THE HYPERBOREANS AND NEMESIS IN PINDAR'S *TENTH PYTHIAN*

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THE CENTRE-PIECE OF THE *TENTH PYTHIAN* is the account of Perseus' visit to the land of the Hyperboreans. In lines 27 ff. Pindar reflects on the limits imposed on the human condition; he then presents an example of a mortal who succeeded with the help of a god (45) in transcending the ordinary restraints and travelled the θαυμαστὰ ὁδός to the land of the Hyperboreans.

According to Pindar's portrait, the Hyperboreans enjoy a special felicity in the presence of Apollo and the Muse. In this myth Pindar seems to be picking up the theme of beatitude announced with μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία (2), and presenting it in the context of a mythic narrative (Perseus travels ἐς ἀνδρῶν μακάρων ὅμιλον, 46).[1] Like the Thessalians, the Hyperboreans are a northern people; and it is suggestive to note that the two were identified in antiquity.[2]

In lines 41–44 Pindar describes the beatitude of the Hyperboreans:

> νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
> ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ
> οἰκέοισι φυγόντες
> ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν.

Pindar rounds off the description with φυγόντες / ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν, a tantalizing expression.[3] What does it mean? The usual view, arising from the

References to Pindar follow the latest Teubner edition by B. Snell and H. Maehler (Leipzig 1987–1989). Also significant for the present discussion are J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962) and A. Köhnken, *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar* (Berlin and New York 1971). These works will be cited by author's name. For references to further discussion of *Pythian* 10, see D. E. Gerber, *A Bibliography of Pindar 1513–1966* (Cleveland 1969) 63–64 and "Pindar and Bacchylides 1934–1987," *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 258–260.

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[1] μάκαρ is a strong word: see C. De Heer, ΜΑΚΑΡ-ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ-ΟΛΒΙΟΣ-ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ (Amsterdam 1969) 28 ff., for its use in Pindar.

[2] See Philostephanus fr. 33 Müller (*FHG* 3.33) = Schol. Pindar *Ol.* 3.28a (1.112 Drachmann). In view of the importance of Apollo in accounts of the Hyperboreans, it is interesting to note the connection between that god and Admetus, a Thessalian king. On Apollo's links with the north, see F. Ahl, "Amber, Avallon, and Apollo's Singing Swan," *AJP* 103 (1982) 373–411.

[3] Köhnken (163) speaks of "eine scheinbar so vage Formulierung."

scholia, is that the Hyperboreans avoid retribution by virtue of their just and pious way of life.[4] While the Hyperboreans are pious in their offerings to Apollo, the theme of justice is not much in evidence (apart from the adjective in line 44) in either the myth or the rest of the poem. More significant is the emphasis on felicity.[5]

In a detailed discussion Köhnken has rejected the traditional understanding of ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις, by focusing in the first instance on φυγόντες. Wilamowitz, typical of the traditional view, argued that "φυγεῖν ist nichts anderes als ἀμοιρῆσαι, frei sein von."[6] Köhnken, however, emphasizes that φυγόντες is an aorist participle and suggests that the sort of understanding imputed to the word by scholars such as Wilamowitz would be more naturally expressed by a perfect tense, as in fr. 143.3 (see below). Accordingly, he argues (163) that the passage should be translated: "... sie wohnen ohne Mühen und Kämpfe, nachdem (oder 'weil') sie der überaus gerechten, d.h. Unrecht streng bestrafenden, Nemesis entgangen sind." On his view, φυγόντες / ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν refers to a precondition ("Vorbedingen") of the Hyperboreans' existence; and Köhnken identifies this precondition as death. The felicity of the Hyperboreans is thus directly comparable to that enjoyed by the gods in fr. 143:

[4]Cf., e.g., Schol. Pindar *Pyth.* 10.65b (2.247 Drachmann), οὐ γὰρ ἀδικοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ πεφεύγασι τὴν διὰ τὸ δίκαιόν τι πράσσειν νέμεσιν, τουτέστι μέμψιν; *id. ad* 68a (2.247 Drachmann), ὑπερδικαιοῖ καὶ κολάζει τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἡ Νέμεσις; Boeckh *ad loc.*, "Nemesin effugerunt, quippe morum innocentia deorum ultioni non obnoxii"; Gildersleeve *ad loc.*, "This stern (over-just) goddess [*sc.* Νέμεσις] they had escaped, not that they were not subject to her, but because they had satisfied her; they had been found guiltless before her"; G. M. Kirkwood (ed.), *Selections from Pindar* (Chico, Calif. 1982) 242, "... the Hyperboreans, by their Apolline avoidance of discord, escape the extreme recoil of justice which Nemesis dispenses to those guilty of excess." E. Krummen, Pyrsos Hymnon: *Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation (Isthmie 4, Pythie 5, Olympie 1 und 3)* (Berlin and New York 1990) 258 f., sets the piety of the Hyperboreans in an eschatological context that is unwarranted by the rest of the poem.

[5]It is interesting to contrast the Pindaric account of the Hyperboreans with the description of the Gabioi (called Abioi, δικαιότατοι ἄνθρωποι, in *Il.* 13.6) in the Aeschylean *Prom. Lyomenos* (fr. 196 Radt), a passage in which their just nature is emphasized:

ἔπειτα δ' ἥξεις δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον
< > ἁπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον,
Γαβίους, ἵν' οὔτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος
τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν, ἀλλ' αὐτόσποροι
γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον βροτοῖς.

Here Aeschylus seems to develop the reference in the *Iliad* by outlining the beatitude that they enjoy. Moreover, it is interesting to note that there is no indication here that their felicity represents a consequence of just behaviour. Krummen ([above, n. 4] 258, n. 7) mistakenly assumes that this passage describes the Hyperboreans.

[6]U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922) 469.

κεῖνοι γάρ τ' ἄνοσοι καὶ ἀγήραοι
πόνων τ' ἄπειροι, βαρυβόαν
πορθμὸν πεφευγότες Ἀχέροντος.

Although Köhnken's understanding of Nemesis in *Pythian* 10 is attractive,[7] it is unlikely. The meaning here attributed to Nemesis is unparalleled and is not supported by any of the passages adduced.[8] Moreover, if Köhnken's view were correct, the present ode would stand alone in conferring immortality on the Hyperboreans. In general they seem to be long-lived. It is interesting to look at the account of Megasthenes (*FGrHist* 715 F 27b), as summarized by Strabo (15.57): περὶ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει Σιμονίδῃ (fr. 570 *PMG*) καὶ Πινδάρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις μυθολόγοις.[9] Megasthenes seems to have introduced the Hyperboreans as a contrast to the Amycteres, whom he described as ὀλιγοχρόνιοι, πρὸ γήρως θνῄσκοντες. This passage suggests that Megasthenes' remarks conform to the general tradition (including Pindar), in which the Hyperboreans were χιλιετεῖς. If Pindar were in fact drawing in *Pythian* 10 on a tradition in which the Hyperboreans were immortal, it is probable that such a tradition would have left a mark on our sources; on the other hand, if Pindar were innovating, it is likely that the implications of the passage would have been made more explicit.

Köhnken seems, nonetheless, correct in holding that φυγόντες ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν refers to a precondition of the Hyperboreans' felicity. As Köhnken notes (164), the tense of the participle suggests that the Hyperboreans are "durch einen einmaligen Akt von der Nemesis befreit." The usual view that the Hyperboreans avoid Nemesis by their just and pious behaviour implies that such conduct is a permanent trait of the Hyperboreans: so long as they act piously, they will avoid Nemesis. Again the parallel with fr. 143 (quoted above) may be instructive: it is a basic fact of reality that gods are immortal and do not face death; Acheron, which they avoid (πεφευγότες), plays no part in their existence, but the perfect tense of πεφευγότες expresses their on-going aversion to the world of the dead.[10] Moreover, the usual view of

[7]His view seems to be endorsed by F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar's Victory Songs* (Baltimore 1980) 214, and H. von Geisau, *Der kleine Pauly* 2.1274 s.v. Hyperboreioi, a people "ohne Tod (wenn nicht selbstgewählt)." Cf. also E. Robbins, "Intimations of Immortality: Pindar, *Ol.* 3.34–35," in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury* (Chico, Calif. 1984) 219–228, at 225, with n. 28.

[8]For criticism, see S. Radt's review, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 113–121, at 119 f.; W. J. Slater, "Lyric Narrative: Structure and Principle," *ClAnt* 2 (1983) 117–132, at 130 f.

[9]Recent scholarship has assumed that the account of Pindar here mentioned is that in *Ol.* 3 and *Pyth.* 10. It is possible, however, that Pindar treated the Hyperboreans in a lost poem as well, where the detail concerning their life-span was mentioned.

[10]See Hes. *Th.* 739; Aesch. *Sept.* 859 (cf. *Ag.* 1075 and Soph. fr. 523 Radt with M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* [Stuttgart 1990] 122); Eur. *Hipp.* 1437–39 (with Barrett *ad*

the Hyperboreans' situation implies that felicity can be secured for mortals by good conduct, and this introduces an idea that is unusual in Pindar. Normally merit is secondary to divine dispensation,[11] and in *Pythian* 10 the role of the gods both in the victory and in the myth is emphasized (cf. 10, δαίμονος ὀρνύντος, and 48–50, ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμάσαι / θεῶν τελεσάντων οὐδέν ποτε φαίνεται / ἔμμεν ἄπιστον). In this light, I propose to argue that ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις is a way of referring to the dispensation that characterizes the world of ordinary men. By virtue of their position at the end of the θαυμαστὰ ὁδός, a place outside the realm of ordinary human possibility, the Hyperboreans are exempt from the vicissitudes that affect the lives of men who live under the rule of ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις. The Hyperboreans are thus situated firmly in the context of both the will and the actions of the gods; I suggest that their felicitous existence is part of the world-order over which the gods preside. Let us look more closely at this remarkable people.

The Hyperboreans were usually located in the far North beyond the blasts of the north wind, as their name suggests, and close to the streams of Ocean.[12] In the *Third Olympian* Pindar sets them at the source of

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loc.), *Alc.* 22–23; Men. *Aspis* 97; Aelian fr. 11 Hercher = Philemon test. 6 *PCG*. There is an interesting inversion of this motif at Heliod. *Aeth.* 1.2. As R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 33, points out, the gods' antipathy to death is probably a reflection of their sensitivity to pollution.

[11]The most striking exception is *Ol.* 2, in which the just are rewarded after death (cf. especially 68 ff.). F. J. Nisetich, *Pindar and Homer* (Baltimore and London 1989) 27, writes that "*Olympian* 2 contains the first passage in western literature to make reward after death depend on the observance of justice." In that eschatology the just find a place on the μακάρων νᾶσος in the stream of Ocean. Earlier sources suggest that admission to this sort of paradise had little or nothing to do with just behaviour, but was the result of special dispensation from the gods: cf. Homer *Od.* 4.561–569; Hes. *Op.* 168–171; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*[3] 1 (Munich 1967) 325. It is interesting, however, to note that in *Ol.* 2.79–80 Achilles is admitted to the Isles of the Blessed by Zeus as a concession to Thetis (in the *Aethiopis*, according to Proclus' summary [p. 69.21–22 Bernabé = 47.27–28 Davies], she snatched him from the pyre and settled him on the Λευκὴ νῆσος); in this way Pindar seems to undercut slightly the eschatology of the poem with a reminder of the more familiar pattern. For discussion of Achilles in the ode, see F. Solmsen, "Achilles on the Islands of the Blessed: Pindar vs. Homer and Hesiod," *AJP* 103 (1982) 19–24; A. T. Edwards, "Achilles in the Underworld: *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aethiopis*," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 215–227; F. J. Nisetich, "Immortality in Acragas: Poetry and Religion in Pindar's Second *Olympian* Ode," *CP* 83 (1988) 1–19. On Pindar's eschatology in general, see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar and the Afterlife," in D. E. Gerber and A. Hurst (eds.), *Pindare* (Vandoeuvres-Geneva 1985, Fondation Hardt: Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 17) 245–283 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1990) 80–109 (with an important addendum).

[12]Cf. Pindar *Ol.* 3.31 f., πνοιαῖς ὄπιθεν Βορέα / ψυχροῦ. The etymology implicit in these lines is spelled out by later sources (e.g., Hec. Abd. *FGrHist* 264 F 7, . . . τῶν ὀνομαζομένων

the Danube (14); and other authors tried to fix their location within the framework of what was known of the geography of the remote parts of the world.[13] The starting point for discussion seems to have been an early epic, the *Arimaspea* by Aristeas, which may have influenced Pindar's treatment.[14]

The region of the world that borders on Ocean is strange and unpredictable. The peoples who dwell there—Arimaspi, Hyperboreans, Ethiopians, Abioi, *et al.*—are unusual in numerous respects; there are monsters and aberrations as well.[15] The strange and unusual are at home on the periphery of the world because there the normal rules that govern the world of men do not apply in the familiar way. Even the regular alternation of night and day that characterizes our world exists in a radically different form.[16] In general the Greeks located their world at the centre of the circular disk of the earth, a point marked by the ὀμφαλός at Delphi;[17] "normality," it seems, occupies the central area of the earth. Consequently, the Hyperboreans, who live near the streams of Ocean, enjoy a dispensation different from that which determines the lives of men.

Ὑπερβορέων ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρωτέρω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς, with Jacoby's note). On the etymology, see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 149, n. 154. For references to the Hyperboreans in literature, see von Giesau (above, n. 7); cf. Vian's *note compl.* to Ap. Rhod. 2.675 (C. Vian [ed.], *Apollonius Rhodius*: Argonautiques 1 [Paris 1974] 275). See also J. Romm, "Herodotus and Mythic Geography: the Case of the Hyperboreans," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 97–113.

[13]Cf., e.g., Schol. Pindar *Pyth.* 10.72b (2.248 Drachmann); Hec. Abd. *FGrHist* 264 F 7; Posidonius fr. 270 Kidd-Edelstein = 70 Theiler. See Jacoby, *FGrHist* 3a (Komm.) 52–54.

[14]Fragments and *testimonia* are assembled by A. Bernabé, *Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta* 1 (Leipzig 1987) 144–154 (useful bibliography, pp. xxxi f.); M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988) 81–87. For Pindar's use of Aristeas, see Bolton 70 ff.

[15]The mythical geography of the periphery of the world was explored in a number of early epics, including the *Odyssey*, as well as poems detailing the exploits of Jason, Perseus, and Heracles; cf. also the catalogue of fabulous peoples in Hes. frs. 150–153 M-W.

[16]Cf. the description of the land of the Laestrygonians, *Od.* 10.80–86, with the interesting discussion by H. Vos, "Die Bahnen von Nacht und Tag," *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963) 18–34, and the full bibliography in Heubeck's note *ad loc.* (*Omero: Odissea* 3 [Milan 1983] 226 = 2.48, Engl. ed.); see also L. Woodbury, "Equinox at Acragas: Pindar, *Ol.* 2.61–62," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 597–616 = *Collected Writings* (Atlanta 1991) 151–167. In this general connection, see A. Ballabriga, *Le Soleil et le Tartare: L'Image mythique du monde en Grèce archaïque* (Paris 1986) 232 ff. (on the Hyperboreans) and *passim*; cf. also E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 134–135, on the "exceptions to the cycle and the rules of the inner world." Particularly illuminating is B. MacLachlan, "Feasting with the Ethiopians: Life on the Fringe," *QUCC* (forthcoming).

[17]See Jacoby on *FGrHist* 1 F 36; Braswell on Pindar *Pyth.* 4.74.

In contrast to the *Third Olympian*, where the location of this people is given with a view to geographical verisimilitude, in *Pythian* 10 Pindar represents the Hyperboreans as outside the ordinary world and inaccessible to ordinary men (29–30):[18]

> ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰών <κεν> εὕροις
> ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδόν.

These lines follow from the gnomic statement concerning the limits imposed on man (ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔ ποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ ... πρὸς ἔσχατον / πλόον, 27–29). The land of the Hyperboreans stands outside the realm of normal human possibility: travel by ordinary means is impossible.[19] It is only with the help of a god that Perseus is able to make his visit (45).[20]

It is a basic tenet of Greek thought that the lives of men and the world in which they live were to some extent determined.[21] We are accustomed to thinking of fate in terms of the individual,[22] but it is equally true that there is a dispensation that affects the human race as a whole. In the celebrated Myth of the Ages in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (106–201) we find a succession of races, each one characterized by different conditions, ranging from the felicitous golden race to the wretched age of

[18]Cf. also the description of a northward journey in Soph. fr. 956 Radt,

> ὑπέρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονὸς
> νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς,
> Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον

Although the precise identity of Apollo's garden is uncertain, it is likely that these lines depict the general area at least in which the Hyperboreans were usually situated: cf. Pearson *ad loc.*

[19]For travel-imagery used of approaching the impossible, cf. Heracl. fr. 67 Marcovich = 22 B 45 *VS* and Soph. fr. 919 Radt.

[20]Cf. the miraculous way in which Apollo translates Croesus and his family to the land of the Hyperboreans in Bacchyl. 3.58–61 (see W. Burkert, "Das Ende des Kroisos," in C. Schaublin [ed.], *Catalepton: Festschrift für Bernhard Wyss zum 80. Geburtstag* [Basel 1985] 4–15, at 10 ff.). Although he did not visit the Hyperboreans, Odysseus, another well-known traveller in these regions, was driven from the familiar world by a storm sent by Zeus (*Od.* 9.67 ff.). It is striking in this regard that Maximus of Tyre (38.3c [p. 439 f. Hobein]) states that in the *Arimaspea* Aristeas made his journey in spirit-form (fr. 1 Bernabé = T 11 Davies): see W. Burkert, rev. of Bolton, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 235-240, at 237 ff. and *Lore and Science* (above, n. 12) 147–149; K. Dowden, "Deux notes sur les Scythes et les Arimaspes," *REG* 93 (1980) 486–492, at 490 ff. Bolton (esp. 133 ff.) characteristically retreats into rationalizing in the face of the spiritual.

[21]The problem of fate and related concepts is one of the most controversial issues in the study of Greek religion. For discussion and references to further literature, see Nilsson (above, n. 11) 361–368; B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods* (London 1965) *passim*; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977) 205 f. (= Engl. tr. by John Raffan, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* [Oxford 1985] 129 f.).

[22]Cf. Nilsson (above, n. 11) 363, with n. 3.

iron.[23] The condition of the golden race, living under the rule of Kronos, resembles closely that of the Hyperboreans in Pindar's account (112–115):[24]

> ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον, ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
> νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνου καὶ ὀιζύος· οὐδέ τι δειλόν
> γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
> τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἁπάντων.

It is precisely this sort of felicity that is denied to men of the present age (cf. 90–104). Human life is characterized by vicissitude and is subject to various κακά (toil, disease, old age, and, finally, death).[25] Moreover, it is noteworthy that the golden age was in effect relocated on the Isles of the Blessed in the streams of Ocean, where Kronos continued his rule.[26]

The position set out here is, in general terms at least, not controversial and would probably be endorsed by most scholars. But can ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις refer to this dispensation? Νέμεσις is a difficult figure.[27] On the one

[23]For bibliography and discussion, see West's edition of the poem (Oxford 1978) 172 ff., and W. J. Verdenius, *A Commentary on Hesiod*, Works and Days *1–382* (Leiden 1985) 75 ff.

[24]In view of Köhnken's proposal concerning Nemesis in *Pythian* 10, it is worth noting that the men of the golden race were mortal (θνῇσκον δ' ὥσθ' ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι, 116).

[25]The mutability of human fortune is a common theme of Greek traditional wisdom. In particular good fortune was believed to be subject to change: cf. Hdt. 1.207, κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. For discussion and a representative selection of passages, see P. W. van der Horst (ed.), *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (Leiden 1978) 197; R. Kassel, "Ein neues Philemonfragment," *ZPE* 36 (1979) 15–21 (on Phil. fr. 152 *PCG*); Davies on Soph. *Tr.* 129 ff.; see also H. Fränkel's discussion of ἐφήμερος, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*[3] (Munich 1968) 23–39, and Nilsson (above, n. 11) 734–740. That the lives of the Hyperboreans are free from vicissitude is suggested by ἔμπεδον (*Pyth.* 10.34), which should be taken with θαλίαις, not χαίρει (Köhnken [160, n. 23] compares *Pyth.* 12.14 f., ἔμπεδον δουλοσύνα). Cf. *Nem.* 7.57–58, οὐκ ἔχω / εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον / ὥρεξε, a passage which forms a contrast with the theme of the uncertainty of human fortune mentioned earlier in the poem: see C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (New York 1981) 158. ἔμπεδος is also used of an unvarying dispensation from the gods by Stesichorus fr. 222(b).204 ff. Davies, a passage which is a negative formulation of the usual rule: οὔτε γὰρ αἰὲν ὁμῶς / θεοὶ θέσαν ἀθάνατοι κατ' αἶσαν ἱράν / νεῖκος ἔμπεδον βροτοῖσιν / οὐδέ γα μὰν φιλότατ(α). For some general discussion, see G. M. Kirkwood, "*Nemean* 7 and the Theme of Vicissitude in Pindar," in G. M. Kirkwood (ed.), *Poetry and Poetics from Ancient Greece to the Renaissance: Studies in Honor of James Hutton* (Ithaca 1975) 56–90.

[26]Hes. *Op.* 173a-e; Pindar *Ol.* 2.76–77. See Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 11) 255 f. = 87 f. West (on Hes. *Op.* 173a) remarks, "In the case of Kronos, the development presupposes the identity of the Blessed Islanders with the first race of mankind that lived under his rule."

[27]For discussion, see E. Laroche, *Histoire de la racine NEM- en grec ancien* (Paris 1949) 89–113; J. Gruber, *Über einige abstrakte Begriffe des frühen Griechischen* (Meisenheim am Glan 1963, Beitr. z. klass. Philol. 9) 65–72; Dietrich (above, n. 21) 157–176.

hand, she is a goddess honoured in cult in a number of places (Rhamnus is the best-known cult-centre) and active in the epic cycle (*Cypria*, fr. 9 Bernabé = 7 Davies), though unknown to Homer. On the other hand, she is a personification of νέμεσις, an abstract noun derived from the slippery *NEM-* root. However much these two sides may appear separate, we must recognize that we are dealing with one complex figure with an obviously meaningful name (like the Moirai), whose cult and role in epic seem to indicate high antiquity. Whatever we may make of the cultic evidence, it seems probable that the significance of the figure in literature was influenced in important ways by the semantic range of νέμεσις and its cognates. Accordingly, it seems probable that she is a figure in some ways like the Moirai, one who apportions (cf. νέμω), while, at the same time, like the Erinyes, she enforces that dispensation through punishment (cf. νεμεσάω). In the *Theogony* (211 ff.) the Moirai and Nemesis are both children of Night along with the Keres, who were closely identified with the Erinyes.[28] This view is also supported by the similarities in cult shared by Nemesis, the Moirai, and the Erinyes; they all appear to be chthonic figures associated with the apportioning and enforcing of fate.[29] This latter aspect is clearest in the case of the Erinyes.[30] At the end of the nineteenth book of the *Iliad* (418), they silence Achilles' talking horses; that animals should utter intelligible speech is παρὰ φύσιν. More striking is Heraclitus fr. 52 Marcovich = 22 B 94 *VS*: Ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν. Here the Erinyes protect the natural order.[31]

Nemesis fits into this context in an interesting way. Although far from common in the early period, the abstract noun is regularly defined by phrases such as ἐκ θεοῦ or πρὸς θεῶν, and used with reference to those who offend against justice or the laws of the gods.[32] I would argue that Nemesis /

[28] See West on Hes. *Th.* 217; Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1535 f. At Aesch. *Eum.* 321 the Erinyes are daughters of Night (according to Hes. *Th.* 185, they were born from Gaia by the blood of Ouranos). Nemesis is named in terms suggestive of an Erinys at Aesch. fr. 266.4 Radt and Soph. *El.* 792.

[29] See Dietrich (above, n. 21) 59 ff.

[30] "The Erinyes avenge every violation of what we should call the natural laws of life," W. Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1947) 229, n. 31.

[31] It might be worth noting that [Heracl.] *Epist.* 9.3 (p. 351 Mondolfo-Tarán) writes, πολλαὶ Δίκης Ἐρινύες, ἁμαρτημάτων φύλακες, an apparent allusion to our passage, and then links this with Hes. *Op.* 121 ff.

[32] Cf. Theog. 1182; Hdt. 1.34.1. Although no mention is made of the gods, Theog. 279 f. is suggestive, εἰκὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν, / μηδεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἀζόμενον νέμεσιν. It is noteworthy that ἄζομαι is regularly used to express awe before the gods (e.g., *Od.* 9.478, Theog. 748, Soph. *OT* 155); it is etymologically related to ἁγνός: see Burkert (above, n. 21) 404 f. = 270 f. In view of the general tendency to situate νέμεσις within the context of the will of the gods, Aristotle's influential discussion of τὸ νεμεσᾶν (*Rh.* 1387a6–1387b21; cf. *Eth. Eud.* 1233b23) is less helpful in elucidating the texts under discussion. Aristotle sees τὸ νεμεσᾶν as a midway point between φθόνος and ἐπιχαιρεκακία, but his discussion concerns human emotions, and it is difficult to infer the theological

νέμεσις was regularly seen as an agent who not only enforces divine law, but maintains the alternations of fortune and circumstance that characterize the lives of men. The only instance of νέμεσις in Herodotus occurs in his introduction to the well-known account of the death of Croesus' son (1.34.1): μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβεν ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισεν ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. As is made clear in the dialogue with Solon, Croesus in his arrogance believed his good fortune secure; in other words, he believed that he was free from the vicissitudes that affect mortal life. The gods then teach him a lesson by killing his son and undercutting his ὄλβος. This reversal is νέμεσις.

The sort of understanding of νέμεσις that I have sketched here will account for the only other occurrence of the word in Pindar. *Olympian* 8 closes with a prayer (81–88):[33]

> Ἑρμᾶ δὲ θυγατρὸς ἀκούσαις Ἰφίων
> Ἀγγελίας, ἐνέποι κεν Καλλιμάχῳ λιπαρόν
> κόσμον Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ὅν σφι Ζεὺς γένει
> ὤπασεν. ἐσλὰ δ' ἐπ' ἐσλοῖς
> ἔργα θέλοι δόμεν, ὀξείας δὲ νόσους ἀπαλάλκοι.
> εὔχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν
> μοίρᾳ Νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν·
> ἀλλ' ἀπήμαντον ἄγων βίοτον
> αὐτούς τ' ἀέξοι καὶ πόλιν.

This ode celebrates the victory of Alcimedon of Aegina. In this passage we see that both the boy's father and his uncle are dead; in the Underworld the deceased will learn of their kin's success at Olympia (cf. *Ol.* 14.20 ff.). From line 85 it can be conjectured that the Blepsiads have been much affected by sickness, and this prompts from Pindar a prayer that the present victory be an end to misfortune and mark the beginning of continued good fortune for the family. In lines 86 ff. the poet prays that Zeus not only bring prosperity and a life without pain, but render Nemesis constant.[34] The current Teubner editors print νέμεσιν, the abstract noun, but Gildersleeve and Farnell are surely right to recognize the presence of the personification (especially in the company of Ἀγγελία).[35] Pindar asks that Zeus, who pre-

implications of νέμεσις. On the meaning in Aristotle, see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Ehre und Schande in der griechischen Kultur," *AuA* 33 (1987) 1–28, at 23 = *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea: The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1990) 253–280, at 275.

[33]On the form of the prayer, see W. H. Race, *Style and Rhetoric in Pindar's Odes* (Atlanta 1990, Am. Class. Stud. 24) 161–163.

[34]For ἄγω used of divine dispensation, cf. *Od.* 18.137; W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) s.v. 1 c. More commonly the compound ἐπάγω is used (e.g., Archil. fr. 131 West^2, ὁποίην Ζεὺς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἄγῃ), and so in the present passage the scholiasts gloss ἄγων with ἐπάγων (on 115b, 1.264 Drachmann).

[35]See Race (above, n. 33) 162, n. 52, for other scholars who have adopted this reading. Race objects that there is "no warrant from the text or the scholia" for the personifica-

sides over the lot of mortals, alter the disposition of Nemesis towards the Blepsiads. διχόβουλος clearly refers to her regular attitude, according to which good fortune yields to bad (we recall Herodotus on the κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων, 1.207). Pindar is here seeking a special dispensation for the victor and his family, in which the regular reversals of fortune are suspended. There is an interesting parallel for Pindar's prayer in the novel of Chariton (3.8.6), where Dionysius appeals to Aphrodite for continued good fortune and happiness for himself and his family. This is followed by a silent apotropaic prayer to Nemesis (ἡσυχῇ τὴν Νέμεσιν προσεκύνησε). In these cases Nemesis is responsible for the vicissitudes of mortal life, a position which becomes increasingly prominent in later literature.[36]

In this light the felicity of the Hyperboreans can be understood. They dwell outside the ordinary world of human possibility, and, like other peoples who live on the shores of Ocean, they are not governed by the same rules. The precondition of their existence is that they are not subject to the influence of Nemesis. Their existence has a constancy unknown to ordinary men (cf. ἔμπεδον, 34).

In *Pythian* 10 Nemesis is described as ὑπέρδικος, which probably means "very just."[37] This adjective suggests a close connection between Nemesis

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tion, but this is hardly probative, especially in view of Pindar's propensity for personification. That the noun is modified by a compound in -βουλος points in this direction: cf. εὔβουλος, *Ol.* 13.8, *Pyth.* 3.93, *Isthm.* 8.31, fr. 30.1; ὀρθόβουλος, however, modifies μῆτις (*Pyth.* 4.262) and μαχαναῖς (*Pyth.* 8.75), but in both cases the adjectives reflect the βουλή of an individual in the sentence. In addition, the similar role of the personification in Chariton (see below) provides a close parallel for the use of the personification in *Ol.* 8. Race strangely supposes that "it is most irregular to conceive of Zeus making Nemesis do anything, for she is above him," but he adduces no evidence to support this. Nemesis was often held to be the daughter of Δίκη (cf. below, n. 38), who in turn was regarded as the daughter of Zeus as early as Hesiod (*Th.* 902). Moreover, in the *Cypria* Zeus *forces* Nemesis to mate with him (fr. 9 Bernabé = 7 Davies); especially in light of this passage, the earliest literary reference to the goddess, it is most unlikely that she is "above" Zeus.

[36]See Amm. Marc. 14.11.25–26, *Adrastia ... quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesim appellamus ... substantialis tutela generali potentia partilibus praesidens fatis ... haec ut regina causarum, et arbitra rerum ac discetatrix, urnam sortium temperat, accidentium vices alternans, voluntatumque nostrarum exorsa interdum alio quam quo contendebant exitu terminans, multiplices actus permutando convolvit. eademque necessitatis insolubili retinaculo mortalitatis vinciens fastus, tumentes in cassum, et incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versabilis librans (ut novit), nunc erectas eminentium cervices opprimit et enervat, nunc bonos ab imo suscitans ad bene vivendum extollit*: on this passage, see J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London 1989) 427. There are similar descriptions in Mesomedes 3 Heitsch and *Orph. Hy.* 61 (Quandt).

[37]H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*[2] (Munich 1962) 562, n. 15 (= Engl. tr. by M. Hadas and J. Willis, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* [Oxford 1975] 492, n. 15), understands ὑπέρδικος as ὑπὲρ δίκης. This position is in some ways attractive, but Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones has persuaded me that it is untenable by stressing

and Δίκη, which later authors express by making Nemesis the daughter of Δίκη.[38] What are we to make of this association with Δίκη? It is easy to assume that Nemesis in relation to Δίκη punishes transgression, and I suspect that this adjective has encouraged the usual view of the passage (see above). But we must remember that δίκη is often used of the laws that govern the natural order.[39] This is implicit in Anaximander's celebrated fragment (12 B 1 *VS*),[40] and very clear in Heraclitus fr. 52 (quoted above), in which the Erinyes police the laws of nature in the service of Δίκη.[41] ὑπέρδικος Νέμεσις, I would argue, discharges the same function in *Pythian* 10. Moreover, the alternations of fortune that characterize human life seem to be a reflection of δίκη. As Bruno Gentili and Paola Angeli Bernardini have argued in other contexts, implicit in the concept of δίκη is the notion of balanced tension.[42] And this is very relevant to any interpretation of Anaximander's fragment.

The understanding of Nemesis in Pindar's poem that I am proposing places the felicity of the Hyperboreans within the context of cosmology, not piety. This view is of a piece with the rest of the ode. Pindar announces the theme of felicity in the opening lines: ὀλβία Λακεδαίμων, / μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία. He then breaks off with the rhetorical question in line 4,[43] and addresses

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that ὑπέρ in compounds regularly intensifies. This view accords better with the apparent sense in Aesch. *Ag.* 1396 and Soph. *Ajax* 1119. It seems to me, however, unnecessary to understand the adjective as meaning "excessively just," as many commentators assume: cf. most recently J. G. Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict: A Study of Divine Judgement in the Ancient Religions* (Leiden 1991) 52, who translates ὑπέρδικος as "more than just, severely just." Such an understanding of the word suggests that Nemesis is excessively severe rather than appropriately severe.

[38] Amm. Marc. 14.11.25, *quam* [sc. *Nemesim*] *theologi veteres fingentes Iustitiae filiam* ...; Mesomedes 3.2 Heitsch, θύγατερ Δίκας; cf. *Orph. Hy.* 61.3 (Quandt), μόνη χαίρουσα δικαίοις. In Hesiod she is a daughter of Night (*Th.* 223).

[39] See H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*[2] (Berkeley 1983) 161 f. ("*Dike* means basically the order of the universe, and in this religion the gods maintain a cosmic order.").

[40] For discussion, see G. Vlastos, "Equality and Justice in Early Greek Cosmogonies," *CP* 42 (1947) 156–178; C. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (New York 1960) 166 ff.; and, most recently, J. Engmann, "Cosmic Justice in Anaximander," *Phronesis* 36 (1991) 1–25.

[41] Also relevant is Parm. 28 B 1.14 *VS*, Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς. Δίκη holds the keys to the gates of Night and Day. However we understand the precise significance of ἀμοιβούς (see J. Mansfeld, *Die Offenbarung des Parmenides und die menschliche Welt* [Assen 1964] 240–242, for discussion), it seems likely that Δίκη is closely connected with the alternation of Day and Night: see Woodbury (above, n. 16) 610 ff. = 162 ff.

[42] B. Gentili, "La giustizia del mare: Solone, fr. 11 D., 12 West: Semiotica del concetto di *dike* in greco arcaico," *QUCC* 20 (1975) 159–162 (cf. *Poesia e pubblico nella Grecia antica* [Bari 1984] 58 f. [= Engl. tr. by A. T. Cole, *Poetry and Its Public in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore 1988) 44]); P. A. Bernardini, "La *dike* della lira e la *dike* dell'atleta (Pindaro, *P.* 1.1–2; *O.* 9.98)," *QUCC* NS 2 (1979) 79–85.

[43] W. H. Race, "Some Digressions and Returns in Greek Authors," *CJ* 76 (1980) 1–8, at 5 f., sees it as simply a means of breaking off from his announced theme; cf.

the specifics of the victory before him. He returns to the theme of felicity in lines 17–26:

> ἔποιτο μοῖρα καὶ ὑστέραισιν
> ἐν ἀμέραις ἀγάνορα πλοῦτον ἀνθεῖν σφίσιν·
> τῶν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν
> λαχόντες οὐκ ὀλίγαν δόσιν, μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν
> μετατροπίαις ἐπικύρσαιεν. θεὸς εἴη
> ἀπήμων κέαρ· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνη-
> τὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεται σοφοῖς,
> ὅς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾷ κρατήσαις
> τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλῃ τόλμᾳ τε καὶ σθένει,
> καὶ ζώων ἔτι νεαρόν
> κατ' αἶσαν υἱὸν ἴδῃ τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων.

In a way much like the close of *Olympian* 8, Pindar prays for a special dispensation for the society of the victor.[44] This achievement at the games has brought great happiness. May they meet with no envious reversals from the gods (this is Nemesis in *Olympian* 8).[45] Success in competition sanctions the description of the victor as εὐδαίμων ... καὶ ὑμνητὸς ... σοφοῖς.

What I find striking about this passage is the terms in which the felicity of the Thessalians is set. After the hyperbole of the opening of the ode, Pindar now seems to present a more guarded assessment of their condition. The important word is now εὐδαίμων, not μάκαρ (Pindar's opening boast was, it appears, indeed παρὰ καιρόν). Their happiness is also defined in terms of geography: τῶν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν / λαχόντες οὐκ ὀλίγαν δόσιν (19 f.). With these words the Thessalians' condition is situated firmly in the known world, in the realm of human possibility. They are subject to reversals from the gods, and so an apotropaic prayer is necessary. Within these limits they have reached the pinnacle of human possibility (27–29):

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also E. L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 1 (Berkeley 1962) 6. On this sort of view, παρὰ καιρόν must be taken as meaning "untimely" or "irrelevantly." But the phrase should mean "inappropriately": see J. R. Wilson, "*Kairos* as 'Due Measure'," *Glotta* 58 (1980) 177–204, esp. 180; Verdenius (above, n. 23) 164 (on 329); M. R. Lefkowitz, *First-Person Fictions: Pindar's Poetic 'I'* (Oxford 1991) 26 ff. (who translates line 4 "Why do I boast ... beyond what is appropriate?").

[44] *Pythian* 10 is unusual in suggesting that all of Thessaly participates in the blessedness of the moment of Hippocleas' victory. Normally the victor's family shares in his success; but in the present ode Pindar must include Thorax, a member of the ruling Aleuad family, who commissioned the poem. Accordingly, the poet's praise embraces not only Hippocleas and his family, but the world of the Aleuads as well. See Wilamowitz (above, n. 6) 122 ff. Pindar's usual practice with regard to family and homeland is conveniently catalogued by E. Thummer, *Pindar: Die isthmischen Gedichte* (Heidelberg 1968) 1.49 ff.

[45] This passage seems to look forward to lines 55 ff., where the poet expresses a wish for success in the future: on the interpretation of the later passage, see A. M. Miller, "A Wish for Olympian Victory in Pindar's *Tenth Pythian*," *AJP* 112 (1991) 161–172.

ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔ ποτ' ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ·
ὅσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαΐαις ἁ-
πτόμεσθα, περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον
πλόον.

By no ordinary journey can we reach the land of the Hyperboreans, but Perseus with the aid of the gods allows us a glimpse of their beatitude, which lies beyond the rule of Nemesis. Their blissful life amid feasts in the company of Apollo and the Muse stands as a paradigm of the felicity which the Thessalians approach because of Hippocleas' success in the Pythian Games. All that the poet can do is to pray that their present happiness will not be reversed by Nemesis.

In this ode Pindar celebrates the transfiguring power of victory both in terms of the felicity that it brings and with reference to the limits of our mortal condition.[46] He reminds us of what is possible in human terms. In this way he comes close to saying what Horace says in a Pindaric moment (*Carm.* 1.1.3–6):

sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.[47]

Horace here offers his own distillation of Pindar's epinicians; Pindar himself never goes this far. In place of the gods, he presents the exemplar of the Hyperboreans, a mortal people who enjoy special divine favour in a privileged place in the far north on the stream of Ocean. They are truly and continually μάκαρες; Thessaly is μάκαιρα only with the moment of victory.

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[46]This is a regular Pindaric technique: see the passages assembled by Thummer 1.77 ff.

[47]*terrarum dominos* (6) is more commonly taken as referring to the victors (so, e.g., Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*), but O. Skutsch, "Rhyme in Horace," *BICS* 11 (1964) 73–78, at 73, has made an interesting case for seeing the phrase in apposition with *deos*. The usual understanding strikes me as too hyperbolic even for Horace.