

An Analysis of φρένες in the Greek Lyric Poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides)

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I. Introduction

A psychological term important in early Greek literature is φρήν. This word is found in over three hundred passages of Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*. It occurs in twenty-one passages of Hesiod. It is present as well in a large number of passages of the Greek lyric poets. The instances of φρήν in these poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides, who will receive separate treatment) will be the focus of the present paper. Its aim will be to present a detailed and comprehensive picture of this psychological term in these poets. The article will analyse φρήν, illustrating both its range of meaning and the way in which a person related to this psychological entity in these poets. It will discuss similarities with and differences from the usage of φρήν found in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*. It will also point out any unique features of φρήν that appear in these poets.

But we must ask: can general conclusions be drawn about the usage of φρήν in poets whose works we have only in fragmentary form? The answer is that the fragmentary nature of this poetry must, of necessity, make generalisations about the usage of φρήν tentative, even though such generalisations may be valid for the evidence that we do have. Yet another feature of this poetry is of importance as we examine occurrences of φρήν present in it: it is composed in different metres. Metrical considerations, therefore, may well have influenced whether φρήν rather than another term appears in different passages. This situation must make us cautious in drawing conclusions about φρήν, whether in a particular passage or in the poetry as a whole. Nor can we assume that this poetry offers a valid picture of what the range of meaning of φρήν may have been in the spoken language when these different poets lived. Thus, in this paper, we can speak of the range of meaning of φρήν only within the context of the specific poems that we have received.

Before proceeding to an analysis of this psychological term in the Greek lyric poets, we will briefly summarise its usage in Homer,

Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns*.¹⁾ This summary will allow us to appreciate different features of φρήν that may appear in the lyric poets. As is well known, the epic language found in Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* is formulaic in nature. It is a language with a long history, consisting largely of formulas repeated by bards. With regard to φρένες and other psychic entities, it may have been the case that they had a specific physical identity when the formulaic expressions in which they are mentioned were first composed. By the time of Homer and Hesiod, however, this specific identity seems to have become obscure. In their poems the physical aspect of φρένες is still present in some degree, but it is not the most prominent feature of them. In this physical aspect they appear to be psychic entities not specifically identified but located generally within the chest region.²⁾ In most passages, φρένες seem best described as a "faculty indeterminately corporeal."³⁾ Φρένες still have a vague physical connotation but function most often as a faculty involved in psychological activity.

Important features of φρένες in Homer and Hesiod are as follows. Like other psychic entities, they act both as an agent that thinks, feels, and wills, and also as the thoughts, feelings, and plans that are formed.⁴⁾ Having this range of meaning, the term "faculty" well describes their nature. In the largest number of passages in both authors, a person acts in, by, or with φρένες to perform various psychological activities. These activities are complex in nature. Aspects commonly separated in modern terminology, namely those intellectual, emotional, and volitional, are still fused in the early Greek references to such activities. But in certain passages of Homer and

¹⁾ On φρένες in Homer see B. Snell, "φρένες-φρόνησις", *Glotta* 55 (1977) 34-64 = *Der Weg zum Denken und zur Wahrheit* (Göttingen 1978), *Hypomnemata* 57; S. M. Darcus, "A Person's Relation to φρήν in Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek Lyric Poets," *Glotta* 57 (1979) 159-166; A. Cheyns, "La notion de φρένες dans l'Illiade et l'Odyssée, I," *Cah. Inst. Ling. de Louvain* 6 (1980) 121-202; M. Biraud, "La conception psychologique à l'époque d'Homère: les 'organes mentaux'," *Cratyle* n.s. 2 (1984) 17-23; S. D. Sullivan, *Psychological Activity in Homer, A Study of Phrēn* (forthcoming) with bibliography; S. D. Sullivan, "Phrenes in Hesiod," forthcoming in *RBPh* 67 (1988).

²⁾ In only three passages of Homer is the physical aspect undeniably present: *Il.* 16.481, 16.504, and *Od.* 9.301. For a full discussion of the physical nature of φρένες, see Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), Chapter One.

³⁾ See Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), especially the Introduction and Chapter One where there is a discussion of this description of φρένες.

⁴⁾ On this feature of psychic entities, see Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), especially Chapter One.

Hesiod, one or another of these aspects often seems clearly to predominate. Sometimes, for example, the psychological activity is obviously emotional (joy, fear, anger, sorrow);⁵⁾ at other times it is intellectual (pondering, deliberating, devising, knowing).⁶⁾ But often too several aspects are present, as, for example, in the activities of forgetting, desiring, or hoping.⁷⁾ In relation to these activities, *φρένες* quite frequently act also as a seat of a person's moral character.⁸⁾

In Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns*, *φρένες* are often associated with speech. They act in three ways: as a source of speech,⁹⁾ as a place where words are to be considered,¹⁰⁾ and as an entity affected by speech.¹¹⁾ Further, *φρένες* can act as "receivers" of other items in addition to speech: an intention, for example, or deeds.¹²⁾ They can also receive moral qualities such as *αἰδώς* and *νέμεσις* (*Il.* 13.121). In general, *φρένες* can be affected in a variety of ways by the person himself, another person, or a god. In this regard, like other psychic entities, they are very open to outside influences. Finally, *φρένες* function as the seat of other psychic entities. *Θυμός*, *νόος*, *ἦτορ*, and *κῆρ* are found in them.¹³⁾

In terms of relationship to the person, *φρένες* in Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* act principally as a location where he performs a range of functions. But *φρένες* can also act as an instrument he uses or an accompaniment with which he acts. In the latter case *φρένες* may contribute activity of their own in different situations. In general *φρένες* appear to be subordinate to the person; in their activity they co-operate with him. Usually a person finds in *φρένες* a psychic entity that acts in harmony with him. As such, it is not one that he needs to control. Instead, he can simply act in, by, or with *φρένες*.

⁵⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 8.360, 10.538, 18.430, 20.23; *Od.* 5.74, 6.147, 18.234, 34.353; Hes., *Theog.* 173, 554.

⁶⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 9.600, 10.507, 21.61, 23.176; *Od.* 3.132, 5.365, 13.417, 24.128; Hes., *W. & D.* 688, fr. 283.1.

⁷⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 6.285, 21.583; *Od.* 6.180.

⁸⁾ This is indicated primarily in expressions in which one "knows" (*οἶδα*) things "just," "suitable" or "fitting" in *φρένες*. See, e.g., *Il.* 5.326; *Od.* 5.9; *H. Mer.* 164. It is indicated too when one "uses good *φρένες*" or "knows noble *φρένες*." See, e.g., *Od.* 7.111 and 14.421.

⁹⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 1.407, 7.360; *Od.* 2.243.

¹⁰⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 2.213; *Od.* 15.445; *H. Apoll.* 544; Hes., *W. & D.* 107.

¹¹⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 5.493; *Od.* 4.77; *H. Mer.* 421.

¹²⁾ See *Od.* 4.729 and 11.428.

¹³⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 9.462, 17.111, 18.419; *Od.* 15.486, 18.345, 23.172; *H. Ven.* 72; Hes., *Theog.* 239.

In our examination of φρήν in the lyric poets,¹⁴⁾ we will not discuss each passage in detail in the text but will list all instances in Appendix One. We will divide the extant passages into seven Sections that will illustrate the range of meaning of φρένες and the relationship a person had with them.¹⁵⁾ In general the Sections will not be determined by case, although a Section and case may correspond. The syntax for each passage will usually not be discussed but will be described in Appendix One. Within each Section the poets will be treated in chronological order, except in the case of very similar usages of φρήν. For each passage we will suggest the aspects of φρένες that may be present. (These will be indicated in Appendix One by the symbols "P," physical, "I," intellectual, "E," emotional, "V," volitional, and "M," moral.) At the end of Appendix One we will list too associations of φρένες that appear to be prominent in these poets. We will also note the descriptive adjectives that appear with φρένες and these will be listed as well in Appendix Two. In general we will not translate the term φρένες but will attempt to show its wide range of meaning in the passages considered.

II. The Passages

Section A: φρένες as Present or Active in a Person.

In certain passages of the lyric poets the presence of φρένες as an agent in the person that affects his behaviour seems to be prominent. In 4.2 (W = 3 G-P) Solon says of Athens: "Our city will never per-

¹⁴⁾ On the meaning of φρένες in the lyric poets see the following: E. Lobel, *ΑΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΛΗ* (Oxford 1927) xxxvi; R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*² (Cambridge 1954) 36-38; M. Treu, *Von Homer zur Lyrik* (Munich 1955), *Zetemata* 12, 195-203; V. N. Jarcho, "Zum Menschenbild der nachhomerischen Dichtung." *Philologus* 112 (1968) 166-172; S. M. Darcus, "Noos Precedes Phren in Greek Lyric Poetry," *AC* 46 (1977) 41-51; Darcus (note 1), 166-173; S. D. Sullivan, "Love Influences Phrenes in Greek Lyric Poetry," *SO* 58 (1983) 15-22.

¹⁵⁾ Fragments of the different poets are numbered according to the following editions: *Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1962); *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1974) = (S); *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, ed. M. L. West (Oxford 1971), 2 vols. = (W); *Theognidis et Phocylidis Fragmenta*, ed. M. L. West (Berlin 1978) = (W, TP); *Sappho et Alcaeus, Fragmenta*, ed. E.-M. Voigt (Amsterdam 1971); *Epigrammata Graeca*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1975) = (P). Cross-references are also given to *Hipponactis Testimonia et Fragmenta*, ed. H. Degani (Leipzig 1983) = (Dg) and to *Poetarum Elegiacorum Testimonia et Fragmenta*, ed. B. Gentili and C. Prato (Leipzig 1979, 1985), 2 vols. = (G-P).

ish according to (*κατά*) the dispensation of Zeus and the *φρένες* of the blessed, immortal gods." *Φρένες* have usually been translated in this passage as "purpose,"¹⁶⁾ "will,"¹⁷⁾ or "intentions."¹⁸⁾ It is true that the expression, "according to the *φρένες*" of the gods, suggests a meaning of *φρένες* as "thoughts," "plans," or "intentions."¹⁹⁾ But in this expression an active element of *φρένες* may be present as well: the "thinking" of the gods, taking place in *φρένες*, is not such as to be hostile to Athens. This passage illustrates well the fusion in meaning of *φρένες* as agent and function. It suggests too an important role for *φρένες* as a seat of intellectual activity in the gods.

In another passage Phocylides speaks of the nature of *φρήν* at night (7 W, TP = 8 G-P):

*νυκτὸς βουλευεῖν νυκτὸς δέ τοι ὀξύτερη φρήν
ἀνδράσιν ἡσυχίη δ' ἀρετὴν διζημένωι ἐσθλή.*

"Make plans at night. At night in truth *φρήν* is sharper for men. Quiet is good for the person seeking excellence." In advising a person "to make plans," Phocylides specifies the location of this intellectual activity as the *φρήν*. The association of *φρήν* with "plans" is found also in Homer where, for example, Telemachus plans a journey in his *φρένες* (*Od.* 1.444).²⁰⁾ The "planning" mentioned in these lines of Phocylides has a specific aim: "excellence."²¹⁾ In Homer too *φρένες* appear to be associated with "excellence." In *Od.* 18.249-253, for example, Penelope's "well-balanced *φρένες*" are related to her *ἀρετή*.²²⁾ When Achilles and Agamemnon fail to act admirably, their

¹⁶⁾ See D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry, a Selection* (London 1967) 240 and D.E. Gerber, *Euterpe: An Anthology of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac, and Iambic Poetry* (Amsterdam 1970) 132.

¹⁷⁾ See W.J. Henderson, "The Nature and Function of Solon's Poetry: Fr. 3 Diehl, 4 West," *ACI* 25 (1982) 27.

¹⁸⁾ See A.W.H. Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegists* (Chicago 1985) 109. See too H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*² (Munich 1962), 263: "Fügung."

¹⁹⁾ For this meaning of *φρένες* cf. *Il.* 15.194 where Apollo says that he will not live "according to the *φρένες* of Zeus."

²⁰⁾ See also *Il.* 17.469 where a "plan" (*βουλῆ*) is associated with *φρένες* and *Od.* 4.676 and 8.273 where the activity of *βουσοδομεύω* takes place in *φρένες*. See too below on Theognis 1052 in Section B (Appendix One, 11).

²¹⁾ Noted by M.L. West, "Phocylides," *JHS* 98 (1978) 166.

²²⁾ Elsewhere too Penelope's behaviour as a good wife is related to her "good *φρένες*." See, e.g., *Od.* 2.117 and 24.194. Before she became an evil wife, Clytemnestra likewise "used good *φρένες*" (*Od.* 3.266).

behaviour is related to a negative condition of their φρένες.²³⁾ For this purpose of seeking excellence, φρήν functions better, in Phocylides' view, during a time of "quiet" (ήσυχίη).

In these lines of Phocylides φρήν is described as ὀξύτερη, "sharper." The adjective ὀξύς occurs here for the first time with φρήν. The comparative degree suggests that φρήν can be more or less "sharp" in its intellectual activity, specifically in its ability to make plans. Such a description of φρήν suggests that it can change. To ensure that φρήν functions best, it should be allowed to act at night in a period of quiet.²⁴⁾ Phocylides clearly believes that such activity of φρήν, consisting of "planning," can have an important influence upon a person's behaviour.

A reference to φρήν is found in Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 31-32, which M.L. West²⁵⁾ suggests is to be assigned to Ibycus:

αἰ] μῆ τι κόρα[ε θάλ]αμον κα[ταβάς ποκα
πά]μπαν ἀνεχ[ρίσθ]η τακερόαι φρεν[ί
ματ]ρός ἐπιτ[α]μένας πά[ρ]α δῶρο[ν ἐ-
φίμ]ερον' ἀσπ[ά]σιος δ' ὁ φέρων χά[ριν

The person described in these lines appears to be Eros, son of Aphrodite. "Unless it is that he, going down to the girl's chamber one day, has had his melting φρήν tinged with his knowing mother's gift of delight."²⁶⁾ In these lines φρήν has been "tinged" or "painted" with a "gift of delight" from Aphrodite. This gift is likely that of love, as West suggests. Here, then, as in Homer and elsewhere in the lyric poets, φρήν is associated with love.²⁷⁾ In this case the φρήν that is affected is described as "melting" (τακερός). The adjective appears here for the first time with φρήν. West notes that it is connected elsewhere with love (Alcm. 3.61, Ibyc. 287.2, and Anacr. 459). Here, used proleptically, it shows the effect of love upon φρήν which melts. The adjective suggests the strong influence that love can have upon φρήν, which clearly becomes much affected by this

²³⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 1.342, 9.119, 24.40, and 24.114.

²⁴⁾ Cf. the description of Agamemnon who "ponders in his φρένες" at night while the rest of the Greeks are sleeping (*Il.* 2.1 f.). See also on Ibycus, Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 1.15, below in Section B (Appendix One, 17).

²⁵⁾ See M.L. West, "New Fragments of Ibycus' Love Songs," *ZPE* 57 (1984) 23-32.

²⁶⁾ Translation from West (note 25) 30.

²⁷⁾ In Homer see *Il.* 3.442, 14.294, and *Od.* 15.421. See too *H. Ven.* 38 and 57. On love influencing φρένες in the lyric poets, see Sullivan (note 14) and Appendix One, Topics.

emotion. This *φρήν*, present in Eros, apparently influences in a significant way his amorous activity.

Anacreon vividly describes *φρένες* in fragment 421 (= ia. 4 W):

αἱ δέ με φρένες

έκκεκωφέονται.

“My *φρένες* have become deaf and dumb.” The verb *κωφόω* is apparently used metaphorically here. Anacreon’s *φρένες* cannot “hear” or “speak.” The verb could also be translated “have become blunted.” The cause of this loss of “sharpness” in *φρένες* is not made clear but perhaps it is love. How different these *φρένες* are from the “sharp” *φρήν* mentioned by Phocylides! With such *φρένες* Anacreon appears unable to feel or to think.

Φρήν is mentioned also in the following charming Scolion (889.1-4):

*εἶθ' ἐξῆν ὀποῖός τις ἦν ἕκαστος
τὸ στῆθος διελόντ', ἔπειτα τὸν νοῦν
ἐσιδόντα, κλείσαντα πάλιν,
ἄνδρα φίλον νομίζειν ἄδολωι φρενί.*

“Would that it were possible to see what each person is like by opening his chest and, having looked at his *νόος*, to close it up again and to consider a man one’s friend because of his *φρήν* that is without deceit.” This passage mentions two psychic entities, *νόος* and *φρήν*. Here these terms appear to be used as synonyms. If one were able to see *νόος*, he could trust a person’s behaviour as sincere. He could consider this person’s *φρήν* to be one “without guile” or “deceit.”

The adjective *ἄδολος* appears here for the first time with *φρήν*. This psychic entity evidently can be deceitful: evidence of friendship that it manifests may not be authentic. Although this specific adjective is not found with *φρήν* in Homer, nonetheless this feature of *φρήν* occurs there. This is especially the case in the passage where Achilles says that the man “who hides one thing in his *φρένες* but says another” is as “hateful” to him as Hades (*Il.* 9.313).²⁸⁾ As we will see below, Theognis too associates *φρένες* with deceptive behaviour.²⁹⁾ One’s behaviour may not manifest the thoughts or feelings present in *φρήν*. In this passage both *νόος* and *φρήν* appear to be crucial as locations of a person’s true nature and attitudes.

²⁸⁾ Other examples where outer behaviour belies what is in *φρένες* include *Od.* 2.93, 17.66, and 24.128.

²⁹⁾ See on Theognis 122 and 1261 in Sections B and G (Appendix One, 15 and 56).

In the Introduction we mentioned the frequent association of φρένες with speech in Homer. Two possible references to φρήν involved in singing are found in the lyric poets, namely in Terpander 697 (with the verb *αείδω*) and in *Adesp.* 955.1 (with the mention of the noun *ῥυμνον*). In both cases, however, the texts are in question. Elsewhere too in the lyric poets we will see an association of φρένες with words (see Appendix One, Topics).

Section A: Observations. In this Section we have treated passages where the presence of φρήν as an agent in the person influencing behaviour seems to be prominent. Its activity includes that of planning or singing. In Solon φρένες function in the gods as a location of their attitude towards Athens. In Anacreon they can become "deaf and dumb." In Ibycus Eros acts with a φρήν "tinged" with love. Among these passages, those where the word φρήν or φρένες appears in the nominative case are relatively few (four). Φρήν in Homer also occurs relatively rarely in the nominative: only twenty-four times. Although the fragmentary nature of lyric poetry prevents strongly-drawn conclusions, we may say that φρήν within the person does not act frequently as an independent agent in these particular poets.

Section B: A Person Acts in, by, or with φρένες.

In ten passages of the poets we are considering, a person acts in φρένες as a location, by them as an instrument, or with them as an accompaniment to action. In the latter situation, which may occur with a comitative-instrumental dative or an accusative of part, φρένες may contribute activity of their own. In Homer most instances of φρένες belong to this category (180 occurrences). In comparison, the number in the lyric poets seems to be rather small but again the fragmentary nature of their poetry must be kept in mind. What is important is that φρένες continue in these poets to function in this way.

In Semonides 7.27 (W) the woman born of the sea is described:

... ἦ δὲ ἐν φρεσὶν νοεῖ

"She thinks two things in her φρένες." As in Homer, the activity of *νοέω* takes place in φρένες.³⁰⁾ They are the location of two kinds of thoughts, one positive, the other negative. The woman's behaviour changes according to what she is thinking "in her φρένες." This

³⁰⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 9.600, 20.310; *Od.* 1.322, 3.26.

activity in *φρένες* is related to her essential nature: changeable like the sea. In this reference to *φρένες*, emotional, intellectual, volitional, and perhaps moral elements may be present. The nature of activity in *φρένες* strongly influences how this woman behaves.

In a passage of Theognis the verb *νοέω* also appears with *φρένες*. At line 1007 f., he advises people to enjoy their possessions while each has the "glorious flower of youth and thinks noble thoughts with his *φρένες*" (*φρεσὶν ἐσθλὰ νοῆ*). Here the verb *νοέω*, like *οἶδα* in Homer, appears to have a broader meaning than simply "to think" or "to perceive."³¹) The young person may either "think noble thoughts" in his *φρένες* or "perceive noble sentiments" with them. But perhaps the expression *ἐσθλὰ νοέω* may indicate that the young person knows how to be noble in his character: he expresses noble actions in his behaviour.³²) The dative in line 1008 may be an instrumental one: a person "thinks by his *φρένες*." But it may also be comitative-instrumental: he acts in company with *φρένες* which contribute activity of their own. In the latter case the wider role of *φρένες* as a seat of disposition or character would be evident.

In another passage, Theognis mentions the presence of *ἐσθλά* in *φρένες* (1049-1054). In this case the word refers to "noble advice" that Theognis offers Kyrnus:

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οἶά τε παιδὶ πατὴρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτὸς
ἐσθλά· σὺ δ' ἐν θυμῷ καὶ φρεσὶ ταῦτα βάλευ.
μήποτ' ἐπειγόμενος πράξις κακόν, ἀλλὰ βαθείη
σῆι φρενὶ βούλευσαι σῶι ἀγαθῷ τε νόωι.
τῶν γὰρ μαινομένων πέτεται θυμός τε νόος τε,
βουλή δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει.

"I myself, as a father his child, will give you noble advice. You place this in your *θυμός* and *φρένες*. Never, being pressed upon, do evil, but with your deep *φρήν* and good *νόος* take counsel. For the *θυμός* and *νόος* of those who are maddened flutter about, but counsel leads even the noble *νόος* to good." Three psychic entities are mentioned in this passage, all involved in intellectual activity.³³) First,

³¹) For the wider sense of *οἶδα* in Homer that may include "feeling," "experiencing," and "being of a certain disposition," see Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), Chapter Three on III.91-115 with bibliography.

³²) For different interpretations of *νοέω* in this passage, see B. van Groningen, *Theognis, le premier livre* (Amsterdam 1966) 377. He emphasizes the intellectual aspect of the verb.

³³) For a detailed discussion of this passage and the relationship of the psychic terms, see Darcus (note 14).

θυμός and φρένες are to be the location where Kyrnus places the advice he receives. Second, he is to “take counsel” with his deep φρήν and good νόος.” Third, instead of being like those whose θυμός and νόος “flutter about” Kyrnus is to pay attention to βουλή, “counsel.” This leads even the “noble νόος” to good action. Theognis suggests that all three psychic entities function better in a calm and measured use of them and such a use will lead Kyrnus to good rather than evil action. If he fails to “take counsel” or to “make plans,” he may act under pressure and, like those “maddened,” his psychic entities will “flutter about.”

In these lines φρένες are mentioned twice. They function first as a location where Kyrnus is to place ἐσθλά. Here, as very often in Homer,³⁴⁾ something is placed in φρένες. In this situation φρένες may also be actively involved in the consideration of the objects placed in them. Second, Kyrnus is to “take counsel” with his “deep φρήν.” The adjective βαθύς is found once with φρήν in Homer in a passage where pain strikes Zeus (*Il.* 19.125). There, the capacity of φρήν for the emotion of grief is referred to; here, its capacity for the intellectual activity of “counsel” is mentioned.³⁵⁾ As we saw above, Phocylides also encourages the activity of “planning” with φρήν.³⁶⁾ In this passage it is clear that Theognis associates φρήν and the other psychic entities with moral behaviour. Apparently all three can be involved in evil if a person acts, “being pressed upon.” But calm use of them leads a person to good action. Φρένες, as we will see in Theognis 733, can be the source of evil deeds. Here, in contrast, if used for the activity of “planning,” they can result in admirable behaviour.

In two other passages of Theognis, the intellectual aspect of φρένες seems to be prominent. At line 133 f., he tells Kyrnus that a person’s success or failure depends ultimately on the gods. “Nor does anyone among men work, knowing in his φρένες (ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδώς) whether in the end it becomes for good or for ill” (135–136).

³⁴⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 1.297, 9.611, 21.94, and *Od.* 11.454, 16.281, 19.570.

³⁵⁾ B. Snell, *The Discovery of Mind*, transl. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Oxford 1953), 17–18, suggests that the adjective βαθύς in the lyric poets is significant because it indicates a new dimension for psychic entities. Φρήν, however, already has this characteristic in Homer. For further discussion on βαθύς, see Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1) on *Il.* 19.125 (II. 30).

³⁶⁾ Cf. too Solon 33.1 (W) where Solon describes himself as a man “neither βαθύφρων nor βουλήεις.” Once again there seems to be a connection between φρήν and βουλή.

A person does not know the ultimate value of his activity. This kind of knowledge lies beyond the capacity of *φρένες*. Here, as also in Homer and Hesiod,³⁷⁾ the activity of *οἶδα* is associated with *φρένες*, but in this case a form of knowledge impossible for man is described.

In the second passage, Theognis speaks highly of the value of *γνώμη* (1171–1176). He describes it as “holding the ends (*πείρατα*) of everything” and as “being stronger” than either “pride” (*ὑβρις*) or “greed” (*κόρος*). “Oh, blessed is he who has it in his *φρένες*” (1173). The word *γνώμη* is perhaps best translated as “practical intelligence” or “practical wisdom.”³⁸⁾ It is in *φρένες* that Theognis locates it. In this passage the simple dative *φρεσίν* appears: it can be locative or instrumental. In *φρένες* or by them a person has a form of knowledge that relates to practical activity or decisions. The man who has such *γνώμη* in his *φρένες* evidently proves resistant to pride and greed. Its presence in *φρένες* is obviously a positive one. Perhaps the person who has it resembles the young man in line 1008 who “thought noble sentiments (*έσθλά*) in *φρένες*.”

But *φρένες* can also be a source of evil. We saw that this was the case in lines 1049–1054. In another passage this is also true of them. In lines 731–752 Theognis utters, in prayer form, his wish that evil men would pay for their own “harsh deeds” (*σκέτλια έργα*). Line 733, which mentions *φρένες*, is corrupt, but apparently describes a person “who does harsh deeds with his *φρένες* (*μετά φρεσὶ ... έργάζοιτο*), having no regard for the gods.”³⁹⁾ *Φρένες*, it seems, can be a source of thoughts or plans that result in evil. Homer too mentions *φρένες* in connection with bad actions. The suitors, for example, devise “sudden death” in *φρένες* or plan “evils” there (*Od.* 4.843, 8.273). The phrase *μετά φρεσὶ* suggests that a person may act in *φρένες* or it may be that *φρένες* contribute some of their own activity as well. In this passage, as in line 1008 mentioning *έσθλά*, Theognis associates *φρένες* with a person’s moral behaviour.

³⁷⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 2.301, 8.366; *Od.* 4.632, 13.417; Hes., fr. 43 a 9, 276.2.

³⁸⁾ On the meaning of *γνώμη* see my article on Heraclitus in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Chico, Ca. 1984) 289 n.23. Cf. another reference to *γνώμη* in Theognis 395: “in the man whose *νόος* thinks just thoughts, straight *γνώμη* grows in his chest.”

³⁹⁾ For a discussion of the textual problem in this line, see A. Garzya, *Teognide, Elegie* (Firenze 1958), 239; van Groningen (note 32) 285–287; and Adkins (note 18) 155–156.

In yet another passage, Theognis mentions φρένες again as a negative location. In lines 1259–1262 he tells a boy that he is handsome but upon his head a “crown of foolishness” (ἀγνώμων στέφανος) lies.

ικτίνου γὰρ ἔχεις ἀγχιστρόφου ἐν φρεσὶν ἦθος,
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

“For you have the character (ἦθος) of a quick-wheeling kite in your φρένες, being persuaded by the words of other men.” This passage does not mention a specific activity carried on in φρένες, but it suggests the customary way in which this boy acts there. He obviously is very changeable, being unduly influenced by what others say. He resembles, it seems, the woman born of the sea who has very changeable moods in her φρένες (see above on Semonides 7). The vivid expression, “crown of foolishness,” suggests an absence of intellectual activity that could be admired. The γνώμη that Theognis praises in line 1173 is obviously lacking here, as ἀγνώμων indicates.⁴⁰ Evidently in his encounters with others this boy proves to be too susceptible to persuasion. Homer in several passages speaks of φρένες as being directly persuaded by others (*Il.* 4.104, e.g., and *Od.* 1.42). In a similar way in these lines of Theognis the words of others have led to the inconsistent behaviour associated with φρένες. In this passage φρένες are explicitly described as the seat of a person’s disposition or temperament. In this case it is a very changeable one.

Quite frequently in Homer φρήν is associated with joy or delight (*Il.* 20.23, e.g., or *Od.* 8.368). In fragment 7.5 of Alcman someone is described as “having been delighted in respect to φρένες,” ἐτάρφθεν φρέν(α)ς. A person thus experiences joy specifically in his φρένες.

In Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 1.15, ascribed by West to Ibycus (see above in Section A), another instance of φρήν is found:

πολλὰ δ’ ἀ]γρύπνο[υ]ς ἰαύων
νύκτας ὄρμ]αίνω φρε[νί.]

“I ponder many things with my φρήν, tossing sleepless at night.” Here the activity of ὄρμαινώ takes place in φρήν. A person carries on the activity of “pondering” or “considering” in φρένες with this verb frequently in Homer (*Il.* 10.507, 16.535, e.g., and *Od.* 3.151, 5.424). In the situation described here the person is sleepless and

⁴⁰ On the meaning of ἀγνώμων in this passage, see M. Vetta, *Teognide, Libro Secundo* (Rome 1980) 66.

engaging in intellectual activity at night. Phocylides (7) recommended using *φρήν* at night for making plans, but in these lines of Ibycus the person more resembles Agamemnon who likewise engaged in worried thought with *φρένες* at night while others were sleeping (*Il.* 2.1 f.).

Section B: Observations. In this Section we have seen a range of activities that a person can carry on in or with *φρένες*. These include "thinking," "perceiving," "planning," "knowing," and "pondering" in *φρήν* or *φρένες*. Someone can experience delight in *φρένες*, have "practical wisdom" and "noble sentiments" in them, or display there a changing and inconsistent character. A person can also apparently perform "harsh deeds" with *φρένες*. In these passages *φρένες* function very much as a location where a person acts; they can also be an instrument he uses or an accompaniment with which he acts. The range of activities described indicates emotional, intellectual, volitional, and moral aspects of *φρένες*.

Section C: A Person Has a Direct Relationship with φρένες.

Nine passages in the poets we are considering indicate some form of direct relationship between person and *φρένες*. In Homer such passages were relatively few in number, only eleven. In Hesiod no such passage is found. This small number in Homer and Hesiod suggests that the control a person exerted over *φρένες* may have been relatively slight. Probably he could control them but did not need to because *φρένες* were usually subordinate to him or acted in harmony with him. In the lyric poets *φρένες* may be slightly more active than in Homer. A person may consequently relate to them in somewhat more direct ways. These are indicated in the following passages.

In Mimnermus 7 (= 12 G-P), the following advice is given:

σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτέων
ἄλλός τις σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

"Delight your own *φρήν*. Someone of the cruel citizens will speak ill of you, another will speak better." The person addressed here is clearly to seek ways of being joyful in himself. Above we heard of a person being "delighted in respect to *φρήν*" (*Alcm.* 7.5). In this case, just as also in the *H. Mer.* 565, a person acts directly upon *φρήν*, which functions as a location of delight.

In two passages, Theognis speaks of a person giving delight to his *φρήν*. The first of these, lines 795-796, contains lines identical to

Mimnermus 7.1–2 (quoted above).⁴¹) The second passage speaks of a person who, “indulging his stomach,” used up all his money. His response to the situation he then found himself in was to say (920–921): *ὑπάγω φρένα τέρψας*. This response is a flippant one: “let me decamp,⁴²) having delighted my *φρήν*.” Theognis then observes that this person consequently begged from all his friends. In this context “delighting *φρήν*” is associated with giving way to one’s appetites. Archilochus too will speak of a friend who acts likewise (124b, see section E below). *Φρήν* acts as a location of the person’s pleasure as he conducts himself in a manner that is not wise or practical.

In another passage Theognis describes how a person can direct *φρήν* (87):

μή μ’ ἔπεισιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ’ ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλη,

“Do not love me with words, but hold your *νόος* and *φρένες* elsewhere.” In the lines that follow, Theognis continues to ask that the *νόος* of Kyrnus be worthy of trust. Both *νόος* and *φρένες* should share authentically in the love that Kyrnus is expressing in his words. He is not to be outwardly affectionate while inwardly thinking quite other thoughts. Both *νόος* and *φρήν* appear here as locations of Kyrnus’ true feelings or attitudes. As in Scolion 889 above, both terms seem to be close in meaning.⁴³) As in Scolion 889 too, line 87 mentions the possibility of some inconsistency between *φρένες* and outer behaviour.⁴⁴) Further, as in Pap. Oxy. 3538 (Ibycus) above, *φρένες* are associated in this line with love.⁴⁵) Theognis hopes that Kyrnus will speak with true affection and that his words will reflect accurately both *νόος* and *φρένες*. Line 87 suggests then also some connection of *φρένες* with words (see too Appendix A, Topics).

⁴¹) Garzya (note 39) 101 and van Groningen (note 32) 305 associate line 795 with the previous line, prefacing “delight your *φρήν*” with “but, being just.” Fränkel (note 18) 465 likewise reads the lines together. He compares these lines of Theognis with Xenophanes 1 (W), suggesting that they share the same idea: if one is just, he can enjoy certain pleasures (373 n. 4). West, however, in his edition separates these lines, placing a full stop at the end of line 794.

⁴²) On the meaning of the verb *ὑπάγω* see van Groningen (note 32) 349–350.

⁴³) Van Groningen (note 32) 42 suggests that *νόος* and *φρένες* are synonyms in this line. For a discussion of the relationship of these two psychic terms see Darcus (note 14) 41–42.

⁴⁴) See note 28 for examples of this same phenomenon in Homer.

⁴⁵) See note 27 and Appendix A, Topics, for other references to love and *φρένες*.

This line 87 of Theognis is very similar to line 1082 c. The only difference between the lines is that in 1082 c the descriptive adjective *ἄλλος*, "other," is found with *φρένες* instead of the adverb *ἄλλῃ*, "elsewhere."⁴⁶) This adjective emphasizes in a vivid way the difference between what Kyrnus is saying and what he is actually feeling and thinking. His *φρένες* may be "other" than his outward behaviour. Theognis, of course, wishes them to be the same as the words he speaks.

In line 1235 Theognis mentions a person who can exert control over his *φρένες*:

ὦ παῖ, ἄκουσον ἐμεῦ δαμάσας φρένας.

"Boy, having conquered your *φρένες*, listen to me."⁴⁷) In the lines that follow (1236–1238), Theognis explains that he will speak a word "convincing and pleasurable" to this boy's *καρδίη*; he urges him to understand this word with his *νόος*. He informs the boy too that he need not do what is not acceptable (*καταθύμιος*) to him. Line 1235 suggests that *φρένες* are the seat of some emotional condition in the boy: in his thoughts he is agitated or disturbed. Theognis urges him to calm his *φρένες*. If he does, he will be able to respond with his *καρδίη* to what Theognis says and understand it with his *νόος*. The passage suggests some independent activity of *φρένες* within the boy that he needs to control. These *φρένες* appear to be hindering *νόος* from understanding Theognis' word.⁴⁸) Some conflict between the two psychic entities may be present.

In lines 161–164 Theognis contrasts a person's *φρένες* and *δαίμων*:

*πολλοί τοι χρωῖνται δειλαῖς φρεσὶ, δαίμονι δ' ἐσθλῶι,
οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν
εἰσὶν δ' οἱ βουλῆι τ' ἀγαθῆι καὶ δαίμονι δειλῶι
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.*

⁴⁶) Concerning this difference in lines 87 and 1082 c, see the remarks of van Groningen (note 32) 399.

⁴⁷) M. Vetta (note 40) 44–45 and in *SFIC* 44 (1972) 267–271, suggests that *ἐμεῦ* should be read with *φρένες*. He assigns the verb *δαμάζω* an erotic sense. The lines that follow, however, suggest that it is the boy's *φρένες* which, by some emotional reaction, are preventing him from accepting what Theognis says. The boy needs to "conquer" his own *φρένες*. Note that in *Od.* 9.454 Odysseus "conquers" (*δαμάζω*) the *φρήν* of Polyphemus with wine. Here, however, the control called for seems to be in the person himself.

⁴⁸) On the relationship of the two psychic terms in this passage see Darcus (note 14) 46.

“Many people in truth are endowed with wretched φρένες but a good δαίμων, to whom the seeming bad fortune becomes good. There are those who labour with good counsel and a wretched δαίμων, and fulfillment does not follow upon their works.” In these lines “wretched φρένες” are contrasted with “good counsel.” The words φρένες and βουλή are treated as parallel terms. We saw above the association of φρένες with βουλεύω in Phocylides 7 and Theognis 1052 (Appendix One, 2 and 11). Here, once again, the activity of φρένες seems chiefly summed up in their ability to make plans.⁴⁹⁾

In line 161 the verb is χράομαι. It can be translated “to use” and imply that φρένες are an instrument that the person employs. But the verb can also mean: “to be endowed with.” In this sense φρένες may themselves be a more active element within the person. In three passages of Homer a person is said “to use” or “to be endowed with good φρένες” (*Od.* 3.266, 14.421, 16.398). In this expression “good φρένες” appear to indicate the positive moral character of the person. In the present passage of Theognis, “being endowed with wretched φρένες” seems to have specific reference to mental capacity. The adjective δειλός, appearing for the first time here with φρένες, suggests the presence of poor quality of thought. The passage as a whole shows that in Theognis’ view φρένες are not the crucial factor in whether a man does well or not. Instead, it is the δαίμων or “luck” that attends him.

In one fragment Sappho gives a description of herself (120):

ἀλλά τις οὐκ ἔμμι παλιγκότων
ὄργαν, ἀλλ’ ἀβάκην τὰν φρέν’ ἔχω ...

“But I am not one of those who are spiteful in temperament but I have a quiet φρήν.” The adjective ἀβακής appears with φρήν here for the first time. It can mean “silent,” “quiet,” or “gentle.” Sappho says that her φρήν is “speechless:” it does not “speak back” as it would if she were “spiteful in temperament.”⁵⁰⁾ In this fragment, as in Homer and in Theognis 87 = 1082c above, φρήν is associated

⁴⁹⁾ See on Solon 33 below (Appendix One, 29) for his association of φρήν with counsel. Cf. too Pind., *Nem.* 1.26–27, where the manifestation of φρήν is described as βουλή and also Aesch., *Suppl.*, 599, where a βούλιος φρήν is mentioned.

⁵⁰⁾ On the interpretation of this fragment see Treu (note 14) 197–198, D.L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 138, G.M. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1974) 136, and A. Andrisano, “Sapph. fr. 120 V.,” *MCr* 8/9 (1973/74) 107–110..

with speech. It could act as a source of harsh words but does not, in Sappho's case. In this reference to *φρήν* we may see emotional, intellectual, volitional, and moral elements. The nature of this *φρήν* within Sappho clearly plays a prominent role in her character.

In fragment 346.3 Anacreon describes the nature of someone's *φρένες*:

φοβεράς δ' ἔχεις πρὸς ἄλλῳ
φρένας, ᾧ καλλιπρό[σ]ωπε παίδ[ων].

"In relation to another, you have fearful *φρένες*, o most fair-faced of boys." Here for the first time *φρένες* are called "fearful." In Homer, however, fear can be present in *φρένες* (*Il.* 24.152 and *Od.* 14.88) or a person can fear in his *φρήν* (*Il.* 1.555, e.g., and *Od.* 4.825). In the situation described here, *φρένες* function as a location of a scared reaction to someone else. Whether the person could control or change these "fearful *φρένες*" is not made clear but they apparently affect his behaviour in some obvious way.

Section C: Observations. In these eight passages of the lyric poets a person has a direct relationship with *φρένες*. He can "delight" his *φρήν*. He can "hold *φρένες* elsewhere," saying one thing and thinking another. He can "conquer *φρένες*." He can "be endowed with wretched *φρένες*" or have "fearful" ones. These passages indicate that a person could have a direct influence upon *φρένες*. They suggest too that *φρένες* themselves were capable of some independent action within the person which he might need to control or which might strongly affect his behaviour.

Section D: A Person Is Described in respect to *φρένες*.

In seven passages of the lyric poets whom we are treating, a person is described with specific reference to his *φρένες*. The focus in these passages appears to be both on the person as a whole and on *φρένες* as the specific psychic entity within him that is affected.

Archilochus vividly describes himself in fragment 120 (W):

ὡς Διωνύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνωι συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.

"Just as I know how to conduct a splendid song of Lord Dionysus, a dithyramb, when I have been thunderstruck in my *φρένες* with wine." The verb *συγκεραυνώω*, "struck as with a thunderbolt," shows the powerful way in which wine has influenced Archilochus, specifically in his *φρένες*. Homer too speaks of wine as strongly affecting

a person in φρένες (*Od.* 9.454, e.g., and 21.301). But when Archilochus is influenced thus in φρένες, he can lead the dithyramb. As we have seen elsewhere (Appendix One, 6 and 7), φρένες are associated with song. Here they appear to be connected with the dithyramb. Whether this is a song Archilochus composes or simply recites, being “thunderstruck with wine in φρένες” is the condition under which he does so.

In a humorous fragment, 36 (W = 44 Dg), Hipponax personifies wealth (πλουῦτος). He describes him as blind and unwilling to give him money. The reason for this is: δειλῆαιος γὰρ τὰς φρένας. Wealth is “wretched in his φρένες.” The adjective δειλῆαιος, “wretched,” “paltry,” or “sorry,” suggests how poor Wealth is, at least with regard to his φρένες. If he were “rich” in his thinking, he would give money to Hipponax. In this passage φρένες are associated with both generosity and the thinking that determines it.

In fragment 33 Solon ironically describes himself as one who missed his opportunity for power. In line 1 he says that he is not a man βαθύφρων οὐδὲ βουλήεις, “of deep φρήν nor of good counsel.” Here, as we saw above in Phocylides and Theognis (see Appendix One, Topics), φρήν and “counsel” are connected. Solon proceeds to say that he refused blessings offered by the gods. He had his prey caught in a net but failed to draw it tight because θυμοῦ θ’ ἀμαρτῆ καὶ φρενῶν ἀποσφαλείς, “he was deprived of θυμός and φρένες at the same time.” The lack of both θυμός and φρένες led to Solon’s apparent error in judgement. In this context θυμός is probably to be associated with “courage” or “daring,” as it so frequently is in Homer. Φρένες are likely to be connected with good judgement or the ability to make the right decisions. Despite the ironic tone of this poem, we can see that in a situation where one did fail to use an opportunity wisely, it would be in θυμός and φρένες that he would be found wanting. Solon is described as “being deprived” of both of these.⁵¹) The verb ἀποσφάλλω may suggest some stripping by an outside agent. We will see in Sections E and F that φρένες can prove vulnerable to outside forces.

In two passages Theognis gives advice about enduring the portions of good and bad that befall humans. In lines 593–594 he tells

⁵¹) In this passage we find the genitive plural of φρένες. The genitive singular or plural is not found in Homer or the *Homeric Hymns*, most likely because of the formulaic nature of epic language. The genitive singular, however, is found once in Hesiod, fr. 204.120. In the spoken language the genitive was probably common.

Kyrnus not to be disturbed too much in evil times nor to rejoice too much in times of blessing until he sees the end. He says: *μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσῶντα λίην φρένα*. "Do not be vexed too much in *φρήν* at evils."⁵²) It is specifically in his *φρήν* that Kyrnus is to avoid distress. *Φρήν*, then, appears to be a location where he would experience such distress; in this situation *φρήν* may also contribute to the anxiety Kyrnus would feel. In line 657 Theognis again tells Kyrnus: *μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα*. "Do not be vexed too much in *φρήν* in difficult circumstances." Here *φρήν* appears to be a location where Kyrnus would suffer distress to which *φρήν* too might contribute. In both these passages *φρήν* is specified as the part where Kyrnus would experience the emotion of anxiety.

Sappho in fragment 96.17 describes a girl who is suffering in her *φρήν*:

*ἀγάναις ἐπι-
μνάσθεις ἄττιδος ἰμέρωι
λέπταν ποι φρένα κ[.]ρ...βόρηται*

"Remembering gentle Atthis with longing she is consumed in her delicate *φρήν*." The text and sense of this line are very much in question.⁵³) The cause of the girl's being "consumed" remains unclear. But *φρήν* is clearly the place where she feels distress. This *φρήν* too is called *λέπτος*, "delicate" or "tender," described as such for the first time. This adjective emphasizes how vulnerable *φρήν* is. The image too of being "eaten away" or "consumed" in *φρήν* suggests how important this psychic entity was as a seat of emotion.

In fragment 346.12 Anacreon speaks of certain citizens: *πολλοὶ πολ]ιητέων φρένας ἐπτοέαται*. "Many of the citizens were terrified (or set aflutter) in their *φρένες*." The context here is not clear,⁵⁴) but some kind of disturbance has affected these people specifically in their *φρένες*. In one passage of Homer, *Od.* 22.298, the *φρένες* of the suitors are described with the verb *πτοιέω*. The context there suggests a meaning of *πτοιέομαι* as "being terrified" or "dismayed." In the lyric poets, however, this verb can also indicate "being set aflutter"

⁵²) On the difficult reading of the verb *ἀσῶντα*, which appears in the active here only, see van Groningen (note 32) 236 and M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 156–157.

⁵³) For a recent discussion see A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983) 309 n.92. See also D. E. Gerber, "Studies in Greek Lyric Poetry: 1967–1975," *CW* 70 (1976) 114 and Sullivan (note 14) 22 n.21 for further bibliography.

⁵⁴) On this passage see Kirkwood (note 50) 154–156.

ter" or "being excited."⁵⁵) Whatever the precise connotation of *πτοιέω*, the citizens experience some strong emotional response in their *φρένες* in particular.

Section D: Observations. In this Section we treated passages in which a person is affected in some situation specifically in *φρένες*. Someone can be "consumed" in *φρήν*. He can be "thunderstruck" with respect to them, "vexed" in them, "terrified" or "set aflutter" in them. He can be "deprived" of them. Perhaps he could too, like wealth, be "wretched" in *φρένες*. These passages suggest that *φρένες* act as an important location in a person in which he might respond in particular in different circumstances.

Section E: Outside Objects Act on or in *φρένες*.

Twelve passages in the lyric poets mention *φρένες* being affected by outside objects. In Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* this same phenomenon was present.⁵⁶) It shows that *φρένες*, like other psychic entities, were open to a wide range of influences acting upon them. When *φρένες* are affected in a person either directly or indirectly, his behaviour is also strongly influenced. *Φρένες* thus play an important role within the person in such circumstances.

Archilochus in one fragment describes how love affects a person who may or may not be himself (191 W):

τοῖος γὰρ φιλότητος ἔρωσ ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθειῖς
πολλὴν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν,
κλέψας ἐκ στηθέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας.

"So strong was the desire for love that curled up under my heart and poured a thick mist over my eyes, stealing the tender (or feeble) *φρένες* from my breast." In the passage of Ibycus discussed above (Appendix One, 3), we saw a *φρήν* "tinged" with love. Here Archilochus says that the effect of love is "to steal" *φρένες*. In Homer and Hesiod outside agents can remove *φρένες*.⁵⁷) What appears to be lost in such an occurrence is the usual function of *φρένες*, one considered to be generally valuable. In this case the ability to think may be adversely affected as love takes possession of the person.

⁵⁵) See Mim. 5.2, Sa. 31.6, and Al. 283.3. Cf. also Aesch., *P.V.* 856: *ἐπτοημένοι φρένας*.

⁵⁶) See, e.g., *Il.* 5.493, 8.124, 15.61; *Od.* 4.813, 8.541, 14.88; *H. Ven.* 57; *H. Mer.* 421.

⁵⁷) See, e.g., *Il.* 6.234, 9.377, 18.311; Hes., fr. 69.

The *φρένες* mentioned here are modified by the adjective *ἀπαλός*. This can mean either “tender” or “feeble.”⁵⁸) The meaning of “tender” would suggest that *φρένες* are soft and easily affected by love. The meaning of “feeble” would imply that these *φρένες* have been foolish in not resisting love. The context does not make clear which meaning is the more appropriate in this passage. Whatever it may be, the adjective, appearing in this fragment of Archilochus for the first time with *φρένες*, suggests that they were vulnerable to love and harmed by its presence. In this they seem similar to the “delicate” *φρήν* mentioned by Sappho in 96.17.

In another passage Archilochus humorously scolds a friend who came uninvited to a feast (124b W). He tells him: *ἀλλὰ γαστήρ νόον τε καὶ φρένες παρήγαγεν εἰς ἀναιδείην*. “Your stomach misled your νόος and *φρένες* into shamelessness.” Just like the man described in Theognis 921 (Appendix One, 20) who used up his livelihood satisfying his stomach and “delighting” his *φρήν*, this person’s judgement has been adversely affected by his appetite. Both νόος and *φρένες* here appear to be vulnerable to desire.

In poem 1.7 (W = 7 G-P),⁵⁹) Mimnermus describes man’s state when old age comes:

αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι,

“Always evil cares harass him about his *φρένες*.” It is in *φρένες* that the old person suffers emotional anxiety. Just as in Homer where pain and sorrow are said to afflict *φρένες* (see, e.g., *Il.* 15.61, 19.125 and *Od.* 4.813, 8.541), here they “wear away” a person in them. *Φρένες* thus prove to be vulnerable to “cares” and distress.

Solon too speaks of pain affecting *φρήν*, as he sees “the eldest land of Ionia being laid low” (4a W = 4 G-P): *καὶ μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἄλγεα κεῖται*. “Pains lie within my *φρήν*.” Here too *φρήν* is vulnerable to distress which can penetrate within it.⁶⁰) Just as in Theognis 593 and 657 (Appendix One, 30 and 31), *φρήν* in these two passages of Mimnermus and Solon is the location of negative emotional activity.

⁵⁸) For discussion on the meaning of this adjective, see Gerber (note 16) 41; Kirkwood (note 50) 42; Sullivan (note 14) 16; D.A. Campbell, *The Golden Lyre* (London 1983) 6. For an interpretation of *φρένες* as lungs in this fragment see A. Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet* (Princeton 1986) 46–52.

⁵⁹) On the poem as a whole see the valuable discussion of R. Schmiel, “Youth and Age: Mimnermus 1 and 2,” *RFIC* 102 (1974) 283–289 and Adkins (note 18) 95–101.

⁶⁰) On the genitive (found here with *ἐνδοθεν*) see note 51 above.

Theognis describes something else that can hurt φρένες, namely poverty (386–387):

ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην
βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας, κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης·

Poverty “misleads the θυμός of men into wrong-doing, harming the φρένες in their chest, under harsh necessity.” Theognis proceeds to list the effects of “yielding to want” (389). These include “lies, deceptions, and destructive quarrels” (390). What is worse, to the person in need, “nothing seems to be evil” (391). Poverty produces “helplessness” (ἀμηχανίη) that is hard to bear” (392). In Homer the gods can harm φρένες (*Il.* 15.724, *Od.* 14.178). Here poverty adversely affects both θυμός and φρένες. What poverty does is to damage a person’s judgement. Victimized by his “helplessness,” he performs acts that are evil. Both θυμός and φρένες, it seems, no longer function well. In these lines φρένες may be the place where a person ponders choices or decides upon a course of action.⁶¹) Poverty “harms” their function and wrong-doing results. In this passage of Theognis emotional, intellectual, volitional, and moral aspects of θυμός and φρένες are present. The harm done to each by poverty strongly affects the behaviour of the person in whom they are found.

In another passage Theognis says that he visited different places but found no pleasure because his own land was most dear to him (787–788): ἀλλ' οὐτίς μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένες ἦλθεν ἐκείνων. “But not any pleasure came to me in my φρένες from them.” We saw above in Mimnermus and Theognis instances where a person “delighted” (τέρπω) his own φρήν (Appendix One, 18–20). Here “delight” (τέρψις) fails to come to φρένες. But these function, apparently, as the location where one could feel pleasure over his surroundings.

In fragment 286.6–13 Ibycus describes the effect of love upon him.⁶²) Comparing love to the Thracian north wind, he says that this emotion (11–13): ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβῆς ἐγκρατέως πεδόθεν †φυλάσσει† ἡμετέρας φρένας. Love “dark, shameless, powerfully from the depths guards our φρένες.” The reading φυλάσσει is a problem. If the “guarding” of φρένες implies some form of control by love, the reading would accord with the negative picture of this emotion given

⁶¹) This role of φρένες is common in Homer and Hesiod. See, e.g., *Il.* 10.507, 16.435; *Od.* 10.438, 20.41; Hes., *W. & D.* 107, 274.

⁶²) For a discussion of this fragment see Sullivan (note 14) 17 and Campbell, *Golden Lyre* (note 58) 19.

in the poem.⁶³) But the verb in this context seems rather perplexing. Naeke's alternative reading of *τινάσσει*, "shakes," seems attractive.⁶⁴) This verb appears in Sappho's description of love's effect upon *φρένες* (47, discussed below). West, emphasizing the image of fire in the poem, suggests a different reading of *λαφύσσει*, "consumes."⁶⁵) But whatever the correct reading in line 12, it is clear that love strongly affects *φρένες* in a negative way. It thoroughly disturbs them as forcefully as a thunder-storm that dries and burns. Its effect is powerful (*ἐγκρατέως*) and deeply penetrating (*πεδόθεν*). As we saw in Ibycus and Archilochus (Appendix One, 3 and 34), *φρένες* prove most susceptible to love.

Sappho's description of love is as follows (47):

*Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ (μοι)
φρένας, ὡς ἄνεμος κατ' ὄρος δρύϊν ἐμπέτων*

"Love shook my *φρένες*, just as a wind falling on oaks on a mountain." Once again love has a strong influence upon *φρένες*. Sappho, like Ibycus in 286, compares it to the sweeping and overwhelming action of a strong wind. It plays havoc with emotions and thought.

In fragment 359 Alcaeus possibly describes the way that *φρένες* can respond physically: *ἐκ δὲ παίδων χαύνωσ φρένας, ἃ θαλασσία λέπας*. "You puff out the *φρένες* of children, o limpet of the sea." In this quotation, I have read *λέπας*, "limpet."⁶⁶) This was a "shell" that could apparently be used as a whistle. In this passage *φρένες* likely have a strongly physical connotation. As one blows into a shell, the chest region is puffed out. Here, as in Homer, *φρένες* seem to be entities located generally in the chest region.⁶⁷) In this interpretation the verb *χαυνόω* is taken literally: "to puff out" or "to fill with air."

A different reading of the line gives *χέλυς* instead of *λέπας*. This term "tortoise" would mean "lyre" in this context. The interpretation of the line would be that Alcaeus is addressing the "lyre" and

⁶³) This reading is defended by B. Gentili, "Metodi di lettura (su alcune congetture ai poeti lirici)," *QUCC* 4 (1967) 177-181. See also Gerber (note 16) 215-216 and his remarks on different readings. C. Gallavotti, "La primavera di Ibyco," *BollClass* 2 (1981) 120-135 suggests a reading of *φυλέασσεται*.

⁶⁴) See apparatus in Page; see too Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (note 16) 311 and Gerber (note 16) 215-216.

⁶⁵) M. L. West, "Conjectures on 46 Greek Poets," *Philologus* 110 (1966) 153.

⁶⁶) I follow D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric I* (Cambridge, Mass. 1982) 392.

⁶⁷) On the physical aspect of *φρένες* see above note 2. Onians (note 14) 36 argues that this passage supports an interpretation of *φρένες* as lungs. This may be so, but Alcaeus also could be referring to the chest region in general.

describing its effect upon the φρένες of those who hear it. The passage can thus be translated: "You fill with conceit the φρένες of boys, o sea-born lyre (tortoise-shell)." In this interpretation the verb χαυνόω is taken metaphorically: "to fill with pride or conceit."⁶⁸) Another metaphorical way of taking χαυνόω is to assume that it means "to soften."⁶⁹) This too could be the effect of the lyre upon φρένες. Perhaps before hearing the music, these φρένες were "hard;" music somehow is able to alter thoughts.

All three interpretations of Alcaeus 359 are possible. On the one hand, he may be giving a vivid description of the effect of a whistle on φρένες, the chest area. On the other hand, he may be speaking of the way a lyre influences the thoughts or feelings of boys. It either "fills φρένες with conceit" or "softens" them.

In two other fragments Alcaeus also mentions the influence of an outside force upon φρένες. In fragment 336 he says: *πάμπαν δὲ τύφως ἐκ φ' ἔλετο φρένας*. "And a whirlwind carried off his φρένες completely." The context is unclear, but Alcaeus probably refers to a situation in which someone entirely loses his ability to think or to feel. As we saw with Archilochus (191 = Appendix One, 34), who mentions love stealing φρένες, these psychic entities prove susceptible to "removal." This happens to them also in Homer and Hesiod (see note 56). In this fragment of Alcaeus an outside force of some kind has swept away φρένες.

Fragment 358 of Alcaeus is corrupt but wine's effect upon φρένες may be described: *πε[δάσει] φρένας οἴνος*. "Wine will shackle φρένες." In the next line *θυμός* is mentioned and it too seems involved in the situation.⁷⁰) The next lines suggest that the boy in this passage regrets what he says. In Archilochus 120 (Appendix One, 27), we heard of φρένες that were "thunderstruck with wine." In Homer too wine negatively affects φρένες. Here in Alcaeus 358 wine, it seems, somehow impedes their functioning, leading the boy perhaps to say what he should not. In this passage a connection between φρένες and speech may therefore be present.

In one epigram Simonides describes how the north wind blows upon men (88 P = 6 W): *ἀνδρῶν δ' ἀχλαίνων ἔδακε φρένας*. "It bit

⁶⁸) See also the translation of Campbell, *Greek Lyric I* (note 66) 393: "fill with pride."

⁶⁹) So Burnett (note 53) 130.

⁷⁰) On the context of this passage see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (note 50) 317 and Burnett (note 53) 147-148.

the φρένες of men without cloaks.”⁷¹) The reference here may be to φρένες in their physical aspect as entities within the chest region or as the chest region itself.⁷²) Or it may be φρένες as the thoughts or feelings of men that the north wind stings. We have seen love, sweeping in on φρένες, compared to a wind in Ibycus 286 and Sappho 47 (Appendix One, 40 and 41). Here it is the wind itself that affects them.

Section E: Observations. In these twelve passages we have seen φρένες open to the influence of different outside forces. Love can “steal,” “shake,” or “guard” φρένες. Cares can “harass” them or pains “lie” in them. Poverty can “harm” them or wine “shackle” them. A lyre can “fill φρένες with conceit” or a shell, “puff them out.” A whirlwind can “take out” φρένες or a north wind “bite” them. In these passages a person and his behaviour are strongly affected as φρένες come under different influences. Φρένες clearly have an important role within him.

Section F: Outside Agents Act on or in φρένες.

In eight passages of the lyric poets whom this paper is treating an outside agent, either human-being or god, affects the φρένες of another. Once again φρένες appear to be open to outside influences. In Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* outside agents often act upon φρένες.⁷³) In them, as in the lyric poets, the influence exerted from without can be either positive or negative.

In two fragments Archilochus mentions outside agents affecting φρένες. In 96 W he asks Glaucus who of the gods “turned” (τρέπω) his νόος and φρένες. In fragment 172 he addresses Lycambes:

πάτερ Λυκάμβα, ποῖον ἐφράσω τόδε;
τίς σὰς παρήειρε φρένας
ἦις τὸ πρὶν ἠρήρησθα; νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς
ἀστοῖσι φαίνεαι γέλως.

“Father Lycambes, what sort of thing have you done? Who unhinged your φρένες with which before you were well-fitted? Now

⁷¹) On this passage see D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge 1981) 301-302.

⁷²) In Homer φρένες often seem to be an equivalent of στήθεα, “the chest region.” For examples and discussion see Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), Chapter One.

⁷³) See, e.g., *Il.* 4.104, 9.377; *Od.* 8.168, 14.227; *H. Apoll.* 275, *H. Ven.* 38; *Hes., Theog.* 889, *W. & D.* 55.

you will appear a great laughing-stock to the citizens.” Lycambes has clearly, in Archilochus’ view, made some blunder in judgement. Before he was “well-fitted” or “well-equipped” (*ἀραρίσκω*) with *φρένες*. This same expression appears once in Homer describing Elpenor who failed to be “well-fitted” in *φρένες* (*Od.* 10.553). Someone has “unhinged” Lycambes’ *φρένες*. The verb *παραιίρω* does not appear with *φρένες* in Homer or Hesiod but indicates in this context some “lifting up” or “unloosing” of them.⁷⁴) They have obviously ceased to function well within Lycambes.

In one passage Theognis mentions someone perceiving the nature of *φρένες* in others (65–68):

γνώσῃ γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
ὥς σφιν ἐπ’ ἔργοισιν πίστις ἔπ’ οὐδεμία,
ἀλλὰ δόλους ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ’ ἐφίλησαν
οὕτως ὡς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σωιζόμενοι.

“For you will recognize the *φρένες* of miserable men, since in them no trust is in their deeds, but they love tricks, deceptions, and acts of cunning, just like men who are no longer being saved.” *Φρένες* in this passage are, it seems, the source of the deeds these “miserable men” perform. Their love is for all kinds of deceit. *Φρένες* are apparently the location of what these men think, desire, or will. As such, they appear to be closely connected with their moral character.

In lines 429–434 Theognis twice mentions *φρένες* that are beyond the influence of men:

φῦσαι καὶ θρέψαι ῥᾶιον βροτὸν ἢ φρένας ἐσθλὰς
ἐνθήμεν· οὐδεὶς πω τοῦτό γ’ ἐπεφράσατο,
ὧ̄ τις σώφρον· ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κακῆ κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.
εἰ δ’ Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ’ ἔδωκε θεός,
ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς φρένας ἀνδρῶν,
πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον.

“To grow and nourish a mortal is easier than to put in good *φρένες*. No one yet, at any rate, has devised this, how someone might make a foolish person sensible and a good person from an evil one. If the god gave this to the sons of Asclepius, to heal wickedness and baneful *φρένες*, they would carry away many, great wages.” Theognis mentions two kinds of *φρένες*, those that are “good” and those that are “baneful.” “Good” *φρένες* are perhaps like those in which one

⁷⁴) On this verb see Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (note 16) 159.

can perceive "noble sentiments," as Theognis describes in line 1008 (Appendix One, 9). This first, positive kind of *φρένες* Homer too mentions in four passages (*Il.* 17.470, *Od.* 2.117, 7.111, 11.367). Concerning the second kind, the adjective *ἄτηρός*, "baneful," "struck with *ἄτη*," appears here for the first time with *φρένες*. Homer, however, does speak of *ἄτη* afflicting *φρένες* (*Il.* 16.805, 19.88, *Od.* 15.234). In these lines of Theognis *φρένες* are associated both with intelligence and good moral conduct or the lack thereof. The person without "good" *φρένες* is apparently *ἄφρων*, "foolish" (= "lacking in *φρήν*") and *κακός*, "evil." The person with "baneful" *φρένες* evidently does evil. *Φρένες* in this passage function as a seat of the person's moral character which, unfortunately, in Theognis' view, is not susceptible to change.

These lines of Theognis mention "putting in" *φρένες*. It is interesting that Homer and Hesiod speak of *φρένες* being "taken out" (*ἐξαιρέω*) of a person (see note 56) but not "placed in" (*ἐντίθημι*), although in one passage the "giving" (*δίδωμι*) of *φρένες* is mentioned (*Od.* 8.168). Items, on the other hand, are very often "placed" (*τίθημι*) in *φρένες* (*Il.* 1.55, e.g., and *Od.* 5.427). In contrast also with Theognis Homer speaks of the *φρένες* of the "good" (*ἔσθλοί*) as being "able to be healed" (*ἄκεσται*). This psychic entity can apparently be "ill" and in need of curing and, with Homer, such a possibility exists.

In line 981 Theognis describes a negative effect that someone can have upon *φρένες*. He says: *μηδὲ παρὰ κρητῆρι λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγοι*. "Do not by the mixing bowl beguile my *φρήν* with words." He makes this comment in a passage where he wishes for someone to be a friend in fact, not merely in words. *Φρένες* can apparently receive words which aim to please or to win over another but may not accurately reflect a person's true attitude. Theognis does not wish another to try to affect his *φρένες* in this way. Above in Theognis 87 = 1082c (Appendix One, 21-22), we heard him appeal for consistency within a person's own behaviour, especially with regard to *νόος* and *φρένες*. Here the person is not to attempt to abuse Theognis' *φρένες* by false words. In this passage we see *φρένες* connected with speech, in this case as a receiver of it (see also Appendix One, Topics).

In one line Theognis mentions the effect Cythereia has upon *φρένες* (1388): *δαμνᾶς δ' ἀνθρώπων πυκινὰς φρένας*. "You conquer the wise *φρένες* of men." He goes on to say that "no one is strong or wise (*σοφός*) enough to resist her." Above we saw *φρήν* "tinged"

with love, and love itself “stealing,” “guarding,” and “shaking” φρένες (Appendix One 3, 34, 40–41). Here, proving irresistible, she “conquers wise φρένες.” She overcomes the feelings and thoughts of men. The adjective πυκινός, “wise,” appearing with φρένες, occurs also in Homer (*Il.* 14.294) and in the *H. Ven.* (38, 243).⁷⁵) In two of these cases love influences φρένες, in the other, pain does. Emotion, it seems, affects the intellectual capacity of φρένες. Perhaps the person with πυκινὰ φρένες is σοφός but this does not help him when Cythereia approaches.

Sappho in fragment 48 describes the arrival of someone longed for:

ἦλθες, †καὶ† ἐπόησας, ἔγω δέ σ' ἐμαιόμαν,
ὄν δ' ἔψυξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ

“You came and you did well! I was longing for you. You cooled my φρήν which was burning with desire.” Once again φρήν is associated with love (see Appendix One, Topics). In this case the person encounters a φρήν at first “burning” (καιομένην). This participle appears here with φρήν for the first time. Then the lover “cools” the φρήν, putting out the fire. In these lines φρήν undergoes a change in intensity of feeling as a result of the lover’s approach.⁷⁶) Here it is clearly a seat of strong emotional feeling which another person’s presence can significantly affect.

Section F: Observations. In this section we have treated passages where outside agents act upon the φρένες of a person.⁷⁷) A god can “turn” φρένες, “conquer” them and perhaps “unhinge” them. Another person can “beguile” or “cool” φρήν. He can also “recognize” the φρένες of another. What a person cannot do is to “put in good” φρένες or “heal baneful” ones. These passages show that φρένες were open to forces outside them. As they are influenced, so too is the person in whom they are located.

⁷⁵) On πυκινός see too the remarks of Vetta (note 40) 151.

⁷⁶) On the interpretation of this fragment see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (note 50) 137 and Burnett (note 53) 227.

⁷⁷) Two other fragments could be mentioned here. In Alcman 3.1 it is possible that the Muses somehow affect φρένες. An epigram of Simonides (95 b 3 D = 12 P) describes the Greeks “giving many pains to the Persians about their φρένες,” but Page rejects the authenticity of this fragment. See *Further Epigrams* (note 71) 205–206.

Section G: φρένες Act as the Location of Other Psychic Entities.

In Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns*, φρένες function quite often as the location of other psychic entities,⁷⁸⁾ namely of θυμός, κῆρ, νόος, and ἦτορ. In three passages of the lyric poets, they function also in this capacity. These passages suggest the physical aspect of φρένες as psychic entities in the chest region, themselves capable of holding other psychic entities. In such instances φρένες may contribute some activity of their own in the situations described.

In Homer φρένες function most often as a location of θυμός, but they act thus only once in the lyric poets whom we are discussing. Tyrtaeus urges young men to make a "great and courageous θυμός in their φρένες" (10.17 W = 7 G-P).⁷⁹⁾ It is possible in this expression that φρένες are more than location and participate too in the courage described.⁸⁰⁾ Twice ἦτορ is found in φρένες, just as in six passages of Homer (*Il.* 8.413, e.g., and *Od.* 23.172). Solon urges people to "keep the mighty ἦτορ in their φρένες quiet" (4c 1 W). If the expression "mighty ἦτορ" implies strong emotional feeling, φρένες also may share in this. So too, when Theognis mentions a friend having "a deceitful ἦτορ in his φρένες" (122), they may share in the deceptive nature of ἦτορ. In both these passages of Solon and Theognis, where this expression ἦτορ in φρένες is found, νόος too is mentioned. Such references to different psychic entities in these contexts suggest the complicated inner structure of the people involved.

Section G: Observations. Only three passages occur in this Section but they show that φρένες still functioned as the location of θυμός and ἦτορ. In the passages mentioning φρένες in this role it is possible that they did not serve only as a location but showed some activity of their own in the various situations described.

⁷⁸⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 9.462, 13.280, 18.419; *Od.* 5.458, 15.486, 23.172; *H. Ven.* 72; Hes., *Theog.* 239; *W. & D.* 381.

⁷⁹⁾ For a discussion of the expression θυμός ἐν φρεσὶ see B. Snell, *Tyrtaios und die Sprache des Epos* (Göttingen 1969), *Hypomnemata* 22, 9–20, who sees a psychological significance in this expression that separates Tyrtaeus from Homer. The expression, however, may simply reflect the frequent Homeric references to θυμός in φρένες. For such a view see W.J. Verdenius, "Tyrtaeus 6–7 D, A Commentary," *Mn* 22 (1969) 349.

⁸⁰⁾ One other instance of θυμός in φρένες may be present in the lyric poets. M.L. West, "Archilochus: New Fragments and Readings," *ZPE* 61 (1985) 8–9, suggests in fragment 7 a possible restoration of ἐν [φρεσὶ θυμόν].

III. Conclusion

The above analysis of φρήν in all the lyric poets except Pindar and Bacchylides shows the range of meaning of this psychic term and the way in which a person related to φρένες.⁸¹⁾ We treated 56 instances of φρήν. Of these, 16 were in the singular, 39 in the plural. In Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns*, φρένες are usually mentioned in the plural, although the singular does occur. This predominance of the plural may have been a feature of formulaic epic language. In the lyric poets, occurrences of the singular may be proportionately greater than in Homer or Hesiod. Considerations of metre may have strongly influenced whether the singular or plural appeared in any passage. But the appearance of the singular may also indicate that the physical aspect of φρένες, that is, their role as entities within the chest region, was becoming less prominent and that they were functioning more often as a faculty within the person. But here, as always, the fragmentary nature of the evidence must be kept in mind and caution shown in drawing conclusions from numbers of passages.

In our analysis we divided the passages of the lyric poets that mention φρήν into seven Sections, similar to those in which the passages of φρήν in Homer, Hesiod, and the *Homeric Hymns* could also be divided.⁸²⁾ These Sections clarify in particular the way in which a person relates to φρένες. They show that φρήν does not appear very often as an independent agent within a person (Section A). An individual does, however, carry on a wide range of psychological activities in, by, or with φρένες (Section B). These include intellectual, emotional, and volitional activities. A person also has a direct relationship with φρένες (Section C). In the passages of Section C we may see a somewhat greater control by the person of φρένες than was indicated in Homer and Hesiod. This may suggest that they had a greater range of activity within the person than they did in the earlier poets, although they are still not frequently mentioned as independent agents within him. A person can also be described in rela-

⁸¹⁾ The following fragments mentioning φρήν have not been treated because the context is not clear: Arch. 91.2, 142.17, 181.5; Tyr. 1 a b (G-P); Alc. 3.1; Stes. S88 i 19; Iby. S171.2; Sa. 3.15, 43.6, 103.9; S260.9, S273.5; Alc. 5.5, 39, 149; Inc. Lesb. 5.2; Cor. 654 iii 45, 692 fr. 3,4; Sim. 519 fr. 35 b 4; *Adesp.* S366.4, S457.2; Pap. Oxy. 1792.

⁸²⁾ See note 1 for bibliographical references to treatments of φρένες in these authors.

tion to *φρένες* (Section D). Such passages of Section D show the important influence of *φρένες* upon a person's behaviour and in particular the role they could play in his moral character.

Within the person *φρένες* are open to outside influences (Sections E and F). Their boundaries are not firmly fixed and they can prove vulnerable to forces acting upon them. Outside objects can affect them (love, pain, poverty, wine). When this happens, the person's behaviour is likewise influenced. So too when outside agents act upon *φρένες* in various ways (beguiling, unhinging, conquering), the person as a whole is strongly affected. Within the person too *φρένες* can act as the location of *θυμός* and *ἦτορ* (Section G). They show in such cases their physical aspect as entities located somewhere within the chest region that can contain other psychic entities.

These passages of the lyric poets that mention *φρένες* show certain prominent features of them (see also Appendix One, Topics). *Φρένες* seem often to be associated with the emotions of love, pain, and pleasure. They are connected too with speech, both as its origin and as a receiver of it. They are mentioned also in relation to the intellectual activities of taking counsel and planning. In the case of these last two activities, the importance of *φρένες* as a seat of thought and deliberation in the person is made evident.

The descriptive adjectives that appear with *φρήν* and *φρένες* show how they can vary. *Φρένες* are definitely a changeable psychic entity (see too Appendix One, 8 and 15). They can exhibit different qualities, being, e.g., "wise," "fearful," "deceptive," "gracious," "tender," and "delicate" (see Appendix Two). Often these adjectives suggest as well the degree to which *φρένες* were associated with the moral character of the person.

In these lyric poets, as in Homer and Hesiod, *φρένες* appear to be an important psychic entity within the person. The passages referring to them show that *φρένες* function most often as a "faculty indeterminately corporeal." They usually engage in psychological activities (intellectual, emotional, volitional), but they still have a physical aspect, particularly apparent when they function as a location. In relation to the person, they seem to be a location where he acts, an instrument that he uses, or an accompaniment with which he acts. In the latter case *φρένες* probably contribute activity of their own in the situation involved. Person and *φρένες* do not appear to be in conflict, although at times he may have to exert control over them. In general, again as in Homer and Hesiod, *φρένες* appear to be subordinate to the person, acting in harmony and co-operation

with him. *Φρένες* function importantly within the person as a seat of his thoughts, feelings, and desires and also of his character traits. The analysis presented in this paper has, we hope, clarified aspects of this psychological term as it appears in the lyric poets discussed. No English word would suffice to show its broad range of meaning; the passages themselves illustrate its rich variety.

Appendix One

φρένες in the Greek Lyric Poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides)

A. *φρένες* as Present or Active in a Person.

	Passage	Description	Syntax	Aspects
1.	Sol. 4.2 W (= 3 G-P)	"Our city will not perish according to the <i>φρένες</i> of the immortal, blessed gods."	Acc. (<i>κατά</i>)	I-V-E?
2.	Phoc. 7 W, TP (= 8 G-P)	"At night <i>φρήν</i> is sharper for men" (for planning). (<i>βουλευώ, ὄξύς</i>)	Nom. s.	I-V-M?
3.	Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 31-32 = Iby.	"His melting <i>φρήν</i> tinged" with love. (<i>ἀναχρῖω, τακερός</i>)	Dat./loc.	E-V?
4.	Anac. 421 (= ia. 4 W)	"My <i>φρένες</i> are deaf and dumb." (<i>κωφώω</i>)	Nom. pl.	I-E?
5.	Scol. 889.4	"... to consider a man a friend with a guileless <i>φρήν</i> ." (<i>ἄδολος</i>)	Dat. s./ Manner	I-E-M
	<i>Νόσος</i> mentioned with <i>φρήν</i> .			
6.	Terp. 697	? "let <i>φρήν</i> sing of the far-shooting lord." (<i>αἰείδω</i>)	Nom. s.	I
7.	<i>Adesp.</i> 955.1	? <i>Φρήν</i> , hymn. (<i>ὕμνον</i>)	Nom. s.	I?

B. A Person Acts in, by, or with *φρένες*.

8.	Sem. 7.27 W	"She thinks two things in <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>νοέω</i>)	Dat./loc. (<i>ἐν</i>)	I-E- V-M?
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58	Shirley Darcus Sullivan			
9.	Theog. 1008	"While someone ... perceives noble sentiments with <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>νοέω</i>)	Dat./C-I	I-V?-M?
10.	Theog. 1050	"You place these things in <i>θυμός</i> and <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>βάλλω</i>)	Dat./loc. (<i>έν</i>)	I-V
	<i>Θυμός</i> mentioned with <i>φρένες</i> .			
11.	Theog. 1052	"Take counsel with your deep <i>φρήν</i> and your good <i>νόος</i> ." (<i>βουλεύω, βαθύς</i>)	Dat./C-I	I-V
	<i>Νόος</i> mentioned with <i>φρήν</i> .			
12.	Theog. 135	"Nor does he work, knowing in <i>φρένες</i> whether it be for good or ill." (<i>οἶδα</i>)	Dat./loc. (<i>έν</i>)	I
13.	Theog. 1173	"Blessed is he who has <i>γνώμη</i> in <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>έχω, γνώμη</i>)	Dat./loc./ C-I	I-V?
14.	Theog. 733	? "Whoever does harsh deeds with <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>έργάζομαι</i>)	Dat./C-I (<i>μετά</i>)	I-V-M
15.	Theog. 1261	"You have the character of a quick-wheeling kite in your <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>έχω, ήθος</i>)	Dat./loc. (<i>έν</i>)	I-V-M
16.	Alcm. 7.5	? Someone "has been delighted" in <i>φρένες</i> . (<i>τέρπομαι</i>)	Acc./resp.	E
17.	Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 1.15 = Iby.	"I ponder many things with my <i>φρήν</i> , tossing sleepless at night." (<i>όρμαίνω</i>)	Dat./C-I	I-V

C. A Person Has a Direct Relationship with *φρένες*.

18.	Mim. 7.1 W (= 12 G-P)	"Delight your <i>φρήν</i> ." (<i>τέρπω</i>)	Acc./d.o.	E
19.	Theog. 795	"Delight your own <i>φρήν</i> ." (<i>τέρπω</i>)	Acc./d.o.	E
20.	Theog. 921	"Let me decamp, having delighted my <i>φρήν</i> ." (<i>τέρπω</i>)	Acc./d.o.	E
21.	Theog. 87	"Do not ... hold your <i>νόος</i> and <i>φρένες</i> elsewhere." (<i>έχω, άλλη</i>)	Acc./d.o.	E-I
	<i>Νόος</i> mentioned with <i>φρένες</i> .			

φρένες in the Greek Lyric Poets

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|-----|------------------|---|----------------------------|-----------|
| 22. | Theog.
1082 c | "Do not ... hold νόος and other φρένες."
(ἔχω, ἄλλος) | Acc./d.o. | E-I |
| | | Νόος mentioned with φρένες. | | |
| 23. | Theog. 1235 | "Listen to me, having conquered your φρένες."
(δαμάζω) | Acc./d.o. | E-I-V? |
| | | Καρδίη and νόος mentioned with φρένες. | | |
| 24. | Theog. 161 | "Many are endowed with wretched φρένες."
(χράομαι, δειλός) | Dat./d.o.
of
χράομαι | I |
| 25. | Sa. 120 | "I have a silent φρήν."
(ἔχω, ἀβακῆς) | Acc./d.o. | I-E-V?-M? |
| 26. | Anac. 343.3 | "In relation to another you have fearful φρένες."
(ἔχω, φοβερός) | Acc./d.o. | E-I? |

D. A Person is Described in Respect to φρένες.

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|-----|--------------------------------|--|---------------------|--------|
| 27. | Arch. 120 W | I know how to lead a song, "thunderstruck with wine in my φρένες."
(συγκεραυνόω) | Acc./resp. | E-V-I |
| 28. | Hipp.
36.4 W
(= 44 Dg) | Wealth: "wretched in his φρένες." | Acc./resp. | I-V |
| 29. | Sol. 33.4 W
(= 29 a
G-P) | "... deprived of θυμός and φρένες at the same time."
(ἀποσφάλλω) | Gen.pl./
w. verb | I-V |
| | | Θυμός mentioned with φρένες. | | |
| 30. | Theog. 593 | "Do not be vexed too much in φρήν at evils."
(ἀσάω) | Acc./resp. | E-I-V? |
| 31. | Theog. 657 | "Do not be vexed too much in φρήν in difficult times."
(ἀσάομαι) | Acc./resp. | E-I-V? |
| 32. | Sa. 96.17 | ? "She is consumed in her delicate φρήν."
(βορέομαι, λεπτός) | Acc./resp. | E-I |
| 33. | Anac. 346.12 | "Many of the citizens were terrified (or set aflutter) in their φρένες."
(πτοιέω) | Acc./resp. | E-I-V? |

E. Outside Objects Act on or in φρένες.

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|-----|-------------|---|-----------|-----|
| 34. | Arch. 191 W | Love, "having stolen the tender (or feeble) φρένες from my chest."
(ἔρω, κλέπτω, ἀπαλός) | Acc./d.o. | E-I |
| | | Καρδίη is mentioned with φρένες. | | |

60		Shirley Darcus Sullivan		
35.	Arch. 124 b W	“Your stomach misled your νόος and φρένες into shamelessness.” (παράγω) Νόος mentioned with φρένες.	Acc./d.o.	E-I
36.	Mim. 1.7 W (= 7 G-P)	“Evil cares always harass him in his φρένες.” (μέριμναι, τείρω)	Acc./resp.	E-I-V?
37.	Sol. 4 c W (= 4 G-P)	“Pains lie within my φρήν.” (ἄλγεα, κείμαι)	Gen. s.	E-I
38.	Theog. 387	Poverty, “harming the φρένες in the chest.” (πενίη, βλάπτω)	Acc./d.o.	E-I-V-M
39.	Theog. 787	“No delight came to me in my φρένες.” (τέρψις, ἔρχομαι)	Acc./ (ἐπί)	E-I
40.	Iby. 286.13	“Love strongly guards (or shakes?) our φρένες from the depths.” (†φυλάσσω†), ? (τινάσσω)	Acc./d.o.	E-I-V?
41.	Sa. 47	“Love shook my φρένες.” (τινάσσω)	Acc./d.o.	E-I
42.	Alc. 359	Limpet (lyre): “you puff out (or fill with conceit) the φρένες of boys.” (λέπας, χέλυς, χαννόω)	Acc./d.o.	P-E-I
43.	Alc. 336	“A whirlwind carried off his φρένες completely.” (τύφως, αἰρέω)	Acc./d.o.	I?-E?-V?
44.	Alc. 358	? “Wine will shackle his φρένες.” (οἶνος, ?πεδάω) Θυμός mentioned with φρένες.	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V
45.	Sim. 88 P (= 6 W)	“The north wind bites φρένες.” (δάκνω)	Acc./d.o.	P-I-E
F. Outside Agents Act on or in φρένες.				
46.	Arch. 96 W	“Who of the gods turned your νόος and φρένες?” (τίς θεῶν, τρέπω) Νόος mentioned with φρένες.	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V
47.	Arch. 172 W	“Who unhinged your φρένες with which you were equipped before?” (τίς, παραείρω, ἀραρίσκω)	Acc./d.o.	I-E
48.	Theog. 65	“You will recognize the φρένες of miserable men.” (γιγνώσκω)	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V-M

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49.	Theog. 429	"... to put in good <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>ἐντίθημι, ἐσθλός</i>)	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V-M
50.	Theog. 433	"... to heal baneful <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>ἰάομαι, ἀτηρός</i>)	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V-M
51.	Theog. 981	"Do not beguile my <i>φρήν</i> with words." (<i>θέλω</i>)	Acc./d.o.	I-E
52.	Theog. 1388	Cythereia: "you conquer the wise <i>φρένες</i> of men." (<i>δαμνάω</i>)	Acc./d.o.	I-E-V
53.	Sa. 48	"You cooled my <i>φρήν</i> , burn- ing with desire." (<i>ψύχω, καιόμενος</i>)	Acc./d.o.	E-I

G. *φρένες* Act as the Location of Other Psychic Entities.

54.	Tyr. 10.17 W (= 7 G-P)	Young men, "make a great and courageous <i>θυμός</i> in your <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>ποιέω</i>) <i>Θυμός</i> placed in <i>φρένες</i> .	Dat./loc. (<i>ἐν</i>)	P-E?
55.	Sol. 4c1 W (= 5 G-P)	"... keeping quiet the mighty <i>ἦτορ</i> in your <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>ἡσυχάζω</i>) <i>ἦτορ</i> placed in <i>φρένες</i> .	Dat./loc. (<i>ἐνί</i>)	P-E?
56.	Theog. 122	"... if he has a deceitful <i>ἦτορ</i> in his <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>ἔχω</i>) <i>ἦτορ</i> placed in <i>φρένες</i> .	Dat./loc. (<i>ἐν</i>)	P-E?

Topics in Appendix One

Counsel:	2, 11, 24, 29.
Love:	3, 21 = 22, 34, 40, 41, 52, 53.
Pain:	30, 31, 36, 37.
Pleasure:	16, 18-20, 39.
Removal:	34, 43.
Wine:	27, 44.
Words:	6, 7, 22, 23, 25, 27, 44 (?), 51.
<i>ἦτορ</i> :	55, 56.
<i>θυμός</i> :	10, 29, 44, 54.
<i>καρδίη</i> :	23, 34.
<i>νόος</i> :	5, 11, 21 = 22, 35, 46.

Appendix Two

Descriptive Adjectives with *φρένες*

Passage	App. One	Adjective	Meaning
Sa. 120	C 25	<i>ἀβακῆς</i>	"quiet", "gentle" <i>φρήν.</i>
Scol. 889	A 5	<i>ἄδολος</i>	"guileless", "without deceit" <i>φρήν.</i>
Theog. 1082 f	C 22	<i>ἄλλος</i>	"other" <i>φρένες.</i>
Arch. 191 W	E 34	<i>ἀπαλός</i>	"tender", "feeble" <i>φρένες.</i>
Theog. 433	F 50	<i>ἀτηρός</i>	"baneful", "struck with <i>ἄτη</i> " <i>φρένες.</i>
Theog. 1052	A 11	<i>βαθύς</i>	"deep" <i>φρήν.</i>
Theog. 161	C 24	<i>δειλός</i>	"wretched", "sorry" <i>φρένες.</i>
Theog. 429	F 49	<i>ἔσθλός</i>	"noble", "good" <i>φρένες.</i>
Sim. 519 fr. 35 b 4	-	<i>εὐμενῆς</i>	"gracious", "kindly" <i>φρήν.</i>
Sa. 48.2	F 53	<i>καιόμενος</i> (participle)	"burning" <i>φρήν.</i>
Sa. 96.17	D 32	<i>λέπτος</i>	"delicate", "fine" <i>φρήν.</i>
Sim. 519 fr. 35 b 10	-	<i>ὀμόροθος</i>	"rowing together" <i>φρήν.</i>
Phoc. 7	A 2	<i>ὀξύτερος</i>	"sharper" <i>φρήν.</i>
Theog. 1388	F 52	<i>πυκινός</i>	"wise" <i>φρένες.</i>
Stes. S 88 i 19	-	<i>πυκινός</i>	"wise" <i>φρένες.</i>
Alc. 39	A 3	<i>πυκινός</i>	"wise" <i>φρένες.</i>
Pap. Oxy. 3538 fr. 31-32 = Iby.	A 3	<i>τακερός</i>	"melting" <i>φρήν.</i>
Anac. 346.3	C 26	<i>φοβερός</i>	"fearful" <i>φρένες.</i>