

# AN ECHO OF HOMER IN PINDAR, *PYTHIAN* 4\*

SHIRLEY DARCUS

*University of British Columbia*

πεύθομαι γάρ νιν Πελίαν ἄθεμιν λευ-  
καῖς πιθήσαντα φρασίν  
ἀμετέρων ἀποσυλᾶσαι βιαίως ἀρχεδικᾶν τοκέων·  
τοί μ', ἐπεὶ πάμπρωτον εἶδον φέγγος, ὑπερφιάλου  
ἀγεμόνος δείσαντες ὕβριν . . .

(*Pyth.* 4.109–12).

## I. THE PROBLEM

These lines of Pindar have long intrigued scholars.<sup>1</sup> One problem is especially puzzling: why in line 109 Pindar apparently echoes a line

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

<sup>1</sup> The scholarly works important for this paper are:

- I. T. Maguire, "On Some Passages in Pindar," *Hermathena* 3 (1879) 374–86.
- II. J. P. Postgate, "Persius III.43," *CR* 3 (1889) 275.
- III. H. Schultz, *De Elocutionis Pindaricae Colore Epico* (Diss., Göttingen 1905).
- IV. F. Hartmann, "Λευκαῖς φρασί Pind. *Pyth.* 4.109," *ZVS* 60 (1933) 223.
- V. W. B. Stanford, "Pelias and His Pallid Wits," *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood, Phoenix Suppl. Vol. 1* (Toronto 1952) 42–45.
- VI. R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge 1954<sup>2</sup>).
- VII. R. W. B. Burton, *Pindar's Pythian Odes* (Oxford 1962).
- VIII. G. Reiter, *Der griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiss, Grau und Braun* (Innsbruck 1962).
- IX. C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964).
- X. B. Forssman, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache Pindars* (Wiesbaden 1966).
- XI. J. Duchemin, *Pindare Pythiques (III, IX, IV, V)* (Paris 1967).
- XII. E. Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974).

The following editions, which offer possible explanations of *leukai phrenes*, were consulted: Beck (1792), Heyne (1807), Boeckh (1821); Hermann (1827); Dissen (1830); Donaldson (1841); Cookesley (1850); Schneidewin (1865); Fennel (1879); Mezger (1880); Seymour (1882); Gildersleeve (1890<sup>2</sup>); Christ (1906); Sandys (1915); Schroeder (1922); Coppola (1931); Farnell (1932); Turyn (1948); Puech (1966). For full bibliographical information on these editions see D. E. Gerber, *A Bibliography of Pindar, 1513–1966* (Cleveland 1969) or M. Rico, *Ensayo de Bibliografía Pindarica* (Madrid 1969).

of Homer which says of Agamemnon: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας (*Il.* 9.119). Agreeing with scholars who consider this echo deliberate, this paper will offer a possible explanation for it.<sup>2</sup>

The suggested explanation is as follows. Pindar reminds his readers of the passage in Homer to point out a similarity in two situations. Agamemnon trusts *leugaleoi phrenes*; Pelias trusts *leukai phrenes*. Further, in these situations each man is influenced by what the Greeks regarded as an affliction: Agamemnon by *atê*, Pelias by *hybris*.

These were considered to be related afflictions but that is not to say that Agamemnon and Pelias are closely similar individuals. Though they love *kerdos* (see below) and can act violently, the two are in most respects conspicuously different both generally and in these two situations. When struck with *atê*, Agamemnon has *phrenes* that blacken. In contrast, under the influence of *hybris*, Pelias has *phrenes* that do not blacken. Neither *atê* nor *hybris* in itself has colour, nor, on present evidence, does either consistently cause a specific colour of *phrenes*. But in several passages *phrenes* themselves differ in colour. In the two passages discussed, the *phrenes* of Agamemnon and Pelias are dissimilar in colour, despite the similarity of *atê* and *hybris*, the two afflictions which affect them.

Both Pelias and Agamemnon "place trust" in their *phrenes*. Only in these two instances does this occur. No one does this in Hesiod, the lyric poets, Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, or the Greek tragedians. For this reason the parallel here seems conspicuous and therefore deliberate.<sup>3</sup> Since Homer was the best known of early poets and known almost by heart to literate Greeks, Pindar could expect them to catch even faint echoes—such as the implicit comparison here between the trusting of *leugaleoi phrenes* by Agamemnon and of *leukai phrenes* by Pelias.

<sup>2</sup> The echo of Homer in Pindar has been frequently recognised: see, e.g., Hermann (1827); Donaldson (1841); Sandys (1915); Schroeder (1922); Farnell (1932); Stanford (note 1.V); Burton (note 1.VII); Forssman (note 1.X); Irwin (note 1.XII).

<sup>3</sup> Pindar mentions Homer four times in his extant poems: *Pyth.* 4.277; *Nem.* 7.21; *Is.* 4.37; *Paeon* 7b.11. For the influence of Homer upon Pindar see: E. Fitch, "Pindar and Homer," *CP* 19 (1924) 57–65; R. Mehmél, "Homer und die Griechen," *A & A* 4 (1954) 16–41.

But are Agamemnon and Pelias themselves alike because their *phrenes* are? Examination of elements in the two passages suggests otherwise.

First *leukai phrenes*. This expression of Pindar's is found nowhere else in the poets of the Archaic Age.<sup>4</sup> Nor does it occur in Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, or the Greek tragedians. No one mentions white *phrenes*, but "black *phrenes*" are well attested and may by contrast help reveal the nature of those that are white.

## II. BLACK *PHRENES* FROM HOMER TO PINDAR

Homer mentions black (*μέλαιναι*) *phrenes* in five passages.<sup>5</sup> These are covered around by *ἄχος*; they are filled with *σθένος* and *ἀλκή*, *θάρσος*, or *μένος*.

References to a black *phrên* are found also in Aeschylus and pseudo-Solon.<sup>6</sup> The chorus in the *Persae* say that their *μελαγχίτων φρήν* is "torn with fear" (115). Clytemnestra in the *Eumenides* is *κελαινόφρων*.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in a scolion assigned to Solon, although of a later date, a tongue speaks from a *μελαίνας φρενός*.<sup>8</sup>

What are *melainai phrenes*? First, *phrenes* themselves can be identified with the diaphragm, with the lungs, or, as in this paper, with "psychic organs." These last, situated generally in the chest region, are both locations of and participants in emotional, intellectual, and volitional activities.<sup>9</sup>

Second, what does the epithet "black" indicate? In the few passages

<sup>4</sup> Other instances of *leukos* in Pindar do not help to elucidate this passage since these are never associated with any psychic organ. See W. J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) s.v. and Stanford (note 1.V) 42.

<sup>5</sup> Il. 1.103; 17.83; 17.499; 17.573; Od. 4.661.

<sup>6</sup> For a treatment of these passages see Irwin (note 1.XII) 152-53.

<sup>7</sup> 459-60. Cf. also Ag. 546 and Choe. 158 where there is mention of an *ἀμαυρὰς φρένος*. For black organs in Aeschylus see D. Sansone, *Aeschylean Metaphors for Intellectual Activity* (Wiesbaden 1975). See also F. Kudlien, "'Schwärzliche' Organe im frühgriechischen Denken," *Medizin-historisches Journal* 8 (1973) 53-58.

<sup>8</sup> Scol. Anon. 32.4.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of *phrên*, see especially Onians (note 1.VI) 23-40; Irwin (note 1.XII) 148-51; and S. Ireland and F. Steel, "*Φρένες* as an Anatomical Organ in the Works of Homer," *Glotta* 53 (1975) 183-94. I have treated *phrên* in two forthcoming articles, one in *Phronesis*, the other in *L'Antiquité classique*.

where *phrenes* are called "black," they appear to be in an unusual state.<sup>10</sup> Further in the five passages of Homer this unusual state involves a "filling" or "covering" of the *phrenes* by emotion. Grief, strength, courage, boldness, or rage fill the *phrenes*, which then blacken. Perhaps the blackening results from blood surging into the *phrenes*.<sup>11</sup> "Black" thus describes *phrenes* in a special emotional condition.

### III. WHITE PHRENES IN PINDAR

Since the phrase *leukai phrenes* occurs only in *Pyth.* 4, such *phrenes* were probably unusual.<sup>12</sup> Unlike passages mentioning black *phrenes*, Pindar's omits any "filling" or "covering" of *phrenes* and also omits reference to emotions affecting them. Perhaps, then, in contrast to black *phrenes*, white *phrenes* are those unresponsive to emotions: no blood rushes in to darken them.<sup>13</sup> They remain anaemic and unresponsive.

Do unresponsive *phrenes* suit Pelias or is there another reason that

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Lfgre* s.v. ἀμφιμέλαινα(α), Irwin (note 1.XII) 136, and Sansone (note 7) 76-77. See also F. Combellack, "Agamemnon's Black Heart," *GB* 4 (1975) 81-87, who argues convincingly that "black" is not a stock epithet for *phrenes* but one chosen deliberately to describe *phrenes* affected by emotion.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Aesch. *Persae* 115-16 (mentioned above) where *phrên* is blackened by fear. Note too that in *Suppl.* 785 *kardia* affected by fear is called κελαινόχρως. See Irwin (note 1.XII) 138-51 and Sansone (note 7) 76-77. Irwin rightly rejects the view of Onians (note 1.VI) 23-40, that *melainai phrenes* are simply normal and healthy *phrenes*, *leukai* unhealthy or abnormal *phrenes*. Both white and black *phrenes* appear to be in an unusual condition.

<sup>12</sup> See above, page 95.

<sup>13</sup> This is Irwin's suggestion. Many explanations of *leukai phrenes* have been offered. The scholion to the passage suggests a contrast between these white *phrenes* that are "on the surface" and black *phrenes* in Homer that are deep within. Hesychius (followed by Photius and the *Suda*) gives what appear to be guesses: *μαινόμεναι*, *λαμπραί*, *ἀγαθαί*, *ἡμέροι*. None of these seems to fit Pelias' *phrenes*.

Some modern interpretations are as follows:

1. "Envious:" Hermann (1827); Dissen (1830); Gildersleeve (1890<sup>2</sup>); Sandys (1915) as one possibility.
2. Connected with *λύσσα*: Fennell (1879); Mezger (1880); Sandys (1915) as one possibility; Boisacq (1950); Frisk (1960); P. Chantraine, *DÉLG* (Paris 1968) 633.
3. "Fierce," "spirited" (*θυμοειδής*): Boeckh (1821); Donaldson (1841); Schultz (note 1.III).
4. "Careless," "reckless:" Seymour (1882); Christ (1906).
5. Related to *λενγός*: Coppola (1931); Farnell (1932).
6. "Cowardly:" Bowra (note 1.IX).
7. "Bad:" J. Palm, "Zu Pindar Ol. 1," *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4 (1962) 4-6.

his *phrenes* are white, such as age? Though white *phrenes* suit an aged Pelias (the "grey man"),<sup>14</sup> his *phrenes* have long been white: Jason was only a child when Pelias, trusting these *phrenes*, acted unjustly.<sup>15</sup>

Thus it must be the character of Pelias that gives him, in Pindar's view, white *phrenes*. He had such *phrenes* before and may still have them now. But all we can infer is that Pindar wishes to call attention to the anomalous white *phrenes* of Pelias and, by so doing, to suggest that these are somehow appropriate to him.

Details given in *Pythian* 4 about Pelias suggest that *phrenes* unresponsive to emotion (= white *phrenes*) suit him. He was a coward in declining the challenge to bring back the *psychê* of Phemius.<sup>16</sup> Instead of disputing the kingship with Jason, Pelias sends him on the dangerous journey for the fleece, apparently hoping that Jason will perish in the attempt. Pelias' behaviour is cowardly.<sup>17</sup> He apparently does not respond to courage and boldness, two emotions that in Homer blacken *phrenes*.

But a problem arises with this interpretation of Pelias' white *phrenes*. While trusting these, he violently robbed (*ἀποσπλᾶσαι βιαίως*) Jason's parents. Is such a violent action compatible with *phrenes* which are unresponsive to emotions?<sup>18</sup> In my view Pelias was capable of violent but unemotional action. His *phrenes* were unresponsive to emotion. They could calmly devise a plan for seizing power.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Stanford (note 1.V) who connects the phrase *leukai phrenes* with a poetic image that he believes runs through *Pythian* 4, namely a contrast between the aged Pelias (*πολιός*: the "grey man") and the young Jason (See *Pyth.* 4.81, 82, and 87).

<sup>15</sup> *Pyth.* 4.109–12 (quoted on page 93).

<sup>16</sup> *Pyth.* 4.159–64.

<sup>17</sup> *Leukos* itself in the fifth century is found with the pejorative sense of "effeminate:" Arist. *Thesm.* 191; *Eccles.* 428; *Frogs* 1092; Eur. *Bacch.* 457–58. So too G. Méautis, *Pindare le Dorien* (Paris 1962) 236–37. But it is not clear whether *leukos* has this meaning earlier in the century. See Irwin (note 1.XII) 151. Bowra (note 1.IX) interprets *leukos* in Pindar as "cowardly."

<sup>18</sup> The violent action of Pelias has apparently led some scholars to connect *leukos* with *lussa* (see note 13.2) or to equate it with *θυμοειδής* (see note 13.3). This paper argues that *leukos* means "white," explaining the phrase *leukai phrenes* in light of its opposite, *melainai phrenes*.

<sup>19</sup> For the deliberative function of *phrenes* see my article, "Noos Precedes Phren in Greek Lyric Poetry," to appear in *AC* (1977). Note that Pelias has a *pukinos thumos* (73). This is the only instance in Homer, Hesiod, or the lyric poets where *thumos* is called *pukinos*. The epithet is apparently more apt of *phrenes*. There are 5 instances

Pelias trusted them. Hence the juxtaposition in Pindar of trusting white *phrenes* and of violent action.

So much, therefore, can be said about Pelias' white *phrenes* by contrasting them with black *phrenes*. Does *Pythian* 4 give further evidence about these *phrenes* of Pelias? Jason's speeches (109-19, 138-55) do. In his first speech (partly quoted above) Jason says that his parents feared the *hybris* of Pelias (111-12). Here Pelias has white *phrenes* and *hybris*.

In his second speech Jason says:

ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι  
κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον τρα-  
χεῖαν ἐρπόντων πρὸς ἐπιβδαν ὅμως  
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρὴ καὶ σὲ θεμισσαμένους ὀρ-  
γὰς ὑφαίνειν λοιπὸν ὄλβον.  
εἰδότει τοι ἐρέω· (139-42)

"Mortal *phrenes* are too quick to praise *dolion kerdos* at the expense of justice." The statement is general but refers specifically to Pelias: εἰδότει τοι ἐρέω. Moreover, the details Jason gives about Pelias' activities fit well with this general statement about mortal *phrenes*. In the past Pelias was guilty of two things: injustice and excessive desire for wealth. He was *athemis* when he became king and he acquired much wealth (110, 148-50). But Jason sees a future based on justice, not on greed: he and Pelias are to "rule their *orgas* by the law of right" (θεμισσαμένους, 141).

#### IV. HYBRIS AND KERDOS

In his first speech Jason connects *hybris* and injustice; in his second, *kerdos* and injustice. In relating these terms Pindar echoes other early Greek poets. In Hesiod *hybris* is opposite to justice; Theognis and Bacchylides go further in saying that it destroys justice.<sup>20</sup>

In his second speech Jason connects *dolion kerdos* with injustice. He thus identifies the source of Pelias' evil actions: *dolion kerdos*. Both

of *pukinai phrenes* in these authors: *Il.* 14.294; *H. Ven.* 38, 243, Theognis 1388; Bacch. fr. 1.1 (singular). *Pukinophron* is found in *H. Merc.* 583 and Hes. fr. 253.1 (*M-W*); *pukinothumos* is not found. Even Pelias' *thumos* seems more intellectual than emotional, though he conceals fear there (96-97).

<sup>20</sup> Hesiod, *Erga* 213, 217-18; Theognis 291-92; Bacch. 13.44. Cf. Arch. fr. 177 West where the *hybris* and *dikē* of animals are called a care to Zeus.

Simonides and Bacchylides say that *kerdos* can do violence.<sup>21</sup> In Pindar, shameful *kerdea* can deceive.<sup>22</sup> *Kerdos* can also cause the concealment of *aidôs*.<sup>23</sup>

But Pelias (if Jason does refer to him) appears to choose *dolion kerdos*. To be sure, in other passages Pindar reveals that he did not consider all *kerdos* evil but did believe that it could be dangerous.<sup>24</sup> In Pindar's view a measure of *kerdea* must be sought.<sup>25</sup> *Kerdos* is *philtaton* if bestowed willingly.<sup>26</sup>

The two speeches of Jason, therefore, by inter-relating the three elements of injustice, *hybris*, and *kerdos* may reveal more about Pelias' white *phrenes*. They are associated with overweening pride arising from an unjust greed for wealth.<sup>27</sup>

## V. BANEFUL PHRENES

What of Agamemnon's *leugaleoi* ("baneful") *phrenes*? Trusting these, Agamemnon was carried away by *atê*: in anger with Achilles he stole Briseis, prompting Achilles to call the *phrenes* of Agamemnon *oloiai* (*Il.* 1.342).

Possible evidence on the colour of these *leugaleoi phrenes* is found in *Iliad* 1.102-04 where Homer describes Agamemnon's *phrenes* as he first became angry with Achilles:

ἦρως Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
ἀχνύμενος· μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναί  
πίπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἔϊκτεν·

<sup>21</sup> Simonides 541.8-9 PMG; Bacch. fr. 1 (Snell-Maehler). Cf. also Pindar, *Nem.* 7.17-18 and *Pyth.* 3.54 where the relation of wisdom and *kerdos* is mentioned. In Hesiod, *Erga* 321-26, the danger of *olbos* seized *βίη* is described.

<sup>22</sup> *Nem.* 9.32-34.

<sup>23</sup> *Pyth.* 1.92. Note that *kerdos* has the same effect as family enmity, namely the loss of a "sense of honour" (*aidôs*) which Jason tells Pelias they must avoid (145-46).

<sup>24</sup> In *Pyth.* 8.13-14 and *Is.* 1.51 *kerdos* is positive. In *Nem.* 7.17-18 *kerdos* does not harm *sophoi* but in *Pyth.* 3.54, since *sophia* "is bound" to *kerdos*, it caused the downfall of Asclepius. See also notes 22 and 23.

<sup>25</sup> *Nem.* 11.47. Compare Solon's distinction in his poem to the Muses between just and unjust wealth (fr. 13 West), although at the end of that poem he calls all *kerdea* dangerous.

<sup>26</sup> *Pyth.* 8.13-14. On *kerdos* see also K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford 1974) 170-75.

<sup>27</sup> We can compare several other passages in the early Greek poets which describe the dangerous sequence: *ploutos-koros-hybris-atê*. Pelias "fattened his wealth" (*ploutos*, 150) and was guilty of *hybris* (110). See also below, notes 32-34.

His *phrenes* were black! It is these *phrenes* that Agamemnon refers to when he says in *Iliad* 9.119: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας.<sup>28</sup> Here then, in this line echoed by Pindar, *leugaleos* does not mean "white," but rather describes *phrenes* which were already said in the earlier passage to be blackened with anger. *Leugaleos* then presumably refers to *phrenes* strongly influenced by emotion. Consequently *leukos* in Pindar's line echoes *leugaleos* in sound but not in sense since *leugaleos* refers to *phrenes* quite different from the *leukai phrenes* which are unresponsive to emotion.<sup>29</sup>

Nonetheless, though the *leugaleoi phrenes* of Agamemnon may be opposite in colour to those of Pelias, both men's *phrenes* appear to have in common an excessive attachment to *kerdos*. Achilles accuses Agamemnon of being mastered by greed, even describing him as *kerdaleophron* just before he takes Briseis.<sup>30</sup>

Besides the similarity in Agamemnon's and Pelias' eagerness for *kerdos*, I suggest that they are further alike in their related afflictions, Agamemnon stricken by *atê*, Pelias by *hybris*.

## VI. ATE AND HYBRIS

In Pindar and his predecessors *atê* and *hybris* were closely related.<sup>31</sup> Hesiod says that *hybris* can lead to *atê*.<sup>32</sup> Solon agrees that men who pursue wealth because of *hybris* are struck with *atê*.<sup>33</sup> Causes of *atê* and *hybris* can be similar: *koros* or *kerdos*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Note that in *Il.* 19.137 Agamemnon says that he was overcome with *atê* and Zeus removed his *phrenes*: Achilles describes him in the same way in *Il.* 9.377. Perhaps the blackening of *phrenes* by emotion prevents their usual function. Cf. also *Il.* 16.805; *Od.* 15.233, 21.297, and 21.301-02 where *phrenes* are affected by *atê*.

<sup>29</sup> See below for a possible explanation of why the echo in the epithet lies in the sound, not the sense.

<sup>30</sup> *Il.* 1.149. See also *Il.* 1.149-71; 222-44; and 9.330-33. *Kerdaleophron* occurs only one other time in Homer, as an epithet for Odysseus in *Il.* 4.339. The epithet is not found in other writers of the Archaic Age nor in those of the fifth century.

<sup>31</sup> On *atê* and *hybris* see: R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* (Leipzig 1907); C. Del Grande, *Hybris* (Naples 1947); J. Stallmach, *Ate* (Göttingen 1950); R. D. Dawe, "Some Reflections on *Ate* and *Hamartia*," *HSCP* 72 (1968) 89-123.

<sup>32</sup> *Erga* 213-16. Cf. Aesch. *Persae* 821.

<sup>33</sup> Solon, fr. 13.11-13 West.

<sup>34</sup> *Koros*: Solon, fr. 6.9-10 West; Theognis 153-54; Pindar, *Ol.* 1.55-58. Contrast Herod. 8.77 where *koros* is son of *hybris*. *Kerdos*: Solon, fr. 13.71-76 West. In Hesiod, *Erga* 352, evil *kerdea* equal *atai*. In Theognis 133-36 *kerdos* and *atê* are again found



Sometimes *phrenes* are specifically involved in *hybris* and *atê*. Theognis relates *aphrosynê* (implying loss of function or malfunction of *phrenes*) to *atê*.<sup>35</sup> In Pindar, when Ixion has *mainomenai phrenes*, *hybris* drives him to *atê*.<sup>36</sup> Further, *orthai phrenes* can avert *hybris*.<sup>37</sup>

As Agamemnon expresses rage and fury with Achilles, he is carried away by *atê*.<sup>38</sup> Calchas fears that he will anger Agamemnon and does move him to rage, with blackened *phrenes* full of *menos*.<sup>39</sup> At this time too Agamemnon's *phrenes* are eager for *kerdos*.<sup>40</sup>

Pelias is guilty of *hybris*. Trusting his white *phrenes*, he deprives his brother of power with violence and maintains an unjust rule. His *phrenes* too are eager for *dolion kerdos*.

Pindar's echo of Homer places two individuals vividly before our eyes: Agamemnon and Pelias. Under a similar motivation (love of *kerdos*) and under similar afflictions (*atê* and *hybris*), each trusts his *phrenes* and acts with violence. But these *phrenes* themselves are different, Agamemnon's *leugaleoi*, Pelias' *leukai*. Thus Agamemnon rages with black *phrenes*; Pelias seizes power with white *phrenes*. The *phrenes* of Agamemnon are responsive to emotion; those of Pelias are not. When struck with *atê*, Agamemnon has *phrenes* that blacken; under the influence of *hybris*, Pelias' *phrenes* do not blacken. Though the afflictions are similar, the reactions are different. Pindar echoes Homer's line to note how alike Pelias and Agamemnon are in their trust of *phrenes*, in their afflictions (*hybris* and *atê*), and in their desire for *kerdos*, and yet how different individually.

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together: the gods are responsible for both. Cf. also Theognis 227-32 where *atê* arises from prosperity.

<sup>35</sup> Theognis 230-31.

<sup>36</sup> *Pyth.* 2.25-29.

<sup>37</sup> *Ol.* 7.90-92. See also Theognis 1173-76 where *gnômê* in the *phrenes* is said to be stronger than *hybris* and *koros*. *Phrenes* are connected with *atê* in *Soph. Ant.* 622-24 and with *hybris* in *Eur. Hipp.* 473-74. There are also two passages in which *ἀτρεπός*, "blinded by *atê*," modifies *phrên*: Theognis 433; *Soph. Tr.* 264.

<sup>38</sup> *Il.* 9.119; *Il.* 1.102-04.

<sup>39</sup> *Il.* 1.78; *Il.* 1.103.

<sup>40</sup> *Il.* 1.149. See note 30.