

A Study of φρένες in Pindar and Bacchylides

By SHIRLEY DARCUS SULLIVAN, Univ. of British Columbia (Canada)

In memoriam R. D. Sullivan

I. Introduction

In early Greek poetry a prominent psychological term is φρήν. In Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* this word occurs over three hundred times. In the poems and fragments of Hesiod, there are twenty-one occurrences of it. In the lyric poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides) the word appears in fifty-six fragments where the context is clear and in several others where it is not. In Pindar and Bacchylides φρήν is mentioned in fifty-eight passages with clear context and in a few others where this is not the case. The present article will focus on these occurrences of φρήν in Pindar and Bacchylides. It will study how these two poets used this psychological term, the range of meaning it had, and the way in which a person related to the φρένες present within him. It will indicate how Pindar and Bacchylides refer to φρήν in ways similar to and different from Homer, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets.¹⁾ It will also illustrate any distinctive features of φρένες that these two poets ascribe to them.

In drawing any conclusions concerning the usage of φρήν, we will keep in mind two considerations. First, some of the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides is fragmentary in nature. Many other instances of this word may have been present in their works. Our conclusions, therefore, though valid for the poetry we do have, cannot be considered applicable outside the specific context of the poems we are studying. This is true, of course, in particular concerning the spoken language of the time where the range of usage of φρήν may have been much wider or more extensive than is found in this poetry. Second, the fact that we are treating poetry written in different metres has great bearing on what we can say about φρήν. Metrical considerations may have strongly influenced the choice of φρήν rather than another psychic term in different passages. Under these circum-

¹⁾ These I have treated separately as follows: *Psychological Activity in Homer, A Study of Phrēn* (Ottawa 1988); "Phrenes in Hesiod" (forthcoming in *RBPB* 67 [1989]); "An Analysis of φρένες in the Greek Lyric Poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides)", *Glotta* 66, 1988, 26-62.

stances we will be able to say that *φρήν* could appear in a particular context but that other terms also could have been used.

Before turning to Pindar and Bacchylides we will briefly summarise the chief features of *φρένες* in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod and the other lyric poets. First, Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod.²⁾ In these poets *φρένες* have retained only a vague physical sense. They seem to be best identified as entities located generally within the chest region and not having a specific identity. In most cases *φρένες* seem aptly described as "faculties indeterminately corporeal".³⁾ Their chief role is as a faculty of different psychological activities. These activities include those that can be termed intellectual, emotional, and volitional, although this distinction is a modern one and in early Greek usage these types of activities were still fused. But nonetheless it is possible to suggest that in certain passages one particular type of activity is predominantly present. In addition to being associated with a range of psychological activities, *φρένες* can function as a seat of a person's moral character or temperament. As such, they strongly influence an individual's behaviour.

In Homer and Hesiod *φρένες* display certain prominent features. They are entities that are "open": they can be acted upon by outside influences and agents. They function frequently as a location both of different psychological activities and of other psychic entities (*θυμός*, e.g., or *νόος*). They appear to have a strong association with pondering, reasoning, and deliberation. They are frequently connected as well with speech, acting as its source or as receiver of words.⁴⁾

In terms of relationship to the person, *φρένες* in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod appear to be subordinate to him. They do not exhibit a wide range of independent activity within the person.

²⁾ See the works mentioned in note 1 and also 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'*Iliade* 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.

³⁾ On this phrase see *Psychological Activity in Homer* (note 1), Introduction and Chapter One.

⁴⁾ See too the summary of Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod at the beginning of my article, "*φρένες* in the Greek Lyric Poets" (note 1) where specific references are given in the footnotes to the relevant passages.

Instead, they function as a place where he acts, an instrument that he uses, or an accompaniment with which he acts. *Φρένες* generally cooperate with him; they are not a psychic entity over which he needs to exert strong control.

Second, *φρένες* in the other lyric poets.⁵⁾ In these authors *φρένες* display many of the same characteristics found in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod. They are associated with a wide range of psychological activities that a person carries on in, by, or with them. They still do not appear to act very often as an independent agent within the person. But they tend to show, it seems, some increased activity in the individual which leads to his exerting greater control over them. *Φρένες* can serve also as a seat of the person's character or temperament. They are "open" to the influence of outside forces and agents. In the lyric poets they still function too as a location of other psychic entities.

The prominent features of *φρένες* in the other lyric poets include a frequent association with speech. *Φρένες* also show a connection with the intellectual activities of taking counsel and planning. Emotions that often affect them are love, pleasure, and pain. As in Homer, *φρένες* prove vulnerable to the effects of wine. They are also subject to removal. *Φρένες* likewise prove to be quite changeable. As in Homer too, the possibility that *φρένες* may differ in nature from a person's outward behaviour is very real; in such cases they function as the seat of a person's true feelings or thoughts.

In this treatment of *φρήν* in Pindar and Bacchylides, we will discuss most passages in the text and will list all occurrences in Appendix One.⁶⁾ We will divide these passages into seven Sections that will focus in particular on a person's relationship to *φρήν* and the outside forces by which they could be affected.⁷⁾ In Appendix One we will

⁵⁾ See in particular the Appendix One and Conclusion of my article, "*φρένες* in the Greek Lyric Poets" (note 1).

⁶⁾ The editions of Pindar and Bacchylides used for this article are as follows: *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, ed. B. Snell (Leipzig 1964), Parts I and II; *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis*, post B. Snell, ed. H. Maehler (Leipzig 1970); H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides* (Leiden 1982) Parts 1 and 2.

⁷⁾ Studies consulted for this article include: R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962); A. P. Burnett, *The Art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985); J. B. Bury, *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar* (London 1892); J. B. Bury, *The Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London 1890); C. Carey, *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar* (New York 1981); J. Duchemin, *Pindare Pythiques, III, IX, IV, V* (Paris 1967); L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar* (London 1932, repr. Amsterdam 1965), Vol. 2; C. A. M. Fennell, *Pindar: the Nemean and Isthmian Odes* (Cambridge

list the syntax for each passage and there too we will suggest "aspects" of *φρήν* that may be present. (These will be indicated by the symbols "P", physical, "I", intellectual, "E", emotional, "V", volitional, and "M", moral.) At the end of Appendix One we will also list associations of *φρένες* that seem particularly prominent in these two poets (see "Topics"). All adjectives appearing with *φρήν* will be discussed and listed separately in Appendix Two. Our custom will be not to translate *φρήν* but to allow the passages to illustrate the rich and varied meaning of this term.

II. The Passages

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

In certain passages of Pindar *φρένες* function as an agent in the person that can significantly affect his behaviour. In one instance Pindar addresses *φρήν* directly, the only passage in the lyric poets where the vocative is found (*Pae.* 4.50 = fr. 52 d):

ἔα, φρήν, κυπάρισσον, ἔα δὲ νομὸν Περιδάϊον

"Let alone, *φρήν*, cypresswood, let alone the pasture around Mt. Ida." The poet urges some restraint in respect to desires which *φρήν* may express. The direct address made to *φρήν* occurs here for the first time in the extant Greek poetry that we possess. It suggests both independent activity on the part of *φρήν* within the person and the possibility of opposition between the individual and this psychic entity. *Φρήν* may, therefore, in Pindar show more independent activity within the person than it did in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, or Hesiod.

1899); D. E. Gerber, *Pindar's Olympian One: A Commentary* (Toronto 1982); B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes* (London 1892); R. C. Jebb, *Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1905); F. G. Kenyon, *The Poems of Bacchylides* (London 1897); M. P. Lefkowitz, *The Victory Ode: An Introduction* (Park Ridge, N.J. 1976); J. van Leeuwen, *Pindarus Tweede Olympische Ode* (Assen 1964), 2 vols.; F. Mezger, *Pindars Siegeslieder* (Leipzig 1880); O. Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien* (Leipzig 1922); C. Segal, *Pindar's Mythmaking: the Fourth Pythian Ode* (Princeton 1986); W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969); E. Thummer, *Pindar, die isthmischen Gedichte* (Heidelberg 1969), Vol. 2; D. C. Young, *Three Odes of Pindar. A Literary Study of Pythian 11, Pythian 3, and Olympian 7* (Leiden 1968).

In two passages *φρήν* is related to speech. In *Ol.* 7.8⁸) Pindar describes his ode for Diagoras as *νέκταρ χυτόν*, “poured out nectar”, *Μοισᾶν δόσιν*, “gift of the Muses”, and *γλυκὺν καρπὸν φρενός*, “sweet fruit of my *φρήν*”. Here *φρήν* is the source of Pindar’s song. It appears to be receptive to the influence of the Muses and produces the intricate beauty of an epinician ode. It is clearly engaged in intellectual and volitional activity as it brings forth the “fruit” of the poem. Elsewhere too Pindar will speak of the “fruit of *φρένες*” in contexts that will imply intellectual activity on their part (*Pyth.* 2.73, *Nem.* 10.2, App. One, 39 and 53). *Φρήν* acts here as a source of speech.

This is true of *φρήν* also in *Pyth.* 6.36 when Nestor, under attack by Memnon, seeks help from his son, Antilochus: *δονηθεῖσα φρήν βόασε παῖδα ὄν*. “His shaken *φρήν* cried out to his son.” Terror fills Nestor’s *φρήν* and he is momentarily unable to deal with the situation. His thought expresses itself in a cry for help to his son with tragic consequences. The description of *φρήν* as “shaken” or “disturbed” shows its vulnerability. As happens in Homer and the other lyric poets, it is affected by fear.⁹) In this condition it acts as the source of Nestor’s appeal for help.

In four passages of Pindar *φρένες* are described in a positive way. In *Ol.* 7.90–92, he praises Diagoras:

*ἐπεὶ ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδὸν
εὐθυπορεῖ, σάφα δαεῖς ἅ τε οἱ πατέρων
ὄρθαι φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
ἔχρεον.*

“... for he walks straight upon a road that hates pride, knowing clearly what the upright *φρένες* from good fathers enjoin.”¹⁰) Diagoras has inherited “upright *φρένες*” from his fathers. Because of this he avoids *hybris*. He has clear knowledge of what this type of *φρένες* “enjoin” upon him. The verb *χράω*, used here to mean to “speak as a

⁸) For a detailed analysis of *φρήν* in *Ol.* 7, see my article “A Strand of Thought in Pindar, *Olympians* 7”, *TAPA* 112 (1982) 215–223.

⁹) See in particular *Il.* 10.538 where Nestor fears in *φρήν* and other examples in *Il.* 9.244, *Od.* 24.353, *Anac.* 343.3 and 346.12 (*PMG*). See too App. One, Topics.

¹⁰) For a discussion of this passage see Sullivan (note 8) with bibliography. I assume here with Mezger (note 7) 447, Gildersleeve (note 7) 191, Young (note 7) 94, and W.J. Verdenius, *Pindar’s Seventh Olympian Ode: A Commentary* (Amsterdam 1972) 31, that the *φρένες* belong to Diagoras.

prophecy", or to "enjoin", suggests that φρένες prescribe correct moral behaviour. Here, then, as also in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the other lyric poets, φρένες function as a seat of a person's moral character.¹¹⁾ These φρένες, as they function, apparently suggest approved ways of behaving that Diagoras has accepted and actively followed.

Diagoras' φρένες are ὀρθαί. The image suggested by this adjective seems to be that of something "straight up", not "slanting sideways".¹²⁾ Elsewhere we will hear of πλάγιος, "crooked" φρένες (*Is.* 3.5, App. One, 49). Pindar's use of εὐθυπορεῖ, "walk straight" in line 91, complements this image. Earlier in the same ode Pindar spoke, in the case of the Heliadae, of a "straight road (ὀρθὰ ὁδός) of affairs being drawn out of φρένες" (7.47, App. One, 47). This has not happened to Diagoras. Nor like Tlepolemos in the same ode (24, 30) have "sins" and "disturbances" affected his φρένες (App. One, 48 and 9). Diagoras possesses a clear knowledge of how to behave without arrogance or pride. Φρένες in this passage function prominently in Diagoras as a seat of his character. Their nature as "upright" has kept him from *hybris* and allows him to walk with confidence.

In another passage φρήν is associated with planning, just as it is quite frequently in Homer and the other lyric poets.¹³⁾ Pindar in *Nem.* 1.27 says:

πράσσει γὰρ ἔργω μὲν σθένος,
βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν, ἐσσόμενον προῖδειν
συγγενὲς οἷς ἔπεται.

"For strength functions in deed, φρήν, in counsels, for those whom an inborn skill of foreseeing the future attends." Those who have a natural bent for seeing the future possess a φρήν that exercises its function in forming plans. Φρήν is clearly associated with the intellectual activity of formulating choices. Apparently too in these people the plans formed prove effective.

In *Pyth.* 6.36 above, Nestor's φρήν was shaken by fear. This is not the case with the φρένες of Cyrene (*Pyth.* 9.32): φόβω δ' οὐ κεχείμαν-

¹¹⁾ See, e.g. *Il.* 13.432, 20.35; *Od.* 11.337, 18.249; *H. Mer.* 164; *Theog.* 65, 429, 433, 1261.

¹²⁾ Verdenius (note 10) 31 suggests that the sense of ὀρθός is "firm", "sound", not "sincere". All three ideas, however, may be present in the adjective.

¹³⁾ See, e.g. *Il.* 17.469; *Od.* 1.444, 4.676; *Phoc.* 7 (W); *Sol.* 33.4 (W); *Theog.* 1052. See also Aesch., *Suppl.* 599: βούλιος φρήν.

ται φρένες. "Her φρένες are not tempest-tost with fear." As mentioned above (see note 9), φρένες are associated in Homer and the other lyric poets with fear. Pindar's image is a vivid one in this line: what fear can do to φρένες is to attack them like a storm (χειμαίνω). Having φρένες free from such fear and also an ἦτορ "superior to toil" (9.31 a), Cyrene can battle a lion. Courage, then, seems associated with these "fearless" φρένες.¹⁴⁾

In another passage φρήν has different qualities. In *Pyth.* 6.52 Pindar says of Thrasybulus:

γλυκεῖα δὲ φρήν
καὶ συμπόταισιν ὀμιλεῖν
μελισσᾶν ἀμείβεται τρητὸν πόνον.

"His φρήν is sweet and, in keeping company with fellow-drinkers, it surpasses the perforated labour of bees."¹⁵⁾ These lines form part of Pindar's praise for Thrasybulus who handles his wealth wisely and cultivates wisdom (47–51). The lines mentioning φρήν suggest that he is a welcome companion to others, bringing zeal and delight of fellowship. His φρήν is "sweet", a description that fits the image of the bee which Pindar introduces in the next line. It functions as the seat of Thrasybulus' character which is one that Pindar could highly praise.

In other passages the picture Pindar gives of φρήν is a negative one. In *Pae.* 7 b 18 (= fr. 52 h) he speaks of τυφλαὶ φρένες, "blind φρένες". These belong to the man who "without the maids of Helicon traces out the deep road of wisdom" (19–20). The text is in question here but φρένες are said to be associated with the activity of ἐρευνάω, "tracing out" or "seeking after". Pindar will connect this activity with φρήν also in fr. 61.4 (App. One, 24). The "deep road of wisdom" appears to lie outside the range of human φρένες. They may try to find it but will be unable to "see" it. With the help of the Muses, however, perhaps they can discover such a road. Thus Pindar prays in the same fragment to "Memory and her daughters" for εὐμαχανία, "resourcefulness" (15); this will help him in what he calls an "immortal task" (21). This passage suggests a connection of

¹⁴⁾ See also *Pyth.* 5.51 (App. One, 20) where Pindar mentions a φρήν that is "fearless" (ἀταρβής). See too App. One, Topics.

¹⁵⁾ On this interpretation of these lines, see Gildersleeve (note 7) 320. Mezger (note 7) 180, Schroeder (note 7) 64, and Farnell (note 7) 189 take ὀμιλεῖν as an expegetic infinitive with γλυκεῖα, but this leaves a problem with καί.

φρένες with wisdom. Elsewhere too Pindar associates *φρένες* and wisdom (see App. One, Topics). The wisdom mentioned in this fragment, however, is discovered only with divine aid. As we will see in Section F, the gods can both help and harm *φρένες*. The poet especially needs their help in his creative activity.

In *Ol.* 7.30 Pindar mentions how the condition of *φρένες* can affect the wise person: *αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαὶ παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν*. “The disturbances of *φρένες* caused even a wise man to go astray.” This line is part of the story Pindar gives of Tlepolemos. Pindar first mentions how “sins hang around” human *φρένες* (24, see below, Section E and App. One, 48). He then describes how Tlepolemos in anger (*χολωθείς*) killed his uncle (30). This anger apparently occurred at the same time as the “disturbances of *φρένες*” which led Tlepolemos, even though he was wise, to commit murder. In this story, Pindar does not excuse Tlepolemos for his actions or remove responsibility from him.¹⁶ Nonetheless, he does suggest that *φρένες* are vulnerable to negative outside forces, in this case to “sins” (24). They can be affected also by emotions that the person undergoes, in this instance by anger.

In these lines Pindar speaks of *ταραχαί* of *φρένες*. The genitive plural of *φρένες* may be objective: “disturbances”, acting on *φρένες*, negatively affect them. In this case *φρένες* would be vulnerable to such “disturbances” coming from without. Or the genitive may be subjective: “disturbances” coming from within *φρένες* make a wise man think incorrectly. When *φρένες* are thus disturbed, the person fails to exhibit his usual wisdom. Once again, as in *Pae.* 7 b 18 (App. One, 8) *φρένες* seem to be associated with wisdom and once again, as in that passage, their condition affects its expression. Intellectual, emotional, and volitional aspects of *φρένες* are present in this passage. They also function prominently as a seat of the person’s moral character. We have heard the praise of Diagoras’ “upright *φρένες*” in the same ode (7.91, App. One, 4). Thus far they have not been subject to “disturbances”, like those of his ancestor Tlepolemos.

Another negative picture of *φρένες* occurs at *Ol.* 8.61: *κουφότεραι γὰρ ἀπειράτων φρένες*. “For the *φρένες* of the inexperienced are rather flighty.” Pindar makes this remark after saying that “to teach is easier for one who knows; not to learn beforetimes is foolish”

¹⁶ On Tlepolemos’ responsibility, see especially O. Smith, “An Interpretation of Pindar’s Seventh Olympian Ode”, *C & M* 28 (1969) 172–185; Verdenius (note 10) 15, and Sullivan (note 8) 219.

(60). Experience brings *φρένες* “substance” or knowledge. People without experience have *φρένες* that are “unsubstantial”, “flimsy”, or “flighty” (*κουφός*). The passage suggest that *φρένες* can change and mature and may do so as a person gains experience. Homer in *Il.* 3.108 speaks of the *φρένες* of young men as “turning with the wind” (*ἠερέθομαι*) and contrasts them with those of an older man, Priam. Pindar too suggests this changeable nature of *φρένες*. The thoughts, feelings, or wishes of the inexperienced are not to be trusted since in practice they may prove to be of little value. As elsewhere, *φρένες* here may indicate the character or temperament of such persons, one that fails to have true substance.

Twice in *Pyth.* 4 Pindar mentions *φρένες* in a negative way.¹⁷⁾ At line 41, he says that “the *φρένες* of the seamen forgot” the orders Medea gave concerning the clod of earth. In Homer too *φρένες* are associated with forgetting.¹⁸⁾ Things to be remembered are apparently placed in *φρένες* but are not always recalled.

At line 139 Jason makes a remark about *φρένες*:

ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι
κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον τρα-
χεῖαν ἐρπόντων πρὸς ἔπιβδαν ὄμως

“The *φρένες* of mortals are too quick to praise deceitful gain at the expense of justice, mortals who come nonetheless to a rude reckoning.” Here *φρένες* are the location of human desires which aim excessively towards “gain” (*κέρδος*). They praise this “gain” without enough regard for justice.¹⁹⁾ Their “swiftness” leads a person to ideas of profit, not of what is right. Gain apparently has a strong attraction for human *φρένες*. Bacchylides will say that it “constrains” even a “wise *φρήν*” (see Section E, App. One, 51). Jason makes this remark about the *φρένες* of mortals in general but applies it specifically to Pelias who has, as we will see (Section B, App. One, 33), unusual “white” *φρένες*. Human *φρένες* described in this way are clearly the source of actions with moral implications. They are connected in this passage with a disregard for justice. Elsewhere too we

¹⁷⁾ See also the other two mentions of *φρένες* in *Pyth.* 4, namely 109 and 219, discussed below in Sections C and D (App. One, 33 and 37).

¹⁸⁾ See especially *Il.* 2.33 where Agamemnon is not to forget orders. See too *Il.* 6.285, 15.61, and *Od.* 10.557.

¹⁹⁾ On *κέρδος* see my discussion of this passage in S.Darcus. “An Echo of Homer in Pindar, *Pythian* 4”, *TAPA* 107 (1977) 93–101. On this passage see also Burton (note 7) 158–159.

will see them associated with both justice and injustice (see App. One, Topics).

In one ode, *Ol.* 2.56–60, Pindar gives an interesting picture of the *φρένες* of the dead. In contrast to Homer who says that the dead lack *φρένες* (*Il.* 23.104), although in Teiresias they remain “firm” (*Od.* 10.493), Pindar describes *φρένες* in the dead as follows:

*εἰ δέ νιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον,
ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐν-
θάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
ποινὰς ἔτεισαν – τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχᾷ
ἀλιτρά κατὰ γὰρ δικάζει τις ἐχθρᾷ
λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκη·*

“If one having it [wealth] knows the future, that the helpless *φρένες* of those dying here immediately pay the penalty – the sins committed in this reign of Zeus someone beneath the earth judges, uttering his sentence with hateful necessity.”²⁰ *Φρένες* in this passage are described as *ἀπάλαμνος*, “helpless” or “without resources”.²¹

In lines 53–56 Pindar highly praises “wealth adorned with virtues.” But the person having wealth apparently is in a dangerous situation because he can misuse it. It is he, therefore, who should know what happens to *φρένες* at death. Elsewhere too we will see a connection between *φρήν* and wealth (*Pyth.* 2.57 and *Bacch.* 1.162, App. One, 17 and 52).²² *Φρένες* appear to be the location within the person where decisions and choices concerning riches take place.

Upon death “helpless” *φρένες* pay for “sins” committed on earth. It may be that *φρένες* have to pay since they were in some degree or other the source of such “sins”. Even though Pindar elsewhere also refers to a *φρήν* that the dead have and by which they can hear (*Pyth.* 5.101, App. One, 21), this ode may mention *φρένες* in an unusual way. It was written for Theron of Acragas, and perhaps reflects eschatological ideas that were important in that region of Sicily.²³ But even if Pindar is stating something of specific relevance

²⁰ On this interpretation of the passage see Farnell (note 7) 17.

²¹ Pindar uses this adjective once elsewhere, in *Ol.* 1.59 describing the life (*βίος*) of Tantalus in the underworld.

²² On wealth in Pindar see T. K. Hubbard, *The Pindaric Mind* (Leiden 1985) 158–162.

²³ On this ode see in particular van Leeuwen (note 7) and also further bibliography in D. E. Gerber, “Studies in Greek Lyric Poetry 1967–1975”, *CW* 70 (1976–1977) 140–141.

to Theron, it is interesting that he refers to *φρένες* as paying the penalty and not *ψυχή*, which is the part of the person usually assumed to survive death. Pindar does mention *ψυχή* further on in *Ol. 2* at line 70 where he describes people who have kept their "soul from acts of injustice".²⁴) But at line 57 Pindar describes the survival of *φρένες*. These "helpless" *φρένες* are judged in the underworld: they retain, it seems, knowledge of what they did on earth and are aware of the punishment they receive. In their ability to function after death, they resemble the *φρένες* that Teiresias kept in the underworld. His *φρένες*, however, were "firm" or "strong" (*ἔμπεδοι*). Those of these people who have sinned are "weak" or "helpless".

Section A. Observations: In this Section we have discussed thirteen passages of Pindar in which the presence of *φρήν* or *φρένες* as an agent in the person affecting his behaviour seems to be prominent. Once Pindar addresses *φρήν* in the vocative, asking it to "leave aside" certain desires. *Φρήν* can act as the source of words or song. "Upright" *φρένες* can "enjoin" modes of behaviour. *Φρήν* can "act by plans". *Φρένες* can be free from fear. *Φρήν* can "mingle" sweetly with fellow-drinkers. On the negative side, *φρένες* can be "blind" or "flighty". They can be the seat of "disturbances". They can "forget". They can err in praising "gain at the expense of justice". After death "helpless" *φρένες* pay the penalty for sins committed on earth. In these passages *φρένες* appear in the nominative or vocative case eleven times. In Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets *φρήν* appears thus only twenty-eight times. Even keeping in mind the fragmentary nature of the poetry of the lyric poets, we may see in these instances of Pindar a more prominent presence of *φρήν* or *φρένες* within the person. Its range of activity as an independent agent in the person appears to be increasing. Its effect upon an individual's behaviour may also, therefore, be enhanced. In Pindar, *φρήν* may be less an entity that simply acts in accord with the person, as it usually was in earlier authors. It may instead oppose him and consequently he may need to exert greater control over it.

²⁴) Cf. too the reference to *ψυχαί* in fr. 133 of Pindar. These have undergone some form of purification and are now reincarnated, perhaps approaching the final stages of purification. It is interesting that Empedocles, also from Sicily, spoke of a *δαίμων* in the person surviving after death and undergoing purification as his soul. He too does not refer to *ψυχή* in this role.

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

In seventeen passages of Pindar and Bacchylides a person acts in, by, or with *φρένες*. He finds in them a location of his actions, an instrument that he can use, or an accompaniment with which he can act. In the latter case (indicated by the comitative-instrumental dative, an accusative of respect, or a subjective genitive), *φρένες* may contribute activity of their own. Most instances of *φρήν* fall into this category in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod (191 occurrences). In the other lyric poets only ten such passages occur and the fragmentary nature of the evidence may be relevant here. In Pindar and Bacchylides this form of reference to *φρήν* again appears to be prominent: a person frequently acts in, by, or with *φρένες*.

In two passages Pindar relates the composition of song with *φρήν*. In *Pae.* 9.34–37 (= fr. 52 k), he says: “I have been granted fulfillment by some divine [influence] to bring together a glorious song with the pipe by the counsels of my *φρήν* (*μήδεσι φρενός*) for your glory.” Pindar formulates the song by the thoughts and counsels to be found in his *φρήν*. The expression *μήδεα φρενός* suggests that *φρήν* itself is active in the composition of the poem. Homer too spoke of “counsels” being present in *φρένες* (*Il.* 24.282, 24.674, and *Od.* 19.353). Their presence in the *φρήν* of Pindar along with divine help leads to a “noble song”. As we saw above in *Pae.* 7 b 18 (App. One, 8), *φρένες* require the aid of the Muses. So here also two elements are needed for a poem: *φρήν* and some help from the divine.

In the second passage, *Ol.* 2.90, Pindar says:

ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῶ τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ· τίνα βάλλομεν
ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὐτε φρενός εὐκλέας ὀ-
ϊστοῦς ἰέντες;

“Hold now the bow to the mark, come *θυμός*. Whom are we hitting, sending again arrows of fame from a gentle *φρήν*”? The image of sending arrows could be a hostile one but here it clearly is not. The arrows are ones that will “bring fame”; the source of them is “gentle” in nature. *Φρήν* acts as a “quiver” of ideas or thoughts upon which Pindar draws. The adjective *μαλθακός* suggests the presence of kindness and gentleness in *φρήν* towards Theron, the recipient of these arrows. Once again *φρήν* functions as the origin of what Pindar intends to say. In this passage *θυμός* also is somehow involved. But *φρήν* contains the “arrows” that Pindar will use.

In other passages Pindar mentions various activities that a person

carries on in, by, or with *φρένες*. In *Nem.* 3.62 Achilles is described as “fixing it in his *φρένες*” (*πήγνυμι*) that Memnon not return home. In this passage, as often in Homer and the other lyric poets (see above, note 13), *φρένες* are associated with the formation of plans and also with the will to carry them out. In another passage, *Pyth.* 2.56–58, *φρήν* is mentioned again in relation to wisdom and wealth (see also App. One, Topics). At line 56 Pindar says: “to be wealthy with the luck of fortune is the height of wisdom.”²⁵) In the next line Hieron is described as being able to “show forth wealth with a liberal *φρήν*” (*ἐλευθέρα φρενί*). The adjective *ἐλεύθερος* may mean “liberal” or “free from compulsion”.²⁶) Hieron can demonstrate “wealth with good fortune” in a generous fashion. In so doing he will show the “best part of wisdom”. A *φρήν* that is “liberal” will be the instrument that he uses to show forth this wisdom or the “generous” accompaniment with which he acts. As we heard above in *Ol.* 2.57 (App. One, 13), those with wealth should in particular be aware that “helpless *φρένες*” pay for crimes committed on earth. With the right kind of *φρήν*, however, and the ideas that it may express, a person can prove himself wise in wealth. Hieron is to have this kind of *φρήν*. If he does, he may resemble another person praised in *Pyth.* 2, Rhadamanthus, who “took as his lot the blameless fruit of *φρένες*” (see below, Section D and App. One, 39).

But how different is this *φρήν* of Hieron from the *φρένες* of Ixion described also in *Pyth.* 2! Lines 26–27 suggest a connection of *φρένες* with love, one that is common in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the other lyric poets.²⁷) Ixion loved Hera: *μαιομέναις φρασίν / Ἥρας ὄτ' ἐράσσατο*. “When with raging *φρένες* he loved Hera”.²⁸) *Φρένες* are the means by which Ixion loved the goddess or the accompaniment with which he expressed this emotion. These *φρένες* are *μαινόμεναι*, “raging” or “mad”, a state associated elsewhere also

²⁵) On the interpretation of these difficult lines see Farnell (note 7) 125–135 and Burton (note 7) 120.

²⁶) See Burton (note 7) 120, Carey (note 7) 45, and G. W. Most, *The Measures of Praise: Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes* (Göttingen 1985), *Hypomnemata* 83, 92–93.

²⁷) See, e.g., *Il.* 3.442, 14.294; *Od.* 15.421; *H. Ven.* 38, 57; Arch. 191 (W); Theog. 1388; *Iby.* 286.13 (PMG); Sa. 47, 48. See too my article “Love Influences *Phrenes* in Greek Lyric Poetry”, *SO* 58 (1983) 15–22, K. Crotty, *Song and Action. The Victory Odes of Pindar* (Baltimore 1982) 93–103 (on *eros* in Pindar), and App. One, Topics.

²⁸) On the story of Ixion see Burton (note 7) 116–118. For the contrast of his *φρένες* with those of Hieron see Lefkowitz (note 7) 23.

with love.²⁹) With such *φρένες* Ixion imagined that love between a mortal and an immortal was possible.³⁰) In his case the function of *φρένες* was clearly distorted by the strong passion of love.

In another passage of Pindar a person likewise loves with *φρήν*. In *Nem.* 10.29 Pindar says of Theaios: *Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὰν ἔραται φρενί, σιγᾶ / οἱ στόμα*. “Father Zeus, whatever he loves with his *φρήν*, he is silent in his mouth.” *Φρήν* is the location of certain desires of Theaios or the means by which he experiences them. *Φρήν* too may be the accompaniment he uses, itself expressing desires. But Theaios does not divulge such desires openly; they remain hidden in his *φρήν*. Here, as elsewhere, we see a connection of *φρήν* with speech (see App. One, Topics).

In *Pyth.* 5 we find two other activities that a person carries on in or with *φρήν*. At line 51 Pindar praises Carrhotus for bringing his chariot through with “fearless *φρήν*” (*ἀταρβεῖ φρενί*). Unlike the *φρήν* of Nestor that was shaken by terror and like the fearless *φρένες* of Cyrene, this *φρήν* is not negatively affected by fear.³¹) Instead, it is *ἀταρβής*, “fearless” or “dauntless”. It is the means or accompaniment that Carrhotus acted with to achieve his victory.

At line 101 of *Pyth.* 5, as in *Ol.* 2.57 (App. One, 13), Pindar mentions a *φρήν* of the dead. He speaks of “holy kings” who “hear somehow of great excellence with their *φρήν* beneath the earth” (*χθονία φρενί*), as songs are poured forth. These dead kings apparently still retain some power of perception. Their *χθόνιος φρήν* acts as a receiver of words of praise sung in the world above, functioning as it did in the living person. Unlike the *φρένες* in *Ol.* 2.57 that pay a penalty after death, this *φρήν* of the “holy kings” takes part in delight, still aware of what is going on in the world above.

In another ode, *Pyth.* 3, Pindar describes an activity human-beings should carry on with *φρένες* (59–60):

*χρῆ τὰ εἰκότα παρ
δαιμόνων μαστεύμεν θναταῖς φρασίν
γνόντα τὸ παρ ποδός, οἷας εἰμὲν αἴσας.*

²⁹) See *Il.* 6.160; *Iby.* 286.10; *Anac.* 359; note especially *Anac.* 398 where the “dice of Eros are madness (*μανία*) and battle noise”. See too Crotty (note 27) 93–94.

³⁰) *Φρένες* are not called “raging” in Homer but at *Il.* 15.128 Ares is addressed as “raging, distracted in *φρένες*.”

³¹) See *Pyth.* 6.36, 9.32, and above note 9 on *φρήν* and fear, and also App. One, Topics.

"It is necessary for a man to seek with mortal *φρένες* what is appropriate from the gods, knowing that which is near at hand, of what we are in fate."³²) Just as in *Pae.* 7 b 18 (App. One, 8) where *φρένες* that failed to seek divine help were called "blind", "mortal *φρένες*" here are associated with a need man has to seek divine help. They are to be the instrument or accompaniment with which a person is to search for "appropriate actions". Pindar goes on in lines 61 and 62 to urge his own *ψυχή* not to "hasten after immortal life", but to "exhaust the practicable resources". "Appropriate actions" will, it seems, essentially be *τὸ πὰρ ποδός*, not events of the future that a person cannot control.³³) They will accord with what man is "in fate", clearly stated in the adjective used with *φρένες*, "mortal". *Φρένες* are associated in this passage with fitting moral behaviour, one that has a divine source but is detectable, apparently, by human *φρένες*. Later in this same ode, *Pyth.* 3, Pindar will describe himself as "honouring" the divinity that "encompasses" his *φρένες* and "heeding" it according to his "resources" (108, see below Section F, App. One, 55).³⁴) In practice, then, Pindar can be said to follow the advice he gives here in lines 59–60.

In the same ode *Pyth.* 3, Pindar speaks very differently of the *φρένες* of Coronis. She, by the "sins of her *φρένες* (*ἀμπλακίαισι φρενῶν*) slighted" Apollo, marrying another while she was pregnant by the god (12–13). In the lines that follow, Pindar criticises those who "gaze on things that are afar, hunting idle dreams with hopes that will not be fulfilled" (22–23). Coronis, he says, was such a person. We have, then, in these two passages of *Pyth.* 3 a vivid contrast between what "mortal *φρένες*" should seek, namely "things near at hand", and the behaviour of Coronis, with her "sins of *φρένες*" and her longing for what was distant and not to be. These "sins" may have come into Coronis' *φρένες* from without (= *φρενῶν* as an objective genitive) or they may have arisen from within (subjective genitive). Whatever the situation is, because of their presence, Coronis erred greatly in moral behaviour.

Elsewhere Pindar mentions difficulties that human *φρένες*

³²) Following Schroeder (note 7) 30 and Farnell (note 7) 140 I take *φρένες* with the verb *μαστευόμεν*. Gildersleeve (note 7) 274 takes it with *τὰ εὐκλότα*.

³³) On the interpretation of this passage see Burton (note 7) 85 and Young (note 7) 43.

³⁴) For this comparison see Lefkowitz (note 7) 154.

encounter. In fr.61 he speaks of “wisdom in which one man excels over another in small measure”. He then says (4–6):

οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν
βουλευμάτων ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί·
θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἔφν.

“For it is not possible that he will trace out the plans of the gods with a mortal *φρήν*; he was born of a mortal mother.” Once again *φρήν* is associated with wisdom (see App. One, Topics). The fragmentary text does not make the reference to wisdom at the beginning of the fragment clear, but Pindar seems to be saying that man’s share in it is small. He does state explicitly in the quoted lines, however, that what the gods arrange must remain hidden from men: their *φρήν* cannot discover it. We saw in *Pyth.* 3.59 (App. One, 22) that the *φρένες* of humans should seek out “what is fitting” from the gods. This fragment says that something else lies outside the range of *φρήν*, namely their “plans”. The verbs in the two passages suggest similarity in activity: *μαστεύω* and *ἐρευνάω*. But the first has an accessible object, the second does not. Above we heard of Pindar using the same verb *ἐρευνάω* in describing those who tried to “trace out the deep road of wisdom” without the aid of the Muses; their *φρένες* were “blind” (*Rae.* 7 b 18, App. One, 8). Divine help may give humans what their *φρένες* prove “blind” to. Perhaps this may prove true also of what the gods plan. Whether this is possible or not, fr. 61 clarifies the limitation of a *φρήν* that is “mortal”.³⁵⁾

In *Ol.* 8.24 Pindar mentions other difficulties that *φρήν* can face:

ὄ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλᾶ ῥέπη,
ὀρθᾶ διακρίναι φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρόν
δυσπαλές·

“For what swings in the balance much and in many ways, it is difficult to decide with an upright *φρήν*, not contrary to the fitting time.” In these lines *φρήν* is associated with the activity of “deciding” or “discerning”. This same type of activity (but not indicated by this particular verb) is commonly ascribed to *φρήν* in Homer, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets.³⁶⁾ As in *Ol.* 7.91 (App. One, 4) *φρήν* here is “upright”. It is clearly associated with admirable moral behaviour in

³⁵⁾ Pindar refers to *βρότεια φρένες* also in fr. 222.3 but the context is not clear.

³⁶⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 10.507, 16.435; *Od.* 1.427, 10.438; Hes., *W. & D.* 688, *Theog.* 488; Sem. 7.27 (W); Pap. Oxy. 3538, fr. 1.15 = Iby.

a situation of great importance or difficulty. But the decisions that a person may use *φρήν* for or act with *φρήν* in formulating will not be reached without struggle (*δυσπαλές*), especially if they are to be appropriate likewise in terms of time (*καιρός*). Part of the difficulty may be in the quest of the "upright *φρήν*" to choose an honourable course of action, especially since, as we heard in *Pyth.* 4.139 (App. One, 12), *φρένες* can be "too quick to praise gain at the expense of justice". This passage in *Ol.* 8 shows the involvement of *φρήν* in moral choices. A person's use of an "upright *φρήν*" may prove problematic.

In another passage Pindar speaks of the dangers that can come with victory or wealth (*Is.* 3.2):

*Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχήσῃς ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι
ἢ σθένει πλούτου κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῆ κόρον,
ἄξιος εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι.*

"If any man, faring well either in glorious contests or in strength of wealth, checks irritating greed that lies in his *φρένες* (or checks it with his *φρένες*), he deserves to be mingled with the praises of the citizens." Pindar goes on to say that prosperity (*ὄλβος*) does not abide long with "crooked *φρένες*" (3.5, see Section E, App. One, 49). As we saw in passages already discussed, *φρένες* are associated with wealth, which poses dangers but can give an opportunity for honourable behaviour.³⁷) In this passage Pindar says that the person who "checks greed" is to be praised. This "greed" is either present in *φρένες* or *φρένες* are the means by which a person checks it. *Κόρος* is described in these lines as "nagging" or "irritating".³⁸) It eats away at *φρένες* and its effect must be resisted. Once again *φρένες* are connected with moral character and are related to admirable behaviour.

In four passages of Bacchylides a person acts in, by, or with *φρένες*. In two of these *φρήν* functions as the place where a person "takes delight". Someone does this in 16.7: *φρένα τερπόμενος*. In 17.131 the "Lord of Delos", who "has rejoiced in his *φρήν* (*φρένα ἰανθείς*) at the Cean dances," is asked to send blessings. Frequently in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets

³⁷) See above on *Ol.* 2.57 (App. One, 13) and *Pyth.* 2.57 (App. One, 17). See also App. One, Topics.

³⁸) On the meaning of this adjective see Bury (note 7) 22, Fennell (note 7) 167, and Thummer (note 7) 60.

φρήν is associated with pleasure or delight.³⁹) These two passages of Bacchylides show that a person still experienced this emotion of joy there.

In fragment 11.1–7 Bacchylides says that the one road to human happiness is to have a “*θυμός* without sorrow”. He contrasts this ideal with the person who “is busy about ten thousand things with his *φρήν*” (*μυρία μὲν ἀμφιπολεῖ φρενί*). This person is also “tossed about in heart” (*κέαρ*) and has “fruitless labour”. We see in these lines the association of *φρήν* with deliberation and pondering on many matters, activities with which they are often connected in earlier poets (see note 36). But in this case the intellectual or emotional activity is seen as a detriment to serenity. An overactive *φρήν* can prove harmful.⁴⁰)

In the fourth passage, 14.11, Bacchylides relates *φρένες* to excellence:

*μυρία δ' ἀνδρῶν ἀρετ[αί,] μία δ' ἐκ
 πασᾶν πρόκειται,
 ὅς τὰ παρχειρὸς κυβέρον-
 σεν δικαίαισι φρένεσσιν.*

“Ten thousand are the excellences of men; one of all is preferable, [that of the man] who governs the things at hand with just *φρένες*”. Just as they were in Pindar, *φρένες* here are connected with justice.⁴¹) Bacchylides likewise refers again to “just (*δίκαιος*) *φρένες*” in 11.124 and a “righteous-judging” (*εὐθύδικος*) *φρήν* in 5.6 (see below Section C, App. One, 34 and 35). In this passage he says that the highest expression of excellence is to be found in the handling of daily affairs with justice. The way in which this handling will take place is with *φρένες* that are “just”. The thoughts, decisions, and choices that are made will bear this quality. A person acts in these *φρένες*, by them as an instrument, or with them as an accompaniment. In this passage *φρένες* are associated, as they often were in Pindar, with moral character and actions.

The relationship of person to these affairs is one of “guiding” or

³⁹) See, e.g., *Il.* 1.474, 19.174; *Od.* 5.74, 8.368; *H. Cer.* 232; *Hes., Theog.* 173; *Alcm.* 7.5 (*PMG*); *Mim.* 7.1 (*W*); *Theog.* 787, 795, 921.

⁴⁰) Elsewhere in Bacchylides we will see *φρήν* associated with “cares” or “worries”: 5.6 (*App. One*, 35). See too *App. One*, *Topics: Distress*.

⁴¹) Namely in *Ol.* 7.91, *Pyth.* 4.139, *Ol.* 2.57, *Ol.* 8.24. See too *App. One*, *Topics*.

“governing” (*κυβερνάω*). Twice elsewhere Bacchylides connects this same notion of “guiding” or “directing” with *φρένες* (12.3, 17.22, see Sections F and G, App. One, 56 and 58). Here the focus of “governing” will be on “things near at hand” (*τὰ παρχειρός*). The behaviour praised in these lines of Bacchylides seems to resemble that recommended by Pindar in *Pyth.* 3 (App. One, 22) where one is to “seek with mortal *φρένες* what is appropriate from the gods, knowing what is near at hand” (*τὸ παρ ποδός*). In another ode, *Ol.* 8.24, Pindar also said that reaching a decision “with an upright *φρήν*” in a crucial situation is difficult (App. One, 25). If one does make an honourable decision, it is clearly worthy of praise. It is this achievement that Bacchylides praises. Ode 14.11 shows his view that the apt and just handling of present challenges and difficulties with *φρένες* deserves admiration.

Section B. Observations: In this Section we have treated seventeen passages in which a person acts in, by, or with *φρένες*. The activities to be found in these passages are varied in nature. In summary these include the following (with numbers given from App. One). The activities of speaking (14–15), planning or pondering (14, 16, 29), or loving (18, 19) are found. A person can “hear” in the underworld with *φρήν* (21), act fearlessly with it (20), or take delight in it (27, 28). One can “show forth wealth with a liberal *φρήν*” (17). With “mortal *φρένες*” one should seek from the gods “what is fitting” (22). But the “plans of the gods” one cannot discover with a “mortal *φρήν*” (24). Through “sins” of *φρένες* one can treat a god slightly (23). One should check greed with *φρένες* (26). To decide an important issue with an “upright *φρήν*” is difficult (25). But to handle affairs at hand with “just *φρένες*” is the highest expression of excellence (30). In these passages *φρήν* and *φρένες* are very much a location where someone acts, the instrument by which he acts, or the accompaniment with which he acts. Intellectual, emotional, and volitional aspects of *φρένες* are prominent. They function also often as a seat of a person’s moral character or temperament. In terms of relationship to person, *φρήν* or *φρένες* seem in most cases to be subordinate to the individual or to act in co-operation with him. A situation of harmony exists between person and *φρένες*.

Section C. A Person Has a Direct Relationship with φρένες

Five passages of Pindar and Bacchylides indicate a direct relationship of person and *φρένες*. As in Homer (where only eleven such instances are found) and in Hesiod (where there are none), a person does not appear in these two poets to exert frequent control over *φρένες*. In the other lyric poets nine passages of this type are found and some control over *φρένες* is suggested by them.⁴²⁾ But the fragmentary nature of the evidence is important here both in the case of these other poets and with Pindar and Bacchylides. In the latter two, many more cases of a person directly affecting *φρένες* may have been present in their poetry. The presence of only five such instances in their extant poetry, however, suggests that this relationship was not a common one.

In one passage of Pindar, *Nem.* 7.26, the physical aspect of *φρένες* as entities associated with the chest region is present. "Mighty Ajax fixed a smooth sword through his *φρένες*" (*ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν*). The physical connotation of *φρένες* is thus still to be found in Pindar. This image of "fixing" in *φρένες* we saw also above (with the same verb, *πήγνυμι*) in *Nem.* 3.62 (App. One, 16) when Achilles "fixed it in his *φρένες*" that Memnon not return home. Both these passages show that *φρένες* could function as the location of the actual physical placement of an object or as a receiver of ideas.

In fr. 124 b 11 certain persons are described thus:

ἀέζονται φρένας ἀμπελίνοις τόξοις δαμέντες

"They expand their *φρένες*, being conquered by the arrows of the vine." In Homer, and the other lyric poets, wine strongly affects *φρένες*, usually in a negative way.⁴³⁾ In this instance in Pindar wine seems to cause an inflated way of thinking. What happens when *φρένες* are "expanded" is not clear but perhaps boasting or an exaggerated sense of self-worth is implied. Although an "increase" in *θυμός* is mentioned already in Homer,⁴⁴⁾ this is the first time *φρένες* are described in this way. Bacchylides in 1.162 (see below, Section E,

⁴²⁾ See the discussion of these in Sullivan, "*φρένες* in the Greek Lyric Poets" (note 1).

⁴³⁾ See, e.g., *Od.* 9.362, 9.454, 10.557, 18.331, 19.122, 21.297; *Arch.* 120 (W); *Alc.* 358.

⁴⁴⁾ See *Il.* 17.226. See also Hes., *Theog.* 461, fr. 317; *Pind. Nem.* 3.58. On the expression, to "expand *φρένες*", see also Jebb (note 7) 249 and Maehler (note 6) 21.

App. One, 52) will speak of wealth having the same effect on *φρένες*. Both passages illustrate that *φρένες* change as the result of outside influences. In the case of wine, the effect may be a negative one.

In a well-known passage in *Pyth.* 4, Jason says of Pelias (109–110):

πέυθομαι γάρ νιν Πελίαν ἄθεμιν λευ-
καῖς πιθήσαντα φρασίν
ἀμετέρων ἀποσυλᾶσαι βιαίως ἀρχεδικᾶν τοκέων·

“For I learn that lawless Pelias, having trusted in his white *φρένες*, violently stole it [the honour of kingship] from our parents, ruling in right.” The picture of Pelias is a negative one: he is “lawless” and acts with violence. The exact meaning of *λευκός* is unclear, especially since Pindar nowhere else mentions this adjective in connection with a psychic term. This adjective also does not occur in a similar context elsewhere in the poets of the Archaic Age, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, or the Greek tragedians. No reference either is found in these writers to a person “trusting *φρένες*” except the one in Homer to Agamemnon. At *Il.* 9.119, Agamemnon says that, as he took Briseis, he “trusted baneful (*λευγαλέησι*) *φρένες*”. Agamemnon, however, is also described as having *φρένες* very different from those of Pelias in colour: his can be “black” (*Il.* 1.103) and were as he grew angry with Achilles. The phrase, therefore, “to trust *φρένες*” is quite unusual. Pelias trusts those that are *λευκαί*, Agamemnon, those that are *λευγαλέαι*. The expression in *Pyth.* 4.109 is so similar to the one describing Agamemnon in *Il.* 9.119 that Pindar is likely deliberately echoing this passage of Homer. In an article treating this passage,⁴⁵) I suggest that Pindar wishes to point a startling contrast between Pelias and Agamemnon. “Black” and “baneful” *φρένες* are likely ones darkened by strong emotion.⁴⁶) Pelias’ “white *φρένες*” seem to be the opposite: cold, calculating, and unresponsive to emotion. By echoing the Homeric line, Pindar thus elucidates the meaning of the adjective *λευκός*. Trusting such “white *φρένες*”, Pelias stole power from Jason’s parents. We saw above in Jason’s second speech to Pelias his general statement that “*φρένες* are too quick to praise deceitful gain at the expense of justice” (139–140, App. One, 12). In saying this, Jason makes specific reference to Pelias. These

⁴⁵) See Darcus (note 19). This article offers also detailed bibliography on this passage of Pindar. See also Segal (note 7) 36 n. 10.

⁴⁶) See a full discussion of “black *φρένες*” in Sullivan, *Psychological Activity* (note 1), Chapter Three on I. 8.

lines of this second speech may therefore suggest additional features of “white *φρένες*”: they are greedy as well as being unjust.

As we have observed already (see above, note 41 and App. One, Topics), *φρένες* are associated in Pindar with the expression of justice, either in a positive or negative way. In this passage of *Pyth.* 4 their activity is clearly stated to be the source of Pelias’ unjust behaviour. He trusted the way in which they functioned. The phrase “white *φρένες*” tells us about intellectual, emotional, and volitional aspects of this psychic entity in Pelias; it also indicates aspects of his moral character, one hardly to be praised.

In two passages of Bacchylides one has a direct relationship with *φρένες*. First, in 11.123–126 he says:

δικαίας

*ὅστις ἔχει φρένας, εὐ-
ρήσει σὺν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ
μυρίας ἀλλὰς Ἀχαιῶν.*

“Whoever has just *φρένες* will discover through all time the countless acts of courage of the Achaeans.” Bacchylides refers here to the actions of the Achaeans at Troy. “Just *φρένες*” in this context are ones which will know how to allot praise fairly. They will not distort or deny the achievements of the Greeks. Elsewhere in Bacchylides we heard of the man who governs the things at hand with “just *φρένες*” (14.11, App. One, 30). Such “just *φρένες*” in Bacchylides’ view clearly help a person deal with the present admirably and with the past, fairly.

Second, in 5.6–8 Bacchylides says:

*φρένα δ’ εὐθύδικτον
ἀτρέμ’ ἀπαύσας μεριμνᾶν
δεῦρ’ (ἄγ) ἄθροσον νόῳ.*

“Having quietly made your righteous-judging *φρήν* cease from cares, gaze here with your *νόος*.” Bacchylides compliments Hieron by calling his *φρήν* “righteous-judging” or “just”, using in this case the adjective *εὐθύδικτος*.⁴⁷⁾ But this *φρήν* is under the stress of “cares” (*μεριμναί*) from which Hieron should strive to be free. Perhaps like the man Bacchylides describes in fr. 11.4 (App. One, 29), who “is busy about ten thousand things in his *φρένες*,” Hieron is engaging too much in worried thought. The “cares” found in *φρήν* apparently

⁴⁷⁾ On the meaning of this adjective see Maehler (note 6) 88.

hamper in some way the “gaze” of νόος, which in this situation is to be desired.⁴⁸⁾ In Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the other lyric poets,⁴⁹⁾ φρένες function quite frequently as a seat of pain or distress. In this passage of Bacchylides φρήν likewise functions in this way.

Section C. Observations: In these five passages of Pindar and Bacchylides a person related directly to φρήν or φρένες. Ajax “fixed” a sword through φρένες. People under the influence of wine “expand” their φρένες. Pelias “trusted white φρένες.” Someone can “have just φρένες” or free a “righteous-judging φρήν from cares”. These passages indicate that a person could exert some direct control over φρένες but did so relatively rarely in the extant poetry of these two authors.

Section D. A Person Is Described in respect to φρένες

In four passages of Pindar a person is described in relation to φρένες. In these passages both person and φρένες seem prominent, each contributing to the situation at hand.

In a passage of Pindar, *Ol.* 1.41, Poseidon is said to have stolen away Pelops, “conquered in his φρένες with desire” (δαμέντα φρένας ἰμέρω). Here we see again the involvement of φρένες in love, just as they were in Homer, the other lyric poets, and Pindar himself.⁵⁰⁾ Φρένες act as the seat where desire is felt. Poseidon “conquered” in this way steals Pelops.⁵¹⁾ The emotion experienced in φρένες strongly influences his behaviour.

In another passage also φρένες are affected by the passion of love. At *Pyth.* 4.219 Pindar describes Medea: ποθεινὰ δ’ “Ἐλλάς αὐτάν / ἐν φρασι καιομένην δονέοι μάστιγι Πειθοῦς. “Greece, longed for, shook her, burning in her φρένες, with the whip of Persuasion.” As

⁴⁸⁾ On νόος in this passage see my discussion in “*Noos* and Vision: Five Passages in the Greek Lyric Poets” (forthcoming in *SO* 1989).

⁴⁹⁾ See, e.g., *Il.* 15.61, 17.83; *Od.* 4.813, 8.541; *H. Ven.* 243; *Mim.* 1.7 (W); *Sol.* 4 c (W); *Theog.* 593, 657. In *Mim.* 1.7 μέριμναι are specifically mentioned.

⁵⁰⁾ See above note 27 and *Pind., Pyth.* 2.26 and *Nem.* 10.29 (App. One, 18 and 19). See too App. One, Topics.

⁵¹⁾ Note that the same verb, δαμνάω was used in fr. 124b 11 (App. One, 32) when people “expand” their φρένες, “conquered” by wine.

elsewhere in Pindar, Peitho is used here in an erotic context.⁵²) Medea is passionately in love with Jason. Φρένες are the location of this strong emotion and greatly influence how Medea thinks. Now Greece becomes “longed for” because of the love present in her φρένες. In this she resembles Ixion (*Pyth.* 2.26, App. One, 18) who loved Hera with “raging φρένες”.

In two other passages praise is given to people because of their φρένες. In *Is.* 6.71 Pindar speaks highly of Lampon as one “pursuing measure with his intelligence (γνώμη), and gaining possession of measure.” He then says of him: γλῶσσα δ’ οὐκ ἔξω φρενῶν. “His tongue is not outside his φρένες.” Lampon’s words evidently reflect the thoughts of his φρένες, assumed to be of an admirable nature, perhaps showing forth the “measure” that he has sought and found.⁵³) In these lines we see an explicit association of φρένες with speech (see too App. One, Topics). In this case they serve as the source of words.

In *Pyth.* 2.73 Pindar says of Rhadamanthus: “he fared well because he received as his lot the blameless fruit of φρένες” (φρενῶν ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον). He goes on to say that Rhadamanthus also “did not delight his θυμός within by deceits” (74). The “fruit” of Rhadamanthus’ φρένες was “without fault”. This probably involved his thoughts and judgements. Nor in his θυμός did he enjoy practising deceit. In terms of both psychic entities he deserved praise. Both act in him as seats of his intellectual activities and also traits of his character. Pindar elsewhere spoke of a “sweet fruit of φρήν” when he described an ode he was sending to Diagoras (*Ol.* 7.8, App. One, 2). What φρένες are able to produce or to bring forth can clearly be positive in nature.

Section D. Observations: We treated four passages of Pindar in this Section. In two of these a person is strongly affected by love in φρένες. In the other two a person deserves praise, in the first because his speech reflects φρένες, clearly thought to be of an admirable nature, and in the second because his conduct shows the “fruit” of his φρένες to be “blameless.” Φρένες function in these passages as a psychic entity within the person that can significantly affect his behaviour.

⁵²) See *Pyth.* 9.39, fr. 122.2, 123.14. See too Mezger (note 7) 226 and Burton (note 7) 165.

⁵³) On the meaning of this expression see Bury (note 7) 118 and Fennell (note 7) 199.

Section E. Outside Objects Act on or in φρένες

In Pindar and Bacchylides thirteen passages mention outside objects affecting φρένες directly or being placed in them. They show how φρένες, just as they often were in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the other lyric poets, were frequently open to outside influences.⁵⁴) Φρένες do not appear to have fixed boundaries but can be positively or negatively affected from without. When this happens, they influence significantly how a person acts.

In three passages song is mentioned in relation to φρένες. At *Ol.* 10.2 Pindar asks that someone read the name of an Olympian victor “where it has been written” on his φρήν (πόθι φρενός / ἐμᾶς γέγραπται). It is φρήν that contains the victor’s name. Just as in *Ol.* 7.8 (App. One, 2), where a song was called the “sweet fruit of my φρήν,” here too φρήν may act as the source of the ode to follow, written for this same victor. Pindar had apparently forgotten his promise to write such an ode (10.3–6) but now he has remembered. In *Pyth.* 4.41 (App. One, 11) he mentions φρένες that forget. Whether φρήν in this passage was involved with forgetting or remembering is not clear but it is in φρήν that the subject of song is to be found.

Nem. 4.8 speaks of a “word” being drawn from φρήν:

ῥῆμα δ’ ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,
ὄ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχα
γλώσσα φρενός ἐξέλοι βαθείας.

“The word lives longer than deeds which a tongue draws forth from a deep φρήν with the favour of the Graces.” Φρήν in this passage is described as “deep”.⁵⁵) This is a characteristic given to it in *Il.* 19.125 where pain strikes the “deep φρήν” of Zeus. It is found also in Theognis 1052 where Kyrnos is to “take counsel” with his “deep φρήν.” In this passage of Pindar, it suggests “depth” of thought and reflection, lying behind the words spoken. We see φρήν once again functioning as a source of speech. With the help of the Graces words coming from a “deep φρήν” may prove very enduring.

In *Pyth.* 1.12 φρένες act as receivers of song. “Shafts of song

⁵⁴) See e.g., *Il.* 1.362, 15.61, 18.73; *Od.* 11.195, 17.470, 24.423; *H. Ven.* 207; *Arch.* 191 (W); *Mim.* 1.7 (W); *Theog.* 787; *Sa.* 47; *Alc.* 336.

⁵⁵) Pindar once uses the adjective βαθύφρων to describe the Muses in *Nem.* 7.1 This adjective is found also in *Sol.* 33.1 (W). For further on the adjective “deep” see my article “φρένες in the Greek Lyric Poets” (note 1) on Theognis 1052.

soothe even the φρένες of the gods" (κῆλα δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας). Here φρένες function as a seat of joy or pleasure, as they frequently do in Homer, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets (see above, note 39) and as φρήν does in Bacchylides 16.7 and 17.131 (App. One, 27 and 28). In this case "shafts" of song "soothe" or "calm" divine φρένες, removing perhaps the presence of agitated or distressful thoughts.⁵⁶)

In a difficult passage at *Pyth.* 5.18–20,⁵⁷) Pindar speaks of an "honour" mingled with Arcesilaus' φρήν:

μεγαλᾶν πολίων
ἔχει συγγενῆς
ὀφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας
τεῶ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί·

"The inherited crown of many cities holds this most revered honour that is mingled with your φρήν." The "honour" mentioned here refers to the dignity of being king. This is one that is appropriate for Arcesilaus: his φρήν apparently allows him to be a good and honourable king. φρήν in these lines acts as the seat of Arcesilaus' temperament or character, one worthy of kingship.

In other passages of Pindar a variety of forces can act on φρένες. In *Nem.* 3.39, Pindar says of Telamon: οὐδέ νῦν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμας / ἔπαυσεν ἀκμᾶν φρενῶν. "Nor ever did fear, conqueror of men, stop him as regards the keen edge of his φρένες." In this case fear does not adversely affect Telamon's φρήν although it often overcomes men. Elsewhere in Homer, the other lyric poets, Pindar himself, and Bacchylides, we have seen φρένες affected by fear (see above, note 9 and App. One, Topics). In this case the "keen edge of φρένες" remains unharmed by fear, which can, it seems, "blunt" their thoughts and their ability to make decisions. This was especially true of Nestor in *Pyth.* 6.36 (App. One, 3).

In *Is.* 2.43 Pindar says that Thrasybulus should not keep in silence the "excellence of his fathers" of the "hymns" that Pindar writes "because envious hopes hang about the φρένες of mortals" (φθονεραὶ θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες). In these lines "hopes hang around" φρένες; elsewhere we will hear of "sins" doing like-

⁵⁶) For this interpretation of κῆλα see Burton (note 7) 96–97.

⁵⁷) On the interpretation of these lines (and especially the noun ὀφθαλμὸς) see Farnell (note 7) 169–171, whom I follow, and Burton (note 7) 139–132, who mentions different ways of understanding them.

wise (*Ol.* 7.24, App. One, 48). In this case these hopes are “envious”. Other people, it appears, hope that the achievements of Thrasybulus and his ancestors will quickly be forgotten, lost in silence.⁵⁸) The image of hopes surrounding *φρένες* suggests that *φρένες* are “caught” or “ensnared” by them. Such hopes do not appear to arise from within *φρένες* themselves.

In *Pyth.* 10.60 Pindar says that “desires” affect *φρένες*: “for desires of different things chafe the *φρένες* of different people” (*καὶ γὰρ / ἑτέροις ἑτέρων ἔρωτες ἔκνιζαν φρένας*). He then says that if a person does achieve what he longs for, he should hold it as a “coveted care by his feet” (*ἀρπαλέα φροντίς*) and not try to foresee those things that time may not bring (61–63). As with hopes, *φρένες* appear to be affected from without by “desires” or “longings” which differ from person to person. These desires “chafe” or “irritate” (*κνίζω*) *φρένες*. They may lead to worried thoughts and distress. The noun *ἔρως* reminds us of other passages in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, the other lyric poets, and Pindar where *φρένες* are involved in love (see above, note 27 and App. One, Topics). But here it is not used in a restricted erotic sense but refers more generally to “desires” that human-beings feel.⁵⁹) The fulfillment of such desires in *φρένες* Pindar calls a *φροντίς*, “care” or “desire”; this is to be kept as a cherished possession (61). A person is, apparently, to resist “desires” which might cause him to overlook what he has already received. Such desires might bear reference to a future time that will not bring them to pass. It may be this kind of desire in particular that Pindar believes can “chafe” or “irritate” *φρένες*.

In *Ol.* 7.46–47, it is “forgetfulness” that harms *φρένες*:

*ἐπὶ μὰν βαίνει τι καὶ λάθας ἀτέκμαρτα νέφος,
καὶ παρέλκει πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδὸν
ἔξω φρενῶν.*

“There came also in some way an obscure cloud of forgetfulness and it drew the straight road of action outside of *φρένες*.” The Heliadae forgot to bring fire in a sacrifice for Athena. As we heard in *Pyth.* 4.41, *φρένες* can “forget” (App. One, 11, see too note 18). In *Ol.* 7.30 the image is one of their “clear vision” being clouded and dimmed. In this same ode we heard of Tlepolemos’ *φρένες* being affected by

⁵⁸) For a discussion of these lines see W.J. Verdenius, “Pindar’s Second Isthmian Ode, A Commentary”, *Mn* 35 (1982) 32–34.

⁵⁹) On this passage see Farnell (note 7) 219–220 and Burton (note 7) 11.

“disturbances” (7.30; App. One, 9) and, in contrast, Diagoras knowing clearly what “upright φρένες” inherited from his ancestors “enjoined” (7.91; App. One, 4). Like Tlepolemos, the Heliadae proved vulnerable in their φρένες. It is a “straight (ὄρθός) road” that the “cloud of forgetfulness” removes from their φρένες, the same adjective that is applied to the φρένες Diagoras possesses. In both passages of *Ol.* 7, then, φρένες are associated with approved moral behaviour. In the Heliadae this was obscured in a mysterious way by forgetfulness.⁶⁰)

In another passage in *Ol.* 7 we hear again that φρένες are open to negative influences (24–25). As he begins the story of Tlepolemos and how he came to kill his uncle, both in anger and with “disturbances” in his φρένες (7.30, App. One, 9), Pindar makes the general statement: “Around the φρένες of men unnumbered sins hang” (ἀμφὶ δ’ ἀνθρώπων φρασὶν ἀμπλακίαι / ἀναρίθμητοι κρέμανται). As we mentioned above,⁶¹) Pindar does not remove responsibility from Tlepolemos by mentioning these “sins” that “hang about” human φρένες. But like the hopes mentioned in *Is.* 2.43 (App. One, 45), these “unnumbered sins” enclose or ensnare φρένες, damaging their ability to make wise and moral choices. Coronis also erred because of the “sins” (ἀμπλακίαι) of her φρένες: she treated Apollo slightly (*Pyth.* 3.13, App. One, 23). In each case where these “sins” of φρένες are mentioned, a person is held accountable for them, but in Pindar’s view they are something to which φρένες themselves proved vulnerable.

In the opening lines of *Is.* 3, Pindar praises the man who “checks irritating greed that is in his φρένες” or “checks” it “with his φρένες” (3.2, App. One, 26). He goes on to speak of prosperity (ὄλβος), saying that “it lives greater in those who show reverence [to Zeus]; for crooked φρένες (πλαγίαις φρένεσσιν) prosperity, flourishing, does not associate for all time in the same way.” Here φρένες are called πλάγια, “crooked” or “perverse”. We can contrast them with the “upright” (ὄρθαί) φρένες Pindar mentions in *Ol.* 7.91 and 8.24 (App. One, 4 and 25). In this passage these “crooked” φρένες clearly differ from those referred to in line 2, with which one checks greed (κόρος). We may note that the only other instance of the adjective πλάγιος in Pindar occurs in *Nem.* 1.64, modifying κόρος. These

⁶⁰) On this passage see also Sullivan (note 8) 220–221 with further bibliography.

⁶¹) See note 16 and Sullivan (note 8) 217–218 on this passage.

“crooked” or “wayward” *φρένες*, blinded by prosperity, fail to show the proper reverence for Zeus.⁶²) They function within the person as the seat of his judgement and moral character. Because of their “crooked” nature, the person will fail to have lasting prosperity.

In three passages of Bacchylides outside influences affect *φρένες*. Fr. 20 B 8: *εὔτε ... Κύπριδος τ' ἐλπὶς (δι)αιθύσση φρένας*, “when hope of Kypris sets *φρένες* aflutter.” In Pindar we heard of “envious hopes hanging about” *φρένες* (*Is.* 2.43, App. One, 45). In this case the hope is for love. Once again, as in other passages, *φρένες* are involved in the emotion of love (see note 27 and App. One, Topics). These *φρένες* are “set aflutter”: some influence upon thoughts and feelings is indicated, one that makes them flighty or unstable. Calm, rational deliberation seems far removed from such *φρένες*.

In fr. 1.1 Bacchylides says that “gain constrains even a wise *φρήν*” (*φρένα καὶ πυκινάν / κέρδος ἀνθρώπων βιάται*). “Gain” applies an irresistible force to man’s *φρήν* which proves vulnerable to its attractions. Pindar too had said in *Pyth.* 4.139 (App. One, 12) that the *φρένες* of mortals are “too quick to praise deceitful gain at the expense of justice.” Bacchylides here remarks that even a “wise *φρήν*” is not exempt. The adjective *πυκινός* is found with *φρήν* in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and the other lyric poets.⁶³) In this passage it suggests that even the person who usually thinks and judges well can be victimized by profit.

In 1.162 Bacchylides speaks of wealth. It “associates with men who are wretched and is ready to increase the *φρένες* of a man” (*ἐθέλει δ' αὖξειν φρένας ἀνδρός*). Wealth “puffs up” or “expands” *φρένες*. It apparently “increases” thoughts in the person, giving him perhaps a distorted picture of his importance or abilities. In fr. 124 b 11 of Pindar (App. One, 32), we heard of people “increasing their *φρένες*” under the influence of wine. In this ode of Bacchylides the expansion happens to *φρένες*, which prove susceptible to wealth’s influence. Pindar spoke of the dangers of wealth, recommending that a person take care to use it in a moral way.⁶⁴) In Bacchylides, the expansion of *φρένες* by wealth seems to be a negative condition.

Section E. Observations: In these thirteen passages of Pindar and Bacchylides we have seen *φρένες* open to various influences. In Pin-

⁶²) On these “crooked *φρένες*” see Thummer (note 7) 60.

⁶³) See *Il.* 14.294; *H. Ven.* 38, 243; *Theog.* 1388; *Stes.* S 88 i 19 (Page); *Alc.* 39.

⁶⁴) See *Ol.* 2.57, *Pyth.* 2.57, 6.52, and *Is.* 3.2 (App. One, 7, 13, 17, 26) and App. One, Topics.

dar we find that song comes from *φρένες* or is received by them. "Honour" is "mingled" with *φρήν*. "Fear" can hurt *φρένες*, "hopes" and "sins" surround them, different "desires" chafe them. "Forgetfulness" can lead them from correct behaviour. "Prosperity" will not stay long with "crooked" *φρένες*. Bacchylides mentions three influences upon *φρένες*, "hope of love", "gain", and "wealth". These passages show how vulnerable *φρήν* and *φρένες* can be. When they are influenced from without, a person's behaviour is also markedly affected.

Section F. Outside Agents Act on or in φρένες

In five passages of Pindar and Bacchylides a god acts upon human *φρένες*. They prove open to divine influence, just as they frequently do in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets.⁶⁵) Frequently too in these other authors one human-being can affect the *φρένες* of another but this does not occur in Pindar or Bacchylides. Such mentions, however, could have occurred in poems that have been lost. The influence the gods have in these five passages can be positive or negative.

In *Nem.* 10.12 Pindar says: Zeus "has matched with straight justice the fruit of *φρένες* (*φρενῶν καρπὸν εὐθεία συνάρμοξεν δίκαια*) in the father of Adrastus and in Lynceus." Once again, as in *Ol.* 7.8 and *Pyth.* 2.73 (App. One, 2 and 39), Pindar speaks of the "fruit" of *φρένες*. In those passages this "fruit" referred to Pindar's song and to the thoughts and judgements of Rhadamanthus. Here we see a connection of *φρένες* with "straight justice". *Φρένες* function as a seat of the character of these two men. In these *φρένες* justice is to be found, revealing itself, apparently, in speech and action. Once again too in this passage, as we have seen elsewhere (see App. One, Topics), *φρένες* are associated with justice. In this case Zeus himself has given it as a gift to *φρένες*.

In *Nem.* 7.60 Pindar mentions Moira. He says that it "does not harm the understanding of *φρένες*" (*σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν*) in Thearion. In this line "understanding" or "intelligence" is centered in *φρένες*. This can suffer harm but has not done so thus far in Thearion.

⁶⁵) See, e.g., *Il.* 4.104, 15.724, 19.137; *Od.* 1.42, 18.158, 21.1; *H. Ven.* 7, 33; Hes., *Theog.* 889, fr. 69; *Theog.* 1388.

In *Pyth.* 3.107–109 Pindar says of himself:

*σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
ἔσσομαι, τὸν δ' ἀμφέποντ' αἰεὶ φρασίν
δαίμον' ἀσκήσω κατ' ἐμὴν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.*

"I will be small among the small, great among the great, and I will honour the divinity always encompassing my *φρένες*, heeding it according to my resources." A "divinity" (*δαίμων*) always surrounds *φρένες*. Pindar does not clarify what this divinity does but clearly in this context its influence is seen as positive, something to be "heeded" or "given attention". Earlier in this same ode Pindar had made the general statement that humans should "seek what is appropriate from the gods" (*δαίμονες*), paying attention to what is at hand (59–60). He also urges his own *ψυχά* not to "exhaust the practicable resources" (62). The same term "resources" (*μαχανά*) appears both in lines 62 and 109 of this ode. It seems then that in lines 107–109 Pindar describes himself as one who puts into practice the advice he gave earlier in the same poem.⁶⁶) The god who surrounds his *φρένες* may, therefore, be a source of advice, revealing what is mentioned in line 59, "appropriate actions". In this passage of Pindar we see *φρένες* again being "surrounded": "hopes" did so in *Is.* 2.43 and "sins" in *Ol.* 7.24 (App. One, 45 and 48). In this case a helpful divinity seems very close to *φρένες*.

In 12.3 Bacchylides addresses Kleio, one of the Muses: "Just as a wise helmsman (*κυβερνήτας*), Kleio, queen of hymns, guide astraight now our *φρένες* (*εὔθυνε ... φρένας ἀμετέρας*), if ever before." The image here is that of the Muse acting as a helmsman, directing Bacchylides' *φρένες*. As with Pindar (*Ol.* 2.90, 7.8, 10.2, and *Nem.* 4.8, App. One, 2, 15, 40, and 41) *φρένες* are seen as the source of Bacchylides' poem. Likewise, just as in Pindar, *Pae.* 7 b 18 (App. One, 8) the Muse is seen as necessary for the successful composition of an ode. Above in Bacchylides 14.11 (App. One, 30) the person who "governs things at hand with just *φρένες*" was praised. This same idea of "governing" will also appear in Bacchylides 17.22 (App. One, 58). In the present passage likewise *φρένες* are subject to this kind of control, in this case that exerted by the Muse.

In 11.45 Bacchylides says that Hera punished the daughters of Proteus, "yoking their *φρένες* to a strong, overmastering necessity."

⁶⁶) On this point see Burton (note 7) 85 and Young (note 7) 59–60. See also the reference to "resources" in *Pae.* 7 b 18 (App. One, 8).

(*παραπλήγι φρένας / καρτερᾶ ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκη*). In the lines that follow Bacchylides says that these girls were punished for boasting that their wealth was greater than that of Hera (46–51). Consequently Hera cast in their breasts a “distorted thought” (*παλίντροπον νόημα*), as she drove them out of Tiryns (54).⁶⁷ In this passage *φρένες* are clearly the seat of these girls’ sanity and intelligence. Hera yokes their *φρένες* to a “strong, overmastering necessity”, causing them to be filled with madness. It may have been into these *φρένες* that the “distorted thought” mentioned in line 54 was placed. When Hera treated the girls in this way, their behaviour changed. They acted wildly, driven out of their wits. In these lines *φρένες* prove vulnerable to this negative influence of the goddess.

Section F. Observations: In these five passages of Pindar and Bacchylides, divine agents acted upon *φρένες*. Zeus “matched the fruit of *φρένες*” with justice. Moira did not harm the “understanding” of *φρένες*. Pindar cherished the “divinity” surrounding his *φρένες*. Bacchylides asks Kleio to “guide a straight” his *φρένες*. Hera drives *φρένες* mad. Such divine influence could be good or bad. When *φρένες* are influenced by divine agents in such ways, the person’s behaviour is markedly affected.

Section G. φρένες Act as the Location of θυμός

In Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets, *φρένες* function quite often as a seat of other psychic entities.⁶⁸ They can contain *θυμός*, *κῆρ*, *νόος*, and *ἦτορ*. In this function the physical aspect of *φρένες* as a location in the chest region seems to be prominent. But in Pindar and Bacchylides we find *φρένες* in this capacity only once, namely in Bacchylides 17.22. Theseus addresses Minos, who has wrongly touched the cheeks of Eriboea: “No longer do you guide a holy *θυμός* within your *φρένες*” (*ὄσιον οὐκέτι τεᾶν / ἔσω κυβερνᾶς φρενῶν / θυμόν*). As in Bacchylides 12.3 and 14.11 (App. One, 30 and 56), we find here the idea of “governing”. In this case it is *θυμός* that is said to be under Minos’ control but *φρένες* too may come under his guidance. Control of *θυμός* in *φρένες* could prevent immoral behaviour.

⁶⁷ On these lines of Bacchylides see Jebb (note 7) 327, Maehler (note 6) 222–226, and Burnett (note 7) 108–113.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., *Il.* 10.232, 17.111; *Od.* 15.165, 18.345; *H. Ven.* 72; *Hes., Theog.* 239; *Tyr.* 10.17 (W); *Sol* 4 c 1 (W); *Theog.* 122.

III. Conclusion

The above study of *φρήν* and *φρένες* in Pindar and Bacchylides shows the range of meaning of these psychic terms in these two poets.⁶⁹) We examined 58 passages. Of these 21 were in the singular, 37 in the plural. In Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, and Hesiod the plural of *φρένες* is predominant. This may have occurred because of the nature of epic language. But the frequent appearance of the plural in these early poets may suggest also that *φρένες* were still thought of principally in their physical aspect as entities located in the chest region. In the other lyric poets, however, and in Pindar and Bacchylides the singular of *φρήν* appears frequently. This use of the singular may be related to metrical demands. But its presence shows that *φρένες* were apparently being thought of less as a plural entity. In these poets their physical aspect seems much less prominent than in earlier poets; their role as faculty seems much more pronounced.

In our analysis we divided the passages of Pindar and Bacchylides into seven Sections. This division was intended to clarify both the range of meaning of *φρήν* and the way in which a person related to this psychic entity. The thirteen passages of Section A show that *φρένες* had an enhanced presence in the person in Pindar, contrasting the way in which they appear in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and also the other lyric poets. Appearing as a more active agent in the person, *φρένες* too may engage in activity that will call for greater control of them by the person in whom they are found. The seventeen passages of Section B illustrate the wide range of activities that a person carries on in, by, or with *φρένες*. Intellectual, emotional, and volitional aspects of *φρένες* appear prominently in these passages. *φρένες* also function often as a seat of a person's temperament or moral character.

The five passages of Section C show that a person exerted direct control over *φρένες* quite infrequently in these poets. But such control was possible and the fragmentary nature of the poetry should here be kept in mind. The four passages in Pindar (Section D) where a person is described in relation to *φρένες* illustrate the strong effect which they could have upon a person's behaviour.

Sections E and F demonstrate that *φρένες* are vulnerable to the

⁶⁹) The following fragments mentioning *φρήν* were not treated because the context was not clear: Pind, *Pae.* 7 a 5 (= fr. 52 g), fr. 173.5, fr. 222.3, Pap. Oxy. 1792 fr. 4.4, 2440 fr. 1.5, 2450 fr. 1 ii 17; Bacch. fr. 20 E 20.

influence of outside forces and the gods. As they are affected, so too is the person in whom they are found. The single passage of Section G, in which *φρένες* function as a location of *θυμός*, shows that *φρένες* rarely served as a location of other psychic entities in Pindar and Bacchylides.

Certain features of *φρήν* and *φρένες* are distinctive in Pindar and Bacchylides. First, we find them referred to in all cases. In Homer the genitive case of *φρένες* is not found, probably because of the nature of epic language. In Pindar and Bacchylides it is common. Second, *φρένες* function most frequently as a "faculty indeterminately corporeal". Only in one passage in Pindar is the physical aspect of *φρένες* very obvious (*Nem.* 7.26, App. One, 31), although this physical aspect may be present too when *φρένες* function as a location. But generally they seem best described as a "faculty" involved in psychological activity. Third, *φρένες* are associated in particular with certain activities or objects (see App. One, Topics). In the case of some of these they resemble *φρένες* as found in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets, namely in delight, distress, fear, forgetting, love, planning, and words (both as source and receiver). But *φρένες* appear to be more prominently associated with certain other activities and objects than they are elsewhere, namely with gain, guiding, justice, wealth, and wisdom.

More frequently also in Pindar and Bacchylides than in other poets are items said to affect *φρένες*, to be in them, or to come from them (see App. Three). These items vary greatly in nature. Those affecting *φρένες* include sins, hopes, desires, gain, fear, and wealth. Those present in them or coming from them include counsels, honour, greed, cares, words, and disturbances. These items suggest a rich range of activity that could take place in *φρήν* or *φρένες*.

Different descriptive adjectives appear with *φρήν* and *φρένες* (see App. Two). These show the various positive qualities that *φρένες* could exhibit: "gentle", "upright", "liberal", "deep", "fearless", "wise", and "just". They illustrate too negative conditions of *φρένες*: "disturbed", "flimsy", "crooked", "blind", and "raving". Such adjectives suggest how strongly *φρένες* were related to the moral character of the person.

Another prominent feature of *φρένες* in Pindar and Bacchylides is their frequent function as a seat of a person's moral character or temperament.⁷⁰) They significantly affect how a person behaves,

⁷⁰) See, e. g., in App. One numbers 4, 9, 12, 13, 23, 25, 30, 34, 43, and 53. See too above note 11 for similar instances of *φρήν* in earlier poets.

especially in regard to wisdom or justice. In terms of relationship of person and *φρένες*, we find in Pindar and Bacchylides a situation very much like that in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, and the other lyric poets. Usually *φρένες* act in harmony or co-operation with the person. He finds in them a location where he can act, an instrument that he can use, or an accompaniment with which he can perform certain functions. *Φρένες* may be somewhat more active in the person than they were in earlier poets. But no strong opposition seems to exist between them and the person. Pindar once addresses *φρήν* in the vocative (*Pae.* 4.50, App. One, 1), asking it to resist certain desires. This passage suggest that *φρήν* might, in certain circumstances, need to be controlled. Generally, however, *φρένες* appear to be subordinate to the person.

In this study we have usually not translated the term *φρένες*. Many English words would be needed to illustrate its variety of meaning: "mind", "heart", "soul", "understanding", "thoughts", "intentions", "plans", "disposition", e. g., and more as well. Only an analysis of passages where the term appears adequately illustrates its rich range of meaning. We hope that the analysis presented in this paper has clarified this range of meaning and also the relationship a person has to this important psychic entity in Pindar and Bacchylides.

Appendix One

The Passages

A. φρένες as Present or Active in a Person

Passage	Description	Syntax	Aspects
1. P., <i>Pae.</i> 4.50 (= fr. 52 d)	"Let alone, φρήν, cypresswood, let alone pasture around Mt. Ida." (έάω)	Voc. s.	E-I-V
2. P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.8	"... sweet fruit of my φρήν." (καρπός)	Gen. s./ Subj.	I-E-V
3. P., <i>Pyth.</i> 6.36	"His shaken φρήν cried out to his son." (βοάω, δονέω)	Nom. s.	I-E-V
4. P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.91	"... what upright φρένες from good fathers enjoin." (χράω, όρθός)	Nom. pl.	I-E-V-M
5. P., <i>Nem.</i> 1.27	"Φρήν functions by plans." (πράττω, βουλή)	Nom. s.	I-V
6. P., <i>Pyth.</i> 9.32	"Φρένες are not tempest-tost by fear." (χειμαίνω, φόβος)	Nom. pl.	E
	ήτορ mentioned with φρένες.		
7. P., <i>Pyth.</i> 6.52	"His φρήν is sweet and in mingling with fellow-drinkers it surpasses the perforated work of bees." (όμιλέω, άμείβω, γλυκύς)	Nom. s.	E-I-M
8. P., <i>Pae.</i> 7b 18 (= fr. 52 h)	"Φρένες are blind." (είμί understood, τυφλός)	Nom. pl.	I-V
9. P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.30	"Disturbances of φρένες led even the wise man astray." (ταραχή, παραπλάζω)	Gen. pl./ Obj./Subj.	I-E-V-M
10. P., <i>Ol.</i> 8.61	"Φρένες of the inexperienced are rather flimsy." (είμί understood, κουφός)	Nom. pl.	I-E-V-M?
11. P., <i>Pyth.</i> 4.41	"Φρένες forgot [orders]." (λανθάνω)	Nom. pl.	I
12. P., <i>Pyth.</i> 4.139	"Φρένες of mortals are too quick to praise deceitful gain at the expense of justice." (είμί, άκύτερος)	Nom. pl.	I-V-M
13. P., <i>Ol.</i> 2.57	"... helpless φρένες of those dying here pay the penalty." (τίνω, άπάλαμνος)	Nom. pl.	I-E-V-M

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

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|--|-------------------------|----------|
| 14. | P., <i>Pae.</i> 9.37 | "... to bring together a glorious song by the counsels of φρήν."
(συνάγω, μῆδος) | Gen. s./
Subj. | I-E-V |
| 15. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 2.90 | "... sending arrows of fame from a gentle φρήν."
(ἴημι, οἰστός, μαλθακός) | Gen. s. | I-E-V |
| 16. | P., <i>Nem.</i> 3.62 | "Achilles might fix it in φρένες how ..."
(πήγνυμι) | Dat. pl.
(έν) | I-V-E |
| 17. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 2.57 | "... to show forth wealth with a liberal φρήν."
(ἐλεύθερος, πεπαρεῖν) | Dat. s./
Means/C-I | I-E-V-M |
| 18. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 2.26 | "When, with raging φρένες, he loved Hera."
(ἐράω, μαινόμενος) | Dat. pl./
Means/C-I | E-I-V |
| 19. | P., <i>Nem.</i> 10.29 | "What he desires with his φρήν, he is silent in his mouth."
(ἐράω) | Dat. s./
Means/C-I | I-E-V |
| 20. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.51 | "You brought your chariot through with fearless φρήν."
(κομίζω, ἀταρβής) | Dat. s./
Means/C-I | I-V-E |
| 21. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.101 | "Holy kings hear somehow of great excellence with a φρήν beneath the earth."
(ἀκούω, χθόνιος) | Dat. s./
Means | I-E-V |
| 22. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 3.59 | "It is necessary for a man to seek with mortal φρένες what is appropriate from the gods."
(μαστεύω, θνητός) | Dat. pl./
Means/C-I | I-E-V |
| 23. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 3.13 | Coronis, "treated him (Apollo) slightly by the sins of her φρένες."
(ἀποφλαυρίζω, ἀμπλακία) | Gen. pl./
Subj./Obj. | I-V-E-M |
| 24. | P., <i>Fr.</i> 61.4 | "It is impossible that he will trace out the plans of the gods with a mortal φρήν."
(ἐρευνάω, βροτός) | Dat. s./
Means/C-I | I-V-E |
| 25. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 8.24 | "... to decide with an upright φρήν is difficult."
(διακρίνω, ὀρθός) | Dat. s./
Means/C-I | I-V-E?-M |
| 26. | P., <i>Is.</i> 3.2 | "... if he checks irritating greed in (or with) φρένες."
(κατέχω, κόρος) | Dat. pl./
Loc./Means | I-V-E-M |
| 27. | B. 16.7 | "... taking delight in φρήν."
(τέρπομαι) | Acc. s./resp. | E-I? |

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---|------------------------|---------|
| 28. | B. 17.131 | "Lord of Delos, having rejoiced in your φρήν."
(λαίνω) | Acc. s./resp. | E-I? |
| 29. | B. Fr. 11.4 | ". . . who is busy about ten thousand things with his φρήν."
(ἀμφιπολέω) | Dat. s./
Loc./C-I | I-E-V |
| 30. | B. 14.11 | ". . . who governs the things at hand with just φρένες."
(κυβερνάω, δίκαιος) | Dat. pl./
Means/C-I | I-E-V-M |

C. A Person Has a Direct Relationship with φρένες

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------|
| 31. | P., <i>Nem.</i>
7.26 | "Ajax fixed a smooth sword through his φρένες."
(πήγνυμι) | Gen. pl.
(διά) | P |
| 32. | P., Fr.
124b 11 | "They expand their φρένες, conquered by the shafts of wine."
(ἀέξω) | Acc. pl./
d.o. | I-E-M? |
| 33. | P., <i>Pyth.</i>
4.109 | "Pelias, trusting in white φρένες"
(πείθω, λευκός) | Dat. pl./
w. verb. | I-E-V-M |
| 34. | B. 11.124 | "Whoever has just φρένες" will find acts of courage of the Greeks.
(έχω, δίκαιος) | Acc. pl./
d.o. | I-V-M |
| 35. | B. 5.6 | "Having quietly made φρήν cease from cares, come, gaze here with νόος."
(ἀμπαύω, μέριμνα, εὐθύδικος) | Acc. s./
d.o. | E-I |

D. A Person is Described in Respect to φρένες

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|--------------------|--------|
| 36. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 1.41 | Poseidon, "conquered in his φρένες by desire", stole Pelops.
(δαμνάω, ἡμερος) | Acc. pl./
resp. | E-I?-V |
| 37. | P., <i>Pyth.</i>
4.219 | Medea, "burning in her φρένες."
(καίω) | Dat. pl.
(έν) | E-I-V |
| 38. | P., <i>Is.</i> 6.72 | Lampon, "his tongue is not outside his φρένες."
(εἰμί understood, γλῶσσα) | Gen. pl.
(έξω) | I-V |
| 39. | P., <i>Pyth.</i>
2.73 | Rhadamanthus, "received as his lot the blameless fruit of φρένες."
(λαγχάνω, καρπός) | Gen. pl./
Subj. | I-V-M |
- θυμός mentioned with φρένες.

E. Outside Objects Act on or in φρένες

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------|
| 40. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 10.2 | Name of victor, "where it has been written on my φρήν."
(γράφω, Ὀλυμπιονίκαι) | Gen. s./
Obj. | I-E? |
| 41. | P., <i>Nem.</i> 4.8 | Word, "which a tongue draws forth from a deep φρήν."
(ἐξαιρέω, βαθύς, γλώσσα) | Gen. s./Sep. | I-V |
| 42. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 1.12 | "Shafts of song soothe even the φρένες of the gods."
(κῆλα, θέλω) | Acc. pl./d.o. | E-I |
| 43. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.19 | ". . . most revered honour mingled with your φρήν."
(μείγνυμι, γέρας) | Dat. s./w.
verb | I-E-V-M |
| 44. | P., <i>Nem.</i> 3.39 | "Nor did fear stop him as regards the keen edge of φρένες."
(φόβος, παύω, ἀκμή) | Gen. pl./
Obj. | E-I-V |
| 45. | P., <i>Is.</i> 2.3 | ". . . envious hopes hang about the φρένες of mortals."
(ἐλπίς, ἀμφικρέμαμαι) | Acc. pl./d.o. | E-I-V |
| 46. | P., <i>Pyth.</i> 10.60 | "Different desires chafe the φρένες of different people."
(ἔρω, κνίζω) | Acc. pl./d.o. | E-I-V |
| 47. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.47 | "An obscure cloud of forgetfulness drew the right road of action outside φρένες."
(νέφος λάθα, παρέλκω, ὀρθὰ ὁδός) | Gen. pl.
(ἔχω) | I-V-M |
| 48. | P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.24 | "Around the φρένες of men unnumbered sins hang."
(ἀμπλακία, κρεμάννυμι) | Dat. pl.
(ἀμφί) | I-E-V-M |
| 49. | P., <i>Is.</i> 3.5 | "For crooked φρένες prosperity does not associate long."
(ἄλβος, ὀμιλέω, πλάγιος) | Dat. pl./
w. verb. | I-E-V-M |
| 50. | B.Fr. 20 B 8 | "Hope of love sets φρένες aflutter."
(ἐλπίς, διαιθύσσω) | Acc. pl./d.o. | E-I-V |
| 51. | B.Fr. 1.1 | "Gain constrains even a wise φρήν."
(κέρδος, βιάω, πυκινός) | Acc. s./d.o. | I-V |
| 52. | B. 1.162 | Wealth, "is ready to increase the φρένες of a man."
(πλούτος, αὔξω) | Acc. pl./
d.o. | I-E-V |

F. Outside Agents Act on or in φρένες

53.	P., <i>Nem.</i> 10.12	Zeus, "has matched with straight justice the fruit of <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>συναρμόζω, καρπός</i>)	Gen. pl./ Subj.	I-E-V-M
54.	P., <i>Nem.</i> 7.60	Moira, "does not harm the understanding of <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>σύνεσις, ἀποβλάπτω</i>)	Gen. pl./ Subj.	I
55.	P., <i>Pyth.</i> , 3.108	"I will honour the god always surrounding my <i>φρένες</i> , heeding it." (<i>δαίμων, ἀμφέπω, θεραπεύω</i>)	Dat. pl./ w. verb	I-E-V-M
56.	B. 12.3	Kleio, "guide a straight our <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>εὐθύνω</i>)	Acc. pl./ d. o.	I-V
57.	B. 11.45	Hera, "yoking <i>φρένες</i> to a strong, overmastering necessity." (<i>ζεύγνυμι, ἀνάγκη</i>)	Acc. pl./ d. o.	E-I-V

G. φρένες Act as the Location of θυμός

58.	B. 17.22	"No longer do you guide a holy <i>θυμός</i> in your <i>φρένες</i> ." (<i>κυβερνάω</i>)	Gen. pl. (<i>ἔσω</i>)	P-I?
-----	----------	---	----------------------------	------

Topics in Appendix One

Delight:	7, 21, 27-28, 42.
Distress:	9, 29, 35.
Expansion:	32, 52.
Fear:	3, 6, 20, 35, 44.
Forgetting:	11, 47.
Gain:	12, 51.
Guiding:	30, 56, 58.
Justice:	13, 30, 34-35, 53.
<i>ὀρθός</i> :	4, 25, 47.
Lack of justice:	12-13, 48-49.
Love:	18-19, 36-37, 46, 50
Planning:	5, 14, 24.
Wealth:	7, 13, 17, 26, 52.
Wisdom:	7-9, 17, 24, 39, 51, 54.
Words:	2-4, 14-15, 19, 21, 38, 40-42, 56.
<i>ἦτορ</i> :	6.
<i>θυμός</i> :	15, 29, 39, 58.
<i>κῆαρ</i> :	29.
<i>νόος</i> :	35.

*Appendix Two*Descriptive Adjectives with *φρένες*

Passage	App. One	Adjective	Meaning
P., <i>Ol.</i> 2.57	A 13	ἀπάλαμνος	"helpless", "lawless" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.51	B 20	ἀταρβής	"fearless" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., <i>Nem.</i> 4.8	E 41	βαθύς	"deep" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., Fr. 61.4	B 24	βροτός	"mortal" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., Fr. 222.3	-	βροτός	"mortal" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 6.52	A 7	γλυκύς	"sweet" <i>φρήν</i> .
B. 11.124	C 34	δίκαιος	"just" <i>φρένες</i> .
B. 14.11	C 30	δίκαιος	"just" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 6.36	A 3	δονηθείς	"shaken", "disturbed" <i>φρήν</i> .
		(participle)	
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 2.57	B 17	ἐλεύθερος	"free", "liberal" <i>φρήν</i> .
B. 5.6	C 35	εὐθύδικος	"righteous-judging", "just" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 3.59	B 22	θνητός	"mortal" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Ol.</i> 8.61	A 10	κουφό-	"rather flimsy", "rather flighty",
		τερος	"rather fickle" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 4.109	C 33	λευκός	"white", "pale" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 2.26	B 18	μαινόμενος	"raging", "raving" <i>φρένες</i> .
		(participle)	
P., <i>Ol.</i> 2.90	B 15	μαλθακός	"soft", "gentle" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.91	A 4	ὀρθός	"upright", "straight" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Is.</i> 3.5	E 49	πλάγιος	"crooked", "wayward" <i>φρένες</i> .
B. Fr. 1.1	E 51	πυκινός	"wise" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pae.</i> 7b18	A 8	τυφλός	"blind" <i>φρένες</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.101	B 21	χθόνιος	"under the earth" <i>φρήν</i> .
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 4.139	A 12	ώκυτερος	"swifter to praise . . ." <i>φρένες</i> .

*Appendix Three*Item Related to *φρένες*A. *Items Acting on φρένες*

Passage	App. One	Item	Meaning
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.24	E 48	ἀμπλακίαι	"sins".
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 3.108	F 55	δαίμων	"divinity".
P., <i>Is.</i> 2.43	E 45	ἐλπίδες	"hopes".
B. Fr. 20B8	E 50	Κύπριδος ἐλπίς	"hope of love".
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 10.60	E 46	ἔρωτες	"desires".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 1.41	D 36	ἕμερος	"desire".
B. Fr. 1.1	F 57	κέρδος	"gain".

A Study of φρένες in Pindar and Bacchylides

189

P., <i>Pyth.</i> 1.12	E 42	κῆλα	"shafts of song".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.47	E 47	νέφος λάθας	"cloud of forgetfulness".
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 9.32	A 6	φόβος	"fear".
P., <i>Nem.</i> 3.39	E 44	φόβος	"fear".
B. 1.162	E 52	πλοῦτος	"wealth".

B. Items in or coming from φρένες

P., <i>Pyth.</i> 3.13	B 14	ἀμπλακίαι	"sins".
P., <i>Nem.</i> 1.27	A 5	βουλαί	"plans".
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 5.19	E 43	γέρας	"honour".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.8	A 2	καρπός	"fruit".
P., <i>Pyth.</i> 2.73	D 39	καρπός	"fruit".
P., <i>Nem.</i> 10.12	F 53	καρπός	"fruit".
P., <i>Is.</i> 3.2	B 26	κόρος	"greed".
P., <i>Pae.</i> 9.37	B 14	μήδεα	"counsels".
B. 5.6	C 35	μέριμναι	"cares".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 10.2	E 40	Ὀλυμπιονίκας	"name of Olympian victor".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 2.90	B 15	οἷστοί	"arrows".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.47	E 48	ὀρθὰ ὁδός	"straight road".
P., <i>Nem.</i> 4.8	E 41	ῥῆμα	"word".
P., <i>Nem.</i> 7.60	F 54	σύνεσις	"understanding".
P., <i>Ol.</i> 7.30	A 9	ταραχαί	"disturbances".