tions are specific; they will not marry their cousins, and it is almost certainly the resolution of this aspect of their nature that provided the main theme of the two plays that were to follow.

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TIME AND THE HERO:
THE MYTH OF NEMEAN 1

Nemean 1. 46–7 is a notoriously difficult passage:

\[\text{ἀγχομένους δὲ χρόνος}
\text{ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων.}\]

Time caused the life to be breathed out of the (snakes') unspeakable limbs as they were being strangled.

In 1962 Gerber took up again the defence of the manuscript reading χρόνος against Roell and Hartman's emendation βρόχος, accepted by Bowra in the Oxford Text. Gerber pointed out, as had Hermann Fränkel, the active force which Pindar attributes to time. More recently Vivante, following up Fränkel's approach, has stressed Pindar's tendency to conceive of time not in terms of a chronological sequence of days, months, or years, but in terms of the fulfilment and achievement which time brings (see especially O. 10. 51–9 and N. 4. 41–4). Time, then, is the expression of a "mythical design" which is "laid over the time of nature. What stands out are signs showing the way to some crowning achievement". This view of time Vivante calls "mythical time".

3) Ibid., 111.
Vivante does not apply his valuable insight directly to the problem of *Nemean* 1. Citing Gerber, he remarks in a footnote, "But conceiving time as a power akin to fate, Pindar may well express with it a meaning close to that of death"\(^4\). Yet time has, I believe, a more positive significance in *Nemean* 1; and both Gerber and Fränkel's view of time as the expression of a vital energy and Vivante's notion of "mythical time" can substantially advance our understanding of *N*. 1. 46–7.

Neither scholar has seen the connection, observed long ago by Fennell\(^5\)), between the "time" of 46 and the "time" which occurs near the end of the poem τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον, 69a). This passage as we shall see not only confirms the reading χρόνος in 46, but also casts light upon the dramatic and moral structure of the myth.

The closing epode of the poem contains Teiresias' prophecy of Heracles' reward of immortality on Olympus (69a–72b):

\[
\text{αὐτὸν μὰν ἐν εἰρήνᾳ τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον}
\text{ἐν σχερῷ}
\text{ἡσυχίαν καμάτων}
\text{μεγάλων ποινὰν λαχῶν' ἐξαίρετον}
\text{ὀλβίος ἐν δόμασι, δεξάμενον θαλερὰν Ἡ-}
\text{βαν ἄκουτιν καὶ γάμον}
\text{δαίσαντα πάρ Δί Κρονίδα,}
\text{σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον.}
\]

In peace for all of time uninterruptedly having as his lot serene calm in the blessed halls as the choice reward for his great efforts and receiving blooming Hebe as his wife and celebrating his marriage feast beside Zeus son of Cronos, he will praise the solemn (Olympian) law.

The eternity of time in this passage (τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον) is the fulfilment of what time accomplishes at the climax of the myth in 46. It reveals under the aspect of eternity the meaning of that earlier moment. It is the foreknowledge of Teiresias, "highest Zeus' supreme seer of upright prophecy," (Διὸς

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**Time and the Hero: The Myth of Nemean**

...ινίστον προφάταν ἐξογον ὀδόματιν (60–1) who commands this view of "all time". That earlier moment of "time" in 46 now appears in retrospect as emblematic of the hero's entire life: the encounter with terrible monsters full of destructive violence followed by success and joy. The event of 46–7 anticipates and is in turn fulfilled by the victories foretold by Teiresias in 62–8. In both cases Pindar stresses the overweening, violent nature of Heracles' antagonists: (ὁβον νωδόδωλον γοβ; θηρος ἁγόδορις, 63). His victory is a triumph of order over violence (6). The pain-filled "time" of the hero's infancy which "strangles" the snakes is both prophetic of and, sub specie aeternitatis, coexistent with "the whole of time" in which he will enjoy peace and serene calm as the reward for his "great toils" (70–1). The moment of birth in which he "comes out into the wondrous brilliance ... the son of Zeus" (θαητῶν ἔαφιλαν παῖς Διός, 33) contains also the festive moment in which he celebrates his feast of marriage with "blooming Youth" beside Zeus.

The parallels between the beginning and end of the myth underlined by the repetitions of "Zeus" and "time" (35b and 72a; 46 and 69a) also account for one of the most puzzling features of the myth, namely the emphasis on the role of "golden-throned Hera ... queen of the gods" who sent the snakes (37–40). Pindar, usually so careful about myths that tarnish the gods' morality, seems here to be extraordinarily unconcerned about divine responsibility. Hera's violently anthropomorphic passion stands out all the more disturbingly because of the contrast with her solemn attributes of exalted divinity: χουσόθροον (37) ἑον βασίλεα (39) (3). Rosenmeyer, who has offered the most

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6) The importance of 61–3 for the nature of Heracles' victories was noted by L. Dissen in August Boeckh, *Pindari Opera Quae Supersunt* 2,2 (Leipzig 1821) 360 ("ut iustae caedes significarentur"). See also J. Duchemin, *Pindare, poète et prophète* (Paris 1955) 175–6, with note 1, p. 176; Bowra (above, note 1) 306, who suggests a connection between Chromius and Heracles on the basis of Chromius' participations in the campaign against the Carthaginians in 480. A more extreme form of this view is doubted by S.L. Radt, "Pindars erste Nemeische Ode," *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, 19 (1966) 168–9 (The two snakes symbolize Carthaginians and Etruscans); but in Bowra's milder, less exaggerated version it has some plausibility if one compares the implicit equation of Hieron's defeat of the Etruscans at Cumae with the god's defeat of Typhos: P. 1. 15–20 and 69–75.

7) Interpreters have tended to neglect the place of Hera in the Ode. So Duchemin (above, note 6) 99–100: "D'Héra le poète ne nous dirait à peu près rien, s'il ne se souvenait dans la I re Néméenne, que les serpents
recent study of the ode, touches briefly on the problem"). He tries to resolve it by interpreting the myth as light and humorous"). Humorous touches there may be, as in the saffron colored diaper of 38 or the contrast between Alcmena, *en chemise*, and Amphitryon brandishing his mighty sword while the warlords of Thebes, in full panoply (51a), back him up. Yet the overall tone is one of high seriousness and solemn exultation. Pindar depicts a vivid pathos in Alcmena’s “unbearable fear” (*άτλατον δέος* 48) which drives her to leave her bed of childbirth and rush in desperation for her new-born sons.

Pindar’s text offers an alternative, and, I believe, more satisfactory explanation for this contradictory picture of Hera in 37-40. He can dwell on her spite and hatred because they are cancelled out by the ultimate meaning of Heracles’ life which in turn has its sanction from Zeus. It is as “the son of Zeus” (*παῖς Δίως*, 35) that he comes into the light; and he will have the remarkable honor of celebrating his wedding feast “beside

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*furent envoyés par elle auprès du berceau d’Héraclès*”; J.H. Finley, *Pindar and Aeschylus*, Martin Classical Lectures 14 (Cambridge, Mass. 1955) 127: “The high colors are for the bright light of divinity,” but divinity is less than bright in this ode. H. Herter, “Ein neues Türwunder,” *RhM* 89 (1940) 157 observes that Theocritus was not altogether comfortable with Hera’s role and changed her epithet from *χρυσόθρων* to *πολυμύχανος* (Idyll 24. 13). I do not, however, entirely agree with Herter that Pindar is entirely unsconscious about Hera (“An Heras Verhalten Kritik zu üben liegt ihm so fern, daß er selbst ihren Todesboten eine Art Epiphanie zubilligt,” 157).

True, Pindar does not go out of his way to emphasize her, and her enmity to Heracles is given in the tradition (II. 19. 95–133 and cf. Pindar’s *άγχηιον λόγον* 34b). Yet the effect of the epithets in 37 and 39 is striking. As stated below, I believe that Pindar does have another reason for calling attention to her divine dignity, namely because her action is itself part of a larger order and a larger view of divinity which emerges in the later part of the myth.

8) T.G. Rosenmeyer, “The Rookie: A Reading of Pindar *Nemean* 1,” *Calif. Studies in Classical Antiquity* 2 (1969) 233–46, especially 244: “Given Pindar’s reluctance to saddle the gods with misdemeanor, he is unlikely to have invented Hera’s plot.”


10) Note too the contrast between the “naked sword” of the hero (52b) and the near-nude state of Alcmena, *ἀκεπλος* (50). Pindar seems, in fact, to have worked out a closely symmetrical balance between the male and female sides of the episode. In each case he describes first the followers and then the chief character alone: *γυναῖκας ... δασι ... over against αὐτά (49–50); *Καδμείων ἄγολ ... ἀθρόι over against, Ἀμφιτρύων (51–2). A different, and more serious, view of the saffron colored swaddling clothes is proposed by G. Méautis, *Pindare le Dorien* (Neuchâtel 1962) 174.
Zeus” (τὸὸ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ Δὶ 72a). Zeus occurs six times in the ode, so often that Méautis has suggested that he forms a kind of sphragis or seal for the poem as a whole11). With Zeus in firm control the ultimate image of divinity remains unthreatened. Even Hera’s cruelty is part of a larger plan, and hence she can receive the attributes of divinity because, despite her all too human foibles, she is part of an order which men still can and should respect.

The very opening of the myth provides a strong reassurance that a larger plan is being fulfilled. The brilliance of Heracles’ birth is not merely the light of life, like Homer’s ὑπὸ φόος ἡλικίων or Lucretius’ in luminis oras, but the brilliance of glory and lasting achievement. Aiglas personified is one of the Graces, bestowers of immortality, and “Zeus-given aigla” marks the high point of a mortal life (P. 8. 96–7). Pindar’s description of Heracles’ birth effects a fine and significant contrast between his future immortality and the dangers and apparent weakness of his mortal condition (35–6):

... ὦς, ἔπει σπλάγχνων ὑπὸ ματέρος αὐτίκα θαν- 

tόν ἔς αὐγλαν παῖς Δίως 

οὐδίνα φεύγων διδόμῳ 

σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν.

His status as “the son of Zeus” and his emergence “at once” (αὐτίκα) into the “wondrous brilliance” (θαντόν ἔς αὐγλαν) contrast with the more realistic, physical fact of birth: the mother’s womb (literally “entrails”, σπλάγχνα) and the hard travail (οὐδίνα). Both the language and situation are similar to the birth of another glorious hero, Iamus:

ἤλθεν δ’ ὑπὸ σπλάγχνων ὑπ’ ὦδίνος τ’ ἐρατάς Ιαμος 

ἔς φαὸς αὐτίκα. τὸν μὲν κυζομένα 

λεῖτε χαμάτ’ ὑδ’ ἡ γλαυκόπες αὐτὸν 

δαμόνων βονλαίον ἐθρέψαντο ἀράκοντες... (O. 6. 43–6).

Here the actuality of physical birth, its hardness, and the mother’s grief (κυζομένα, 44) are followed by the miraculous snakes which save the child, δαμόνων βονλαίον (46). In the case


3 Rhein. Mus. f. Philol. N. F. CXVII, 1/2
of *Nemean 1* the miraculous, saving element is woven directly into the act of parturition itself.

After the climax of the action and at the transitional point between Heracles’ deed in the present moment (the χρόνος of 46) and the prophecy of Teiresias which embraces “all time” (69a), Pindar restates the positive side of the gods’ role. “Amphitryon saw the prodigious spirit and might of his son, and the immortals made to be unsaid the speech of the messengers” (παληγιγλωσσων δὲ οἱ ἄθανατοι ἀγγέλων ἔσων θέσσαν, 58–9). Amphitryon’s summons to Teiresias, “surpassing prophet of highest Zeus” follows at once (60). The substitution of ἄθανατοι (58) for Zeus makes this manifestation of the divine order seem even more solemn and mysterious. But who are these “messengers”? Certainly it is possible, as Finley suggests, that Pindar has merely left out a subordinate detail 12). In the condensed lyrical style of the odes such a procedure is likely enough, and there are sufficient supporting characters in the background (Alcmena’s women in 49, the Theban nobles in 51a) to make it easy to think of other servants too. Theocritus developed this domestic side of the scene 13). Yet Pindar’s feeling for the mystery of divine action is far stronger and more serious than that of the Hellenistic poet 14), and one may wonder if these “messengers” may not, in fact, be the messengers of Hera, the snakes whom she “sent” (πέμπε, 40). Their “swift jaws”, grimly emphasized in 42–3, are to deliver a message not of words, but of death. On this view the “message” of the snakes would be directly cancelled by the speaking of Teiresias, as Hera’s anthropomorphic ill will is cancelled by the remote purposes of the unnamed, generalized ἄθανατοι of 58 15).

*Chronos*, as the revealer of the mythical pattern behind events, can thus itself strangle the snakes and thereby unite Heracles’ beginning with his end. The *chronos* which foils Hera’s selfish and bitter revenge at the moment when the snakes expire.

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12) Finley (above, note 7) 127. Though Theocritus has a wealth of background personae (*Id.* 24. 47–56), he omits this detail of the “messengers.”

13) See especially *Id.* 24. 1–9, 35–53, 60–65.

14) See in general Herter (above, note 7) 152–3; Rosenmeyer (above, note 8) 242 ff.

15) In a similar way Theocritus, who also emphasizes the role of Hera (*Id.* 24. 13–16), balances against her the omniscience of Zeus (Διὸς νοέωντος ἄθαντα, 21); cf. also 29 and 68.
is also the *chronos* which, in its widest extent as "all time", holds and fulfills Zeus' plan. Heracles is himself a part of that plan, and hence at the end, at his wedding feast, can be said to "praise the solemn law" (*σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον*, 72b). His wedding feast is itself a sign of the fulfilment of that law: it both solemnizes the reward for the defeat of lawless creatures, from the snakes to the Giants, and signals the capitulation of the recalcitrant individuality of a deity like Hera.

In Pindar's conception of time, then, the moment of toil becomes transparent to the moment of celebration of immortal happiness; the act of the hero's birth already reaches ahead, in its *aigla*, to his marriage to the goddess of eternal youth. The "time" in which his first victory over monsters is accomplished fuses with "all time" which fulfils and rewards his subsequent victories over monsters.

This festive banquet commemorating and rewarding noble achievement after hard toil also absorbs, in mythic time, and thereby transfigures the banquet celebrating Chromius' victory; Pindar, like Amphitryon and Alcmena, "stands" in wonder and admiration at the hall's doors:

> ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
> ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνον καλὰ μελπόμενος,
> ἐνθά μοι ἀριστάνον
> δεῖξιν θεοσύμμηται, ...

I stood at the hall's doors of a hospitable man, singing lovely songs, where a well-ordered banquet has been arranged. With this scene we may compare the snakes at the "open doors of the chamber" (*οἰχθεισῶν πυλῶν / ἐς σαλάμων μνηχῶν εὐφῶν ἔβαν, 41-2*) Pindar's "standing" (19) also recalls Amphitryon who "stood mingled in wonder hard to bear and joyful" (ἐστα δὲ θάμβει δυνάρω / τεσπνῳ μειχθείς, 55-6; cf. μειχθέντα, 16)

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17) For this aspect of time see Fränkel (above, note 1) 11: "Nur Zukunft, die Gegenwart werden will und wird: das ist die Zeit." Note also the movement between "time" and "all time" in O. 2. 17 and 30 and P. 2. 57 and 46.
The first parallel is all the more noteworthy because the doors receive special emphasis in the myth of Heracles. As Herter has pointed out, the doors partake of the eerie, supernatural aura surrounding the snakes and their approach. The phrase describes the miraculous opening of the doors by themselves.

There is another even closer parallel between Chromios and Heracles. In gnomic language which applies to the victor and the immediate situation Pindar declares that “one must battle in accord with one’s nature treading straight roads” (25b):

\[\chiοι \delta' \ εν ευθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μᾶρασθαι φυῇ.\]

In Teiresias’ pronouncement of Heracles’ future there stands a victory over “many a most hostile enemy, walking with crooked satiety” (64–6):

\[καὶ τινα σὸν πλαγίω \ \\
 ἄνδρῶν κόσμον στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον \ \\
 φάσει νῦν δύσειν μόρῳ.\]

Not only the repetition of στείχοντα, but also the familiar contrast of the “straight” and the “crooked” invite the reader to connect the two passages. Heracles is the ultimate model for a way of life which Pindar exhorts Chromius to follow. Pindar addressing Chromius “at the door of his halls” (19) is also analogous to Teiresias addressing Amphitryon after the

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18) The parallel was noted by Fr. Mezger, Pindars Siegestrider (Leipzig 1880) 110.

19) Herter (above, note 7) 156–7: “Wenn (Pindar) einen solchen Begleitumstand der Haupthandlung so ausdrücklich hervorhebt, so muß er auch ein besonderes Gewicht darauf und eine tiefe Bedeutung darin gefunden haben.” Herter’s view is accepted by Radt (above, note 6) p. 150, note 1.

20) The text is somewhat uncertain, but the general outlines are clear. I give the text of Bowra, who accepts the emendation of Beck (μόρῳ for μόρῳ). Wilamowitz defended the ms. reading (above, note 16, 496). For μόρῳ see P. 5. 60–1 and Gildersleeve, AJP 23 (1902) p. 21 with note 2; G. Norwood, CP 37 (1942) 428–9.


22) The parallel between Chromius and Heracles may thus be general and ethical rather than specifically biographical. There is no justification for Radts’ view (above, note 6, 171) that the parallel (noted by him on p. 169) contains “eine Anspielung auf Chromios’ Verleumder” in line 25.
latter “stood” amazed at his infant son’s prowess (cf. ἔστα, 19; ἔστα, 55). In both cases a present deed reaches beyond the immediate situation to larger and more general considerations of noble and meaningful action.

The final and boldest correlation lies in the parallel between the “feast” of Chromius, whose “house” (δόμοι, 23) is hospitable to strangers and the feast of Zeus himself who receives Herades “in his blessed house” (ἅλβιοις ἐν δώμαισι, 7123). The implication need not be only that Chromius’ Nemean victory is equivalent to Herades’ eternal bliss, but merely that effort and just action are rewarded – in time24). It was in such terms that Pindar introduced the myth, the hopes shared by men who toil much (32–3):

κονωι γάρ ἔχοντι ἔλπιδες
πολυτόνων ἀνδρῶν. ἐγὼ δ’ Ἡρακλέως ἀντέχομαι
προορόνως …

Hopes too look to the future and need time for their fulfilment25). Chromius’ πόνοι (33a) look ahead to Heracles’ καμάτων μεγάλων ποινῶν ... ἐξαίρετον (70). The “time” which can “strangle” threatening serpents and also hold the hero’s eternal reward is also the time which can contain Chromius’ Nemean victory and the promise of higher victory, “the golden leaves of Olympia’s olives” with which he will be “mingled” (μειχθέντα, 18a; cf. μειχθέις, 56, of Ampitryon).

Time, chronos, thus contains two perspectives, presented in 46 and 69 respectively. This double perspective appears in another form in a myth like that of Pythian 12, where the suffering of the vanquished monster is made to yield, at the level of divine action, beauty and joyful creation. There Athena transforms the mournful wail of the dying Medusa into a lovely song, “devising the all-sounding tune of flutes, that she might with her instruments imitate the plangent howl of grief that drew near to her

23) For the parallel see ibid. 167–8.
24) That the “unity” of the ode rests on a parallel between Heracles and Chromius has been recognized since Dissen (above, note 6) 357–8, though one must be careful about pushing the parallel too far. See Radt (above, note 6) 164 ff. and Rosenmeyer (above, note 8) 241–2.
25) See Fränkel (above, note 1) 11, and the sentence quoted above, note 17. Rosenmeyer is surely right in interpreting these “hopes” as positive and bright rather than negative (above, note 8) p. 241 with note 33.
from Medusa’s swift-moving cheeks” (P. 12. 18–21)26). So in Nemean 1 the “time” which “drove the breath of life from the snakes’ unspeakable limbs” is but the dark side of time’s fulfillment of the hero’s happiness in his eternal union with his wife, Youth.

The two perspectives come together in another way in the reactions of the spectators. The immediate, mortal onlooker, Amphitryon, arrives “smitten with the sharp blows of anguish” (dékéiais áníaiais toupeis, 53). The violence of his arrival (kaleov γημνών τιμᾶσσον φάσανον / ἵκετο, 52b–3) slows down to the static, abrupt ἔστα (55). Yet even in his relief as he takes in the event he is still puzzled and stands in pain and joy both, amazed and uncomprehending (55–6):

ἔστα δὲ δάμβει δυσφόρῳ
tepaiv te meíxweiç.

Beyond him, at a higher level of understanding, are the prophet and his analogue in the “real” world, the poet. In at least two other passages Pindar associates his calling as a poet with the dignity and insight of the prophet:

μαντεύο, Μούσα, προφατεύσω δ’ ἐγώ.

(frag. 137 Bo = 150 Sn).

ἐν ζαδέῳ με δέξαι χρόνῳ

ἀοίδημον Πιερίδων προφάταν. (Pae. 6. 5–6)27).

“Urging on the ancient tale” (34b) of Heracles’ conquest of the serpents, Pindar is like Teiresias who “told” or “spoke” or “pronounced” Heracles’ future deeds and future rewards (φοάζε, 61b; φάσσε, 66; ἑνεπευ, 68). Pindar, in propria persona, exhorts the victor, a friend (20–3), to “fight treading straight roads” (25b); Teiresias, addressing his “neighbor” (60) and fellow-citizen, prophesies how his son will destroy, fighting, “many a deadly enemy who walks in crooked satiety” (64–5). The prophet relating Heracles’ later fortunes mirrors Pindar himself reciting the “ancient tale” of Heracles’ first exploit. But Teiresias, himself a figure of myth, has a purview far beyond that of the mortal poet.

and commands a broader view of time (69). Hence his vision takes in a higher stage of Heracles’ life. Thus Pindar sets forth “a great praise (ἀλοις) of storm-footed steeds” (6), whereas Teiresias sets forth Heracles’ praise of the divine law in eternal happiness on Olympus (ἄνωθεν, 72b). Yet poet and prophet both, by virtue of their breadth of view and their command of truth which extends beyond what the participants themselves can discern, behold the present deed, whether Heracles’ or Chromius’, as resplendent with its future fulfilment. They look beyond the chronos of the moment (46) to the chronos which is the link between great moments (69), the junctures of a large design, the points where a hero realizes his ἀπαθικόν (25b), where the gods fulfil their “law” (σεμνόν νόμον, 72b), destroying those who practise ὑβρις (50b) and know not δίκη (63). This is the Time which is the ultimate giver of fulfilment to men’s aretai. As Fränkel says, “Chronos ist das Verwirklichende: aus Hoffnungen und Gefahren, aus Möglichkeiten und Fähigkeiten macht er Wirklichkeit” (29). In Nemean 1 Chronos unites the beginning of the myth, full of violent actions and violent emotions, with the end of the myth, pervaded by “peace” and high “serenity” (εἰρήνα, ἡσυχία, 69–70). On the one hand chronos denotes complete surrender to the circumstances of the moment, which yet contains the whole and simultaneously sets it in motion toward fulfilment; on the other hand chronos denotes the all-encompassing fulfilment of the gods’ design which is as complete in the moment as it is in eternity. Chronos not merely bridges the two perspectives, but is itself those perspectives.

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28) The parallel was noted by Fennell (above, note 5) ad loc.
29) Fränkel (above, note 1) 11.