce seems to be endowed with autonomy or self-determination: in RV 4.36, the chariot built by the Ṛbhus rolls in the heaven "without horse and rein" (*anaśváḥ … anabhīśúḥ … ráthaḥ*, 1ab). It thus moves like other objects made by the best divine and human τέκτονες, such as Bhujyu's ship (see Chapter 3, Section 4), Hephaestus' tripods, the Sun cup (Mimnermus fr. 12) and Daedalus' statues:

RV 4.36.1ab
anaśvó *jātó* **anabhīśúr** *ukth₍y₎yò*
ráthas *tricakráḥ pári vartate rájaḥ*

Produced **without horse and rein**, the praiseworthy **chariot** with its three wheels rolls through the airy space.

In this connection, it may be worth noticing that the rejuvenation of the Ṛbhus' parents is also described as the restoration of movement (Ved. *caráthāya*):

RV 4.36.3cd
jívrī yát sántā pitárā sanājúrā
púnar yúvānā **caráthāya** *tákṣatha*

[It will be proclaimed] that you **fashion** your parents as youths for them **to keep going**, even though they were enfeebled, worn out by age.

For this reason, metaphors and similes involving the Ṛbhus occasionally underscore that a certain god is invited to participate in the ritual (by moving) or even

to obey the poet-sacrificer. In RV 9.21, as the poet-priest invites the soma drops to bring Soma, the personified ritual drink, to the sacrifice, Soma is compared to a chariot-wheel 'instructed' (on how to move and where to) by a Ṛbhu:

> RV 9.21.6ab
> **ṛbhúr ná** *ráth‚yaṃ návaṃ*
> **dádhātā kétam ādíśe**
>
> **Like a craftsman** [/Ṛbhu] a new chariot (wheel), **set your will to instruct (him)**.

In *Rigveda* 8.75, the Vedic sacrificer asks the fire-god Agni to bow his head for the sacrifice, as 'the Ṛbhus do with the wheel-felly'.

> RV 8.75.5
> **táṃ nemím ṛbhávo yath‚ₐ**
> **ₐ́ namasva** *sáhūtibhiḥ*
> *nédīyo yajñám aṅgiraḥ*
>
> **As craftsmen [/Ṛbhus] bend the felly, bend here**, closer to the sacrifice, with the shared invocations, O Aṅgiras [= Agni].

As I previously argued (Massetti 2017), Vedic phraseological analysis makes evident that the verb *nam* and its compounds *ā́-nam, ní-nam* may denote the submission and consent of a participant in the ritual. The verb *ní-nam* has this value in *Rigveda* 3.33.9 ff. In this hymn, the poet-priest (Vedic *kārú-*) Viśvāmitra asks the rivers to bow down so as to allow the Bharatas to cross the water-stream.[39]

> RV 3.33.9–10
> *ó ṣú svasāraḥ kāráve śṛṇota*
> *yayáu vo dūrā́d ánasā ráthena*
> **ní** *ṣú́* **namadhvam** *bhávatā supārā́*
> *adhoakṣā́ḥ sindhavaḥ srot‚yábhiḥ*
>
> *ā́ te kāro śṛṇavāmā vácāṃsi*
> *yayā́ tha dūrā́d ánasā ráthena*
> **ní** *te* **naṃsai** *pīp‚yānéva yóṣā*
> *máryāyeva kan‚yā̀ śaśvacái te*
>
> [Viśvamitra:] "Listen well to the bard, sisters. He has driven to you from afar with his wagon and chariot. **Bow down**; become easy to cross, staying below his axle(s) with your currents, you rivers."

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39 On the Rigvedic hymn see Kwella (1973).

[Rivers:] "We will listen to your words, bard. You have driven from afar with wagon and chariot. **I** [= one river] **will bow down** to you like a young woman swollen (with milk, to her infant), (while) I [= other river] will bend to you like a maiden to her cavalier."

By bowing down or moving in one direction (Vedic *ní*/*ā́-nam*), the ritual participant moves according to the poetic word; (s)he allies/collaborates with the poet-priest, since (s)he is persuaded by the poet-priest's kinetic word. Significantly, in Hittite rituals, the notion of 'allying with the ritual-performer' is expressed by means of *ḫarp*(*p*)-*mi* ('to change sides, to join someone'), a further linguistic cognate of Gk. Ὀρφεύς and Ved. *R̥bhú*-. In the Neo-Hittite "Ritual of Iriya for the Purification of a City" (CTH 400, 3.7, see also the "Ritual for the Purification of a City," CTH 401), rivers and mountains *ḫarp*(*p*)-, i.e. ally/collaborate, with the ritual-performer, after he asks them to 'side with him'.

KUB 30.34 + KUB 50.75, rev. III 11–18 (CTH 400)
[…] *arunaš ŠŪŠŪ-aš* PÚ.ḪI.A GAL.GAL PÚ.ḪI.A TUR.T[UR] *kuwat uwanun*
kuit dariyanu[*n*] […]
nu=mu=ššan šumešš=a **ḫara**[**pten**]
weten[*a*]*nte*[*š kišan taranzi?*]
lētta nā[*ḫi*]
[*wiešta* **ḫarappuwẹni**]

[He goes to the water and at the spring says thus:] […] "Fountains great and small, (do you know) why I have come? (Do you know) why I have laboured? […] and you also **be on my side** (lit. join me)!" And the waters [thus say]: "Do not fe[ar] for you: **we will be on your (side)** (lit. join you)."[40]

The use of Hitt. *ḫarp*(*p*)-*mi* is comparable to that of *nam* in *Rigveda* 8.75 and 3.33: this lexical juxtaposition provides us with an important piece of combinatory evidence for the semantics of IE *h_3erb^h- and its Greek and Indic nominal derivatives: Ὀρφεύς and *R̥bhú*-. The R̥bhus are the ones who are capable of making gods side with them, or providing the gods the means to come to the sacrifice. Hittite priests are capable of making the elements side with them (Hitt. *ḫarp*[*p*]-*mi*).

In his turn, Orpheus is never explicitly credited with the production of a moving object, such as, for instance, a chariot. However, according to Apollonius of Rhodes, he performs an εὐτρόχαλος ἀοιδή to save his companions from the Sirens:[41]

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40 I print the text as per *Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis*, hethiter.net/: TLHdig KUB 60.75 (2021–12–31).
41 As Calame (2014), 166 points out, Orpheus rescuing the Argo's crew from the Sirens (Ap. Rhod. 4.901–909) may be represented on an early 6th c. BCE black-figure vase in Heidelberg.

Ap. Rhod. 4.903–909

οἱ δ᾽ ἀπὸ νηός
ἤδη πείσματ᾽ ἔμελλον ἐπ᾽ ἠιόνεσσι βαλέσθαι,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ Οἰάγροιο πάις Θρηίκιος **Ὀρφεύς**
Βιστονίην ἐνὶ χερσὶν ἑαῖς φόρμιγγα τανύσσας
κραιπνὸν εὐτροχάλοιο μέλος κανάχησεν **ἀοιδῆς**,
ὄφρ᾽ ἄμυδις κλονέοντος ἐπιβρομέωνται ἀκουαί
κρεγμῷ

… And those were already about to throw down the hawsers, if Oeagrus' son, the Thracian **Orpheus**, had not stretched out in his hands the Bistonic *phorminx*, and intoned **a lively song, of rapid/well-rounded** *aoidē*, so that their ears rumbled with that sound.

Greek εὐτρόχαλος, 'well-running', 'running on good wheels' or 'well-rounded', consists of εὐ° 'good' and a second compound member to τρέχω 'to run', possibly τρόχος 'run' or τροχός 'wheel'. The use of the adjective in the *Argonautica* may actually point to a tie between °τρόχαλος and τροχός 'wheel'. Indeed, the epithet also applies to wheeled vehicles (ἄμαξα, 1.845, 2.46, ἀπήνη, 3.889) or round objects (i.e. the 'well-rounded ball', σφαῖρα, 3.135). The idea of a song which 'runs well' or 'goes on good wheels/is well rounded' can be considered a common poetic *topos*, that of the 'song' as a *moving* vehicle, for which several parallels can be identified in other Indo-European poetic traditions.[42]

Elsewhere Orpheus is credited with the capacity of making immovable things move (together) or making movable things move according to his will (which manifests through music): natural elements and animals move αὐτομάτως, in time to his music:

P. Köln inv. 21351 + 21376 (from coll. II) ll. 28–33
…   [Οἰα-]
[γ]ρου κόρον Ὀρφέα κ[
[ἑρ]πετὰ πάντα κ[
[ ] τὰν ἐρατὰν λα[
[εὔ]φθογγον **λύραν** . [
[συ]νεργὸν ἔχοισα π [

---

42 Hunter (1996), 146, fn. 21 suggests that "the metaphor may be related to 'the chariot of song'," Moreover, he refers to Webster's (1964), 75–76 suggestion that the verse alludes to the lexicon of *Od.* 12.173. In the Sirens episode, τροχός designates a round earplug with which Odysseus' companions protect themselves from the Sirens' song. On the *topos* of the 'chariot of song' see Nünlist (1998), 83–125 (Greek evidence) and Massetti (2019), 191–202 (comparative evidence).

… Oeagrus' son Orpheus [bewitching] **all the animals** [and stones] the enchanting [taken up with hands **the fine-sounding lyre as a help** having [completely …

transl. Bierl (2016)[43]

Simon. fr. 274 (*PMG* 567)
[…] τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
πωτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς,
ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἰχθύες ὀρθοὶ κυανέου ἐξ
ὕδατος **ἄλλοντο καλᾷ σὺν αὐδᾷ**

An innumerable flock of birds circled above his head. Fish **jumped straight up** out of the dark water **in time to the beautiful voice**.

Eur. *Bacch.* 561–562
ἔνθα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων **σύναγεν**
δένδρεα μούσαις,
σύναγεν θῆρας ἀγρώτας

Where once Orpheus, playing the *kithara*, **led together all the trees, led together all the wild animals** around him with beautiful sounds.

Eur. *Cyc.* 646–648
ἀλλ᾽ οἶδ᾽ **ἐπῳδὴν Ὀρφέως ἀγαθὴν πάνυ**,
ὥστ᾽ αὐτόματον τὸν δαλὸν ἐς τὸ κρανίον
στείχονθ᾽ ὑφάπτειν τὸν μονῶπα παῖδα γῆς

But I know **a charm by Orpheus** that **is good enough to make a fire-brand move on its own** straight to his head and hit the one-eyed son of the earth.

Apollonius of Rhodes recounts that Orpheus had led a group of wild oaks from the Pieria to the coast of Zone, where they had later remained as a memento of his μολπή:

Ap. Rhod. 1.28–31
φηγοὶ δ᾽ ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς,
ἀκτῆς Θρηικίης Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι
ἑξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ἃς ὅγ᾽ ἐπιπρό
θελγομένας φόρμιγγι **κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν**.

That performance even today is attested by the wild oaks that on the coast of Zone, in Thrace, flourish, arranged by serried rows in order: they are the oaks that with the enchantment of his *phorminx* **the poet made move and descend down from Pieria**.

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43 Whether the fragment is by Sappho is an object of debate, see Finglass (forthc.). On the passage see also D'Alessio (forthc.). On the power of Orpheus' lyre see *OF* 417 B.: *Schol. ad Verg. Aen.* 6.119 in *Par. Lat.* 7930 *Varro autem dicit librum Orfei de vocanda anima liram nominari, et negantur animae sine cithara posse ascendere.*

One can also imagine that Orpheus' capacity of 'putting other beings in motion' or 'making them change place' is further reflected through his attempt at making Eurydice's soul come back to life. According to several ancient sources, Orpheus travelled into the underworld to retrieve his beloved. He managed to persuade Persephone to give him his spouse back thanks to his musical skills. However, he ultimately lost Eurydice because he disregarded Persephone's instructions.

> Eur. *Alc.* 357–359
> εἰ δ᾽ **Ὀρφέως** μοι **γλῶσσα καὶ μέλος** παρῆν,
> ὥστ᾽ ἢ κόρην Δήμητρος ἢ κείνης πόσιν ὕμνοισι κηλήσαντά
> **σ᾽ ἐξ Ἅιδου λαβεῖν**
>
> If I had the **tongue and the song of Orpheus**, so that I could **lead you out of Hades**, enchanting the daughter of Demeter or her husband with hymns …

Significantly, within this episode, Orpheus' kinetic capacity seems to extend to the feelings of his listeners: when he arrives in the underworld to retrieve his beloved Eurydice, he manages to move the 'innerly motionless' souls of the dead:

> Verg. *Georg.* 4.471–472
> at **cantu commotae** Erebi de sedibus imis
> umbrae ibant tenues …
>
> But, **stirred by his song**, airy shadows floated in from the deepest depths of Erebus.

The last aspect that Orpheus and the Ṛbhus seem to have in common is that, through their creativity, they seem to achieve partial or total immortality. As suggested by Miyakawa,[44] the Ṛbhus were ultimately able 'to change sides' (IE *h_3erb^h-) by achieving immortality (see Sections 1.2 and 2–4). Remarkably, we are told that poetry does not leave Orpheus after his death: according to a tradition recorded in literary and iconographic sources dated to the 5th century BCE, after his body was torn to pieces by the maenads at the instigation of Dionysus,[45] Orpheus' head kept on singing and giving oracles,[46] i.e. Orpheus' head is immortal. In other words, the Ṛbhus and Orpheus seem able to fashion moving things and to fashion glory and immortality for themselves *through* their fashioning.

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44 In Melchert (2010) and Jackson [Rova] (2016), 189.

45 This is the subject of Aeschylus' *Bassarids* (*TrGF* 23a–24, compare Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* 24 = *Orphica* 536 T and 1033 T Bernabé).

46 *LIMC* s.v. Orpheus 68–70. On Orpheus as founder of the Muses' oracle in Lesbos see Graf (1988), 92–95, Faraone (2004), Watson (2013).

10.8 Conclusions on Fashioners of Movement

In the preceding chapters, I demonstrated how the themes of fashioning and movement intersect in Pindar's *Nemean Five*: the movements and words that the poet infuses into his travelling and speaking ode is comparable to that of the best fashioners: Hephaestus and Daedalus. The tenor of the metaphor τέκτων : trainer is likely to be 'the capacity to shape things that move (and can be guided)': chariots, moving statues, and athletes. In this chapter, I have now tried to show how the best Vedic fashioners, the Ṛbhus, which are terms of comparison for masters in any art, are also represented as characters who (i) are able to produce objects that move or are provided with some sort of autonomy, (ii) can provoke movement in gods and natural elements. The creative and kinetic capacities of the Ṛbhus are, at least in part, comparable to those of Orpheus, a mythological Greek poet who bears a name etymologically connected with the Ṛbhus.

At the end of this chapter I have touched upon further common traits of Orpheus and the Ṛbhus: thanks to their capacity of building things that move, they achieve immortality and/or immortal fame. As I will try to make evident in what follows, this achievement is actually common to both the Ṛbhus and the Aśvins, i.e. to the Vedic gods celebrated in hymns that display *takṣ*-compositions. Investigation of the link between 'fashioning (things that move or have a life)' and the achievement of 'immortality' will be my object of focus in the next chapter.

11 Vedic Craftsmen and Healers: The Ṛbhus and the Aśvins

11.1 Worshipped at the Third Soma Pressing

At first sight, the Ṛbhus and the Aśvins may seem to have not much in common. The Aśvins are prominent deities of the *Rigveda*, while the Ṛbhus have a limited presence in the hymnic collection. Furthermore, the Aśvins are healers, the Ṛbhus are (skillful) workers. However, both groups are linked to the Third Soma Pressing, a ritual that takes place in the evening. As pointed out by Jamison/Brereton (2020), 46, the preparation procedure of the soma in this rite differs from that of the First (morning) and the Second (midday) Pressings, in which the drink is produced by filtering the juice produced through the crushing of the softened stalks of the soma-plant. In the Third Pressing, leftovers from the other pressings are mixed with milk in order to increase the volume of the juice.

Hence, the Aśvins may be associated with the number three for this reason (see Chapter 4, Section 2). The number three seems to be embedded in the figure of the Ṛbhus themselves. Indeed, there are three of them and they are connected with the number in the 'cup multiplication' miracle: the Ṛbhus are said to make Tvaṣṭar's cup into four, so, they *create* one cup each, i.e. three in total.[1]

Both the Aśvins and the Ṛbhus are participants in the Third Soma Pressing:

RV 8.57.1
yuváṃ devā krátunā pūrvॖyéṇa
yuktā ráthena taviṣáṃ yajatrā
āॱgachataṃ **nāsatyā** *śácībhir*
idáṃ tṛtíyaṃ sávanam pibāthaḥ

You two, O gods worthy of the sacrifice, yoked by your age-old purpose, with your chariot come here to the powerful (soma?), **O Nāsatyas**, with your skills. **You will drink this Third Pressing here**.

RV 4.33.11
idāॱhnaḥ pītím utá vo mádaṃ dhur
ná ṛté śrāntásya sakhyāॱya devāॱḥ
té nūnám asmé **ṛbhavo** *vásūni*
tṛtíye asmín sávane dadhāta

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1 See also RV 4.33.5.

At this time of the day they have established drink and exhilaration for you. The gods are not in companionship (with men) except (for their companionship) with him who has labored in the truth. Now, **O Ṛbhus**, **establish good things for us at this Third Pressing**.

Moreover, the Ṛbhus are said to have built the chariot of the Aśvins:

RV 10.39.12
á téna yātam mánaso jávīyasā
ráthaṃ yáṃ vām ṛbhávaś cakrúr aśvinā
yásya yóge duhitá jáyate divá
ubhé áhanī sudíne vivásvataḥ

Drive here with your **chariot** swifter than thought, **which the Ṛbhus made for you**, **O Aśvins**, and at whose hitching up the Daughter of Heaven [= Uṣas] is born and both bright-lit day halves of Vivasvant.

As shown by Brereton (2012), this marvel of the Ṛbhus may encode the 'shaping of the Aśvins' sacrifice' at the Third Pressing, since sacrifice is often compared to a chariot in the *Rigveda* (Sparreboom [1985], 13). This interpretation is consistent with the ritual implications of the Cyavāna myth: originally, the Aśvins were not included in the soma ritual and came to be grafted onto the Third Pressing later on. At the same time, since the Ṛbhus were not originally considered as gods, they achieved the rank of gods (also) *thanks to the construction of the chariot of the Aśvins.*

In addition to this, a further link between the Ṛbhus and the Aśvins was recovered through the combinatory analysis of texts in the preceding chapters: the simile of the chariot applies to the rejuvenation performed by the Aśvins (RV 10.39.4) and to the healing of fractures by a Ṛbhu-like physician (AVŚ 4.12, AVP 4.15, see Chapter 5). In what follows, I will make the case that further comparison between the Aśvins and the Ṛbhus reveals that they share more than meets the eye.

11.2 Rejuvenations

A common feature of the two groups is the capacity of effecting rejuvenations. As I explained at length in Chapter 6, from the *Rigveda* we learn that the Aśvins rejuvenated Cyavāna. Significantly, different hymns to the Ṛbhus report that they rejuvenated their parents.[2] Together with Vedic *kar* 'to make', *takṣ* 'to fashion'

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2 Who these 'parents' are is debated. Candidates are Vedic pairs, which are occasionally referred to as 'parents' (dual voc. *pitarā*), such as 'heaven & earth', the Aśvins, the sacrificer and his wife, see Brereton (2012).

often applies to the various deeds of the Ṛbhus, including to the rejuvenation (see Chapter 10, Section 2). Two collocations are attested: (a) [(*púnar*) – FASHION (*takṣ*) – *yuvad váyaḥ* – REJUVENATED X_dat.] 'to fashion young energy for somebody' and (b) [*púnar* – MAKE/FASHION(*kar/takṣ*) – REJUVENATED X_acc.–*yúvan-*_acc.] 'to fashion somebody into a youth'. The same expressions apply to the Aśvins.

Table 11.1: Rejuvenations effectuated by the Ṛbhus and the Aśvins

(a)	RV 1.111.1c **tákṣan** *pitṛ́bhyām ṛbhávo yúvad váyaḥ*	Ṛbhus	*takṣ*
	They fashioned—**the Ṛbhus**—for their parents **youthful vigor**.		
	RV 10.39.8b **púnaḥ** *kalér* **akṛṇutaṃ yúvad váyaḥ**	Aśvins	*kar*
	You two made youthful vigour again for Kali.		
(b)	RV 4.36.3cd *jívrī yát sántā pitárā sanājúrā* **púnar yúvānā** *caráthāya* **tákṣatha**	Ṛbhus	*takṣ*
	... That you **fashion** your **parents** as **youths for them** to keep going, even though they were enfeebled, worn out by age.		
	RV 1.20.4 **yúvānā pitárā púnaḥ** *satyámantrā ṛjūyávaḥ* **ṛbhávo** *viṣṭy* **àkrata**	Ṛbhus	*kar*
	They whose mantras come true, who aim straight—**the Ṛbhus**—**made their parents young again** through their toil.[3]		
	RV 10.39.4ab *yuvám* **cyávānaṃ** *sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham* **púnar yúvānaṃ** *caráthāya* **takṣathuḥ**	Aśvins	*takṣ*
	You two fashioned old **Cyavāna**, like a chariot, **into a youth again**, (for him) to move about.		
	RV 1.117.13ab *yuvám* **cyávānam** *aśvinā járantam* **púnar yúvānaṃ cakrathuḥ** *śácībhiḥ*	Aśvins	*kar*
	You, O Aśvins, **made** the aging **Cyavāna a youth again** through your powers.		

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3 *kar* further occurs in RV 1.110.8d, 161.3c, 7b, 4.33.2ab, 4.35.5a.

The comparison between RV 4.36.3cd (see Chapter 10, Section 4) and RV 10.39.4ab (see Chapter 3, Section 6) is noteworthy: the collocation [*púnar – takṣ*–REJUVENATED x_acc.–*yúvan-*_acc.] is enlarged with an infinitive form of *car* 'to move, wander', which provides us with information about the result of the rejuvenation. As already made clear, the chariot metaphor is employed in contexts of healing and rejuvenation in connection with the analogous results obtained by healers and rejuvenators, namely, recovery of the capacity to move.

11.3 Achieving or Upgrading Immortality

A second common trait between the Aśvins and the Ṛbhus concerns 'the consequence of (their) *takṣ*-ing'. As shown in Chapter 6, from post-Rigvedic accounts we learn that the Aśvins came to be included in the soma ritual *after rejuvenating Cyavāna*. Indeed, the Aśvins were 'incomplete' and 'not included in the soma ritual' before performing this endeavour:

> JB 3.124
> *yuvaṃ vā **asarvau** stho yau devau santāv **asomapau sthaḥ***
>
> [Cyavana instructs Sukanyā:] "You are **incomplete**, although you are gods, **as you do not receive soma**."

> ŚB 4.1.5.10
> **ná vaí súsarvāviva stho ná súsamṛddhāvivátha** me pátiṃ nindatha íti
>
> [Cyavana instructs Sukanyā:] "But surely **you are neither quite complete nor quite perfect**, and yet you deride my husband."

They were furthermore accused to have mixed with men, performing cures:

> ŚB 4.1.5.14
> *taú hocatuḥ úpa nau hvayadhvamíti té ha devā́ ūcurná vāmúpahvayiṣyāmahe **bahú manuṣyèṣu sáṃsṛṣṭamacāriṣṭaṃ bhiṣajyántāv**íti*
>
> The two of them said: "Invite us thereto!" The gods said: "We will not invite you: **you have wandered and mixed much among the men, performing cures**."

For this reason, they were considered unworthy of the soma:

> MBh 3.124.8–9
> **agṛhṇāc cyavanaḥ somam**, **aśvinor** devayos tadā
> tam indro vārayām āsa, gṛhyamāṇaṃ tayor graham
> {Indra uvāca}
> **ubhāv etau na somārhau**, **nāsatyāv iti me matiḥ**
> **bhiṣajau** devaputrāṇāṃ, karmaṇā naivam arhataḥ

Cyavana drew a cup of Soma for the divine Aśvins, and Indra stopped the cup that had been drawn for the Aśvins. Indra said: "**I hold that these two Nāsatyas are unworthy of the Soma**. Since they are *healers* to the sons of Gods, their calling excludes them."

However, the Aśvins end up being admitted at the ritual thanks to Cyavana's help:

JB 3.127
*kas tad yajñasya śiro vedety, āvam iti, tad vai pratisaṃdhattam iti, tābhyāṃ vai nau grahaṃ gṛhṇīteti, tābhyām etam āśvinaṃ graham agṛhṇaṃs, tāv abruvan yuvam evādhvaryū sthas, tau tat prajānantāv etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratisaṃdhāsyatha iti, tatheti, **tāv adhvaryū āstāṃ, tat tāv apisomāv abhavatam***

"Who knows this head of the sacrifice?"
"We do."
"So put him on it"
"Then scoop us a scoop." Then they scooped the Āśvina scoop for the two of them. Now they said to the (Aśvins): "You two shall be the *adhvaryus* of the sacrifice and then you will put this head of the sacrifice which you know well." **They now appeared as the two *adhvaryus* and thus received a share in the Soma**.

ŚB 4.1.5.15
taú hocatuḥ víśīrṣṇā vaí yajñéna yajadhva íti katháṃ víśīrṣṇétyúpa nú nau hvayadhvamátha vo vakṣyāva íti táthéti tā úpāhvayanta tábhyāmetám ⁺āśvináṃ gráhamagṛhṇaṃstávadh-varyū yajñásyābhavatām távetádyajñásya śíraḥ prátyadhattām

They [scil. the Aśvins] said: "But surely you worship with a headless sacrifice."
"How with a headless sacrifice?"
"Invite us, and we will tell you."
"So be it!" So, they [sc. the gods] invited them. They drew this Āśvina cup for them and they became *adhvaryu* priests of the sacrifice and restored the head of the sacrifice.

MBh 3.125.2–3
tato 'bravīd deva-rājaś, cyavanaṃ bhaya-pīḍitaḥ
***somārhāv aśvināv etāv**, adya prabhṛti bhārgava*

Painstricken, the king of the Gods said to Cyavana, "**Henceforth the Aśvins shall deserve Soma**, Bhārgava."

These texts show that the inclusion of the Aśvins in the soma ritual is ultimately connected with the rejuvenation of Cyavana and the consequent restoration of the head of the sacrifice. Their inclusion in the soma ritual is, in turn, presented as an improvement of the Aśvins' divine status: as the Aśvins were 'incomplete/imperfect' (Skr. *asarva-*) before acquiring the right to participate in the soma ritual, we deduce that, through their inclusion in the rite, they become 'complete' gods.

In this respect, a further similarity with the Ṛbhus may be identified. Indeed, in the *Rigveda* the Ṛbhus are said to once have been 'mortals' (*mártāsaḥ*, RV 1.110.4b).

According to different hymns, they obtained immortality, also referred as 'the sacrifice' (i.e. the partaking in the sacrifice), thanks to the five wonders, or, one may also say, 'through the *takṣ*-ing' they performed:

> RV 1.20.2
> *yá índrāya vacoyújā*
> *tatakṣúr mánasā hárī*
> *śámībhir* **yajñám āśata**

> Those who fashioned for Indra with mind the two fallow bays yoked by speech, **they attained the sacrifice** through their labours.

> RV 1.110.4ab
> *viṣṭvī́ śámī taraṇitvéna* **vāgháto**
> **mártāsaḥ sánto amṛtatvám ānaśuḥ**

> Toiling with labor, with surpassing skill, **the cantors, though they were mortal, reached immortality**.

Although the condition of the Ṛbhus radically changes, while that of the Aśvins is only 'improved', the myths of the two mythological complexes seem to follow the same scheme. The Aśvins and the Ṛbhus transform ('fashion' *takṣ*) someone or something and thanks to this deed of theirs they achieve immortality. The analogy concerning the 'consequences' of *takṣ*-ing is thus twofold, as it concerns:

(i) the production of something that moves, namely, the fashioned/transformed thing/person;
(ii) the attainment of immortality by the fashioner.

Scheme 5: Consequences of *takṣ*-ing
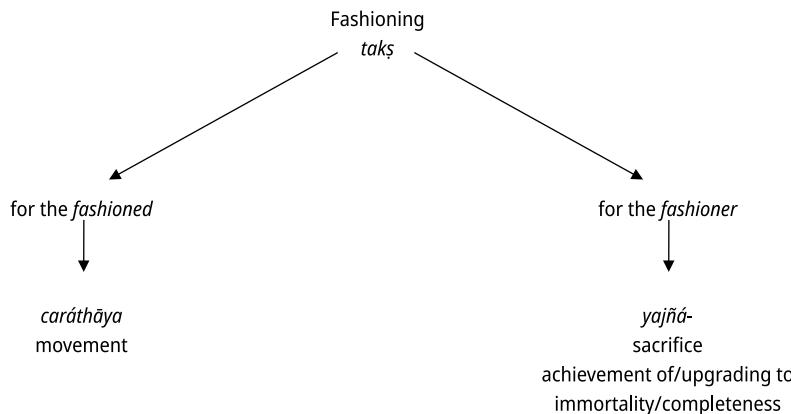
The use of the root *takṣ* in the *Rigveda* confirms that it is connected to the fashioning of movable (lifelike) things and immortality. The Vedic situation can be compared to the employment of the τέκτων-metaphor in Pindar's *Pythian Three* and *Nemean Five*. Fashioners are credited with analogous achievements:

(i) metaphoric τέκτονες, healers, artists and trainers produce/restore *for others* things that speak and/or move efficiently: healed patients, odes and athletes;

(ii) as recently argued by Jackson Rova (2023), the poets' fashioning allows themselves and their laudandi to attain immortality thanks to glory (κλέος) and poetry.

Scheme 6: Consequences of τεκταίνεσθαι

Fashioning
τεκταίνεσθαι

on the *fashioned*   on the *fashioner*

ἔστασεν ὀρθούς (healer, *Pyth.* 3.53)   ἀρετὰ κλειναῖς ἐν ἀοιδαῖς ‖
                                                                            χρονία τελέθει (*Pyth.* 3.114–115)
τέκτον᾽ ἀεθληταῖσιν (trainer, *Nem.* 5.49)   achievement of/
                                                                            upgrading to immortality
ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν (poet, *Pyth.* 3.113)
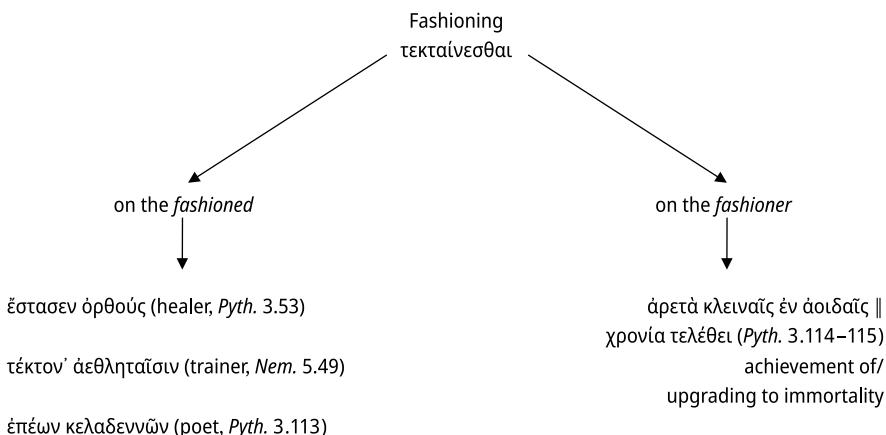
In both Greek and Vedic, metaphoric usages of derivatives of the IE root **tetk-* occur within **tetk-* or [FASHIONING]-compositions, i.e. in circular structures, within which words themselves are proof of the poets/poet-priests' τεκταίνεσθαι. It is indeed tantalising to connect this manifestation of poetic art with the term that Pindar applies to the τέκτονες, ἅρμοσαν, a verb ultimately derived from the word 'wheel' (Myc. *a-mo*, KN Sg 1811.5+),[4] and further related to the name of the vehicle par excellence, ἅρμα 'chariot'.

The present analysis raises the question of why and how derivatives of IE **tetk-* came to achieve such a 'special role' in Greek and Vedic. To answer this question I will try to connect the inventions of τέκτονες to their possible ritual background,

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4 On the term see Hajnal (1998), 17–18, Panagl (1992), 137–142, and now de Meyer (2024), 156–165.

the ultimate materialisation of the invention of the τέκτονες within Greek and Vedic tradition, which I identify as the *drink of the song.* Let us now turn to the analysis of *Nemean Three*, an ode in which the poetological image of the craftsman combines with that of the 'drink to sing on'.

Part 3: **Fashioning a Poetic Drink: A Comparative Study in Pindar's *Nemean Three***

12 Pindar's *Nemean Three*: Text and Translation

12.1 Text

1	Ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρα, λίσσομαι,	Α'
2	τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι	
3	ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν· ὕδατι γάρ	
4	μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες	
5	κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι.	
6	διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,	
7	ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ᾽ ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ,	
8	στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν·	
9	τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὄπαζε μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο·	
10	ἄρχε δ᾽ οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι, θύγατερ,	
11	δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις	
12	λύρᾳ τε κοινάσομαι. χαρίεντα δ᾽ ἕξει πόνον	
13	χώρας ἄγαλμα, Μυρμιδόνες ἵνα πρότεροι	
14	ᾤκησαν, ὧν παλαίφατον ἀγορὰν	
15	οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσσιν Ἀριστοκλείδας τεὰν	
16	ἐμίανε κατ᾽ αἶσαν ἐν περισθενεῖ μαλαχθείς	
17	παγκρατίου στόλῳ· καματωδέων δὲ πλαγᾶν	
18	ἄκος ὑγιηρὸν ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέᾳ	
	τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει.	
19	εἰ δ᾽ ἐὼν καλὸς ἔρδων τ᾽ ἐοικότα μορφᾷ	
20	ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα	
	παῖς Ἀριστοφάνεος, οὐκέτι πρόσω	
21	ἀβάταν ἅλα κιόνων ὕπερ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,	
22	ἥρως θεὸς ἃς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας	Β'
23	μάρτυρας κλυτάς· δάμασε δὲ θῆρας ἐν πελάγεϊ	
24	ὑπερόχους, ἰδίᾳ τ᾽ ἐρεύνασε τεναγέων	
25	ῥοάς, ὁπᾷ πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος,	
26	καὶ γᾶν φράδασε. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπάν	
27	ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεαι;	
28	Αἰακῷ σε φαμὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν.	
29	ἕπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας ἄωτος, ᾽ἐσλὸν αἰνεῖν᾽,	
30	οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίων ἔρωτες ἀνδρὶ φέρειν κρέσσονες·	
31	οἴκοθεν μάτευε. ποτίφορον δὲ κόσμον ἔλαχες	
32	γλυκύ τι γαρυέμεν. παλαιαῖσι δ᾽ ἐν ἀρεταῖς	

33 γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἄναξ, ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών·
34 ὃς καὶ Ἰαολκὸν εἷλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς,
35 καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν
36 ἐγκονητί. Λαομέδοντα δ᾽ εὐρυσθενής
37 Τελαμὼν Ἰόλᾳ παραστάτας ἐὼν ἔπερσεν
38 καί ποτε χαλκότοξον Ἀμαζόνων μετ᾽ ἀλκάν
39 ἕπετό οἱ, οὐδέ νίν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμας
        ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν.
40 συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξίᾳ μέγα βρίθει.
41 ὃς δὲ διδάκτ᾽ ἔχει, ψεφεννὸς ἀνὴρ
        ἄλλοτ᾽ ἄλλα πνέων οὔ ποτ᾽ ἀτρεκεῖ
42 κατέβα ποδί, μυριᾶν δ᾽ ἀρετᾶν ἀτελεῖ νόῳ γεύεται.

43 ξανθὸς δ᾽ Ἀχιλεὺς τὰ μὲν μένων Φιλύρας ἐν δόμοις,   Γ᾽
44 παῖς ἐὼν ἄθυρε μεγάλα ἔργα· χερσὶ θαμινά
45 βραχυσίδαρον ἄκοντα πάλλων ἴσα τ᾽ ἀνέμοις,
46 {ἐν} μάχᾳ λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσεν φόνον,
47 κάπρους τ᾽ ἔναιρε· σώματα δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδαν
48 Κένταυρον ἀσθμαίνοντα κόμιζεν,
49 ἑξέτης τὸ πρῶτον, ὅλον δ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἂν χρόνον·
50 τὸν ἐθάμβεον Ἄρτεμίς τε καὶ θρασεῖ᾽ Ἀθάνα,

51 κτείνοντ᾽ ἐλάφους ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ᾽ ἑρκέων·
52 ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε. λεγόμενον δὲ τοῦτο προτέρων
53 ἔπος ἔχω· βαθυμῆτα Χίρων τράφε λιθίνῳ
54 Ἰάσον᾽ ἔνδον τέγει, καὶ ἔπειτεν Ἀσκλαπιόν,
55 τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον·
56 νύμφευσε δ᾽ αὖτις ἀγλαόκολπον
57 Νηρέος θύγατρα, γόνον τέ οἱ φέρτατον
58 ἀτίταλλεν <ἐν> ἁρμένοισι πᾶσι θυμὸν αὔξων,
59 ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθεὶς
60 ὑπὸ Τροΐαν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων
        τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν
61 Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμείξαις
62 Αἰθιόπεσσι χεῖρας ἐν φρασὶ πά-
        ξαιθ᾽, ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος ὀπίσω
63 πάλιν οἴκαδ᾽ ἀνεψιὸς ζαμενὴς Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μόλοι.

64 τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν·   Δ᾽
65 Ζεῦ, τεὸν γὰρ αἷμα, σέο δ᾽ ἀγών, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν

66   ὀπὶ νέων ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων.
67   βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρέπει,
68   ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλέι προσέθηκε λόγῳ
69   καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις
70   Πυθίου Θεάριον. ἐν δὲ πείρᾳ τέλος
71   διαφαίνεται ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται,
72   ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, ἐν {δ'} ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρ, τρίτον
73   ἐν παλαιτέροισι, μέρος ἕκαστον οἷον ἔχομεν
74   βρότεον ἔθνος· ἐλᾷ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετάς
75   <ὁ> θνατὸς αἰών, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκείμενον.
76   τῶν οὐκ ἄπεσσι· χαῖρε, φίλος· ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
77   πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
78   σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει,
79   πόμ' ἀοίδιμον Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν,
80   ὀψέ περ. ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς,
81   ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος,
            δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν·
82   κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.
83   τίν γε μέν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελοί-
            σας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος ἕνεκεν
84   Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

12.2 Translation[1]

O mistress Muse, my mother, I beg of you, come in the Nemean sacred month to this much-visited Dorian island of Aegina, for by the Asopian water are waiting the fashioners of honey-voiced revels, young men who seek your voice. Different deeds thirst for different things, but victory in the games loves song most of all, the fittest companion for crowns and achievements. Grant from my ingenuity a profusion of it: begin for the ruler of the much-clouded sky, (as you are his) daughter, a hymn that shall be welcomed. I myself will entrust it to their voices and the lyre.

It will be a task full of grace (to make) a monument for the land, where the first Myrmidons dwelled, whose long-famed assembly place Aristocleidas did not stain with dishonour, thanks to your favour, by weakening in the mighty course of the pancratium.

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1 The provided translation is based on Race (1997b) and has been modified by the author.

And for his fatiguing blows in Nemea's deep plain he bears home a healing remedy of beautiful victory. If, being handsome and performing deeds to match his form, the son of Aristophanes has embarked on utmost deeds of manhood, it is no easy task to go yet further across the untracked sea beyond the pillars of Heracles that the hero-god established as famed witnesses of his furthermost voyage. He subdued unstoppable beasts in the sea, and on his own explored the streams of the shallows, where he reached the limit that sent him back home, and he made known the land. My heart, to what alien headland are you turning aside my ship's course? To Aeacus and his race, I tell you, bring the Muse. The choicest flower of justice attends the precept "praise the good," but longings for foreign themes are not better for a man to bear. Search at home, for you have been granted a fitting adornment: to proclaim something sweet. In achievements of long ago lord Peleus took delight, after cutting his matchless spear; he took Iolcus all alone, without an army, and captured the sea nymph Thetis with great effort. And mighty Telamon, fighting beside Iolaus, destroyed Laomedon and once joined him in pursuit of the brave Amazons with bronze bows, and never did man-crushing fear check the sharpness of his mind. One with inborn glory carries great weight, but he who has learned to be famed is a shadowy man; ever changing his purpose, he never takes a precise step, but attempts innumerable feats with an ineffectual mind. But blond Achilles, while living in Philyra's home, even as a child at play would perform great deeds; often did he brandish in his hands his short iron-tipped javelin and, swiftly as the winds, deal death in battle to wild lions and kill boars. He would bring their gasping bodies to the Centaur, Cronus' son, beginning at age six and for all time thereafter. Artemis and bold Athena were astonished to see him slaying deer without dogs or deceitful nets, for he overtook them on foot. The story I have to tell was told by former poets: Chiron of deep mind raised Jason in his rocky dwelling and then Asclepius, whom he taught the gentle-handed province of medicines. Then too he betrothed the splendid-bosomed daughter of Nereus, and fostered her perfect offspring, making his spirit great in all things fitting, so that, when sent by the blasts of the winds at sea to the foot of Troy, he would withstand the spear-clashing battle cry of the Lycians and Phrygians and Dardanians, and when grappling with spear-bearing Ethiopians he would fix it in his mind that their leader Memnon, Helenus' super-strong cousin, would not go back home again.

The far-beaming light of the Aeacids is fixed from here. Zeus, yours is the blood, and yours the contest, which this hymn has struck with young men's voices as it celebrates this land's joy. Loud acclaim is proper to Aristocleidas who brought a victory home, (he,) who has linked this island to glorious praise and the hallowed Delegation of the Pythian god to splendid ambitions. But in the test the result shines through, in what ways someone proves superior, as a child among young children, man among men, and thirdly among elders – such is each stage that our human

race attains. Then too, our mortal life drives a team of four virtues, and it bids us heed what is at hand. Of these you have no lack. Enjoy, friend! I send you honey mixed with white milk – stirred foam crowns it – a drink to sing on, accompanied by the Aeolian breaths of pipes, late though it be.

Swift is the eagle among birds, which suddenly seizes, as it searches from afar, the bloodied prey in its talons, while the cawing jackdaws range down below. But for you, through the favour of fair-throned Cleo and because of your determination for victory, from Nemea, Epidaurus, and Megara has shone the light of glory.

13 The Structure of Pindar's *Nemean Three*

Il faut être toujours ivre. Tout est là : c'est
l'unique question. Pour ne pas sentir l'horrible
fardeau du Temps qui brise vos épaules et
vous penche vers la terre, il faut vous enivrer
sans trêve. Mais de quoi ? De vin,
de poésie ou de vertu, à votre guise.
Mais enivrez-vous.
C. Baudelaire, *Le Spleen de Paris*

13.1 The Date Problem

Pindar's *Nemean Three* honours Aristocleidas from Aegina, who won in the pancratium. It is difficult to provide a date for the ode (Pfeijffer [1999], 197–198). Gaspar (1900), 104–107 proposes 475 BCE[1] on the basis of stylistic elements that Christ (1889), II 52–54 identified as common to *Nemean Three* and Pindar's Sicilian odes (*Olympians* 1, 2, 3, *Pythian* 2 and *Nemean* 9). This dating methodology has been criticised by Pohlsander (1963), who proposed taking 458 BCE (the beginning of Athenian domination of Aegina) as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the ode. As Cannatà (2020), 53–54 points out, Pindar calls Aegina the 'hospitable, Doric island' (πολυξέναν … Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν, 2–3), just as he does in *Paean* 6 and in *Olympian* 8, which are dated to a phase prior to the Athenian domination.[2] Furthermore, from the text we are only able to derive two clues on the epinician's performance, namely:

– At 80 (ὀψέ περ) the poet states that he is sending his ode with delay;[3]
– From 2 (ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ) we learn that the ode was performed in the 'sacred month', in which Apollo was celebrated.[4]

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1 This date or one close to it was accepted by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1922), 276, Farnell (1932), 254, Bowra (1935), 408–409, as well as in the Puech (1923), Turyn (1948) and Snell/Maehler (1987) editions.

2 The Sixth Paean (D6 R) is dated between 491 and 467 BCE (Bona [1988], but see also Rutherford [2001], 331, fn. 85, who argues that the Paean exhibits interesting similarities with *Isthm.* 8, which is dated to 474 BCE). *Olympian* 8 is dated 460 BCE (*Schol. Ol.* 8 *inscr.* Dr.).

3 According to Instone (1993), ὀψέ περ alludes to a two year gap between the victory and the performance of the ode at the Delphinia. In contrast, Eckerman (2014) argues for a much smaller chronological gap, amounting to days, and not months, between the victory and its celebration.

4 See *Schol. in Nem.* 5.81ab Dr., Privitera (1988), and Section 2.

13.2 Waiting by the Asopian Spring

The ode is framed by references to liquid metapoetic metaphors.[5] At the beginning of the poem, the Muse is invited to travel to Aegina (ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν, 3). Indeed, the young performers of *Nemean Three* are said to be waiting for her by the Asopian spring (ὕδατι γάρ ‖ μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ … νεανίαι, 3–5) because victory at the Panhellenic games thirsts for songs (διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου, ‖ ἀεθλονι-κία … ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ, 6–7). At the end of the poem, the poet offers the winner a 'drink to sing on' (πέμπω … πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον, 77–79).

References to the metaphoric field of liquid poetics can be explained by taking into account the synchronic background of the ode (Massetti 2024b): as shown by Privitera (1988), *Nemean Three* was performed at the Delphinia. This Aeginetan festival in honour of Apollo featured a procession of amphorae from the Asopian spring to the stadium (*hydrophoria*, see *Schol. Nem.* 5.81b Dr.), followed by a foot-race (*amphiphoritēs*).[6] The *aition* reveals that thirst played a major role in the institution of the event. The Delphinia re-enacted the race to fetch water first undertaken by the Argonauts when they had stopped at Aegina for water (Ap. Rhod. 4.1766–1777).[7] The Aeginetan heroes Peleus and Telamon, mentioned at *Nem.* 3.33–42, were Argonauts, so, they witnessed or competed in the first *amphiphoritēs*. Achilles, the protagonist of *Nem.* 3.43–63, did not compete in that race, but he possessed the main quality of runners, swiftness of foot.[8] Through liquid metaphors Pindar links the ode's metapoetic imagery back to the original context the ode's performance is celebrating: the Argonauts' thirst for water is mirrored by the thirst for odes of the victors in the Panhellenic games and Aegina satiating the Argonauts gives cause to the plea to the Muse to satiate the victories, which desire odes. Aegina thus features as the place in which both the thirst (for water) of the Argonauts and that (for odes) of victories is satisfied, since the thirst for odes is satisfied through the performance of *Nemean Three* at the Delphinia. The 'synchronic' background of the metaphor is clarified through the mythological *aition* of its performance context and occasion.

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5 On the notion of 'liquid poetics' see Kurke (1989) and now Lather (2019).

6 On the festival see Polinskaya (2013), 144–147.

7 *Etym. Magn.* s.v. ἀμφιφορίτης, which specifies that the competition re-enacted 'the one of the heroes' (κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἡρώων).

8 Compare the formula πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (*Il.* 1.58+) and *Nem.* 3.52 ποσσί … κράτεσκε (matching *ex Pindaro ipso* κρατησίπους, *Pyth.* 10.16, fr. 13).

This explanation does not undermine the traditional character of the image 'song to drink on'.[9] In deliberately employing a given metaphor, Pindar is drawing from a repertoire of ancient and traditional poetic images. Here, I focus on two interconnected metapoetic metaphors of the ode: that of the 'thirst for/drinking of song' and that of the 'fashioners of performance'. Although analogous images are found in other Pindaric poems and other Greek texts,[10] their combination in *Nemean Three* stands out: in this ode, they are linked by means of lexical and semantic reprises, which build a frame for a chainlike structure.

13.3 The Rings of *Nemean Three*

As I discussed in a previous paper,[11] the ode consists of four triads, each comprising an eight-verse strophe, an eight-verse antistrophe and a five-verse epode, for a total of 84 verses. Its structure can be described as a 'framed chain of rings': an external ring surrounds a series of rings, which interlock adjacent triads to one another.

More precisely, themes and lexemes of the first triad (1–21) seem to correlate with those of the closing triad (64–84) (Table 13.1).

Reference to the themes of *remoteness/displacement of glory* may count as a further common image. This topic joins 20–21, in which Heracles reached the furthest point of the world (κιόνων … Ἡρακλέος, 21; at 23 the columns are also said to be 'the famed witnesses', μάρτυρας κλυτάς, of Heracles' travel), to the remote places reached by the glory of the Aeacids: their glory is 'far-beaming' (τηλαυγές … φέγγος, 64), the eagle (i.e. the poet, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος, 81), comes 'from afar', the glory of Aristocleidas shines from different places: Nemea, Epidaurus and Megara (Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ᾽ ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος, 84).[12]

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9 Not only can parallels for the metaphors be identified in other Indo-European languages, but combinatory phraseological analysis also allows us to frame the metaphors 'thirst for songs' and 'song-drink' in a system of metaphors attested in several Indo-European traditions: the words are 'poured' or 'fill' the audience, the voice of the performer 'streams', ears 'drink' the voice etc., see Kurke (1989), García Ramón (2008), (2010), Dardano (2018), 47–64, Massetti (2019), 168–172.
10 See previous Chapter 5. A collection of Greek literary passages can be found in Nünlist (1998), 178–205 ('drink of songs'), 83–125 ('craftsmanship'). See also Manieri (2021) on Pindaric metaphors applying to poetics (pp. 57–59 on *Nemean Three*) which involve food and drink: as the author points out, such metaphors are often employed in a positive sense, to express the idea of 'satisfaction' of a need.
11 Massetti (2024b).
12 On these final verses and their inherited background see now Meusel (2021) (on the falcon metaphor) and (2023), on μέλι μεμιγμένον being an *Ersatzkontinuante* for [RITUAL DRINK–MIX (IE *$kerh_2$)], a ritual expression.

Table 13.1: Lexemic, semantic repetitions, complementary metaphors of *Nem.* 3.1–21 (first triad) and 64–84 (fourth triad)

[MUSE]	Μοῖσα (1)			:	εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς (83)[13]
[NEMEA]	Νεμεάδι (2)	:	Νεμέᾳ (18)	:	Νεμέας (84)
[ISLAND]	νᾶσον (3)			:	νᾶσον (68)
[HONEY]	μελιγαρύων (4)	:			πέμπω … μέλι (77)
[to SEARCH]	σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι (5)[14]			:	τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος (81)
[YOUTHS]–[VOICE]	νεανίαι … ὄπα (5)			:	ὀπὶ νέων (66)
[THIRST]–[DRINK]	διψῇ … ἀεθλονικία ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ (6–7)	:	[ἄκος (18)]	:	πέμπω … πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον (77–79)
[ACHIEVEMENTS]	ἀρετᾶν (8)			:	ἀρετάς (74)
[ZEUS]–[HYMN]	οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι … δόκιμον ὕμνον (10–11)			:	Ζεῦ … ὕμνος ἔβαλεν (65)
[JOY]/[GRACE]	χαρίεντα (12)	:	χάρμα κελαδέων (66)	:	χαῖρε (76)
[ANCIENT]	παλαίφατον (14)			:	παλαιτέροισι (73)
[ARISTOCLEIDAS – BRING VICTORY]	Ἀριστοκλείδας … τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει (15–18)			:	νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ (67)

The first and the second triads (1–21 and 22–42) seem to be linked by further lexical reprises (Table 13.2).

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13 As noted by several commentators (see, as a recent reference, Cannatà [2020], 310), ἄγαλμα at 13 may also belong to the metapoetic metaphor of construction. I did not list it in the repetitions between the first and the fourth triads because nothing correlates with it in the fourth triad.

14 One may also add the 'sound effect' created through ὈΠΑ : ὈΠΑδόν : ὈΠΑζε μήτιος ἁμᾶς ἌΠΟ (5, 8, 9).

Table 13.2: Lexemic and semantic repetitions of *Nem.* 3.1–21 (first triad) and 22–42 (second triad)

[MUSE]	Μοῖσα (1)	:	Μοῖσαν (28)		
[HONEY]	μελιγαρύων (4)			:	γλυκύ τι γαρυέμεν (32)
[to SEARCH]	σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι (5)			:	οἴκοθεν μάτευε (31)
[ACHIEVEMENTS]	ἀρετᾶν (8)	:	ἀρεταῖς (32)	:	ἀρετᾶν (42)
[ANCIENT]	παλαίφατον (14)	:		:	παλαιαῖσι (32)

The second and the third triads (22–42, 43–63), which are mythological sections, appear to be connected through thematic reprises. As pointed out by Privitera (1977), here Heracles, Peleus and Achilles seem to be represented as heroes who accomplish extraordinary deeds all by themselves (ἰδίᾳ ... ὀπᾷ, 24–25) and without receiving help of any kind (Ἰαολκὸν εἷλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς, 34, Peleus; κτείνοντ᾽ ἐλάφους ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ᾽ ἑρκέων, 51, Achilles).

Table 13.3: Semantic reprises of *Nem.* 3.22–42 (second triad) and 43–63 (third triad)

[CONCEPT]	Generation before Achilles	Achilles
[WEAPON of the HERO]	αἰχμὰν ταμών (33, Peleus)	βραχυσίδαρον ἄκοντα πάλλων (45)
[WITHOUT ANY FURTHER HELP]	ἄνευ στρατιᾶς (34, Peleus)	ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ᾽ ἑρκέων (51)
[THETIS]	ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν (35, Peleus)	Νηρέος θύγατρα, γόνον τέ οἱ φέρτατον ‖ ἀτίταλλεν (57–58)
[TROY-ENDEAVOURS]	Λαομέδοντα ... ἔπερσεν (36–37, Telamon)[15]	ὑπὸ Τροῖαν δορίκτυπον ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν ‖ Δαρδάνων τε μή ... πάλιν οἴκαδ᾽(ε) ... Μέμνων μόλοι (60–63)

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15 Heracles and Telamon's expedition against Laomedon was represented on the East pediment of Aphaia's temple at Aegina, while episodes of the Trojan war were represented on the West pediment, see Invernizzi (1965), Burnett (2005), 13–44.

Both Heracles and Achilles are 'slayers of beasts', compare δάμασε δὲ θῆρας (Heracles, 23) : μάχα λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσεν φόνον, ‖ κάπρους τ᾽ ἔναιρε (Achilles, 46–47) : κτείνοντ᾽ ἐλάφους (Achilles, 51). Moreover, the deeds of the pair Peleus-Telamon and those of Achilles are presented in analogous thematic order, which involves references to common elements (see Table 13.3).

Just as the first triad seems to be attached to both the second and the fourth triads, the fourth triad seems to be linked to the first, the second and the third triads. Moreover, we may recognise a circular thematic organisation within it. It begins and concludes with the image of *shining glory*, at 64 and 84:[16]

4th triad, *Nem.* 3.64
τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε **φέγγος** Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτό**θεν**

The **far-beaming light** of the Aeacids is fixed **from** here.

4th triad, *Nem.* 3.84
Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρό**θεν** τ᾽ **ἄπο** καὶ Μεγάρων **δέδορκεν φάος**

from Nemea, Epidaurus, and Megara **has shone the light of glory**.[17]

At the same time, the polarity between 'inborn glorious achievements' and non-inborn, 'taught' glory (40–42, triad 2) may correlate with the polarities high vs. low and single vs. many, seen in the contrast eagle (i.e. the poet who flies high) vs. jackdaws (i.e. the other poets) at 80–82; in triad 4, the man with innate glory (συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξίᾳ, 40) is opposed to the shadowy man (ψεφεννὸς ἀνήρ, 41). In parallel the eagle's controlled and seizing talons (ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα … ποσίν, 81) contrast with the shadowy man's feet, with their uncertain step (ἀτρεκεῖ … ποδί, 41–42), just as the poet's solitary eagle, i.e. the one who provides glory (δέδορκεν φάος, 84), is opposed to the multiple jackdaws, which range down below.

The metapoetic metaphor of the eagle (80–81, fourth triad), the best of poets, may further echo images applying to Achilles, i.e. *the best of the Achaeans*, in the third triad: at 47–48 Achilles brings the gasping bodies of the animals he hunted to Chiron (σώματα … ἀσθμαίνοντα κόμιζεν); the eagle carries a bloodied prey in its talons (ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν, 81). Moreover, at 52 Achilles is said to overtake his prey thanks to his swift foot (ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε, 52), while the eagle is said to be 'swift among the birds' (ἔστι δ᾽ αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς, 80).

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16 A further coincidence I identify between triads three and four is the term παῖς (44, 58).
17 On the use of δέδορκε in the passage see Barnes (2013). For Indo-European parallels to the phraseology [GLORY/FAME–SHINE] see Massetti (forthc./c).

13.4 Poetic Drinks

The metapoetic kenning of the 'fashioners of honey-voiced revels' is associated with the motif of the 'thirst for odes' at the frame-beginning and may correlate with the image of the 'drink to sing on' at the frame-end:

1st triad	4th triad
[CRAFTSMEN] + [HONEY] + [ODE-THIRST]	[POETIC PERFORMANCE] = [HONEY], [ODE-DRINK]
Nem. 3.4–7	*Nem.* 3.77–79

μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ **μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων** νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι. **διψῇ** δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου, ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ᾽ **ἀοιδὰν** φιλεῖ	**πέμπω** μεμιγμένον **μέλι** λευκῷ σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ᾽ ἔερσ᾽ ἀμφέπει, **πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον** Αἰολίσσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν

The metaphorical lexicon of *Nem.* 3.4–7 finds several parallels in Pindar and in other texts of the Archaic and Classical Ages.[18]

– *Ex Pindaro ipso* the compound μελίγαρυς[19] (applying to ὕμνος in *Ol.* 11.4, *Pyth.* 3.64, *Isthm.* 2.3, fr. 52c.12 [= *Pae.* 3 = D3 R] and to the ὀμφά of the paean in fr. 52e.47 [= *Pae.* 5 = D5 R]) can be compared with a variety of Pindaric compounds with FCMs μελι° 'honey' (μελιγαθής, fr. 198b, μελίγδουπος, *Nem.* 11.18, μελί-

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18 Nünlist (1998), 178–205 provides a dossier on the system of metaphors attested in poetic texts of the Archaic and Classical Ages: sweet voice streams out (ῥέω), compare *Il.* 1.249, Hes. *Th.* 39–40, 97; or streams incessantly (ῥεῖ ἄσπετος), *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 237, compare also Pind. *Ol.* 10.9–10, *Nem.* 7.11–12, *Isthm.* 7.18–19 (ῥοά); the voice or songs/poetic words 'are poured out' ([κατα-] or [προ-]χέω: *Od.* 19.521, *Hom. Hymn Pan* 18, Hes. *Op.* 583, Hes. [*Sc.*] 396, Sappho fr. 101a.1–2 V, Bacchyl. 5.14–16, Simon. 22.17–18 *IEG*, Sappho 2.13–16, 96.26–28, *mel. adesp.* 1027a, Pind. *Pyth.* 1.7–8, 10.56, *Isthm.* 8.58, *carm. pop.* 85b.1–2, *mel. adesp.* 936.5–6, Antigenes 7–8 D; σπένδω: *mel. adesp.* 941 P); the poet 'pours out himself' in Pind. *Isthm.* 1.3–4 (χέω), fr. 123.10–11 (τάκομαι). The poet besprinkles the audience/the dedicatee with his voice/words, compare Pind. *Pyth.* 5.98–101, 8.57, *Isthm.* 6.19–21; *mel. adesp.* 936.14–15 (ῥαίνω), Pind. *Ol.* 10.98–99 (καταβρέχω), *Isthm.* 3/4.90–90b (ἐπιστάζω, compare also Bacchyl. 13.228–229 in which ἐνστάζω applies to the poetic inspiration), *Isthm.* 6.64, fr. 6b.f.1–2 (ἄρδω), *Pyth.* 12.9–10 (λείβω). *Nem.* 3.77–79 displays vague phraseological similarities with *Ol.* 7.1–9, which contains the image of the toast: the drink offered to the person celebrated (in the toast or in the song) is 'foaming' (καχλάζοισαν δρόσῳ, *Ol.* 7.2, κιρναμένα δ᾽ ἔερσ᾽ ἀμφέπει, 78) and 'sweet' (γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός, *Ol.* 7.8, μέλι, *Nem.* 3.77). Moreover, it is *sent* (πέμπω) by the poet (ἀνδράσιν πέμπων *Ol.* 7.8, πέμπω, *Nem.* 3.77). On odes and songs as nourishment see Panaino (1986), who discusses the Iranian and Vedic phraseology, and Massetti (2022), in which I focus on the Greek evidence.

19 *Od.* 12.187, *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 519, *Hom. Hymn Pan* 18, Alcm. fr. 26.1.1 *PMG*.

κομπος, *Isthm.* 2.32, μελίρροθος, fr. 246a, μελίφθογγος, *Ol.* 6.21, *Isthm.* 2.7, *Isthm.* 6.9) and ἀδυ° 'sweet', which apply to poetic words or creations, such as ἀδύγλωσσος (*Ol.* 13.100), ἀδυεπής (*Ol.* 10.93, *Nem.* 1.4, *Nem.* 7.21), ἀδύλογος (*Ol.* 6.96), ἀδυμελής (*Ol.* 7.11, 11.14, *Pyth.* 8.70 [κῶμος], *Nem.* 2.25, *Isthm.* 7.20), ἀδύπνοος (*Ol.* 13.22, *Isthm.* 2.25).[20] Moreover, the idea of 'sweetness' is also connected with κῶμος or κῶμος-performance in *Pyth.* 8.70 (κώμῳ μὲν ἀδυμελεῖ), *Nem.* 9.50 (ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν), *Nem.* 10.33–35 (ἀδεῖαί ... ὀμφαὶ κώμασαν), *Isthm.* 7.20 (κώμαζ᾽ ἔπειτεν ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ), *Nem.* 2.24–25 (ὦ πολῖται, κωμάξατε Τιμοδήμῳ σὺν εὐκλέι νόστῳ. ‖ ἀδυμελεῖ δ᾽ ἐξάρχετε φωνᾷ), *Isthm.* 3/4.90–90b (σὺν Ὀρσέᾳ δέ νιν ‖ κωμάξομαι, τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν).

– The motif of the 'thirst for songs' is present in Pind. fr. 94b.76–78 (suppl. Grenfell-Hunt) μὴ νῦν νέκτα[ρ ἰδόντ᾽ ἀπὸ κρά]νας ἐμᾶς ‖ διψῶντ᾽ α[...] παρ᾽ ἁλμυρόν ("do not, having looked at the nectar of my spring, (go) thirsty to the salty ...") and in *Pyth.* 9.103–104 ἀοιδᾶν ‖ δίψαν ἀκειόμενον πράσσει χρέος ("but as I slake my thirst for songs, someone exacts a debt from me"). This latter passage may parallel the thirst metaphor of *Nem.* 3. At 18, ἄκος denotes the song of victory;[21] in *Pyth.* 9.104 ἀκείομαι denotes the quenching of thirst. Significantly, ἄκος and ἀκείομαι only seem to apply to liquid substances in Pindar: in fr. 52d.26 (= *Pae.* 4, = D4 R), ἀμαχανίας ἄκος is a kenning for 'wine'. From this set of parallels it follows that the wording (and ultimately the metaphor) of *Pyth.* 9.103–104 can be compared to that of *Nem.* 3.6–7, 18–19: διψῇ ... ἀεθλονικία ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ (6–7), ἄκος τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει (18–19).

– The term ἔερσα (Pind. *Nem.* 3.78) glossed as δρόσος by the scholium (*Schol. Nem.* 3.135 ἡ δρόσος, φησίν, ἡ τοῦ μέλιτος κιρναμένη) applies to the dew the poet besprinkles on the excellence of his patron in *Nem.* 8.40 (ἀίσσει δ᾽ ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις),[22] whereas δρόσος applies to the poet's song in *Isthm.* 6.64;

– The verb 'to drink', Greek πίνω, a linguistic cognate of πόμα (both deriving from the IE root *peh$_3$(i)- 'to sip', LIV[2] 462–463), applies to the gift of the poet to the laudandi in *Isthm.* 6.74 (πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ "I shall offer them a drink of Dirce's sacred water").[23]

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20 For the complete dossier about compounds with FCMs μελιτ°, ἀδυ°/ἡδυ° and γλυκυ° as well as the use of ἡδύς, γλυκύς and γλυκερός in connection with the poetic creation or with poetological metaphors see Nünlist (1998), 300–306.

21 Cannatà (2020), 316.

22 The term ἐέρση is present in Hes. *Th.* 83.

23 ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ is also found in Simon. 264a P (= *PMG* 577a), for ἀγνός in liquid poetological metaphors compare also Simon. fr. 264b P (= *PMG* 577b).

–   The verb κιρνάω/κίρναμαι and the lexeme κρα- are used in 'symposium' poetological images in *Isthm.* 6.2–3 (κρατῆρα Μοισάων μελέων ‖ κίρναμεν, see also 7–9), *Nem.* 9.48–52, *Isthm.* 5.24–25, *carm. conv.* 917b.[24] In *Olympian Six*, Aenaeas is said to be a 'sweet mixing jug of songs' (γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀποφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν, *Ol.* 6.91).

The combination of the construction-metaphor with the image of liquid/honey poetics, seen in μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων (*Nem.* 3.4–5), seems to appear more rarely: in *Olympian* 3, the poet invokes the Muse to "mix together the *phorminx* of modulating voice, the *aulos*' cry and the arrangement of words."

> *Ol.* 3.8–9
> φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν
>   καὶ βοὰν αὐλῶν **ἐπέων τε θέσιν**
> Αἰνησιδάμου παιδὶ **συμμεῖξαι** πρεπόντως
>
> **To mix** in due measure the varied strains of the lyre, the sound of the pipes, **and the setting of words** for Aenesidamus' son.

The verb μείγνυμι 'mix' and its compounds seem to apply to 'water' or 'liquid' music in Sappho 44.25 (ὀν-μείγνυμι), Anacr. *eleg.* 2 (συμμίσγω), Soph. *TrGF* 737.b.i.4, and Bacchyl. 10.55. Therefore, in *Ol.* 3.9 too συμμεῖξαι may account for the 'liquid' component of the metaphor, whereas both ποικιλόγαρυν and ἐπέων ... θέσιν (8) pertain to the semantic field of elaborate constructions/elaborate objects:[25] ποικίλος often applies to 'woven objects',[26] although it occasionally combines with the metaphor of construction (Pind. fr. 194.2–3 τειχίζωμεν ... ποικίλον ‖ κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων),[27] whereas θέσις, a cognate of τίθημι, is reminiscent of the idea of building. A comparable combination of metaphors may be found in Ibycus, if we accept West's (1984), 29 integration to the passage:

> Ibyc. S257a. 27.3–4
> **ποικίλος ὕ[μνος** ὑπὸ φρένας ἀμάς
> Μοισᾶν Πιε[ρίδων **ἀπολείβεται**
>
> **A variegated hymn is oozed** by the Pierid Muses in my mind.

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24 See also Pind. fr. 181.
25 Catenacci (2013), 419–420.
26 Berardi/Micalella (2009).
27 As I point out in Massetti (2019), 190, the combination ποικίλος ... τειχίζω happens to match Latin *pingo fingo* (Plaut. *Poen.* 219–221) and Tocharian A *tseke ... peke* (THT 5a4): Gk. ποικίλος, Lat. *pingo* and TA *peke* can be traced back to IE *peį̯k- 'to carve', Gk. τειχίζω, Lat. *fingo*, and TA *tseke* to IE *dʰeįgʰ- 'to coat, knead' (LIV² 140–141).

The image of construction and 'honey' further occurs in *Nem.* 11:

Pind. *Nem.* 11.18
μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν **ἀοιδαῖς**

(It is necessary) that we celebrate and **adorn** him **with honey-sounding songs**.

Here, the term δαιδάλλω belongs to the semantic field of construction/decoration, whereas μελιγδούποισι draws from the semantic field of sweet, fluid poetry.[28] As a further comparandum, it is possible to mention the compound μελιτευχής 'made of honey' that applies to the 'source' of songs in a fragmentary poem by Bacchylides:

Bacchyl. 29d.14
... **μελιτευχέα** παγ[άν]

... A spring **made of honey**.[29]

In *Nem.* 3.4–7 and 77–79, the correlation between the two poetological images is established on the basis of the complementarity of the metaphors: at 4, the choreutes (τέκτονες)[30] are said to produce 'honey-voiced' (μελιγαρύων ... κώμων, 4–5) revels; at 77 the poet sends (πέμπω) the winner 'honey' (μέλι), which he also identifies as an ingredient of the 'drink to sing on' (πόμ' ἀοίδιμον, 79). This designation of the poem complements the image of the 'thirst for odes' (διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου ... ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ, 6–7).[31] The only actual repetition between 4–7 and 77–79 is μέλι (μελιγαρύων, 4, μέλι, 77), however, this may allow us to link the 'fashioners' and the 'poetic drink': we can imagine that the drink to sing on is produced, i.e. performed, by the τέκτονες of 4. Indeed, as Manieri (2021), 59–60 stresses, the different ingredients of the mixed poetic drink may represent the virtues of the poet's song (such as sweetness, the ability to give nourishment, the excellence of the poetic result), but also the interpenetration of the different elements which make up the song or the variety of Pindaric poetry: music, Pindar's poetry itself, and the voices of the performers.

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28 Note the word-play ΜΕΛΙγδούποισι ... ΜΕΛΙζεν.

29 Differently, Maehler (1997): 'honigschaffend'. On the compound and its relationship with OInd. *madhudúgha-* 'trickling honey' (RV 6.70.5a) and *madhudoghá-* 'milking out honey' (RV 7.101.1b) see Massetti (2019), 78.

30 *Schol. Nem.* 3.1c οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ τὸν αὐτοσχέδιον ὕμνον τεκτηνάμενοι χοροὶ ἀναμένουσί σε ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ᾀσόμενοι τὸν ὑπὸ Πινδάρου ποιηθέντα ἐπίνικον. Heath/Lefkowitz (1991) argued that τέκτονες refers to the audience of *Nemean Three*, which is thirsty for songs. But see the objections of Carey (1991), 196–197, who observes that the verse refers to the singers (τέκτονες) who desire Pindar's song.

31 Hubbard (1985), 45.

13.5 Liquid Poetics and Visibility

The product of the τέκτονες is synaesthetic, as it seems to target several senses. It consists of voice (γᾶρυς, 4) and song (ἀοίδιμον, 79) and has therefore an audible dimension. However, it is also a πόμα (79) made of honey (4, 77) and can consequently be imagined as something that can be tasted. In addition, it also has a *visual* dimension: the celebration consisted of a performance of song and dance. Significantly, the final image of the ode focuses on this very visual dimension of Pindar's creation: the poem opens with the performers waiting for the Muse to come to Aegina, and concludes with the concomitant arrival of the 'drink to sing on' and the eagle, i.e. the poet (see Section 3). At the very end of the poem, we realise that Cleo (Κλεώ, 'Glory'), eponymous of κλέος 'glory', has finally arrived in Aegina. It is thanks to her that the φάος 'light (of glory)' of the Panhellenic winner shines from different places.

> *Nem.* 3.83–84
> τίν γε μέν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελοί-
>   σας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος ἕνεκεν
> Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ᾽ ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος

> But for you, through the favour of fair-throned Cleo and because of your determination for victory, from Nemea, Epidaurus, and Megara has shone the light of glory.

The arrival of Cleo is actually concomitant with the song and dance performance of the choreutes. It is through the performance of *Nemean Three* that Pindar's poetic drink bestows visibility on the Panhellenic winner. Just as the experience of the epinician performance was multi-sensorial, so too does the final metaphor of shining glory involve more than one sense: κλέος, which is etymologically 'what is heard' (IE *$kleu$-, LIV² 334–335), manifests itself as light.[32] The concept is reprised in other

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32 The metaphor of 'shining glory' frequently appears in the corpus of Greek choral lyric poets, compare λάμπει δέ οἱ κλέος […] τὸ δὲ κλέος ‖ τηλόθεν δέδορκε τᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις (Pind. *Ol.* 1.23, 93–94, note the ring built by the two collocations), ἐκ λεχέων ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν […] ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεγειρομένα χρῶτα λάμπει (Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.40–41), τῶν εὐφροσύνα τε καὶ δόξ᾽ ἐπιφλέγει (Pind. *Pyth.* 11.45), [χρυσέ]αν δόξαν πολύφαντον (Bacchyl. 13.61). Compare also Pind. *Nem.* 9.41–42 δέδορκεν ‖ παιδὶ τοῦθ᾽ Ἁγησιδάμου φέγγος. All the collocations featuring [GLORY] can be compared to personal names: λάμπει … κλέος (*Ol.* 1.23) : Λαμπροκλῆς (Attica+, 5th BCE+), δόξαν πολύφαντον (Bacchyl. 13.61) can be connected with the collocation [κλέος–φαίνω], which underlies various MNs: MN Κλεόφαντος (Reggio Calabria, 5th BCE) Attica (ca. 4th BCE, *IG* II² 1699+), Κλεοφάντη (*IG* II² 12935), WN Κλεοφαντίς (*IG* II², 9281+, 4th BCE+), Κλεοφαντίδης (Euboia, 3rd BCE+), Κλειφάνης (4th BCE, Epidauros), Κλεοφάνες (3rd BCE Pharsalos+), Κλεοφάνη (5th BCE, Athens), Κλεοφάνης (5th BCE, Euboia+), Κλεοφανίς (3rd BCE, Athens), Κλεοφανίδας (4th–3rd BCE, Ceos), Κλευφάνης (4th BCE, Delphi) and the *Kurzformen* Κλεοφῶν (5th BCE, Athens+), Κλευφῶν (2nd BCE, Nisyros). Κλεο-

Pindaric epinicians. In *Pythian Ten*, Pindar combines liquid metaphors with the notion of visibility: as the performers pour forth their sweet voice, they bestow visibility upon the laudandus:

> *Pyth.* 10.55–59
> ἔλπομαι δ᾽ Ἐφυραίων
> **ὄπ**᾽ ἀμφὶ Πηνεϊὸν **γλυκεῖαν προχεόντων** ἐμάν
> τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν ἀοιδαῖς
> ἕκατι στεφάνων **θαητὸν** ἐν ἁλι-
>   ξι **θησέμεν** ἐν καὶ παλαιτέροις,
> νέαισίν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα

I hope, when the Ephyraeans **pour forth my sweet voice** beside the Peneios, that with my songs I may **make** Hippocleas even more *visible* [θαητός] for his crowns in the eyes of his comrades and his elders, and the darling of unmarried girls.

In *Nemean Seven* the image of 'liquid glory' is opposed to darkness, i.e. lack of glory:

> *Nem.* 7.61–63
> … σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον,
> **ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς** φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ᾽ ἄγων
> **κλέος** ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω·
>   ποτίφορος δ᾽ ἀγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος

Keeping away dark blame, **like streams of water** I shall bring genuine **fame with my praises** to the man who is my friend, for that is the proper reward for good men.

φάης (4th BCE, Leuka) displays a second member to φάος 'light' and can thus be interpreted as a possessive compound (as *per* Risch [1974], 182–186) 'having the light of the κλέος'. Compare also compounds with a FCM to φαίνω and SCM to κλέος, most recognisable as ἐχέπωλος-types (as *per* Risch [1974], 190–191): Φαινεκλῆς (4th BCE, Paros), Φαινοκλῆς (4th–3rd BCE, Caria), Φανοκλέα (4th–3rd BCE, Eretria), Φανόκλεια (4th BCE, Attica), Φανοκλεῖς (3rd BCE, Boeotia), Φανοκλῆς (4th BCE, Attica); Φασικλῆς (5th BCE, Arcadia) is a τερψίμβροτος-type (Risch [1974], 191–193); Φαυκλῆς (5th–4th BCE, Cyprus) is probably to be interpreted as a possessive compound 'having glow (φά[ϝ]ος) and glory (κλέος)', which perfectly parallels the Vedic compound *dyumnáśravas-* 'having glow and glory' (RV 5.54.1d), based on [*dyumná–śravas-*] 'glow (and) glory' (RV 1.9.8ab). The collocations featuring κλέος and φαίνω exhibit the same lexical material as Vedic [*śravas-*ᵢₙₛₜᵣ*–ví-bhā*] (RV 1.92.8c). As Barnes (2013) points out, κλέος δέδορκε can be compared with the OIr. gloss Wb 7c 3 *hóre is irdircc farclúu* "For your fame is conspicuous," in which *ir-dircc* is etymologically related to Gk. περί and δέδορκε. The metaphor of 'shining glory' can be considered complementary to that of the 'light of the hymns', on which see Nünlist (1998), 162–177, whose dossier also includes the following collocations by Pindar and Bacchylides: [ὕμνος_gen.pl.–πυρσός], Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.61; [ὕμνος_gen.pl.–σέλας], Pind. *Pae.* 18.5 (S7 R = fr. 52s); [φαίνω–μέλος]*, *Ol.* 10.84–85, [φαίνω–μίτρα–ὕμνων], Bacchyl. 13.223–225; [φάος–κῶμος], Pind. *Ol.* 4.9–10; [φανερός–τίθημι–ἔπος], Pind. *Ol.* 13.98; [φαεννός–ὄψ], Pind. *Pyth.* 4.283; cf. also the use of [(ἐπι)φλέγω] in Pind. *Pae.* 18.4 (S7 R = fr. 52s); *Pyth.* 5.45, *Ol.* 9.22, *Isthm.* 7.23; Bacchyl. fr. 4.80.

13.6 What Are τέκτονες Fashioning?

The association κλέος : light, lack-of-κλέος : darkness, may be reminiscent of light = life vs. darkness = death.[33] Indeed, the promise of visibility and audibility through (the drink of) song is ultimately a promise of immortality that is achieved through poetry.[34] It is for this reason that Pindar occasionally metaphorises his own poetry as nectar, ambrosia or as the 'holy water of the Muses':

> *Ol.* 7.7–8
> καὶ ἐγὼ **νέκταρ χυτόν**, Μοισᾶν δόσιν, ἀεθλοφόροις
> ἀνδράσιν **πέμπων**

> I too, by **sending poured nectar**, gift of the Muses, to men who win prizes ...[35]

> *Pyth.* 4.298–299
> ... ὁποίαν, Ἀρκεσίλα,
> εὗρε παγὰν **ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων**,
>   πρόσφατον Θήβᾳ ξενωθείς

> (Damophilos would tell), O Arcesilas, what a spring **of ambrosial verses** he found, when he was recently a guest in Thebes.

> *Isthm.* 6.74–75
> **πίσω** σφε Δίρκας **ἁγνὸν ὕ-**
>   **δωρ**, τὸ βαθύζωνοι κόραι
> χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας ἀνέτει-
>   λαν παρ᾽ εὐτειχέσιν Κάδμου πύλαις

> **I will drink the holy water** of the Dirce, which the deep-girded daughters of the gold-clad Mnemosyne have sent up at the well-walled gates of Cadmus (= in Thebes).

As noted by Faraone (2002), the final verses of Pindar's *Isthmian Six* are reminiscent of the phraseology found in some of the Gold Tablets, a set of texts concerning the underworld which were connected to a cult allegedly inaugurated by Orpheus.[36] Ritual texts inscribed on golden *lamellae* contained instructions that ritual adepts had to follow once they arrived in the underworld. In the Gold Tablet

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33 Dunkel (1999), Ginevra (2019a), see Chapter 4, Section 4.
34 Compare Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.55–60 and Bacchyl. 13.61–66.
35 See also Pind. fr. 194.4–6.
36 Edmonds (2013), 3–4: "The one thing which we can be certain of is that some long-ago Orpheus was not the author [sc. of the *Orphica*]; rather some other author from a historical period has borrowed the name of Orpheus for his work (or has had it attached by another)."

from Hipponion, the cult follower is parched with thirst (δίψαι δ᾽ εἰμ᾽ αὗος, 11). This is reminiscent of the motif [THIRST OF ODES], which, as just shown above, is a Pindaric *topos*.

> Gold Tablet from Hipponion (4th BCE) ll. 11–16
> δίψαι δ᾽ εἰμ᾽ αὗος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ<λ>ὰ δότ᾽ ὦκα
> **ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ** πιέναι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμ<ν>ης.
> καὶ δή τοι ἐρέουσιν {ι}ὑποχθονίωι βασιλεί<αι>·
> καὶ {δή τοι} δώσουσι πιεῖν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπ[ὸ] λίμνας
> καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πιὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεα<ι> ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
> μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλε<ε>ινοί.

> "I am parched with thirst and am perishing, but quickly grant me **fresh water** from the Lake of Memory to drink." And they will announce you to the Chthonian Queen, and they will grant you to drink from the Lake of Memory. And you, too, having drunk, will go along the sacred road on which other initiates and bacchoi tread in glory.[37]

The expression δώσουσι πιεῖν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπ[ὸ] λίμνας (14) can be compared to the water offered by the poet in *Isthm.* 6.74–75 πίσω σφε … ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ βαθύ-ζωνοι κόραι … Μναμοσύνας; after drinking the *teletēs* steps onto a path of glory (πιὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεα<ι> ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι … ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλε<ε>ινοί, 15–16), while the laudandus achieves glory in an audible and visible form, which also grants him 'immortality-among-the mortals'.

This set of phraseological coincidences suggests that the product Pindar offers to his laudandi is imagined to be similar to the one that "Orpheus" offers to those who follow his ritual. Although these anonymous *teletai* are not Pindar's wealthy and powerful laudandi, who become objects of the 'speech of men' because a renowned poet is celebrating their deeds in front of a (Panhellenic) audience, they still manage to partake in poetic memory, thanks to the ritual and to the poetic legacy of "Orpheus," the grandson of Mnemosyne and poet par excellence. Instead of remaining forever innerly motionless and anonymous shadows, they achieve poetic glory and become just as glorious as celebrated heroes and victors at Panhellenic games.[38] In this light, Orphic ritual texts may be considered as texts of a cult in which the *teletai* achieve a semblance of immortality through poetry: the verses that instructed them on how to drink from the lake of Mnemosyne were believed to

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37 I print the text as according to Bernabé/Jiménez San Cristóbal's (2008) edition. On the 'technology of glory' in Pindaric and Orphic texts as well as in comparative perspective see also Jackson Rova (2016) and (2023).

38 In Tablets L2–L3 the initiated is referred to as 'hero'; on the 'social life' of heroes as opposed to that of the dead see Ginevra (forthc./b).

have been *fashioned* by Orpheus and are poetic in nature, most of them consisting of hexameters. While the *teletai* recite the poetic instruction, they *fashion glory for themselves in the afterlife*, just as poets do for themselves and their patrons. For all these reasons, the fabrication of verses, which are occasionally identified as a liquid substance, once more features as a fundamental means to fashion glory in life and in the afterlife.

This chapter makes evident that *Nemean Three* offers one example of liquid imagery. The analysis of further Pindaric passages making reference to poetry as a drink points to associations between the semantic field of liquid poetics and that of immortality-through-poetry. The same image is also found in Orphic ritual texts. It is thus possible to state that the fashioners of the 'drink to sing on' fashion a drink of immortality, i.e. the ode itself, which has multisensorial dimensions: audible, tastable and visible.

In the next chapters, I will try to show how the analysis of Indo-Iranian comparanda allows us to recover a strong link between the fashioning of poetic and ritual drinks and the achievement of immortality through ritual- and speech-acts.

14 Cyavāna and the Soma

The previous chapter centred on the twofold metaphor of 'fashioning a drink of immortality' in the Pindaric corpus. Here, I show that fashioning is variously associated with ritual drinks and poetic drinks in other Indo-European traditions. I start by proposing reading the story of Cyavāna and the Aśvins as a rite. According to this interpretation, the fashioning of Cyavāna prefigures both the fashioning of the Vedic ritual drink, soma, and the restoration of the integrity to the Vedic sacrifice. Furthermore, taking into account a Vedic kenning for poetry found in a hymn to the Aśvins will open to further novel considerations on ritual fashioners as fashioners of immortality.

14.1 Why Cyavāna?

A variety of Old Indic sources tell us that Cyavāna's rejuvenation is not the only wondrous deed performed by the Aśvins (Chapter 3, Sections 4–5). Nevertheless, this is the only miracle of the Twin Gods that allows their inclusion in the Third Soma Pressing. This association itself poses the question of why this wonder, and not others, came to be connected with the Aśvins achieving completeness.

With this in mind, I explore the hypothesis that the rejuvenation of Cyavāna mythologises the production of soma and the rejuvenation of the ritual drink at the Third Pressing. At this evening pressing, soma leftovers are augmented by the addition of milk. It is in this way that the Third Pressing differentiates from the First and the Second Pressings (see Chapter 11, Section 1). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is clear about the reason why specific ritual actions are performed at the Evening Pressing, and not at the Morning and Midday ones:

> ŚB 4.3.5.14
> *yád veva dádhi gṛhṇáti hutochiṣṭá vá eté saṃsravā bhavanti **nálamáhutyai**. tánevaì tát-púnarápyāyayati, **táthálamáhutyai bhavantu***

> And the reason why he takes sour milk is that those remains (of Soma) poured together are the leavings of offerings, **and insufficient for an oblation**: he now increases those (remains), **and thus they become sufficient for an oblation**.

> ŚB 4.3.5.17
> *eté vaí **śukrávatī** rásavatī sávane, yát prātaḥsavanáṃ ca mádhyandinaṃ ca, sávanamáthaitán **nírdhītaśukram***

> For those two pressings, the morning and the midday pressing, forsooth **are rich in pure Soma**, rich in juice, but this, **the Third Pressing is emptied of its pure Soma**.
> transl. Eggeling 1885

While the first passage, ŚB 4.3.5.14, opposes the terms *nálamáhutyai* 'insufficient for an oblation' and *álamáhutyai* 'sufficient for an oblation'; the second passage, ŚB 4.3.5.17, opposes *śukrávatī* 'rich in pure soma' (du. nom.–acc., lit. 'brilliant/white') and *nírdhītaśukram* 'emptied of pure soma'. The latter opposition is also found in other Vedic prose texts, which specify that soma whitens only thanks to the ritual actions performed by the priests at the ritual. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, a text of the Maitrāyaṇī-śākhā, composed between 900 and 800 BCE,[1] states that, on the occasion of the Third Soma Pressing, soma becomes *śukrávant-* 'white', being *aśukrá-* (lit.) 'not white' (i.e. *muddy*, because not fresh anymore, as per Amano [forthc.]) initially. As Soma's colour changes during the pressing, the ritual eventually restores the 'brilliance/whiteness' of soma:

> MS 3.8.10:110.11–12
> *śukrávatī vái pūrve sávane.*
> *'śukráṃ tr̥tíaṁ sávanaṃ.*
> *yáj jyótiṣmatīs tr̥tíyasavané vyāghāráyanti, téna tr̥tíyasavanáṁ śukrávat*

> The first two pressings are **white** (fair). **The Third Pressing is not white** (muddy; probably because the soma plant is not fresh). By the [action] that they [i.e. the priests] sprinkle [the dhiṣṇya fire places] at the Third Pressing so that they ignite, the Third Pressing is white.

> MS 4.6.9:92.12–14
> *śukrávatī vái pūrve sávane.*
> *'śukráṃ tr̥tíyaṁ sávanaṃ.*
> *yád dvidevatyānā́ṁ saṁsraván avanáyaty āgrāyaṇám abhipraskandáyati,*
> *téna tr̥tíyasavanáṁ śukrávat*

> The first two pressings are **white** (fair). **The Third Pressing is not white** (muddy; probably because the soma plant is not fresh). By the [action] that he [the priest] introduces the merging [remainder] of the [draughts] for the dual deities [into the cup for the Ādityas] and lets [some of] the āgrāyaṇa draught jump into it, **the Third Pressing is white**.
>   text and transl. Amano (forthc.)

From all this we can deduce that, at the beginning of the Third Pressing, soma is not fresh, or one may say 'young', anymore, while at the end of the pressing, its purity and/or integrity is renewed. Here, I explore the possibility that Cyavāna's rejuvenation resembles that of the ritual drink at the Third Soma Pressing. I first compare the phraseology applying to the god Soma and Cyavāna in the *Rigveda* and then move on to the analysis of a few phraseological details which appear in post-Rigvedic Cyavana/Cyavāna stories.

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1 On this Old Indic work see Amano (2009), 1–3.

14.2 Cyavāna and Self-Purifying Soma

It is challenging to compare the phraseology applying to Cyavāna in the *Rigveda* to that applying to Soma in the same collection. To begin with, the amount of phraseology applying to Cyavāna and to Soma significantly differs: only ten passages, each consisting of two-to-four pādas, refer to Cyavāna's rejuvenation (Chapter 6, Section 2) in the *Rigveda*. Conversely, Soma is a prominent deity of the collection. Besides references to the soma pressings being scattered in different stanzas throughout the *saṃhitā*, 114 hymns of the ninth book of the *Rigveda* celebrate Soma Pavamāna, 'the Self-Purifying Soma'. Moreover, as these hymns are dedicated to Soma Pavamāna and not to 'Soma Pavamāna at a specific pressing', the *Rigveda* does not always provide us with a clear-cut distinction among the soma pressings. Unless the r̥ṣi specifies it, the pressing referred to in the Soma hymns may be the First, the Second or the Third. Despite all these factors, a comparison between the descriptions of Cyavāna's rejuvenation and those of Soma Pavamāna in the *Rigveda* reveals noteworthy similarities: the same lexicon and phraseology apply to both the transformation of Cyavāna and Soma. More specifically,

- Cyavāna's *nomen loquens* ('the one who gets in motion') may be connected with the effects of the drink or to the travel of the god Soma to the sacrifice. Indra is stirred to the soma pressing by Soma (*cyav*, RV 8.95.2),[2] but Soma is also said to be 'roused (*prácyuta-*) by men' and to 'bestir himself' (together with other gods):

RV 9.80.4cd
*nŕ̥bhiḥ **soma prácyuto** grávabhiḥ sutó
víśvān devám̐ ā́ pavasvā sahasrajit*

O Soma, **roused** by men, pressed by stones, by purifying yourself bring all the gods here, you winner of thousands.

RV 10.124.4c
*agníḥ **sómo** váruṇas té **cyavante***

Agni, **Soma**, Varuṇa – they **bestir themselves**.

- *takṣ* applies to the rejuvenation of Cyavāna and the creation of Soma (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 15, Section 2):

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2 RV 8.95.2ab *ā́ tvā śukrā́ acucyavuḥ , sutā́sa indra girvaṇaḥ* "the clear pressed (soma drinks) have roused you hither, O Indra who long for songs."

RV 10.39.4ab
*yuvám **cyávānaṃ** sanáyaṃ yáthā rátham*
púnar** yúvānaṃ caráthāya **takṣathuḥ

You two **fashioned** old **Cyavāna**, like a chariot, into a youth **again**, (for him) to move about.

RV 9.97.22ab
***tákṣad** yádī mánaso vénato vág*
jyéṣṭhasya vā dhármaṇi kṣór ánīke

When the speech from the mind of the seeker **fashioned** him [= Soma] on the foundation of the preeminent one [= Agni or Indra?] or face-to-face with the cattle.

– Cyavāna transforms into a youth (Vedic *yúvan-*); Soma is often referred to as a young god, reborn at every pressing:

RV 1.118.6d
*púnaś **cyávānaṃ** cakrathur **yúvānam***

And you made **Cyavāna youthful** again.[3]

RV 9.14.5
naptíbhir yó vivásvataḥ
śubhró ná** māmṛjé **yúvā
gắḥ kṛṇvānó ná nirṇíjam

He who, **like a handsome youth**, has been groomed by the granddaughters of Vivasvant [= fingers], making the cows like a garment.

– Cyavāna and Soma are both imagined to change their 'cover' (*vavrí-*):

RV 5.74.5
***prá** cyávānāj jujurúṣo*
vavrím** átkaṃ ná **muñcathaḥ
yúvā yádī kṛthắḥ púnar
ắ kắmam ṛṇve vadhₐvàḥ

You remove the covering like a cloak from Cyavāna, who had become old; as a youth – since you two made him so again – he meets the desire of his wife.

RV 9.71.2cd
***jáhāti vavrím** pitúr eti niṣkṛtám*
upaprútaṃ kṛṇute nirṇíjaṃ tánā

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3 Compare RV 1.117.13ab, 10.39.4ab, 5.74.5.

He abandons his covering, and he goes to his rendezvous with his father. He makes what floats nearby [= milk] in its full measure into his fresh garment.

– The transformation of Cyavāna's and Soma's skin is also represented as a change of clothes: Cyavāna takes off his old skin/cover like an old cloak, Soma puts on a new mantle:

RV 1.116.10ab
*jujurúṣo nāsatiyotá **vavrím***
***prámuñcataṃ drāpím iva** cyávānāt*

And, Nāsatyas, from Cyavāna, who had become old, **you removed his covering** [= aged skin] **like a garment**.

RV 9.100.9cd
práti drāpím amuñcathāḥ
pávamāna mahitvaná

You have fastened on your mantle in your greatness, self-purifying one.

In both cases, the verb *moc* (*muñcáti*) 'to free, release', combining with different preverbs (*prá* and *práti*, respectively), is connected to the same accusative *drāpím*. This suggests that the same image underlies the simile and metaphor connected with Cyavāna's rejuvenation and Soma's transformation. However, two different, complementary moments are focused on by the poets: the releasing from the old mantle, in the case of Cyavāna, the taking on of a new mantle, in the case of Soma.

– The result of Cyavāna's rejuvenation is also connected with his restored sexual power. Two passages of the *Rigveda* refer to Cyavāna as becoming the husband of a young wife or young women. Significantly, during the purification, as the soma is mixed with cow products, soma is said to resemble the husband of the drops [milk, i.e. cow's product] or of cows:

RV 1.116.10cd
prátirataṃ jahitásyáyur dasr$_ā$
*$_ā$d ít **pátim** akr̥ṇutaṃ kanínām*

You extended the lifetime of him who was left behind, wondrous ones, and thereby you made him **the husband** of young women.

RV 9.97.22cd
ád īm āyan váram ā́ vāvaśāná
***júṣṭam pátiṃ** kaláśe gā́va índum*

Thereupon the cows came to him at will, bellowing – **to the delightful husband**, the drop, in the tub.

The phraseological evidence collected so far can be summed up as in Table 14.1.

Table 14.1: Cyavāna and Soma in the *Rigveda*

	Cyavāna's rejuvenation	Soma (purification)
takṣ	*cyávānam … takṣathuḥ* (RV 10.39.4ab)	*tákṣat* (RV 9.97.22a)
yúvan-	*yúvānam* (RV 1.117.13b)	*śubhró ná … yúvā* (RV 9.14.5b)
vavrí-	*prá … vavrím átkaṃ ná muñcathaḥ* (RV 5.74.5ab)	*jáhāti vavrím pitúr eti niṣkṛtám* (RV 9.71.2c)
drāpí-	*vavrím , prámuñcataṃ drāpím iva* (RV 1.116.10ab)	*práti drāpím amuñcathāḥ* (RV 9.100.9c)
páti-	*pátim* (RV 1.116.10d)	*pátim* (RV 9.97.22d)

Further elements may emerge from the analysis of the Cyavāna/Cyavana episode in the Vedic prose and in the *Mahābhārata.* While the soma is *aśukrá-* 'not white, i.e. muddy', Cyavana is said to be old and dirty at the beginning of the story. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (4.1.5.1), he is called *jī́rṇi-* 'old' and *kṛtyárūpa-* 'ghostlike [lit. whose appearance is like that of a ghost]'. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, Cyavana 'lies down' on the ground (Ved. *śay*):

> JB 3.121
> **sthavira** *evāyaṃ* **niṣṭhāvaś śete**
>
> Here **lies** an **old decrepit man**.

The use of *śay* in the passage may be compared to that of the same verb in RV 4.33. As the poet describes the parents rejuvenated by the Ṛbhus, he portrays them "lying [down] like two old posts":

> RV 4.33.3ab
> *púnar yé cakrúḥ pitárā yúvānā*
> **sánā yū́peva jaraṇā́ śáyānā**
>
> They who made their parents, **lying aged like two old posts**, youths again.

Even though this Rigvedic passage does not make explicit reference to the fabrication of the soma, a reference to it can be recovered in a combinatory way, since the Ṛbhus are strongly connected with the fashioning of the soma ritual (Chapter 11, Section 1, Chapter 15, Section 2).

It may be also noteworthy that Cyavana and soma share the condition of 'dirt' before they undergo their transformations. While soma is *aśukrá-* at the Third Pressing (MS 3.8.10:110.11–12 *aśukráṃ tr̥tī́aṁ sávanam* 'the Third Pressing is muddy'), Cyavana is pelted with dirt by young men at the beginning of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* stories, while, in the *Mahābhārata* account, Cyavana turns into a pile of dirt:

ŚB 4.1.5.2
*kumāráḥ kri̇́ḍanta imáṃ jīrṇiṃ kr̥tyárūpam anarthyáṃ mányamānā **loṣṭáir vípipiṣuḥ***

His [= Śaryata's] boys, while playing, setting that decrepit, ghostlike man at nought, **pelted him with clods**.

JB 3.121
*taṃ kumārā gopālāvipālā **mr̥dā śakr̥tpiṇḍair āsapāṃsubhir adihan***

The young boys who were cowherds and shepherds **smeared** [Cyavāna] **with mud and with balls of dust and cowshit and ashes**.
    transl. Doniger (1985)

MBh 3.122.3–4
*kālena mahatā rājan, **samākīrṇaḥ pipīlikaiḥ***
*tathā sa saṃvr̥to dhīmān, **mr̥tpiṇḍa iva sarvaśaḥ***
tapyati sma tapo rājan, valmīkena samāvr̥taḥ

Over a long span of time **the seer turned into an anthill overgrown by creepers**, O king, and was covered by ants. Thus the sage became, so to say, **a pile of earth on all sides**, king, while he continued his austerity exercises surrounded by the anthill.

The dirt Cyavana is covered with may be vaguely reminiscent of the 'lack of shine' peculiar to Soma at the beginning of the Third Pressing. So, Cyavana plunging into a pool is like Soma being purified by the addition of a liquid:

ŚB 4.1.5.12
*taú hocatuḥ **etáṃ hradám abhyávahara**. sá yéna váyasā kamiṣyáte, ténodaíṣyatī́ti. táṃ hradám abhyávajahāra, sá yéna váyasā cakame ténodéyāya*

They said: "**Take him down to the yonder pool**, and he shall come forth with whatever age he shall desire!" [She] took him down to that pool, and he came forth with the age he desired.

JB 3.125
***taṃ ha sarasvatyai śaiśavam abhyavacakr̥ṣatus**, sa hovāca: kumāri, sarve vai sadr̥śā udeyuṣyāmo, 'nena mā lakṣamakeṇa jānītād iti ...*

They drew him down into the Śaiśava pool of the Sarasvatī River. He said: "My dear girl, we will all come out looking the same; by this sign, you will know me."

RV 9.3.6
eṣá víprair abhíṣṭuto
ₐ'pó devó ví gāhate
dádhad rátnāni dāśúṣe

This one, praised by the inspired poets, **the god, plunges through the waters**, establishing treasures for the pious man.

Finally, it may be noteworthy that, in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, the rejuvenation pool of Cyavana is said to be called *Śaiśava*. This name may be interpreted as a 'speaking toponym':[4] it reflects a vṛddhi derivative from the term *śiśu-* 'baby/baby animal'. The *Śaiśava* pool is thus to be identified as 'the pool of the baby/the *śiśu*'.[5] At the same time, *śiśu-* is one of the designations of Soma in the *Rigveda*, the term applying to this god, to Agni, and to only a few other deities of the collection.[6]

The phraseological evidence I gathered here thus shows that the Aśvins fashioning Cyavāna's body anew may represent the fashioning anew of soma at the Third Pressing. Although the Aśvins are not fashioners of ritual drinks, their rejuvenation of Cyavāna resembles the fashioning of the soma at the Third Pressing in some respects. Interestingly, as I will try to show in what follows, the Aśvins' contribution to the soma ritual might have been further visualised as some sort of bodily reconstruction.

14.3 Healing the Ritual

In the prose Vedic sources, the story of Cyavāna ends with the Aśvins 'restoring the head of the sacrifice'. This is, in turn, identified by the same sources with the *pravargya* cup, an earthen pot of clay, in which milk was boiled and offered to the Aśvins.[7] In what follows, I try to explain that this metaphor, namely '*Pravargya*

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4 Doniger (1985) translates it directly as "fountain of youth."
5 Witzel (1987), 382–383.
6 Agni: RV 1.96.5b, 140.3b, 145.3d, 186.5b [child of waters], 7b, 2.35.13b [Apām Napāt], 3.1.4c, 5.9.3a, 43.14d, 6.2.8d, 7.4b, 16.40b, 49.2c, 7.2.5c, 8.99.6b, 10.1.2c, 4.3a, 5.3b, 61.20c, 115.1a; Soma: RV 4.15.6b? [Agni is said to resemble him], 9.1.9b, 33.5c, 38.5b, 74.1a, 85.11c, 86.31d, 36a, 93.2a, 96.17a, 102.1a, 104.1c, 105.1c, 109.12a, 110.10b, 10.13.5a; Agni + Soma: 1.65.10b (Agni *like Soma*), 5.44.3c [or Soma?]; others: Sarasvant: RV 7.95.3b, Sindhu: RV 10.75.4a, Vena: 10.123.1d, Indra: 4.18.8c, Mitra + Varuṇa: 10.85.18b, Maruts: 7.56.16c, compare also 'what the Maruts do' (2.34.8c).
7 On the *pravargya* ritual, centring on the preparation of the pot, see Houben (1991), who, on the basis of the *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, stresses the solar symbolism of the ritual and proposes that the ritual was primarily associated with the solar cult. Houben (2000) analyses the references to the *pravargya* ritual in the *Rigveda* (esp. book 5).

cup' = 'head/body part of the sacrifice', matches other metaphors in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. As I will show below, different cups of the soma ritual are occasionally metaphorised as parts or joints of the 'sacrifice-body'.

The starting point of my analysis is that the fashioning of Cyavāna's young body is, at the same time, a ritual restoration, i.e. the restoration of the sacrificial body by the Twin Gods. Within this chain of healing events, the procedure for renewing Cyavāna's integrity parallels the correct re-assemblage of the ritual. In other words, the contribution the Aśvins make to the sacrifice is again visualised as some sort of *healing through fashioning*. Indeed, after Cyavāna is rejuvenated, the Twin Gods are able 'to put the head of the sacrifice back together' (*prati-dhā* or *prati-sam-dhā*):

> ŚB 4.1.5.15
> *tábhyām etám ⁺āśvínaṃ grahám agṛhṇas, táv adhvaryū́ yajñásya abhavatām. **táv etád yajñásya śíraḥ prátyadhattām***
>
> They drew the Āśvina cup for them and those two became the *adhvaryu* priests of the sacrifice, **and restored the head of the sacrifice**.

> JB 3.127
> *tābhyām etam āśvinaṃ graham agṛhṇaṃs, "tāv" abruvan "yuvam evādhvaryū sthas, **tau tat prajānantāv etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratisaṃdhāsyatha**" iti, "tath₄" ₁ti. tāv adhvaryū āstāṃ, tat tāv apisomāv abhavatām*
>
> And having drawn this Āśvina cup for them they said: "You two shall be the *adhvaryu*s of the sacrifice and **then you will put on it this head of the sacrifice that you know**." The Aśvins replied: "Good." They now acted as the *adhvaryu*s and thus received a share of the soma.

As the lexicon of the passage makes clear, the contribution of the Aśvins to the ritual is visualised as some sort of 'assemblage'. On the one hand, the use of the compounds *prati-dhā* 'to put back' (ŚB) and *prati-sam-dhā* 'to put back together' (JB) can be compared to other uses of *dhā*-compounds in healing contexts (*ṛbhū́ ráthasyevā́ṅgāni , sáṃ dadhat páruṣā páruḥ*, AVŚ 4.12.7cd, *ṛbhū rathasyeva saṃ dadhāmi te paruḥ*, AVP 4.15.6d, on which see Chapter 5, Section 6), on the other, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the metaphor of the 'assembled body' applies to the ritual actions marking the passage between the First (morning) and the Second (midday) Soma Pressing.

In this regard, the reference to ŚB 4.2.3.3–5 is eloquent. This passage concerns the transition between the First and the Second Soma Pressing through the drawing of the Ukthya bowl: at the end of the morning feast, the soma in the Ukthya bowl is poured into the Ukthya cup in three portions that are offered and then drunk by the priests who assist the Hotar. The order in which the cups are drawn is structured in such a way that the cups *are interlocked as the joints of a body*:

ŚB 4.2.3.3–5

3   *tásyāsávevá dhruvá ā́yuḥ ātmaìvā̀syaiténa sáṃhitaḥ párvāṇi sáṃtatāni.*
    tádvā ágr̥hīta evaìtásmādachāvākā́yottamó gráho bhavati

That Dhruva (graha), forsooth, (also) is his vital energy; **by it his body is
held together, and the joints are knit together.** For (when) the last cup
has not yet been drawn from that (Soma juice in the Ukthya vessel) for the
Achāvāka priest,

4   *átha rā́jānamupā́vaharati tr̥tī́yaṃ vasatīvárīṇāmávanayati **tát párva samaíti**.*
    prathamámahóttarasya sávanasya karótyuttamám pū́rvasya sáyádúttarasya
    *sávanasya tát pū́rvaṃ karóti yát pū́rvasya tád uttamám **tádvyátiṣajati tás-***
    ***mādimā́ni párvāṇi vyátiṣaktānīdámitthám**átihānam idámitthám*

then he takes the king (Soma) down (from the cart), and pours one third of the
Vasativaris (into the Āshavanīya tough). **Thus the joint unites**; for indeed,
he makes (the Ukthya cup) the first of the second pressing (Soma feast), and
the last of the first: and that which belongs to the first makes the last. **Thus he
interlocks them**: **whence these joints are interlocked**: this one overlapping
thus, and this one thus.

5   *evámevá mā́dhyandine sávane ágr̥hīta evaìtásmādachāvākā́yottamó gráho*
    *bhavatyátha tr̥tī́yaṃ vasatīvárīṇāmávanayati **tátpárva samaíti** prathamá-*
    mahóttarasya sávanasya karótyuttamám pū́rvasya sáyádúttarasya tátpū́rvaṃ
    karóti yátpū́rvasya táduttamám tádvyátiṣajati tásmādimā́ni párvāṇi vyá-
    *tiṣaktānītámitthámátihānamidámitthám **tádyádasyaiténātmā sáṃhitas-***
    ténāsyaìṣà ā́yuḥ

In like manner at the midday pressing: (when) the last cup has not yet been
drawn, then from it for the Achāvāka priest, he pours (the remaining) one-third
of the Vasatīvari (into the Ādhvanīya). **Thus the joint unites**; for, indeed, he
makes it the first of the second pressing and the last of the first pressing: that
which belongs to the second pressing he makes first, and that which belongs
to the first he makes last. Thus, he interlocks them; whence these joints are
interlocked: this one overlapping thus, and this one thus. **And because his
body is thereby held together, therefore this (*graha*) is his vital energy**.
   transl. Eggeling (1885)

Taking into account the metaphor 'cup' : 'joint' in the preceding passages allows
us to better understand why the restoration of the head of the sacrifice effected by
the Aśvins after Cyavāna's rejuvenation happens as the gods 'draw a new cup' for
them (ŚB 4.1.5.15 *tábhyām etám ⁺āśvinám̐ grahám agr̥hṇaḥ* "they drew the Āśvina
cup for them"; JB 3.127 *tābhyām etam āśvinaṃ graham agr̥hṇaṃs* "having drawn

this Āśvina cup for them"). The Aśvins' new cup is the head, a body part that heals the body of the sacrifice through a ritual re-assemblage. Most importantly, in relation with the metapoetic metaphors of Pindar's *Nemean Three* (fashioners of revels, drink to sing on), the correct re-fashioning of the Vedic ritual happens through the creation of a share of the ritual drink (through a cup) that is dedicated to the ritual fashioners/healers themselves.

14.4 The Head of the Sacrifice and the Honey of Tvaṣṭar

The story concerning the restoration of the head of the sacrifice by the Aśvins seems to be first referred to in the *Rigveda*. Indeed, one of the earliest allusions to the episode is found in RV 1.117, a hymn to the Divine Twins attributed to Kakṣīvant Dairghatamasa, allegedly the father of Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī, who is credited with the composition of RV 10.39–40 (see Chapter 3). This hymn exhibits phraseological and thematic characteristics that, at first sight, seem remarkably close to the complementary metapoetic metaphors of Pindar's *Nemean Three*. It opens with an invocation to the Aśvins featuring analogous *topoi* as our Pindaric ode:

> RV 1.117.1
> *mádhvaḥ sómasya_a _aśvinā mádāya*
> *pratnó hótā ā́ vivāsate vām*
> *barhíṣmatī rātír víśritā gī́r*
> *iṣā́ yātaṃ nāsat_yópa vā́jaiḥ*

> The age-old Hotar [= Agni] seeks to win you in order for you to be exhilarated on the honeyed soma, O Aśvins. The gift accompanied by the ritual grass is laid out, (as is) my song. With refreshment, with prizes of victory, journey here, O Nāsatyas.

> *Nem.* 3.1–8
> Ὤ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρα, λίσσομαι,
> τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι
> ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν· ὕδατι γάρ
> μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες
> κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι.
> διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου,
> ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ᾽ ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ,
> στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὀπαδόν·

> O mistress Muse, my mother, I beg of you, come in the Nemean sacred month to this much-visited Dorian island of Aegina, for by the Asopian water are waiting the fashioners of honey-voiced revels, young men who seek your voice. Different deeds thirst for different things, but victory in the games loves song most of all, the fittest companion for crowns and achievements.

Both *Rigveda* 1.117 and *Nemean Three* start with a direct entreaty to the gods in the vocative (*aśvinā*, RV 1.117.1a, ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, *Nem.* 3.1). Further comparable elements occur in different order: the gods are urged to move towards the ritual place (*yātam*, RV 1.117.1d, ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν, *Nem.* 3.3); the performer(s) of the poetic/ritual actions 'seek(s)' them (*ā́ vivāsate vām* RV 1.117.1b; σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι, *Nem.* 3.5); the final destination of the gods' journey is the 'honeyed' poetic or ritual drink (*mádhvaḥ sómasya ... mádāya*, RV 1.117.1a, μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων, *Nem.* 3.4–5); the poetic product or the poetic performer is said to be waiting for the gods: the Pindaric choreutes 'are waiting by the Asopian spring' (ὕδατι ... μένοντ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀσωπίῳ, *Nem.* 3.4); in RV 1.117, the offerings and the songs for the gods are said to be laid down on the ritual ground (*barhíṣmatī rātír víśritā gī́ḥ*, RV 1.117.1c).

While *Nemean Three* begins with the image of the 'fashioners of honey-voiced revels' and concludes with that of the 'song to drink on', *Rigveda* 1.117 begins with the invitation to the soma ritual and concludes with a metapoetic reference featuring the verb *kar* 'to make, produce':

> RV 1.117.25
> *etā́ni vām aśvinā vīryā̀ṇi*
> *prá pūrvyā́ṇi āyávo avocan*
> **bráhma kṛṇvánto** *vṛṣaṇā yuvábhyāṃ*
> *suvī́rāso vidátham ā́ vadema*
>
> The sons of Āyu have proclaimed these your ancient heroic deeds, O Aśvins, **creating** for you **a poetic formulation**, O bulls. Obtaining good heroes, we would announce the ritual distribution.

In the light of all these similarities, it is noteworthy that RV 1.117 also features the expression 'honey of Tvaṣṭar', which has been compared by Ginevra (2020), 88–92 to Old Norse kennings for 'poetry', and to μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων (*Nem.* 3.4–5) by the author:[8]

> RV 1.117.22
> *ātharvaṇā́yₐ ₐśvinā dadhīce*
> *áśvyaṃ śíraḥ práti airayatam*
> *sá vām **mádhu prá vocad** ṛtāyán*
> ***tvā́ṣṭráṃ** yád dasrāv apikakṣyàṃ vām*
>
> For Dadhyañc, the son of Atharvan, you substituted the head of a horse, Aśvins. Speaking the truth, he **proclaimed** to you **Tvaṣṭar's honey**, which was hidden from you, O wondrous ones.

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8 Massetti (2024b).

The proposed interpretation is defensible on formal and semantic grounds: since the collocations of μέλι and *mádhu-* overlap[9] and Old Indic *Tváṣṭar-* is a derivative of the Indo-European root **tu̯erk-* 'to carve',[10] Ved. *mádhu … tvāṣṭrám* is close to Pind. μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων. In this context, I would like to explore the ritual implications of the Vedic kenning. To do so, I start by locating the Rigvedic passage in its mythological framework.

RV 1.117.22 informs us that the 'honey of Tvaṣṭar' is proclaimed by the seer Dadhyañc to the Aśvins[11] and that Dadhyañc has his head substituted with the head of a horse by the Twin Gods. Together with RV 1.116.12 and 119.9,[12] the passage makes reference to the same story found in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.126–128.

The story goes that the Aśvins interrogate the seer Dadhyañc to learn the secret that will allow them access to the soma ritual. While, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the meeting between Dadhyañc and the Aśvins does not seem to be directly connected with the rejuvenation of Cyavana,[13] in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* this story is framed by the tale about Cyavana's rejuvenation and is thus put in direct connection with it.

According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, it is Cyavana who, in exchange for his rejuvenation, advises the gods to ask Dadhyañc the ritual secret. However, Dadhyañc cannot reveal the ritual secret to the Aśvins without having his head cut off by Indra. The Aśvins then exchange Dadhyañc's head with the head of a horse, which tells them about 'the head of the sacrifice'.

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9 Massetti (2019), 3–6.
10 See Chapter 10, Section 1.1.
11 Dadhyañc is a seer son of Atharvan, mentioned with other sacrificers (RV 1.80.16, 139.9). He is associated with Indra (RV 1.84.13–14) and the Aśvins (1.116.12, 117.22, 119.9), and is said to have kindled Agni (RV 6.16.14). As Macdonell (1897), 142 points out, "the etymological sense of *dadhi-añc*, 'curd-ward' might signify either 'possessing' or 'fond of curdled milk'." While according to Bergaigne (1883), 456–460, Dadhyañc is the soma, his name may point to the association between Dadhyañc and the soma pressing as a primary trait of his mythological and ritual personality.
12 RV 1.116.12 *tád vāṃ narā sanáye dáṃsa ugrám , āvíṣ kṛṇomi tanyatúr ná vṛṣṭím / dadhyáṅ ha yán mádhᵤv ātharvaṇó vām , áśvasya śīrṣṇā́ prá yád īm uvāca* "O men, I disclose that powerful, wondrous might of yours, like thunder the rain, in order to win it, as when Dadhyañc son of Atharvan (disclosed) the honey to you by means of the head of a horse when he proclaimed it"; RV 1.119.9 *utá syā́ vām mádhuman mákṣikārapan , máde sómasya auśijó huvanyati / yuvám dadhīcó mána ā́ vivāsatho , ₐ'thā́ śíraḥ práti vām áśvᵧaṃ vadat* "And the little fly whispered honeyed (speech) to you, (and now) in the exhilaration of soma, (Kakṣīvant), the son of Uśij, cries out (to you): 'You two try to win the thought of Dadhyañc, and then the horse's head replies to you.'"
13 As pointed out in Chapter 6, Section 2.2, Cyavāna's rejuvenation is narrated in ŚB 4.1.5. The story of the Aśvins and Dadhyañc is told in ŚB 14.1.1.18 ff.

JB 3.126

sa hovāca devā vā ete kurukṣetre 'paśirṣṇā yajñena yajamānā āsate, te taṃ kāmaṃ nāpnu-
vaṇti yo yajñe kāmas, tad yajñasya śiro 'cchidyata, tad dadhyaṅ ātharvaṇo 'nvapaśyat, taṃ
gacchataṃ, sa vāṃ tad anuvakṣyati, tato 'pisomau bhaviṣyatha iti, tad yat tad yajñasya śiro
'cchidyateti so 'sāv ādityas, sa u eva pravargyas, tau ha dadhyañcam ātharvaṇam ājagmatus,
taṃ hocatur ṛṣa upa tvāyāveti, kasmai kāmāyaety, etad yajñasya 'śiro 'nuvakṣyāvahā iti, neti
hovācendro vai tad apy apaśyat, sa mābravīd yadi vā idam anyasmai brūyāś śiras te cchin-
dyām iti, tasmād bibhemīti, sa vai nāv anenāśvasya śīrṣṇānubrūhīti, tatheti hovāca sa vai nu
vāṃ saṃvadamānau paśyānīti, **tau hemau svaṃ śiro nidhāyedam aśvasya śiraḥ prati-**
saṃdhāya tena ha sma saṃvadamānāv āsāte sāma gāyamānāv ṛcaṃ yajur abhivy-
āharantau*, tābhyāṃ ha śraddhāya tenāśvasya śīrṣṇānuvāca*

[Cyavana] said: "The gods are sacrificing there in Kurukṣetra with a headless sacrifice. They
do not achieve what they wish to achieve through the sacrifice. The head of the sacrifice was
cut off. So, you should ask Dadhyañc, the descendant of Atharvan (to tell you) what he has
seen: he will teach you, then you will get a share in the soma ritual. Now, the head of the sac-
rifice that had been severed was the Aditya, he is also the *pravargya* cup."
The Aśvins now went to Dadhyañc, the descendant of Atharvan, and said to him: "Seer, we
want to be your disciples."
"To fulfil which wish?"
"We want to learn this head of the sacrifice."
"That is not possible," he said, "Indra also saw it; he said to me: 'If you were to tell this to
another, I would cut off your head', I am afraid of that."
"So, tell us by means of this horse's head."
"All right", he said, "but I want to see you two talking together (with the horse head on)." **Then**
they put their own heads to one side, put on their horses' heads and sat there talking to
each other: singing a sāman, reciting a verse, a ritual formula. Then he gained confidence
and taught them with this horse's head.

Later on, Indra finds out that Dadhyañc has divulged the secret and cuts his horse
head off. But the Aśvins restore his head. They then approach the gods and are
accepted among them as partakers of the soma ritual and *adhvaryu*s of the sacrifice.

JB 3.127

tad indro 'nvabudhyata pra hābhyām avocad iti, tasyādrutya śiraḥ prācchinad idam
aśvaśīrṣam, atha yad asya svaṃ śiro āsīt tad imau manīṣinau pratisamadhattāṃ, tau ha
devān ājagmatur apaśīrṣṇā yajñena yajamānāms, tān hocatur apaśīrṣṇā vai yajñena yajamānā
ādhve, te taṃ kāmaṃ nāpnutha yo yajñe kāma iti, kas tad yajñasya śiro vedety, āvam iti, tad
vai pratisaṃdhattam iti, tābhyāṃ vai nau grahaṃ gṛhṇīteti, tābhyām etam āśvinaṃ graham
agṛhṇaṃs, tāv abruvan yuvam evādhvaryū sthas, tau tat prajānantāv etad yajñasya śiraḥ prati-
tisaṃdhāsyatha iti, tatheti, tāv adhvaryū āstāṃ, tat tāv apisomāv abhavatām

But then Indra heard. "He has told them" (he realised). He hurried over and cut off his head,
that horse's head. But the knowledgeable ones put his own head on him. Then they went to
the gods who were busy with the headless sacrifice. They said to them: "You are sacrificing
with a headless sacrifice; thus you do not achieve what you wish to achieve through sacrifice."

[The gods replied:] "Who knows this head of the sacrifice?" [The Aśvins said:] "We do." [The gods replied:] "Then put it on it." [The Aśvins said:] "Then give us a drink!" Then they drew the Āśvina cup for the two of them. Then they [i.e. the gods] said: "You two shall be the *adhvaryu*s of the sacrifice and then you will put on it this head of the sacrifice that you know." The Aśvins replied: "Good." They now acted as the *adhvaryu*s and thus received a share of the soma.

Just like in RV 1.117.22, in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, Dadhyañc's secret is a verbal revelation: Cyavana and the Aśvins describe the transmission of skills from Dadhyañc as a sort of 'instruction' (*anuvakṣyati* 'he will instruct', [*a*]*nuvakṣyāvahā* 'we would like to be instructed', JB 3.126); the Aśvins ask Dadhyañc to speak through the horse head (*anubrūhi* 'tell us!', JB 3.126). Dadhyañc tests the Aśvins, asking them to have a conversation with horse heads on (*saṃvadamānau* 'having a conversation'). As Indra realises that Dadhyañc revealed the secret to the Divine Twins, he too imagines a 'spoken' communication (*pra hābhyām avocat* 'he told them', JB 3.127; *pra vocat* is the same verb of RV 1.117.22c). Significantly, in order to show that they can have a conversation by means of horse heads, the Aśvins sing a *sāman*- and recite a verse and a ritual formula to the seer (*sāma gāyamānāv ṛcaṃ yajur abhivyāharantau*, JB 3.126). In this mythological account, Dadhyañc's secret is not explicitly characterised as a 'poetic', but rather as a ritual secret, which has to do with a ritual libation.

Significantly, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* specifies that Dadhyañc's secret is "a brahman containing the word *mádhu*", making it clearer that the brahman at stake is a verse (*arcā́*):

> ŚB 4.1.5.18
> *dadhyáṅ ha vấ ābhyāmātharvaṇáḥ* **mádhu nā́ma bráhmaṇamuvāca** *tád enayóḥ priyáṃ dhā́ma tád evaìnayór eténopágachāta tásmān* **mádhumatyarcā́** *gṛhṇā́ti mádhvībhyāṃ tvéti sādayati*

> Dadhyañc, the Ātharvaṇa, **imparted to them the brāhmaṇa called Madhu**. That is their favourite resort, and with that (favourite resort) of theirs he now approaches them; – hence he [= the priest] takes (their graha) **with a verse containing (the word) 'honey'**, and deposits it with "thee for the honey-loving."

On investigation of the Vedic prose account materials, the isolated kenning of RV 1.117.22 *mádhu ... tvāṣṭrám* hints at a ritual and poetic component of the soma ritual. At the same time, the complex metaphor emphasises the role of the fashioner god Tvaṣṭar as a soma ritual agent. Indeed, Tvaṣṭar, the 'Carver' and 'Constructor' of the Vedic pantheon (Chapter 10, Section 1.1), is said to serve the soma in cups, which, according to some hymns, were produced by the Ṛbhus:

RV 10.53.9ab
tváṣṭā māyá ved apásām apástamo
bíbhrat pátrā devapánāni śáṃtamā

Tvaṣṭar knew (his own) magic powers, as the best worker of workers, **bearing the cups**, the most beneficial drinking vessels of the gods.

RV 4.33.5–6
*jyeṣṭhá āha camasá **dvā karéti***
*kánīyān **trín kṛṇavámét**ᵢy āha*
*kaniṣṭhá āha **catúras karéti***
***tváṣṭa ṛbhavas** tát **panayad** váco vaḥ*

satyám ūcur nára evā hí cakrúr
ánu svadhám ṛbhávo jagmur etám
*vibhrájamānāṁś **camasáṁ** áhevₐ*
ₐvenat tváṣṭā catúro dadṛśván

The eldest said, "**I will make two cups** (from one)." The younger said, "**We will make three**." The youngest said, "**I will make four**." **O Ṛbhus, Tvaṣṭar wondered** at that speech of yours. The noble men spoke the truth, for they did exactly that. According to their will, the Ṛbhus followed that (will of theirs). **Having seen the four cups, Tvaṣṭar gazed at them**, bright shining like days.

Healers, carvers and fashioners of the Vedas, the Aśvins, Tvaṣṭar, and the Ṛbhus, thus seem to have a central role in the soma ritual. Indeed, taking into account the context in which *mádhu ... tvāṣṭrám* 'honey of the Carver/fashioner god' occurs, provides the missing link between the Aśvins' association with the Third Pressing and the fashioning of the soma ritual.

Most importantly, my analysis emphasises that, thanks to the 'honey of the Fashioner God' that allows them to re-assemble the head of sacrifice, the Aśvins achieve similar results as those Pindar's dedicatees obtain by means of Pindar's songs. Significantly, these poetic products are variously metaphorised as honeyed drinks or drinks of immortality (see Chapter 13, Sections 4 and 6). In what follows, I will further explore the mythology of the Third Soma Pressing and its connection to the metaphor of ritual assemblage and immortalisation in Indo-Iranian. I will start by once more turning my focus onto other fashioner gods, the Ṛbhus.

15 Fashioning and the Mythology of the Sacrifice

15.1 A Vedic Parallel to Pindar's *Nemean Three*

I have previously discussed the association between the Aśvins and the Third Soma Pressing, by focusing on the link between the Vedic Twin Gods and the fashioning of ritual drinks as well as the soma ritual, which, I argued, might have been mythologised as a rejuvenation. Since the Third Soma Pressing emerged as a ritual particularly connected with figures who achieve immortality or improve their immortal status, let us now turn to other key-figures of the Third Soma Pressing: the Ṛbhus.

In a previous study,[1] I highlighted striking similarities between the repetitions at the beginning and end of *Nemean Three* (1–7, 76–84) and *Rigveda* 10.144. The results of that study are the starting point for my analysis in this context and will be briefly recapitulated hereunder.

Rigveda 10.144 celebrates Indra as the recipient of soma, 'the (immortal) drop' (*ámartya índuḥ*, 1ab, compare also 6) or 'exhilarating drink' (*mádam*, 2c). Like in other Vedic poems, the arrival of the god Soma at the sacrifice is imagined as a journey, the cyclicity of which is alluded to through the iconic, framing repetition of the word *índu-* 'drop' (1b, 6a). Furthermore, Soma is said to be 'the son of the falcon (brought) from afar' (*parāvátaḥ śyenásya putráḥ*, 4ab), because a Vedic myth ascribed the attainment of the ritual drink to a bird.[2] The gifts brought by Soma are then celebrated in the final stanza of the hymn (6).

1 *ayáṃ hí te **ámartₐya***
***índur** átyo ná pátyate*
dákṣo viśvā́yur vedháse

Because this **immortal drop** here, like a courser, displays his mastery as lifelong skill for you, the ritual adept,

2 *ayám asmā́su **kā́vₐya***
***ṛbhúr** vájro dₐásvate*
*ayám **bibhartₐy** ūrdhvákṛ́śanam **mádam***
***ṛbhúr ná** kṛ́tvₐyam mádam*

He is a **craftsman in poetic art** among us and a mace for the one generous with gifts. **Like a craftsman**, **he brings the exhilarating drink with pearls [**= bubbles**] on top** – the exhilarating drink that gets results.

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1 Massetti (2024b).

2 On this myth in Old Indic and in Germanic traditions see Dumézil (1921).

3 ***ghŕ̥ṣuḥ śyenā́ya kŕ̥tvana***
āsú s_uvā́su váṃsagaḥ
áva dīdhed ahīśúvaḥ

Eager for the energetic falcon, the bull among his own females [= fortresses?] looked down at those puffing up like snakes [/swelling like fertile cows] [= clouds?] –

4 *yáṃ suparṇā́ḥ **parāvátaḥ***
*śyenásya putrá́ **ábharat***
śatácakraṃ yò _a'hyò vartaníḥ

He whom the fine-feathered (bird), the son of the falcon, **brought here from afar** – him who had a hundred wheels [= concentric fortresses?] – who is the track of the fertile cow –

5 ***yáṃ te śyenáś cā́rum avr̥kám padā́ ā́bharad***
aruṇám mānám ándhasaḥ
enā́ vā́yo ví tār_y ā́yu 'jīvása
enā́ jāgāra bandhútā

Whom the falcon brought here for you with its talon, the cherished one who keeps the wolf away, who is the ruddy housing of the stalk – by him is vitality, is lifetime lengthened for living; through him does our family tie stay vigilant.

6 *evā́ tád índra **indunā***
devéṣu cid dhārayāte máhi tyájaḥ
krátvā vā́yo ví tār_y ā́yuḥ sukrato
krátvāyám asmád ā́ sutáḥ

Thus, **by the drop** Indra will secure that great surrender (of the offering) also among the gods. By your will is vitality, is lifetime lengthened, O you of strong will; by your will has this soma here been pressed from us.

Despite superficial differences, the hymn has the following features in common with *Nemean Three*:

(a) the theme of inebriating drink: the Vedic hymn celebrates Indra as the god who receives the immortal (and divinised) drink (RV 10.144.1ab *ámartya* , *índuḥ* "immortal drop [sc. of Soma]"), whereas in *Nem.* 3.79 poetry is compared to a πόμ᾽ ἀοίδιμον;

(b) the phraseology 'poetic fashioner': RV 10.144.2ab, (cf. d) *kā́vya* , *r̥bhúḥ* "a crafts-man in poetic art," *Nem.* 3.4–5 μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων;

(c) the image of the 'drink's foam': RV 10.144.2c *ūrdhvákr̥śanam mádam* "exhil-arating drink with pearls on the top [i.e. foam]," *Nem.* 3.78 κιρναμένα δ᾽ ἔερσ᾽ ἀμφέπει;

(d) the image of the bird of prey that 'comes from afar, carrying its prey in its talons': RV 10.144.4ab *suparṇáḥ parāvátaḥ ... ábharat* "the fine-feathered (bird) brought (him, i.e. Soma) from afar," 5a *yáṃ te śyenáś cā́rum avṛkám padā́ ábharat* "whom the falcon brought here for you with its talon," *Nem.* 3.80–81 αἰετός ... ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν. While Soma is identified with the falcon's prey, Pindar's text does not allow an immediate identification 'poetry'/'poetic drink' : 'falcon's prey'. However, the analysis of internal repetitions between the beginning and the end of *Nemean Three* may suggest that the *search* for the 'drink to sing on' correlates with the eagle's search for a prey. The expression σέθεν ὄπα μαιόμενοι "(men) who *seek* your (i.e. of the Muse) voice" (5) seems to be reprised at 81 through τήλοθε μεταμαιόμενος "(the eagle) *searches* from afar." So, the metaphor of the falcon also combines with that of the song-drink.

15.2 What Did the Ṛbhus Fashion?

In stanza 2cd the *ṛbhú-* skilled in poetic art (*kā́vya-*) is said to bring the soma (sc. as a ritual offering). As shown in Chapter 10, Section 1.2, the term *ṛbhú- de facto* equates Greek τέκτων. Here the question arises why a 'craftsman'/Ṛbhu is associated with soma in RV 10.144.

As Joel Brereton (2012) showed, the miracles of the Ṛbhus "encode the acts of the soma ritual, and, more especially, the acts of the Third Soma Pressing": the four cups created by the Ṛbhus correspond to the four main soma recipients in the Third Pressing; the fabrication of the chariot may hint at the shaping of the sacrifice; the fashioning of Indra's horses may be connected to the *yajñapuccha* ('tail of the sacrifice'), at the opening of which Indra's horses are invoked to leave the ground; the cow-miracle might be connected with the image of milk, a substance which soma resembles; the rejuvenation of the Ṛbhus' parents may conceal a connection with the Aśvins[3] or to the fertilisation of the sacrificer and his wife by means of the Third Pressing (Table 15.1).

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3 Take, for instance, RV 10.39.6b: *putrā́yeva pitárā máhyaṃ śikṣatam* "Like parents for their son, do your best for me."

Table 15.1: The Ṛbhus' wonders and actions of the Third Pressing (as per Brereton [2012])

Multiplication of the cups (one into four)	The presence of four principal soma recipients marking the transition from the Second to the Third Soma Pressing
They made a chariot (for the Aśvins)	chariot = rite or hymns (journey to the sacrifice)
They created the two fallow-bay horses of Indra	*Yajñapuccha* during the *hāriyojanagraha* to Indra so that his horses leave the ground
"They did something to a cow or did something with a cow" (Brereton [2012], 113)/milking of a cow	Pressing of *soma* remnants
Rejuvenation of the parents	Ritual for the Aśvins (?) or act of bestowing fertility upon the worshipper and his wife

Brereton's hypothesis may be confirmed by means of Vedic and Avestan phraseological comparanda. The fabrication of soma is described by means of Vedic *takṣ* at least once in the *Rigveda*:

> RV 9.97.22ab
> **tákṣad** *yádī mánaso vénato vā́g*
> *jyéṣṭhasya vā dhármaṇi kṣór ánīke*
>
> When the speech from the mind of the seeker **fashioned him** [= Soma] on the foundation of the preeminent one [= Agni or Indra?] or face-to-face with the cattle …

Moreover, in the Young Avestan *Hōm Yašt*, *Yasna* 10, a ritual text celebrating the *haoma* (the exhilarating substance of Zoroastrian ritual, compare Ved. *sóma-*), *haoma* is said to have been fashioned (YAv. *taš* = Ved. *takṣ*) by a "good-worker/creator":

> Y. 10.10a
> *auruuaṇtəm* **ϑβā** *dāmiδātəm bayō* **tatašaṭ huuāpå**
>
> The **good labourer fashioned you** [sc. *haoma*], the hero constructed by the creator.

In Y. 10.10a, Avestan *huuāpah-* 'good labourer, creator' is a compound with a FCM *hu°* 'good' and a SCM *°āpah-* 'work'. Therefore, it is built with the same lexical material as Vedic *sv-apasyá-* 'good labour, good work' (subst. fem.), which often applies to the work of Tvaṣṭar and the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda* (see Chapter 10, Sections 1.1–2). Y. 10.10 is not the only passage in which *taš* applies to *haoma*. In *Yašt* 10.90, the adjective *mainiiu.tāšta-* applies to the intoxicating ritual drink:

Yt. 10.90
yō paoiriiō hāuuana **haomą** *uzdasta*
stəhr.paēsaŋha **mainiiu.tāšta**
haraiϑiiō paiti barəzaiiå̊

... Who [= Haoma] was the first mortar-priest to elevate the star-decked, **fashioned Haoma-stalks by means of a mental act**, on the high Hara.

transl. based on Gershevitch (1959) modified by the author

As pointed out by Panaino (2012), 173, Avestan *mainiiu.tāšta*-, otherwise applying to the garment of Ahura Mazdā (Yt. 13.3), Miϑra's chariot (Yt. 10.143), and Haoma's girdle (Y. 9.26), consists of the same lexical material as Vedic *mánasā ... nirátakṣata* "by means of the thought ... you fashioned (out)," which applies to the skills of the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda*:

RV 3.60.2cd
yéna hárī **mánasā nirátakṣata**
téna devatvám **ṛbhavaḥ** *sám ānaśa*

By means of the thought, with which **you fashioned** the two yellowish horses, by means of this, **O Ṛbhus**, you have attained divineness.

Avestan passages in which *taš*-derivatives are connected with *haoma* seem to match the phraseology applying to the Ṛbhus in the *Rigveda*. This invites us to project the theme of the 'fashioner of the ritual drink' at an Indo-Iranian level. Although neither *Yasna* 10.10 nor *Yašt* 10.90 mention the Ṛbhu(s) as the inventors of the *haoma*, the creation of the inebriating drink is connected with the figure of a 'good worker' in Y. 10.10 and twice described by means of Avestan *taš*, i.e. the Young Avestan counterpart of what is the Ṛbhus' 'favourite verb' in Vedic. Therefore, if Brereton's interpretation is correct – and the distribution of Vedic *takṣ* and Avestan *taš* supports his hypothesis –, the mythology of the Ṛbhus was primarily connected with the creation of the Third Soma Pressing.[4] It is through the production of this ritual drink that these mortal priests achieved immortality and came to be mythologised as *divine fashioners* of things: objects (chariot, horses), abstract things (see Chapter 10, Sections 2–4).

In addition, the overlap between the fashioning of 'ritual-actions' and 'words' may be imagined as the result of concomitant ritual actions that have an immortalising power. Prayers and holy formulations accompany different moments of the

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4 The *Rigveda* is explicit about this achievement: "The Third Pressing, the conferring of treasure, *which you made by your good labor*, O you of skillful hands" (RV 4.35.9ab).

ritual, including the pressing of the soma plant. Significantly, as in the Pindaric passages containing the metapoetic metaphor of 'thirst for songs', the thirst for soma and the need for praise are said to be satisfied simultaneously:

> RV 4.34.11ab
> *nápābhūta **ná vo** ₐ**tītr̥ṣāma***
> ₐ***niḥśastā r̥bhavo** yajñé asmín*
>
> You have not kept away. **We have not let you be thirsty**, **O R̥bhus, nor are you unpraised** in this sacrifice.

It follows that the state of things underlying the mythology of the R̥bhus is comparable to that underlying the Pindaric metaphors of *Nemean Three*: fashioners of poetic words (performers of odes [Pindar] or rituals [*Rigveda*]) fashion (*r̥bhú- ... takṣ*, τέκτονες) metaphoric or non-metaphoric drinks of immortality: poetry, which grants *glory* (Pindar), is the means to achieve immortality in the world of the living, the ritual beverage (*Rigveda*) is the means for connecting with the gods and achieving a place among them in the Vedic tradition.[5]

15.3 Other Drinks, Other Fashioners: Sacrifice and the Genesis of Poetry

The metaphors of *Nemean Three* and the mythological background of the R̥bhus and the Aśvins Third Pressing stories can further be compared to the state of things which underlies Old Norse kennings for 'poetry' with the structure [DRINKABLE SUBSTANCE/DRINK−(of) CARVER/FASHIONER (IE **tu̯erk̑-*)], namely:

> *Skd* G57
> *Af þessu kǫllum vér **skáldskap** [...] **dverga drekku***
>
> Therefore, they call **poetry** [...] **drink of the carvers/dwarfs**.

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5 Note that the R̥bhus' achievement of immortality concretely manifests itself as κλέος/*śrávas-*, i.e. what is heard about them, as they are celebrated in a variety of religious hymns like (and together with) other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

GSúrs *Lv* 36ᵛ (*Gísl* 39)
dverga drykkju

The drink of the carvers/dwarfs [= POETRY].[6]

Old Norse *dverga drekku* and *dverga drykkju* partially match Vedic *mádhu …* *tvāṣṭrám* (RV 1.117.22). As shown by Ginevra (2020), 71, 75, Old Norse *dvergr* is likely to reflect 'maker, carver, forger', being recognisable as a nominal agentive derivative of the IE root **tuerk-* 'to carve' (i.e. the same root underlying the name of the Vedic Carver, Tvaṣṭar). Indeed, the *dvergar*, i.e. the Old Norse carvers, are the protagonists of a myth concerning the *production* of the poetic drink. From the Prose Edda (*Skd* G57) we learn that two *dvergar* called Fjalar and Galar killed Kvasir, made his blood flow into two cauldrons and added honey, so as to obtain a drink that would make a 'poet' or an 'erudite' out of anyone who drank it.

> *Skd* G57
> *Hann er svá vitr at engi spyrr hann þeira hluta er eigi kann hann órlausn. Hann fór víða um heim at kenna mǫnnum frǿði, ok þá er hann kom at heimboði til dverga nǫkkvorra, Fjalars ok Galars, þá kǫlluðu þeir hann með sér á einmæli ok drápu hann, létu renna blóð hans í tvau ker ok einn ketil, ok heitir sá Óðrørir, en kerin heita Són ok Boðn. **Þeir blendu hunangi við blóðit ok varð þar af mjǫðr sá er hverr er af drekkr verðr skáld eða frǿðamaðr***

> He [Kvasir] was so wise that none could question him concerning anything but that he knew the solution. He went up and down the earth to give instruction to men; and when he came upon invitation to the abode of certain dwarfs, Fjalar and Galar, they called him into privy converse with them, and killed him, letting his blood run into two vats and a kettle. The kettle is named Ódrerir, and the vats Són and Bodn; **they blended honey with the blood, and the outcome was that mead by the virtue of which he who drinks becomes a skald or erudite**.

The killing of Kvasir is a gruesome carving-act associated with the fashioning of the first poetic drink. One may further argue that a gruesome carving was also featured in the story of Dadhyañc and the Aśvins (Chapter 14, Section 4). However, through Dadhyañc's 'operation', the Aśvins learned 'the honey of Tvaṣṭar', i.e. soma ritual poetic utterances.[7]

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6 Compare also KormQ. *Lv* 533 *fǿgir Fjǫlnis veigar* "Fjǫlnir's drink maker [= POET]" (on which see Ginevra [2020], 73–75). The term *fǿgir* derives from IE **peiḱ-* 'to carve', from which Gk. ποικίλλω is derived.

7 Further Vedic stories concerning the fabrication of the *pravargya* pot preserve the beheading of someone as a peculiar element of the myth: in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 5.1 Makha Vaiṣṇava wins glory after the gods perform a sacrifice but then has his head accidentally cut off. The gods divide his body into the three pressings of the soma ritual, but they do not fulfill their wishes until the head of the sacrifice, i.e. Makha's head, the *pravargya*, is restored by the Aśvins.

The invention or genesis of poetry or instruments for making poetry is connected with gruesome sacrifices in a variety of Indo-European traditions. The so-called *puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Rigveda* (RV 10.90) centres on the sacrifice of a primordial man (*puruṣa*), from which all the universe was born. As the first sacrificers (called Sādhyas in the hymn) sacrifice the *puruṣa*, they generate the universe and everything it contains, including poetic metres:

> RV 10.90.9
> *tásmād yajñất sarvahúta*
> **ŕcaḥ sắmāni jajñire**
> **chándāṃsi jajñire** *tásmād*
> **yájus** *tásmād* **ajāyata**

> From this sacrifice, when it was offered in full, **the verses and chants were born**. **Metres were born** from it. **The sacrificial formula** – from it that **was born**.

The sacrifice of the *puruṣasūkta* seems to respect some sort of Lavoisier's Law within the Vedic sacrifice: sacrificial victims are not destroyed, but rather transformed, being re-fashioned into new elements of the cosmos.

It may be significant that the killing of animate beings (animal or human) is connected with the invention of musical instruments and the sacrifice in other Indo-European traditions. In this context, I would like to call attention to one expression attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. In this poem, Hermes invents the lyre (χέλυς) by killing a turtle (χέλυς). However, as emphasised by several scholars, the killing of the turtle resembles the ritual killing of two cows that Hermes later performs in the hymn (*Hom. Hymn Herm.* 116–125).[8] It is significant that the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* summarises the result of the god's invention by means of τεκταίνομαι, which I render here as 'transform':

> *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 25
> Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα **χέλυν τεκτήνατ᾿ ἀοιδόν**

> For it was Hermes who first **transformed the tortoise into a singer**.[9]

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8 Shelmerdine (2004), 204–207.

9 In Massetti (2023) I discuss an Iranian parallel to the story. Murder and the construction of musical instruments are further interwoven in the widespread Scandinavian and Slavic stories in which a musical instrument, which is built from the bones of a murdered person, reveals the murder to the audience, when it is played, see *The Twa Sisters* ("The Two Sisters," in Child [1882], ballad 10), *Swedish Den talende strengeleg* or *De to søstre* (Danmarks gamle Folkeviser 95), *De två systrarna* (Sveriges Medeltida Ballader 13), Danish *Der boede en Mand ved Sønderbro*, Icelandic *Hörpu kvæði* (*Íslenzk fornkvæði* 1 3), Norwegian *Dei tvo systar*, Slovenian *Gosli iz človeškega telesa*

The fashioning of ritual and poetic drinks thus has a dark side, which often turns out to be a *transformative* side: a ritual killing makes (i.e. transforms) a sacrificed being into a new immortalised or immortalising tool, a substance or an instrument that grants glory to the performer, be it a poetic drink or a musical instrument. In the next chapter I argue that this very semantic nuance is also peculiar to the Avestan derivatives of the Indo-European root **tetk̑-*.

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izdajo umor ("A Fiddle Made from a Human Body Reveals a Murder"). Italian versions of the story feature the invention of a different instrument (not a chord, but a wind-one), see *La penna di hu* in Calvino (2001). The same motif is attested in Longus *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.23: Pan's dogs and wolves tear apart Echo, but her limbs scattered over the earth keep on singing, even after her death. On metamorphosis as the mythological reflex of the transformative power of music see LeVen 2020.

16 An Avestan *taš*-Composition?

16.1 *Gāuš tašan* in *Yasna* 29

I have previously shown how the Avestan verb *taš*, a cognate of Vedic *takṣ* and Greek τέκτων, τεκταίνομαι applies to

(i)   the fashioning of strophes (*vacastašti-* 'strophe' in Y. 58.8b, see Chapter 5, Section 2);

(ii) the fabrication of the inebriating drink in Y. 10.10 (*auruuaṇtəm ϑβā dāmiδātəm baγō tatašaṯ huuāpå* "the good labourer fashioned you [sc. *haoma*], the hero constructed by the creator").

In this section, I turn to the description and analysis of *Yasna* 29, an Avestan text containing multiple instances of *taš*-derivatives. *Yasna* 29, also known as the "The Cow's Lament,"[1] is the second chapter of the first *Gāϑā* of the Zoroastrian Long Liturgy.[2]

It features a dialogue among the Cow's Soul (OAv. *Gāuš uruuan*), the Fashioner of the Cow (OAv. *Gāuš tašan*), Truth (Av. *Aṣa*), Good Thought (Av. *Vohu manah*) and Ahura Mazdā, the supreme deity of the Zoroastrian religion. The poem poses several difficulties to modern interpreters.[3] Consequently, different translations of the same stanzas radically diverge and our understanding of the poem is the subject of debate. Before presenting *Yasna* 29 and its translation, I owe my reader a few clarifications on the interpretation I align with in my commentary to the hymn.

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1 *Gāϑā*s are "modes of song (*gā*) that comprise seventeen songs composed in Old Avestan (OAv.) language, and arranged to their five different syllabic meters" (*EI* s.v. Gāϑās). *Yasna* 29 is the second yasna of the first *Gāϑā*, the *Ahunauuaitī Gāϑā*, comprising Y. 28–34, "seven songs with 100 stanzas of three lines of regularly 7 + 8–9 syllables each" (*EI* s.v. Gāϑās, Texts). Translations of Y. 29 truly differ, see Insler (1975), Humbach/Elfenbein/Skjærvø (1991), Schwartz (2003), West (2007b), (2010), Pirart (2018). Extensive commentaries are found in Kellens (1995), Schwartz (2003), West (2007), Pirart (2018).

2 The Zoroastrian Long Liturgy "continues an Indo-Iranian tradition: a sacrifice to the gods that is characterized by an initial pressing and drinking of a stimulating drink, the *sau̯ma-*, followed by an animal sacrifice offered to the fire and completed with an office for the fire and the waters" (Cantera [2016], 62), see also Tremblay (2006–2007).

3 Insler (1975) proposes that stanzas 3–5 followed 9 and 6 followed 2. For counterarguments cf. Schwartz (2003), 215–216, according to whom stanza 11 was "outside the original construction of the poem, a substitute of the original conclusion"; Schwarz (2003) further argues that *Yasna* 29 concluded with stanza 13 of Y. 27.

The first major exegetic problem of the text is how one should understand *Gǝuš uruuan* "Soul of the Cow." While some interpreters propose a metaphorical reading of this expression together with the interpretation of the term 'cow/bovine' in the *Gāϑā*s,[4] others argue for a fluctuation between agrarian and metaphoric/religious meanings[5] or for the possible interplay and exchange of these two values in different poetic contexts.[6] Here I align with the interpretation put forth by Johanna Narten (1986), who sustains that 'cow/bovine' has mostly a concrete meaning in Old Avestan. Therefore, I take *Gǝuš uruuan* as referring to the soul of a real animal, who is lamenting because he/she has been sacrificed.[7] Several scholars propose a 'ritual' reading of the text.[8]

As will become evident in what follows, my analysis benefits from all previous scholarship on the hymn and, in particular, from the structural reading of Schwartz (2003). The aim of this chapter is to point out that the conclusions Humbach, Kellens and Pirart achieve on *taš* match those arrived at independently by my study. Indeed, these scholars argue in favour Avestan **tetk*-derivatives having a 'transformative' value within the Avestan ritual. Here, I further purpose that the transformative value is an immortalising or vivifying one: the sacrificed being is 'fashioned' through the sacrifice into an immortalising tool or into an immortalised being.

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4 The expression has been interpreted as a metaphor for the believer (Cameron [1968]), 'the good vision' (Insler [1975], 135, 141 ff.), the *mąϑra*- (Schmid [1958]), the Bounteous Spirit (Lentz [1954]). Schmidt (1975) points out that, in the *Gāϑā*s, the cow is a metaphor for the *daēna*, "the sum of man's spiritual attributes and individuality, vision, inner self, conscience, religion" (Shaki [2011]). Therefore, following up Schmidt's conclusions, Schwartz (2003) identifies a parallel between Zaraϑuštra's and the cow's souls in Y. 29. Humbach (1982) proposes that 'the soul of the cow' is a poetic expression for 'the cow', but later Humbach/Ichaporia (1994), 27, fn.1 claim that it is a mystical concept for the soul of the primeval animal and all living animals; Panaino (2004) argues for an 'interiorisation' of the sacrifice. Sacrifice is imagined as a reinforcement to the divinity (see Panaino [1986] and, for a similar mechanism, transferred from the ritual to the poetic sphere in Pindar, see Massetti [2022]).
5 Asmussen (1970).
6 Boyce (1975), 210–211.
7 Such an interpretation can also be supported by making reference to the Pahlavi version of the text, which is preserved in *Bundahišn* ("a major Pahlavi work of compilation, mainly a detailed cosmogony and cosmography based on the Zoroastrian scriptures but also containing a short history of the legendary Kayanids and Ērānšahr in their days," as per Mackenzie [1989]), paragraph 4a, see Agostini/Thorpe (2020). In the Pahlavi version, Gōšurwan (Pahlavi for *Gǝuš uruuan*) complains as she ascends various stations (star station, moon station, and sun station).
8 Humbach/Elfbein/Skjærvø (1991), Kellens/Pirart (1988–1991), Kellens (1995), Pirart (2018). According to Zaehner (1961), 85–94, the text was composed in a moment in which the practice of animal sacrifice was abandoned. On Zoroastrian concerns about the kinship of humans and animals see also Otto (2021).

16.2 *Yasna* 29: Content, Text and Translation

Since *Yasna* 29 is a complex text, it is good to start by providing a short summary: the soul of the (sacrificed) cow complains that she has been subjected to the aggression of evil forces and that there is no cowherd who will care for her (1). The 'Fashioner of the Cow', *Gə̄uš tašan*, asks Aṣa (Truth, Correctness, Arrangement) new questions about the possible existence of a lord (*ahura*) who might be able to care and protect the cow (2), but there is no helper for the cow (3). At (4), the poet acknowledges the omniscience of Ahura Mazdā and declares that he may be trusted. At (5) with outstretched hands the poet beseeches Ahura Mazdā to protect himself and the cow. Ahura Mazdā begins answering the questions (6): although the cow was created for the cattle breeder, knowledge of the *ahū vairyō*, the most sacred of the Gathic prayers, eludes living beings. A new question arises at (7): if Ahura Mazdā shaped good things for men, who will be the one to provide them to the mortals? Stanza (8) now seems to answer the Cow's Soul's question (and the follow up ones): Zaraϑuštra Spitama is here identified as the cowherd. However, at (9), the cow seems to consider her caretaker too weak: the animal now casts doubt on the possibility of obtaining a recompense through the sacrifice. Nevertheless, the hymn concludes with an address to Ahura Mazdā as giver of strength and declaring that good living and peace are the result of the rule of good mind (10–11).

Hereunder, I print the text of Pirart (2018) and my translation. Deviations from Pirart's text and variants from other editions (Martinez Porro/Cantera [2019–] and Peschl [2022]) are indicated in the footnotes.

1. *xšmaibiiā gə̄uš uruuā gərəždā kaŋ́āi mā ϑβarōždūm kə̄ mā tašaṯ*
ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəmō āhišāiiā dərəšcā təuuišcā
nōiṯ mōi vāstā xšmaṯ ańiiō aϑā mōi sąstā vohū vāstriiā

To you the Soul of the Cow[9] lamented: "For whom did ye carve me? Who fashioned me? Wrath and Abuse, Oppression, Fetter and Brutality hold me tied. I have no cowherd other than you, so, show [up] for me with good pasturage!"

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9 The rendering 'Bovine' is possible, but I discard it on the basis of 5b *gə̄ušcā aziiå* 'milch cow'.

2. *adā tašā gə̄uš pərəsaṱ ašə̄m kaϑā tōi gauuōi ratuš*
hiiaṱ hīm dātā xšaiiaṇtō hadā vāstrā gaōdāiiō ϑβaxšō
kə̄m hōi uštā ahurəm yə̄ +drəguuō.dəbīš aēšəməm vādāiiōiṱ

Then the Fashioner of the Cow asked Truth: "How is thy judgment for the Cow? Since ye, who rule over her (sc. the Cow), have established the zeal of cattle-breeding through the pasture, whom do ye wish as her lord, who might destroy Wrath [that is created] by the liemongers?"

3. *aṇāi ašā nōiṱ sarəjā aduuaēšō gauuōi paitī.mrauuaṱ*
auuaēšą̄m nōiṱ vīduiiē yā +śauuaitē[10] ādrə̄ṇg ərəšuuå̄ŋhō
hātą̄m huuō aōjištō yaṇāi zauuə̄ṇg jimā kərədušā

"Not a *sarəjā*,[11] non-hostile to the Cow, answers him with Truth. Among those who exist none is to be known thanks to whom the lofty ones activate the lower ones. (One such as) he is the strongest of beings, for whom I shall come in answer to his calls with protection."[12]

4. *mazdå̄ saxᵛārā mairištō yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī.ciϑīṱ*
daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā yācā varəšaitē aipī.ciϑīṱ
huuō vīcirō ahurō aϑā nə̄ aŋhaṱ yaϑā huuō vasaṱ

"Mazdā (is) the best at remembering initiatives, what has been taken by *daēva*s and men all around, and what will be taken in the future. He is a well-discerning Lord. May it be for us so as he wishes."

5. *aṱ vā ustānāiš ahuuā zastāiš frīnəmnā ahurāi.ā*
mə̄[13] uruuā gə̄ušcā aziiå̄ hiiaṱ mazdą̄m duuaidī fərasābiiō
nōiṱ ərəžəjiiōi frajiiāitiš nōiṱ fšuiieṇtē drəguuasū pairī.

"With fervently outstretched hands, the two of us are thus propitiating the Lord, my soul and that of the milch cow, as the two of us elect Mazdā for (asking) questions. There is no way to live for the right-living one, nor for the cattle breeder, among the deceitful ones."

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10 I print *śauuaitē* with Peschl (2022). Pirart (2018): *śauuaiṇtē.*
11 The word is a *hapax legomenon* of debated meaning: Kreyenbroek (2023) translates 'friend', Humbach/Faiß (2010) 'wall-breaking [hero]', Schwartz (2003), 203–207: 'impulse'.
12 'With protection' translates here *kərədušā* as per Kreyenbroek (2023).
13 Martinez Porro/Cantera (2019–): *nə̄.*

6. *aṯ ə̄[14] vaōcaṯ ahurō mazdå vīduuå vafūš viiānaiiā*
nōiṯ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aṣ̌āṯcīṯ hacā
aṯ zī ϑβā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstraiiāicā ϑβōrəštā tatašā

Thereupon spoke Lord Mazdā, knowing verses in his soul:[15] "No lord has been found for it by anyone, nor indeed a judgement according to Truth. That's why the Carver fashioned thee for the cattle breeder and the cowherd."

7. *tə̄m āzūtōiš ahurō mąϑrəm tašaṯ aṣ̌ā hazaōšō*
mazdå gauuōi xšuuīdəmcā huuō urušaēibiiō spəṇtō sāsnaiiā
kastē vohū manaŋhā yā̄ ī dāiiāṯ[16] ə̄əuuā marətaēibiiō

"In harmony with Truth, the Lord, Mazdā, fashioned that formula of fat and milk for the Cow; he is a benefactor to the needy ones through his teaching. Who is the one for you who, through Good Thinking, might establish this for mortal men?"

8. *aēm mōi idā vistō yā̄ nā̄ aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā*
zaraϑuštrō spitāmō huuō nā̄ mazdā vaštī aṣ̌āicā
carəkərəϑrā srāuuaiieńhē hiiaṯ hōi hudəmām diiāi vaxəδrahiiā

"I have found here this (one), who is the only one to listen to our Teachings: Spitama Zaraϑuštra! He wants to recite hymns of praise, O Mazdā, for us and for Truth, as I shall give him sweetness of voice."

9. *aṯcā gə̄uš uruuā raōstā yā̄ anaēšəm xšąnmānē rādəm*
vācəm nərəš asūrahiiā yə̄m ā.vasəmī īšā xšaϑrīm
kadā yauuā huuō aŋhaṯ yā̄ hōi dadaṯ zastauuaṯ auuō

But then the Soul of the Cow cried: "(I am the one) who (is) to welcome a powerless carer, the voice of a man without strength, whom I wish (were) mighty! When shall that one, who will give him help by means of his hands, ever be there?"

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14 Peschl 2022: *atə̄*.
15 Differently Kellens/Pirart (1988): 'en scandant'; West (2010): 'in his wisdom'; Humbach/Faiß (2010): 'through his vitality'.
16 Martinez Porro/Cantera (2019–): *yā̄ gūšahuuā tū*.

10. *yūžə̄m aēibiiō ahurā aōgō dātā aṣ̌ā xšaϑrəmcā*
auuaṯ vohū manaŋhā yā hušǝitiš rāmąmcā dāṯ
azə̄mcīṯ ahiiā mazdā ϑβąm mə̄ŋ́hī[17] paδuruuīm vaēdəm

"O Lord, establish ye strength and power for these through Truth and through Good Thinking, (that) by which one establishes comfort and peace. For I myself think of you, O Mazdā, as its first provider."

11. *kudā aṣ̌əm vohucā manō xšaϑrəmcā aṯ mā †mašā[18]*
yūžə̄m mazdā †frāxšnənē mazōi magāi.ā paitī.zānatā
ahurā †nū.nå̄.auuarə̄ ə̄ŋ́ā.rātōiš yūšmāuuatąm

"Where are Truth, Good Thinking, and Power? Recognise ye me soon,[19] O Mazdā, at the great offering. And in recognition of our offering to those such as you, O Lord, now [come] down to us!"

16.3 The Structure of *Yasna* 29

The structure of *Yasna* 29 and the identification of its textual repetitions have been laid out in great detail by Schwartz (2003). I recapitulate the main points of his analysis hereunder. For reasons of consistency, I list repetitions with small capital letters.

A   Between stanzas 1 and 11 personal pronouns of 1st sg., 1st pl., 2nd pl. are combined with interrogative pronouns in order to express "request for divine entities to manifest themselves":[20] at 1a *xšmaibiiā* (dat. 2nd pl.), *kaŋ́ai* (interr. dat., 3rd sg.), *kə̄* (interr. nom. sg.), *mā* (encl. acc. 1st sg., 1a, 1b), *mōi* (twice in 1c, encl. dat. 1st sg.), *kudā* (11a, interr. 'where'), *mā* (11a), *yūžə̄m* (11b, acc. 2nd pl.), *nå̄* (11c, encl. acc. 1st pl.) *yūšmāuuatąm* (11c, derivative to 2nd pl.);

B   At 2b and 10a *dātā* 'give ye' combines with a derivative of the Iranian root *xšay* 'to have control or domination' and expresses the wish for the "elimination of havoc and the establishment of peace and order";[21]

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17 Peschl (2022): *mə̄ŋghī.*

18 Peschl (2022): *maṣ̌ā.*

19 I print *mašā* with Martinez Porro/Cantera (2019–) and follow Kellens/Pirart (1988), who take the form as *mošū* 'soon'. Kreyenbroek (2023), who prints *maṣ̌ā* (possibly an instrumental of *maṣ̌a-* 'mortal') notes: "Unclear. Insler [i.e. Insler (1975)] (reading *mąm aṣ̌ā*): 'Yes, come ye now to me'. West [i.e. West (2010)]: 'It is me, with Right'."
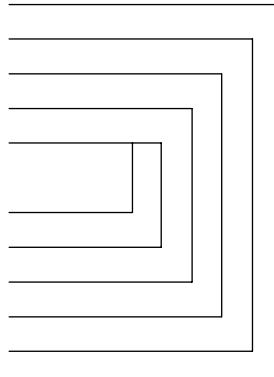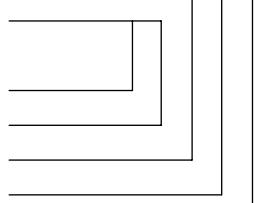
20 Schwartz (2003), 199.

21 Schwartz (2003), 199.

C   The combination of *gauu-* 'cow' (3a, 9a), *hau-* 'that one' (3c, 9c) and *ah-* 'to be' conveys the idea of "provision of aid";[22]

D   Both 4c and 8b feature a pronoun *hau-* 'that one' as the subject of the verb *uuas-* 'to wish';

E   5b and 7b have in common the word *gauu-* (5b, 7b) as well as nominal derivatives of the verbal root *sah* 'to indicate, to teach' (5b *fərasābiiō*; 7b, *sāsaniiā* 'through his commandment');

F   In addition, 5 also connects to 6: both 5c and 6b feature a repetition of 'not' (*nōiṯ ... nōiṯ*, 5c), *nōiṯ ... naēdā* (6b); while the word *fšuiieṇtē* 'for the cattle breeder' is found at both 5c and 6c.

As this list makes evident, the main repetitions of the text form a concentric structure.

Scheme 7: Concentric repetitions of *Yasna* 29

A	1	*xšmaibiiā, kaṃāi, mā, kā, mā, mōi*
B	2	*dātā xšaiiaṇtō*
C	3	*gauuōi ... hātąm huuō*
D	4	*huuō ... vasaṯ*
E	5	*gāušcā ... fərasābiiō*
		nōiṯ ... nōiṯ fšuiieṇtē
F	6	*nōiṯ ... naēdā ... fšuiiaṇtaēcā*
E	7	*gauuōi ... sāsnaiiā*
D	8	*huuō ... vaštī*
C	9	*gāuš ... huuō aṇhaṯ*
B	10	*dātā ... xšaϑrəmcā*
A	11	*kudā, mā, yūžəm, nå, yūšmāuuatąm*

In addition, it is possible to identify repetitions involving nominal and verbal derivatives of the Avestan root *taš*: the verb *tašaṯ* (1a) '(who) fashioned (me)' is reprised by *tašā gāuš* 'Fashioner of the Cow' at (2a) and is identical to *tašaṯ* (7a) 'he fashioned (the formula)'. At the same time, *taš* combines with *ϑβarəs-*, the Avestan equivalent of the root underlying Vedic Tvaṣṭar at (1a) and (6c):

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22 Schwartz (2003), 199.

Table 16.1: *taš*-repetitions in Y. 29

A$_1$	*tašaṯ* (1a)	*ϑβarōždūm* (1a)	:	*tatašā* (6c)	*ϑβōrəštā* (6c)
B$_1$				*tašā gāuš* (2a)	
				mąϑrəm tašaṯ (7a)	

Table 16.2: *taš*-repetitions interlocking in the concentric structure of Y. 29

A A$_1$	1	*xšmaibiiā, kaṃāi, mā, kā, mā, mōi* ***tašaṯ ϑβarōždūm***
B B$_1$	2	*dātā xšaiiaṇtō* *tašā gāuš*
C	3	*gauuōi … hātąm huuō*
D	4	*huuō … vasaṯ*
E	5	*gāušcā … fərasābiiō*
		nōiṯ … nōiṯ fšuiieṇtē
F A$_1$	6	*nōiṯ … naēdā … fšuiiaṇtaēcā* ***tatašā ϑβōrəštā***
E B$_1$	7	*gauuōi … sāsnaiiā* *mąϑrəm tašaṯ*
D	8	*huuō … vaštī*
C	9	*gāuš … huuō aŋhaṯ*
B	10	*dātā … xšaϑrəmcā*
A	11	*kudā, mā, yūžām, nə̄, yūšmāuuatąm*

16.4 Ritual Re-Composition

The *ϑβarəs-* + *taš* repetitions of the hymn frame the first part of the poem: at 1, *ϑβarōždūm* precedes *tašaṯ*, while at 6, *tatašā* precedes *ϑβōrəštā*. Since the two roots combine in the initial question asked by the Cow's Soul and later refer to the creator of the cow who 'fashioned' her (*tatašā*), several scholars have raised the question of the relationship and/or possible difference between these two verbs. According to Pirart (2018), 63, in the *Gāϑā*s,

√ϑβars, with the cow's name as the object, either means 'to immolate', or 'to define', while √taš refers rather to its ritual re-composition performed on the cushion of herbs called barəziš (= Vedic barhíṣ-) following the cutting of its meat into pieces.[23]

It is possible that this difference of meanings is an Iranian semantic development of Avestan ϑβarəs- and taš-. Indeed, the Indic derivatives of the two roots both seem to be connected to the process of ritual re-assemblage/transformation of the ritual victim. I have already shown how the takṣ-deeds of the Aśvins and the Ṛbhus are connected with the attainment of immortality or of a share of the sacrifice. In connection with the discussion surrounding *Yasna* 29, it may be significant that, in Vedic ritual texts, the god Tvaṣṭar re-composes (i.e. ritually revitalises) sacrificed victims, after they have been cut into different parts:

> ŚB 3.8.3.37
> *yád aṅgaśó vikṛttó bhávati, tát prāṇodānábhyāṃ **sáṃdadhāti**. déva tvaṣṭar bhū́rī te **sáṃsametu** sálakṣmā, yád víṣurūpam bhávāti íti. kṛtsnavṛ́tam evaìtát karoti. devatrā́ yántam ávase sákhāyó 'nu tvā mātā́pitáro madantvíti. tád yátrainam áhauṣīt. **tád enaṃ kṛtsnáṃ kṛt-vánusámasyati sò 'sya kṛtsnò 'múṣmiṃ loká ātmā́ bhavati**.*

> Where it has been cut up limb by limb [i.e. the sacrificed animal], there **he puts it together** (Eggeling: **he heals it**) by means of the out-breathing and in-breathing [thinking] "O divine Tvaṣṭar, let your ample [forms] **closely unite together**, that it be uniform what is of different shape," whereby he makes it completely enclosed [in its limbs and flesh]. "May your friends, your father and mother to please you, joyfully welcome you going to the gods" [he thinks]. **Thus, having made it whole wherever he has offered [a piece of] it, he afterwards unites it firmly, and that body (self) of it is complete in yonder world**.
>   transl. by Eggeling (1885) modified by the author

In this passage, Tvaṣṭar is not directly connected with the Vedic root *takṣ*. Nevertheless, the ritual transformation of the victim is still visualised as some kind of construction. The verb *sáṃdadhāti*, which literally means 'to put together', hints at the re-assemblage of the sacrificial victim after its body has been cut apart. As Eggeling's translation makes evident, *sáṃdadhāti* applies to the healing of broken bones in Atharvavedic charms, such as AVP 4.15 and AVŚ 4.12 (see Chapter 5). Moreover, it is employed to describe the connection between the different parts of the soma ritual, since the 'assemblage' in the soma ritual parallels the re-assemblage of the victim in the animal sacrifice (Chapter 14, Section 3).

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23 The provided translation from the original French is by the author.

16.5 Carvers, Fashioners and Indo-Iranian *tetḱ*-Compositions

The combination *ϑβarəs-* + *taš-* in Avestan Y. 29 may allude to an analogous ritual process peculiar to the Indo-Iranian sacrifice. On this occasion a gruesome carving was followed by a ritual fashioning. As explained in Chapter 10, Section 1.1, Tvaṣṭar and Old Norse derivatives of the Indo-European root *tu̯erḱ-* 'to carve' are associated with the creation or provision of 'immortalising means'. It is thanks to the 'honey of Tvaṣṭar' that the Aśvins achieve completeness; poetry, the mead of the *dvergar*, is a tool for the immortalisation of men. The study I have conducted on the derivatives of the Indo-European root *tetḱ-* now shows that *tetḱ-* may have such a value in Greek as well, since the metaphoric usages of the root are connected with the creations of ritual drinks, things that move and live, and the construction of memories, i.e. things that provide immortality among the mortals.

This theory can now find further internal support in the *taš*-composition of Y. 29. The repetitions of *taš* at Y. 29.1a and Y. 29.7a create a correlation between the fashioning of the sacrificed animal (*ϑβarōždūm … tašaṯ*, 1a; *tašā gə̄uš*, 2a, *ϑβōrəštā tašaṯ*, 6c) and the fashioning of the ritual formula, a metrical (i.e. poetic) creation (*mąϑrəm tašaṯ*, 7a). The repetition of *taš* in the Avestan text seems to be bound to the theme of immortalisation achieved through the sacrifice and the ritual word.

It is due to this 'transformative/immortalising' value that Greek and Indo-Iranian derivatives of the Indo-European root *tetḱ-* 'to fashion' are attested within metapoetic metaphors.

17 Fashioning Immortality

17.1 Ring-Compositioning

Given the prominence ring-composition has in my study, I should circle back to a few main points I touched upon in the first pages of the book. In the Introduction, I highlighted the extraordinary distribution of the term τέκτων in the Pindaric corpus (see Table 17.1).

Table 17.1: Distribution of τέκτων in the extant Pindaric odes and *POxy* 2389

τέκτονες of material things	*Pyth.* 5.36 **τεκτόνων δαιδάλματ᾿(α)**	builders	ode middle
τέκτονες of immaterial things	*Pyth.* 3.6 **τέκτονα νωδυνίας**	physician	ode beginning-proximity
	Pyth. 3.113 ἐξ **ἐπέων … τέκτονες**	poets	ode end-proximity
	Nem. 3.4–5 μελιγαρύων **τέκτονες ‖ κώμων**	performers	ode beginning-proximity
	Nem. 5.49 **τέκτον᾿ ἀεθληταῖσιν**	trainer	ode end-proximity
	POxy 2389, fr. 9.8–10 **τέκτονι πα]ρθενίων**	poet	?

I proposed that the employment of τέκτων-metaphors in Pindaric odes is conditioned by the synchronic background of single odes. However, I also made the case that the occurrence of τέκτων-metaphors in specific positions in Pindaric odes is not due to a coincidence or to internal (intertextual) reasons. Indeed, I showed that Pindaric metaphors involving the term τέκτων have parallels in cognate Indo-European languages. In one case, *Pythian Three* (Part 1), I was able to identify a combination of two analogous 'fashioning'-metaphors in ring-composition in a Rigvedic hymn (*Rigveda* 10.39). In two other cases (*Nemean Five*, Part 2, and *Nemean Three*, Part 3), I framed the Pindaric metaphors within inherited 'states of things', pointing out how the textual analysis and the comparative point of view shed light on the themes and associations that may be implied in the τέκτων-metaphors under discussion.

My structural analysis showed that, even when a Pindaric τέκτων-metaphor does not correlate with another τέκτων-metaphor in the same ode, it is part of a ring-system: in Part 2, I argued that the metaphor 'trainer : fashioner' of *Nemean Five* is connected with the idea of mobility as opposed to stasis; in Part 3, I tried

to point out that the metapoetic metaphor of *Nemean Three* (4–5 μελιγαρύων τέκτονες ‖ κώμων) is associated with a different metapoetic metaphor, as it correlates with the metaphor 'song to drink on', located in the final part of the poem.

The comparative angle of my study contributed towards demonstrating that a few Vedic and Avestan poems contain multiple repetitions of cognate *tetk-words (namely: the Vedic verb *takṣ*, the Avestan root *taš*), which can sometimes build ring-compositions. Most significantly, such Indo-Iranian ring-compositions are associated with the same themes connected with Pindaric τέκτων-metaphors.

This set of formal, thematic, and structural matches suggests that phraseological and structural correspondences identified between *Pythian Three* and *Rigveda* 10.39 (Part 1) are no coincidence. These poems contain analogous ring-compositions because they deal with analogous themes: healing and the achievement of immortality through poetry and glory. This means that, among the possible variations on these two themes that Indo-European poets had at their disposal as they shaped their poems, Indo-European poets had the opportunity to use analogous 'fashioning' (*tetk-) phraseology in analogous ring-structures. For this reason, one may state that Pindar and "Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī" choosing a certain ring-composition featuring *tetk-words on specific occasions (an ode for Hieron, a hymn to the Aśvins) may be a random coincidence. However, the adopted poetic solution, i.e. the poetic structural device itself that Pindar and "Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī" use, is still recognisable as a piece of common inheritance from the Indo-European poetic grammar. For this very reason, I claim that not only are τέκτων-metaphors a poetic inheritance with an ancient (Indo-European) background, but also that ring-compositions built by means of derivatives of the Indo-European root *tetk-, such as those found in *Rigveda* 4.36 and *Yasna* 29, are a poetic device that belonged to the 'poetic grammar' of three Indo-European traditions: Greek, Indic, Iranian, i.e. to some common ancestor of Greek and Indo-Iranian. Even if the compositional technique of Pindar differs from that of the Vedic and Avestan poets – because Pindar wrote his own odes and the Indo-Iranian poets transmitted their compositions orally – the compositional strategy employed by Pindar and Indo-Iranian poets is the same, because it worked efficiently, whatever the compositional technique of the poet was.

17.2 On *tetk-Composition

As repeatedly pointed out, I identify the *tetk-composition as a ring-composition built by means of verbal or nominal derivatives of the Indo-European root *tetk- 'to fashion'. I variously pointed out that *tetk-compositions tend to feature two or more repetitions of derivatives of *tetk- in the beginning- and the end-proximity of the

poetic composition. In addition to this, I now argue that one of the *tetk̂*-derivatives of the *tetk̂*-composition is featured in a metapoetic metaphor:

Table 17.2: Distribution of Indo-European *tetk̂*- in *tetk̂*-compositions

	Greek Pind. *Pyth.* 3	Vedic RV 10.39	Vedic RV 4.36	Avestan Y. 29
begin-ning-proximity: healing or ritual *tetk̂*-	τέκτονα νωδυνίας (6)	*yuvám … takṣathuḥ* (4)	*yúvānā … tákṣatha* (3) *rayíḥ … °taṣṭáḥ* (5) *takṣatā́ váyaḥ* (8)	*ϑβarōždūm … tašaṯ* (1) *tašā gāuš* (2) *ϑβōrəštā tatašā* (6)
end-proximity: metapoetic *tetk̂*-	ἐπέων … τέκτονες (113)	*stómam … átakṣāma* (14)	*śrávaḥ … takṣatā* (9)	*mąϑrəm tašaṯ* (7)

Through my threefold comparative study, I further showed that

(a) The *tetk̂*-composition is associated to specific metaphors and themes, namely:
  – healing as fashioning;
  – the creation of movement or life/life-like works as the result of healing and/or fashioning;
  – the creation of the sacrifice, which can be metaphorised as healing and fashioning;
  – the construction of immortality or (re-)vivification through poetry and ritual.

(b) In Greek and Indo-Iranian, poetic and ritual *tetk̂*-ing/'fashioning as transform-ing' has various consequences for those who take part in ritual and poetic fash-ioning as passive or active actors (Scheme 8). In particular,
  – Fashioning produces life, intended as re-vitalisation, ritual or non-ritual (re-)vivification (healing, resurrection) on the *fashioned being*, i.e. the pas-sive participant: the patients of Asclepius (*Pythian Three*) and Cyavāna are healed and regain their ability to move; the Vedic and Avestan sacrifice is healed and/or vivified through the ritual transformation. The result of fashioning tends to be visualised as the capacity of moving and/or talking, which is infused or re-infused in a non-moving/non-talking being: just like Daedalus and Hephaestus produce moving and talking statues and objects, so do Pindaric fashioners of verses produce resounding words (*Pythian Three*) or enact dynamic choreutic performances, poetic gifts which are metaphorised as ritual drinks (*Nemean Three*); trainers teach their pupils how to move (*Nemean Five*). The Vedic Ṛbhus produce moving vehicles for the gods. This creation is a poetic way to visualise the dynamic dimension of the sacrifice; the "Fashioner of the Cow" (*tašā gāuš*) of *Yasna* 29 ritually

re-vivifies a sacrificed Cow, which is endowed with a soul able to complain about her own sacrifice. In this connection, the 'vivification' nuance of *teṭk- may have an etymological explanation. Indeed, the Indo-European root *teṭk- is likely to reflect a reduplicated aorist of *teḱ- 'to give birth', i.e. 'to create a live being'.

– Fashioning produces an improvement of the mortal or immortal status on the *fashioner*, i.e. the active participant of the creation: the words of verse-fashioners are immortal creations. As such, they guarantee eternal audibility and visibility to the laudandi as well as immortality-through-fame. In the Vedic tradition, healer-fashioners as well as ritual fashioners improve their status: after performing Cyavāna's rejuvenation, the Aśvins obtain a share of soma and become complete gods. The Ṛbhus improve their status, transitioning from being mortal to being immortal, after they perform different acts of fashioning that metaphorise the creation of the soma ritual. In the Avestan liturgy, *taš-* designates fashioning as the re-assemblage of the victim, after it has been sacrificed. In the three cognate poetic traditions, derivatives of the Indo-European root *teṭk- are associated with the same themes and, ultimately, with the notion of fashioning immortality.

Scheme 8: Consequences of *teṭk-ing
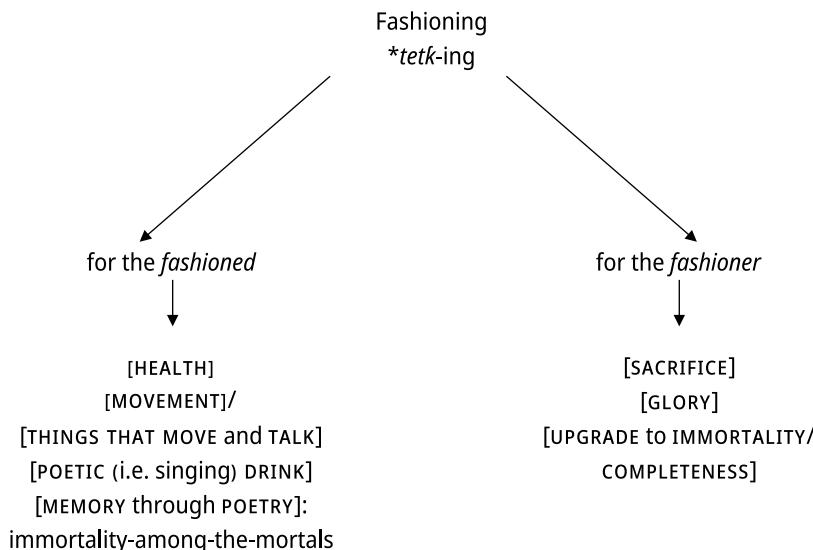
It is possible to wonder whether *tetk*-compositions and *tetk*-metaphors were first employed within ritual or within metapoetic contexts. In this regard, I would dare propose that the metapoetic usages of the root *tetk*- seem secondary to me. In my view, they probably developed from employment of the root *tetk*- and other roots for 'doing, creating, assembling' in ritual contexts. Metrical utterances accompanied rituals. In such contexts, the assemblage of the ritual combined with the fashioning of words. For this reason, I argue, the immortalising power of the poetic words came to be perceived as the same immortalising power of the ritual fashioning.

Within the continuum that unites the first performance of a ritual and its cyclic re-enactment *tetk*-compositions came to provide a concrete example of verse-fashioning, not only a concrete example of the vibrant art of poets and sacrificers, but also a speech-enaction of the ritual vivifying assemblage. Indeed, this type of ring-composition is produced through a particular disposition of specific words in specific places of a poetic work.

17.3 Fashioning New Studies in Comparative Poetics

At the beginning of my study, my readers might have wondered why I did not choose to compare the oldest poetic work of Old Indic and Iranian literature to the oldest Greek poetic literary work, even though several scholars have repeatedly shown that Homer and the *Rigveda* do have a certain potential for comparison. As stated above, I deliberately challenged this chronological criterion in favour of a different, literary one: the similarity among the genres of my comparanda. The results of my study prove that following this criterion is most satisfying. At the same time, my analysis shows that poetic genres are not simply similar because of shared *topoi*, but also because certain compositional strategies exploited by poets of linguistically related traditions (such as the *tetk*-composition) make these poetic genres look alike. This result should once and for all put to rest the scepticism surrounding comparisons drawn between corpora that are not old and corpora that are old. Indeed, it might even be vaguely likened to the philological principle *recentiores non deteriores*. In the field of Comparative Philology, this principle could translate as follows: "if a phraseological or stylistic feature is attested in a relatively recent age, the phraseological or stylistic feature in question might be much older than the text attesting it, by virtue of conservative character of the inherited compositional technique."

My results should also encourage comparativists to look further afield for shared traits of analogous poetic genres of cognate traditions. In this regard, I hope that the successful implementation of this comparative criterion will open the reconstruction of inherited themes and forms peculiar to Indo-European poet-

ics. At the same time, it is also possible to say that my study made an attempt at going beyond usual comparative approaches to ancient texts in a not entirely innovative way. It tried to challenge the scepticism surrounding the reconstruction of stylistics/non-atomic structures of Indo-European poems within the area of 'Indo-European comparative poetics/Comparative Philology' by giving prominence to the analysis of texts as whole entities.

This approach, which combines linguistics, phraseology, and stylistics is by no means new, but somehow became less fashionable among Indo-Europeanists. One of the first and most successful attempts at reconstructing Indo-European poetic devices did focus on stylistics: in comparing the Second Merseburg Spell to the phraseology of *Atharvaveda Śaunakīya* 4.12, Adalbert Kuhn (1864) looked at phraseology, stylistics, and themes. In his works, Calvert Watkins[1] argued for ring-composition being an Indo-European poetic device and provided various examples of ring-compositions found in cognate related traditions. However, the universality of ring-composition as a poetic device kept being regarded as a problem for Indo-European comparativists. With my study, I tried to propose a way of going beyond (or, some will think, getting around) this restrictive methodological premise. As the book makes evident, the focus on poetic phraseology as well as linguistic reconstruction can (and should) be successfully combined with a philological approach to ancient texts of different traditions. In this way, it is and will be possible to reconstruct more than 'atomic matches' between texts, and move on to the reconstruction of the characteristics that entire poems have inherited from a previous phase of poetic grammar.

Aware that my study represents an infinitesimal portion of what can be said about such universal masterpieces as Pindar, the *Rigveda* and the *Avesta*, I hope to have contributed, through my work, towards showing the potential of the comparative approach to ancient classics.

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1 See, representatively, Watkins (1995) *passim.*

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