A Person's Relation to ψυχή in Homer, Hesiod, and the Greek Lyric Poets

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Section A: Homer

Analysis of the grammatical usage of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in Homer gives some information about how he viewed what was to become in later times a most important psychic entity 1). In Homer $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ does not function

^{*)} My thanks to the Canada Council for the Research Grant that allowed me to work on this article in Oxford.

¹⁾ This article will make only limited reference to the nature and function of ψυχή. Important studies of this subject include the following: E. Rohde, Psyche⁸, trans. W. B. Hillis (London 1925); E. Bickel, "Homerischer Seelenglaube", Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft 1 (1926) 211-343; P. Justesen, Les Principes Psychologiques d'Homère (Copenhagen 1928); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Heimkehr des Odysseus (Berlin 1927) 189-201; J. Burnet, "The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul", Essays and Addresses (London 1929) 126-162; J. Böhme, Die Seele und das Ich im homerischen Epos (Leipzig and Berlin 1929); M. Halbwachs, "La Représentation de l'Ame chez les Grecs", RMM 37 (1930) 493-534; F. Rüsche, Blut, Leben und Seele (Paderborn 1930); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen² (Berlin 1931, reprint 1955) 364-371; E. Benveniste, "Grec ψυχή", BSL 99 (1932) 165-168; W. Jaeger, The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers (Oxford 1947) 73-89; H. Nehring, "Homer's Description of Syncopes", CP 42 (1947) 106-121; E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1951); B. Meissner, Mythisches und Rationales in der Psychologie der euripideischen Tragödie (Diss., Göttingen 1951); O. Falsirol, "Anima alata e simbolismo dell'anima in Omero", SMSR 23 (1951-52) 102-116; B. Snell, The Discovery of the Mind, trans. T. G. Rosenmeyer (Oxford 1953); R. B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought² (Cambridge 1954) 93-122; D. J. Furley, "The Early History of the Concept of the Soul", BICS 3 (1956) 1-18; P. Vivante, "Sulle designazione Omeriche della realtà psichica". AGI 41 (1956) 113-138; E. L. Harrison, "Notes on Homeric Psychology", Phoenix 14 (1960) 63-80; O. Regenbogen, " $\triangle AIMONION \ \Psi YXH\Sigma \ \Phi \Omega \Sigma$ ", Kleine Schriften (Munich 1961) 1-28; W. F. Otto, Die Manen² (Darmstadt 1962); H. Fränkel, Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums² (Munich 1962); F. Krafft, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hesiod, Hypomnemata 6 (Göttingen 1963); L. Moulinier, "Psyche. Zum homerischen Seelenglauben", Universitas 21 (1966) 1077-1092; D. B. Claus, Psyche (Diss. Yale Univ. 1969); A. W. H. Adkins, From the Many to the One (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970) 13-26; J. Warden, "YYXH in Homeric Death-Descriptions", Phoenix 25 (1971) 95-103; M. C. Nussbaum, "\PYXH in Heraclitus I", Phronesis 17 (1972) 1-16; H. G. Ingenkamp, "Inneres Selbst und Lebensträger", RhM 118 (1975) 48-61. The general view adopted in this article is that ψυχή is the breath-soul of man that survives after death as a shade in Hades and that this meaning

as a psychic organ in man but seems simply to be the breath-soul endowing him with life. Only at the moment of death does $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ become prominent; once it has left the body it is active in its continued existence in the underworld. In life person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ are distinct; in death $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is the only part of man that survives. The following examination will treat all instances of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the genitive, dative, nominative, and accusative cases (both singular and plural) and discuss what these passages reveal about the relationship of person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. This picture remains somewhat limited because Homer mentions $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ only when death threatens.

I. Genitive

The genitive of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is not found very frequently in Homer. It occurs in the singular with the preposition $\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\varrho$ and in the singular and plural with $\pi\epsilon\varrho\ell^2$). The genitive is governed in three passages by the verb $\chi\dot{\alpha}\zeta\omega$: Diomedes or a $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\xi\sigma$ can deprive a man of his $\psi v \chi\dot{\eta}^3$). The genitive is found also with the noun $\dot{\delta}\lambda\epsilon\vartheta\varrho\sigma\varsigma$: the throat is the place where there is the swiftest $\dot{\delta}\lambda\epsilon\vartheta\varrho\sigma\varsigma$ $\psi v \chi \ddot{\eta}\varsigma$ (II. 22.235). Finally, the genitive occurs with the adjectives $\dot{d}v\tau\dot{\alpha}\xi\iota\sigma\varsigma$ and $\epsilon\dot{\delta}v\iota\varsigma$ (II. 9.401, Od. 9.523–524). These instances show that $\psi v \chi\dot{\eta}$ was seen as an object, something within man that could be fought for, removed, destroyed, or lost.

II. Dative

Like the genitive, the dative of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is seldom found in Homer and then only in the singular. In four passages of the *Odyssey* Odysseus enters Hades "using" $(\chi \varrho \dot{\alpha} o \mu a \iota)$ the $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ of Teiresias 4). In these passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is the object of the action of another person.

III. Nominative

In Homer $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ occurs quite frequently in the nominative case. First, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the singular is found in three passages with the passive of $\lambda \dot{v} \omega^5$). Second, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the singular and the plural occurs

is valid even for passages where $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ may be thought to have a more abstract sense of "life".

²) $\hat{v}\pi\hat{e}\varrho$: Π . 22.338; $\pi\epsilon\varrho\hat{\iota}$: Π . 22.161 and Od. 9.243 (singular); Od. 22.245 (plural).

³⁾ Π . 11. 334; Od. 21. 154; Od. 21. 171.

⁴⁾ Od. 10.492; 10.565; 11.165; 23.323.

⁵) Π . 5.296; Π . 8.123; Π . 8.315.

with several verbs in the active or middle voice. With the following verbs the activity of ψυχή as shade of the dead is described: singular: βαίνω (Od. 11.150), γιγνώσκω (Od. 11.471; Od. 24.102), ἔρχομαι⁶), ἴστημι (Π. 23.106), μαντεύω (Od. 23.251), ποτάομαι (Od. 11.222), προσφωνέω⁷), φοιτάω (Od. 11.538); plural: ἀγείρω (Od. 11.37), εἴργω (Π. 23.72), ἔρχομαι (Od. 10.530), ἴστημι (Od. 11.541), ναίω (Od. 24.14). With the following verbs the departure of ψυχή from the body is described, whether in a swoon or at death: singular: ἀμείβω (ἔρκος δδόντων: Π. 9.409), βαίνω (Π. 16.856; Π. 22.362), κατέρχομαι (Od. 10.560; Od. 11.65), λείπω⁸), οἴχομαι (τετριγυῖα: Π. 23.100), σεύω (Π. 14.518); plural: κατέρχομαι (Π. 7.330). Finally, ψυχή occurs with εἰμί when Achilles says that ψυχή is present in Hades and with εἰμί understood when Agenor says that in man there is one ψυχή which is said to be mortal (Π. 23.104; Π. 21.569).

The instances of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ with verbs in the middle or active voice show that it was an active agent, both as it departed in death and then in Hades. When $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is mentioned in relation to a living person, it either acts or is acted upon. At the moment of death $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ either leaves man and goes to Hades or is itself "loosed" $(\lambda \dot{v}\omega)$. After death $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ exists in Hades, having a ghost-like existence, while being a mere image, $\varepsilon i \delta \omega \lambda o v$, of the person in whom it had lived?). Generally the $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ in Hades have only a limited range of activity but they can acquire further powers if they drink blood 10). While still in the person $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ comes into prominence when a person faints (a death-like state) or when death is imminent; at these times the person has cause to fear the departure of his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$.

IV. Accusative

In Homer $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ appears frequently in the accusative case. In one instance the accusative is found with the proposition $\mu \varepsilon \tau \dot{\alpha}$ (Od. 11.564). In another, the $\mu \tilde{\eta} v \iota \zeta$ of Achilles casts ($\pi \varrho o \ddot{\iota} \dot{\alpha} \pi \tau \omega$) $\psi v \chi \alpha \dot{\iota}$ into Hades (Il. 1.3). In some passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$, signifying the shade of the dead, is the object of the action of a verb. With the following

⁶⁾ R. 9.408; R. 23.65; Od. 11.51, 11.84, 11.90, 11.387, 11.467, 24.20.

⁷⁾ Od. 24.23, 24.35, 24.105, 24.120, 24.191.

⁸⁾ Il. 5.696; Il. 16.453; Od. 14.134; Od. 14.426; Od. 18.91.

⁹) Π . 23.71–72; Π . 23.104; Od. 24.14. See also Od. 11.488–491 where Achilles describes the unenviable condition of the dead.

¹⁰) See Od. 11.98f. The $\psi\nu\chi\alpha i$ of Elpenor (Od. 11.51f.) and Patroclus (Il. 23.65f.) can speak and possess some feeling because their bodies, which make such functions possible, have not yet been burned.

In further instances of the accusative in Homer a person-affects his own $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ with the following verbs: singular: $\dot{\alpha}\pi o \nu a\pi \dot{\nu}\omega$, $\ddot{\alpha}o \nu \nu \mu a\iota$, $\delta i\delta \omega \mu \iota$, $\pi a \varrho a \beta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega^{14}$); plural: $\delta \lambda \lambda \nu \mu \iota$, $\pi a \varrho a \tau i \vartheta \eta \mu \iota^{15}$). These passages reveal that a person has some control over $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$: he can "breathe forth" (in a swoon), "win", "give up", "risk", "lose", or "hazard" $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. Once again $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ seems very much an object to be influenced. A person and his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ are distinct but he can affect the breath-soul within him.

V. Conclusion

The grammatical examination of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ suggests that Homer saw $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in basically two ways:

- (1) the object of some activity signified by a verb, the subject being a god, another person, the person himself, or, in one case, the $\mu\eta\eta\iota\varsigma$ of Achilles (accusative, genitive, and dative after a verb; cf. also genitive and accusative with a preposition and genitive with a noun or an adjective);
- (2) an active agent within man (at the time of fainting or of death) and in Hades (nominative).

When $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ leaves the body, it continues to exist in Hades, its range of activities limited to movement and perhaps some form of sound ¹⁶); if $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ drinks blood, this range of activities is extended. $\Psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ can then both act and be acted upon.

The picture Homer gives of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the living person is restricted since it is mentioned only when death threatens. At that time either

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¹¹) Respectively: Od. 11.205; Od. 24.15; Π. 23.221; Od. 11.141.

¹²) Respectively: Od. 11.385; Od. 24.1; Od. 24.100; Od. 11.567.

¹³) Respectively: Il. 22.257; Il. 24.754; Od. 22.444; Il. 16.505.

¹⁴) Respectively: Π . 22.467; Od. 1.5; Π . 5.654; Π . 11.445; Π . 16.625; Π . 9.322.

¹⁵) Π. 13.763; Π. 24.168; Od. 3.74; Od. 9.255.

¹⁶⁾ Ψυχή utters a thin cry as it enters Hades: τετριγυΐα (Π. 23.100).

 $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is affected by an outside influence, a god, another person, or the person himself or it can itself depart. The grammatical usage shows that in Homer $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ can be active in itself but that a person also exerts some control over this vital breath-soul.

Section B: Hesiod and the Greek Lyric Poets

In Homer $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is simply the breath-soul that keeps a person alive and continues to exist after death as a shade in Hades. In Hesiod it retains this meaning but in the lyric poets, while still having the Homeric meaning, it begins to act within man like a psychic organ such as $\varphi \varrho \dot{\eta} v$, $v \dot{\delta} o \zeta$, or $\vartheta v \mu \dot{\delta} \zeta$. Specifically $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ begins to absorb functions of emotion that in Homer were usually ascribed to other psychic entities. No longer is $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ mentioned only when death approaches. Now a person relates to $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ during his life. Consequently his relationship to $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is more complex in the lyric poets than it was in Homer 17).

An examination of the grammatical usage in Hesiod and the lyric poets sheds some light on this relationship of person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. Evidence for the lyric poets is fragmentary but is sufficient to allow analysis and some general conclusions. It may be useful, therefore, to examine all instances of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the singular and the plural that occur in Hesiod and the lyric poets ¹⁸).

I. Genitive

Infrequently is the genitive of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ found in Hesiod and the lyric poets. It occurs with the preposition $\pi \varepsilon \varrho i$: a race is run $\pi \varepsilon \varrho i$ $\psi v \chi \ddot{\eta} \varsigma$ (Hes., fr. 76.7). Similarly, it is $\psi v \chi \ddot{\eta} \varsigma$ $\varepsilon i v \varepsilon \kappa a$ that $\varphi \varrho o v \tau i \delta \varepsilon \varsigma$ are filled

¹⁷) For the nature and function of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in Hesiod and the lyric poets see above note 1: Rohde, Burnet, Meissner, Furley, Fränkel, Krafft, Claus, Adkins, and Ingenkamp. See also V. N. Jarcho, "Zum Menschenbild der nachhomerischen Dichtung", *Philologus* 112 (1968) 147–172.

¹⁸⁾ Fragments of the different poets are numbered according to the following editions: Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum, ed. F. Solmsen (Oxford 1970); Fragmenta Hesiodea, ed. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Oxford 1967); Anthologia Lyrica Graeca, ed. E. Diehl, fasc. 1 (Leipzig 1951), fasc. 3 (Leipzig 1952) = (D) [For poets not treated in West]; Iambi et Elegi Graeci, ed. M. L. West (Oxford 1971), 2 volumes = (W); Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1962); Supplementum Lyricis Graecis, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1974) = (S); Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta, ed. E. Lobel and D. L. Page (Oxford 1955) [For Sappho and Alcaeus]; 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). See also below note 27.

with care (Theog. 730). In three passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ appears as an objective genitive. Anacreon calls a $\pi a \bar{\imath} \zeta$ the charioteer of his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ (360). Solon speaks of the sea-farer as one who omits no $\varphi \epsilon \iota \delta \omega \lambda \dot{\eta} v \ \psi v \chi \bar{\eta} \zeta$ (13.14). Likewise, Tyrtaeus tells his men not to spare $(\varphi \epsilon \iota \delta o \mu a \iota)$ their $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ (10.14). Finally, one instance of the genitive is subjective: in Simonides men put their trust in the $\epsilon \ddot{v} \tau o \lambda \mu o v \ / \psi v \chi \bar{\eta} \zeta \lambda \bar{\eta} \mu a$ (107b2 [D]). These passages reveal that $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ was an object open to outside influences and also an active agent whose behaviour could affect a person's fate.

II. Dative

The dative of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ does not occur in Hesiod and is found infrequently in the lyric poets. First, the dative occurs after three prepositions. Cassandra accompanies the $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ of Agamemnon ($\sigma \dot{v} v \psi v \chi \ddot{q}$: Pind., Pyth. 11.21). Odysseus is urged not to shoot his arrows at $(\dot{\epsilon}\pi i)$ the $\psi v \chi a i$ of the dead (Bacch. 5.83). Theognis says that there is nothing $\delta o \dot{v} \lambda \iota o v$ in $(\dot{\epsilon} v)$ his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ (530). This last passage shows that $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ has become a location of certain moral qualities in man.

Second, in two instances the dative follows the verb. Semonides urges a person to give delight ($\chi a \varrho i \zeta o \mu a \iota$) to his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ (29.12–13). Simonides asks disease ($vo\tilde{v}\sigma o \varsigma$) why she begrudges ($\mu \epsilon \gamma a i \varrho \omega$) $\psi v \chi a i$ to remain in lovely youth (130.1–2 [D]).

In one passage the dative of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ seems to be one of means: Simonides says that certain men rescued Hellas $\tau a \tilde{\iota} \zeta$ $a \dot{v} \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ $\psi v \chi a \tilde{\iota} \zeta$ (95.2 [D]). In another, the dative appears to be one of description: Bacchylides speaks of a maiden who goes to the temenos of the goddess $\pi a \varrho \vartheta \varepsilon v \dot{\iota} \varphi$ $\psi v \chi \tilde{\varphi}$ (11.48).

In the remaining passages where the dative of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ occurs, it appears to be a locative and/or comitative-instrumental dative. In an ode of Pindar Apollo says that he will no longer endure $\psi v \chi \tilde{q}$ that his offspring be destroyed (Pyth. 3.41). Pindar also says that few men are $\psi v \chi \tilde{q}$ dovarol (Nem. 9.37-39). Similarly he writes that Hieron endured battle $\tau \lambda \dot{a}\mu ov \iota \psi v \chi \tilde{q}$ (Pyth. 1.48). In these passages a person acts in, by, or with $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. Person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ act in harmony, coöperating in some activity. This relationship of person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ does not occur in Homer; it shows that $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is becoming important in the lyric poets as a psychic entity in the living person.

III. Nominative and Vocative

The nominative too is not found very often in Hesiod and the lyric poets. Hesiod says that the $\psi \nu \chi \dot{\eta}$ of sea-farers is equal to

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χρήματα (W&D. 686). In one fragment Hesiod says ψυχή οἴη καταλείπε[ται (fr. 204.139). In another, ψυχαί (in the accusative) is the subject of the infinitive ὀλέσθαι (fr. 204.99–100). In two passages ψυχή refers to the shade of the dead: the ψυχή of Meleager προφάνη before Heracles and also προσέφα (Bacch. 5.77, 5.171).

In two passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$, while still in a living being, is subject of a verb in the active or middle voice. Meleager says that his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ $\mu l \nu v \vartheta \varepsilon v$, "grew less", as death approached (Bacch. 5.151). In one fragment Xenophanes makes an ironic reference to the Pythagorean belief in the transmigration of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$: Pythagoras recognises in a dog's barking the cry of a friend's $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ ($\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$, $\tau \dot{\eta} v \, \dot{\varepsilon} \gamma v \omega v \, \psi \vartheta \varepsilon \gamma \dot{\varepsilon} a - \mu \dot{\varepsilon} v \eta \varsigma \, \dot{\alpha} t \omega v$). Here $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ appears capable of speech.

These instances of the nominative show that $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is active in Hades, just as it was in Homer. Only two passages mention the activity of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in a living being: it can "grow less" or "speak". Homer several times describes the active departure of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ at the time of death; Hesiod and the lyric poets do not. In this respect, the active nature of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is far less pronounced in these poets than it was in Homer.

There is one instance of the vocative in the lyric poets: Pindar bids his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ not to strive for immortal life but to exhaust the practicable $\mu a \chi a v \dot{\alpha}^{20}$). $\Psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is capable of expressing desires and aspirations that are beyond man's reach; by its nature $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ can survive after man dies but it cannot achieve immortal life while still in man. Pindar here addresses $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the same way that he addresses $\varphi \varrho \dot{\eta} v$ and $\vartheta v \mu \dot{\sigma} \zeta$ in other odes ²¹). In this passage $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ seems to be an independent agent acting within man which can seriously affect his behaviour. This passage also suggests a possible opposition between person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$.

IV. Accusative

The accusative of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ occurs only as the subject of an infinitive in Hesiod (see above, nominative) but is by far the most frequent occurrence of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the lyric poets. First, the accusative is found with the preposition $\pi \varepsilon \rho i$: Aeson rejoices $\pi \varepsilon \rho i$ $\psi v \chi \dot{\alpha} v$ (Pind., Pyth. 4.122). Second, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ occurs in an accusative of respect in two passages. Theognis is bitten with grief $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta} v$ (910). Heracles is

¹⁹) Xenophanes B7 (Diels-Kranz) = 784 (W).

²⁰⁾ Pind., Pyth., 3.61. Cf. the vocative of ψυχή in Adesp. eleg. 28.3.

²¹) Pind., Pae., 4.50; Ol. 2.89; Nem. 3.26; fr. 123.1; fr. 127.4.

ψυχὰν ἄκαμπτος (Pind., Is. 4.53b). These passages show that ψυχή has become a location of emotion and courage. Ψυχή may also contribute to the grief Theognis feels.

In some passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is the object of an action of an influence or agent other than the person possessing it. In five of these passages $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is the shade of the dead person. First, singular. Pindar cannot bring back $(\kappa o \mu i \zeta \omega)$ the $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ of Megas (Nem. 8.44). Phrixus asks Pelias to bring back $(\kappa o \mu i \zeta \omega)$ his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ (Pind., Pyth. 4.159). Second, plural. Gates restrain $(\epsilon i \varrho \gamma \omega)$ the $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ of the dead (Theog. 710). Heracles knows $(\delta a \tilde{\eta} v a \iota)$ the $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ in Hades (Bacch. 5.64). Persephone gives back $(\dot{a} v a \delta i \delta \omega \mu \iota)$ $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ in the ninth year (Pind., fr. 133.3). Finally, in one other passage $\chi \varrho \dot{\sigma} v o \varsigma$ breathes forth the $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$ of snakes (Pind., Nem. 1.47).

In all other instances where $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ appears as the object of an action, a person affects his own $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. First, singular. In four passages a person gives up his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in death. One "loses" $(\delta \lambda \lambda v \mu \iota)$, "breathes forth" $(\dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \nu \epsilon \omega)$, "leaves behind" $(\dot{\alpha} \pi \sigma \lambda \epsilon i \pi \omega)$, or "brings to an end" $(\tau \epsilon \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega) \psi v \chi \dot{\eta}^{22}$). Hipponax says that he will give $(\delta l \delta \omega \mu \iota)$ his $\pi \sigma \lambda \dot{\nu} \sigma \tau \sigma v v \psi v \chi \dot{\eta} v$ to $\nu \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha}$ (39). Tyrtaeus asks each man to furnish $(\tau \dot{\iota} \partial \eta \mu \iota, \pi \alpha \varrho \alpha \tau \dot{\iota} \partial \eta \mu \iota)$ a $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ that is $\dot{\epsilon} \chi \partial \varrho \dot{\alpha}$ or $\tau \lambda \dot{\eta} \mu \omega v$ (11.5; 12.18). Pindar speaks of a man who $\partial \epsilon \varrho \alpha \pi \epsilon \dot{\nu} \epsilon \iota$ his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}^{23}$). Pindar likewise speaks of those who have dared to keep $(\ddot{\epsilon} \chi \omega)$ their $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ from injustice (Ol. 2.70). Second, plural. Archilochus says that sea-farers hold $(\ddot{\epsilon} \chi \omega)$ their $\psi v \chi \alpha \iota$ in the arms of the waves ²⁴). Pindar mentions men of the house of Chromius who have $(\ddot{\epsilon} \chi \omega) \psi v \chi \alpha \iota$ greater than their $\nu \tau \dot{\epsilon} \alpha v \alpha$ (Nem. 9.32).

Respectively: Theog. 568; Sim. 553.2; Pind., Pyth. 3.102; Pind., Is.
1.68. Cf. Ol. 8.39 where snakes "cast out" (βάλλω) their ψυγαί.

²³) Pind., fr. 123.9. I accept here the emendation of Schneider of ψυχάν for ψυχάν. See a discussion of this fragment in B. A. van Groningen, *Pindare au Banquet* (Leyde 1960) 51–83 and in E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974) 146–148, 223–227.

²⁴⁾ Arch. 213. In fr. 5.3 West reads: αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. An alternate reading of ψυχὴν δ' ἐξεσάωσα is found in Aristophanes, Peace 1301. M. Platnauer in his text of the Peace (Oxford 1964) suggests that Aristophanes has distorted the passage to suit Attic usage in the fifth century; the apparent παρὰ προσδοκίαν of the line would suit a twist of Archilochus by Aristophanes. In Attic σώζειν ψυχήν implies cowardice (cf. φιλοψυχέω). If Archilochus did use this expression, it would seem to have the same connotation. Archilochus then would stand in contrast to Tyrtaeus in his urgings for men not to spare their ψυχαί (10–12). See also D. E. Gerber, Euterpe (Amsterdam 1970) 16. In terms of grammatical usage, this passage would illustrate another instance where a person exerts control over ψυχή.

In all these passages a person exercises some control over $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$, from which he nonetheless remains distinct. Man can surrender his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in death, give up his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ to pleasure 25) or grief, or show forth a $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ of a particular nature ($\dot{\epsilon} \chi \vartheta \varrho \dot{\alpha}$ or $\tau \lambda \dot{\eta} \mu \omega v$). He can keep his $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ from excessive attachment to $\kappa \tau \dot{\epsilon} \alpha v \alpha$. He can take care of this $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ ($\vartheta \epsilon \varrho \alpha \pi \epsilon \dot{\nu} \omega$) or he can risk it ($o\dot{v} \varphi \epsilon \dot{l} \delta o \mu \alpha \iota$). The control a person has over $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ seems greater than it was in Homer, especially since man can influence $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ not merely at the time of death but also during his life 27).

V. Conclusion

This examination of the grammatical usage suggests that Hesiod and the lyric poets viewed $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the following ways:

- (1) as the object of some activity signified by a verb. The subject may be an outside influence, another person, or the person himself (accusative, genitive, and dative after a verb, nominative in the passive voice, objective genitive; cf. prepositions $\pi \varepsilon \varrho \ell$ and $\varepsilon \ell \nu \varepsilon \nu \omega$ with the genitive, $\varepsilon n \ell$ and $\sigma \ell \nu \nu$ with the dative).
- (2) as an active agent either in Hades or in the person himself (nominative, vocative, subjective genitive).
- (3) as a location, instrument, or accompaniment in, by, or with which a person acts. $\Psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ itself may also take part in the person's activities (locative dative, comitative-instrumental dative, dative of means, dative of manner, accusative of respect; cf. $\dot{\epsilon}v$ with the dative and $\pi \epsilon \rho \dot{\ell}$ with the accusative).

In the limited picture given in Homer, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ emerges in principally two ways: as an object open to the action of an outside influence, a god, another person, or the person himself and as an active agent both in the person at the time of his death in Hades. The picture of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in Hesiod and the lyric poets differs to some degree.

First, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is rarely said to be active in man. In place of the descriptions of the active departure of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in death, these poets speak of persons giving up their $\psi v \chi a \dot{\iota}$. The one instance of the vocative, however, suggests not only the independent activity of

²⁵⁾ See above, dative: Sem. 29.13.

²⁶) See above, genitive: Tyrt. 10.14.

²⁷) The following fragments are not included in the above notes because they are too fragmentary or the context is not clear: Sapph. 15 a.7; Sapph. 62.8; Alc. 117b (F 3[b]34); Pind., fr. 140a55; Adesp. 921b4 10; Adesp. S 418.5; Adesp. Pap. Ox. 2327 fr. 1.1.

ψυχή within man but also a possible opposition between person and $ψυχή^{28}$).

Second, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ begins to act as a location, instrument, or accompaniment in, by, or with which a person acts. This new characteristic of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ suggests a new cooperation between person and $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ during its stay in the living person. $\Psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ is becoming more clearly a psychic entity within man. A person remains distinct from $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ but acts in harmony with it.

Third, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ remains, as in Homer, an object open to various outside influences (especially as a shade of the dead). Likewise, as in Homer, it is open to the influence of the person himself but in the lyric poets this influence is increased. A person exercises control over $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ both during his life and at death.

The examination of the grammatical usage in Hesiod and the lyric poets reveals to what degree a person's relation to $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ remains the same as it was in Homer and how it changes. It shows first that Hesiod closely reflects Homeric usage. Second, it reveals that $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in the lyric poets acquires a more prominent role within the living person. Finally, it shows that a person in the lyric poets exercises greater control over $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$, a breath-soul that is rapidly becoming a psychic entity.

Die Rolle der irrealen Bedingungssätze in der Geschichte des griechischen Denkens

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Die Archäologie des Thukydides, eines der eindrucksvollsten Zeugnisse aufgeklärten wissenschaftlichen Denkens aus dem 5.Jh., weist in den Kapiteln 9–11 eine auffällige Häufung irrealer Bedingungssätze auf, die jeweils der Begründung einer Aussage dienen. Die Erscheinung steht keineswegs isoliert, da es auch in anderen Teilen des thukydideischen Geschichtswerks, speziell in den Reden, Irrealsätze in gleicher Funktion gibt, aber die Beispiele aus der Archäologie sind besonders repräsentativ.

²⁸) Cf. also the one instance of the subjective genitive (Sim. 107B2[D]) which suggests the activity of $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ in man.