

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.

University College, Cardiff

S. Ireland

TIME AND THE HERO: THE MYTH OF *NEMEAN 1*

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

ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόνος
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 time¹). 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)²). 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"³). This view of time Vivante calls "mythical time".

1) D.E. Gerber, "What Time Can Do (Pindar, *Nemean 1*. 46–7)," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 30–33 who provides a survey of earlier scholarship; Hermann Fränkel, "Die Zeitauffassung in der frühgriechischen Literatur," in *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (Munich 1960) 10–11, who describes *chronos* in *N.* 1. 69 as "der eigentliche Vollstrecker der Tötung" (10). Gildersleeve also favored the ms. reading: see *CJ* 49 (1953/4) 219: "Chronos is personification: Time has its hands." Bowra has now gone back to the ms. reading in his book, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) p. 381, with note 1.

2) Paolo Vivante, "On Time in Pindar," *Arethusa* 5 (1972) 107–31.

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 Fennell⁵), between the "time" of 46 and the "time" which occurs near the end of the poem *τὸν ἅπαντα 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):

αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 ἐν σχερῶ
 ἤσυχίαν καμάτων
 μεγάλων ποιῶν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον
 ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον θαλερὰν Ἥ-
 βαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον
 δαίσαντα παρ Δι Κρονίδα,
 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 ἅπαντα 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*

4) *Ibid.*, p. 131, note 2.

5) C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge 1899) *ad loc.*

ὕψιστον προφάταν ἔξοχον ὀρθόμαντιν (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: (ὑβριν κνωδάλων 50b; θήρας ἀδροδίκας, 63). His victory is a triumph of order over violence⁶). 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” (θαητὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διός, 35) 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: χρυσόθρονον (37) θεῶν βασίλεια (39)⁷). Rosenmeyer, who has offered the most

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 problem⁸). He tries to resolve it by interpreting the myth as light and humorous⁹). 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 up¹⁰). Yet the overall tone is one of high seriousness and solemn exultation. Pindar depicts a vivid pathos in Alcmena's "unbearable fear" (*ἀτλατον 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 Διός*, 35) that he comes into the light; and he will have the remarkable honor of celebrating his wedding feast "beside

furent envoyés par elle auprès du berceau d'Héracles"; 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 *χρυσόθρονος* to *πολυμήχανος* (*Idyll* 24. 13). I do not, however, entirely agree with Herter that Pindar is entirely self-conscious 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 (*Il.* 19. 95-133 and cf. Pindar's *ἀρχαῖον 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."

9) *Ibid.*, 242-6.

10) Note too the contrast between the "naked sword" of the hero (52b) and the near-nude state of Alcmena, *ἀπειπλος* (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* ... *ἴσαι* ... over against *αὐτά* (49-50); *Καμειῶν ἀγῶι* ... *ἄθροοι* over against, *Ἀμφιτρούων* (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” (*πὰρ Διὶ Κρονίδᾳ*, 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 *ὄραν φάος ἡελίου* or Lucretius’ *in luminis oras*, but the brilliance of glory and lasting achievement. *Aigla* 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):

... ὥς, ἐπεὶ σπλάγγων ὑπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαη-
τὰν ἐς αἴγλαν παῖς Διὸς
ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ
σὸν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν.

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

ἦλθεν δ’ ὑπὸ σπλάγγων ὑπ’ ὠδῖνός τ’ ἐρατᾶς Ἴαμος
ἐς φάος αὐτίκα. τὸν μὲν κνιζομένα
λεῖπε χαμαί· δύο δὲ γλαυκῶπες αὐτὸν
δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέψαντο δράκοντες... (*O.* 6. 43–6).

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

11) Méautis (preceding note) 184. Zeus occurs in 6b, 14, 16, 35, 60, 72a.

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" (*παλίγλωσσον δέ οἱ ἀθάνατοι / ἀγγέλων ἔῃσιν θέσαν*, 58-9). Amphitryon's summons to Teiresias, "surpassing prophet of highest Zeus" follows at once (60). The substitution of *ἀθάνατοι* (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 detail¹²). 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 scene¹³). Yet Pindar's feeling for the mystery of divine action is far stronger and more serious than that of the Hellenistic poet¹⁴), 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 *ἀθάνατοι* of 58¹⁵).

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

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, 60-63.

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 νοέοντος ἅπαντα*, 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)¹⁶). 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 youth¹⁷). 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 (19–21):

ἔσταν δ’ ἐπ’ ἀλλείαις θύραις
 ἀνδρός φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελλόμενος,
 ἔνθα μοι ἄρμόδιον
 δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται, . . .

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” (*οἶχθειςᾶν πυλᾶν | ἐς θαλάμον μυχὸν εὐδὸν ἔβαν*, 41–2) Pindar’s “standing” (19) also recalls Amphitryon who “stood mingled in wonder hard to bear and joyful” (*ἔστα δὲ θάμβει δυσφόρῳ | τεροπνῶ μειχθείς*, 55–6; cf. *μειχθέντα*,

16) The reading *νόμον* is virtually certain: see the scholia (112a Drachmann). Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 256, note 1, declared categorically, “Wer in dem letzten Worte *νόμον* verschmährt, das durch die Scholien in V gerettet ist . . ., hat von dem Gedichte nichts verstanden.” Farnell alone of modern editors dissents, reading *νομόν* (*The Works of Pindar*, London 1930–32, *ad loc.*).

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.

18a)¹⁸). 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 approach¹⁹). The phrase *οἰχθειςᾶν πυλᾶν* 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):

χρηὶ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα μάρανσθαι φυᾶ.

In Teiresias' pronouncement of Heracles' future there stands a victory over "many a most hostile enemy, walking with crooked satiety" (64-6):

*καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ
ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον
φᾶσέ νιν δώσειν μόρῳ*²⁰).

Not only the repetition of *στείχοντα*, but also the familiar contrast of the "straight" and the "crooked" invite the reader to connect the two passages²¹). Heracles is the ultimate model for a way of life which Pindar exhorts Chromios to follow²²). Pindar addressing Chromios "at the door of his halls" (19) is also analogous to Teiresias addressing Amphitryon after the

18) The parallel was noted by Fr. Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder* (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 gelegt und eine tiefere 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 *μόρῳν*). 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.

21) *Iliad* 16. 387; Hesiod, *Erga* 219-27, 247-51, 258-64. See also *P.* 2. 85-6.

22) The parallel between Chromios 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 Heracles “in his blessed house” (*ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι*, 71)²³. The implication need not be only that Chromius’ Nemean victory is equivalent to Heracles’ 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):

κοινὰ γὰρ ἔρχοντ’ ἐλπίδες
πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν. ἐγὼ δ’ Ἡρακλέος ἀντέχομαι
προφρόνως ...

Hopes too look to the future and need time for their fulfillment²⁵). Chromius’ *πόνοι* (33a) look ahead to Heracles’ *καμάτων μεγάλων ποιῶν* ... *ἐξάιρετον* (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. *μειχθείς*, 56, of Amphitryon).

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" (*ὄξειαις ἀνίαισι τυπείς*, 53). The violence of his arrival (*κολοεὺ γυμνὸν τινάσσων φάσγανον* / *ἵκει(ο)*, 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 θάμβει δυσφόρῳ
τερονῶ τε μειχθείς.

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:

μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ.
(frag. 137 Bo = 150 Sn).
ἐν ζαθέῳ με δέξαι χρόνῳ
ἀοιδιμὸν 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 (*φράζε*, 61b; *φᾶσε*, 66; *ἔνεπεν*, 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

²⁶ See E. Schlesinger, "Pindar, *Pyth.* 12," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 275–86, especially 283–5.

²⁷ See Bowra (above, note 1) 8; J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 295–7.

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 (*αἶνον*) of storm-footed steeds" (6), whereas Teiresias sets forth Heracles' praise of the divine law in eternal happiness on Olympus (*αἰνήσειν*, 72b)²⁸. 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 *φύα* (25b), where the gods fulfil their "law" (*σεμνὸν νόμον*, 72b), destroying those who practise *hybris* (50b) and know not *dike* (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" (*εἰρήνη*, *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.

Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Charles Segal

28) The parallel was noted by Fennell (above, note 5) *ad loc.*

29) Fränkel (above, note 1) 11.