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# HAPPINESS BEFORE ARISTOTLE

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A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EVOLUTION  
OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS FROM THE  
ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS



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## A Comprehensive Analysis of the Evolution of Happiness-related Words from The Archaic and Classical Periods

**RESUM:** Aristòtil considera εὐδαιμονία com el bé suprem de la vida humana i com un benestar que prové de l'assoliment del potencial d'un mateix. La definició d'Aristòtil d'εὐδαιμονία a l'*Ètica a Nicòmac* va aportar una comprensió concreta d'un concepte que, abans, no tenia una definició uniforme. Per compensar aquesta absència, aquest treball pretén descobrir què significava la felicitat abans que Aristòtil seleccionés i definís el mot εὐδαιμονία. La recerca consisteix en una anàlisi profunda dels principals adjectius relacionats amb la felicitat utilitzats en l'època arcaica i clàssica com ara εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος i εὐτυχής i els seus derivats, εὐδαιμονίζω, εὐδαιμονέω, εὐδαιμονία, μακαρίζω, μακάριος, εὐτυχέω, εὐτυχία, ὄλβος, ὄλβίζω. L'anàlisi engloba diferents autors i gèneres de l'època arcaica i clàssica. Cada secció ofereix una anàlisi de l'ús que fa cada autor de les paraules relacionades amb la felicitat, així com un estudi de la seva evolució, per tal de comprendre quins significats tenien aquestes paraules i com es desenvolupen al llarg del temps. En examinar els matisos semàntics d'εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, εὐτυχής i ὄλβιος, l'objectiu és acostar-se a entendre per què Aristòtil va escollir específicament el terme εὐδαιμονία a l'hora de determinar què era la felicitat i per què no va utilitzar μάκαρ, ὄλβιος o εὐτυχής, que també eren paraules relacionades amb la felicitat usades recurrentment a la Grècia antiga. Aquesta recerca també té l'objectiu d'ampliar la recerca existent sobre els mots relacionats amb la felicitat, ja que l'estudi més rellevant d'aquest tema continua sent *Μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής* de Cornelis De Heer (1969), el qual necessita una actualització i ampliació.

**Paraules clau:** felicitat, època arcaica, εὐδαιμονία, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής.

**ABSTRACT:** According to Aristotle, εὐδαιμονία is the highest good of human life. It comes from a life long exercise to fulfil one's potential. Aristotle's definition of εὐδαιμονία in the *Nicomachean Ethics* provided a precise understanding of a concept that had previously lacked a concrete definition. This work sets out to discover what happiness meant before Aristotle selected and defined the word, εὐδαιμονία. This research consists of an analysis of the main words relating to happiness such as εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής, as well as their respective cognates such as εὐδαιμονίζω, εὐδαιμονέω, εὐδαιμονία, μακαρίζω,

μακάριος, εὐτυχέω, εὐτυχία, ὄλβος, ὀλβίζω. This examination focuses on different authors and genres of the Archaic and Classical Periods. Each section provides an analysis of an author's usage of happiness-related keywords, as well as a study of their evolution to provide an understanding of what meanings these words had and how these differed and developed over time. By examining the semantic nuances of εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, εὐτυχής and ὄλβιος, the aim is to come closer to understanding why Aristotle specifically chose the word εὐδαιμονία, the abstract noun of εὐδαίμων, when determining what happiness was and why he did not use μάκαρ, ὄλβιος, and εὐτυχής which were commonly used to refer to happiness throughout Ancient Greece. This research also broadens the existing discourse on happiness-related keywords, considering that the most relevant study is Cornelis De Heer's *Μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής* from 1969, which requires updating and expanding.

**Key words:** happiness, Archaic Period, Classical Period, εὐδαιμονία, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout human history, few ideas have captured people's minds as much as the pursuit of happiness. The quest for happiness has been a topic of study for many philosophers and intellectuals throughout different cultures and ages. The first person to embrace the study of happiness with remarkable depth was the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, who lived during the 4th century BC. Aristotle explored in his work, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the concept of εὐδαιμονία commonly translated as 'happiness'.

According to Aristotle, εὐδαιμονία is the highest good in life and represents the ultimate goal of a human being. It is a life-long pursuit and is achieved by mastering certain virtuous habits or qualities that fulfil one's potential. Aristotle considered generosity, a sense of justice and wisdom to be virtuous qualities that a happy man should acquire. Even though it is generally translated as 'happiness', a more adequate translation could be 'fulfilment'. Aristotle says that young boys cannot call themselves εὐδαιμόνες, because they are too young to have a fulfilled life.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Aristotle considers that a certain degree of good fortune, εὐτυχία, is a necessary component of εὐδαιμονία since, without certain resources, it is hard to carry out good deeds and without these a person cannot experience true εὐδαιμονία. However, even if someone is very wealthy, this will not make them εὐδαίμων. Even the greatest wealth cannot make a miserable person happy because true happiness can only be attained through constant exercise of one's best qualities to construct a character that is virtuous. Effectively, Aristotle states that happiness requires both total virtue and a whole lifespan to achieve: δεῖ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπομεν, καὶ ἀρετῆς τελείας καὶ βίου τελείου (*Nicomachean Ethics*, 1100a).

Aristotle made the word εὐδαιμονία a philosophical concept central to his work and when this happens the word becomes tainted with this new philosophical definition, often forgetting that before it had its own original meaning. This research originated from certain intrigue regarding what εὐδαιμονία meant before Aristotle's approach, and developed into an analysis of happiness-related words touching on μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων, ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής and their derivatives in the Archaic and Classical periods.

On examination, εὐδαιμονία is formed by εὖ and δαίμων. Autenrieth defines δαίμων as "divinity, divine power; sometimes equivalent to θεός, but esp. of the gods in their dealings

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<sup>1</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1100a.1-1100a.5, explains this: διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ παῖς εὐδαίμων ἐστὶν οὐπω γὰρ πρακτικὸς τῶν τοιούτων διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οἱ δὲ λεγόμενοι διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα μακαρίζονται. δεῖ γάρ, ὥσπερ εἶπομεν, καὶ ἀρετῆς τελείας καὶ βίου τελείου.

with men.”<sup>2</sup> Bailly defines it as, “celui qui distribue à chacun son lot, son sort.”<sup>3</sup> It comes from δαίωμα, which means to “divide” or to “allot” and its indoeuropean root is da: *de-* and *dai-*: *dei-* *di-*.<sup>4</sup> In this way, etymologically its meaning would be something like ‘being good with a god who bestows’, as in having a good relationship with a divinity who determines one’s fortune.

The compound εὐτυχής derives from εὐ with the noun τύχη which comes from the verb τυγχάνω which means “to achieve an aim or goal”, “to come across” coming from the indoeuropean root *d<sup>h</sup>eug<sup>h</sup>* meaning “to hit the mark, meet”.<sup>5</sup> The noun τύχη is described by Beekes as a “coincidence, incident, luck, fate, destiny” which is later personified as in Latin *Fatum*.<sup>6</sup> It is not until Semonides that the compound εὐτυχεῖω appears and not until Aeschylus that the adjective εὐτυχής is used reoccurringly. De Heer talked about the problematic gaps of the adjective εὐτυχής and remarks that, in the same way εὐδαίμων precedes εὐδαιμονέω, one could suppose that εὐτυχής came before, some time after Hesiod, even though it is not attested.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly, in the Hellenistic period abstract entities such as τύχη became divinized and received cult worship as a god.

The adjectives ὄλβιος and μάκαρ appear as early as Homer and are used throughout different periods and authors. However, there are doubts surrounding their etymology but they are both asserted to be Pre-Greek. Ὀλβιος derives from the noun ὄλβος and Frisk calls this term unexplained, “Unerklärt”.<sup>8</sup> In response to Frisk, Pisani puts forward as a correspondence in another indoeuropean language, the Lithuanian term *lābas* which means ‘good’.<sup>9</sup> The adjective μάκαρ is Pre-Greek according to Beekes, due to its formation which is isolated and because of the interchange ἄρ/ᾠρ.<sup>10</sup> Pokorny relates it with uncertainty to the root *mak-* from which there is also μακρός meaning “long”.<sup>11</sup>

Having introduced the words to be analysed, now the objectives of this work will be stated. Firstly, the main objective of this work is to analyse the most significant occurrences of

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<sup>2</sup> Autenrieth, Georg. (1891). s.u. “δαίμων”

<sup>3</sup> Bailly, Anatole. (2000). s.u. “δαίμων”.

<sup>4</sup> Pokorny, Julius. (2007), p. 538. See more, Pokorny, Julius. (2007), pp. 538-543

<sup>5</sup> Beekes, Robert. (2010), p. 1515

<sup>6</sup> Beekes, Robert. (2010), p. 1516.

<sup>7</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Frisk, Hjalmar. (1973), p. 375.

<sup>9</sup> Pisani, Vittore. (1983), p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> Beekes, Robert. (2010), p. 893.

<sup>11</sup> Pokorny, Julius. (2007), p. 1988.

happiness-related words in the authors of the Archaic and Classical periods providing an understanding of the application and meaning in each author and their works separately. Secondly, through this analysis, the differences and similarities in the usage of these terms between authors will be explored. Thirdly, the focus on each author will also make it possible to appreciate the changes in usage and, subsequently, will lead to a broader understanding of the sense components present in both the Archaic and Classical periods. On the basis of this analysis it will be possible to appreciate the semantic borders between each of these words and how these can be blurred. Lastly, this research will lead to hypothesizing about what led Aristotle to choose εὐδαιμονία as a central concept in his works instead of another happiness-related word. Another significant objective is to add to the existing discourse on happiness-related words as the last complete study is De Heer's *ΜΑΚΑΡ - ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ - ΟΑΒΙΟΣ - ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ* published in 1969.

To accomplish these objectives, the scope of this research consists of the words εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής, as well as their respective cognates such as εὐδαιμονίζω, εὐδαιμονέω, εὐδαιμονία, μακαρίζω, μακάριος, ὄλβος, ὀλβίζω, εὐτυχέω, and εὐτυχία. Moreover, the words which appear with each of these will also be commented on as these can bring light to the meaning and the differences between them. This examination of happiness-related words will focus on a selection of the most significant authors and genres of the Archaic and Classical periods. This work dedicates a section to each of these authors, dividing them by period and by genre. At the end of each section, for authors whose usage of these words present sufficient complexity, a table summarizing the contents and a diagram mapping the semantic components will be provided. In the first block of works, there is the analysis of happiness-related words in the Epic genre by delving into Homer's works, the *Homeric Hymns* and Hesiod's works. Subsequent sections explore the idea of happiness in the Lyric genre by examining Semonides, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Theognidea, Pindar and Bacchylides. After these sections and moving on to the Classical period, the usage of these words in the tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides' works is examined, as well as the occurrences in the historiographer, Herodotus. This research ends with the examination of Democritus' application of happiness-related words. At the end of this work, conclusions about the meaning and evolution of these words will be drawn, accompanied by two diagrams: one mapping the recurring sense components and another showing the words most frequently associated with happiness-related words.

Although some readers might miss the mention of happiness-related words in Aristophanes, Thucydides and Empedocles', this is because, although the scope of the work is large, it is limited and the examination of other authors whose uses prove to be intriguing have been prioritized and, in general, a deeper analysis has been preferable to a broader but more superficial one. Moreover, in selecting authors for study, preference was given to those who offered the most illuminating perspectives on happiness-related words while also providing chronological continuity that allows the evolution of these words to be appreciated. Without a doubt, readers will also notice that this study does not address happiness-related words in Plato. Due to necessary limitations of scope, this omission is deliberate, as the present analysis is intended to be extended in future research, in which Plato will be examined in depth and given the significance his works warrant.

This work started as my degree thesis where the scope was limited to Homer, Hesiod, Solon, Sappho, Pindar, Herodotus and Democritus' works and did not include all the derivatives found in this research. This work, consisting of my Master's Thesis, has a much broader scope of derivatives and of authors while also including the authors which were explored in my previous work, but in greater depth and from new perspectives due to the knowledge I gained as I progressed in my studies.

It should be remarked that a semantic study of a language of which only fragments are preserved is limiting and is forcibly imperfect. The occurrences in question will be strongly affected by their context, as De Heer stated: "meaning is contextual", furthermore as he remarks the context is also the "wider influence of social setting and cultural background", which are obviously harder to access in the case of a language no longer spoken.<sup>12</sup> This makes the study of meaning of ancient Greek words complex and vulnerable to flaws. However, as complex as it is, it should not be steered away from solely for this reason. The analysis of the connotations of these words and the nuances that separates them can aid deeper understanding of the fragments that are preserved. There is no possibility of direct translation of happiness-related words, so the only procedure for understanding their meaning is an extensive discussion of its usages and the contexts in which it is used which is exactly what this work sets out to do.

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<sup>12</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 10.

## 2. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN ARCHAIC PERIOD

### 2.1. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE EPIC GENRE

#### 2.1.1. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HOMER

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are two epic poems, the composition of which is attributed to Homer. Although there are many studies surrounding Homer's identity and the exact origins of these works, this section will examine the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from the perspective of the usage of happiness-related words.<sup>13</sup> To understand the meaning of these words, it is necessary to examine the themes and context of these epic poems. Turning firstly to the *Iliad*, it describes the ten-year Trojan War between the city of Troy and a confederation of Greek states. Achilles, a warrior whose rage (μῆνις) significantly influences the course of the war, serves as the poem's main theme. The *Iliad* starts with the conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon, the commander of the Greek army, over the captured lady, Briseis. Achilles' subsequent decision to stop fighting causes the Greek army to suffer great losses. The Trojans, guided by Hector, start to triumph, but the situation changes when Achilles re-enters the war and assassinates Hector. Hector's funeral and Achilles' reconciliation with the Greek army mark the poem's conclusion. The *Odyssey* tells the tale of Odysseus, a Greek hero who, after being absent for ten years after the Trojan War, is trying to find his way back home. During his return home to Ithaca (νόστος), Odysseus is faced with a number of difficulties that lead him astray from his objective. Back in Ithaca, Odysseus' wife and son, Penelope and Telemachus respectively, are fending off suitors who are fighting for Penelope's hand in marriage and attempting to take Odysseus' place. Odysseus eventually returns to Ithaca, assassinates the suitors and reunites with his family with the help and guidance of the goddess, Athena.

Since the characters in these epic poems are heroes, it is important to firstly try to pinpoint exactly what a hero is. Heroes are demigods who are physically superior to humans and are capable of amazing acts which seem unachievable, however, they are ultimately mortal.<sup>14</sup> A hero strives for glory, recognition and respect, and they would sooner die in the pursuit of these goals than lose their honour and not be remembered. "This word (κλέος) was used in ancient Greek poetry or song to refer to the poetry or the song that glorifies the heroes of the

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<sup>13</sup> For more about the Homeric Question, see Nagy (2004).

<sup>14</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 11.

distant heroic past.”<sup>15</sup> Heroes are mortal, but the hero’s glory in song will never perish. The striving for κλέος is part of the heroic mindset and is central to the world depicted in Homer’s works. As Charles Segal stated:

Heroic glory, κλέος, occupies a central place not only in Greek epic but in the entire Indo-European epic tradition as well. In the *Iliad* a warrior's *kleos* is more important than life itself, as Achilles' ultimate choice makes clear. In a shame-culture, like that depicted in Homer, where esteem depends on how one is viewed and talked of by one’s peers, *kleos* is fundamental as a measure of one’s value to others and to oneself.<sup>16</sup>

Even though the heroes strive for κλέος in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there is no doubt that they portray different prototypes of hero due to the different contexts. On the one hand, Odysseus, in the *Odyssey*, is venturing into unknown territory and battling monsters or otherworldly creatures. On the other hand, Achilles, in the *Iliad*, is fighting in a great war with fellow warriors. As Margalit Finkelberg affirms:

To sum up, either Homeric poem offers its own version of heroism. In the *Iliad* being a hero amounts to readiness to meet death on the battlefield. [...] According to the *Odyssey* a hero is one who is prepared to go through life enduring toil and suffering.<sup>17</sup>

Cornelis De Heer stated that: “the object of the heroic way of life was at the same time the object of their pursuit of happiness.”<sup>18</sup> What exactly constitutes this happiness will be discussed through the detailed analysis of the happiness-related words that appear in the texts, namely μάκαρ, μακαρίζω, ὄλβιος and ὄλβος.<sup>19</sup>

Firstly, the adjective μάκαρ appears 43 times and it mostly occurs accompanying the noun θεός, apart from two occasions. To demonstrate its usage in the Homeric poems, a few exemplary passages worth commenting on are cited below. Firstly, the vv. 338-342 of Book I of the *Iliad*:

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<sup>15</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 26.

<sup>16</sup> Segal, Charles. (2018), p. 85. For more about “shame-culture” see Eric Robertson Dodds (1951, pp. 28-63); Douglas L. Cairns (1993). However, Douglas L. Cairns (1993, 140) argues that the designation of ‘shame-culture’ is misleading because it is put in contrast to ‘guilt-culture’ and this is not accurate: “For reasons already given, I feel the designation of Homeric society as a ‘shame-culture’ is misleading, but the importance of honour in that society can hardly be overstressed.” For more about studies on Homeric Values, see Joseph Russo and Bennett Simon (1968, pp. 483-498); Arthur William Hope Adkins (1972, pp. 1-49); Moses I. Finley (1972, pp. 108-141).

<sup>17</sup> Finkelberg, Margalit. (1995), p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Marianne McDonald (1978, 10) in a footnote refers to a suggestion made to her by Snell that the reason εὐτυχής terms do not appear could be due to metrical constraints and its awkwardness to fit into the hexameter.

[...] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ μάρτυροι ἔστων  
πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέο, εἴ ποτε δὴ αὐτε  
χρειῶ ἐμεῖο γένηται ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι  
τοῖς ἄλλοις.

“Let these two be witnesses before the blessed gods and mortal men, and before him, that shameless king, if ever in future there is need of me to ward off loathsome destruction from the army.”<sup>20</sup>

There is a clear contrast between the adjective μάκαρ for gods and the adjective θνητός for humans. The adjective μάκαρ is nearly always used for gods apart from five exceptions, four of which that will be commented on later. In the *Odyssey*, vv. 7-10 of Book V, Athena implores Zeus and the rest of the gods using the adjective μάκαρ:

“Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦδ' ἄλλοι μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες,  
μή τις ἔτι πρόφρων ἀγανὸς καὶ ἥπιος ἔστω  
σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, μηδὲ φρεσὶν αἴσιμα εἰδώς,  
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς τ' εἶη καὶ αἴσυλα ῥέξοι· [...]”

“Father Zeus, and you other blessed gods that are forever, never hence forward let sceptered king with a ready heart be kind and gentle, nor let him heed righteousness in his mind; but let him ever be harsh, and deal unjustly [...]”<sup>21</sup>

Here, it is interesting to point out the adverb, αἰὲν. The gods, in contrast to humans, enjoy a perpetual state of comfort and stability. They are not worried about toil or pain as humans are and do not suffer the despair and grief that comes with war or with being far away from home and family.

This idea of security and stability is found in vv. 41-47 of Book VI of the *Odyssey*, where Olympus is described as an abode that is always safe (ἀσφαλές):

ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
Οὐλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ  
ἔμμεναι. οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρω  
δεύεται οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπίλνεται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη  
πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη·  
τῶ ἔνι τέρπονται μάκαρες θεοὶ ἤματα πάντα.  
ἔνθ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις, ἐπεὶ διεπέφραδε κούρη.

So saying, the goddess, flashing-eyed Athene, departed to Olympus, where, they say, is the abode of the gods that stands fast forever. Neither is it shaken by winds nor ever

<sup>20</sup> The Greek text and translation of the *Iliad* are taken from William F. Wyatt (1999).

<sup>21</sup> The Greek text and translation of the *Odyssey* are extracted from George. E. Dimock (1995-2004).

wet with rain, nor does snow fall upon it, but the air is outspread clear and cloudless, and over it hovers a radiant whiteness; here the blessed gods are happy all their days. Thither went the flashing-eyed one, when she had made her proposal to the maiden.”

The gods enjoy their lives in Olympus where they are secure and always μάκαρ (τῷ ἔνι τέρπονται μάκαρες θεοὶ ἡματα πάντα) without any influences that can change this, neither wind, rain nor snow.<sup>22</sup> The lives of the gods are stable and untroubled, contrasting with Odysseus’ journey at sea which is full of obstacles and insecurity. The accusative ἡματα πάντα represents the continuity of this type of happiness in the same way that the adverb αἰέν did previously.

Remarkably, Homer does use the verb μακαρίζω for mortals in three instances found in the *Odyssey* and it is applied to humans who reach a divine-like status. The three appearances (verses 537-38 of Book XV, verses 164-165 of Book XVII, verses 310-311 of Book XIX) consist of the same formula: τῷ κε τάχα γνοίης φιλότητά τε πολλά τε δῶρα / ἐξ ἐμεῦ, ὡς ἄν τις σε συναντόμενος μακαρίζοι. (“Then should you soon know kindness and many a gift from me, so that one who met you would call you blessed.”). The idea of receiving gifts makes the person worthy of being called μάκαρ. It can be gathered that these possessions make a person’s life easier and thus similar to the gods and that is why they are ultimately called μάκαρ. The verb also denotes a sense of marvel towards someone who lives a more comfortable life due to their resources.

This meaning becomes clear in the application of μάκαρ to a mortal in vv. 67-73 of Book XI of the *Iliad*. In this passage, the battle between the Trojans and the Greeks is compared to the image of reapers working on each side of a μάκαρ man’s field of wheat or barley:

Οἱ δ’ , ὡς τ’ ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ’ ἄρουραν  
πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτει·  
ὡς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες  
δήουν, οὐδ’ ἕτεροὶ μῶνόντ’ ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο.  
ἴσας δ’ ὑσμίνη κεφαλὰς ἔχεν, οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὡς  
θῦνον.

As reapers facing one another from opposite sides drive their swathes through a rich man’s field of wheat or barley and the handfuls fall thick and fast, so the Trojans and Achaeans leapt on one another and slaughtered, nor did either side take thought of ruinous flight; and equal heads had the battle, and they raged like wolves.

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<sup>22</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 10.

It can be inferred that this use of μάκαρ for a human is reserved for those mortals who can live an easier life which is similar to the ease that the gods enjoy. His work is being done for him and he does not need to worry about working to sustain himself, a similar situation to that of the gods. The gods watch as humans toil as this farmer simply observes while his crops are reaped. As De Heer affirmed, he is μάκαρ because “his property gives him security and a humanly speaking, easy life, two circumstances which [...] put him in a class of mortals which has some resemblance to the gods.”<sup>23</sup>

In Book III of the *Iliad*, verses 181-183, there is a second use of μάκαρ for a mortal when Priam identifies Agamemnon on the battlefield during the rampage and starts praising him:

Ἦς φάτο, τὸν δ' ὁ γέρον ἠγάσσατο φώνησέν τε·  
 “ὦ μάκαρ Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μοιρηγενές, ὀλβιόδαιμον,  
 ἦ ῥά νύ τοι πολλοὶ δεδμηάτο κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν.

So she spoke, and the old man was seized with wonder, and said: “Ah, happy son of Atreus, child of fortune, blest by the gods; many youths of the Achaeans have been made subject to you I see.”

These adjectives are used in a context of praise towards Agamemnon and of awe and this emphasis increases as more and more epithets are applied to him. The praise starts with the strong adjective, μάκαρ, and then is followed by two hapax, μοιρηγενές and ὀλβιόδαιμον. The adjective μοιρηγενές is formed by Μοῖρα and γενές. LSJ (Liddell et al., 1940) provides the definition of “favoured by Μοῖρα at one’s birth, child of Destiny”. The term “Moirai” is used to refer to the combined power of the three Μοῖραι who decide the destiny of both gods and mortals. The Μοῖραι weave the threads of life and even the gods are subject to their authority. Here it can be understood that Priam sees Agamemnon as someone who has a favourable destiny because he receives favour from the Μοῖραι by having been dealt a more favourable ‘portion in life’. Ὀλβιόδαιμον is formed by the adjective ὀλβιος and the noun δαίμων which refers to a divinity. Autenrieth (Autenrieth et al., 1891) provides this definition: “ὀλβιο-δαίμων: blessed by the deity, Il. 3.182.” It can be seen that Agamemnon is μάκαρ due to the easier existence he enjoys because of the good portion in life he has been allotted, μοιρηγενές, and the god-given favours, ὀλβιόδαιμον, he has been bestowed. Moreover, there is emphasis on the fact that Agamemnon rules over many Achaeans, also implying that he is μάκαρ because he is powerful and surpasses other men. It is also clear that in Priam’s praise there is a sense of ‘stupefaction’ which is also present in μάκαρ when it is

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<sup>23</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), pp. 6-7.

applied to the gods. This marvel could stem from the fact that Priam does not consider himself to have been favoured by the Μοῖρα in destiny or by a deity in happiness.<sup>24</sup> This passage perfectly exemplifies the connotations of ‘stability’, ‘power’, ‘life of ease’ that are concentrated in μάκαρ and it is used to show great ‘awe’. However, this type of happiness is not permanent since a human who is μάκαρ is still susceptible to experiencing a change of fate from the intervention of the gods, who are the most μάκαρες of all.

In the *Odyssey*, there are three uses of μάκαρ which are applied to mortals. First for analysis is the use of μάκαρ in an interesting μακαρισμός<sup>25</sup> which is unique in Homer’s works. This occurs in vv. 149-161 of Book VI when Odysseus addresses Nausicaa expressing his ‘awe’ calling her thrice μάκαρ:

“γουνουῖμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις, ἢ βροτός ἐσσι;  
εἰ μὲν τις θεός ἐσσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
Ἄρτέμιδι σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο,  
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυὴν τ’ ἄγχιστα εἴσκω·  
εἰ δέ τις ἐσσι βροτῶν, τοῖ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν,  
τρὶς μάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,  
τρὶς μάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι· μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς  
αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν ἰαίνεται εἵνεκα σεῖο,  
λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν.  
κεῖνος δ’ αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
ὅς κέ σ’ ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἴκόνδ’ ἀγάγηται.  
οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἴδον βροτὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
οὔτ’ ἄνδρ’ οὔτε γυναῖκα· σέβας μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.”

“I clasp your knees, my queen—are you a goddess, or are you mortal? If you are a goddess, one of those who hold broad heaven, to Artemis, the daughter of great Zeus, I liken you most nearly in looks and in stature and in form. But if you are one of mortals who dwell upon the earth, thrice-blessed then are your father and your honored mother, and thrice-blessed your brothers. Great must be the joy with which their hearts are always warmed because of you, as they see you entering the dance, a flower so fair. But that man in his turn is blessed in heart above all others, who shall prevail with his gifts of wooing and lead you to his home. For never yet have my eyes looked upon a mortal such as you, whether man or woman; awe holds me as I look on you.”

<sup>24</sup> See pages 15-16 of this work for how Priam was once ὄλβιος himself a long time ago, but is no longer so due to his bad fortune and this is where his admiration for Agamemnon comes from.

<sup>25</sup> These formulas, known as μακαρισμοὶ, typically consist of an adjective related to happiness followed by a clause explaining why this person is considered happy. This can be for many reasons, for example, for one’s wealth, for one’s reputation from belonging to a noble family or for being favoured by the gods.

Odysseus says that if she is a goddess, she is like Artemis and remarks that, if she is a mortal, her father, mother and brothers are three times μάκαρ. These verses can be interpreted as a reference to the semi-divine character of the Phaeacians as descendants of Poseidon, explaining the use of μάκαρ.<sup>26</sup> By divine proximity, Nausicaa and her family are regarded as μάκαρες. As Charles Segal affirms: “The Phaeacians [...] are not immortal but close to the gods (ἀγγίθειοι, 5. 35). Alcinous' garden, one sign of their blessedness, is described as “the glorious gifts of the gods” (7. 132), and Nausicaa is frequently likened to a god (6.16, 6.102ff., 6.150ff., 7.291).”<sup>27</sup> By sharing in the divine, one can be referred to with their epithet as one can also be ‘object of the same awe that the gods receive’, as indicated by σέβας μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα. They also enjoy certain ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’ and ‘security’ due to their connection to the divine.

However, the next verse states that he who is the most μάκαρ is the man who can win Nausicaa’s heart. Katherine Wasdin interprets this use of μάκαρ as a “*makarismoi* embedded in epic”<sup>28</sup>. Wasdin states: “the *makarismos* is connected with the good fortune of reciprocal *charis*”<sup>29</sup>. Not only do the gods bestow beauty and luck upon lovers, they also grant temporarily elevated status to those they favor.”<sup>30</sup> Wasdin also explains how Odysseus, as a way to flatter Nausicaa, blesses a fictitious happy lover whose circumstances contrast with those of the speaker, in a similar manner to the love poets.<sup>31</sup> As Marianne McDonald affirms, this seems to be a precursor to the lyric μακαρισμοί for marriages.<sup>32</sup> Cecilia Nobili explores the relationship of this passage to *hymenaioi* due to its shared characteristics by comparing it to others, such as Sappho’s Fragment 31 and Theocritus’ *Epithalamium for Helen*. Specifically, Nobili points out as the main characteristics of these wedding songs: the praise of the bride, the comparison to a goddess (in this case Artemis) through the language of the εἰκασία<sup>33</sup>, the praise of the future groom and the wish for marital harmony, ὁμοφροσύνη.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Their divine lineage going back to Poseidon is explained in *Odyssey* Book VII, vv. 56-59.

<sup>27</sup> Segal, Charles. (2018), p. 22. For more about the symbolic role of the Phaeacians in Odysseus’ return, see Charles Segal (2018).

<sup>28</sup> Wasdin, Katherine. (2018), p. 185.

<sup>29</sup> In short, χάρις is the force of favour and blessing. For more see Chapter 6 Divine Reciprocity of Katherine Wasdin (2018).

<sup>30</sup> Wasdin, Katherine. (2018), p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> Wasdin, Katherine. (2018), p. 186.

<sup>32</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 11. This type of μακαρισμοί will reappear in further sections of this work such as Happiness-related Words in Sappho.

<sup>33</sup> The fact that Nausicaa is compared to Artemis and not Aphrodite, which was more common, is explained by Nobili (2026, 64) as follows: “la dea vergine per eccellenza, infatti, proteggeva i riti di passaggio delle *parthenoi* pronte a diventare *gynaikes*”

<sup>34</sup> Nobili, Cecilia. (2006), pp. 64-65.

Nobili also states that the language used, specifically the formulaic use of *τρισμακάρα*, is also characteristic:

Il *makarismos* costituisce una caratteristica tipica dei canti nuziali, che sono soliti definire *μάκαρα* (ο ὄλβιος) lo sposo, per la fortuna di cui gode nell'aver ricevuto in sorte una moglie tanto perfetta. In particolare, caratteristica dei carmi nuziali risulta essere l'espressione *τρισμακάρα*, che compare in maniera abbastanza diffusa negli imenei, mentre risulta isolata nel contesto dei poemi omerici. [...] questo induce a ritenere che non si tratti di un'espressione abituale dell'epica ma di un vero e proprio prestito da parte di una forma poetica che godeva indiscutibilmente di largo successo già nell'epoca di composizione ed elaborazione dei poemi omerici, ossia l'imeneo.<sup>35</sup>

The use of *μάκαρα* for a bride or groom in wedding songs has been related to the use of the *εἰκασία*, the comparison of the bride or groom to a god or goddess. If the bride is likened to a goddess, then the epithet used for her will be that worthy of a goddess, to be *μάκαρα*. Moreover, to apply *μάκαρα*, an epithet worthy of the gods, to a mortal is the highest compliment a mortal can receive. As Rebecca Hague states: "This is really another compliment by indirect comparison since the adjective *makar* implies comparison to the gods, the *makares*."<sup>36</sup> All these characteristics show that this passage could have been composed in the same tradition as wedding songs and would be a formulaic use of the adjective. This use of *μάκαρα* differs slightly from the others that are applied to heroes, which will be examined subsequently.

There are two passages in the *Odyssey* in which *μάκαρα* is applied to the dead. Firstly, in vv. 303-312 of Book V, Odysseus reflects on how his companions who died during the Trojan War are thrice and four times *μάκαρα*:

οἷοισιν νεφέεσσι περιστέφει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν  
Ζεὺς, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον, ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι  
παντοίων ἀνέμων. νῦν μοι σῶς αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.  
τρίς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις, οἳ τότε ὄλοντο  
Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.  
ὥς δὴ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν  
ἦματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλεῖστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα  
Τρῶες ἐπέρριψαν περὶ Πηλεΐωνι θανόντι.  
τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καὶ μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί·  
νῦν δὲ λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι.

"[...] Such are the clouds with which Zeus overcasts the broad heaven, and so has he stirred up the sea, and the blasts of every kind of wind sweep upon me; now is my

<sup>35</sup> Nobili, Cecilia. (2006), p. 65.

<sup>36</sup> Hague, Rebecca. (1983), p. 135.

utter destruction sure. Thrice blessed those Danaans and four times blessed who perished in those days in the wide land of Troy, doing the pleasure of the sons of Atreus. Would that like them I too had died and met my fate on that day when the throngs of the Trojans hurled upon me bronze-tipped spears, fighting around the body of the dead son of Peleus. Then should I have got funeral rites, and the Achaeans would have spread my fame, but now it is by a miserable death that it was my fate to be cut off.”

Odysseus contemplates the κλέος that comes with dying honourably in battle, τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καί μεν κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί. Odysseus, in contrast, thinks that he has been assigned an unheroic death (νῦν δέ λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἵμαρτο ἀλῶναι) without the opportunity of reaching κλέος, which all heroes wish for. In addition, Odysseus laments at the thought of not having a tomb, which would hinder his remembrance and worship after death. The idea of not achieving κλέος or τιμή leads Odysseus to praise his dead comrades who have died nobly as heroes in battle and not at sea. Odysseus uses μάκαρ, with a strong sense of ‘awe’, for those who ultimately accomplish a heroic life by fighting in battle and subsequently are worshipped. There is also the nuance of ‘life of ease’, considering that those who are dead no longer live unstable lives and this makes them closer to the gods, making them μάκαρ. As De Heer interpreted: “His dead comrades no longer have to face perils, to fight for their lives. They are μάκαρες because they have ceased to be insecure.”<sup>37</sup> The dead are superior because they no longer have to suffer, in the same way that gods do not suffer, and consequently this arouses a sense of ‘awe’. Interestingly, Odysseus does prefer in his praises to use μάκαρ over ὄλβιος, even when it is applied to heroes, as will be demonstrated in the next verses to be examined.

There is another use of μάκαρ for the dead in verses 478-486 of Book XI of the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus journeys to the underworld where he meets the spirit of the dead hero, Achilles. Odysseus calls him the most μάκαρ because when he was alive, he was worshipped like a god by the people of Argos and now that he is in the underworld, he continues to be admired there:

‘ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηληϊός υἱέ, μέγα φέρτατ’ Ἀχαιῶν,  
ἦλθον Τειρεσίαο κατὰ χρέος, εἴ τινα βουλήν  
εἴποι, ὅπως Ἰθάκην ἐς παιπαλόεσσαν ἰκοίμην·  
οὐ γάρ πω σχεδὸν ἦλθον Ἀχαιίδος, οὐδέ πω ἀμῆς  
γῆς ἐπέβην, ἀλλ’ αἰὲν ἔχω κακά. σεῖο δ’ Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
οὗ τις ἀνὴρ προπάρειθε μακάρτατος οὔτ’ ἄρ’ ὀπίσσω.

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<sup>37</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 11.

πρὶν μὲν γάρ σε ζῶν ἐτίομεν ἴσα θεοῖσιν  
Ἄργεῖοι, νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν  
ἐνθάδ' ἐὼν· τῷ μὴ τι θανῶν ἀκαχίζευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ.'

‘Achilles, son of Peleus, far the mightiest of the Achaeans, I came through need of Teiresias, if perchance he would tell me some plan whereby I might reach rugged Ithaca. For not yet have I come near to the land of Achaea, nor have I as yet set foot on my own country, but am forever suffering woes; whereas no man before this was more blessed than you, Achilles, nor shall ever be hereafter. For before, when you were alive, we Argives honored you equally with the gods, and now that you are here, you rule mightily among the dead. Therefore, grieve not at all that you are dead, Achilles.’

Achilles was honoured as a god when he was alive, ἐτίομεν ἴσα θεοῖσιν, and now he rules over the dead, νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν / ἐνθάδ' ἐὼν. Here again there is a relationship between being μάκαρ and τιμή. When μάκαρ is applied to a mortal there is always something about them that relates them to the gods in some way, so that they can be referred to with this epithet which is primarily reserved for the gods. In this case it is the sense of being honoured, τιμή. Τιμή is also demanded by the gods from mortals through veneration and Achilles receives τιμή also through his worship. Furthermore, there is a sense of ‘power’, considering the emphasis put on how Achilles rules over others, just as the gods rule over mortals. Lastly, there is clearly also a sense of ‘awe’ as in the way mortals ‘admire’ the gods. However, interestingly, Achilles seems to show certain dismissal of Odysseus’ compliment, as seen in the following verses analysed.

There are different interpretations to explain this rejection, but I find Stamatia Dova’s to be the most relevant. Dova states: “this unwanted, totally death-oriented consolation contradicts the standard heroic expectations by avoiding any reference to *kleos*.”<sup>38</sup> Dova compares these verses to vv. 36-40 of Book XXIV of the *Odyssey* which she argues is a proper form of praise for a hero. These verses will serve as a point of comparison and also to introduce the next adjective in question, ὄλβιος. In these verses the ghost of Agamemnon greets the ghost of Achilles in the following way:

ὄλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
ὃς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκάς Ἄργεος· ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἄλλοι  
κτείνοντο Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν υἱές ἄριστοι,  
μαρνάμενοι περὶ σεῖο· σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλλιγγι κονίης  
κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.

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<sup>38</sup> Dova, Stamatia. (2000), p. 58.

Fortunate son of Peleus, godlike Achilles, who died at Troy, far from Argos, and about you others fell, the best of the sons of the Trojans and Achaeans, fighting for your body; and you in the whirl of dust lay mighty in your mightiness, forgetful of your horsemanship.

The main difference is the adjective employed since Odysseus uses μάκαρ to refer to Achilles while Agamemnon uses ὄλβιος. Agamemnon's praise of Achilles follows a heroic mindset as Pietro Pucci stated:

Agamemnon values the traditional markers of heroic death: the great heroic battle of “the best of the Achaeans” around Achilles' body, the extraordinary funeral rites with Thetis and the Muses singing *thrênos*, the funeral games with marvelous prizes, the building of a great tomb high on a jutting headland over the wide Hellespont. [...] This is the correct epic consolation and praise for heroic death in exchange for his life, the hero gets a renown that will never be extinguished in the world among all living men and gods. Odysseus, on the contrary, tries to praise Achilles as though some heroic distinction were marking the death itself of the hero, the status of his death in the underworld.<sup>39</sup>

The decision to use the adjective ὄλβιος shows that Agamemnon's praise of Achilles is more in accordance with the heroic values. Gregory Nagy explores the meaning of the word ὄλβιος and states that this word has two meanings: “One meaning belongs to the sacred world of cult heroes, while the other meaning belongs to the non-sacred world of ephemeral mortals [...]”<sup>40</sup> Nagy notes that while explicit allusions to hero worship are frequently avoided, the language used in such references is consistent with how cult figures were traditionally regarded. These implicit references are due to the fact that the Homeric tradition is Panhellenic and hero cult is a local practice.<sup>41</sup> However, through the language used, which is consistent with how cult figures were traditionally regarded, it is possible to detect the implicit references. In this case, the use of ὄλβιος applied to Achilles is to be understood in the sense of hero cult, he is a mortal who is immortalized after death, honoured with funerals and worshipped at his tomb following hero cult. Nagy points out that there is a reference to the place where Achilles was slain (ὄς θάνεες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκὰς Ἄργεος) where, from what can be gathered, he is worshipped as a hero.<sup>42</sup> This worship and renown which comes from hero cult is what a hero strives for and this serves as a fitting compensation for a heroic death. Achilles represents the pinnacle of what being a Greek hero is because while he is alive he gains honour, κλέος, and after dying a heroic death he is immortalized in an epic poem and through hero cult, making him ὄλβιος.

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<sup>39</sup> Pucci, Pietro. (1998), p. 170.

<sup>40</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 369.

<sup>41</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 331.

<sup>42</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 667.

There is what seems to be another reference to hero cult in Book XXIV, vv. 191-202, of the *Odyssey*, when the ghost of Agamemnon says to Odysseus:

τὸν δ' αὖτε ψυχὴ προσεφώνεεν Ἀτρεΐδαο·  
“ὄλβιε Λαέρταο πάϊ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
ἧ ἄρα σὺν μεγάλῃ ἀρετῇ ἐκτίσω ἄκοιτιν.  
ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπεΐῃ,  
κούρη Ἰκαρίου· ὡς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος,  
ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου· τῷ οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται  
ἧς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν  
ἀθάνατοι χαρίεσσαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπεΐῃ,  
οὐχ ὡς Τυνδαρέου κόουρη κακὰ μήσατο ἔργα,  
κουρίδιον κτείνασα πόσιν, στυγερὴ δέ τ' ἀοιδὴ  
ἔσσειτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, χαλεπὴν δέ τε φῆμιν ὀπάσσει  
θηλυτέρησι γυναιξί, καὶ ἧ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔησιν.”

Then the ghost of the son of Atreus answered him: “Happy son of Laertes, Odysseus of many devices, truly full of all excellence was the wife you won. How good of understanding was flawless Penelope, daughter of Icarus! How well she kept before her the image of Odysseus, her wedded husband! Therefore the fame of her excellence shall never perish, but the immortals shall make among men on earth a song full of delight in honor of constant Penelope. Not in this manner did the daughter of Tyndareus devise evil deeds and kill her wedded husband, and hateful shall the song regarding her be among men, and evil repute does she bring upon all womankind, even upon her who does rightly.”

In these verses, ὄλβιος could be understood to encompass both senses, that of hero cult and that of the ephemeral meaning related to material possession. Firstly, Odysseus is fortunate in how his νόστος is successful and he will return home to his faithful wife, recovering his wealth and power, two things that are both related to being ὄλβιος. Odysseus' own successful νόστος contrasts with Agamemnon's. Odysseus' successful return is due to Penelope's ἀρετή whose glory, κλέος, will be remembered, while Agamemnon has an unsuccessful νόστος and dies an unheroic death due to the unfaithfulness and orchestrations of his wife to assassinate him.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, apart from living a life of wealth and of status, Odysseus will also be permanently ὄλβιος after death in terms of immortalized through hero cult. Odysseus' tomb is alluded to in vv. 126-137 of Book XI of the *Odyssey*:<sup>44</sup>

σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδέες, οὐδέ σε λήσει·  
ὀππότε κεν δῆ τοι συμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὀδίτης  
φῆῃ ἀθηρηλοιογὸν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαιδίμω ὤμω,

<sup>43</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 325.

<sup>44</sup> The vv. 281-284 of Book XXIII of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus recounts to Penelope what Teiresias told him are practically identical to these.

καὶ τότε δὴ γαίη πήξας ἐνῆρες ἐρετμόν,  
ῥέξας ἱερά καλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι,  
ἄρνειὸν ταυρόν τε συῶν τ' ἐπιβήτορα κάπρον,  
οἴκαδ' ἀποστείχειν ἔρδειν θ' ἱεῶς ἐκατόμβας  
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι,  
πᾶσι μάλ' ἐξείης. θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἀλὸς αὐτῶ  
ἀβληγρὸς μάλα τοῖος ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ σε πέφνη  
γῆραι ὑπο λιπαρῶ ἀρημένον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ  
ὄλβιοι ἔσσονται. τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἶρω.

‘And I will tell you a most certain sign, which will not escape you: when another wayfarer, on meeting you, shall say that you have a winnowing fan on your stout shoulder, then fix in the earth your shapely oar and make handsome offerings to the lord Poseidon—a ram, and a bull, and a boar that mates with sows—and depart for your home and offer sacred hecatombs to the immortal gods who hold board heaven, to each one in due order. And death shall come to you yourself away from the sea, the gentlest imaginable, that shall lay you low when you are overcome with sleek old age, and your people shall be dwelling in prosperity around you. This is the truth that I tell you.’

Through the language used, one can see that this is an allusion to Odysseus’ hero cult, primarily because of the use of σῆμα and also the adjective ὄλβιος. Nagy asserts:

[...] the *sēma* of Nestor for Antilokhos is a ‘sign’ as marked by the ‘tomb’ of a cult hero who has not yet been identified as Patroklos. In the *Odyssey* as well, I argue, the *sēma* of Teiresias for Odysseus is a ‘sign’ as marked by the ‘tomb’ of a cult hero who has not yet been identified as Odysseus himself.<sup>45</sup>

These verses of Teiresias foreshadow how Odysseus will be honoured as a cult hero at his tomb. As Nagy explains, not only are those heroes who are immortalized ὄλβιοι, but even those who worship a cult hero at their tomb can become ὄλβιοι:

In such a sacral context, as we have already noted, the word *olbioi* means ‘blessed’ or ‘blissful’, and I argue that this same meaning applies also to ordinary humans who come into mental and even physical proximity to cult heroes by way of worshipping them. [...] The cult heroes are permanently ὄλβιος, however those who initiate into the mysteries of hero cult and honour these cult heroes through sacrifices are transferred momentarily some of their bliss also, making them ὄλβιοι also.<sup>46</sup>

However, Nagy also explains that while a hero is still alive, it is dangerous to refer to him as ὄλβιος because his fate is not yet certain and some heroes are not ὄλβιος in any sense until

<sup>45</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 332.

<sup>46</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 330-331. Nagy (2020, 332-333) then explains how there is archaeological evidence that shows that one of the places where Odysseus was worshipped as a cult hero is Ithaca, his homeland.

they become truly ὄλβιος after death, as in worshipped through hero cult.<sup>47</sup> This is the case of Priam, appreciated in vv. 525-533 of Book XXIV of the *Iliad*, during the meeting of Achilles and Priam. Achilles starts by conveying the instability of human affairs by using the image of Zeus holding two urns, one for good happenings and the other one for bad ones:

ὦς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,  
ζῶειν ἀχνυμένους· αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί.  
δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει  
δώρων οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων·  
ᾧ μὲν κ' ἀμμείζας δώη Ζεὺς τερπικέραννος,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κακῶ ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῶ·  
ᾧ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε,  
καὶ ἐ κακῆ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,  
φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.

For so have the gods spun the thread for wretched mortals, that they should live among sorrows; and they themselves are without care. For two urns are set on Zeus' floor of gifts that he gives, the one of ills, the other of blessings. To whomever Zeus, who hurls the thunderbolt, gives a mixed lot, that man meets now with evil, now with good; but to whomever he gives only of the baneful, him he makes to be degraded by man, and evil madness drives him over the face of the sacred earth, and he wanders honored neither by gods nor by mortals.

Zeus can either dispense to mortals a mix of good and bad occurrences or purely bad. The fate of those with only the bad is to live a life in which one is not honoured either by gods or mortals. It seems to be indicating that the worst that can happen to a man is to not be honoured by anyone, marking great emphasis on the importance of τιμή. After this reflection on how human fate can be cruel and is fully dependent on the gods, Achilles turns to talk of his father, Peleus, mentioning how once he was bestowed such glorious gifts by the gods, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα, and that he surpassed others in ὄλβος and πλοῦτος, but that now he is left with sorrow because his only son, Achilles, cannot continue his legacy, vv. 535-542:

ὦς μὲν καὶ Πηλεΐ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα  
ἐκ γενετῆς· πάντα γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο  
ὄλβῳ τε πλούτῳ τε, ἄνασσε δὲ Μυρμιδόνεσσι,  
καὶ οἱ θνητῶ ἐόντι θεὰν ποίησαν ἄκοιτιν.  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ θῆκε θεὸς κακόν, ὅτι οἱ οὔ τι  
παίδων ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γένετο κρειόντων,  
ἀλλ' ἓνα παῖδα τέκεν παναώριον· οὐδέ νυ τόν γε  
γηράσκοντα κομίζω, ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης  
ἦμαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα.

<sup>47</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 324.

So too did the gods give glorious gifts to Peleus from his birth; for he excelled all men in wealth and substance, and was king over the Myrmidons, and to him who was but a mortal the gods gave a goddess to be his wife. But even on him a god brought evil, in that there sprang up in his halls no offspring of princely sons, but he begot only one son, doomed to an untimely fate. Nor do I tend him as he grows old, since far, far from my own country I sit around in the land of Troy, causing pain to you and your children.

Achilles then draws parallels between Peleus and Priam, vv. 543-548:

καὶ σὲ, γέρον, τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι·  
ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει  
καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλάσποντος ἀπείρων,  
τῶν σε, γέρον, πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἰάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πῆμα τόδ' ἤγαγον Οὐρανίωνες,  
αἰεὶ τοι περὶ ἄστῳ μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε.

And of you, old sir, we hear that once you were happy; how of all that toward the sea Lesbos, the seat of Macar, encloses, and Phrygia in the upland, and the boundless Hellespont, over all these people, men say, you, old sir, were preeminent because of your wealth and your sons. But from the time when the heavenly gods brought on you this misery, ever around your city are battles and slayings of men.

Firstly, from these passages it is clear that the bestowal of ὄλβος and to be ὄλβιος is purely dependent on the gods and is ever-changing because one's prosperity can fluctuate. Peleus and Priam are examples of mortals who are dealt a mix of both the good and the bad by Zeus. Even though they were once 'favoured' and 'surpassed others', κεκάσθαι, in ὄλβος and πλοῦτος, they were also dealt bad happenings. Neither Peleus nor Priam have offspring that can continue their legacy, making them no longer ὄλβιος. They have both occupied high positions in society and were admired for their wealth and power, but now they are ill-fated because they have no prospect of continuing this wealth and power through their offspring. When they were ὄλβιος they were honoured and they were renowned among others, marked by how Peleus is said to be known for his wealth and offspring. To be ὄλβιος in the ephemeral sense is linked to 'god-given material possession', 'occupying a position of power thus being admired by others' and 'having offspring that can perpetuate one's legacy'. It is clear that to be ὄλβιος is a higher state with which mortals can be bestowed during their life, but there is always the threat of human alternation. At this point in their lives, Peleus and

Priam are no longer ὄλβιοι as in ‘fortunate’ nor ὄλβιοι as in worshipped through hero cult, only after their deaths can they be permanently called ὄλβιοι through hero cult.<sup>48</sup>

This instability of human fortune is warned against in various passages of the *Odyssey*. The first is found in vv. 415-424 of Book XVII:

δός, φίλος· οὐ μὲν μοι δοκέεις ὁ κάκιστος Ἀχαιῶν  
ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ’ ὄριστος, ἐπεὶ βασιλῆι ἔοικας.  
τῷ σε χρὴ δόμεναι καὶ λῶϊον ἢ ἐπερ ἄλλοι  
σίτου· ἐγὼ δέ κέ σε κλείω κατ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.  
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε οἶκον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔναιον  
ὄλβιος ἀφνειὸν καὶ πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη,  
τοίῳ ὅποῖος ἔοι καὶ ὅτευ κεχρημένος ἔλθοι·  
ἦσαν δὲ δμῶες μάλα μυρῖοι ἄλλα τε πολλὰ  
οἴσιν τ’ εὖ ζώουσι καὶ ἀφνειοὶ καλέονται.  
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἀλάπαξε Κρονίων—ἦθελε γὰρ που—

Friend, give me some gift; you seem in my eyes not to be the basest of the Achaeans, but the best, for you look like a king. Therefore it is fitting that you should give even a better portion of bread than the rest; so would I make your fame known all over the boundless earth. For I too once dwelt in a house of my own among men, a rich man in a wealthy house, and often I gave gifts to a wanderer, whoever he was, and with whatever need he came. Slaves too I had past counting, and all other things in abundance whereby men live well and are reputed wealthy. But Zeus, son of Cronus, brought all to nothing—so, I suppose, was his good pleasure—.<sup>49</sup>

Odysseus, dressed as a beggar, is asking Antinous to spare him some gifts and cautions him against provoking the gods. Odysseus explains how he was once ὄλβιος and had his own house and slaves and all other things for a man to live well, εὖ ζῶειν and to be considered ἀφνειός. There is a clear relationship between being ὄλβιος and having material possessions, marked by the fact the adjective ἀφνειός appears twice. A house, slaves, and wealth are all signs that one is ὄλβιος. However, one’s prosperity can change and one can lose it all, so that one is no longer ὄλβιος. Zeus is again the one in charge of dispensing ὄλβος and of making one ὄλβιος, as well as being the one who can take it away. Therefore, a human must not arouse the wrath or the jealousy of the gods by acting with ὕβρις. This is why Odysseus prompts Antinous to give to those in need, in the same way, according to the story, that

<sup>48</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 324. Nagy (2020, 324) asserts: “During those moments, he is neither fortunate nor blessed. Only after death could Priam ever become truly *olbios*. As will be seen in the case of Odysseus, however, the *Odyssey* shows that this Homeric hero is ultimately not only fortunate but also blessed, and so the epithet ὄλβιος will in fact ultimately apply to him.”

<sup>49</sup> These verses are practically the same as vv. 75-80 of Book XIX of the *Odyssey*.

Odysseus did to others when he was ὄλβιος. As stated in Russo, Fernandez-Galiano and Heubeck's commentary: "They caution the listener against the instability of good fortune while also introducing a tale recounting how ὕβρις provokes divine retribution."<sup>50</sup>

A similar passage to this one is found in vv. 138-146 of Book XVIII:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτ' ἔμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιος εἶναι,  
πολλὰ δ' ἀτάσθαλ' ἔρεξα βίη καὶ κάρτεϊ εἴκων,  
πατρί τ' ἐμῶ πίσυνοσ καὶ ἐμοῖσι κασιγνήτοισι.  
τῶ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἀνήρ ἀθεμίστιοσ εἶη,  
ἀλλ' ὃ γε σιγῆ δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι, ὅττι διδοῖεν.  
οἷ' ὀρόω μνηστήρασ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντασ,  
κτῆματα κείροντασ καὶ ἀτιμάζοντασ ἄκοιτιν  
ἀνδρόσ, ὄν οὐκέτι φημι φίλων καὶ πατρίδοσ αἴησ  
δηρὸν ἀπέσσεσθαι· μάλα δὲ σχεδόν.

For I, too, was once in the way of being prosperous among men, and many deeds of wantonness I did, yielding to my strength and power, and trusting in my father and my brethren. Therefore let no man ever be lawless at any time, but let him keep in silence whatever gifts the gods give. Like the wantonness I see the suitors contriving, wasting the wealth and dishonoring the wife of a man who, I tell you, will not long be away from his friends and his native land; he is very near.

This passage is very similar to the last. Odysseus in this speech is making a paraenetic or 'wisdom' discourse in which he is instructing Amphinomus.<sup>51</sup> To be ὄλβιος is related to power and having a family one can trust. To keep one's god-given gifts, δῶρα θεῶν, one cannot be ἀθεμίστιοσ or one will induce the wrath of the gods. Instead, one should bear these god-given gifts in silence. It is another caution to not induce ὕβρις and a warning of the alternation of human prosperity. Moreover, it is interesting how ὄλβιος appears together with ἐν ἀνδράσιν, that seems to emphasize the idea that he who is ὄλβιος stands out amongst other men.<sup>52</sup>

The following verses provide an even deeper insight into the ephemeral meaning of ὄλβιος. In Book XVIII, vv. 215-222, Penelope talks to Telemachus and says:

Τηλέμαχ', οὐκέτι τοι φρένεσ ἔμπεδοι οὐδὲ νόημα·  
παῖσ ἔτ' ἐὼν καὶ μᾶλλον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κέρδε' ἐνώμασ·

<sup>50</sup> Russo, Joseph. Fernandez-Galiano, Manuel. Heubeck, Alfred. (1992), p. 132.

<sup>51</sup> Russo, Joseph. Fernandez-Galiano, Manuel. Heubeck, Alfred. (1992), p. 174.

<sup>52</sup> The adjective ὄλβιος appears again with ἐν ἀνδράσιν in vv. 354-355 of Book XVII of the *Odyssey* highlighting the idea that he who is ὄλβιος is preeminent among others: "Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλέμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιον εἶναι, / καὶ οἱ πάντα γένοιθ' ὄσσα φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοινᾷ." ("King Zeus, grant, I pray thee, that Telemachus may be blest among men, and may have all that his heart desires.").

νῦν δ', ὅτε δὴ μέγας ἐσσι καὶ ἤβης μέτρον ἰκάνεις,  
καὶ κέν τις φαίη γόνον ἔμμεναι ὄλβιου ἀνδρός,  
ἐς μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος ὀρώμενος, ἀλλότριος φῶς,  
οὐκέτι τοι φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναίσιοι οὐδὲ νόημα.

“Telemachus, your mind and your thoughts are no longer steadfast as heretofore. Even when you were still a child you behaved more intelligently; but now that you are grown and have reached the bounds of manhood, and would be called a rich man’s son by one who looked only to your stature and handsome appearance, being himself a stranger from afar, your mind and your thoughts are no longer right as before.”

Here Penelope tells Telemachus that those who only know him from afar, would still regard him as a son of someone ὄλβιος. Telemachus, apart from enjoying material prosperity, is regarded by others as the son of someone ὄλβιος because of his stature and his physical beauty. Here ὄλβιος is related again to status and it implies that one’s offspring perpetuates this state of being ὄλβιος. In the same way that Odysseus is ὄλβιος, his son Telemachus will also become ὄλβιος as will be appreciated in the next passage.

In vv. 440-451 of Book XI of the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon talks about Odysseus future encounter with Telemachus and calls the latter ὄλβιος:

“ὥς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' αὐτίκ' ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε·  
‘τῷ νῦν μὴ ποτε καὶ σὺ γυναικί περ ἤπιος εἶναι·  
μὴ οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφασκέμεν, ὄν κ' ἐν εἰδήσ,  
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι.  
ἀλλ' οὐ σοί γ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, φόνος ἔσσειται ἔκ γε γυναικός·  
λίην γὰρ πινυτή τε καὶ εὖ φρεσὶ μήδεα οἶδε  
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.  
ἧ μὲν μιν νύμφην γε νέην κατελείπομεν ἡμεῖς  
ἐρχόμενοι πόλεμόνδε· πάις δέ οἱ ἦν ἐπὶ μαζῶ  
νήπιος, ὅς που νῦν γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἴζει ἀριθμῶ,  
ὄλβιος· ἧ γὰρ τόν γε πατήρ φίλος ὄψεται ἐλθῶν,  
καὶ κεῖνος πατέρα προσπτύξεται, ἧ θέμις ἐστίν. [...]

“So I spoke, and he at once made answer and said, ‘Therefore in your own case never be gentle even to your wife. Do not declare to her every thought that you have in mind, but tell her some things, and let others also be hidden. Yet not upon you, Odysseus, shall death come from your wife, for very prudent and of an understanding heart is the daughter of Icarus, wise Penelope. Leave her we did, a bride newly wed when we went to the war, and a boy was at her breast, a baby, who now doubtless sits in the ranks of men, in prosperity. Behold him his dear father will, when he comes, and he will embrace his father, as is right and good. [...]

Telemachus, who has now grown up and has assumed his role in society as a man, ‘enjoys a high status in society’ and ‘material prosperity’, he is ὄλβιος. In the same way, Odysseus becomes ὄλβιος again when he returns. To be ὄλβιος is clearly related to having ‘material prosperity’, ‘having some type of power and occupying high status’ and ‘being admired by others’.

Lastly, the form ὄλβια is repeatedly used in wishes for the future, praying to the gods that they dispense this type of happiness. For example, in the verses in vv. 146-150 of Book VII of the *Odyssey*:

“Ἄρητη, θύγατερ Ῥηξήνορος ἀντιθέοιο,  
σὸν τε πόσιν σά τε γούναθ’ ἰκάνω πολλὰ μογήσας  
τούσδε τε δαιτυμόνας· τοῖσιν θεοὶ ὄλβια δοῖεν  
ζωέμεναι, καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος  
κτῆματ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γέρας θ’ ὅ τι δῆμος ἔδωκεν[...]

“Arete, daughter of godlike Rhexenor, to your husband and to your knees have I come suppliant after many toils, and to these banqueters, too, to whom may the gods grant happiness in life, and may each of them hand down to his children the wealth in his halls, and the dues of honor which the people have given him. [...]

In vv. 412-416 of Book VIII of the *Odyssey*:

τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
“καὶ σὺ φίλος μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.  
μηδέ τι τοι ξίφεός γε ποθὴ μετόπισθε γένοιτο  
τούτου, ὃ δὴ μοι δῶκας ἀρεσσάμενος ἐπέεσσιν.”

And resourceful Odysseus answered him, and said: “All hail to you, too, friend; and may the gods grant you happiness, and may you never hereafter miss this sword which you have given me, making amends with gentle speech.”

In vv. 38-46 of Book XIII of the *Odyssey*:

“Ἄλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,  
πέμπετέ με σπείσαντες ἀπήμονα, χαίρετε δ’ αὐτοί·  
ἤδη γὰρ τετέλεσται ἅ μοι φίλος ἤθελε θυμός,  
πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τά μοι θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες  
ὄλβια ποιήσειαν· ἀμύμονα δ’ οἴκοι ἄκοιτιν  
νοστήσας εὖροιμι σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν.  
ὕμεις δ’ αὖθι μένοντες εὐφραίνοιτε γυναῖκας  
κουριδίας καὶ τέκνα· θεοὶ δ’ ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν  
παντοίην, καὶ μὴ τι κακὸν μεταδήμιον εἶη.”

“Lord Alcinous, renowned above all men, pour libations now, and, all of you, send me on my way in peace; and yourselves too - farewell! For now all that my heart desired has been brought to pass: conveyance, and gifts of friendship. May the gods of heaven bless them to me, and on my return may I find in my house my flawless wife with my friends and family unscathed; and may you in your turn, remaining here, make glad your wedded wives and children; and may the gods grant you excellence of every sort, and may no evil come upon your people.”

In vv. 146-150 of Book VII of the *Odyssey*, there is a clear relationship between being granted ὄλβια and wealth, with special emphasis on this wealth being continued through one’s children. This is very similar to the ephemeral meaning of ὄλβιος already appreciated. In vv. 38-46 of Book XIII of the *Odyssey* there is also a clear association between ὄλβια and one’s family being safe and not being harmed. This is similar to the reason why Priam and Peleus were once called ὄλβιος and not anymore after losing their sons since to be ὄλβιος is linked to one’s offspring. It is also interesting to remark how ὄλβιος is linked to the wish for ἀρετή, as seen in θεοὶ δ’ ἀρετὴν ὀπάσειαν παντοίην.

In conclusion, the analysis of happiness-related words in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* has revealed nuances of meaning for μακαρίζω, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος and ὄλβος. Firstly, starting with the verb μακαρίζω, this is connected to the term μάκαρ and is used to describe those who, like the gods, attain a divine status as a result of their material wealth or power that makes their lives easier. It only appears three times in the *Odyssey* and never once in the *Iliad*. It is consistently used in the same formulaic line about how someone is deserving of praise and of being called μάκαρ because of their god-given gifts and favours. It has to be considered that these gifts are thought to make the person’s life easier and thus similar to the gods and that is why they are ultimately worthy of being called μάκαρ. The verb denotes a sense of awe towards someone who lives a more comfortable life thanks to their resources.

Turning to the adjective μάκαρ, it is used for beings who are ‘superior’ in terms of their ‘means’ and ‘power’ which enables them ‘to live a life of ease without toil’ and ‘stable’, and are ‘objects of awe and honour’. This epithet is used mostly for the gods, accompanying the noun θεός. However, remarkably it is also used for mortals on a few occasions. The sense components of μάκαρ become clearer when applied to mortals as normally it is explained in which way they are worthy of being applied this adjective generally reserved for the gods. In a world of uncertainty and war transmitted by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, those who live easier lives are object of awe, whether they are gods, rich people with property who are

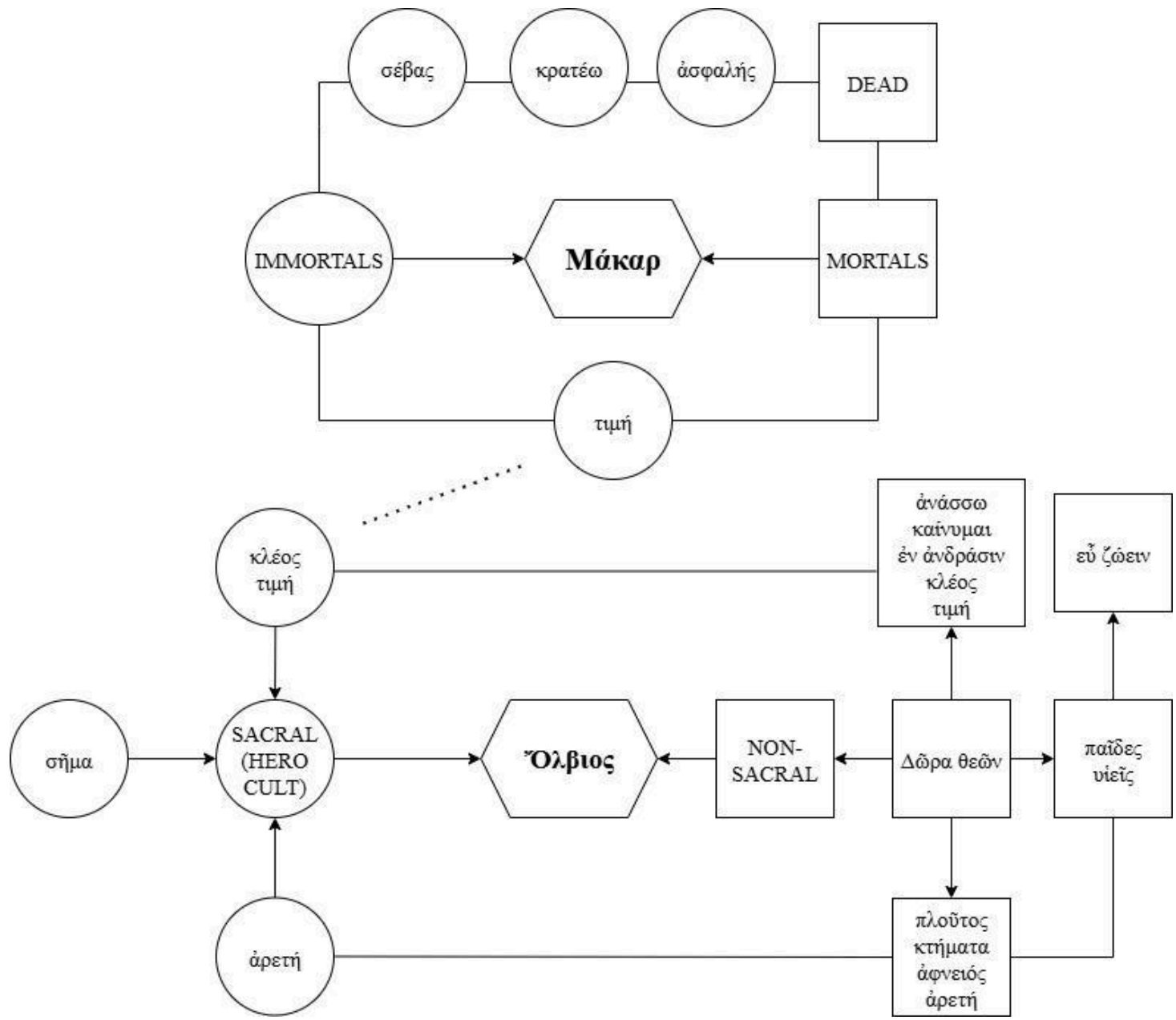
self-sustaining without toil, or more powerful and fortunate people. Μάκαρ refers to a type of happiness that is connected to stability in the face of hardship, similar to the secure life, ἀσφαλής, that the gods enjoy for all of their eternal existence, μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες. On two occasions, μάκαρ is used for the dead because through death they escape from the instability of human alternation and cease to live a life that is insecure. When it is applied to mortals it is also because they enjoy ‘power similar to the gods’, as it can be seen in Priam’s praises for Agamemnon for how he has many people subject to him, πολλοὶ δεδμηάτο κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν and when it is said how Achilles, rules over the dead, μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν. To call someone μάκαρ, an epithet reserved for the gods, is one of the highest praises and shows great stupefaction, σέβας, and honour, τιμή, similar to that that the gods receive. Odysseus seems to prefer the adjective μάκαρ for praise and uses it for Achilles and Nausicaa. For Nausicaa, μάκαρ is found in a μακαρισμός in what seems to be an antecedent to wedding songs. Without a doubt, all these applications share the sense components of being an ‘object of awe’, ‘receiving τιμή’ and enjoying ‘certain power’ and ‘stability’.

The proper heroic praise is to be found in the word ὄλβιος, understood in its sense relating to hero cult. In its sacral meaning, to be ὄλβιος is permanent and consists of being worshipped after death through hero cult. This adjective is used for Achilles and Odysseus, both mortals who are immortalized after death, receiving κλέος, both through song and through hero cult since they are worshipped at their tombs. Those who worship heroes can also be considered momentarily ὄλβιοι themselves as a form of transfer of this favour. Even though the Homeric tradition is Panhellenic and hero cult is local and the references to hero cult are only implicit, these allusions are definitely identifiable as consistent with the conception of hero cult. In its non-sacral meaning, to be ὄλβιος is related to receiving god-given bestowals, δῶρα θεῶν, in the form of ‘wealth’ (πλοῦτος, ἀφνειός) and possessions (κτήματα), which makes one ‘live well’ (εὖ ζῶειν). It is also related to ‘being powerful’ or ‘occupying high status’ (ἀνάσσω, καίνυμαι), and ‘being honoured and admired among others (ἀρετή)’, marked by how it appears with a prepositional phrase, ὄλβιος ἐν ἀνδράσιν which highlights this sense of being ‘preeminent’. Having ‘an offspring that can perpetuate this material wealth’ (παῖδες, υἱεῖς) and occupy a position of power is crucial and Priam and Peleus, who have lost this, are no longer considered to be ὄλβιος. To be ὄλβιος in its non-sacral sense is not permanent and all of these external qualities are god-given and rely on the will of a god, who at any moment can take them away. This also becomes clear since the word ὄλβος is repeatedly used in wishes for the future for the gods to grant ὄλβια. This means that the gods are the dispensers

of this type of happiness and it is up to them to secure it. Moreover, in the *Odyssey*, there are many warnings against this loss of prosperity and this variability of human fortune. In these, there is the caution against acting with ὕβρις or being ἀθεμίσιος. Even though there is this duality in meaning of the adjective ὄλβιος, what is clear is that both share a sense of ‘admiration’ and ‘being honoured by others’, ‘receiving glory’, either by surpassing others due to ‘power’, ‘wealth’, ‘physical attributes’ or by being a ‘cult hero’.

Effectively, all types of happiness that mortals can achieve are exterior and dependent on the gods, specifically Zeus, and no mortal can make themselves ὄλβιος nor μάκαρ in any way. Even though one can be called μάκαρ, one cannot fully attain the happiness that gods enjoy and there is always a risk of one’s fortune changing. For a human to be called μάκαρ means that they have circumstances that are similar to the gods, either by living a life of ease without toil, having power over others in the same way gods rule over humans or being deeply admired by others. In the non-sacral meaning of ὄλβιος, the sense of ‘wealth’ and ‘aristocratic power’ is very present. To be ὄλβιος and μάκαρ both have a relationship to ‘being honoured’ and ‘admired’ by others, which makes sense considering that in the worlds depicted in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, honour is central and one aspires to be honoured. The only permanent form of happiness, apart from that of the gods who are always μάκαρ, is to be ὄλβιος as in worshipped after death following hero cult and thus immortalized, the ultimate objective and goal of a heroic mindset.

ὄλβιος	μάκαρ	μακαρίζω
<p>Used for mortals. Either in the non-sacral meaning with these nuances:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ‘Wealth and possessions’ (πλοῦτος, κτήματα, ἀφνειός)</li> <li>- ‘High status’, ‘to surpass’(καίνυμαι, ἀνάσσω, ἀρετή)</li> <li>- ‘To be admired’ and ‘receive glory’ (κλέος)</li> <li>- ‘Having offspring to perpetuate this prosperity’ (παῖδες, υἱεῖς)</li> <li>- ‘Not permanent’</li> <li>- ‘Dependent on the gods’</li> </ul>	<p>Applied to gods as an epithet accompanying the noun θεός with these connotations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ‘Life of ease’</li> <li>- ‘Security’ &amp; ‘stability’ (ἀσφαλής)</li> <li>- ‘Power’ (κρατέω)</li> <li>- ‘Awe’, ‘stupefaction’ (σέβας)</li> <li>- ‘Object of τιμή’</li> </ul>	<p>It has less strength than μάκαρ and only found three times in the same formulaic verses. Used for mortals who ‘live an easier life due to their means’ and are ‘admired’ for this.</p>
<p>In the sacral meaning related to hero cult it is used for ‘heroes that are honoured through hero cult at their sacred burial site’ or for ‘those who worship heroes and are momentarily blessed’. The heroes who receive hero cult are permanently ὄλβιοι after death.</p>	<p>Used for humans who are close to the gods in some way. Either because of ‘divine proximity’, or because they have ‘power’ by ruling over others or ‘life of ease’ due to their means. Strong sense of ‘awe’ and ‘to be honoured’.</p>	
<p>Both meanings share ‘being honoured and admired by others’ and ‘surpassing others’</p>	<p>Used in a μακαρισμός for Nausicaa that seems to be an antecedent of wedding songs. For humans it is not permanent and it is dependent on the gods.</p>	
<p><b>ὄλβια (n.pl.)</b> Used in wishes for the future, praying to the gods that they dispense this type of happiness. It is ‘not permanent’ and ‘dependent on the gods.’</p>	<p>Applied to the dead, because they are secure from suffering and the ever-changing fortune humans deal with. They all share the idea of being object of awe, σέβας, receiving τιμή and enjoying certain power and superiority (κρατέω).</p>	



### 2.1.2. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE *HOMERIC HYMNS*

The *Homeric Hymns* are a collection of ancient Greek hymns composed in honour of various gods and goddesses. They have Homeric qualities since they were composed in the same metre as Homer's works, namely the dactylic hexameter. However, it is likely that they were composed by multiple poets. Although the date of composition is unclear, it is said that the four longest hymns, *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*H. Hom. V*), *Hymn to Demeter* (*H. Hom. II*), *Hymn to Hermes* (*H. Hom. IV*) and *Hymn to Apollo* (*H. Hom. III*) belong to the Archaic period between VII-VI BC.<sup>53</sup> Except for the *Hymn to Ares* (*H. Hom. VIII*), which has been dated to III or V AD, it is believed that the majority of the hymns were probably composed around a similar date, even though this cannot be affirmed with complete certainty.<sup>54</sup> In relation to the date of compilation, Torres' hypothesis is between the end of the Classical period and the 2nd century BC.<sup>55</sup> As for their function, it appears that these hymns were originally composed for recitation in a particular setting, at some particular festival or gathering.<sup>56</sup> In the following section, this corpus will be analysed solely from the perspective of the use of happiness-related words and the context of each hymn will be explored when relevant.

When focussing on happiness-related words, it is significant that the adjective *μάκαρ* appears twenty-two times in the *Homeric Hymns*. Some examples are presented below of how this adjective is used. Firstly, some uses accompanying *θεός*:

*Hymn to Demeter* (*H. Hom. II*), vv. 325-328:

αὐτίς ἔπειτα <πατήρ> **μάκαρας θεοῦς** αἰὲν ἔόντας  
πάντας ἐπιπροΐαλλεν· ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ κίόντες  
κίκλησκον καὶ πολλὰ δίδον περικαλλέα δῶρα,  
τιμάς θ' ἄς κεν ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν θεοῖσιν.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Torres, José Bernardino. (2005), p. 18. Torres explains how Richard Janko (1982) applied a method of linguistic statistics to date these hymns. However, this method is only applicable to hymns of sufficient extension.

<sup>54</sup> Torres, José Bernardino. (2005), p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> Torres, José Bernardino. (2005), pp. 34-35.

<sup>56</sup> West, Martin L. (2003), pp. 5-6. It has also been argued that some of these hymns may have been a prelude or *prohymion* to epic poetry. See Filippo Càssola (1975, pp. XVII-XXI) and Martin L. West (2003, p. 3).

<sup>57</sup> For the *Hymn to Demeter*, the Greek text and translation of Helene P. Foley (2013) has been selected. All the other hymns, however, are extracted from Martin L. West (2003).

Then the father sent in turn all the blessed immortals; one by one they kept coming and pleading and offered her many glorious gifts and whatever honors she might choose among the immortal gods.

*Also, in Hymn to Apollo (H. Hom. III), vv. 497-498: δειπνήσαι τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα θοῆι παρὰ νηϊ μελαίνῃ, / καὶ σπεῖσαι μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.* (“Then have your meal beside your swift dark ship, and make libation to the blessed gods in Olympus.”). In *Hymn to Aphrodite (H. Hom. V), vv. 34-35: τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρ τι πεφυγμένον ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην / οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.* (“But for the rest, nothing has escaped Aphrodite, either of the blessed gods or of mortal men.”). *Hymn to Pan (H. Hom. XIX), v. 27: ὑμνεύουσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον.* (“They celebrate the blessed gods and long Olympus.”)

The following occurrences are of μάκαρ without accompanying a noun. For example, in *Hymn to Aphrodite (H. Hom. V), vv. 92-94: “χαῖρε, ἄνασσ', ἢ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ' ἰκάνεις, / Ἄρτεμις ἢ Λητώ ἠὲ χρυσοῦ Ἀφροδίτη / ἢ Θέμις ἠὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.* (“Hail, Lady, whichever of the blessed ones you are that arrive at this dwelling, Artemis or Leto or golden Aphrodite, high-born Themis or steely-eyed Athena.”). In *Hymn to Aphrodite (H. Hom. V), vv. 194-195: οὐ γάρ τοί τι δέος παθέειν κακὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε / οὐδ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἦ φίλος ἐσσι θεοῖσι.* (“You need have no fear of suffering any harm from me or the other blessed ones, for you are dear to the gods indeed.”). Furthermore, in *Hymn to Ares (H. Hom. VIII), vv. 15-17: [...] ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος / δός, μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς, / δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆράς τε βιαίους.* (“[...] blessed one, grant me courage to abide by the innocuous principles of peace, escaping battle with my enemies and the perils of violence.”). Μάκαρ appears again in *Hymn to Poseidon (H. Hom. XXII), vv. 6-7: χαῖρε, Ποσειδάων γαίηοχε, κυανοχαῖτα, / καί, μάκαρ, εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων πλώουσιν ἄρηγε.* (“I salute you, Poseidon, earth-rider, sable-hair. Keep your heart well disposed, blessed one, and assist those at sea.”). Lastly, in *Hymn to Hestia (H. Hom. XXIX), vv. 7-8: καὶ σύ μοι, Ἀργειφόντα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ, / ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων, χρυσόρραπι, δῶτορ ἑάων.* (“and you, Argus-slayer, son of Zeus and Maia, messenger of the blessed ones, gold-wand, giver of blessings”).

As it can be seen, it is an adjective used as an epithet strictly for divinities with the sense components already appreciated of ‘life of ease’, ‘power’, ‘stability’ ‘security’ and ‘stupefaction’. This adjective is the most used in the *Homeric Hymns* which makes sense since they consist of hymns dedicated to different divinities. It appears accompanying θεός

and also appears on its own. There are more uses of μάκαρ accompanying θεός than those without it, since there are fourteen uses of μάκαρ accompanying θεός and eight uses of μάκαρ not accompanying θεός. It is important to note that in respect to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there is an increase of use of μάκαρ occurring alone. As noted in Section 1: Happiness-related Words in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there are only two usages of μάκαρ without accompanying θεός in Homer's works. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the *Homeric Hymns* vary in date so the increase of the usage of μάκαρ without θεός could be an indication that these hymns are later than the ones with θεός. However, there are also hymns such as the *Hymn to Demeter* (*H. Hom. II*) and the *Hymn to Apollo* (*H. Hom. III*) where there are uses of μάκαρ both with and without θεός. As it will be seen in the following sections of this work, this use of μάκαρ without θεός is appreciated more in Hesiod and later authors.

Changing focus to ὄλβιος, this adjective appears eight times in the *Homeric Hymns*, twice in the *Hymn to Demeter* (*H. Hom. II*). The *Hymn to Demeter* tells the myth of the rape of Persephone. Persephone, the daughter of Demeter and Zeus, was kidnapped by Hades while she was picking flowers. Demeter searched for her daughter for nine days until Hecate and Helios, who had witnessed what had happened, finally told her about Persephone's capture. Demeter decides to leave Mount Olympus and roam the Earth disguised as a mortal. She eventually arrives in Eleusis, where she is welcomed by King Celeus' daughters and offered a place in their home as a nurse for Demophoon, Celeus' and Metaneira's newborn son. Demeter attempts to make Demophoon immortal by secretly anointing him in ambrosia and placing him into the fire each night. However, Metaneira catches Demeter and the goddess, furious, renounces the process of immortalisation. Demeter then orders as compensation that the people of Eleusis build a temple and perform rites in her honour. She also promises that as compensation for Demophoon's death, there will be an athletic event that takes place seasonally as a way to honour him.<sup>58</sup> Still grieving, Demeter caused all crops to stop growing, leading to a severe famine. In response, Zeus demanded that Hades return Persephone. However, before letting her go, Hades gave Persephone a pomegranate seed to eat, which meant she would always have to return to Hades in the underworld for a third of each year. Accepting this, Demeter restored fertility to the Earth and taught the people of Eleusis sacred rites. "An additional complication in the critical assessment of this poem arises from the association of these goddesses and their myth with the Eleusinian Mysteries, a regular and

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<sup>58</sup> Jenny Strauss Clay (2006, 241) states that Demophoon's cult as a hero has been linked to *Balletys*, a local festival in which the young men of Eleusis engaged in mock combat.

important part of the religious life of Athens in the classical period, and one of several Greek festivals that increased in popularity and spread abroad in the Hellenistic era.”<sup>59</sup> These rites have been related to the Eleusinian Mysteries and consequently the *Hymn to Demeter* has been read as a religious rather than a literary work. While much remains unknown about the specific practices of the Eleusinian Mysteries, this study will focus on examining the *Hymn to Demeter* within its literary and mythological context, rather than exploring the actual religious rituals associated with the Mysteries. The analysis will centre on the use of ὄλβιος in this hymn and how it offers a new meaning of this adjective to refer to those initiated in the rites Demeter establishes at Eleusis, vv. 480-484:

ὄλβιος, ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·  
ὃς δ' ἀτελῆς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίων  
αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.  
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάνθ' ὑπεθήκατο δῖα θεάων,  
βᾶν ῥ' ἴμεν Οὐλύμπόν δε θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγουριν ἄλλων.

Blessed is the mortal on earth who has seen these rites,  
but the uninitiate who has no share in them never  
has the same lot once dead in the dreary darkness.  
When the great goddess had founded all her rites,  
the goddesses left for Olympus and the assembly of the other gods.

Here, ὄλβιος appears in a μακαρισμός used to congratulate those who are initiated in the rites established by Demeter. It is understood that he who is initiated will have a different fate after death than the uninitiated. One who has witnessed the rites is considered ὄλβιος, since this experience grants one superiority due to the knowledge acquired. This knowledge comes from seeing, made clear by the emphasis put on the verb ὄράω, in the form ὄπωπεν. This act of seeing these rites grants initiates certain knowledge of life and death which only they have and therefore makes them stand out from the uninitiated:

On n'échappe pas à la conclusion que, des *Hymne homérique*, c'est le salut surnaturel qu'offrent aux initiés les mystères. Très tôt d'autres textes ajoutent, malgré leur vague volontaire, de remarquables précisions sur les bienfaits de l'initiation: les mystes jouissent dans l'Hadès du monopole de l'ὄλβος et de la vie; la vision époptique leur confère une connaissance ontologique de la vie, de la mort et de la survie.<sup>60</sup>

In the following verses, there is another appearance of ὄλβιος and this time it becomes clear that the benefits enjoyed by initiates are not only in death but also in life, vv. 485-489:

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<sup>59</sup> Foley, Helene. P. (2013), p. 217.

<sup>60</sup> Lévêque, Pierre. (1982), p. 126.

ἔνθα δὲ ναιετάουσι παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ  
σεμναὶ τ' αἰδοῖται τε· μέγ' ὄλβιος ὃν τιν' ἐκεῖναι  
προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·  
αἴψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα  
Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν.

There they dwell by Zeus delighting-in-thunder, inspiring  
awe and reverence. Highly blessed is the mortal  
on earth whom they graciously favor with love.  
For soon they will send to the hearth of his great house  
Ploutos, the god giving abundance to mortals.

The initiate, who is highly ὄλβιος, is loved graciously by Demeter and Persphone and is granted a more favourable life and afterlife. As well as a more favourable afterlife, the goddesses will send to the initiated's home the god who represents wealth, Ploutos. Jenny Strauss Clay explains how the rites introduce a change in the relationship between humans and the gods represented by the new status of ὄλβιος, while still preserving the fundamental distinctions that separate them:

Formerly, human existence embraced only two phases: life and death. Demeter now institutes a third, a *tertium quid*, which forms in some sense a middle ground between the polarities of life and death. To be sure, men continue to be ἐπιχθόνιοι, nor are they exempt from descending into the underworld when they die. Human life remains finite, and death is not transcended. ὄλβιος is not μάκαρ, a word reserved for the unchanging status of the gods.<sup>61</sup>

Obviously, there is still a distinct division between gods and mortals, which is evidenced in how the word used for the initiate, ὄλβιος, clearly belongs to the mortal realm and is not μάκαρ. As was proven by the failed attempt to immortalise Demophoon, humans cannot be μάκαρ, substantiating further the division between gods and mortals:

In the context of the hymn, the case of Demophoon and his failed apotheosis guarantees for all time that no man can become immortal; henceforward, mankind cannot hope to escape its mortality. [...] On the other hand, it will, in the end, mitigate the lot of mortals through the institution of the Mysteries. One may say, then, the fate of Demophoon forms a precondition to the possibility and desirability of initiation. Only once the avenue of immortality is permanently closed, can the path of initiation be opened.<sup>62</sup>

Effectively, ὄλβιος refers to the happiness that an initiate enjoys by 'being initiated in the mysteries and being loved graciously by the goddesses of rites'. The mysteries come into

<sup>61</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2006), p. 262.

<sup>62</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2006), p. 244.

play as a form of mitigation of human suffering by introducing a third type of state, he who is ὄλβιος. In this third state, one transcends ordinary mortal limits in knowledge of life and death and represents a superior mortal experience. Firstly, the feeling of instability inherent to human existence is eased because of the goddesses' promise of granting more fortune and better crops in life, marked by the idea that Ploutos will visit the house of the initiated. Secondly, the promise that the initiated will have a better afterlife mitigates the feeling of despair in the face of human mortality.

The adjective ὄλβιος appears twice in the *Hymn to Hermes*, together with two appearances of ὄλβος. The noun ὄλβος appears at the very start of the hymn in vv. 20-25:

ὄς καί, ἐπει δὴ μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γυίων,  
οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἔκειτο μένων ἱερῶι ἐνὶ λίκνῳι,  
ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀναΐξας ζήτει βόας Ἀπόλλωνος  
οὐδὸν ὑπερβαίνων ὑψηρεφέος ἄντροιο.  
ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρῶν ἐκτίσατο μυρίον ὄλβον·  
Ἐρμῆς τοι πρότιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ' αἰοιδόν·

Once he had sprung from his mother's immortal legs, he did not stay long lying in his holy cradle, but jumped up and started to look for Apollo's cattle, crossing the threshold of the high-roofed cave. There he found a tortoise, and so gained a priceless treasure: Hermes it was who first crafted the singing tortoise.

Here, ὄλβος is related to a material possession which is bestowed by the gods. The verb κτάομαι highlights the material nature of ὄλβος. This demonstrates the ambiguity of Hermes' condition since normally mortals are receivers of ὄλβος and the gods are dispensers of it. Athanassios Vergados explains how Hermes seems to be both the receiver and the provider of the gain, as he will provide the mortals with the invention of the lyre.<sup>63</sup> Hermes is bestowed ὄλβος and he, himself, is the one who crafts the lyre and in turn, will dispense this instrument to mortals. Effectively, ὄλβος refers to a material possession, in this case in the form of a lyre, which is dispensed by the gods to mortals.

Then in vv. 368-386 of the *Hymn to Hermes (H. Hom. IV)*, the adjective ὄλβιος is used:

“Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦτοι ἐγὼ σοι ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω·  
νημερτής τε γάρ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ψεύδεσθαι.  
ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς  
σήμερον ἡελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο,  
οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων ἄγε μάρτυρας οὐδὲ κατόπτας·  
μηνύειν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ πολλῆς,

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<sup>63</sup> Vergados, Athanassios. (2013), p. 244.

πολλὰ δέ μ' ἠπειλήσε βαλεῖν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν,  
οὔνεχ' ὃ μὲν τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχει φιλοκυδέος ἥβης,  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χθιζὸς γενόμην—τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός—  
οὔτι βοῶν ἐλατῆρι, κραταιῶι φωτί ἐοικώς.  
πεῖθεο, καὶ γὰρ ἐμεῖο πατήρ φίλος εὐχεται εἶναι,  
ὥς οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην,  
οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην· τὸ δέ τ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύω.  
Ἥελιον δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι καὶ δαίμονας ἄλλους,  
καὶ σε φιλῶ, καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι· οἴσθα καὶ αὐτός,  
ὥς οὐκ αἰτίος εἰμι· μέγαν δ' ἐπιδώσομαι ὄρκον·  
οὐ μὰ τὰδ' ἀθανάτων εὐκόσμητα προθύρῃα.  
μή ποτ' ἐγὼ τούτῳ τείσω ποτὲ νηλέα φώρην  
καὶ κρατερῶι περ ἐόντι· σὺ δ' ὀπλοτέροισιν ἄρηγε.”

“Father Zeus, I shall tell you it as it was, for I am truthful and do not know how to tell a lie. He came into our place in search of his shambling cattle today as the sun was just rising. He didn't bring witnesses or observers from the blessed gods, but insisted on disclosure with much duress, and with many threats to throw me into broad Tartarus, because he has the delicate bloom of his glorious prime, while I was born yesterday, as he well knows, and I don't look like a cattle rustler, a strong man. Believe me (since you call yourself my dear father) that I didn't drive his cows home—so may I prosper—or even cross the threshold, and I'm speaking the truth. I am in awe of Helios and the other gods, and I love you, and I respect him. You yourself know I'm not to blame. I'll give you a great oath too: by these finely adorned porches of the gods, I will never ever pay him compensation for that ruthless theft, strong though he is; you must support us younger ones.”

Vergados, in his commentary, explains the possibilities of interpreting ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην as either being a wish-clause or a purpose clause.<sup>64</sup> In both these cases, it is clear how to be ὄλβιος specifically relates to ‘possessing cattle’, demonstrating that this type of happiness is linked to ‘material possession’. It refers to agricultural possession like in the *Hymn to Demeter* but, in this instance, it is specifically cattle. In the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, however, the material possessions are related to wealth, offspring and wives. De Heer explained this in the following way:

This fact throws a light on the different social background of the time in which the poet lived; he used linguistic resources inherited from a world which no longer existed, in order to describe what he knew as the most valued material goods in his own days. This does not make the usage an innovation, however, but it demonstrates that to be ὄλβιος was still felt to be a condition of fullness based on some form of wealth.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Vergados, Athanassios. (2013), p. 480.

<sup>65</sup> De Heer, Cornelis, (1969), p. 17.

In vv. 458-477 of the *Hymn to Hermes* there is another occurrence of ὄλβιος:

νῦν γάρ τοι κλέος ἔσται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
σοὶ τ' αὐτῶι καὶ μητρὶ· τὸ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω·  
ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανέϊνον ἀκόντιον, ἧ μὲν ἐγὼ σε  
κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμονεύσω,  
δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω.”  
τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·  
“εἰρωτᾶις μ', Ἑκάεργε περιφραδές· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι  
τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.  
σήμερον εἰδήσεις· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι  
βουλῆι καὶ μύθοισι, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ' εὖ οἶδας.  
πρῶτος γάρ, Διὸς υἱέ, μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θαάσσεις,  
ἧς τε κρατερός τε· φιλεῖ δέ σε μητίετα Ζεὺς  
ἐκ πάσης ὀσίης, ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα·  
καὶ τιμὰς σέ γέ φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς  
μαντείας, Ἑκάεργε, Διὸς παρά θέσφατα πάντα·  
τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ σε μαλ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα.  
σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι, ὅττι μενοινᾶις.  
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τοι θυμὸς ἐπιθύει κιθαρίζειν,  
μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγνυε  
δέγμενος ἐξ ἐμέθεν· σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, κῦδος ὄπαζε.

For now you are going to be renowned among the immortal gods, you and your mother. I'll tell you truly, yes, by this cornel-wood javelin, I guarantee I shall introduce you to the immortals, to enjoy prestige and fortune. I shall give you fine gifts, and never deceive you.” Hermes answered him craftily: “You question me, wise Far-shooter, and I don't mind you embarking on my art. You shall learn it this very day. I want to be friendly to you in word and intent; you have a good knowledge of everything, son of Zeus, for you sit in first place among the immortals, noble and powerful, and resourceful Zeus loves you as is right and proper, and has given you fine gifts. And they say you have the privilege of prophetic knowledge from Zeus' utterance, Far-shooter, the complete revelation of Zeus' will; in which I myself have now learned that you are richly endowed. You can help yourself to the knowledge you want. But as your heart is set on playing the lyre, play it, make music, and be festive, accept it from me; and you, dear friend, give me prestige in turn.

In this exchange between Apollo and Hermes, Apollo guarantees Hermes that he and his mother will have κλέος among the Immortals. He then also promises him that he will introduce him to the gods so that he can be κυδρός and ὄλβιος. It is remarkable that Apollo uses these three key-words, two of which, κλέος and ὄλβιος, are closely related to mortals

while, in contrast, *κυδρός* is frequently used for the gods.<sup>66</sup> It is striking how *ὄλβιος*, an adjective generally reserved for mortals, is used for a god, Hermes, in these two instances. De Heer interpreted this in the following way: “And just as humans seek to be *ὄλβιοι*, so do the gods if they play a human role in a divine comedy.”<sup>67</sup> However, I lean towards Maria Vamvouri-Ruffy’s interpretation that this use is down to Hermes’ ambiguous condition as understood to be neither mortal nor immortal:

Comment interpréter la contradiction que recèlent les engagements d’Apollon? En fait, le statut divin d’Hermès n’a pas encore été entièrement reconnu. Apollon traite son frère à la fois comme un mortel et comme un dieu. Ses paroles soulignent le statut ambigu d’Hermès, penché tantôt vers le divin, tantôt vers l’humain.<sup>68</sup>

The adjective *ὄλβιος* denotes human happiness and seems to be related to enjoying god-given material possession, proven by Apollo’s promise of gifts (*δώσω τ’ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω*). Even though Hermes is offered *κλέος* and to be *ὄλβιος*, he replies asking specifically for *κύδος*, (*σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, κύδος ὄπαζε.*) Vamvouri-Ruffy states:

Bref, en optant pour le *κύδος*, Hermès embrasse la condition du dieu qu’il est en passe de devenir. En même temps, il se débarasse du *κλέος* et de l’*ὄλβος* auxquels il pourrait prétendre, ce qui semble signifier que ces deux attributs doivent revenir à un mortel.<sup>69</sup>

In vv. 526-532, Apollo will hand to Hermes the caduceus that in itself will confer on him the ability to bestow *ὄλβος* and *πλοῦτος*, further substantiating that the fact that *ὄλβος* is granted by a divinity which makes the receiver *ὄλβιος*.

“[...] ἐκ δὲ τέλειον  
 σύμβολον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι † ἡδ’ ἅμα πάντων  
 πιστὸν ἐμῶι θυμῶι καὶ τίμιον. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ράβδον  
 χρυσεὴν τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει,  
 πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θε<μ>οὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.”

“And I will make it a complete contract from all the immortals, that I will trust and honor in my heart. Moreover, I will give you a beautiful wand of wealth and fortune, made of gold, trefoil; it will keep you safe from harm, fulfilling all the dispositions of good words and events that I claim to know from the utterance of Zeus.”

<sup>66</sup> Maria Vamvouri Ruffy (2004, 162) puts forward as an example *H. Hom. XXVIII, 1; Il. 18, 184; Od. 11, 580*.

<sup>67</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 17.

<sup>68</sup> Vamvouri-Ruffy, Maria. (2004), p. 162.

<sup>69</sup> Vamvouri-Ruffy, Maria. (2004), p. 163.

These passages further prove that ὄλβιος is an adjective that is reserved mainly for mortals. It is only applied to Hermes because at this point he is neither understood as mortal or immortal, but Hermes is shown to reject the adjective ὄλβιος knowing that it is linked to the mortal condition.

Another occurrence of ὄλβιος is found in vv. 92-106 of *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*H. Hom. V*):

“χαῖρε, ἄνασσ’, ἢ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ’ ἰκάνεις,  
Ἄρτεμις ἢ Λητώ ἢ χρυσοῦ Ἀφροδίτη  
ἢ Θέμις ἠὺγενής ἢ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
ἢ πού τις Χαρίτων δεῦρ’ ἦλυθες, αἶ τε θεοῖσιν  
πᾶσιν ἐταιρίζουσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,  
ἢ τις νυμφῶν, αἶ τ’ ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,  
{ἢ νυμφῶν αἶ καλὸν ὄρος τόδε ναιετάουσιν}  
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.  
σοὶ δ’ ἐγὼ ἐν σκοπιῇ, περιφαινομένω ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
βωμὸν ποιήσω, ῥέξω δέ τοι ἱερὰ καλά  
ὄρησιν πάσησι· σὺ δ’ εὖφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσα  
δός με μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἀριπρεπέ’ ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα,  
ποιεῖ δ’ εἴσοπίσω θαλερὸν γόνον, αὐτὰρ ἔμ’ αὐτὸν  
δηρὸν ἔϋ ζῶειν καὶ ὄρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο  
ὄλβιον ἐν λαοῖς, καὶ γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι.”

“Hail, Lady, whichever of the blessed ones you are that arrive at this dwelling, Artemis or Leto or golden Aphrodite, high-born Themis or steely-eyed Athena; or perhaps you are one of the Graces come here, who are companions to all the gods and are called immortal; or one of the nymphs, who haunt the fair groves and the waters of rivers and the grassy meads. I will build you an altar on a hilltop, in a conspicuous place, and make goodly sacrifices to you at every due season. Only have a kindly heart, and grant that I may be a man outstanding among the Trojans, and make my future offspring healthy, and myself to live long and well, seeing the light of the sun and enjoying good fortune among the peoples, and to reach the doorstep of old age.”

S. Douglas Olson, in his commentary, breaks down the meaning of δηρὸν ἔϋ ζῶειν. Firstly, to ζῶειν is expressed in ὄρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο. This formula represents a strictly mortal experience: “In any case, seeing the sun’s light—and thus eventually losing sight of it—is a mark of mortal rather than immortal existence”.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, to live well, represented by the adverb ἔϋ, is defined as to be ὄλβιος ἐν λαοῖς, to be prosperous among other men and to be considered as such. The meaning of ‘to live long’, represented by δηρὸν, is expressed in γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκεσθαι.

<sup>70</sup> Olson, S. Douglas. (2012), p. 261. Faulkner, Andrew. (2009), p. 173, states that this is an old formula that appears in *Il.* 18.61, 18. 442, 24. 558, *Od.* 4.540, *Od.* 4. 833, 10. 498, 14.44, 20.207.

Anchises seems to suspect that his visitor is a goddess, marked by the fact that he requests to be ὄλβιος, which only a goddess can grant. Faulkner explains how this intervention can actually be taken as a mini-hymn because it has all the parts: χαῖρε, typical invocation, list of possible goddesses which is common in hymns and then a prayer in which he asks for different things in return for his worship, following the formula of *dabo ut des*.<sup>71</sup> Anchises asks the goddesses to be εὐφρονα towards him so that he might be prominent among others, have future offspring and reach old age. De Heer related the meaning of ὄλβιος to that one found in *Od.* 11, 136.<sup>72</sup> However, considering v. 136 of Book XI of the *Odyssey* is specifically a reference to hero cult while in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* that sense of ὄλβιος is not evident, I propose instead as a parallel vv. 535-551 of Book XXIV of the *Iliad*. In this passage, Achilles talks to Priam drawing parallels on how he and his father Peleus were once ὄλβιοι, but they are no longer. This passage condenses the same three requisites as seen in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* for being ὄλβιος, understood in the ephemeral meaning: material wealth, to have prosperous offspring and to reach old age. Even though Priam and Peleus have reached old age, they are no longer considered ὄλβιοι because they do not have offspring that will be able to perpetuate their wealth and status. They have lost a prerequisite of what made them ὄλβιοι.

It is important to remember that there is also a sense of admiration that comes from others when one is considered ὄλβιος similar to the idea of being renowned. Anchises asks to be ὄλβιος in relation to ἐν λαοῖς. There is the idea that he who is ὄλβιος surpasses and stands out from others. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the sense of admiration is present and in many uses of ὄλβιος it is found as ὄλβιος ἐν ἀνδράσιν in *Od.* 17, 354 or ἐν ἀνθρώποις *Od.* 17, 420 and *Od.* 19, 76. As commented on in the last section of this work, honour is central in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and there is great importance in being renowned among others, in this case, Anchises seems also to be showing these aspirations.

There is another appearance of ὄλβιος in the *Hymn to the Muses and Apollo* in the form of a μακαρισμός, but in this instance ὄλβιος refers to he who is loved by the Muses:

Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι Ἀπόλλωνός τε Διός τε·  
 ἐκ γὰρ Μουσάων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἄνδρες ἀοῖδοι ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ καὶ κιθαρῖσται,  
 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι

<sup>71</sup> Faulkner, Andrew. (2009), pp. 173-174.

<sup>72</sup> De Heer, Cornelis (1969), p. 16.

φίλωνται· γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδὴ·  
χαίρετε, τέκνα Διός, καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' αἰοιδήν·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

From the Muses let me begin, and Apollo and Zeus. For from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo men are singers and lyre-players on earth, and from Zeus they are kings. He is fortunate whom the Muses love: the voice flows sweet from his lips.

I salute you, children of Zeus; honor my singing. And I will take heed both for you and for other singing.

It is the idea of being loved by a supernatural being, in this case by the Muses and Apollo. He who is loved by the Muses is ὄλβιος. However, the connotation of material possession as a result of divine favour is not as clear as in the other instances of ὄλβιος. The speaker does not ask for wealth, but requests that Apollo and the Muses honour their song, καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' αἰοιδήν. Vamvouri Ruffy states the following:

Le fait de solliciter l'honneur des Muses et d'Apollon est une façon d'inviter le public à reconnaître la qualité de la composition. L'adjectif ὄλβιος du vers 4 conduit à une telle explication (v. 4-5 : ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὄν τινα Μοῦσαι | φίλωνται). Ce mot, qui signifie « heureux », renvoie au bonheur lié à la richesse.<sup>73</sup>

Vamvouri Ruffy relates this recognition to subsequent material compensation marked by the adjective ὄλβιος. “La demande de prospérité matérielle ne doit guère nous étonner. Un beau chant se voyait doté d'une bonne récompense. La rétribution des poètes professionnels faisait partie intégrante de leur métier et constituait la condition même de leur survie.”<sup>74</sup> In this way, in this usage there are the following sense components, ‘to be loved by a divinity’, in this case the Muses and Apollo, receiving ‘divine favour’, ‘material compensation’, ‘being eminent and admired’. This love is shown through some type of favour, in this case it is not a material possession but an immaterial one, the art of composition.<sup>75</sup> To possess this art is to become ‘eminent’ among others and thus ‘to be admired’ for this unique ability. Moreover, a successful composer receives ‘material compensation’ for his unique ability and service as a poet in society, in the same way a distinguished hero receives ‘ritual compensation’ for having died a premature heroic death, which links these two meanings of ὄλβιος. In the same way, both the poet and hero are admired in society and will be remembered and immortalized.

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<sup>73</sup> Vamvouri-Ruffy, Maria. (2004), p. 142.

<sup>74</sup> Vamvouri-Ruffy, Maria. (2004), p. 142.

<sup>75</sup> In the next section, Happiness-related Words in Hesiod, it will be seen that vv. 91-93 of the *Theogony* are identical to vv. 4-5 found here and these verses will be analysed in the context of the *Theogony* and the works of Hesiod.

The poets aspirations linked to eminence and material compensation are seen clearly in the petition for ὄλβος and ἀρετή in the *Hymn to Hephaestus* (*H. Hom. XX*) and the *Hymn to Heracles* (*H. Hom. XV*). In v. 9 of the *Hymn to Hercules*: χαῖρε, ἄναξ Διὸς υἱέ· δίδου δ'ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον. (“I salute you, lord, son of Zeus: grant me status and fortune.”) Likewise in v. 8 of the *Hymn to Hephaestus*: ἀλλ' ἰληθ', Ἥφαιστε· δίδου δ'ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον. (“So be favorable, Hephaestus: grant me status and fortune.”). Here, ὄλβος is paired with the word ἀρετή which proves to be also very intriguing semantically. Pierre Chantraine and Robert Beekes state how the etymology of ἀρετή is uncertain and that it has been linked to ἀρέσκω, ἀρέσαι but there is no semantic connection.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, Beekes explains that Prellwitz links ἀρετή with the verb ἀραρίσκω and Vine takes the research further by proposing *\*h<sub>2</sub>(e)r-etéh<sub>2</sub>-* as a Proto-Indo-European root to ἀρετή, the same found in the verb ἀραρίσκω.<sup>77</sup> As Laura Massetti points out, Brent Vine suggests it is formed with the *-etó-* suffix.<sup>78</sup> Massetti explains that from the point of view of its formation, aretē may be taken as an *etéh<sub>2</sub>-* derivative of PIE *\*[H]ar-*, which would mean that originally it would mean ‘suitability’ and by extension ‘excellence’ or a feminine/collective of an *-etó-* derivative which would mean ‘the quality of being excellent’.<sup>79</sup> He who possesses ἀρετή surpasses others in forms of ‘excellence’ and for being the ‘fittest’ or the most suitable. The poet asks to be given excellence to ‘surpass other poets’ and thus, receive ‘material compensation’, ὄλβος. The idea to ‘surpass others’ and being ‘eminent’ is a clear sense component of ὄλβιος.

The noun ὄλβια appears in vv. 463-466 of *Hymn to Apollo* (*H. Hom. III*):

τὸν καὶ ἀμειβόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἠΐδα·  
 “ξείν’, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητοῖσι ἔοικας,  
 οὐδέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἀλλ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,  
 οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.

The leader of the Cretans answered him: “Sir, as you don’t seem at all like a mortal in body and stature, but like the immortal gods, I bid you all hail, and may the gods grant you blessings.”

This use, which appears in the *Hymn to Apollo*, is very similar to that found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for wishes for the future with the form ὄλβια. De Heer related this instance to

<sup>76</sup> Beekes, Robert Stephen Paul. (2016), p. 128. Chantraine, Pierre. (1999), p. 107.

<sup>77</sup> Beekes, Robert Stephen Paul. (2016), p. 129. Beekes (2016, 132) explains how ἀραρίσκω could have relation to ἄριστος, in the sense ‘the fittest’, even though it is not certain. Even though both words are not directly derived from each other nor have the same direct PIE root, as it had been suggested by Prellwitz, they both could share a connection to ἀραρίσκω.

<sup>78</sup> Massetti, Laura. (2022), p. 21.

<sup>79</sup> Massetti, Laura. (2022), p. 21-22.

*Od.* 24. 402 and I also propose *Od.* 7. 148 as another parallel. Gods are dispensers of ὄλβια which makes one ὄλβιος. Here, it is not specified of what exactly ὄλβια consists, but it can be deduced that it probably has some relation to material wealth that comes from divine favour, identical to the meaning in the verses of the *Odyssey*.

In the *Hymn to Earth, The Mother of All* there are occurrences of both ὄλβιος and ὄλβος.

Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν ἀείσομαι, ἠϋθέμεθλον,  
 πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσ' ἐστίν,  
 ἠμὲν ὅσα χθόνα δῖαν ἐπέρχεται ἠδ' ὅσα πόντον  
 ἠδ' ὅσα πωτῶνται· τάδε φέρβεται ἐκ σέθεν ὄλβου.  
 ἐκ σέο δ' εὐπαιδές τε καὶ εὐκαρποὶ τελέθουσιν,  
 πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἠδ' ἀφελέσθαι  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν· ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν κε σὺ θυμῶι  
 πρόφρων τιμήσεις, τῶι τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστιν·  
 βρίθει μὲν σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἠδὲ κατ' ἀγροῦς  
 κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐμπίπλαται ἐσθλῶν·  
 αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομίησι πόλιν κάτα καλλιγύναικα  
 κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος ὀπηδεῖ·  
 παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνηι νεοθηλέει κυδιόωσιν,  
 παρθενικαί τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὐφρονη θυμῶι  
 παίζουσ' αἰ χαιρούσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλ' ἀκὰ ποίης,  
 οὓς κε σὺ τιμήσεις, σεμνὴ θεά, ἄφθονε δαῖμον.

Of Earth the universal mother I will sing, the firmly-grounded, the eldest, who nourishes everything there is on the land, both all that moves on the holy land and in the sea and all that flies: they are nourished from your bounty. From you they become fertile in children and in crops, mistress, and it depends on you to give livelihood or take it away from mortal men. He is fortunate whom your heart favors and privileges, and everything is his in abundance. His plowland is weighed down with its vital produce, in the fields he is prosperous with livestock, and his house is filled with commodities. Such men are lords in communities where law and order prevail and the women are fair, and much fortune and wealth attends them; their sons exult in youthful vigor and good cheer, and their girls in flower-decked dances delight to frolic happily through the soft meadow flowers—so it is with those whom you privilege, august goddess, bounteous deity.

Here there is in another formula of μακαρισμός, specifically that one who is revered by the heart of Earth is ὄλβιος because one is granted abundance in all things, ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν κε σὺ θυμῶι / πρόφρων τιμήσεις, τῶι τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστιν. In this instance, ὄλβιος is related to material prosperity in abundance in crops, livestock and in children. This good fortune is an agricultural prosperity, similar to how in the *Hymn to Hermes* it is related to livestock and

in the *Hymn to Demeter* it refers to the fertility of crops. Clearly, this is another occurrence of a materialistic meaning of ὄλβος: αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομήησι πόλιν κάτα καλλιγύναϊκα κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολὺς καὶ πλοῦτος ὀπηδεῖ. Furthermore, this material prosperity is related to occupying status in society since it is said that these men govern the city with good laws. One who is ὄλβιος receives this material prosperity, ὄλβος, as external evidence of being loved by a god or goddess, in this case the Earth, who favours them. Offspring, παῖδες and παρθενικαί, are also an important factor since they are a manner of perpetuating one's wealth which links to the *Hymn to Aphrodite* where Anchises wishes for children. This passage condenses the meanings of ὄλβιος already appreciated in other passages: 'to be loved by a divinity', 'to be compensated with material wealth in the form of agricultural prosperity or livestock', 'to occupy a high status in society which brings admiration' and 'to have healthy offspring to perpetuate this prosperity'.

Lastly, the *Hymn to Athena*, ends with a wish for the goddess Athena to grant τύχη and εὐδαιμονία:

Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπτολιν ἄρχομ' αἰεΐδειν,  
δεινήν, ἣ σὺν Ἄρηϊ μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα  
περθόμεναί τε πόλῆες αὐτὴ τε πτόλεμοί τε,  
καί τ' ἐρρύσατο λαὸν ἰόντα τε νισσόμενόν τε.  
χαῖρε, θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε.

Of Pallas Athena the city-savior first I sing, dread goddess, who with Ares attends to the works of war, the sacking of towns, shouting and fighting, and keeps the army safe as it goes out and returns.

I salute you, goddess: grant us success and prosperity!

This is the only occurrence of εὐδαιμονία to appear. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there had been no use of any derivative of εὐδαίμων, but εὐδαίμων does appear later in Hesiod. Not much information can be deduced from this one use, but it does seem that it is a type of human happiness dependent on the bestowal of a god or goddess, in this case Athena. In addition, the fact that the speaker asks for simply τύχη to be granted makes sense considering that the compound εὐτυχία does not appear until later.

To conclude, the *Homeric Hymns* provide the opportunity of broadening the analysis of happiness-related words by providing new meanings that had not been appreciated before. However, as was highlighted in the introduction to this section, it has to be taken into consideration that the work consists of various hymns of differing dates. In some cases this

may explain the different usages of the adjectives throughout the work which is particularly notable in the case of μάκαρ. This adjective is used as an epithet for the gods, both substituting and accompanying the noun θεός, and refers to happiness relating to ‘stability’ that only gods can enjoy, the same meaning appreciable in Homer. Among all the happiness-related words, μάκαρ is the most frequently used, which makes sense considering that it is an epithet for the gods in a collection of hymns dedicated to the gods.

In relation to the noun εὐδαιμονία and its derivatives, only εὐδαιμονία occurs once and in a wish clause, making it difficult to explore its meaning much further. What does seem clear is that it is a type of happiness which is external and granted by the gods.

Of all the happiness-related words which are present in the work, the analysis of the adjective ὄλβιος proves to be the most intriguing. The first occurrence analysed is that of the *Hymn to Demeter* which consists of a form of μακαρισμός which congratulates the initiates of the rites established by Demeter and Persephone who love the initiates graciously. This benevolence for the initiates is demonstrated by favouring them both in life and in death in contrast to the non-initiated. They are favoured in life with god-given wealth, πλοῦτος, and after death they have a more favourable fate (αἴσα) than non-initiates. These promises of a better life and afterlife, mitigate the anguish of being mortal, representing a third type of mortal experience. Moreover, by initiating in these rites, one gains a superior understanding of life and death and thereby also surpasses other mortals in knowledge. In the *Hymn to Demeter*, one who is ὄλβιος is favoured by these goddesses, both in material possessions, in a better afterlife and a superior knowledge of life and death. Thus, one who is ὄλβιος transcends ordinary mortal limits and for this reason stands out amongst the others.

The other appearances of ὄλβιος are not references to the happiness or favour of initiates in Mystery cults, but it seems to be used with an ephemeral meaning, as only pertaining to the happiness one can experience in life. Ὀλβιος is used to refer to ‘happiness that comes from divine favour in the form of glory or material possessions, which leads one to surpass others in ἀρετή and be admired, receiving κλέος and τιμή. These material possessions include ‘wealth through agricultural prosperity’ and ‘offspring who can perpetuate one’s prosperity’, θαλερός γόνος/παῖδες both seen in the *Hymn to Earth* and the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. In the latter, to be ὄλβιος is also related to the wish to εὖ ζῶειν until reaching old age, ἰκεσθαι γῆρας.

In the *Hymn to the Muses and Apollo*, the favour of the gods is shown through an immaterial possession, the art of composition. With this ‘immaterial possession’, comes subsequent ‘material compensation’ and ‘admiration’ from others. Even though the relation of ὄλβιος to material prosperity is not as direct, it is still present. In addition, there are three clear characteristics of ὄλβιος which are repeated: ‘to be loved by a divinity’, in this case the Muses and Apollo, ‘receiving divine favour through material compensation’ and ‘being admired’.

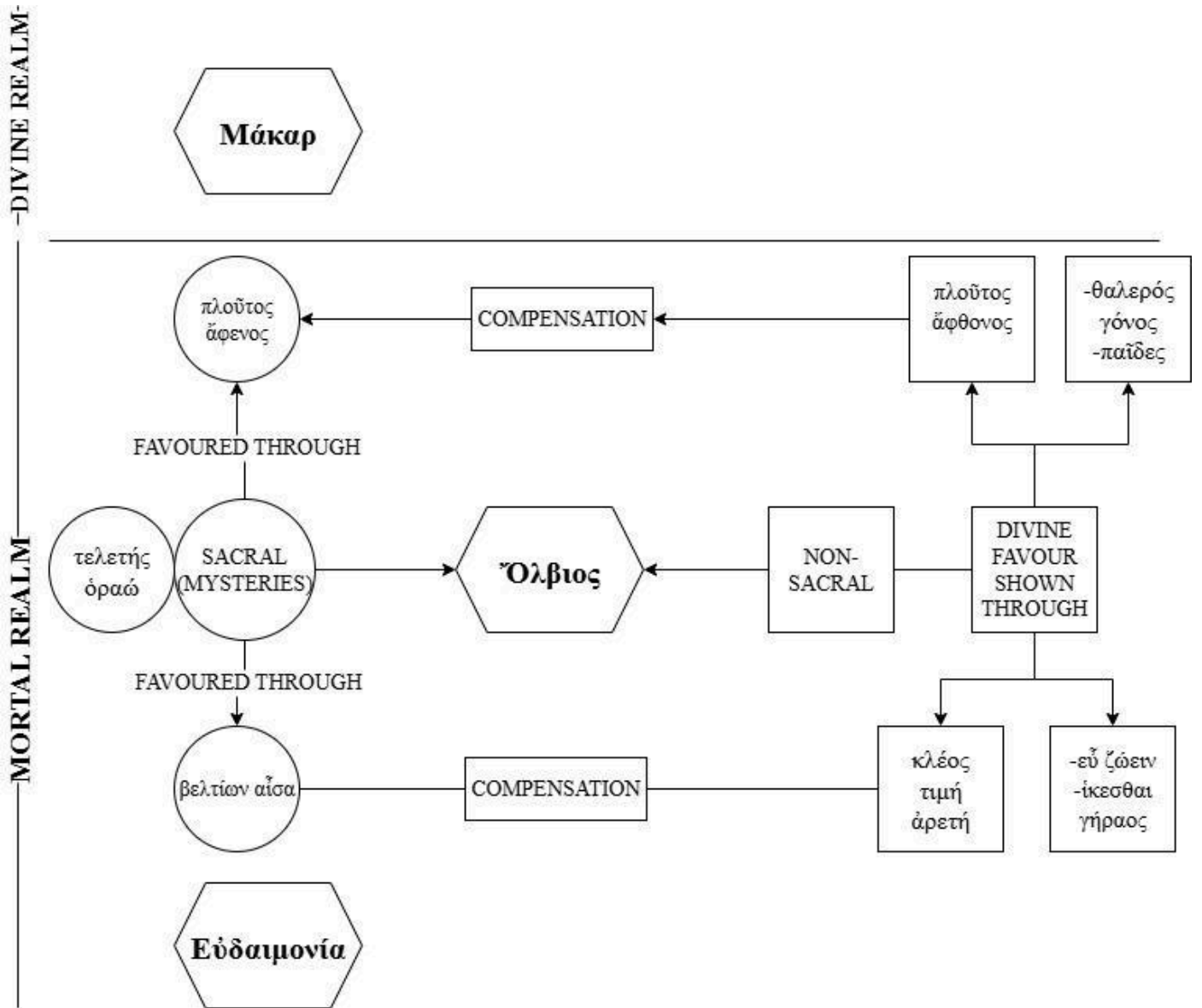
Without a doubt, in the *Homeric Hymns*, there are differences in the nuances of meaning of ὄλβιος. One meaning relates to the initiates in the mysteries and goes beyond the mortal experience by being ὄλβιος also in the afterlife, while the other meaning is limited to the mortal realm. However, there are some sense components that seem to be repeated throughout. These imply that to be ὄλβιος, one is ‘loved and favoured by a divinity’ and ‘bestowed compensation, either ritual (a more favourable αἶσα) or material (πλοῦτος) and ‘they surpass other mortals and are admired for this, τιμή/κλέος’. In all cases, the noun ὄλβιος is a word used to refer only to mortal happiness and its use for Hermes is due to the ambiguity of him being understood as neither a god nor a mortal, although his status as a god is established at the end of the hymn.

The word ὄλβος appears on six occasions. This noun is related to material possession which is granted by a divinity. In the *Hymn to Hermes*, it is in the form of a lyre to Hermes. In other appearances, ὄλβος is coordinated with ἀρετή, in the *Hymn to Hephaestus* and the *Hymn to Heracles* in a request for these to be granted by the gods. This is similar to the use of the form ὄλβια which appears on one occasion in the *Hymn to Apollo* and it is found in a wish clause for the future for ὄλβια to be bestowed by the gods. Even though it is not explained exactly what ὄλβια entails, it could be supposed that it is a wish for material possessions which are divine gifts.

Effectively, the *Homeric Hymns* show an increase in usage of the adjective μάκαρ without accompanying θεός in comparison to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the latter, μάκαρ appeared only once without accompanying θεός while in the *Homeric Hymns* it occurs eight times. These examples represent a precursor to other authors, such as Hesiod, who exclusively use μάκαρ without θεός. There is one use of εὐδαιμονία, which is interesting, considering that in Homer there were no uses of εὐδαίμων nor any of its derivatives. Moreover, the use of the form ὄλβια for wishes for the future is a reminder of the application already found in the *Iliad*

and the *Odyssey*. These similarities are also appreciated in the use of ὄλβιος, especially in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* where one can observe similarities to the use in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, with special emphasis on one's offspring who makes one ὄλβιος. It is also highlighted how one is renowned among others, using a similar structure, ὄλβιος ἐν λαοῖς to ὄλβιος ἐν ἀνδράσιν or ἐν ἀνθρώποις found in the epic poems. Interestingly, in the *Hymn to the Muses and Apollo*, there is a similar use of ὄλβιος as in the *Theogony* of Hesiod in a μακαρισμός dedicated to a poet. It is highly notable that out of all the uses of happiness-related words, the *Hymn to Demeter* offers a new meaning for ὄλβιος relating to initiates in rites in a form of μακαρισμός which is unique and will prove intriguing as a predecessor for other authors to come.

<b>ὄλβιος</b>	<b>ὄλβια</b>	<b>μάκαρ</b>	<b>εὐδαιμονία</b>
SACRAL: Used in a μακαρισμός to congratulate the initiate (τελετής) in mysteries and acquire knowledge and are favoured both in life with material prosperity, πλοῦτος, and a more favourable afterlife, αἴσθα, by Persephone and Demeter.	Used for wishes for the future similar use to that already found in <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i> .  Clearly god-given and external	Use already seen for divinities to refer to happiness only accessible to the gods relating to ‘stability’.	Only one use and in a wish clause.  No occurrence of εὐδαίμων.
NON-SACRAL: Related to being favoured with material wealth, πλοῦτος, (also related to agricultural prosperity) and offspring who can perpetuate one’s prosperity, θαλερός γόνος.	<b>ὄλβος</b> Material possession, in one case it is the lyre. Related to material compensation that a poet receives linked also to virtue ἀρετή.	Commonly used accompanying θεός but an increase in appearances without accompanying θεός with respect to the <i>Iliad</i> and the <i>Odyssey</i> .	Clearly god-given and external.
They share ‘to be loved and favoured by a divinity’ and ‘bestowed compensation’, either ritual (a better αἴσα) or material (πλοῦτος) and ‘to surpass other mortals in ἀρετή’ and ‘to be admired for this, τιμή/κλέος’.		Only accessible to the gods.	
Strictly for humans, clearly god-given and external			



### 2.1.3. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HESIOD

Hesiod is one of the earliest known Greek poets whose works date back to the 7th century BC. He was born in the town of Ascra in Boeotia, central Greece. He is best known for his two major works, *Theogony*, which describes the genealogies of the Greek gods and *Works and Days*, a poem dedicated to his brother Perses and which instructs him on how to live a virtuous life through hard work.

Before entering into Hesiod's usage of happiness-related words, it is important to contextualize his works. These present a darker world when compared to that of the Homeric poems. The protagonists are no longer heroes and divinities as found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but they are mortals. Firstly, it is important to mention the Myth of the Ages presented in *Works and Days* which describes how humanity has gone through different stages of existence, each characterized by a different level of prosperity. According to Hesiod, there were five ages of humanity, the first was ruled by Cronos and the others by Zeus.<sup>80</sup> In line with his conception, Hesiod finds himself in the fifth and final age, an age epitomized by constant struggle and suffering to the point that he would have preferred to have lived at another time.<sup>81</sup> In *Hesiod's Cosmos*, Clay describes it as follows: "We, who belong to the race of iron, are the decadent heirs of the heroes, in whom the divine blood has become diluted"<sup>82</sup> and "What makes our age so difficult is its intermediate status between justice and its opposite, hybris."<sup>83</sup> With the Iron Age, Zeus creates a race of humans who are inferior, but self-sufficient and do not require divine intervention to procreate, unlike the heroes. Due to the fact that this race is inferior to the heroes, these mortals are less likely to challenge the power of the gods. They worship the gods instead of seeking to overthrow

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<sup>80</sup> The first age was the Golden Age when people lived in peace and harmony with each other and the gods. They had infinite access to food with no need to work for it. There was no need for laws because everyone was virtuous and just and lived happily and peacefully. The second age was the Silver Age in which humans lived longer childhoods and had to be looked after by their mothers. However, since they refused to worship the gods, as a result of their impiety, Zeus destroyed them. In the third age, the Bronze Age, humans fought each other constantly and, they too, were eventually destroyed. The Heroic Age is the only age that is not named after a metal and this is the age of Homer's famous heroes.

<sup>81</sup> In vv. 174-178 of *Works and Days*, that he would have preferred to either die before or been born after: μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὄφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι / ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι. / νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ / παύονται καμάτου καὶ οἰζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ / τειρόμενοι· ("If only then I did not have to live among the fifth men, but could have either died first or been born afterwards! For now the race is indeed one of iron. And they will not cease from toil and distress by day, nor from being worn out by suffering at night.")

<sup>82</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2009), p. 93.

<sup>83</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2009), p. 84. For more about the importance of δίκη in *Works and Days*, see Michael Gagarin (1973).

them. As Clay states: “The purpose of the gods in fashioning mankind was to create a race not only inferior to the gods, but also conscious of that inferiority.”<sup>84</sup>

This sense of inferiority is conveyed by the specific usage of the adjective μάκαρ since in Hesiod's works it is primarily employed for only gods and supernatural entities. It appears 16 times in his works, mostly as an epithet for the gods accompanying θεός or αθάνατος. Hesiod's deliberate choice of this usage of μάκαρ suggests a clear division between the human and the divine realms. In verse 101 of *Theogony*, Hesiod demonstrates a propensity for using it as an adjective for the Olympian gods: [...] μάκαράς τε θεούς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν (“[...] and the blessed gods who possess Olympus”). Verses 79-80 of *The Shield* demonstrate an identical application of this adjective: ἦ τι μέγ' ἀθανάτους μάκαρας, τοὶ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν, / ἦλιτεν Ἀμφιτρώων (“in truth Amphitryon mightily offended the blessed immortals who possess Olympus”). Hesiod is very rigorous in his usage and, unlike in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there are no instances of μάκαρ as an adjective for humans. The adjective μάκαρ refers to a happiness related to ‘stability’, ‘life of ease’, ‘power’ and ‘stupefaction’. De Heer described Hesiod's usage as follows: “Hesiod had an aversion from the use of the word μάκαρ and therefore it seems certain that his choice of ὄλβιος was dictated by a scruple and constituted a deliberate departure from the epic usage found so far”.<sup>85</sup>

What appears to be another use of μάκαρ is found in vv. 548-549 of *Works and Days*: ἠῶος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος / ἀήρ πυροφόροις τέταται μακάρων ἐπὶ ἔργοις. (“and a dawn mist is stretched out upon the earth from the starry sky onto the wheat-bearing works of the blessed ones”). This use is reminiscent of that found and examined in the *Iliad* Book XI, vv. 67-73, in which μάκαρ was used for a mortal whose life was easier and self-sustainable because he possessed fields and crops. However, De Heer took μακάρων as alluding to the gods since it is not used for mortals on other occasions: “In view of the general Hesiodic context it is more satisfactory to take μακάρων to refer to the deities to whom the ἔργα owe their fertility.”<sup>86</sup>. In my view, De Heer's interpretation is congruent given the other instances of μάκαρ alluding solely to divine-like entities and the fact that the barrier between mortals and gods is much more pronounced in Hesiod than in the *Iliad*.

In *Works and Days* there is an interesting use of μάκαρ that is not used as a standard epithet for the gods, but is applied to spiritual beings. Hesiod describes how the race of the Golden

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<sup>84</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2009), p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 20.

<sup>86</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 23.

Age after death, turned into benevolent spirits of the underworld called δαίμονες, who watched over mortals and could bestow prosperity.<sup>87</sup> Then Hesiod goes on to explain, in vv. 137-142, how those who pertained to the Silver Age, after being killed by Zeus, turned into spirits related to the night and were referred to as μάκαρες:

[...] τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτα  
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἔκρυψε χολούμενος, οὐνεκα τιμᾶς  
οὐκ ἔδιδον μακάρεσσι θεοῖς οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,  
τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,  
δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

Then Zeus, Cronus' son, concealed these in anger, because they did not give honors to the blessed gods who dwell on Olympus. But since the earth covered up this race too, they are called blessed mortals under the earth-in second place, but all the same honor attends upon these as well.

This usage is intriguing because μάκαρ generally accompanies either the adjective ἀθάνατος or the noun θεός while, here, it appears with θνητοί, which refers to mortals. However, this use could be more similar than it first appears since it could be interpreted that those who are dead can be μάκαρες in the sense that they no longer have to experience the anxieties of the living and live a 'life of ease and free from pain'. De Heer put forward another interpretation of this use of μάκαρ: "he calls them by the most honorific name, which may have the effect of avoiding unwanted attention and of placating a potentially hostile power. [...] The subterranean mortals are powers of the dark like those associated with night and they need to be placated in the same manner."<sup>88</sup> Clay affirms that the honour (τιμὴ) paid to them is due to the knowledge of their punitive power and to placate this through calling them μάκαρες.<sup>89</sup> In this way, applying to them the adjective μάκαρ, is a way to make peace with these creatures in fear of the consequences of offending them. This demonstrates just how much force the adjective μάκαρ had because it had the power of placating these spirits and keeping them at bay. Even though it is a different application of μάκαρ, the sense components of 'life of ease',

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<sup>87</sup> In vv. 121-126 of *Works and Days*: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν, / τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς / ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, / οἳ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα / ἡέρα ἐσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν, / πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλῆιον ἔσχον. ("But since the earth covered up this race, by the plans of great Zeus they are fine spirits upon the earth, guardians of mortal human beings: they watch over judgements and cruel deeds, clad in invisibility, walking everywhere upon the earth, givers of wealth; and this kingly honor they received.")

<sup>88</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 23. The powers of the dark mentioned are those found in v. 730 also referred to as μάκαρες and needed to be placated in the same way: μακάρων τοὶ νύκτες ἔασιν· ("for the nights belong to the blessed ones.")

<sup>89</sup> Clay, Jenny Strauss. (2009), pp. 89-90.

‘power’, ‘security’, ‘stability’ and ‘awe-inspiring’ are still present. Furthermore, like the gods, these divine-like entities also are ‘receivers of τιμή’.

As previously explained, Hesiod’s age, the Iron Age, is watched over both by the supernatural entities, the δαίμονες and the μάκαρες, and the Olympian gods, who are also μάκαρες. A mortal’s purpose is to pass through life avoiding the wrath and punishment of these superior beings. To do so, makes one εὐδαίμων, as the etymology indicates ‘to be in a good relationship with a δαίμων’. To secure this relationship, one’s own actions can have an influence. In *Works and Days*, the art of labour is presented as a form of avoiding punishment from divine-like forces.<sup>90</sup> In vv. 303-307 of *Works and Days*, it is explained how a man who lives idly is despised by both gods and people because he does not contribute to society at all. This idleness is hated by the gods and can lead to punishment by Zeus. To avoid this divine retribution, Hesiod defends the art of labour as the proper response in vv. 308-313.

ἐξ ἔργων δ’ ἄνδρες πολύμηλοί τ’ ἀφνειοί τε·  
καὶ τ’ ἐργαζόμενος πολὺ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν  
ἔσσει ἠδὲ βροτοῖς· μάλα γὰρ στυγέουσιν ἀεργούς.  
ἔργον δ’ οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ’ ὄνειδος·  
εἰ δέ κεν ἐργάζῃ, τάχα σε ζηλώσει ἀεργὸς  
πλουτέοντα· πλούτῳ δ’ ἀρετὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ·

It is from working that men have many sheep and are wealthy, and if you work you will be dearer by far to immortals and to mortals: for they very much hate men who do not work. Work is not a disgrace at all, but not working is a disgrace. And if you work, the man who does not work will quickly envy you when you are rich; excellence and fame attend upon riches. (308-313)

Hesiod explains how, through work, men become dearer to mortals and to immortals, καὶ τ’ ἐργαζόμενος πολὺ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν / ἔσσει ἠδὲ βροτοῖς which links to the usage of the adjective εὐδαίμων in the closing verses of *Works and Days*, in vv. 824-828:

[...] εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὃς τάδε πάντα  
εἰδὼς ἐργάζεται ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν,  
ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων.

[...] Happy and blessed is he who knows all these things and does his work without giving offense to the immortals, distinguishing the birds and avoiding trespasses.

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<sup>90</sup> It is important to note that the defence of labour is an important topic in *Works and Days*, a poem dedicated to his brother Perses who, unlike Hesiod, seems to have wasted his inherited money and property. At the point of composition, Perses had started a legal procedure against Hesiod to take over unjustly his inheritance.

Hesiod says that he who possesses the knowledge to perform his duties without angering the divinities and without committing transgressions is εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος. He who works, ἐργάζεσθαι, is εὐδαίμων and also, πολὺ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν, more beloved to the immortals. Moreover, one is εὐδαίμων by distinguishing the omens and avoiding transgressions, ὑπερβασίαι. By doing these things one can secure a good relationship with these entities and avoid punishment. Other forms of happiness are tied to being εὐδαίμων, in this case ὄλβιος, which refers to ‘having been bestowed god-given wealth, ὄλβος’.

Further insight into the meaning of ὄλβιος can be obtained from the following examples. Hesiod employs the word ὄλβιος to refer to he who is loved by the Muses and Apollo in vv. 93-103 of *Theogony*:

τοίη Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν.  
 ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἄνδρες ἀοιοδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,  
 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὃ δ’ ὄλβιος, ὄντινα Μοῦσαι  
 φίλωνται· γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει ἀυδή.  
 εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμῷ  
 ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς  
 Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὑμνήσει μάκαράς τε θεοὺς οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,  
 αἴψ’ ὃ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων  
 μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεάων.

Such is the holy gift of the Muses to human beings. For it is from the Muses and far-shooting Apollo that men are poets upon the earth and lyre-players, but it is from Zeus that they are kings; and that man is blessed whomever the Muses love, for the speech flows sweet from his mouth. Even if someone who has unhappiness in his newly anguished spirit is parched in his heart with grieving, yet when a poet, servant of the Muses, sings of the glorious deeds of people of old and the blessed gods who possess Olympus, he forgets his sorrows at once and does not remember his anguish at all; for quickly the gifts of the goddesses have turned it aside.

Verses 94-97 are practically identical to the *Hymn to the Muses and Apollo* and the meaning of ὄλβιος is very similar. To be ὄλβιος is related to being loved by a divinity, in this case the Muses and Apollo, and receiving divine favour, in this instance through the art of composition. Furthermore, a poet is ‘admired’ as seen in the verses before, vv. 91-93, where Hesiod explains how poets are admired in a similar way to how humans look up to the gods because they possess a unique gift from the Muses: ἐρχόμενον δ’ ἀν’ ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὧς ἰλάσκονται / αἰδοῖ μειλιχίη, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι. (“and as he goes up to the gathering

they seek his favor like a god with soothing reverence, and he is conspicuous among the assembled people.”) A poet, with the ability to compose poetry bestowed on him by the Muses, is unique and stands out among other mortals (μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι). In addition, even though it is distant, a sense of ‘material compensation’ can be understood. A poet receives certain material compensation for his works, showing a clear materialistic sense to ὄλβιος. This divine gift of composition also provides poets, such as Hesiod, with economic means to survive without the need of physical toil, making their lives in some way easier. Effectively, this use of ὄλβιος seems to condense the same sense components found in the *Hymn to the Muses and Apollo*: ‘be loved by a divinity’, in this case the Muses (ὄντινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται), ‘be favoured with the art of composition (γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδῆ) and consequently material compensation’, ‘surpass others (μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι) and be revered as a poet (αἰδώς) and secondarily, ‘enjoy an easier life’.

Ultimately, it seems that these applications of ὄλβιος are for those who are divinely favoured and surpass in some way average humans, similar to how heroes are superior. In vv. 954-955 of *Theogony*, it is used in a μακαρισμός for Heracles who has finished his tasks and resides alongside the immortal gods enjoying ‘a life of ease’: ὄλβιος, ὃς μέγα ἔργον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνύσσας ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἡματα πάντα (“happy he, for after having accomplished his great work among the immortals he dwells unharmed and ageless for all his days.”). Heracles is a hero who, after death, is granted to be immortalized and permanently ὄλβιος, the closest a mortal can be to the divine type of happiness expressed by the adjective μάκαρ. In vv. 170-173 of *Works and Days*, ὄλβιοι is used as an adjective for heroes: καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες / ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ’ Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην· / ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιδέα καρπὸν / τρις ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ἐγὼ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα. (“and these dwell with a spirit free of care on the Islands of the Blessed beside deep-eddying Ocean-happy heroes, for whom the grain-giving field bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing three times a year.”). As Nagy explains, ὄλβιοι is used for heroes to designate those who are immortalized after death through hero cult. They ‘surpass other mortals’ and receive ‘ritual compensation’ for being ‘honoured after death through hero cult’. After death their spirits live ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι, which Nagy describes as follows: “a paradisiacal setting that transcends the temporal and the special constraints of mortality.”<sup>91</sup> This is the first mention of the Isles of the Blessed, the god-like residence of ὄλβιοι heroes, a place free from human toil similar to the Olympus.

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<sup>91</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 320.

Turning to the noun ὄλβος, it appears 9 times used in a materialistic sense referring to god-given wealth. For example, vv. 972-974 of *Theogony* demonstrate this meaning clearly when talking about the god Plutus:

ἔσθλόν, ὅς εἶς' ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
πᾶσαν· τῷ δὲ τυχόντι καὶ οὐκ' ἐς χεῖρας ἵκηται,  
τὸν δὴ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ οἱ ὤπασεν ὄλβον.

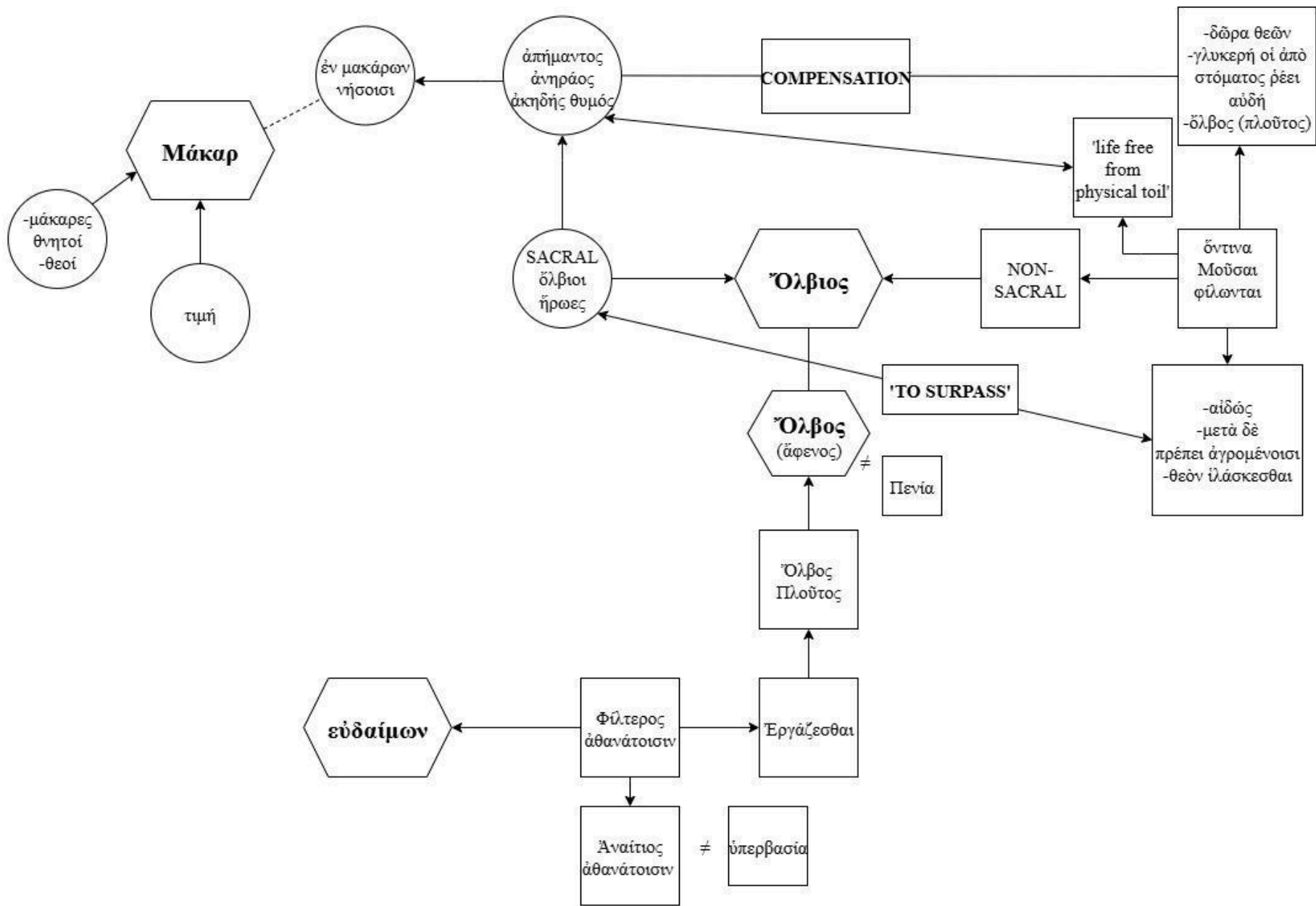
Fine Plutus, who goes upon the whole earth and the broad back of the sea, and whoever meets him and comes into his hands, that man he makes rich, and he bestows much wealth upon him.

Another example where this meaning is manifest is in vv. 637-638, concerning Perses: οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων οὐδὲ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὄλβον, / ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενίην, τὴν Ζεὺς ἄνδρεςσι δίδωσιν· (“fleeing not wealth nor riches nor prosperity, but evil poverty, which Zeus gives to men.”) The fact that ὄλβος is coordinated with πλοῦτος and ἄφενος and contrasted to πενίη makes its meaning as ‘material prosperity’ evident. Furthermore, it is said to be dispensed by Zeus, making manifest its ‘god-given’ nature.

The analysis of these passages provides a window into Hesiod’s usage of happiness-related words. First and foremost, μάκαρ is used strictly for divinities and seems to be a happiness that is only accessible to divine-like beings and not to mortals. It is the highest form of happiness and relates to a ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’, ‘security’, ‘power’, ‘stupefaction’ and being object of honour τιμή. The mortals of Hesiod’s time, the Iron Age, harked back to the Golden Age when mortals experienced a similar leisurely lifestyle and they wished they could return to it. The gods enjoy infinite access to food and have no worries, while mortals navigate through life trying to avoid punishment of both the immortal gods and supernatural entities called δαίμονες. The supernatural entities of the Silver Age are referred to as μάκαρες to placate them so they will be more benevolent, demonstrating the force of this adjective. A mortal who can live a life avoiding the punishment of these divine-like forces is εὐδαίμων. Effectively, the concept of εὐδαιμονία in Hesiod is closely linked to the etymology of the word which involves ‘having a good relationship with a divine power’, being φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν. To be so, Hesiod defends the art of labour (to ἐργάζεσθαι) as the best way to not anger the gods, δαίμονες and the μάκαρες, the most effective way to be ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν. Furthermore, one must know the omens and not commit transgressions, ὑπερβασίαι, against these beings to avoid being punished. By working, one can also be bestowed ὄλβος, ‘god-given wealth’ (πλοῦτος, ἄφενος) making one ὄλβιος. However, the usage of ὄλβιος is

far more complex than simply ‘wealthy’. In Hesiod’s works, the adjective ὄλβιος is not applied to regular human beings, but to those who surpass others. It is used either for poets who have an exceptional gift bestowed on them by the Muses who love them (ὄστινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται), who are favoured with the art of composition (γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδὴ), for this they stand out amongst others (to πρέπειν) and are object of reverence (αἰδώς). Furthermore, it can be applied to heroes who have exceptional abilities and are immortalized after death on the Blessed Islands, ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι and are honoured through hero cult. These applications both share the following sense components: ‘to be loved by a divinity’, ‘to be favoured by this divinity’, ‘to surpass others and be revered’ and ‘to receive certain compensation’ (either material or ritual). Secondary to this meaning, to be ὄλβιος also encompasses the idea of ‘life of ease’ because those who are ὄλβιοι have certain advantages in life since a poet can earn a living without physical toil and the ὄλβιοι ἥρωες live on the Blessed Islands enjoying a perpetual state without suffering, ἀπήμαντος and with a ἀκηδῆς θυμός. However, to be ὄλβιος, as to be εὐδαίμων, is very rare. Without a doubt, there is a pronounced barrier between mortals and the divine, in contrast to the Homeric poems where a mortal could be μάκαρ. The average mortals can only wish for the ‘stability’ and ‘life of ease’ that the gods enjoy and instead are constrained to a life of avoiding the anger and retribution of the δαίμονες.

<b>μάκαρ</b>	<b>εὐδαίμων</b>	<b>ὄλβιος</b>	<b>ὄλβος</b>
<p>-Used for divine-like entities such as the gods, μάκαρες, δαίμονες who enjoy ‘a life of ease’ ‘power’, ‘stability’, ‘stupefaction’ and object of honour, τιμή.</p> <p>-Because of its great force as an adjective it is also used to placate hostile supernatural entities</p>	<p>-‘To have a good relationship with the divine’, φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν, by working (ἐργάζεσθαι) and being ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν, avoiding transgressions ὑπερβασία.</p> <p>Etymological, external</p>	<p>-Used for mortals superior in some degree, poet or hero who:</p> <p>-Are loved and favoured by a divinity.</p> <p>-Surpass others for some ability (to πρέπειν)</p> <p>-Are honoured and admired (αἰδώς).</p> <p>-Are compensated (materially, πλοῦτος, or ritually).</p> <p>Secondarily, ‘life of ease’ because of advantages. Heroes live on the ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι, free from misery, ἀπήμαντος and with a ἀκηδῆς θυμός.</p>	<p>Wealth (πλοῦτος, ἄφενος) that is generally god-given.</p>



## 2.2. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE LYRIC GENRE

### 2.2.1. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN ALCMAN

Alcman was an ancient Greek lyric poet from the 7th century BC who is thought to have lived into the early 6th century. Alcman is best known for his *partheneia*, choral songs composed for choirs formed by young women, even though he seems to have composed other types of choral lyric such as wedding hymns. (test 3. test 15).<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, not one complete poem of his has persisted, so happiness-related words can only be examined through the surviving fragments.

Concerning the adjective μάκαρ, there is only one use and it is found in Fragment 5: καὶ κῆνος ἐν σάλεσσι πολλοῖς ἥμενος μάκαρς ἀνὴρ (“and he sitting, blessed man, amid much good cheer...”). Campbell states that it could refer to the deified Heracles which would explain the use of μάκαρ here, considering it is not used normally for mortals.<sup>93</sup> There seems to be the idea of ‘life of ease’, seen in ἐν σάλεσσι πολλοῖς. Apart from this it is difficult to draw solid conclusions. The fact that this is the only use of μάκαρ could indicate a decline in its use as an epithet for the gods.

The adjective ὄλβιος appears once in Alcman’s *Partheneion*. It starts with the mythological story of the Hippocontidae and then in vv. 16-21 gives some moralizing generalizations:

μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω  
μηδὲ πη]ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν  
Κυπρίαν F]άν[α]σσαν ἢ τιν’  
] ἢ παῖδα Πόρκω  
εἰναλίω· Χά]ριτες δὲ Διὸς δόμον  
ἀμφίεπου]σιν ἐρογλεφάροι·

Let no man fly to heaven or attempt to marry Aphrodite, the (Cyprian) queen, nor some... nor a daughter of Porcus (of the sea) ...; it is the Graces with love in their eyes who (frequent?) the house of Zeus.<sup>94</sup>

As Alexander Dale states, in early lyric, it is common that the first part of the myth has a direct link to the context of the poem.<sup>95</sup> He also states how there is the hypothesis that the myth may have embedded a rivalry between the Tyndaridae and Hippocontidae over a

<sup>92</sup> Campbell, David A. (2006a), pp. 268-269.

<sup>93</sup> Campbell, David A. (2006a), p. 409.

<sup>94</sup> The Greek text and translation for Alcman are extracted from David A. Campbell (2006a).

<sup>95</sup> Dale, Alexander. (2011), p. 24.

goddess or goddesses, which is clearly a sign of ὕβρις. It talks about how no man should fly to heaven or marry a goddess and emphasizes the fact that no one should go further than the limits of the human realm. These acts of transgression are then punished, as explained in vv. 34-49:

ἄπον ἄλαστα δὲ  
*Φέργα πάσον κακὰ μῆσαμένοι.*  
 ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις·  
 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων  
 ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει  
 ἄκλαυτος· ἐγὼν δ' αἰίδω  
 Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὄρῳ  
*Φ' ὅτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἄμιν*  
 Ἀγιδῶ μαρτύρεται  
 φαίνην· ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν  
 οὔτε μωμήσθαι νιν ἅ κλεννά χοραγὸς  
 οὐδ' ἀμῶς ἐῆι· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤμεν αὐτα  
 ἐκπρεπῆς τῶς ὄπερ αἴτις  
 ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον  
 παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα  
 τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνειρώων·

And unforgettably they suffered, since they plotted evil. There is such a thing as the vengeance of the gods: that man is blessed who devoutly weaves to the end the web of his day unweeping. And so I sing of the brightness of Agido: I see her like the sun, which Agido summons to shine on us as our witness; but our illustrious choir-leader by no means allows me either to praise or to fault her for she herself seems pre-eminent, just as if one were to put a horse among grazing herds, a sturdy, thunderous-hoofed prize-winner, one of those seen in rock-sheltered dreams.

According to Hutchinson, the generalizing statement, the γνώμη in v. 36, introduces the transition from the past to the present. The statement affirms that one should not transgress one's limits because there is such thing as τίσις, retribution, of the gods. Not only do the Hippocontidae participate in a mythological erotic rivalry for a goddess, they also represent unjust rule because they usurped the throne of Sparta from Tyndareus. For this act of ὕβρις, they are killed by Heracles which is their τίσις for their transgressions. After this, the poet turns to say that he who is ὄλβιος, is he who manages to steer away from this pattern of divine retribution. As Dale states:

Reflection on 'the evil deeds of sinners' gives way to the praise of Agido, and by praising Agido the chorus implicitly rejects the strife and hybris inherent in the preceding myth, and in so doing identifies itself with the one who is εὐφρων— a

mortal who would enter into rivalry with a god is inherently ἄφρων, the sentiment of which, applicable to the *Partheneion* as a whole, is best expressed at Hes. *Op.* 210 ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέληι πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν”.<sup>96</sup>

Clearly, ὕβρις evolves into divine retribution τίσις and he who is ὄλβιος is who, by being εὖφρων, ‘having good judgement’, can avoid transgressing against the gods and committing ὕβρις, and thus, avoids receiving the τίσις that can come with this. To avoid τίσις is to avoid the pain and distress the gods can cause. Surprisingly, there is no relationship to material possession in this use of ὄλβιος, which had been appreciated in previous authors, however it is related to ‘a life of ease achieved through practicing good judgement and avoiding τίσις’.

Lastly, the adjective εὐδαίμων appears in Fragment 5, subfragment 2coll. οὐ γὰρ πολυπήμων Κά[λα]ισος ἀνήρ πεδ' ἀνδρῶν οὐ[δ'] ἄγριος· ἐ[κ] τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ ἐναντίον. οὐκ ἐστὶ πολυπήμων ὁ Κάλαισο[ς ἀ]λλ' εὐδαίμων οὐδ' ἄγριος ἀλλὰ ἡμερος. (“For Calaesus is not a man of much hurt among men nor savage: opposite is used to express opposite: Calaesus is not ‘of much hurt’ but prosperous, not savage but civilised.”). Here, it seems that to be εὐδαίμων is contrasted with πολυπήμων, which here means in its passive sense, ‘of much suffering’. It seems that εὐδαίμων is related to ‘absence of suffering or pain’. Although there is no explicit reference to the etymological meaning, it can be understood that this absence of pain comes from ‘being in a good relationship with a δαίμων and thus being favoured’. The external form of this favour here is ‘absence of suffering’, secondarily ‘security’.

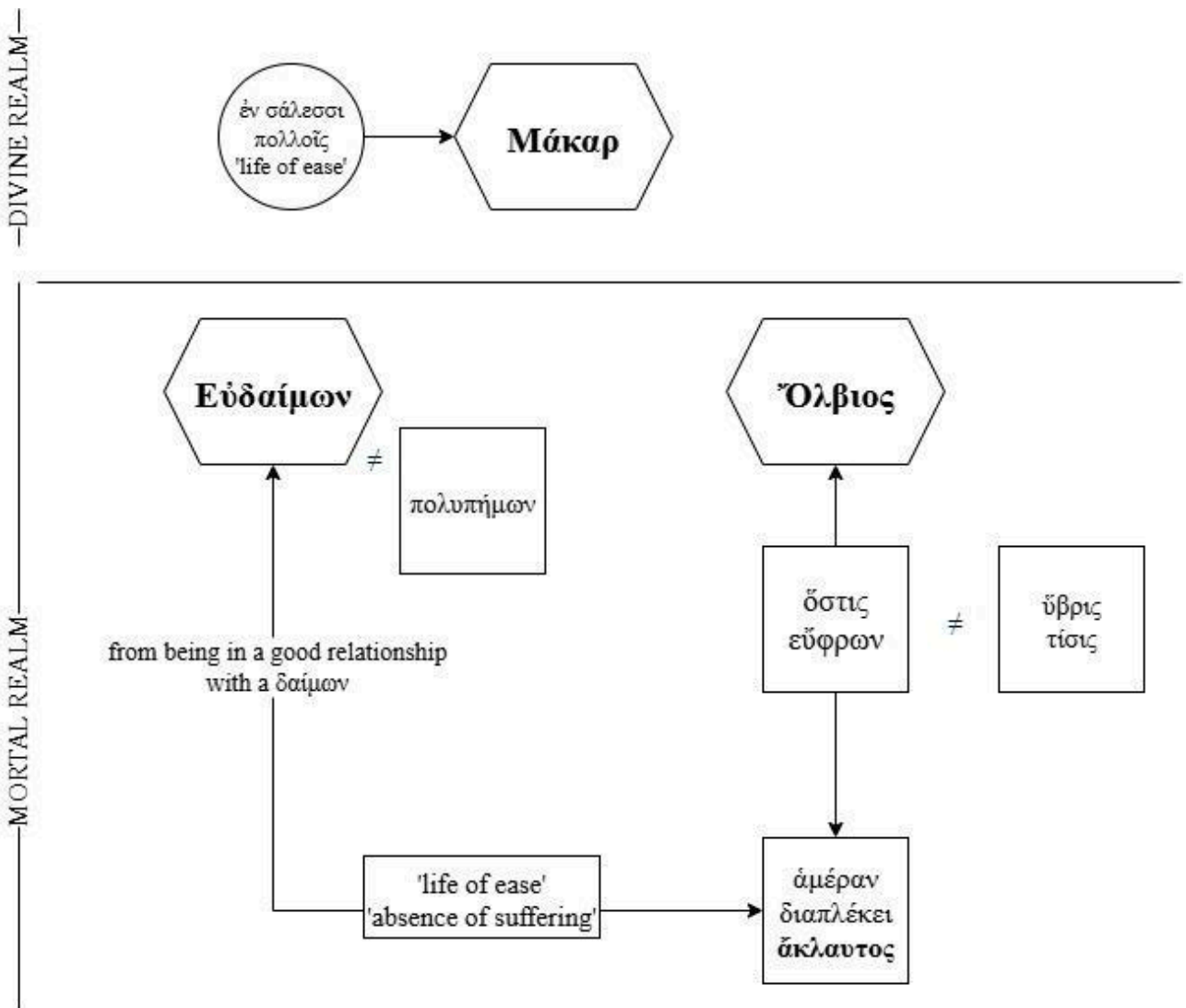
To conclude in what persists of Alcman’s works there are limited occurrences of happiness-related words. Firstly, the adjective μάκαρ seems to follow the use already appreciated for immortals who enjoy ‘a life of ease’ because of their ‘power’, ‘stability’, ‘security’, and for this they are ‘awe-inspiring’. Secondly, the use of ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων are related to ‘absence of pain’. In the case of ὄλβιος, he is ὄλβιος who by being εὖφρων can spend his days ἄκλαυτος by avoiding committing ὕβρις and experiencing divine retribution τίσις. There is some control over being ὄλβιος and by acting a certain way as to not anger the gods. Thirdly, εὐδαίμων is used in contrast to πολυπήμων, which indicates that there is clearly the sense component of ‘absence of suffering’. However, implicitly, this could have a relation to ‘being in a good relationship with a δαίμων that favours one by making their life easier’. Effectively, there is a clear distinction between the use of happiness-related words for

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<sup>96</sup> Dale, Alexander. (2011), p. 26.

immortals and mortals and those types of happiness accessible to mortals, to be εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος, are clearly related to an ‘absence of suffering’.

μάκαρ	ὄλβιος	εὐδαίμων
-Only applied to gods: ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’, ‘security’  Secondary: ‘power’ and ‘awe-inspiring’	-Only applied to mortals: He who is εὐφρων and spends his days ἄκλαυτος by avoiding ὕβρις and τίσις. Sense components of ‘life of ease’ and ‘absence of pain’.	-Only applied to mortals. <b>Primarily:</b> ‘absence of pain’, ‘security’, contrasted to πολυπήμων. <b>Secondarily:</b> ‘being in a good relationship with a δαίμων and being favoured’



### 2.2.2. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SEMONIDES

Semonides of Amorgos was a Greek iambic poet, though to have lived in the 7th century BC, who is best known for his invective poetry.<sup>97</sup> Even though other iambic authors are not considered in the scope of this work, in the case of Semonides, it is necessary to analyse his works since in these we find the first usage attested of εὐτυχέω. This is found in his most famous surviving work, Fragment 7, known as “Types of Women” in which he critically categorizes women based on various animals.

In Fragment 7, conserved by Stobaeus’ *Antology* 4.22, each type of woman that is described is given an origin to each; seven come from animals, two from elements and one from an insect. All are given bad traits such as being lazy, greedy or promiscuous apart from the woman who originates from the bee, as seen in vv. 83-93:

τὴν δ’ ἐκ μελίσσης· τὴν τις εὐτυχεῖ λαβὼν·  
κείνη γὰρ οἷη μῶμος οὐ προσιζάνει,  
θάλλει δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς κάπαέξεται βίος,  
φίλη δὲ σὺν φιλεῦντι γηράσκει πόσει  
τεκοῦσα καλὸν κώνομάκλυτον γένος.  
κάριπρεπῆς μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ γίνεται  
πάσησι, θεῖη δ’ ἀμφιδέδρομεν χάρις.  
οὐδ’ ἐν γυναιξὶν ἦδεται καθημένη  
ὄκου λέγουσιν ἀφροδισίους λόγους.  
τοίας γυναικῶν ἀνδράσιν χαρίζεται  
Ζεὺς τὰς ἀρίστας καὶ πολυφραδεστάτας·

Another is from the bee. The one who gets her is lucky, since on her alone blame does not settle. Under her management his livelihood flourishes and increases, and she grows old in love with a loving husband, the mother of a handsome and distinguished family. She stands out among all women and a divine grace surrounds her. She takes no pleasure in sitting among women in places where they talk about sex. Such women are the best and the most sensible whom Zeus bestows as a favour on men.<sup>98</sup>

Semonides is saying that the person who happens to get this woman prospers, εὐτυχεῖν. This is the first attested use of εὐτυχέω. It is clearly related to the verb τυγχάνω and to τύχη, an impersonal cause that acts over the life of mortals. “Τύχη can determine or represent what a man τυγχάνει. If he meets with something good he may be said to εὐτυχεῖν.”<sup>99</sup> It is related to ‘be fortunate in what one finds’. There is no mention of one’s own efforts to εὐτυχεῖν,

<sup>97</sup> Gerber, Douglas E. (2006), p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> The Greek text and translation for Semonides has been taken from Douglas E. Gerber (2006).

<sup>99</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 19.

“Perhaps this is a case where τύχη operates as an arbitrary force and bestows a wife on a man with no regard for his merit.”<sup>100</sup> Similarly to De Heer: “a good wife is something which the divine may allow one to find, whether one deserves it or not”<sup>101</sup>

De Heer examined Archilochus’ use of τύχη who is a contemporary of Semonides, to gather an idea of what τύχη referred to then.<sup>102</sup> In Archilochus’ works, there is clearly the personification of this abstract concept, in Fragment 16: πάντα Τύχη καὶ Μοῖρα, Περικλέες, ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν. (“Fortune and Destiny, Pericles, give a man everything.”)<sup>103</sup> It had been appreciated in Homer how the Μοῖραι were said to be responsible for one’s fate, in this case Τύχη now works with them. I propose that the compound εὐτυχέω appears when Τύχη seems to become more present in the life of mortals as a force that also dispenses. However, mortals have no control over this bestowal and to further understand this passive sense of εὐτυχέω, Fragment 1 of Semonides proves to be of interest:

ὦ παῖ, τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει βαρύκτυπος  
πάντων ὅσ’ ἔστι, καὶ τίθησ’ ὅκη θέλει,  
νόος δ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπήμεροι  
ἂ δὴ βοτὰ ζώομεν, οὐδὲν εἰδότες  
ὄκως ἕκαστον ἐκτελευτήσει θεός.  
ἐλπίς δὲ πάντας κάπιπειθείη τρέφει  
ἄπρηκτον ὀρμαίνοντας· [...]  
οὕτω κακῶν ἅπ’ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μυρίαί  
βροτοῖσι κῆρες κἀνεπίφραστοι δῦαι  
καὶ πῆματ’ ἐστίν. εἰ δ’ ἐμοὶ πιθοῖατο,  
οὐκ ἂν καλῶν ἐρῶμεν, οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἄλγεσιν  
κακοῖς ἔχοντες θυμὸν αἰκιζοίμεθα.

Boy, loud-thundering Zeus controls the outcome of everything there is and disposes it as he wishes. There is no intelligence among men, but we live like grazing animals, subject to what the day brings, with no knowledge of how the god will bring each thing to pass. Yet hope and confidence nourish all in our eagerness for the impossible. [...] Thus nothing is without misery, but countless death spirits and unforeseen sorrows and disasters exist for mortals. But if they were to take my advice, we would not long for misfortune nor would we torment ourselves by having our hearts set on bitter pain.

Effectively, the scarcity of poems that have survived make it so that the analysis of happiness-related words in the works of Semonides, proves to bear little result. However, it

<sup>100</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 46.

<sup>102</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 45.

<sup>103</sup> The Greek text and translation are extracted from Douglas E. Gerber (2006).

does prove interesting from the point of view of this being the first occurrence of εὐτυχέω attested. Considering that this is the only use in Semonides and it does not reappear until Pindar, it makes it difficult to assert its meaning. However, what seems to clear is that in Semonides εὐτυχέω is completely passive because it is the finder that is met with what is put in one's way by this arbitrary force which is τύχη. There is no influence one can put on τύχη or no amount of toil can make one εὐτυχέω. This absence of active sense coincides with Semonides' idea that men have no νόος and control over their outcomes, it is all controlled by the gods or by τύχη.

### 2.2.3. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SAPPHO

Sappho was a Greek poetess who lived in the 6th century BC and is known for her formation of choruses of women. “Sappho in her songs is conventionally pictured as the lead singer of a chorus that consisted of the women of Lesbos, and she speaks as their main choral personality.”<sup>104</sup> Sappho’s works were composed to be performed and they include songs that are either monodic or choral. The oldest type of monody that has survived is that by Alcaeus and by Sappho who were contemporaries. Sappho’s only complete work that has survived is *Ode to Aphrodite*. Sappho’s works are strongly linked to ritual and religious activities and also have an instructional element consisting of learning how to perform wedding songs and the transmission of religious and civic values to young girls, παρθένοι.<sup>105</sup> Sappho’s works will be analysed from the point of view of the usage of happiness-related words, in this case only of μάκαρ and ὄλβιος.<sup>106</sup>

Starting with the adjective μάκαρ, μάκαρ only appears once and it refers to the gods, in vv. 3-6 of Fragment 63 (Neri, 2021): γλύκυσ θ[έ]ος ἢ δεῖν’ ὀνίας μ / ζά χωρίς ἔχην τάν δυναμ[ / ἔλπεις δέ μ’ ἔχει μὴ πεδέχη[ν] μηδὲν μακάρων ἐλ[. (“sweet god, truly (from) sorrow powerfully...to keep separate the (power).(but) I have hope that I shall not share...nothing of the blessed (gods).”<sup>107</sup> Here, Sappho admires how gods are distanced from pain and she states how she has no hope of being among the gods, the μάκαρες. Even though μάκαρ does not accompany θεός or any other similar noun, it can be deduced that Sappho is referring to the gods because earlier she uses θ[έ]ος. The use of μάκαρ seems to be manifestly for the gods and there seems to be a barrier between human happiness and divine happiness. In vv. 4-7 of Fragment 81 (Neri, 2021), μάκαιραι is applied to the Graces: εὐάνθεα †γὰρ πέλεται† καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιραι / μᾶλλον προτόρην, ἀστεφανώτοισι δ’ ἀπυστρέφονται. (“for the blessed Graces look rather on what is adorned with flowers and turn away from the ungarlanded.”) The Graces, like the gods, are divine entities that have certain ‘power’, ‘stability’, ‘security’ and ‘inspire awe’ and receive ‘honour’ from mortals.

Passing onto the analysis of ὄλβιος and ὄλβος, it is important to explain further about the context of wedding songs. As it has been seen in the section on Happiness-Related Words in

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<sup>104</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 118.

<sup>105</sup> Gerber, Douglas E. (1997), pp. 160-161. For more about Sappho’s life, audience and persona, see Douglas E. Gerber (1997, pp. 156-166). Also, see Laura Swift (2022, pp. 261-274).

<sup>106</sup> An occurrence of εὐδαίμων will be mentioned, but because of its uncertain nature it will not be taken into account in the conclusions.

<sup>107</sup>The Greek text and translation are extracted from David A. Campbell (1990).

Homer when Odysseus uses language consistent with wedding songs for Nausicaa, one characteristic of wedding songs is the εἰκασία. This is normally the comparison of the bride or/and bridegroom to gods, heroes or plants. The bridegroom is compared to a god in verses 1-5 Fragment 31 (Neri, 2021):

φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν  
ἔμμεν ὄνερ, ὅττις ἐναντίος τοι  
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἄδῳ φωνείσας ὑπακούει

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν  
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·

He seems as fortunate as the gods to me, the man who sits opposite you and listens nearby to your sweet voice and lovely laughter. Truly that sets my heart trembling in my breast.

Neri explains how the formula ἴσος θεοῖσιν is an expression found in Homeric poems and cites *Il.* XXI 315, *Od.* XI 304.<sup>108</sup> Here, it is referring to the divinization of the bride or/and bridegroom in the ritual convention of marriage.<sup>109</sup> As Nagy affirms: “the identity of the god who is being compared to the bridegroom is manifested in the ritual convention of imagining the bridegroom not only as a god, but also as a hero especially as Achilles.”<sup>110</sup> The bridegroom resembles Achilles since he is the patron of newly-weds and because he dies just when he was about to get married. “There are two divine models for Achilles as an ideal bridegroom: Ares<sup>111</sup> and Apollo.”<sup>112</sup> The sight of the bridegroom, divinized, can cause the same effect as a divine epiphany. Sappho, as a mortal, in front of the deified bridegroom, suffers a series of symptoms.<sup>113</sup> In the same way the gods do, the bridegroom likened to a god, inspires ‘awe’ and ‘stupefaction’ in the contemplator which somatise in a series of physical affectations.

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<sup>108</sup> Neri, Camillo. (2021), p. 621.

<sup>109</sup> As Hague (1983, 134) explained: “Himerius tells us that Sappho compared the bridegroom to Achilles, both in person and in deeds (Orationes IX.16), and Sappho’s 23 compares a woman, quite possibly a bride, to Helen and Hermione.”

<sup>110</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 115.

<sup>111</sup> Fragment 111 (Neri, 2021) is a clear example of the comparison of the bridegroom to Ares: ἦψοι δὴ τὸ μέλαθρον, / ὑμήναον, / ἀέρρετε, τέκτονες ἄνδρες· / ὑμήναον. / γάμβρος † (εἰς)έρχεται ἴσος † Ἄρευι, / ἄνδρος μεγάλῳ πόλῳ μέσδων. (“On high the roof—Hymenaeus!—raise up, you carpenters—Hymenaeus! The bridegroom is coming, the equal of Ares, much larger than a large man.”)

<sup>112</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 116.

<sup>113</sup> These symptoms have been interpreted as symptoms of love and attraction. However, Nagy explains that these are the symptoms of witnessing a divine epiphany that lead Sappho to suffer a near-death experience. In initiation rituals, there is always a form of psychic death which leads to rebirth.

The bride and bridegroom are put on the same level as gods and heroes and the happiness they experience from marriage is one that surpasses the human experience: “[...] bridegrooms reach, at their respective weddings, a state of happiness that surpasses the ordinary human experience.”<sup>114</sup> It is common in wedding songs to find μακαρισμός in which the bride or/and bridegroom are deemed happy for their marriage. Even though the newly-weds are likened to the gods, Sappho does not use the epithet μάκαρ, but she uses instead ὄλβιος, as seen in 112 (Neri, 2021) applied to the groom:

ὄλβιε γάμβρε, σοὶ μὲν δὴ γάμος ὡς ἄραο  
 ἐκτετέλεσθ', ἔχης δὲ πάρθενον ἄν ἄραο...  
 σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος, ὄππατα δ'...  
 μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἰμέρτω κέχυται προσώπῳ  
 ...τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα

Happy bridegroom, your marriage has been fulfilled as you prayed, you have the girl for whom you prayed... Your form is graceful, your eyes...gentle, and love streams over your beautiful face... Aphrodite has honoured you outstandingly.

The choice of ὄλβιος and not μάκαρ is in accordance with Sappho's reluctance to use μάκαρ for mortals in general. In this case, the adjective used is ὄλβιος for the bridegroom and it is not related to riches. Even though it is not related to wealth, it can be understood as materialistic in the sense of 'possessing what one has prayed for and been bestowed', as in achieving, ἐκτελεῖν, a marriage (γάμος) and having, to ἔχειν, a bride (παρθένος). As De Heer asserted: “To be ὄλβιος is to have a possession given through the favour of the divine.”<sup>115</sup> Moreover, there is also emphasis on the physical beauty as seen in the praise of the appearance, εἶδος, described as χάριεν. The physical beauty is one that comes from divine grace. This idea is manifest in the last verse (τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα) in which it is emphasized how Aphrodite has honoured the bridegroom eminently. To be ὄλβιος in marriage depends on the bestowal of ὄλβος from Aphrodite, the goddess who dispenses the marriage and the bride. In Fragment 133 (Neri, 2021), Aphrodite is called πολύολβος: Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν...; (“Why, Sappho, (do you summon? neglect?) Aphrodite rich in blessings?”). Furthermore, the sense components which had been appreciated in other authors of ‘surpassing others’, ‘enjoying certain eminence and god-given possessions’ and ‘being honoured’ are still appreciated, but in this case it is in the context of the marriage ritual, and not because of status or wealth.

<sup>114</sup> Meister, Felix. (2020), p. 34.

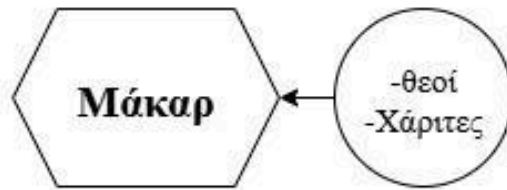
<sup>115</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 32. De Heer (1969, 33) linked this to Fragment 16 (Neri, 2021) where it is affirmed that to love is the most sought-after possession.

Effectively, what remains of Sappho’s works is noteworthy in relation to the examination of happiness-related words, in this case of μάκαρ and of ὄλβιος.<sup>116</sup> There is a distinct use of μάκαρ strictly for the divinities, applied to the gods and Graces. To be μάκαρ is to live a ‘life of ease’, have ‘stability’ and ‘power’, to inspire ‘awe and stupefaction’ and to ‘receive honour’. This type of happiness is impossible to achieve by mortals and the closest one can get is to be ὄλβιος through marriage. This use of ὄλβιος is used in a wedding μακαρισμός for the status the newly-weds enjoy during these marriage rituals that Sappho praises. The bridegroom who is ὄλβιος is he who receives divine favour through the achievement of the marriage (ἐκτελεῖν γάμον) and the possession of the bride (ἔχειν πάρθενον) for which he prayed. In addition, the bridegroom is graced with a εἶδος χάριεν. The goddess Aphrodite is who favours and honours the newly-weds, as said in τετίμακ’ ἔξοχά σ’ Ἀφροδίτα, and bestows ὄλβος on them. Furthermore, the newly-weds, through ritual convention, are likened to the gods, ἴσοι θείοισιν, and are objects of ‘stupefaction’ and receive ‘τιμή’ in a similar manner to the gods. During this ritual the newly-weds are elevated to the highest state of happiness achievable in the mortal realm, in this case to be ὄλβιοι, considering that μάκαρ is not used for mortals in Sappho. Even though the context differs, the meaning of ὄλβιος still shares components seen in previous authors, for example, to receive ‘divine favour’ in the form of ‘god-given possession’, in this case not that of riches but of a bride or bridegroom, ‘to surpass others’ and ‘to be honoured, receiving τιμή’.

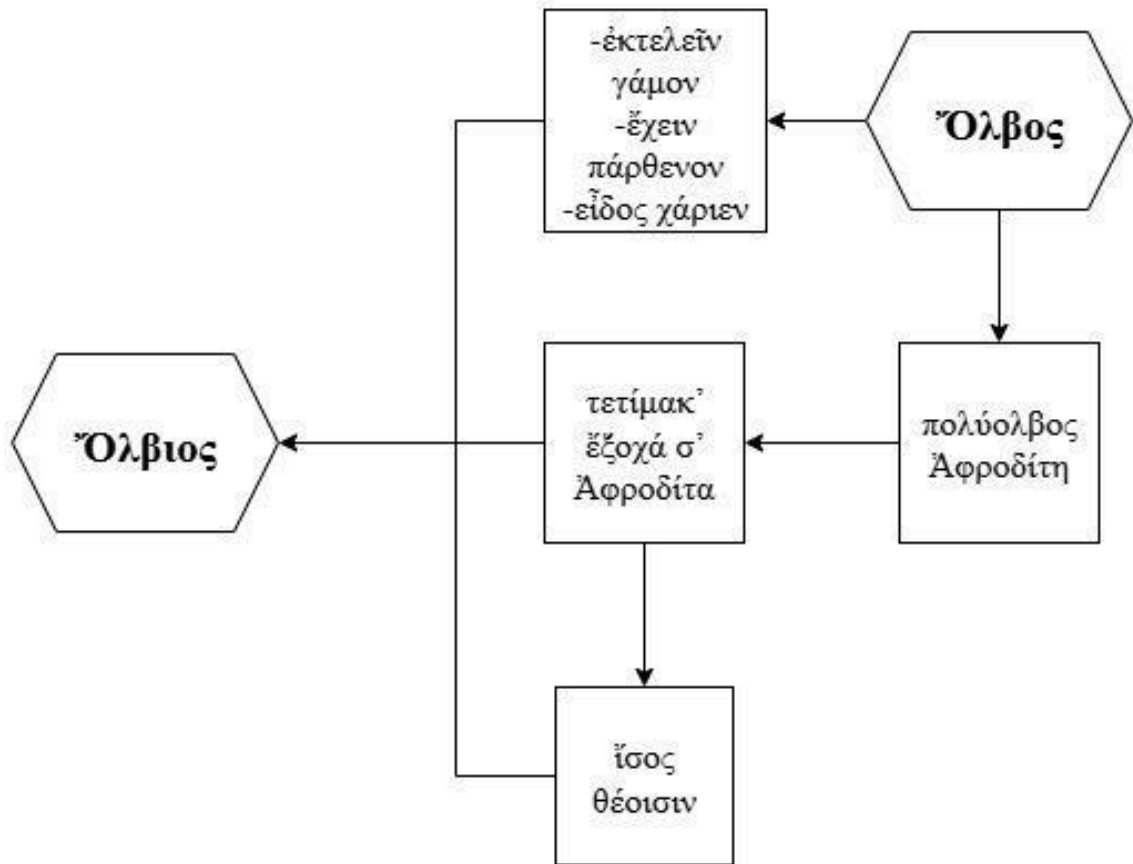
μάκαρ	ὄλβιος
-Only for gods, ‘life of ease’ ‘power’, ‘stability’ and object of ‘stupefaction’ and ‘honour’.	- To achieve the marriage (ἐκτελεῖν γάμον) and have the bride (ἔχειν πάρθενον) one prayed for and has been bestowed, in this case by Aphrodite.
	-To ‘surpass others’ (ἴσος θείοισιν) ‘eminence’ and ‘to be object of τιμή’ (τετίμακ’ ἔξοχά σ’ Ἀφροδίτα)
	<b>ὄλβος</b>
	-god-given marriage (γάμος) and bride (πάρθενος) and a graced appearance (εἶδος χάριεν)

<sup>116</sup> In Fragment 148 (Neri, 2021), there is a use of εὐδαιμονία: ὁ πλοῦτος ἄνευ † ἀρέτας οὐκ ἀσίνης πάροικος, / ἂ δ’ ἀμφοτέρων κρᾶσις † εὐδαιμονίας ἔχει τὸ ἄκρον † (“Wealth without virtue is no harmless neighbour. The blending of both brings the height of happiness.”). However, De Heer (1969, 38) dated these verses from the late fifth century at the earliest and stated that: “there is indeed a frigid quality in these two lines which gives a decidedly un-Sapphic impression.” In these verses εὐδαιμονία is clearly related to the idea of wealth (πλοῦτος) with virtue (ἀρετή). This use of εὐδαιμονία being purely materialistic will be seen in authors later and is not similar to Sappho’s usage of other happiness-related words, indicating that De Heer’s interpretation could ring true. For this reason it has not been taken into account in the main part of this work.

—DIVINE REALM—



—MORTAL REALM—



#### 2.2.4. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN ALCAEUS

Although there is limited information about Alcaeus' life, it is known that he was a Greek poet, born into a wealthy family in Mytilene, a city on the island of Lesbos, and that he is thought to have composed his works around the 6th century BC.<sup>117</sup> Most of his work was composed principally for solo performance to be shared with his aristocratic *hetairia* at the symposium.<sup>118</sup> Even though there are doubts surrounding the transmission of his works and these only survive in fragments, he remains a key figure in the tradition of ancient Greek lyric poetry.<sup>119</sup> In this section, the fragments of Alcaeus' works will be analysed from the point of view of the use of happiness-related words, focusing on μάκαρ and ὄλβιος, considering that others do not appear.

Concerning μάκαρ, this adjective appears eight times in various fragments and is used strictly to refer to the gods. It is used in a way that has already been appreciated, as simply an epithet for the gods, for example, Fragment 5, v. 7: πρὸς μακάρων θέων (“at the hands of the blessed gods”), Fragment 117b, v. 16: Δίω[ς] καὶ μ[α]κά[ρων] θεῶν (“Zeus and the blessed gods”), Fragment 129, vv. 3-4: ἐν δὲ βώμοις / ἀθανάτων μακάρων ἔθηκον (“and put in it altars of the blessed immortals”), Fragment 130B, v. 13: μακάρων ἐς τέμ[ε]νος θεῶν (“to the precinct of the blessed gods”).<sup>120</sup> Another example is found in vv. 16-19 of Fragment 298, when it is stated that Athena is the most terrible of the μάκαρες θεοί to sacrilegious mortals, such as Ajax:

Αἴας δὲ λ]ύσαν ἦλθ' ὀλόαν ἔχων  
ἐς ναῦο]ν ἄγνας Πάλλαδος, ἃ θεῶν  
θνάτοι]σι θεοσύλαισι πάντων  
αἰνο]τάτα μακάρων πέφυκε·

and Ajax came in deadly madness to the temple of holy Pallas, who of all the blessed gods is most (terrible) to sacrilegious (mortals)...

Effectively, these examples show that μάκαρ is used mostly accompanying θεός and is reserved as an epithet for the gods, proving that the boundary between mortals and gods seems to be clearly delineated. This adjective seems to represent a happiness that consists of

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<sup>117</sup> Gerber, Douglas. E. (1997), p. 135.

<sup>118</sup> Gerber, Douglas. E. (1997), p. 138.

<sup>119</sup> For more about the Alcaean question and the transmission and reception of his works, see Laura Swift (2020, pp. 275-289).

<sup>120</sup> The Greek text and translation are extracted from David A. Campbell (1990).

‘stability’ and ‘life of ease’ and is used with a sense of ‘stupefaction’ towards those superior beings that can reach this higher level of happiness.

Another appearance of μάκαρ together with an occurrence of ὄλβιος is found in Fragment 42.<sup>121</sup> This is one occurrence out of two in which the adjective μάκαρ does not accompany a noun, but it alludes to the gods and the meaning is the same as that already mentioned:

ὡς λόγος, κάκων ἄ[χος ἔννεκ’ ἔργων  
Περράμῳ καὶ παῖσ[ί ποτ’, ἾΩλεν’, ἦλθεν·  
ἐκ σέθεν πίκρον, π[ύρι δ’ ὄλεσε Ζεῦς  
Ἴλιον ἱραν.

οὐ τεαύταν Αἰακίδαι[ς ἄγαυος  
πάντας ἐς γάμον μάκ[αρας καλέσσαις  
ἄγετ’ ἐκ Νήρ[η]ος ἔλων [μελάθρων  
πάρθενον ἄβραν

ἐς δόμον Χέρρωνος· ἔλ[υσε δ’ ἄγνας  
ζῶμα παρθένω· φιλό[τας δ’ ἔθαλε  
Πήλεος καὶ Νηρεΐδων ἀρίστ[ας,  
ἐς δ’ ἐνίαυτον

παῖδα γέννατ’ αἰμιθέων [φέριστον  
ὄλβιον ξάνθαν ἐλάτη[ρα πάλων·  
οἱ δ’ ἀπώλοντ’ ἀμφ’ Ἐ[λένα Φρύγες τε  
καὶ πόλις αὐτῶν.

As the story goes, because of evil deeds bitter grief came once to Priam and his sons from you, Helen, and Zeus destroyed holy Ilium with fire. Not such was the delicate maiden whom the noble son of Aeacus, inviting all the blessed gods to the wedding, married, taking her from the halls of Nereus to the home of Chiron; he loosened the pure maiden’s girdle, and the love of Peleus and the best of Nereus’ daughters flourished; and within the year she bore a son, the finest of demigods, blessed driver of chestnut horses. But they perished for Helen’s sake—the Phrygians and their city.

Here, ὄλβιος is used for praising Achilles who just before was referred to as “the finest of demigods”. The adjective ὄλβιος had been used for heroes in previous authors and the sense components of ‘surpassing others for their physical abilities’ and being ‘honoured and admired’ for this can be appreciated. Furthermore, it could be alluding to hero cult which Achilles will receive after death, which will make him permanently ὄλβιος. Again ὄλβιος is used for a mortal and it could be that, together with the adjective αἰμίθεος, it reinforces Achilles’ mortal condition. His mortal condition is what saves Zeus from becoming dethroned.

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<sup>121</sup> In Fragment 148, there is another instance of ὄλβιος, however it is very fragmented and no solid conclusions can be drawn, for this reason it will not be accounted for.

In conclusion, although there are not many occurrences of happiness-related words in what remains of Alcaeus' works, some conclusions can be drawn in relation to their usage. Firstly, the adjective μάκαρ mostly appears as an epithet for the gods, accompanying θεός or a similar noun such as ἀθάνατος. On only two occasions it appears without a noun, maybe anticipating a use without accompanying a noun in authors after Alcaeus. This type of happiness is related to 'stability', 'power' and a sense of 'awe' that only gods enjoy. It is not used for mortals, marking a clear distinction between gods and mortals in relation to this type of happiness. Secondly, ὄλβιος appears twice, but only its use in Fragment 42 can be analysed because that in Fragment 148 is preserved only in a highly fragmentary form. Ὀλβιος is applied to Achilles as a hero, for 'surpassing others for his physical abilities' and being 'admired and honoured' for this. Furthermore, it could be anticipating the hero cult that Achilles will receive, making him permanently ὄλβιος in the sacral meaning. Both μάκαρ and ὄλβιος follow uses already appreciated and the restricted use for immortals and mortals respectively is further demonstrated.

μάκαρ	ὄλβιος
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Used for the gods, mostly accompanying θεός (even though there are two occurrences without accompanying a noun)</li> <li>- Happiness that comes from having 'stability', 'security', 'power' and being 'awe-inspiring'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Used for Achilles as a semigod, αἰμίθεος, who surpasses others for his physical abilities' and for these abilities he is 'honoured'</li> <li>- Could also refer to Achilles' 'immortalization as a cult hero' after death and the 'honour' he will receive, making him permanently ὄλβιος in the sacral sense.</li> </ul>

### 2.2.5. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SOLON

Solon, regarded as one of the Seven Sages, was an Athenian politician, legislator and poet who lived during the 6th century BC.<sup>122</sup> This period was characterized by political instability and there were developing hostilities between the aristocracy and the common people. Solon describes his politics as follows in vv. 18-20 of Fragment 30 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 36W.<sup>2</sup>: θεσμοὺς δ' ὁμοίως τῷ κακῷ τε κάγαθῷ / εὐθεΐαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀρμόσας δίκην / ἔγραψα. (“I wrote laws for the lower and upper classes alike, providing a straight legal process for each person”). As part of his reforms, Solon, as an archon, implemented the categorization of the Athenians into four property classes, which depended on their amount of wealth and dictated their level of participation in politics.<sup>123</sup> Solon was crucial to the transformation of Athens from an oligarchic administration to a democratic one.<sup>124</sup>

Unfortunately, only fragments of Solon’s works have survived.<sup>125</sup> Solon used his Iambic and Elegiac compositions as a form of expression of his political ideas and as a way to justify his actions. Irwin describes the context of Solon’s times as follows: “Elegiac poets frequently purport to address their immediate audience in their capacities as citizens of a *polis*, and thus the fragments are replete with political material, a feature that has led scholars to reconstruct a strong civic function behind elegy.”<sup>126</sup> His political life aside, the following analysis of Solon’s fragments will centre on his usage of happiness-related words.

Firstly, μάκαρ seems to be used strictly as an epithet for the gods, as seen in vv. 1-2 of Fragment 3 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 4 W.<sup>2</sup>: ἡμετέρη δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ' ὀλεΐται / αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων· (“Our state will never perish through the dispensation of Zeus or the intentions of the blessed immortal gods.”). The fact that μάκαρ is not applied to mortals seems to indicate that this state is not possible for them and that there is a clear barrier between the happiness attainable by mortals and that achievable by gods. Only gods can enjoy ‘power’, ‘stability’ and are objects of ‘awe and stupefaction’ to this extent.

This idea is manifest in Fragment 19 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 14 W.<sup>2</sup> in which it is affirmed how no mortal can be μάκαρ: οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ / πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς

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<sup>122</sup> For more about Solon as one of the Sages, see Solon The Sage in Maria Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010).

<sup>123</sup> Noussia-Fantuzzi, Maria. (2010), pp. 283-284.

<sup>124</sup> For more about Solon’s political career and as a legislator, see Solon the Politician and Legislator in Maria Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010).

<sup>125</sup> The numbering is extracted from Maria Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010). The Greek text and translation are taken from Douglas E. Gerber (2003).

<sup>126</sup> Irwin, Elizabeth. (2005), p. 2.

ἠέλιος καθορᾷ. (“No mortal is blessed, but all whom the sun looks down upon are in a sorry state.”). Mortals cannot be μάκαρες, they have no choice but to be πονηροί, in this case sufferers of toil.

Turning to focus on ὄλβιος and the noun ὄλβος, ὄλβος appears three times and vv. 3-4 of Fragment 8 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 6 W.<sup>2</sup> prove to be intriguing: τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται / ἀνθρώποις ὀπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ.<sup>127</sup> (“For excess breeds insolence, whenever great prosperity comes to men who are not sound of mind.”). However, what seems clear is that when ὄλβος is bestowed on someone who is not ἄρτιος, of sound judgement, this can result in ὕβρις, and consequently lead to punishment from the gods and human alternation.

The following verses of Solon’s *Elegy to the Muses*, Fragment 1 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 13 W.<sup>2</sup> are of interest for the meaning of ὄλβος:

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένῳ·  
ὄλβον μοι πρὸς θεῶν μακάρων δότε καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων  
ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν·  
εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὧδε φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρὸν,  
τοῖσι μὲν αἰδοῖσιν, τοῖσι δὲ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν.  
χρήματα δ’ ἰμείρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι  
οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.

Resplendent daughters of Memory and Olympian Zeus, Pierian Muses, hearken to my prayer. Grant that I have prosperity from the blessed gods and a good reputation always from all men; grant that in these circumstances I be sweet to my friends and bitter to my enemies, viewed with respect by the former and with dread by the latter. I long to have money, but I am unwilling to possess it unjustly, for retribution assuredly comes afterwards. (vv. 1-10)

Solon invokes the Muses to ask them to grant him, what seems to be, two very important things, to have ὄλβος from the gods and αἰεὶ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν among mortals.<sup>128</sup> This prayer is reminiscent of v. 9 of *Hymn to Hercules* and v. 8 of *Hymn to Hephaestus*: δίδου δ’ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον. In this case, ὄλβος also seems to refer to god-given wealth due to the fact that, later on, χρήματα is mentioned.<sup>129</sup> The speaker only wishes to possess χρήματα justly, for if not one can suffer divine retribution. This is made clear when Solon states that those who

<sup>127</sup> As Gerber (2003, 123) indicates, the idea of τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν became proverbial.

<sup>128</sup> Here, the contrast between θεῶν μακάρων and ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων is appreciated.

<sup>129</sup> The materialistic connotations of ὄλβος are also manifest in vv. 1-3 of Fragment 29b G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 34 W.<sup>2</sup>: [...] ἐλπίδ’ εἶχον ἀφνεήν, / κάδοκ[ε]λον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὐρήσειν πολὺν, / καὶ με κωτίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον. (“they had hopes of wealth, each one of them thinking that he would find much prosperity and that I, for all my gentle prattle, would reveal a harsh disposition.”).

possess wealth unfairly or unjustly (ἀδίκως) end up being confronted with retribution, δίκη.<sup>130</sup> To conserve ὄλβος one has to act with good judgement and only in this way they can be ὄλβιος.

The adjective ὄλβιος is used only once in Fragment 17 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 23 W.<sup>2</sup>: ὄλβιος, ὃ παῖδες τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι / καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός (“Happy is he who has dear boys, horses of uncloven hoof, hunting dogs, and a friend in foreign parts”). In her commentary, Noussia-Fantuzzi relates this fragment to Fragment 16 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 25 W.<sup>2</sup>: ἔσθ’ ἤβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ’ ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ / μηρῶν ἰμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος (“until (so long as?) one falls in love with a boy in the lovely flower of youth, desiring thighs and a sweet mouth.”).<sup>131</sup> Noussia-Fantuzzi states that these are “some glimpses into the often-lauded activities of the lives of elite male Greeks.”<sup>132</sup> It seems that, according to this interpretation, the love of boys, was also something that made a man ὄλβιος. Here, this is a different sense of ὄλβος, but is related to ‘material possession’. As mentioned before, to be ὄλβιος relates to a happiness that comes from having material possessions that are secured by the gods. Linked to this wealth is access to the aristocratic circle and the opportunity to participate in activities such as pederastic practices. Following this interpretation, to be ὄλβιος would be to enjoy ‘god-given wealth’, ‘status’ and ‘pleasure which comes from participating in aristocratic activities’.

However, even though Solon refers to pederasty in other verses, this does not mean that παῖδες necessarily refers to that here. Fabienne Blaise presents another hypothesis, arguing that the second hemistich of the first verse is a Homeric formula.<sup>133</sup> She affirms that, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, παῖδες refers in all cases to one’s children and when it is accompanied by φίλοι it evokes the child that one has lost, one is going to lose or is lamenting.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, μώνυχες ἵπποι is also a Homeric formula generally relating to battle, but in this case it is applied to hunting dogs and it refers to hunting, an aristocratic activity accessible to those who are wealthy and of status and is only able to be practiced in times of peace:

Celle-ci ne s’inscrit plus dans un contexte guerrier, et les chevaux symbolisent certes encore une activité, mais tout autre que celle de l’*Iliade*, puisque la chasse se pratique, elle, en temps de paix. [...] Avoir ses enfants chéris, c’est le privilège, on l’a vu, dont

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<sup>130</sup> For more about δίκη and ὄβρις in Solon’s poetry see Héctor García Cataldo (2006).

<sup>131</sup> Noussia-Fantuzzi, Maria. (2010), p. 343.

<sup>132</sup> Noussia-Fantuzzi, Maria. (2010), p. 343.

<sup>133</sup> Blaise, Fabienne. (2010), para. 15.

<sup>134</sup> Blaise, Fabienne. (2010), para. 15. As Blaise remarks (2010, para. 15) the adjective φίλος in the Homeric poems is generally equal to a possessive adjective.

ne jouissent pas les parents pourtant illustres d'enfants que la guerre leur ravit. On peut donc en déduire que la possession de ce bien est facilitée quand règne la paix.<sup>135</sup>

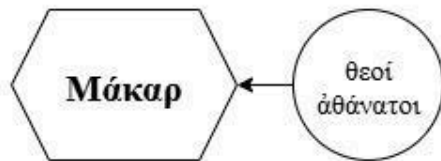
In this way, Solon borrows from the poetic tradition to praise times of peace which permit one to enjoy aristocratic pleasures linked to wealth and status, as well as having offspring who can perpetuate this state. In respect to Homer's use of ὄλβιος, which represented the sense components of 'wealth', 'status' and 'offspring', there is an added idea of 'pleasure' or 'life of ease', since there is the enjoyment of leisure activities that can only take place in times of peace. In both interpretations of these verses discussed here, there is secondarily a new sense component of 'pleasure'.

Through the analysis of these fragments, it is possible to appreciate to some degree Solon's usage of happiness-related words. Due to his restricted use of μάκαρ only for the gods, it is evident that Solon reveals a distinct separation between the mortal and the divine realms. While the immortals, ἀθάνατοι, are described as μάκαρες, mortals, θνητοί, are destined to be πονηροί. Instead of μάκαρες, some mortals can be deemed ὄλβιοι and be bestowed ὄλβος. To secure this god-given wealth, ὄλβος, one has to act with sound judgement, νόος ἄρτιος, and not with excess, κόρος, so as to not commit ὕβρις and consequently receive divine punishment, δίκη. To be ὄλβιος is 'to possess this god-given wealth in a just manner so as it is secure', having certain 'reputation' (δόξα ἀγαθή) and 'offspring who can perpetuate one's prosperity' (παῖδες φίλοι). Moreover, there is the secondary sense component of 'life of ease' or 'leisurely lifestyle' since, unlike the world presented in Homer, times of peace give way to possibilities of pleasure in participating in aristocratic leisure activities.

<b>μάκαρ</b>	<b>ὄλβιος</b>
-Only for gods, 'life of ease' 'power', 'stability' and 'awe' ('stupefaction').	-To possess 'ὄλβος in a just manner' with a νόος ἄρτιος and not in a manner which is ἀδίκως. To enjoy certain 'status' which permits one access to aristocratic activities. -To have 'offspring to perpetuate this'
	Secondarily, 'life of ease' that comes from aristocratic leisure activities
	<b>ὄλβος</b> -Wealth (χρήματα) that is god-given -When one without sound judgement, μὴ νόος ἄρτιος, possesses it, this excess, κόρος turns into ὕβρις which is punished, δίκη.

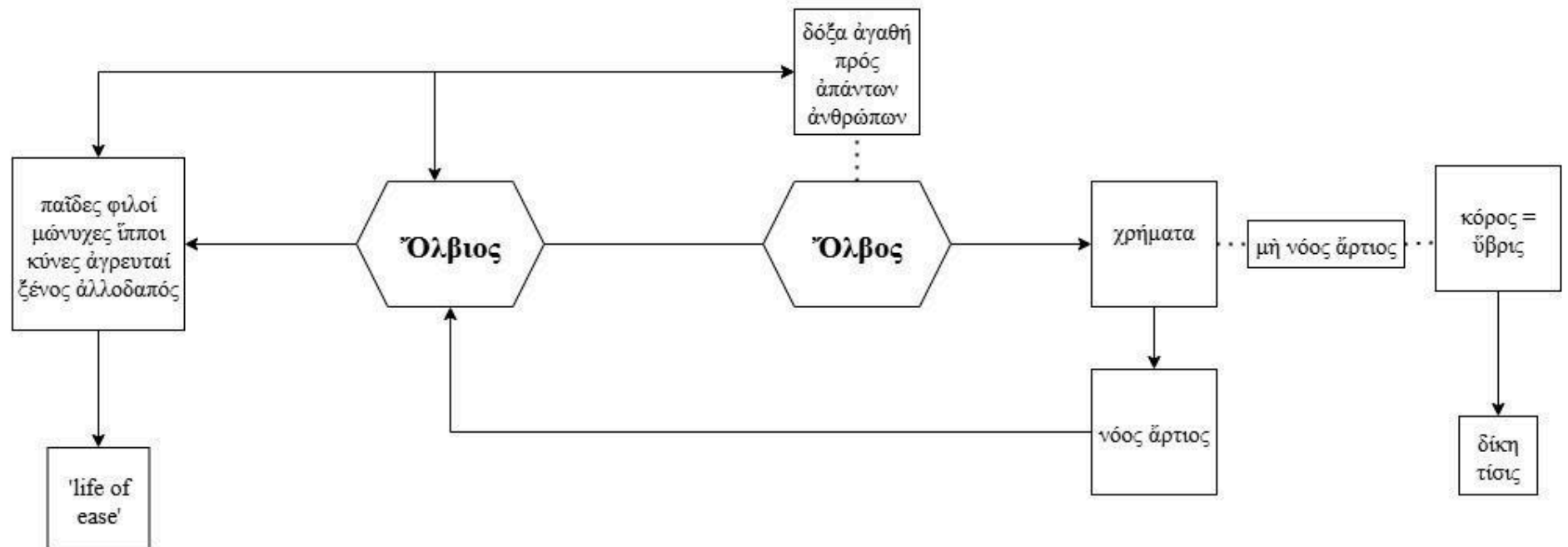
<sup>135</sup> Blaise, Fabienne. (2010), para. 21-23.

-DIVINE REALM-



οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτῶς

MORTAL REALM



## 2.2.6. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE THEOGNIDEA

The Theognidea is an elegiac collection of about 14,000 verses, many of which seem to be composed specially for the symposia. These verses explore themes such as friendship and betrayal, poverty and wealth, justice and injustice. There is considerable debate about the authorship and whether the collection was composed by a singular historical figure known as Theognis of Megara. There are two main theories, the first of which, supported by scholars such as Martin Litchfield West and Ewen Bowie, identifies a core of the collection (notably lines 19-254 and other shorter passages) as being composed by Theognis himself while other verses consist of compositions by other authors from anthologies of Archaic Greek Elegy.<sup>136</sup> The second theory, proposed by Gregory Nagy, suggests that Theognis is simply the embodiment of the Megarian poetic tradition and the traditional historic aristocratic views: “If, moreover, this theory is tantamount to calling Theognis a myth, then so be it-provided that “myth” can be understood as a given society's codification of its own traditional values in narrative and dramatized form.”<sup>137</sup> Beyond the question of the origin or authorship of the Theognidea,<sup>138</sup> this collection is undoubtedly a valuable source for the exploration of the usage of words relating to happiness.

The first book of the Theognidea primarily focuses on voicing the anxieties about shifting social values in Megara and on educating the figure of young Cynus, to whom a number of the poems are addressed. In these verses, Cynus is guided in the traditional aristocratic values and is encouraged to relate with bonds of friendship to men who also uphold these values, ἀγαθός and ἐσθλός, which were slowly being eroded in those times of change. The second book is characterised by the repeated invocative παῖ which is a form of address by the ἐραστής to the ἐρόμενος<sup>139</sup> and has clear references to παιδεραστία which was also a topic of concern to the elite: “The *paiderestiā* 'love of boys' in them constitutes an important ideological and practical dimension of aristocratic *paideiā* ‘education’ in archaic Megara.”<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> See Martin Litchfield West (1974) and Ewen Bowie (1997).

<sup>137</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (1985), p. 34.

<sup>138</sup> For a more recent study on the authorship of the Theognidea, see Andrew Lear (2011).

<sup>139</sup> Lewis, John. (1985), p. 200.

<sup>140</sup> Lewis, John. (1985), p. 197.

Before studying the happiness-related words found in these verses, it is important to highlight that the collection of the Theognidea is tainted by a recurrent feeling of hopelessness that could have been due to the despair experienced during times of change. The gods are presented as being in control of every aspect of mortal life, as seen in vv. 155-158:

μήποτε μοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χαλεφθεῖς  
μηδ' ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην πρόφερε·  
Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

Never, pray, out of anger at a man throw heart-rending poverty and accursed indigence in his face. Be assured that Zeus inclines the scales now on this side, now on that; now to be wealthy, now to have nothing.<sup>141</sup>

Moreover, μάκαρ appears also in vv. 171-172: θεοῖς εὐχου ἴθεοῖσ' οἷσιν ἐπι κράτος· οὔτοι ἄτερ θεῶν / γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὔτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά. (“Pray to the gods; power rests with the gods. Nothing good or bad happens to men without the gods.”). And in 617-618: οὐ τι μάλ' ἀνθρώποις καταθύμια πάντα τελεῖται· / πολλὸν γὰρ θνητῶν κρέσσονες ἀθάνατοι. (“By no means is everything accomplished according to men’s desires; for the immortals are far superior to mortals.”).

There is nothing permanent in this world that is portrayed in the Theognidea because the gods dispense good and bad fortune to humans and Zeus can change circumstances from one extreme to another. On some occasions, these gods, who are superior to mortals, are referred to simply as θεοί or ἀθάνατοι, but the adjective μάκαρ also appears to qualify these gods. In the works of authors previously examined, this adjective has been used for substituting θεοί. However, in the Theognidea, there is only one appearance of μάκαρ where this use is appreciated, in 203-204: ἀλλὰ τάδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾶ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' αὐτοῦ / τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας (“The minds of men, however, are misled, since the blessed gods do not punish sin at the time of every act.”).

The following verses, 741-742, present the use of μάκαρ with θεός showing how it is not used simply to substitute θεοί: ταῦτ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἔρδων / ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει. (“May this be pleasing to the blessed gods. But now the perpetrator escapes and another then suffers misery.”) This may be due to the more pronounced feeling/sense of the injustice of these gods, making it feel inappropriate to always refer to them with a positive adjective such as μάκαρ.

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<sup>141</sup> The Greek text and translation for the Theognidea are taken from Douglas E. Gerber (2003).

The other two instances of μάκαρ show it being used in conjunction with both ἀθάνατοι and θεοί:

Ζεὺς μὲν τῆσδε πόλῃος ὑπειρέχοι αἰθέρι ναίων  
αἰεὶ δεξιτέρην χειρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνη,  
ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί·

May Zeus who dwells in the sky ever hold his right hand over this city to keep off harm, and may the other blessed immortal gods (do likewise). (vv. 757-759)

πάντα τάδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρφ· οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν  
αἴτιος ἀθανάτων, Κύρνε, θεῶν μακάρων,  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε βίη καὶ κέρδεα δειλὰ καὶ ὕβρις  
πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐς κακότητ' ἔβαλεν. (vv. 833-836)

Everything here has gone to the dogs and to ruin, Cynus, and we can't hold any of the blessed immortal gods responsible. It's the violence of men, their base gains and insolence that have cast us from prosperity into misery.

It is worthy of note that in vv. 1171-1176 there is an exceptional use of μάκαρ for a mortal.

γνώμην, Κύρνε, θεοὶ θνητοῖσι διδοῦσιν ἄριστην  
ἀνθρώποις· γνώμη πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει.  
ἂ μάκαρ, ὅστις δὴ μιν ἔχει φρεσίν· ἧ πολὺ κρείσσων  
ὕβριος οὐλομένης λευγαλέου τε κόρου  
[ἐστι· κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος, τῶν οὐ τι κάκιον·]  
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότης.

Judgement, Cynus, is the best gift of the gods to mortal men: judgement holds the key to everything. Blessed is he whose mind possesses it. Indeed it is much superior to accursed lawlessness or baneful excess. [Excess is harmful to mortals; there's nothing worse.] For from these things, Cynus, comes every misery.

In this case, μάκαρ appears in a μακαρισμός which up until now commonly the adjective ὄλβιος had been used followed by ὅστις or ὅς. It is said that he to whom the gods have given γνώμη is μάκαρ. Judgement, γνώμη, is what enables one to steer away from committing ὕβρις and thereby to avoid the wrath of the gods. To further understand this passage it is important to consider that: “The value system of the Theognidea becomes defined by constellations of certain key terms that occur in pairs of contraries, the most important of which are agathos/kakos (or esthlos/deilos), dikē/hubris, and metron/koros.”<sup>142</sup> Therefore, ὕβρις and κόρος are related to men who are δειλός or κακός. In contrast, judgement, measure and

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<sup>142</sup> Cobb-Stevens, Veda. (1985), p. 159.

justice, γνώμη, μέτρον and δίκη are related to those who are ἀγαθοί and ἐσθλοί.<sup>143</sup> This judgement, γνώμη, is part of the aristocratic moral code in which Cyrrnus is being educated.

In sostanza, nel linguaggio aristocratico del VI e del V secolo a.C, ἀγαθός-ἐσθλός è colui che ha assimilato la γνώμη, la παιδεία aristocratica: l'aggettivo quindi ha perduto il significato amorale, che aveva in Omero, di “forte, eccellente” e ne ha invece assunto uno che rientra senza residui nel giudizio etico e religioso; [...] è in primo luogo necessario che subordini il proprio agire, l'affermazione della sua personalità, ad un vero e proprio sistema di norme, sulla cui osservanza riposa la pace sociale.<sup>144</sup>

This γνώμη refers to having been gifted with the discernment to act in accordance with aristocratic ideals, intertwined with having a sense of justice, δίκη, vv. 43-46, 147-148, and a sense of moderation, vv. 615-616. To embrace this moral code is to be ἀγαθός. However, there are not many men who possess all these characteristics and can be called ἀγαθοί, as is said in v. 150: χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν, Κύρνῃ· ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ' ἔπεται (“Fortune gives even an utterly wicked man riches, Cyrrnus, but excellence is allotted to few as their companion”). De Heer concluded: “Consequently the word μάκαρ has here a dominantly emotive sense, one of wonder at the rarity of this phenomenon.”<sup>145</sup> Understanding how complex this aristocratic moral system is and how unique it is to possess these qualities, it is easy to understand how μάκαρ could be used with a sense of awe for those few individuals. The clear sense of stupefaction in this adjective was also found in Homer, for example vv. 482-486 of Book XI of the *Odyssey* already examined in a previous section. It could also be concluded that this sense component of admiration is in accordance with a sense component of security and stability as well. The man who has γνώμη can avoid committing ὕβρις and thereby escapes the punishment of the gods, thus living a ‘life of ease’, ‘certain stability’ and ‘security’.

Gladigow explains how this antithesis of knowledge of moderation and sacrilegious greed appears also in Solon and the only prosperity that can last is that linked with moderate thinking: “Die Antithese von Maßwissen und frevelhafter Raffgier gehört zu den solonischen Grundgedanken; dem maßvollen Denken allein ist dauerhafter Erfolg beschieden, soweit sich das im Bereich des Menschlichen erreichen läßt.”<sup>146</sup> Gladigow says that these verses of Theognis were composed with Fragment 16 of Solon in mind: γνωμοσύνης δ' ἀφανές

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<sup>143</sup> From v. 319, ἀγαθός μὲν ἀνὴρ γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ, it is understood that it is a lasting possession.

<sup>144</sup> Cerri, Giovanni. (1968), p. 16.

<sup>145</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 29.

<sup>146</sup> Gladigow, Burkhard. (1967), p. 424.

χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι νοῆσαι / μέτρον, ὃ δὲ πάντων πείρατα μοῦνον ἔχει (“It is very difficult to conceive (or to know) the invisible magnitude of their knowledge, but it alone has the limits of everything.”) Gladigow stated how the idea of difficulty is not explicit in the Theognidea, however the fact that it is formulated in a μακαρισμός expresses the uniqueness of those who attain this: “Der Gedanke von der Schwierigkeit ist allerdings nicht bei Theognis ausgesprochen; doch ist er implizit durch den Makarismos ausgedrückt, da nur das Schwierige, Außergewöhnliche, selten Erreichbare gepriesen wird.”<sup>147</sup> The person who has γνώμη causes the same reaction as the gods, inspires ‘awe’ and ‘stupefaction’.

Turning focus to ὄλβιος and its derivatives, this adjective is related to a materialistic happiness. Wealth is a central theme in the Theognidea and the distress of the thought of losing it is voiced repeatedly.<sup>148</sup> As in all human affairs, wealth and status depend on the influence of a δαίμων, as seen in vv. 165-166: οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ’ ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς / οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ’ ἀγαθός. (“No man is prosperous or poor or of low or high estate without divine aid.”) Here it is manifest that ὄλβιος is related to materialistic happiness because of the chiasmic pattern that emphasizes the interplay of opposites (ὄλβιος and ἀγαθός, πενιχρὸς and κακός). The adjective ὄλβιος is to be understood as the opposite of πενιχρὸς which means ‘poor’. However, I propose that ὄλβιος is more than simply meaning ‘to be wealthy’, it is ‘to be wealthy in accordance with aristocratic ideals’. The following verses, vv. 933-938, demonstrate that to be ὄλβιος is not just to possess riches, they also encompass the idea that he who is ὄλβιος also has excellence, ἀρετή:

παύροις ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος ὀπηδεῖ·  
 ὄλβιος, ὃς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν.  
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν· ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ’ αὐτὸν  
 χώρης εἴκουσιν τοί τε παλαιότεροι.  
 γηράσκων <δ’> ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν  
 βλάπτειν οὔτ’ αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει.

Success and good looks go hand in hand with few men. Fortunate the one who is allotted both of these. All honour him: the young, those of his own age, and his elders alike yield their place. In his old age he stands out among the townsmen and no one seeks to deprive him of respect or his just rights.

As De Heer put it: “To be ὄλβιος is to have ἀρετή, i.e. to have the ability to live according to

<sup>147</sup> Gladigow, Burkhard. (1967), p. 423.

<sup>148</sup> Distich 181-182 represents this when it states the idea that it is better to be dead than poor: τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶι βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ / ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῆι τειρόμενον πενήνῃ.

the code of one's class, in which wealth is of as great importance as physical beauty".<sup>149</sup> Therefore, physical beauty (to be κάλλος) and the capacity to follow aristocratic ideals, is the pinnacle of aristocratic aspirations and what makes one ὄλβιος. When a mortal is dispensed these two things, they are honoured by everyone, πάντες τιμῶσιν and in their old age they stand out from others, ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, and receiving reverence αἰδώς and his just rights, δίκη. Here, even though the context differs, there are sense components of ὄλβιος found before and repeated such as 'divine favour', 'surpassing others' and 'being object of honour and reverence'.

Those ὄλβιοι pertaining to the aristocratic circles also participate in certain activities, which could have been the practice of παιδεραστία. In 1253-1254f: ὄλβιος, ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μόνυχες ἵπποι / θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί. ("Happy is he who has dear boys, horses of uncloven hoof, hunting dogs, and friends in foreign parts.") This is the same as Solon's 17 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 23 W.<sup>2</sup> which had also been interpreted as possibly referring back to the Homeric tradition and παῖδες relating to one's 'offspring'. In the next two distichs, παῖδες has been interpreted as love of young boys, in 1335f: ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθὼν / εὐδῶν σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος. ("Happy the man who goes home and engages in amorous exercise, sleeping with a handsome boy all day long."). In 1375-1376 f. ὄλβιος, ὅστις παιδὸς ἐρῶν οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσαν, / οὐδέ οἱ ἐν πόντῳ νύξ ἐπιούσα μέλει. ("Happy is he who loves a boy and does not know the sea, and is not concerned about the approach of night on the deep."). Ὀλβιος has the same meaning as before, ὄλβιος is he who pertains to these circles and enjoys these practices, following aristocratic values. Secondly, one can appreciate a sense component of 'life of ease' or 'leisurely lifestyle' to being ὄλβιος and it is disclosed in vv. 1375-1376 that ὄλβιος is he who can freely indulge in these practices with no limitations. This is in alignment with De Heer's interpretation: "On the evidence of these vv. the sense of ὄλβιος is secure possession which permits the unhindered engagement in pleasurable pursuits; in other words, the general sense of fullness is present with a strong secondary sense-component of pleasure."<sup>150</sup>

However, on two occasions it is stated that to be fully ὄλβιος is impossible for mortals. In vv. 167-168, it is asserted that no one under the sun can be totally ὄλβιος in the strict sense of the word: ἄλλ' ἄλλω κακὸν ἐστί, τὸ δ' ἀτρεκέες ὄλβιος οὐδεὶς / ἀνθρώπων ὀπόσους ἠέλιος καθορᾷ. ("One man is wretched this way, another that, and no one of all whom the sun looks

<sup>149</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 36.

<sup>150</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 35.

down upon is truly fortunate.”) Moreover, in vv. 441-446 (which is identical to 1162 except for 1162b and d), it is stated how no mortal is fully ὄλβιος:

οὐδείς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐσθλός  
τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακὸν κοῦκ ἐπίδηλος ὄμως,  
δειλὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσιν  
θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν. ἀθανάτων δὲ δόσεις  
παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'. ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾷν  
χρὴ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων οἷα διδοῦσιν ἔχειν.

For no one is wholly prosperous in every respect. The noble man puts up with bad luck and for all that makes no show of it, but the base man does not know how to control his emotions and stand firm in good or in bad times. The gifts of the gods come to mortals in all forms, but we must endure to possess their gifts, whatever it is they give.

This passage implies that no mortal is πανόλβιος because the noble man, ἐσθλός, also has to withstand the bad. As De Heer explained, it is hard to perceive fully the nuances because the verses before 441, which have been lost, could have held the information necessary to understand the idea behind the repetitive παν- element. De Heer proposed two ways of understanding these passages. On the one hand, v. 167 simply states that to be ὄλβιος is not permanent, mortals cannot possess it forever, fully achievable but only temporarily. On the other hand, v. 441 suggests that one can temporarily be ὄλβιος, but only partially, meaning that to be completely ὄλβιος permanently is impossible, one can be partially ὄλβιος for a limited time.<sup>151</sup> I propose that mortals cannot experience being ὄλβιος fully or permanently. I suggest this on the basis of understanding that ὄλβιος in the Theognidea is a happiness that demands a sense of security and stability and is related to living a life of ease, similar to the meaning of μάκαρ. These verses resemble Solon's Fragment 19 G.-P.<sup>2</sup> = 14 W.<sup>2</sup> which was analysed in an earlier section where it is stated that no mortal is μάκαρ because of the instability humans face (οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδείς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ / πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς ἠέλιος καθορᾷ).

It is remarkable how both passages, Solon's Fragment 19 and vv. 167-168 of the Theognidea, show such resemblances, but the adjective changes from μάκαρ to ὄλβιος. Perhaps vv. 167-168 could be demonstrating a breakaway from the idea that ὄλβιος is possible for humans. In the Theognidea, to be fully ὄλβιος is said not to be possible for mortals perhaps due to the realization that, during times of change, instability and despair, life is subject to

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<sup>151</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), pp. 36-37.

fluctuations with moments of pain. To be completely ὄλβιος in the strict sense of the word, remains an aspiration and not a reality for mortals in the Theognidea. However, mortals can enjoy a sense of ὄλβιος in a temporary and partial way. A mortal is temporarily and partially ὄλβιος when they are dispensed ἀρετή, κάλλος and ὄλβος and enjoy these in a way that is in accordance to the aristocratic moral code.

Changing focus to the noun ὄλβος, unlike ὄλβιος which is used for those ἀγαθοί or ἐσθλοί, it is apparent that ὄλβος simply refers to wealth that is bestowed by the gods and there is no distinction made as to whom this can be allocated, as seen in vv. 865-868:

πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδράσιν ὄλβον  
 ἐσθλόν, ὅς οὔτ' αὐτῷ βέλτερος, οὐδὲν ἐὼν,  
 οὔτε φίλοις· ἀρετῆς δὲ μέγα κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται·  
 αἰχμητῆς γὰρ ἀνὴρ γῆν τε καὶ ἄστνυ σαοῖ.

To many worthless men the god gives splendid prosperity, which is of no advantage to the man himself or to his friends, since it is nothing, whereas the great fame of valour will never die. For a spearman keeps his land and city safe.

The bestowal of ὄλβος ἐσθλός can fall on many useless men. The fact that ὄλβος is characterized by ἐσθλός indicates that the thought behind it is that this is meant for those who are ἀγαθοί or ἐσθλοί, as Cobb-Stevens affirmed:

These people are presumably those **kakoi** (by birth) who, in periods of social and economic upheaval, were able to acquire great wealth, status, and ultimately political power. In the eyes of any traditional aristocrat, this state of affairs would have been a radical reversal indeed. It implies the erosion of that seemingly self-evident principle that it is fitting for the **agathoi** to be wealthy and for the **kakoi** to be poor (vv. 525-526)<sup>152</sup>-and this reversal is one phenomenon that receives much of Theognis' ire.<sup>153</sup>

The following appearances of ὄλβος also involve lamenting its unjust distribution, as seen in lines 377–392, this time directed at Zeus:

πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾷ νόος ἀνδρας ἀλιτροῦς  
 ἐν ταύτῃ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,  
 ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῆ νόος ἦν τε πρὸς ὕβριν  
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθομένων;

<sup>152</sup> In vv. 523-526, it is also lamented how wealth is distributed to those who are κακοί and it is affirmed how wealth should be for those ἀγαθοί and poverty for those κακοί. οὐ σε μάτην, ὦ Πλοῦτε, βροτοὶ τιμῶσι μάλιστα / ἦ γὰρ ῥηϊδίως τὴν κακότητα φέρεις. / καὶ γὰρ τοὶ πλοῦτον μὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἔοικεν, / ἢ πενήνῃ δὲ κακῶ σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ φέρειν (“Not to no purpose, Wealth, do mortals honour you most of all, for you easily put up with baseness. In fact, it is fitting for the noble to have wealth, whereas poverty is appropriate for the base man to endure.”)

<sup>153</sup> Cobb-Stevens, *Veda*. (1985), p. 162.

οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονός ἐστι βροτοῖσιν,  
οὐδ' ὁδὸς ἦντιν' ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἄδοι;

.....  
ἔμπης δ' ὄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα· τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ δειλῶν  
ἔργων ἴσχοντες θυμὸν ὅμως πενίην,  
μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης, ἔλαβον τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες,  
ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην  
βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας, κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης·  
τολμᾷ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλων αἴσχεα πολλὰ φέρειν  
χρημοσύνηι εἴκων, ἦ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκει,  
ψεύδεά τ' ἐξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἔριδας,  
ἄνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἔοικεν·  
ἦ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τίκτει ἀμηχανίην.

[...] How then, son of Cronus, does your mind bear to hold sinners and the just man in the same esteem, whether the mind of men is disposed to prudent discretion or to wanton outrage, when they yield to unjust acts? Have no rules been set by divinity for mortals, is there no path along which one can go and please the immortals? [Some people rob and steal quite shamelessly,] but for all that they have a prosperity free from harm, while others who refrain from wicked deeds nevertheless get poverty, the mother of helplessness, despite their love of justice, poverty which leads men's hearts astray to sinful action, impairing their wits under the force of necessity. Against his will a man brings himself to endure much that is shameful, yielding to need which teaches many bad ways, including lies, deceit and deadly strife, even though he is unwilling. There is no ill comparable to need, for it gives birth to painful helplessness.

The fact that ὄλβος is contrasted to πενία shows its clear materialistic meaning. It seems that ὄλβος can be granted to those either κακοί or ἐσθλοί indistinctly, however, the difference arises in that those that are ἀγαθοί have other qualities, such as ἀρετή, which, contrary to ὄλβος, is lasting. As was appreciated before in the analysis of vv. 933-938, when ὄλβος and ἀρετή concentrate in an individual that is ἀγαθός, then they can be called ὄλβιος. However, when ὄλβος is bestowed on someone κακός who is not of sound mind, it can cause them to commit ὕβρις.<sup>154</sup>

In the first instance, those who were **kakoi** by birth managed to obtain the wealth and status that, ideally, are fitting only for the **agathoi**. But, according to Theognis' moral sensibilities, they did not rise to the requirements of being **agathoi**-loving **dikē** and avoiding **hubris**.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Those that are ἀγαθοί apart from ἀρετή also have γνώμη which permits them to manage ὄλβος in a just way which makes them avoid κόρος that brings on ὕβρις, as seen before in vv. 1171-1173.

<sup>155</sup> Cobb-Stevens, Veda. (1985), p. 165.

This can be seen in Fragment 153: *τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπῃται / ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὄτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾗ̃.* (“In truth excess breeds insolence, whenever prosperity comes to a wicked man who is not of sound mind.”)

Turning to the examination of the use of *εὐδαίμων* and its derivatives, the adjective *εὐδαίμων* appears twice. The first occurrence is the following, in vv. 653-654: *εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν, / Κύρνῳ· ἀρετῆς δ’ ἄλλης σὺδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.* (“May I have divine favour and be dear to immortal gods, Cyrnus. I crave no other merit.”) The wish to be *εὐδαίμων* is then coordinated by the conjunction *καὶ* with what seems to be a clarification of this adjective, *θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν*. The adjective seems to be used in its etymological meaning, representing a happiness that comes from enjoying a harmonious relationship with a *δαίμων*. As seen in vv. 165-166, a *δαίμων* is a supernatural force in charge of dispensing good and bad fortune to humans. Even though this use of *εὐδαίμων* is similar to that found in Hesiod, De Heer affirmed that the difference between them is the following:

This usage, though seemingly similar to Hesiod’s, differs in that the latter believed that the *δαίμων* could be dodged by exerting a measure of control over it. Theognis cannot dodge the *δαίμων* because he believes that he is utterly at the mercy of this force, to which he can only appeal.<sup>156</sup>

De Heer put forward a series of passages to represent this hopelessness and I have selected vv. 161-164 as the most representative, showing that even though one has good judgement one can have bad fortune:

*πολλοὶ τοι χρῶνται δειλαῖς φρεσὶ, δαίμονι δ’ ἐσθλῷ,  
οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν·  
εἰσὶν δ’ οἱ βουλῇ τ’ ἀγαθῇ καὶ δαίμονι δειλῷ  
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ’ ἔργασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.*

Many indeed have worthless brains, but enjoy good fortune, and for them apparent failure turns into success. And there are those who labour wisely, but suffer bad luck, and their efforts accomplish nothing.

Therefore, in the Theognidea there is no sense of control over being *εὐδαίμων* and it seems to be rare to achieve the state of being *θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν*. Cyrnus is repeatedly encouraged to be *φίλος* with men who are *ἐσθλός* and *ἀγαθός* and to steer away from those who are *κακός* or *δειλός* (vv. 69-72/vv.101-112/ vv.113-14). However, to form these types of relationships with the gods is not so straightforward:

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<sup>156</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 39.

But when mortal men deal with the gods or with those shadowy powers, death and fate, they cannot employ human means of interrelating. In consequence, the world remains a risky and unpredictable place governed by beings whose intentions are unfathomable. It is a fine thing to be *philos* to the gods, as Theotimos was in Theognis 881 or as the speaker in 653 finally wishes to be, but there are few who achieve this happy condition.<sup>157</sup>

The nuances of this adjective can continue to be examined in the following passage, vv. 1013-1016, where it occurs in conjunction with μάκαρ and ὄλβιος.

ἄ μάκαρ εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἄπειρος  
ἄθλων εἰς Αἴδου δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη,  
πρίν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτιῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναι περ ἀνάγκη  
ἐξετάσαι τε φίλους ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

Ah, blessed, fortunate and happy is he who goes down to Hades' dark house without experiencing hardship and before he cowers in the face of enemies, transgresses under duress, and tests what is in the minds of his friends.

It seems to imply that he who is μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος is he who descends to Hades unacquainted with struggles, ἄπειρος ἄθλων, before having to tremble before his enemies or having to transgress because of necessity or without having to put his friends to the test. Here there are a series of nuances that have to be examined. Firstly, the three adjectives seem to be related to a happiness that comes from living a life of ease and pleasure with no difficulties. This has already been noted specifically in the case of ὄλβιος and μάκαρ. Similarly, if one is εὐδαίμων, a φίλος of the gods, this does mean that one is closer to living an undisturbed life. Moreover, it is interesting how one is called μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος only after having lived an entire life with no toil. These words have a manifest sense component of permanence and stability in their full sense because one can only be referred to with these adjectives after one's life is over. This implies that to be μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος is difficult to achieve for mortals.

To conclude, despite that the use of happiness-related words is limited in the Theognidea, these passages offer new uses of the words that do appear. In relation to the adjective μάκαρ (of which no derivatives are used), there are five occurrences, four of which are related to the gods. The remaining use is the most remarkable because it refers to a mortal. The use of μάκαρ for a mortal refers to 'he who has been bestowed the divine gift of judgement, γνώμη'. In both cases, there is a sense component of 'living a stable and life of ease' considering that

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<sup>157</sup> Lewis, John. (1985), p. 209.

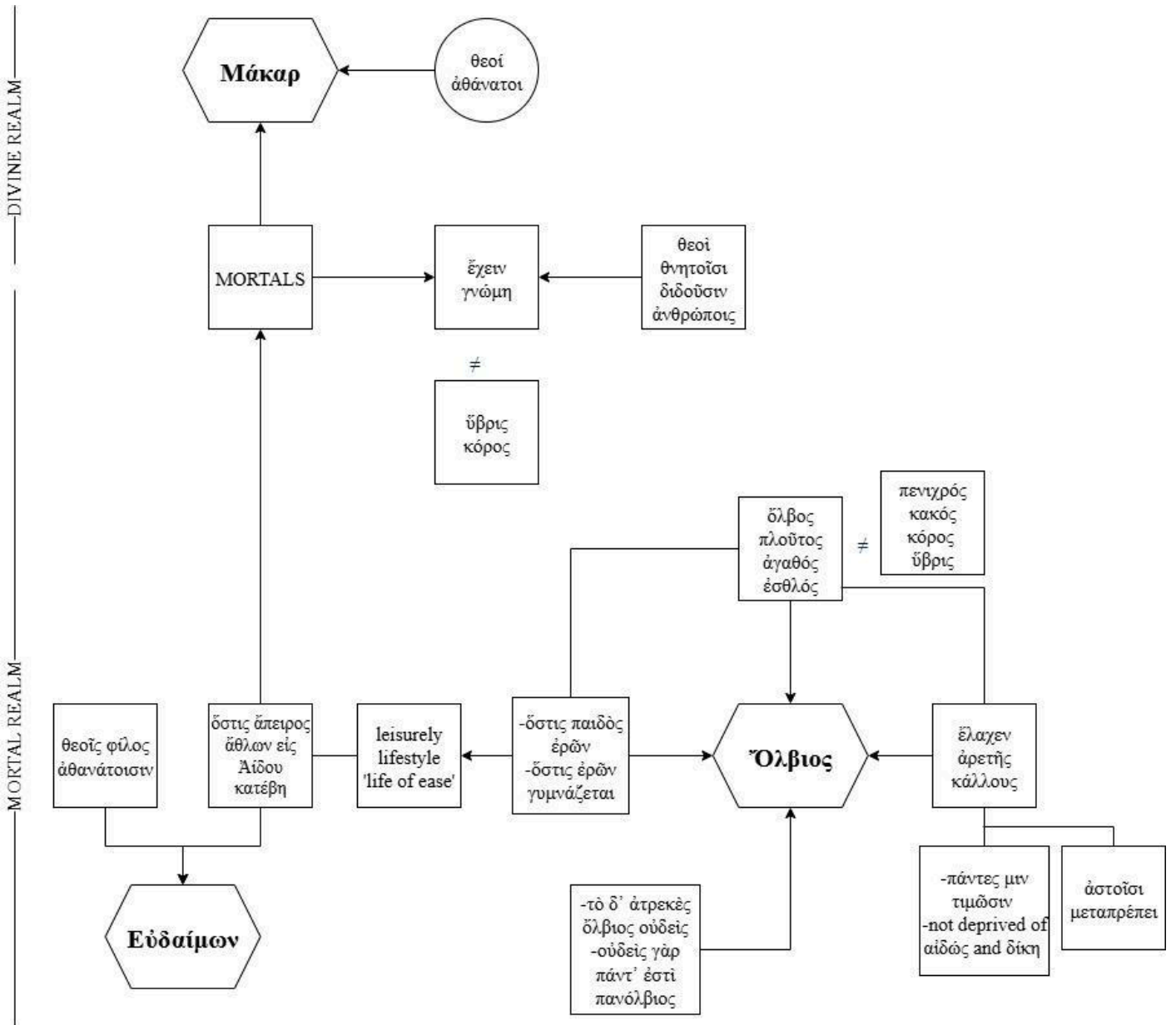
it is used for the gods who enjoy this carefree existence and for a human who can live a ‘life of ease’ by avoiding committing ὕβρις. There is also a sense component of permanence because one can only be called μάκαρ if one’s life has run its course without anguish. Lastly, there is also a clear sense of ‘stupefaction for one who is superior’. This is evident in the passage where it is used for a mortal with γνώμη. The divine gift of γώνμη is so precious and rare that the person who has it, is superior and admired, and thus called μάκαρ. Furthermore, the use of μάκαρ is manifestly declining since it appears on only four occasions and θεός occurs considerably more. The adjective μάκαρ is used only once as a substitute for θεός and on the other occasions it occurs complementing θεοί and/or ἀθάνατοι.

Concerning the adjective ὄλβιος and ὄλβος, in the context of the Theognidea, this type of happiness is strongly linked to pertaining to the aristocratic circles and participating in the activities practiced by these. The noun ὄλβος on its own simply means ‘god-given wealth’ and is contrasted to πενία. However, when it is dispensed together with ἀρετή and κάλλος to a person who is ἀγαθός and ἐσθλός, this person is referred to as ὄλβιος. Due to his divine favour linked with one’s own moral values, this person ‘surpasses others’ (ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει), ‘is honoured’, πάντες τιμῶσιν and is object of ‘reverence’, αἰδώς and the just rights, δίκη. Secondly, there is the sense component of ‘life of ease’ or ‘leisurely lifestyle’ that comes from the lifestyle to which only those ὄλβιοι have access. In addition, it seems to be related to ‘living a full life of ease without toil’, and for this reason in the strict sense of the word it is not wholly possible for mortals because all pleasure comes with some pain, so mortals can only partially and temporarily achieve being ὄλβιος. To be ὄλβιος is not possible for those who are κακοί because they do not have the inherent qualities mentioned. When those who are κακοί or ἐσθλοί are unfairly bestowed ὄλβος, this will result in excess, κόρος, and committing ὕβρις which leads to their downfall.

Lastly, pertaining to the adjective εὐδαίμων, it refers to a happiness that comes from ‘being favoured by the gods’. It only appears twice and the first occurrence seems to imply that its meaning is in alignment with its etymological sense, related to being a ‘friend of the gods’, φίλος θεοῖς. It is important to note that its usage is only in wish clauses and it is not clear whether it is possible or not. As in the case of the other happiness-related words, it seems to be very rare and mortals have no control over attaining this type of happiness because gods and supernatural forces are in charge of dispensing it and they are unpredictable entities.

In relation to other authors, the access for humans to the range of experiences of happiness in the Theognidea appears to be reduced. The adjective μάκαρ is interestingly used for a mortal, however, this state is very rarely achieved by a mortal and for this, they are strongly admired. Furthermore, unlike as seen in Hesiod, there is no control over being εὐδαίμων and it is rarely attainable. To be ὄλβιος is the most accessible and is also the most frequent word used, but it is only possible to attain it partially and temporarily. To be ὄλβιος depends also on one being ἀγαθός and having honourable qualities, but ultimately, it is up to divine will as also to be μάκαρ and to be εὐδαίμων are. During these times of change, this wealth, meant for those more noble, can also be dispensed to those who are unjust. To be completely μάκαρ, ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων for the majority of mortals seems to be more a question of longing and aspiring rather than an achievable reality. When it is achieved by a minority of individuals, it seems that there is a sense of permanence attached. Effectively, in a world of chaos and instability, it could make sense that all three adjectives, with a sense of permanence attached, are ultimately very hard to achieve.

μάκαρ	ὄλβιος	εὐδαίμων
<b>Divine realm:</b> -‘Stupefaction’ -‘Stability’, ‘security’ -‘Life of ease’	<b>Mortal realm:</b> -To be bestowed ὄλβος, ἀρετή, κάλλος and to be ἀγαθός and ἐσθλός. -‘To surpass others’ (ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει) ‘to be honoured (πάντες τιμῶσιν) and to object of αἰδώς and receive δίκη.	<b>Mortal realm:</b> -‘Favoured by the gods’ and ‘φίλος to the gods’ -‘Security’, ‘life of ease’, ‘absence of suffering’.
<b>Mortal realm:</b> -‘He who is gifted γνώμη by the gods’, avoiding ὕβρις and κόρος. -Object of ‘stupefaction’ -‘Stability’, ‘security’ -‘Life of ease’	-‘Stability and permanence in the strict sense’ -‘Life of ease, leisurely lifestyle’ Certain relation to	Either just an aspiration or very rarely achieved. No control in achieving this.
Rare for humans to achieve. Not used as often to qualify gods.	Unachievable in the strict sense of the word: achievable only partially and temporarily.	
	<b>ὄλβος</b>  <b>Mortal realm:</b> -‘Divine-gifted wealth’ -No ethical distinction in its distribution	
Both share ‘absence of suffering’ and ‘security’, since he who is εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος is he who has descended to Hades without experiencing trials, ἄπειρος.		



### 2.2.7. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN PINDAR

Pindar was a Greek lyric poet who lived during the 5th century BC. He was most famous for his Songs of Victory, ἐπινίκια. Pindar composed *Olympian Odes*, *Pythian Odes*, *Nemean Odes* and *Isthmian Odes*. In these odes, Pindar praised and lauded the feats of athletes and winners of the ancient Greek games. Each of these games was dedicated to a god as were the odes. The Olympian and Nemean Odes were dedicated to Zeus, the Pythian to Apollo and the Isthmian to Poseidon. The athlete's labour in the games lacks significance without the poet's reflection and praise in song. These games were held in homage to a fallen hero and the athlete impersonates him and re-enacts his acts (μίμησις). The athletes experience a ritualistic death as they turn into this new persona of a hero. There is a clear relationship between myth and reality in these games and this transformation of the athlete is a clear example of an initiatory ritual. Basil Gildersleeve summarizes the meaning of these ancient games: "The *epinikion* lifts the temporary victory to the high level of the eternal prevalence of the beautiful and the good over the foul and the base, the victor is transfigured into a glorious personification of his race, and the present is reflected, magnified, illuminated in the mirror of the mythic past."<sup>158</sup> In this section, these epinicians are examined from the perspective of the usage of happiness-related words.

Firstly, Pindar's use of the adjective μάκαρ is mostly reserved for the gods, apart from two exceptions which will be analysed further on. Examples of the use of μάκαρ for the gods include the following two occurrences: *Isthmian VIII*, verse 26a, ταῦτα καὶ μακάρων ἐμέμναντ' ἀγοραί ("Even the assembly of the blessed gods remembered this.");<sup>159</sup> verse 52 of *Olympian I*, after the gods consume Tantalus's son, Pelops says: ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν ("But for my part, I cannot call any of the blessed gods a glutton").<sup>160</sup> The adjective μάκαρες appears on its own with no need to use the noun θεοί to make clear that it is alluding to the gods. The fact that μάκαρ is only applied to the gods, emphasizes the sharp contrast between divine happiness consisting of 'a life of ease', 'power' and 'stability' and the trials of human existence.

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<sup>158</sup> Gildersleeve, Basil. (2010), p. 18.

<sup>159</sup> The Greek text and translation for the *Nemean* and *Isthmian Odes* are taken from William H. Race (2006).

<sup>160</sup> The Greek text and translation for the *Pythian* and *Olympian Odes* are taken from William H. Race (2002).

However, exceptionally, on only two occasions, Pindar does use μάκαρ for humans. This use of μάκαρ for a mortal is remarkable and there are only two occasions where this occurs in all of Pindar's works. In *Pythian IV*, verse 59-63, it is applied to Battus:

ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ  
χρησμὸς ὄρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ·  
ἅ σε χαίρειν ἔς τρίς αὐδάσαισα πεπρωμένον  
βασιλέ' ἄμφανεν Κυράνα.

Oh blessed son of Polymnastos, it was you  
whom the oracle, in accordance with that speech, exalted through the spontaneous cry  
of the Delphic Bee,  
who thrice bade you hail and revealed you to be  
the destined king of Kyrene.

Battus is called μάκαρ for having been destined the king of Cyrene by the oracle. De Heer explained this use applied to Battus in the following way: “Battus, as the founder hero of Cyrene, was considered to have enjoyed the special favour of Apollo when alive, and, as a hero, was the object of worship and devotion.”<sup>161</sup> Braswell relates this use to *Pythian V*, vv. 94-95, and affirms also that Battus receives this epithet for having founded Cyrene, as a founding hero, οἰκιστής, who will subsequently receive hero cult.<sup>162</sup> According to Lidio Gasperini, his honour following hero cult is alluded to in vv. 93 of *Pythian V*, and the schoalists describe his burial in the agora of the city.<sup>163</sup> Effectively, a cult hero is immortalized after death and lives on as a δαίμων who has divine-like ‘power’ over the life of mortals and receives ‘honour’, τιμή, and ‘inspires awe’ from those who worship him. Secondly, having been immortalized after death and freed from human toil, Battus will live a ‘life of ease’ and certain ‘stability’ and ‘security’.

The only other use of μάκαρ as an adjective for a human is for Battus' son, Arcesilaus, in verses 14-23 of *Pythian V*:

σὲ δ' ἐρχόμενον ἐν δίκῃ πολὺς ὄλβος ἀμφινέμεται·  
τὸ μὲν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς  
ἔσσι μεγαλῶν πολίων·

<sup>161</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 30.

<sup>162</sup> Braswell, Bruce Karl. (1988), pp. 142-143. The vv. 94-95 of *Pythian V* say the following: μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μέτα / ἔναιεν, ἥρωσ δ' ἔπειτα λασσεβής. (“He was blessed while he dwelt among men, and afterwards a hero worshiped by his people”).

<sup>163</sup> Gasperini, Lidio. (1998), p. 145. Verse 93 of *Pythian V* goes as follows: [...] ἔνθα πρυμοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπι δίχα κεῖται θανόν. (“And there, at the end of the agora, he has lain apart since his death.”). For the archaeological evidence of Battos' tomb and sepulture as a cult hero, see Lidiano Bacchielli (1996). La tomba di Batto su alcune monete di Cirene», en AA.VV. *Scritti di antichità in memoria di Sandro Stucchi* 1 (= *Studi miscellanei* 29, 1), 15-20.

ἐπει συγγενῆς  
ὄφθαλμὸς αἰδοιότατον γέρας  
τεῶ τοῦτο μειγνύμενον φρενί·  
μάκαρ δὲ καὶ νῦν, κλεεννᾶς ὄτι  
εὖχος ἤδη παρὰ Πυθιάδος ἵπποις ἐλῶν  
δέδεξαι τόνδε κῶμον ἀνέρων,  
Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα·

And as you travel the path of justice, great prosperity surrounds you:  
first, because you are king  
of great cities  
(since that privilege, most venerable  
when combined with your understanding,  
is an inherited glory);  
and you are blessed now too, because in the glorious  
Pythian festival you have lately gained a triumph with your horses  
and have welcomed this victory revel of men  
in which Apollo delights.

At first glance, it could seem that Arcesilaus is being called μάκαρ merely for his victory in the Games, ἐλῶν εὖχος. However, if it is simply used for this reason, why is it not applied more often to other victors in Pindar's works? De Heer asserted: "two reasons can be adduced to account for its usage in *Pyth. V*, 20 are his heroic ancestry and the emotive force which is part of the epithet, expressing admiration for his victory."<sup>164</sup> The former reason, which relates to his heroic ancestry, seems far more convincing considering the scarce usage of the adjective for mortals and the genealogical link between the only two victors to whom it is applied.

In vv. 11-16 of *Nemean XI*, the verb μακαρίζω is applied to Arcesilaus, Battus' son. This verb only appears once in Pindar's works and seems to mean to 'call someone μάκαρ', in this case applied to Arcesilaus for the same reasons already mentioned. The next verses are a sombre reminder of his mortality. Even though he is called μάκαρ, this does not mean he enjoys the same state as the gods do. Even if someone achieves ὄλβος, or if they exceed in physical beauty or if they thrive athletically and demonstrate their prowess, they should not forget that they are still human and mortal, as seen in the following verses:

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ μακαρίζω μὲν πατέρ' Ἀρκεσίλαν,  
καὶ τὸ θαητὸν δέμας ἀτρεμίαν τε σύγγονον  
εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφᾷ παραμεύσεται ἄλλους,  
ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν,

<sup>164</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 30.

θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστέλλων μέλη,  
καὶ τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γᾶν ἐπιεσσόμενος

As for the man, I count his father Arkesilas blessed, and praise him for his admirable build and courage. But if a man possessing riches surpasses others in beauty of form, and in contests displays his strength by winning, let him remember that mortal are the limbs he clothes and that earth is the last garment of all he will wear.

While μάκαρ applies only to the gods, with the exception of Battus and his son, Arcesilaus, the adjective μακάριος, which has less force than μάκαρ, is used solely for mortals. De Heer described μακάριος as following: “one who shares to a certain extent in the distinction of being μάκαρ”<sup>165</sup>. There is only one use of this adjective and it is used for the son of Alexibias, Carrhotus, in vv. 45-49 of *Pythian V*:

Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ’ ἠύκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες.  
μακάριος, ὃς ἔχεις  
καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον  
λόγων φερτάτων  
μναμήι’.

Son of Alexibios, the fair-haired Graces are setting you ablaze.  
Blessed are you in having,  
though after great toil,  
a memorial of finest words of praise.

Pindar has earlier called King Battus and his son, Arcesilaus, μάκαρ but now, for the chariot driver, who is not a founding hero nor does he have heroic ancestry, an adjective with less force is needed. There is no doubt that μακάριος has a strong sense of ‘to inspire awe’, but to a lesser degree than μάκαρ.

Turning focus to the analysis of εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, εὐδαίμων appears in vv. 22-26 of *Pythian X*:

[...] εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὕμνη-  
τὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ γίνεται σοφοῖς,  
ὃς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾶ κρατήσῃς  
τὰ μέγιστ’ ἀέθλων ἔλη τόλμα τε καὶ σθένει,

καὶ ζώων ἔτι νεαρὸν  
κατ’ αἴσαν υἱὸν ἴδη τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων.

[...] But blessed and a worthy subject  
for song in wise men’s eyes is that man,

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<sup>165</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 31.

who conquers with his hands or the excellence of his feet  
and wins the greatest of prizes with courage and strength,

and while still living sees his young son  
duly win Pythian crowns.

One is εὐδαίμων by surpassing others in physical ability, χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾶ κρατήσας, and emerging victorious in athletic tournament, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλη τόλμα τε καὶ σθένει, and thereby being worthy of song, ὕμνητός. Even though it is not explicit, it has to be understood that this victory is only possible through the dispensation of the gods. As Maravela affirms: “The human is cast as the active part in a victorious contest (ἔπραξεν, ἐμβέβακεν, κρατήσας). [...] The god, on the other hand, holds the indispensable part of the instigator (ὀρνύντος).”<sup>166</sup> The etymological meaning of εὐδαίμων is present, namely that of ‘having a good relationship with a divinity’ and ‘to be favoured by a divinity which is shown externally in victory’. Furthermore, if one witnesses one’s offspring also emerging victorious, this is the culmination of εὐδαιμονία, which is seen in the last verses, καὶ ζῶων ἔτι νεαρὸν / κατ’ αἴσαν υἱὸν ἴδη τυχόντα στεφάνων Πυθίων. The next verses, vv. 27-29, also allude to this: ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὐ ποτ’ ἀμβατὸς αὐτῷ· / ὅσαις δὲ βροτὸν ἔθνος ἀγλαΐαις ἀ- / πτόμεσθα, περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον / πλόον· περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον / πλόον· (“The bronze heaven is never his to scale, but as for all the glories which our mortal race attains, he completes the furthest voyage.”) As Maravela states: “*eudaimonia* [...] may be complemented, and allegedly reach its culmination, in witnessing the success of one’s offspring.”<sup>167</sup>

In *Pythian III*, verses 80-86, Pindar states how the immortals give two bad things for every good thing and those who are ignorant are unable to endure their suffering gracefully, while those who are of noble character can tolerate the bad because they can find the good in the bad:

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<sup>166</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 35.

<sup>167</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 35. This same idea is appreciated in vv. 98-101 of *Nemean VII* in the prayer to Heracles for a life that is εὐδαίμων: εἰ γάρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίον ἀρμόσαις / ἦβᾶ λιπαρῶ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις / εὐδαίμων' ἔόντα, παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχοιεν αἰεὶ / γέρας τό περ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον ὀπιθεν. (“I pray that you may match a steadfast life / to their youth and splendid old age and weave it /to a happy end, and that /their children’s children may always have such / honor as they now enjoy and even greater hereafter.”) Heracles is asked for a ἐμπεδοσθενής βίος which Maravela (2011), 36) interprets as a prayer for the strength and athletic achievement to pass on from father to son. There is also the prayer that their children’s children may have ongoing honour, γέρας, and distinction with each subsequent generation surpassing the achievements of the previous one. The same idea that witnessing victories of one’s offspring is the culmination of εὐδαιμονία is present here.

εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων,  
ὀρφάν ἐπίστα, μανθάνων οἴσθα προτέρων  
ἔν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς  
ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὄν  
οὐ δύναται νήπιοι κόσμῳ φέρειν,  
ἀλλ' ἀγαθοί, τὰ καλὰ τρέψαντες ἔξω.

τὴν δὲ μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας ἔπεται.  
λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρκεται,  
εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπον, ὁ μέγας πότημος.

But, Hieron, if you can understand the true point  
of sayings, you know the lesson of former poets:  
the immortals apportion to humans a pair of evils  
for every good. Now fools  
cannot bear them gracefully,  
but good men can, by turning the noble portion outward.

Your share of happiness attends you,  
for truly if great destiny looks with favor upon any man,  
it is upon a people-guiding ruler.

In what follows in vv. 86-103, there is a reference to Cadmus' and Peleus' fortunes which links to the fact that everyone has a share of good and of bad. Currie relates this Ode to *Olympian II*, remarking on how they both present Peleus, Kadmos, Achilles and Semele, mythical examples who receive literal immortalization after death.<sup>168</sup> Hieron was known for being a ἱεροφάντης in the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Gela-Syracuse, so he obviously had certain interest and connection to the Mysteries.<sup>169</sup> The reference to 'knowledge' in vv. 80-81 could be referring to Hieron's knowledge of these mysteries: εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἱέρων, / ὀρφάν ἐπίστα, μανθάνων οἴσθα προτέρων.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, Hieron, had

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<sup>168</sup> For an explanation of how Asklepios was immortalized and venerated after death see Bruno Currie (2010, pp. 354-355). As Currie explains (2010, 362), Semele dies by a thunderbolt and is then apotheosized and Achilles after death is immortalized through hero cult and is sent to the Isles of the Blessed or to Elysion. Currie asserts (2010, 398) how a tradition also settles Peleus and Kadmos on the Isles of the Blessed.

<sup>169</sup> Currie, Bruno. (2010), p. 348. Currie (2010, 395-396) also explains the relationship of Demeter to the Mother of all gods, to whom there is a prayer addressed in verses before these.

<sup>170</sup> Currie, Bruno. (2010), p. 386. Currie (2010, 389) states: "Such a combination of secret on the part of the speaker with correct understanding on the part of the addressee is typical of mythical contexts, where the initiate possesses the 'knowledge' (having once 'seen' the sacred rites) to penetrate the cryptic language, while the uninitiated remain in the dark". This relationship to knowledge and the Mysteries has already been appreciated in another section of this work, see [Happiness-related Words in the Homeric Hymns](#). Currie (2010, 392) then goes on to say that the next verse, μανθάνων οἴσθα προτέρων, could be a reference to esoteric knowledge coming from books from the Deinomenidai, who are believed to have composed mystical writings.

recently founded Aetna and he would receive hero cult as a founding hero after death, another avenue of literal immortalization. As Maravela points out, it is important to note that at the time of composition, Hieron is ill and this serves as the main motivation for this ode.<sup>171</sup> The share, μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας, in εὐδαιμονία that awaits Hieron is because he will be favoured by ὁ μέγας πότμος, referring to his subsequent immortalization after death.<sup>172</sup> In vv. 18-22 of *Olympian II*, dedicated to Theron of Acragas, the noun πότμος appears qualified by εὐδαίμων and, according to Maravela, in this case it is referring to an immortal afterlife that compensates suffering in life.<sup>173</sup> Maravela concludes: “It thus indirectly reinforces the suggestion that, as in O. 2, also in P. 3 *eudaimonia* and its cognates are endowed with an eschatological dimension, encompassing not only the fluctuating manifestations of divine favour in the course of human life but also in the passage from life to afterlife.”<sup>174</sup> Currie also asserts that these Odes mix a form of immortality in song with the presentation of avenues of literal immortality offered by the Mysteries and by hero cult.<sup>175</sup>

In these two cases, on the one hand, εὐδαιμονία can refer to the meaning already appreciated as ‘having a good relationship with a divinity’, thus ‘being favoured’, and experiencing ‘divine favour shown in victories, praise in song and immortalization through song’. On the other hand, this ‘divine favour is one that can continue into the afterlife and bring literal immortalization’.<sup>176</sup>

In verses 54-60 of *Nemean VII*, it is stated that no human can reach full εὐδαιμονία:

φῦλ' δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες  
ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἐν' ἀδύνατον  
εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω  
εἰπεῖν, τίτι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον  
ᾧρεξε. Θεαρίων, τὴν δ'

<sup>171</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 41. Currie, Bruno. (2010), p. 345.

<sup>172</sup> These verses, vv. 18-22, go as follows: λάθα δὲ πότμῳ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἄν. / ἐσλῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνάσκει / παλίγκοτον δαμασθέν, / ὅταν θεοῦ Μοῖρα πέμπη / ἀνεκὰς ὄλβον ὑψηλόν. (“But with a fortunate destiny forgetfulness may result, / for under the force of noble joys the pain dies / and its malignancy is suppressed, whenever divine Fate sends happiness towing upwards.”)

<sup>173</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 40.

<sup>174</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 42.

<sup>175</sup> Currie, Bruno. (2010), p. 404.

<sup>176</sup> Currie (2010, 411) remarks that this emphasis on the possibilities of an afterlife was probably dependent on the patron. He also asserts how in the shorter Ode, Pythian VII, dedicated to Hieron also it is difficult to see if these eschatological references are present, as there is no mythical story inserted. However, when referring to εὐδαιμονία bringing different things, vv. 18-22 of this Ode, it could refer to the possibilities of immortalization, that which is literal and that through song: φαντί γε μὴν / οὔτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμῳ / θάλλοισαν εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι (“Yet they say that in this way happiness which abides / and flourishes brings a man now this, now that.”)

ἔοικότα καιρὸν ὄλβου

δίδωσι, τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀρομένῳ  
σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.

By nature each of us is allotted a life that sets him apart:  
one person has this, others that, and it is impossible  
for one man to succeed in winning complete happiness:  
I cannot name any to whom Fate has given such a prize  
that lasts. But, Thearion, to you  
she gives fitting measure of prosperity.

and although you have won boldness for noble deeds,  
she does not harm your mind's understanding.

Here there is a reminder that complete εὐδαιμονία is impossible and that one must appreciate what one has been bestowed. One can enjoy καιρὸς ὄλβου which consists of 'material prosperity' and 'victory in the games'. It has been examined earlier how Hieron achieves a μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας, through immortalization after death. He is favoured by ὁ μέγας πότης after death as compensation for his suffering in life and for his acts of εὐσέβεια. There is no one who is completely εὐδαίμων and has achieved permanent εὐδαιμονία after death through immortalization who has not suffered pain and toil in life. For this reason, only a share of εὐδαιμονία is possible. Nevertheless, to be bestowed ὄλβος is achievable and possible. This consists of the external proof of this divine favour in life that comes from being εὐδαίμων. In *Isthmian V*, verses 11-16, it is affirmed how the δαίμονες are the ones to dispense ὄλβος:

κρίνεται δ' ἀλκὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν.  
δύο δέ τοι ζωῆς ἄωτον μοῦνα ποιμαί-  
νοντι τὸν ἄλπνιστον εὐανθεῖ σὺν ὄλβῳ,  
εἴ τις εἶ πάσχων λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούη.  
μὴ μάτευε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι· πάντ' ἔχεις,  
εἴ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν.  
θνατὰ θνατοῖσι πρέπει.

But men's valor is determined by the gods.  
There are truly two things alone that foster the finest  
sweetness of life in blossoming prosperity:  
if a man succeeds and hears his praises sung.  
Do not seek to become Zeus; you have all there is,  
if a share of those blessings should come to you.  
Mortal things befit mortals.

The barrier between mortals and the gods and the warning not to cross this is manifest in these verses. Mortals cannot reach the happiness related to being μάκαρ, but instead they should be satisfied with the ὄλβος that they are bestowed. As it can be seen above, to be bestowed ὄλβος is related to prospering (εὖ πάσχω) and to being honoured and immortalized through song (λόγον ἐσλὸν ἀκούη). As De Heer stated: “Mortals must not attempt to pass beyond this line, but they can approach it through their natural endowments and with the aid of divine favour.”<sup>177</sup>

In *Pythian XII*, verses 28-32, Pindar states how ὄλβος cannot come without toil:

εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου  
οὐ φαίνεται· ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἥτοι σήμερον  
δαίμων—τὸ δὲ μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν—ἀλλ’ ἔσται  
χρόνος  
οὔτος, ὃ καί τιν’ ἀελπίτια βαλὼν  
ἔμπαλιν γνώμας τὸ μὲν δώσει, τὸ δ’ οὔπω.

If there is any happiness among men, it does not appear  
without toil. A god will bring it to fulfillment either  
today—  
what is fated cannot be avoided—but there will come  
that time which, striking a person with surprise,  
will unexpectedly give one thing, but defer another.

One can come closer to prospering by one’s own efforts and toil, but it is ultimately up to the intervention of the gods to bestow ὄλβος, ἐκ δὲ τελευτάσει νιν ἥτοι σήμερον δαίμων. In verses 106-112 of *Pythian III*, it is stated how this happiness is not permanent and that human affairs are always changing:

ὄλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται  
σάος, πολὺς εὖτ’ ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται.  
  
σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις  
ἔσσομαι, τὸν ἀμφέποντ’ αἰεὶ φρασὶν  
δαίμον’ ἀσκήσω κατ’ ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.  
εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἀβρὸν ὀρέξαι,  
ἐλπίδ’ ἔχω κλέος εὐρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.

Men’s happiness does not come for long  
unimpaired, when it accompanies them, descending with full weight.

I shall be small in small times, great in great ones;

<sup>177</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 40.

I shall honor with my mind whatever fortune attends me,  
by serving it with the means at my disposal  
And if a god should grant me luxurious wealth,  
I hope that I may win lofty fame thereafter.

In these verses, there is evidence of a certain resignation in accepting the inability to alter destiny and the reliance on the benevolence of the gods to bestow or withhold prosperity as they wish. It is said that ὄλβος can be unstable and is dependent on the dispensation of the gods. A connection of ὄλβος to πλοῦτος and κλέος can be appreciated here as they are mentioned in the next verses.

Another evidence of the sense components of ‘wealth’ and ‘glory’ found in cognates of ὄλβιος is found in *Olympian VII*. Firstly, in vv. 10-12, to be ὄλβιος is related to receiving honour through song: ὁ δ’ ὄλβιος, ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχοντ’ ἀγαθαί· / ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλον ἐποπτεύ- / ει Χάρις ζωθάμιος ἀδυμελεῖ / θαμὰ μὲν φόρμιγγι παμφώνοισι τ’ ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν. (“Fortunate is the man who is held in good repute. / Charis, who makes life blossom, looks with favor / now upon one man, now another, often with sweetly / singing lyre and pipes, instruments of every voice”). Secondly, due to the fact that the poem starts with a description of an image (a golden goblet filled with wine at a symposium) that denotes opulence, it can be gathered that to be ὄλβιος has a relation to material possession.<sup>178</sup> He who is ὄλβιος is favoured by a divinity, in this case Charis that looks over him, ἄλλοτε δ’ ἄλλον ἐποπτεύει Χάρις, and bestows wealth and glory in song, φᾶμαι ἀγαθαί.

Focusing on the examination of the verb εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχία, these will be examined together because they ultimately have the same meaning. The verb appears in vv. 1-3 of *Isthmian III*:

Εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν εὐτυχήσῃσιν  
ἢ σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισιν  
ἢ σθένει πλοῦτου κατέχει φρασὶν αἰανῆ κόρον,  
ἄξιός ἐστι λόγῳ ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι.

If a man is successful,  
either in glorious games  
or with mighty wealth, and keeps down nagging excess in his mind,  
he deserves to be included in his townsmen’s praises.

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<sup>178</sup> De Heer (1969, 37) interprets this relation to ‘material prosperity’ too. The meaning of ‘material prosperity’ is seen clear when ὄλβιος is applied to objects. For example, ὄλβιοις ἐν δώμασι appears, meaning a house of someone wealthy, in *Nemean I*, v. 72 and in *Nemean IV*, vv. 24 it is applied to an αὐλή: Ἡρακλέος ὄλβιαν πρὸς αὐλάν. (“to the blessed hall of Heracles”).

Here, two possibilities of prospering (εὐτυχέων) are presented, either in athletic games, σὺν εὐδόξοις ἀέθλοισι, or by the power of wealth, σθένει πλούτου. This is explained because the verb εὐτυχεῖω means ‘to succeed’ or ‘to achieve a desired objective’ and in the context of the epinicians it normally means ‘to accomplish victory in the athletic games’, but there are other ways that one can ‘succeed’ such as ‘achieving wealth’. An example of it referring to ‘coming out victorious in athletic games’ is seen in vv. 81-83 of *Olympian VII*: [...] τῶν ἄνθεσι Διαγόρας / ἐστεφανώσατο δίς, κλει- / νᾶ τ’ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ τετράκις εὐτυχέων, / Νεμέα τ’ ἄλλαν ἐπ’ ἄλλα, καὶ κρاناαῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις. (“ [...] with whose flowers Diagoras / has twice crowned himself. Four times did he succeed / at the famous Isthmos, / and time after time at Nemea and in rocky Athens.”) When one comes out victorious, one then receives glory, κλέος, and can be immortalized through song, as seen in vv. 8-12 of *Nemean I*:

ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν  
 κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς·  
 ἔστι δ’ ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ  
 πανδοξίας ἄκρον· μεγάλων δ’ ἀέθλων  
 Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ.

The beginnings have been laid by the gods  
 with that man’s divine abilities,  
 but in success is  
 the summit of absolute glory, and the Muse  
 loves to recall great contests.

This success, εὐτυχία, is granted by the gods who aid athletes in victory, as seen in vv. 80-81 of *Olympian VI*, where it is made clear that this prosperity is god-given: κεῖνος, ᾧ παῖ Σωστράτου, / σὺν βαρυγδούπῳ πατρὶ κραίνει σέθεν εὐτυχίαν. (“he it is, O son of Sostratos, who / with his loudly thundering father fulfills your success.”) Correspondingly, Hermes and Zeus are in charge of dispensing εὐτυχία upon Hagesia, ‘success’, and in this context ‘victory in the games’. It is evident that to succeed in the games, εὐτυχία, is made possible by the gods. Even though the athlete toils, his victory and glory is owed to the gods. This control that the gods have over τύχη is because this is not seen as an arbitrary force but as one that can be governed by the gods, for example in *Pythian VIII*, vv. 53-54: [...] τύχα θεῶν / ἀφίξεται λαῶ σὺν ἀβλαβεῖ (“and with the favor / of the gods will come with his host unharmed.”).<sup>179</sup>

<sup>179</sup> McDonald (1969, 19) asserts: “Pindar represents τύχη as a force under divine control (0.8.67, N. 6. 24, P. 8. 53)”.

In conclusion, an in-depth examination of the words relating to happiness in Pindar's Odes, reveals interesting uses of these terms. The adjective μάκαρ is primarily reserved for the deities, to the point where μάκαρες does not need to accompany a noun such as θεοί to make its meaning clear. The type of happiness only accessible to the gods is characterized by 'a life of ease', 'stability', 'power' and 'to inspire awe/stupefaction'. Due to the fact that Pindar is reticent to use μάκαρ for humans, he deals with this by using the adjective μακάριος which has much less force in meaning and means, 'to share in being μάκαρ to a lesser degree'. This is applied to the chariot driver Carrhotus to show 'marvel' for his victory and for his remembrance through song, ἔχειν λόγων φερτάτων μνημεῖον. Through song, the chariot driver will be immortal like the gods are, sharing to a lesser degree in being μάκαρ. There are two exceptional uses of μάκαρ and one of μακαρίζω applied to humans, used for the Battiads, the King Battus and his son, Arcesilaus. This use seems to be referring to Battus' immortalization as a cult hero who, after death, as a δαίμων, will have 'a divine-like power' and 'will be honoured like a god', making him worthy of being called μάκαρ. In turn, his son, for his heroic ancestry, will also be called μάκαρ. The verb μακαρίζω is also applied to Arcesilaus in *Nemean XI* for reason of his innate appearance which inspires awe, θαῖτον δέμας ἀτρεμίαν σύγγονον. Both μάκαρ and μακάριος share the aspect of 'immortalization', μάκαρ either for literal immortalization or that through song while μακάριος for only that through song. Effectively, all three cognates share clearly the sense component of 'awe-inspiring', even though μακάριος and μακαρίζω to a lesser degree than μάκαρ.

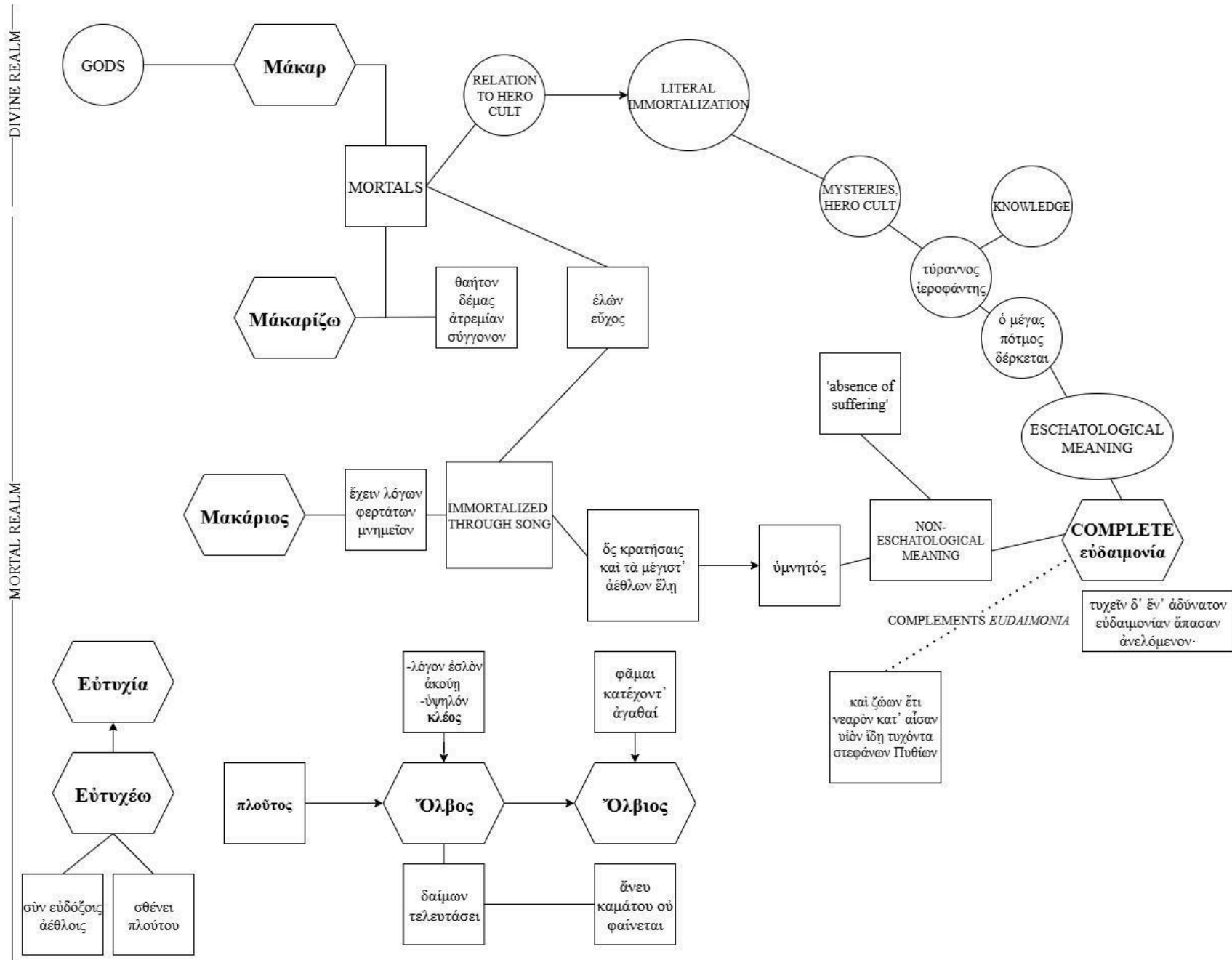
The adjective εὐδαίμων proves to be multifaceted in meaning. In its non-sacral meaning, it refers to 'being in a good relationship with a divinity' which in turn will 'favour' resulting in enjoying external proof of this favour which is 'to come out victorious', ὅς κρατήσῃς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλη, and 'be immortalized through song', ὕμνητός. With this type of εὐδαιμονία, witnessing the success of one's offspring further complements it. However, in certain odes, such as *Pythian III* and *Olympian II*, there is a hint of an eschatological meaning relating to literal immortalization, either through hero cult or through Mysteries. This εὐδαιμονία consists of 'having a good relationship with a δαίμων' and 'receiving divine favour that continues in the afterlife and is permanent'. Hieron in life has suffered, but, as a founding hero of Aetna and as ἱεροφάντης, he will receive his share of εὐδαιμονία and be favoured by ὁ μέγας πόντος with literal immortalization as compensation. Furthermore, he will be immortalized through song because of his athletic victories. However, it is only considered that he receives a portion of εὐδαιμονία because he suffers while living, proving

that there is a sense of ‘absence of suffering’ in the non-eschatological aspect of εὐδαιμονία. In this way, complete εὐδαιμονία encompasses both meanings, victory in games and the culmination of this happiness in seeing one’s offspring succeed, as well as an absence of suffering in life and literal immortalization. To live a life of complete εὐδαιμονία with favouredness throughout and without any negative aspects is impossible and one can only achieve a share μοῖρα since human alternation is part of the mortal experience. One has to be content with the ὄλβος one is bestowed. Ὀλβος is related to ‘wealth’, πλοῦτος, and glory, κλέος, from coming out victorious in the games and is dispensed by a δαίμων. Ὀλβιος is he who receives ὄλβος bestowed by a divinity which favours him.

Turning to εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχία, these are closely connected, representing the momentary idea of ‘succeeding’ or ‘achieving a desired objective’. In the context of Pindar’s Odes, this refers to ‘coming out victorious in the games’. During the games, an athlete is aided in their victory by the gods, who control the force of τύχη. The victory and the glory that they achieve are owed to the gods. Effectively, to be μάκαρ and εὐδαίμων are reserved for a select few and in both cases are related to kings, βασιλεύς/τύραννος. Εὐδαίμων seems to take on the double meaning generally found in ὄλβιος of sacral and non-sacral meaning and to refer to hero cult while ὄλβιος presents no apparent sacral meaning. Both to be ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής are used in the context of athletic games and seem to be more attainable. Nevertheless, all types of happiness are dependent on a δαίμων to bestow it and are susceptible to human alternation.

<b>μάκαρ</b>	<b>εὐδαίμων / εὐδαιμονία</b>	<b>ὄλβιος</b>	<b>εὐτυχέω</b>
<p>-Mostly for gods ‘life of ease’ ‘power’, ‘stability’ and ‘awe’. Does not appear accompanying θεοί.</p>	<p>NON-ESCHATOLOGICAL MEANING: ‘being in a good relationship with a divinity’ which in turn will ‘favour’ one resulting in enjoying external proof of this favour and immortalization through song.</p> <p>To witness the success of one's offspring’ further complements this εὐδαιμονία.</p>	<p>-To possess ‘wealth’ and ‘honour’. For this ‘honour and praise’ one can be immortalized through song.</p>	<p>-‘To succeed’ or ‘to achieve a desired objective’, in Pindar’s context it mostly means ‘to come out victorious in games’</p>
		<p>Dependent on the gods’ bestowal of ὄλβος.</p>	<p><b>εὐτυχία</b> -‘Success’ or ‘accomplishment’, which in this context means ‘victory in games’. Dependent on the gods who, controlling the force of τύχη, aid an athlete in victory</p>
<p>-For mortals it is used only for the Battiads: -For Battus who is immortalized through hero cult as a divine-like figure who has ‘power’ and receives ‘awe’ and ‘veneration’. Also enjoys ‘a life of ease’ and certain ‘stability’ having escaped from trials of human existence. For his son Arcesilaus too, for his heroic ancestry. Also for his appearance which inspires awe, θαήτων δέμας ἀτρεμίαν σύγγονον.</p>	<p>ESCHATOLOGICAL MEANING: ‘being in a good relationship with a divinity’ which in turn will ‘favour’ them with a favouredness that continues into the afterlife’ through initiation in the mysteries or through hero cult.</p>	<p><b>ὄλβος</b> -‘Wealth’ and ‘honour’ that comes from ‘victory in games’ -There is toil involved in achieving this but ultimately it is dependent on the dispensation of the gods.</p>	
<p>The verb μακαρίζω means simply ‘to call someone μάκαρ’.</p>			

<p>Μακάριος is one who shares in being μάκαρ to a lesser degree and is strictly used for mortals. It is used for the chariot driver Carrhotus for his victory and immortalization through song.</p>	<p>Complete εὐδαιμονία which condenses these two meanings is said to be impossible.</p>		
<p>Μάκαρ and μακαρίζω are used with a certain relationship to literal immortalization and that through song, while μακάριος is only used for that through song.</p>			



### 2.2.8. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN BACCHYLIDES

This section will analyse the use of happiness-related words in Bacchylides, a poet of the 5th century BC from the island of Ceos who was nephew of the poet, Simonides.<sup>180</sup> Alongside Pindar, he is most known for his epinicians which praise the victor, intertwining references to the laudandus' lineage, city and family with mythological allusions. In addition, he composed various types of choral poetry such as *dithyrambs*, *paeans*, *hymns*, *prosodia*, *partheneia*, *hyporchemata*, *erotica* and *encomia*.<sup>181</sup> Epinicians were often commissioned by patrons, of whom the most remarkable was Hieron, the tyrant of Syracuse, to whom he dedicated epinicians V, IV and III which will be of great interest in the analysis of adjectives relating to happiness.<sup>182</sup>

This analysis starts by examining the use of *μάκαρ* which appears only once in Bacchylides' works in *Ode XI* where it is used to qualify the gods in vv. 118-125:

ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερόεν  
Κάσαν παρ' εὐδρον πρόγο-  
νοι ἔσσαμένοι Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ  
βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων  
πέρσαν πόλιν εὐκτιμέναν  
χαλκοθωράκων μετ' Ἀτρειδᾶν.

and (they established...) a delightful grove for you by the fair waters of the Casas when finally by the plans of the blessed gods they had sacked Priam's well-built city with the bronze-corseted Atreidae.<sup>183</sup>

This usage, as an epithet for the gods together with the noun *θεός*, has already been appreciated. The passage also serves to demonstrate how the gods are in charge of human affairs and how the sacking of Troy is presented as a result of their plans, *βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων*. In contrast to mortals, the gods have 'power' over all affairs and, therefore, their lives are 'stable and secure', thus making them *μάκαρες*. Even though the use of *μάκαρ* is one which has already been appreciated, what does seem remarkable is its very limited appearance in Bacchylides' works, marking a decline in the usage of this epithet.

In relation to the adjectives *ὄλβιος* and *εὐδαίμων*, *Ode III* and *Ode V*, which were dedicated to the tyrant Hieron of Syracuse, prove to be of interest. The adjective *εὐδαίμων* and its

<sup>180</sup> Campbell, David A. (2006b), p. 5.

<sup>181</sup> Campbell, David A. (2006b), p. 6.

<sup>182</sup> Campbell, David A. (2006b), p. 5-6.

<sup>183</sup> The Greek text and translation for Bacchylides have been taken from David A Campbell (2006b).

cognates only appear in these odes dedicated to Hieron. This could either be a result of the incomplete transmission of Bacchylides' works<sup>184</sup> or it could indicate that this type of happiness is only accessible to a select few. Firstly, *Ode III* celebrates Hieron's victory in the chariot race in Olympia. The first verses, vv. 1-22, say the following:

Ἰέρωνι Συρακοσίῳ Ἴπποις [Ὀλύ]μπια.  
 ἄριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσάν  
 Δ[ά]ματρα φιοστέφανόν τε Κούραν  
 ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλειοῖ, θοάς τ' Ὀ-  
 λυμ]πιοδρόμους Ἰέρωνος ἵππ[ο]υς.

σεύον]το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχῳ τε Νίκαι  
 σὺν Ἀγ]λαΐᾳ τε παρ' εὐρυδίναν  
 Ἀλφεόν, τόθι] Δεινομένεος ἔθηκαν  
 ὄλβιον τ[έκος στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι·

θρόησε δὲ λ[αὸς  
 ᾗ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνήρ,  
 ὃς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν  
 πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας  
 οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμ-  
 φαρεῖ κρύπτειν σκότῳ.<sup>185</sup>

#### FOR HIERO OF SYRACUSE CHARIOT RACE, OLYMPIC GAMES

Of Demeter, ruler of corn-rich Sicily, and of the violet-garlanded Maid sing, Clio, giver of sweetness, and of Hiero's swift horses, Olympic runners: they sped in the company of pre-eminent Victory and Glory by the wide-eddying Alpheus, where they made Deinomenes' son prosperous in the winning of garlands; and the (immense) crowd shouted. Ah, thrice-fortunate man, who got from Zeus the privilege of ruling over the greatest number of Greeks and knows how not to hide his towering wealth in black-cloaked darkness.

Here it is said that Hieron has been made ὄλβιος for winning the chariot race. This implies that to be ὄλβιος is related to 'coming out victorious due to divine aid' and thus 'receiving honour for this victory'. Then, Hieron is called τρισευδαίμων, a compound of εὐδαίμων, which had not occurred previously. Maravela suggests that the addition of τρις- is due to the fact that this was the third time Hieron had been victorious in an Olympic game:

Hieron is called thrice-eudaimôn because, as known from external sources – more specifically, the inscription on the base of the sculptural ensemble dedicated to

<sup>184</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 42.

<sup>185</sup> Santamaría (2023, 60) states that these verses could be reminiscent of Mysteries, considering that there is emphasis on knowledge.

Olympian Zeus by Hieron's successor Deinomenes, quoted at Paus. 8.42.9 (= Ebert 1972, no. 17) — the victory of 468 BC was Hieron's third (and last) Olympic triumph; hence the reinforcing τρισ-.<sup>186</sup>

However, in the relative clause which follows, further nuances of the adjective εὐδαίμων can be appreciated which go beyond the victory in athletic games: 'thrice-happy, he who having received (λαχών) from Zeus the supreme honour of ruling over the Greeks, πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας, knows to display wealth and not to hide it, οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμ-/ φαρεῖ κρύπτειν σκότῳ. Τρισ- could also refer to the multifaceted ways in which Hieron has received divine favour for his good relationship with the gods, be it through his 'power and status', 'wealth (and the knowledge to use it properly)' and 'coming out victorious in the athletic games'. All of these external evidences of divine favour are dependent on one's relationship with a god, following the etymological meaning of εὐδαίμων, 'being in a good relationship with a god'.<sup>187</sup> To secure this favour, one has to nurture the relationship through one's actions. This is why there is emphasis on the fact that Hieron knows how to display his wealth by investing in offerings and benefactions rather than keeping it hidden and thereby he fosters his relationship with the divine.<sup>188</sup>

βρύει μὲν ἱερὰ βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς,  
βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυαί·  
λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσὸς,  
ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων

πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγιστον ἄλσος  
Φοίβου παρὰ Κασταλίας ῥεέθροις  
Δελφοὶ διέπουσι. θεὸν θ[εό]ν τις  
ἀγλαῖζέτω, ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων.

The temples abound in feasts where cattle are sacrificed, the streets abound in hospitality; and gold shines with flashing light from the high elaborate tripods standing in front of the temple where the Delphians tend the great sanctuary of Phoebus by the waters of Castalia. Let God, God, be glorified: that is the best of prosperities.

Hieron's generosity is highlighted with references to the gifts he has made to the gods, such as the golden tripods, which the tyrant has given to Apollo's temple at Delphi. The list of

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<sup>186</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 43.

<sup>187</sup> Herwig Maehler (2004, 88) asserts that it is not clear if the exclamation of τρισευδαίμων is coming from the poet and/or the Chorus or from the crowd.

<sup>188</sup> As Elroy L. Bundy (2006, 89-91) points out, this motif of generosity is also found in Pindar, *Isthmian Ode I*.

Hieron's offerings ends with the γνώμη: θεόν θεόν τις / ἀγλαΐζέτω, ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων ("Let God, God, be glorified: that is the best of prosperities.) If one makes the proper gifts to the gods, this is the most 'fitting way'<sup>189</sup> to have ὄλβος because it is the way one can preserve a relationship with the gods that makes one εὐδαίμων and thus favoured in return. However, it should be considered also that this way to honour the gods through offerings is only available to those ἄριστοι for their status and economic means.

This divine favour can sometimes protect one from the threat of the mortal experience, as made clearer in the next verses, vv. 53-66, of *Ode III*. As a parallel to Hieron, the story of Croesus is introduced, a king who, captured by the Persians and about to die, is saved by Zeus and Apollo:

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δεινοῦ πυρὸς  
λαμπρὸν διάτ[ισσεν μέ]νος,  
Ζεὺς ἐπιστάσας [μελαγκευ]θὲς νέφος  
σβέννυεν ξανθὰ[ν φλόγα].

ἄπιστον οὐδέν, ὅ τι θεῶν μέ]ριμνα  
τεύχει· τότε Δαλογενή[ς Ἀπό]λλων  
φέρων ἐς Ἵπερβορέο[υς γ]έροντα  
σὺν τανισφύροις κατ[έν]ασσε κούραις

δι' εὐσέβειαν, ὅτι μέ[γιστα] θνατῶν  
ἐς ἀγαθέαν <ἀν>έπεμψε Π[υθ]ῶ.  
ὅσο[ι] <γε> μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, [ο]ὔτις,  
ὃ̃ μεγαίνητε Ἴέρων, θελήσει

φάμ]εν σέο πλείονα χρυσὸν  
Λοξί]αι πέμψαι βροτῶν.

But when the bright strength of the grim fire was darting through the pyre, Zeus set the black cover of a cloud overhead and quenched the yellow flame. Nothing that the planning of the gods brings about is past belief: Delos-born Apollo carried the old man then to the Hyperboreans and settled him there with his slim-ankled daughters by reason of his piety, since he had sent up to holy Pytho greater gifts than any other mortal. But of all men who dwell in Greece there is none, illustrious Hiero, who will be ready to claim that he sent more gold to Loxias than you.

<sup>189</sup> Apart from being a primary superlative to ἀρείων, Robert Beekes (2010, 132) mentions the possibility of it being related to ἀραρίσκω, so it could be understood as the 'most fitting' form of prosperity.

Both Croesus and Hieron have shown great gifts to the gods and Croesus is saved from the pyre by reason of his piety, εὐσέβεια. Both Zeus and Apollo save him, Zeus by quenching the fire and Apollo by taking him and his daughters to the Hyperboreans. According to the works of Bacchylides and Pindar, the Hyperboreans was a land where Zeus laid to rest dead heroes.<sup>190</sup> However, this is the only case of living mortals being taken there.<sup>191</sup>

In the next verses, Apollo gives advice to Admetus in the form of a γνώμη which highlights the fragility of human life and its ever-changing nature, vv. 76-84:

[...] βραχ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών·

πτε[ρ]όεσσα δ' ἐλπίς ὑπ[ολύει ν]όημα  
 ἐφαμ]ερίων· ὁ δ' ἄναξ [Ἀπόλλων  
 ]'λος εἶπε Φέρη[τος υἱ·  
 'θνατὸν εὖντα χρῆ διδύμους ἀέξειν

γνώμας, ὅτι τ' αὔριον ὄψεαι  
 μῶνον ἀλίου φάος,  
 χῶτι πεντήκοντ' ἔτεα  
 ζῶαν βαθύπλουτον τελεῖς.  
 ὅσια δρῶν εὐφραϊνε θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ  
 κερδέων ὑπέρτατον.'

(Life is) brief, and winged hope undoes the thinking of mortals. Lord Apollo (the far-shooter?) said to the son of Pheres: 'Since you are mortal, you must foster two thoughts: that tomorrow will be the only day on which you see the sun's light, and that for fifty years you will live out a life steeped in wealth. Gladden your heart by doing righteous deeds: this is the highest of gains.'

At first glance, this consists of a γνώμη which pessimistically highlights the threat of human alternance. Apollo ends with an important piece of advice which refers back to v. 21, vv. 83-84: ὅσια δρῶν εὐφραϊνε θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ / κερδέων ὑπέρτατον ("Gladden your heart by doing righteous deeds: this is the highest of gains."). As it has been appreciated, through offerings to the gods, through εὐσέβεια, one can maintain one's relationship and receive favour which in some cases can transcend the mortal realm. While Croesus is taken to the Hyperboreans and immortalized, Admetus' death is delayed by Apollo.<sup>192</sup> Cairns states: "Both Admetus and Croesus are used in this ode to exemplify the lability of the mortal

<sup>190</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 94.

<sup>191</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 94.

<sup>192</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 26.

condition; yet both receive more than mortal recompense for their cultivation of the divine.”<sup>193</sup> In the same way, Hieron will be compensated for giving generously to the god Apollo through another avenue of immortalization which is made manifest in vv. 85-98:

φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω· βαθὺς μὲν  
αἰθήρ ἀμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου  
οὐ σάπεται· εὐφροσύνα δ’ ὁ χρυσός·  
ἀνδρὶ δ’ οὐ θέμις, πολὺν π[αρ]έντα

γῆρας, θάλ[εια]ν αὐτίς ἀγκομίσσαι  
ἦβαν· ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει  
βροτῶν ἅμα σ[ώμ]ατι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ  
Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει]. Ἰέρων, σὺ δ’ ὄλβου

κάλλιστ’ ἐπεδ[εῖξ]αο θνατοῖς  
ἄνθεα· πράξα[ντι] δ’ εὔ  
οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον σι]ω-  
πά· σὺν δ’ ἀλαθ[εῖαι] καλῶν  
καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν  
Κηῖας ἀηδόνοσ.

I utter words which the wise man may understand: the deep heavens are unsoiled, and the water of the sea does not decay, and gold is a joy; but a man may not throw aside grey old age and retrieve again his flourishing youth. The light of man’s excellence, however, does not diminish with his body; no, the Muse fosters it. Hiero, you have displayed to mortals the fairest flowers of wealth, and when a man has prospered, adornment is not brought him by silence; and along with the true telling of your fine achievements men will praise also the grace of the honey-tongued Cean nightingale.

A list of permanent things such as the sky and the sea are contrasted to human life which is unstable and fleeting. It has been disputed whether gold should be taken as one of the eternal elements or one that is fleeting. Maehler argues that wealth is seen as fleeting because of the commonplace of wealth being unstable, for example in Bacchylides’ works, B. I. 159-84, and also in other authors, such as Solon 15, Theognis 315-318, Hes. *Op.* 320-326, Eur. *El.* 941-4 and *Phoen.* 555-7.<sup>194</sup> However, another alternative is that gold is seen as permanent because of the permanent possibilities it presents. As a result of using one’s wealth with εὐσέβεια, one can be favoured by the divine to the point where one is aided in athletic games and praised in song and immortalized through ἀρετή. It is through χρυσός εὐφροσυνή, which one can achieve virtue, the one thing in human life which is ever-lasting and does not die with the

<sup>193</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 26.

<sup>194</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 97.

body, but goes on nurtured by the Muse: ἀρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει / βροτῶν ἅμα σ[ώμ]ατι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ / Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει].

Gold is both an everlasting element alongside the sky and the sea and a means to ends that are defined by human mortality. It is gold that allows one to cheer one's heart by doing holy things (εὐφραίνε, 83); this is why gold is *euphrosynē*.<sup>195</sup>

Moreover, it is no coincidence that the Muse Clio, who is related to κλέος and praise, as her name implies, is invoked in the προοίμιον of this same ode in v. 3.<sup>196</sup> Hieron, as a result of his generosity and piety, εὐσέβεια, is immortalized in these:

The ring composition technique signals that the sequence of thought has run full-circle: the god grants success (εὐδαιμονία, εὐπραγία); the human uses his wealth (ὄλβος, πλοῦτος) to delight and gratify the god (ἀγλαΐα, χάρις) with donations; the god supports the human towards renewed achievement and aids him in his needs; the fair deeds of humans (victory, donations etc.) are immortalised through the graceful gift of the poet, the victory ode.<sup>197</sup>

While the above meaning is clear, the fact that these verses are introduced by the statement φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρυω (“I utter words which the wise man may understand”) cannot be overlooked.<sup>198</sup> As Cairns asserts, this statement means that what is being said must not be taken at face value and hints at the possibility of another interpretation.<sup>199</sup> This advice to seek a deeper meaning might allude to the mystery religions.<sup>200</sup> Not only is Hieron's relationship with the cult of Demeter and Persephone referred to in the first verses 1-3, but Cairns also presents as evidence of an eschatological meaning the similarity to the Orphic fragments I a and b Bernabé, in which the speaker addresses only those initiated:<sup>201</sup>

ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι.

I shall sing to those who understand; close your doors, ye uninitiated.

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς.

I shall speak to those whom it is right to address; all ye uninitiated, close your doors.

In addition, it is remarkable the repetition of words with the root φρήν, which could be referencing to the knowledge and to the good judgement one has to have to achieve εὐδαιμονία. In vv. 13-14, there was emphasis on Hieron's knowledge on how he is εὐδαίμων

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<sup>195</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 27.

<sup>196</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 83.

<sup>197</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 44.

<sup>198</sup> This statement has been compared to Pindar *O. II.* 83 that has also been interpreted as a possible reference to mysticism.

<sup>199</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 28.

<sup>200</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 28.

<sup>201</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 28.

for knowing not to hide his wealth and not to keep it in the dark. This relationship between happiness and knowledge is also recurrent in the Mysteries. When this avenue is opened, εὐδαίμων could refer to a divine favour that transcends mortal limits and assures happiness in the beyond. This ode fosters hope of overcoming ordinary mortal limits by reaching immortality through ἀρετή in song, but could also hint at a possibility of achieving happiness after life through the Mysteries.<sup>202</sup> In order to understand this further, it is necessary to examine *Ode V*, also dedicated to Hieron.

The adjective ὄλβιος appears in the form of a μακαρισμός together with εὐδαίμων in a γνώμη that is central to *Ode V* in vv. 50-55. It is used in the context of the mythological story of Heracles' descent into Hades where he encounters Meleager:

ὄλβιος ὄιτινι θεός  
 μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν  
 σύν τ' ἐπιζήλωι τύχαι  
 ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν· οὐ  
 γάρ τις] ἐπιχθονίων  
 π[άντ]α γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφου.

Blessed the man to whom God has granted fine achievements as his portion and the passing of a life of affluence with enviable fortune; for no mortal is fortunate in all things.

To be ὄλβιος is he who the god (referring to Zeus) has given beautiful things as their portion, μοῖρα καλῶν, enjoying a life of wealth with enviable fortune, σύν τ' ἐπιζήλωι τύχαι ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν.<sup>203</sup> To be ὄλβιος is related to 'to be favoured with a portion, μοῖρα, of good things'. In this case, it is related to enjoying 'a life of wealth with a fortune' which is 'envied by others', σύν τ' ἐπιζήλωι τύχαι ἀφνεὸν βιοτὰν διάγειν. Clearly, ὄλβιος conserves a materialistic meaning marked by ἀφνεὸς βίος and is also related to 'surpassing others' in terms of being bestowed a more favourable share in life and also enjoying a fortune which is envied by others, ἐπιζήλωι τύχαι.

To be ὄλβιος is a god-given type of happiness and it could be interpreted that it relies on one's relationship with the god, if one is εὐδαίμων or not. My interpretation is that ὄλβιος is used for the person who is bestowed a more favourable portion, μοῖρα, consisting of a life of

<sup>202</sup> As Robert Fagles & Adam M. Parry (1998, 107) state, it is important to consider that Ode III was essentially a poem of consolation to Hiero, who was dying at the time, and the allusion to happiness through mysteries could have served as his solace in those trying times.

<sup>203</sup> Pindar praises Hieron similarly in P. 3. 84, but in this case relates it to being εὐδαίμων. In Ode 14B of Bacchylides, ὄλβος is also related clearly to wealth.

‘wealth’ and being ‘envied or admired’, while to be εὐδαίμων, as it has been appreciated, can encompass many ways to experience divine favour. This can be to experience favour in life which is shown through a more favourable μοῖρα or can refer to immortalization after death.

However, to be completely εὐδαίμων in all aspects is impossible, as seen through Meleager’s and Heracles’ experiences, οὐ γὰρ τις ἐπιχθονίων π[άντ]α γ’ εὐδαίμων ἔφν. Maravela explains how these two heroes show the “two sides of the coin of human *eudaimonia*”.<sup>204</sup> In life, Meleager receives favour from the gods, but in his last moments he is deprived of divine favour and his death is a result of divine anger. In contrast, Heracles is punished during his life by the anger and hostility of Hera, but is compensated for this divine hostility by being immortalised after death as a hero who receives hero cult.<sup>205</sup> Even heroes cannot be εὐδαίμων in all ways because their lives are still susceptible to change and dependent on the will of the gods. Considering that Hieron had an interest in Mysticism and in ktistic heroes, these mythological references could be another allusion to the possibility of literal immortalization in which he found peace during the time he was ill and close to death.<sup>206</sup>

In both odes discussed, there are allusions to what one has the capacity to do in response to human alternation and suffering in life to have a share in εὐδαιμονία after death as compensation. In *Ode III*, there is emphasis on εὐπραγία and what one can achieve when one acts following εὐσέβεια. Through one’s actions, there is the possibility of transcending the mortal experience as did Croesus in exchange for his offerings. In this same way, Hieron has the potential to transcend the mortal realm, both by receiving ἀρετή as a form of immortalization and also possibly a better afterlife through literal immortalization.

*Ode V* ends with praise of Hieron’s racehorse Pherenikos and a prayer to Zeus, vv. 182-200, to protect Hieron from alternations of fate which even heroes experience:

[...] ἔνθ’ ὁ κλεεννὸς  
πο]σσὶ νικάσας δρόμωι  
ἦλθ]εν Φερένικος ἐς εὐπύργους Συρακόσ-  
σας Ἰέρωνι φέρων  
εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλον.  
χρῆ] δ’ ἀλαθείας χάριν  
αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφ[οτέραισιν

<sup>204</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 45.

<sup>205</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 45.

<sup>206</sup> Cairns (2011, p. 24) asserts: “Hieron would have known well that city-founders received cult honours after death; according to Diodorus, this was one of his motives in founding Aetna, and indeed, again according to Diodorus, his wishes were granted.”

χερσὶν ἀπωσάμενον,  
εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶν.

Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾷδε φών[ησεν, γλυκειᾶν  
Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος  
Μουσᾶν, ὃν <ἄν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ  
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι.  
πείθομαι εὐμαρέως  
εὐκλέα κελεύθου γλῶσσαν οὐ[κ ἐκτὸς δίκας  
πέμπειν Ἰέρωνι· τόθεν γὰρ  
πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλ[ῶν,  
τοὺς ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ  
Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήν[αι φυλάσσοι.

where famous Pherenicus sped to victory in the race and so returned to well-towered Syracuse bringing Hiero the leaves of good fortune. For the sake of the truth one must thrust envy aside with both hands and praise any mortal who is successful. As man of Boeotia, Hesiod, minister of the (sweet) Muses, spoke thus: ‘He whom the immortals honour is attended also by the good report of men’. I am easily persuaded to send Hiero speech to bring him glory, without (straying from) the path (of justice); for such speech makes the tree-stocks of blessings flourish: may Zeus, the greatest father, (preserve) them unshaken in peace.

Here it is said that Hieron receives from Pherenicus the leaf of good fortune, v. 186: εὐδ[α]μονίας πέταλον. Seemingly, it could be understood that Hieron receives a leaf, understood as ‘a portion’, because to be completely εὐδαίμων is not possible and Hieron experiments only a ‘leaf’ of it through athletic victory. Following this understanding, to be εὐδαίμων means ‘to come out victorious in the athletic games aided through divine favour’. However, Cairns relates εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον to Orphic-mystic eschatology linking it to the “gold leaves which initiates took to their graves as tokens of their hopes for blessedness beyond the growth and decay of mortal existence.”<sup>207</sup> What’s more is that the central myth is focused on Heracles who is the priest of Demeter and Persephone at Syracuse.<sup>208</sup> As Maravela asserts: “Hieron’s expectations are embodied in Heracles, the paradigmatic initiate at the Eleusinian mysteries at the far end of whose sufferings lay immortalisation, as well as in the rich vegetation that was associated.” Moreover, Cairns states: “Having heard the whole myth, an alert audience member - especially one such as Hieron, with the ability to understand the poet’s meaning aright (3-6) - may have reflected upon the similarity between

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<sup>207</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 23. Garner (1992, 65) also points out this relation to the golden πέταλα which give the instructions to be εὐδαίμων in the afterlife.

<sup>208</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 23.

this passage and *h. Cer.* 480-2 and 486-9<sup>209</sup> In the *Hymn to Demeter*, the adjective used for the initiate is ὄλβιος while Bacchylides takes εὐδαίμων and its cognates as a word which will represent divine favour, both that pertaining to this world and the next. Maravela summarizes these two possibilities of interpretation:

If uppermost in the recipients' mind are the tragic dimensions of Meleager's and Heracles' fates, the implication of the expression, in particular of the atypical singular number of the noun governing *eudaimonia*, is that Hieron's athletic victory represents a leaf only, a single aspect of *eudaimonia*. [...] If, on the other hand, the recipient's attention is eventually directed towards Heracles' posthumous blessedness and the leaf of *eudaimonia* is viewed as a poetic symbol of the lamellae with instructions for the afterlife, the connotations of *eudaimonia* become (again) highly specific—albeit not determined by genre—and are defined by the condition, the present concerns of the laudandus and his religious background.<sup>210</sup>

Therefore, a seemingly pessimistic reflection on the changes of fate which characterise the mortal experience, actually presents different avenues through which a human can surpass their mortal limits and achieve εὐδαιμονία that transcends death. The type of εὐδαιμονία which transcends death, however, is only attainable for those who have religious ties and economic means. It is remarkable how εὐδαίμων and its cognates are only used in these two odes, which both share mystical allusions. In contrast, the adjective ὄλβιος is not confined to these odes and does not seem to have such clear religious associations.

*Dythiramb 15* provides opportunities for exploring the meaning of ὄλβιος, specifically in vv. 50-64 when Menelaus is addressing the Trojans:<sup>211</sup>

ὦ Τρῶες ἀρηϊφίλοι,  
 Ζεὺς ὑψ[ιμέδων ὀ]ς ἅπαντα δέρκεται  
 οὐκ αἴτιος θνατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν [μέσ]φ κεῖται κιχεῖν  
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν, ἀγνᾶς  
 Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιτος·  
 ὄλβιων π[αἰδές] νιν αἰρεῦνται σύνοικον.

ἀ δ' αἰόλοις κέρδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις

<sup>209</sup> Cairns, Douglas. L. (2011), p. 25.

<sup>210</sup> Maravela, Anastasia. (2011), p. 45.

<sup>211</sup> In *Dythiramb 17*, vv. 101-103, there is another occurrence of ὄλβιος used as an epithet for Nereus, which is striking because it is generally reserved for the gods: [...] τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν ἔδει- / σε Νηρηῶς ὄλβιου / κόρας· [...] (“There he was awe-struck at the glorious daughters of blessed Nereus.”). Unfortunately, there is limited context and it is hard to draw conclusions, given that this is the only instance where ὄλβιος is applied to a god in Bacchylides' works. It could be that the adjective is used for Nereus to emphasize his happiness which comes from his daughters, his offspring, as this has been a nuance of ὄλβιος appreciated in previous sections.

ἔξαισίους θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβῆς  
 ὕβρις, ἃ πλοῦτ[ο]ν δύναμιν τε θοῶς  
 ἀλλότριον ὄπασεν, αὖτις  
 δ' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον,  
 κε]ίνα καὶ ὑπερφιάλους  
 Γᾶς] παῖδας ὄλεσ<σ>εν Γίγαντας.'

Trojans dear to Ares, high-ruling Zeus, who sees all things, is not the author of great woes for mortals: rather it is open to all men to reach unswerving Justice, the attendant of holy Eunomia and wise Themis; blessed are they whose sons choose her to share their home; but that other, shameless Insolence, luxuriating in shifty tricks and lawless follies, who swiftly gives a man another's wealth and power only to bring him into deep ruin—it was she who destroyed those arrogant sons of Earth, the Giants.

Robert Fagles and Adam M Parry affirm: “The advice to not blame Zeus is a reference to Zeus’ speech in the first *Odyssey*. “Men blame us for their troubles,” says the Father of Gods and Men, “but it is their own outrages that undo them.”<sup>212</sup> Zeus cannot be blamed because mortals have some responsibility to act in accordance with Justice, Eunomia and Themis. Ὀλβιοί are those who choose to follow δίκη while those who follow ὕβρις are met with ruin. Here, Menelaus, while having in mind Paris’ outrageous acts against him, is cautioning against ὕβρις, highlighting that it is destructive because it destroyed the great Giants. There seems to be a relation of ὄλβιος to ‘enjoying wealth and status following a sense of δίκη’, which, in turn, will further consolidate this wealth. However, if one acts with ὕβρις, the opposite of δίκη, then this will result in downfall, the loss of everything. According to Menelaus, ὕβρις leads Paris to take wealth and power, πλοῦτος and δύναμις, which is not his, therefore he does not acquire it justly, so this will eventually lead to ruin instead of being ὄλβιος. To be ὄλβιος is ‘to enjoy god-given wealth, ὄλβος, and status following the principle of δίκη’. This relationship of being ὄλβιος to the observance of other morally correct practices such as Justice or Eunomia is one that had already been appreciated in previous authors. As Maehler points out, this dithyramb echoes Solon and especially his elegy to Eunomia (4.5-8).<sup>213</sup>

While to be ὄλβιος is to enjoy ὄλβος following δίκη and avoiding ὕβρις, ὄλβος itself is just ‘god-given wealth and status’, as seen clearly at the beginning of *Ode 14B*, in vv. 1-6, related to the adjectives ἀφνειός and εὐδοξός.

Ἔστία χρυσόθρον', εὐ-

<sup>212</sup> Fagles, Robert, & Parry, Adam M. (1998), p. 117.

<sup>213</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 162.

δόξων Ἀγαθοκλεαδᾶν ἄτ' ἀφνε[ῶν  
ἀνδρῶν μέγαν ὄλβον ἀέξεις  
ἡμένα μέσαις ἀγυαῖς  
Πηγειὸν ἀμφ' εὐώδεα Θεσσαλία[ς  
μηλοτρόφου ἐν γυάλοις·

Gold-throned Hestia, you who increase the great prosperity of the glorious Agathocleadae, those men of wealth, as you sit in mid-city by the fragrant Peneus in the glens of sheep-rearing Thessaly.

Concerning εὐτυχής and its derivatives, in the case of Bacchylides, no words relating to εὐτυχής appear, except εὐτυχία in Fragment 11. When assessing fragments it is hard to make any solid affirmations, although it will provide some insight into the meaning of εὐτυχής, which otherwise would have been difficult.

εἷς ὄρος, μία βροτοῖσιν ἐστὶν εὐτυχίας ὁδός,  
θυμὸν εἶ τις ἔχων ἀπενθῆ δύναται  
διατελεῖν βίον· ὃς δὲ μυ-  
ρία μὲν ἀμφιπολεῖ φρενί,  
τὸ δὲ παρ' ἅμάρ τε <καὶ> νύκτα μελλόντων  
χάριν αἰὲν ἰάπτεται  
κέαρ, ἄκαρπον ἔχει πόνον.

**There is a limit, one path to** happiness for mortals: to be able to keep an ungrieving spirit throughout life. The man who busies his mind with a thousand cares, whose heart is hurt day and night for the sake of the future, has fruitless toil. <sup>214</sup>

Maehler states: “Here B. seems to mean the ‘limit’ of happiness that mortals can attain, and the ‘path’ on which it is achieved (εὐτυχίας refers to both metaphors).”<sup>215</sup> The sense of limit is explained by Maehler in the following way: “This statement is a variation of a well-known *topos*, ‘know your limits’ or ‘do not strive to become god’, μὴ ματεύσει θεὸς γενέσθαι Pind. O. 5. 24.”<sup>216</sup> If one knows one’s limits then one knows how to avoid committing ὕβρις and suffering punishment from the gods, thus one can reach εὐτυχία through the ‘absence of suffering’. To reach εὐτυχία is what a mortal can hope for and the path to achieve this type of happiness is to be able to spend one’s life keeping one’s θυμός “ungrieving”, θυμὸν εἶ τις ἔχων ἀπενθῆ δύναται διατελεῖν βίον. There is no use having one’s mind on different things which are not attainable or thinking about the future because to reach εὐτυχία one has to focus on the present and stay within one’s limits. It is clearly a non-material happiness which

<sup>214</sup> The English text has been edited to change the translation of ὄρος from “guideline” to “limit” which according to Herwig Maehler (2004) it is a more accurate translation.

<sup>215</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 235.

<sup>216</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 235.

relates more to one's disposition towards things, seemingly interior, and related to experiencing 'absence of suffering'. Furthermore, Maehler also states:

Maxims like this one, which give vent to a general desire for quiet happiness, are often found in cult songs such as *partheneia*, *prosodia*, *hyporchemata*, as well as in tragedy [...] For a poet it was a means to engage the audience in the performance by enabling them to identify with fundamental ideas and sentiments voiced by the chorus, an essential element particularly in cult poetry.<sup>217</sup>

It is remarkable that εὐτυχία is used in a statement that is trying to connect with the general public, demonstrating that this type of happiness is the most accessible while the use of ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων are reserved only for a select few. Moreover, this type of happiness is not used in Bacchylides epinicians thus proving that it is not used with the same meaning as in Pindar. It seems to be a more common type of happiness related instead to 'absence of pain', showing resemblances to Alcman's 1.37-1.39.<sup>218</sup>

Effectively, the works of Bacchylides prove to be interesting from the point of view of the analysis of happiness-related words. Concerning μάκαρ, there is only one attested use and it is to accompany θεός as an epithet. It refers to a happiness only gods can enjoy and which is related to 'stability' and 'power'. This usage has already been appreciated in other authors and Bacchylides does not present any innovation. However, what does stand out is the scarce usage of the adjective, which could be an indication of its decline in use.

The analysis of the adjective εὐδαίμων and its cognates proves to be the most revealing. This adjective only appears in the odes dedicated to Hieron of Syracuse, namely *Ode III* and *Ode V*. Its meaning is ultimately one that had already been described in other authors; 'being in a good relationship with a δαίμων' and 'being favoured by this δαίμων'. This divine favour can be shown externally by one's 'wealth (and knowing how to use it)', one's 'power and status' or by 'coming out victorious in Olympic games'. It can even be evidenced in all three ways at once, which is Hieron's case, making him worthy of the first attested use of the compound τρισευδαίμων. To continue to be favoured, one fosters a relationship with the divine by using one's god-given wealth, ὄλβος, following εὐσέβεια, which specifically relates to knowing how to use one's status and wealth to give back to the gods through offerings. Hieron, who knew how to "display the flowers of ὄλβος", was aided in athletic victory which was

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<sup>217</sup> Maehler, Herwig. (2004), p. 236.

<sup>218</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 20.

celebrated and remembered through song, granting him everlasting ἀρετή and thus immortalizing him.

In addition to the foregoing analysis, *Ode III* and *Ode V* offer the possibility of a further understanding of εὐδαίμων and its cognates which could also be interpreted as having an eschatological sense that transcends the mortal realm. This meaning can be appreciated in Bacchylides' choice of figures, namely Admetus and Croesus, who both receive compensation beyond mortal measure for their worship of the gods, as well as of Heracles, the paradigmatic initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries and a mortal who became immortalized. This meaning is alluded to in the references to knowledge, v. 85, φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρω and εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον which have been taken as allusions to Orphic-mystic eschatology. This points to εὐδαίμων and its cognates possibly referring also to a happiness that goes beyond mortal limits and death, proving a duality in meaning, one in life and one eschatological. Hieron, as compensation for his suffering in life and due to his offerings to the gods, will enjoy permanent εὐδαιμονία after death through the Mysteries or hero cult. Nevertheless, this happiness in the afterlife is only available to those who have religious ties and the means that come with being a tyrant to invest in offerings that secure one's εὐδαιμονία. The eschatological meaning of εὐδαίων seems to refer to a happiness that is more exclusive than to be ὄλβιος and it seems to be a higher form of happiness, the most a mortal can attain considering that it is the only one that seems to transcend mortal limits.

In the case of ὄλβιος, it does not seem to refer to the foregoing type of happiness and is not confined to *Ode III* and *Ode V*. Firstly, in *Ode III*, it is used for Hieron in reference to his victories. In *Ode V*, it is used for a person who has been granted a good μοῖρα by the gods and thereby experiences a life of wealth. Ὀλβος is related clearly to 'god-given wealth', to πλοῦτος and that which is ἀφνειός, and to 'status', εὐδοξος. However, to be ὄλβιος is he who enjoys ὄλβος following δίκη. One has to avoid ὕβρις to in order not to provoke one's downfall. This relationship between being ὄλβιος and following certain moral practices such as δίκη and Eunomia is one already analysed in previous authors such as Solon. Both these types of happiness are dispensed by gods and are, therefore, external, but humans do have a certain responsibility in securing it.

In relation to εὐτυχής and its cognates, only the noun εὐτυχία appears and just once in a fragment. It does not recur frequently in the epinicians as was found in Pindar and does not seem to take on the same meaning. Instead, Bacchylides' usage is innovative because it

shows that εὐτυχία consists of ‘spending one’s life keeping one’s θυμός ungrieving’, and is related to ‘absence of suffering’. One can achieve this by staying within one’s limits and in the present moment and not acting with ὕβρις which can subsequently anger the gods. It also seems that it is related to one’s interpretation, seemingly interior. This type of happiness is seen as the most accessible, considering that it is used in a statement in what seems to be a cult song trying to connect with the general public.

Apart from the application of μάκαρ, Bacchylides presents significant innovation in his usage of words relating to happiness. It seems that Bacchylides implies meanings of εὐδαίμων that go further than the context of the epinicians and the genre, offering different possibilities of interpretation. To be εὐδαίμων has a duality in meaning, one reading is accessible within the contexts of the epinicians while another is reserved for those, such as Hieron himself, with the knowledge to grasp its deeper meaning. This type of happiness is only reserved for tyrants like Hieron who had the means, religious ties and knowledge. To be εὐδαίμων one has to use one’s means following εὐσέβεια and thus will be favoured again by the divinity. The most fitting ὄλβος is that used with εὐσέβεια and being εὐδαίμων, which in return will guarantee continuous favour, even after death. The use of the noun εὐτυχία also proves to be noteworthy for its uniqueness. It is only found once in Fragment 11 where its usage differs significantly from that of Pindar by now referring to passing a life with one’s θυμός unlamenting. To do so one has to keep within their limits so as not to anger the gods. In fact, in Bacchylides, although all types of happiness are susceptible to the will of the gods, mortals do have some control in protecting their happiness whether it be by practicing εὐσέβεια for εὐδαιμονία, by following δίκη and avoiding ὕβρις to be ὄλβιος, or by steering away from ὕβρις by keeping one’s thoughts within one’s limits and confined to the present in order to achieve εὐτυχία. Through the analysis of happiness-related words in Bacchylides, it can be appreciated that, what could at face value be read as pure feelings of helplessness and mortal despair, actually present certain possibilities of agency and control to achieve forms of happiness.

εὐδαίμων/εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος / ὄλβος
<p>NON-ESCHATOLOGICAL MEANING: first use of the compound τρισεὐδαίμων, employed to refer to the proof of external divine favour one gets ‘being in a good relationship with the divine’: -To use ‘god-given wealth and status (ὄλβος)’ with εὐσέβεια to give offerings to the gods, who in their turn will favour through athletic victories, ‘power’, ‘absence of suffering’ and ὄλβος again.</p> <p>Immortalized through song, ὕμνητος, receiving ἀρετή</p>	<p>Only appears once, seems to be that the usage is declining. Appears together with θεός and not alone. Only applied to gods and related to: -‘stability’ -‘power’ -‘awe-inspiring’ -object of ‘τιμή’</p>	<p>Related to having one’s θυμός unmourning, ‘absence of pain’. To do this one can avoid ὕβρις by staying within one’s limits and thinking in the present.</p>	<p>Ὅλβος is ‘god-given wealth’ related to πλοῦτος and that which is ἀφνειός and ‘god-given status’, which makes one εὐδοξός. Ὅλβος is used to refer to the wealth that Hieron has displayed and thus will assure him εὐδαιμονία which will bring him ἀρετή. This is why the most fitting of ὄλβων is to glorify the gods. To be εὐδαίμων and use one’s ὄλβος to glorify the gods will permit one to continue receiving ὄλβος and continuous favour, even after death in the form of permanent εὐδαιμονία.</p>
<p>ESCHATOLOGICAL MEANING: receiving divine favour which transcends mortal limits due to using one’s ὄλβος with εὐσέβεια and compensation for suffering in life. This consists of literal immortalization after death through Mysteries or hero cult. (Reserved for those with religious ties and knowledge of these, and economic means.)</p>		<p>Seems to be more internal than external, but still dependent on the gods who are the causers of pain and alternation.</p>	<p>Ὅλβιος is he who has been bestowed these things and enjoys them with δίκη.</p>
<p>Only a share of εὐδαιμονία is possible εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον, because there is no escape from human alternation. No mortal can be completely εὐδαίμων, οὐ γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων π[άντ]α γ’ εὐδαίμων ἔφθ.</p>		<p>The most accessible type of happiness, considering that it is used seemingly in the context of a cult song trying to connect with the general public.</p>	



### 3. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

#### 3.1. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN AESCHYLUS

This section initiates an analysis of happiness-related words in the genre of tragedy which begins with Aeschylus, follows on with Sophocles and finishes with Euripides. Tragedies are often focused on a hero or heroine who is confronted with different obstacles to overcome. These complex plots, in which characters interrelate, allow for more vivid portrayals of emotion, thus making the research on words relating to happiness even more intriguing:

Drama, and especially tragedy, offers even better possibilities for presenting strong emotions, since in tragedy the very situations where the characters act, think and feel are represented on the stage, the tragedy being, according to Aristotle, mimesis of action, and since these situations include terrible and agitating events, πάθη.<sup>219</sup>

Maarit Kaimio goes on to explain how fear is one of the most present emotions in Aeschylus. Kaimio affirms that fear is prevalent because the chorus tends to be fully immersed in the action and finds itself in dire danger during the works. For example, in *Suppliants* or *Seven Against Thebes*, the chorus is at risk of death or being captured, and in *Persians*, the chorus suffers the consequences of war. In works which present such strong negative emotion, it becomes even more illuminating to examine what meaning is given to happiness-related words and how and why they are employed in these. The scope of this research will be limited to passages of the extant works *Agamemnon*, *Libation-Bearers*, *The Eumenides*, *Persians*, *Seven Against Thebes*, *Suppliants* and *Prometheus Bound* while fragments will not be taken into consideration due to lack of contextual information which makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions.

Focusing firstly on the adjective μάκαρ, it appears ten times throughout the works of Aeschylus. The first of which is found in *Agamemnon*, in vv. 1335-1342, pronounced by the Chorus:

καὶ τῶδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλεῖν ἔδοσαν  
μάκαρες Πριάμου,  
θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·  
νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἴμ' ἀποτεῖση  
καὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανῶν ἄλλων.  
ποινὰς θανάτων ἐπικράνη,  
τίς ἂν ἐξεύξαιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ

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<sup>219</sup> Kaimio, Maarit. (1970), p. 60.

δαίμονι φῦναι τὰδ' ἀκούων;

So to this man it was granted by the Blessed Ones  
to capture the city of Priam,  
and he comes home honoured by the gods;  
but now, if he pays for the blood shed by his forefathers  
and by dying causes the dead  
to exact further deaths as a penalty,  
what mortal, hearing this, can boast  
that he was born to a destiny free from harm?<sup>220</sup>

This use of μάκαρ as a substitute for θεοί is common and has already been noted in other authors. Apart from this use of μάκαρες, this passage also proves interesting because of other themes presented. Firstly, it is shown how Agamemnon's success in capturing the city of Priam is attributed to the gods. The gods, μάκαρες, rule human life and are in charge of dispensing favours, further proven by the adjective θεοτίμητος. Agamemnon's honour for capturing Troy is god-given and is not his own achievement. However, his fortune will be short-lived because, as it says in the following verses, no mortal can boast about being born with an “unhurt δαίμων”, ἀσινεῖ δαίμονι. Enrico Medda states as a translation: ‘con sorte priva di danno’.<sup>221</sup> As Eduard Fraenkel noted: “It is clear that in this phrase δαίμων has lost a good deal of its personal character and is on the way to what we should call an abstract idea. [...] In this meaning δαίμων is very close to πότμος [...] and to τύχη, which the scholiasts often use in their paraphrases.”<sup>222</sup> Behind this concept there is still the idea of a supernatural force which one is assigned when born that controls one's fate. But humans are inevitably dispensed pain or toil in some way and cannot live a fate free from harm, in contrast with the gods who live a life free from toil, making them μάκαρ.

The use of μάκαρ related to enjoying stability and ‘living a life of ease’ is also found in v. 97 of *Seven against Thebes*: ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐεδροί. / ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι. (“Oh blest ones, in your fair abode! / Now is the moment to clasp the images”). The adjective μάκαρ cannot be applied to humans whose lives are continuously subject to change. Thomas George Tucker states in his commentary: “an exclamation of contrast. The happy and secure state of the Gods is compared with their own present misery and danger.”<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> The Greek text and translation for Aeschylus' works are taken from Alan H. Sommerstein (2009).

<sup>221</sup> Medda, Enrico. (2017), p. 296.

<sup>222</sup> Fraenkel, Eduard. (1962), p. 632.

<sup>223</sup> Tucker, Thomas George. (1908), p. 29.

The use of μάκαρες, substituting or accompanying θεοί or another noun, is observed throughout the works of Aeschylus, here are more examples:

In vv. 211-215 of *Seven Against Thebes*:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-  
χαῖα βρέτη, θεοῖσι πίσυνος λιθάδος  
ὄτ' ὀλοᾶς νειφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις·  
δὴ τότε ἦρθην φόβῳ πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως  
ἔν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

No, I rushed headlong to the ancient images  
of the divine ones, trusting in the gods, when there came the noise  
of the deadly blizzard of stones at the gates:  
then, then I rose up in fear to pray to the blest ones, that they  
might spread their protection over the city.

In vv. 1072-1078 of *Seven against Thebes*:

ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις  
καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ζυνεπαινεῖ·  
μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν  
ὄδε Καδμείων ἤρυξε πόλιν  
μὴ 'νατραπῆναι μηδ' ἀλλοδαπῷ  
κύματι φωτῶν  
κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.}

And we will go with this man, as both the city  
and justice join in approving:  
for, next after the blest ones and the strength of Zeus,  
he did most to prevent the city of the Cadmeans  
being destroyed and overwhelmed  
by the human wave of foreigners.

In vv. 1018-1021 of *Suppliants*:

ἴτε μὰν ἄστυδ', ἄνακτας  
μάκαρας θεοὺς γανόωντες,  
πολιόχους τε καὶ οἱ χεῦμ' Ἐρασίνου  
περιναίουσιν παλαιόν.

Go now to the town, glorifying  
the blessed lord, the gods,  
both those of the city and those who dwell around  
the ancient stream of Erasinus.

In the vv. 471-478 of *Libation-Bearers*, there is another use of μάκαρ, this time to refer to the subterranean gods and not the celestial ones. This use is not new in Aeschylus and has

already been observed in Hesiod, in vv. 140-141 of *Works and Days* (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοῖς καλέονται).

δώμασιν ἔμμοτον  
τῶνδ' ἄκος, οὐδ' ἀπ' ἄλλων  
ἔκτοθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν,  
δι' ὤμῶν ἔριν αἵματηράν.  
θεῶν τῶν κατὰ γᾶς ὄδ' ὕμνος  
ἀλλὰ κλύοντες, μάκαρες χθόνιοι,  
τῆσδε κατευχῆς πέμπετ' ἄρωγὴν  
παισὶν προφρόνως ἐπὶ νίκη.

It is the house that must provide the plug  
for this wound, and the cure cannot come from others  
outside, but from members of the house itself,  
through cruel, bloody Strife.  
This is the song of the gods beneath the earth.  
Now hear this prayer,  
blessed underworld powers, and send aid  
willingly to the children, for victory!

Here μάκαρες χθόνιοι alludes to the Erinyes who are asking for compensation for the ἄτη which is found in the shedding of the blood of Clytemnestra to atone for the murders already committed. Here, the use of a positive adjective such as μάκαρες is employed to placate the chthonic divinities which can be hostile.

Interestingly, up until this point, all these uses of μάκαρ have been pronounced by the chorus or a member of the chorus and not once by an actor.<sup>224</sup> In *Prometheus Bound*, there is the first use of μάκαρ by an actor, in vv. 92-97:<sup>225</sup>

ἴδεσθέ μ' οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.  
δέρχθηθ' οἷαις αἰκείαισιν  
διακναίόμενος τὸν μυριετῆ  
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω·  
τοιόνδ' ὁ νέος ταγὸς μακάρων  
ἐξηῦρ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δεσμὸν ἀεικῆ.

Behold what I, a god, am suffering at the hands of the gods!

<sup>224</sup> Even though this may be merely a coincidence, it is interesting to note that the word only appears twice in *Prometheus Bound* and is used by Prometheus and not the Chorus when, in Aeschylus' other works, this adjective is employed exclusively by the Chorus. This begs the question as to whether Prometheus is the only actor to use it because he himself is a demigod.

<sup>225</sup> In vv. 169-171, it is used again by Prometheus: χρεῖαν ἔξει μακάρων πρύτανις, / δεῖξαι τὸ νέον βούλευμ' ὑφ' ὅτου / σκῆπτρον τιμᾶς τ' ἀποσυλᾶται (“The president of the immortals will yet have need of me, to reveal the new plan by which he can be robbed of his sceptre and his privileges.”)

Look, with what indignities  
I am tormented, to endure  
these trials for endless years!  
Such a degrading bondage has been invented for me  
by the new high commander of the Blest Ones.

As it has been demonstrated, the use of the adjective μάκαρ for the celestial gods is the most common usage. In v. 525 of *Suppliants*, there is the use of the adjective in the superlative referring to Zeus, this time accompanied by the adjective ὄλβιος:

ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων  
μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων  
τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ,  
πιθοῦ τε καὶ γένει σῶ  
ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας.

O King of Kings, O most blest  
of the blest, O power most perfect  
of the perfect, Zeus giver of prosperity,  
listen to us, and in through loathing  
of those vicious men keep them away from your  
descendants.

This use of the superlative shows how the most μάκαρ of the μάκαρες is Zeus since he is superior to all the other gods and he rules over them. It is noteworthy how it is found coordinated with τελέων τελειότατον κράτος which would literally mean ‘the most perfect power of the perfect ones’. In the commentary of Miralles, Citti and Lomiento, it is explained how the epithet τέλειος indicates a fundamental function in the cult of Zeus, since he was the god in charge of bringing actions to their completion, τέλος, and that the cult of Zeus τέλειος existed in Athens and other Greek cities.<sup>226</sup> This power over the resolution of circumstances ultimately grants him stability that permits him to live a life at ease, thus making him the most μάκαρ.

In addition, it is significant that in this passage the adjective ὄλβιος is found referring to Zeus. As it will be seen in the following paragraphs, ὄλβιος only appears twice in the whole works of Aeschylus. It is interesting, therefore, that one of these appearances is used for a god when this adjective is mostly found to qualify mortals. De Heer proposed as an antecedent Fragment 133 (Neri, 2021) of Sappho: ἔχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κάλαν ἀμοιβαν... Ψάπφοι, τί τὰν

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<sup>226</sup> Miralles, Carles. Citti, Vittorio & Lomiento, Liana. (2019), p. 321.

πολύολβον Ἀφροδίταν... Understanding that Zeus is ὄλβιος in the sense that he is the one who grants ὄλβος, in the same way Aphrodite is πολύολβος.<sup>227</sup>

This last passage links to the analysis of the adjective ὄλβιος and its derivatives. The only other occurrences of ὄλβιος and its derivatives, apart from the one previously mentioned, are condensed into a passage of *Agamemnon*. Here, Clytemnestra is trying to persuade Agamemnon to walk on a purple veil she has laid out for him. Medda explains how walking on a purple veil would be a clear act of ὕβρις, since it was a colour which needed a lot of natural resources to produce, thus representing a waste of wealth and excessive ostentation that could incite the envy of the gods.<sup>228</sup> Agamemnon shows caution and expresses that this way of honouring, τιμαλφέω, is worthy of gods and not of mortals, in vv. 922-930:

θεούς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών,  
ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν  
βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου.  
λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ.  
χωρὶς ποδοψηστρῶν τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων  
κληδῶν ἀυτεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὄλβισαι δὲ χρῆ  
βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ·  
εἰ πάντα δ' ὧς πράσσοιμ' ἄν, εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ.

It is gods, you know, who should be honoured with such objects; to my mind, for a mortal to tread on beautiful embroideries cannot be anything but perilous. I tell you to revere me like a man, not a god. It is cryingly obvious that the words “embroidered” and “doormat” don’t go well together; and good sense is the greatest of god’s gifts. A man should be called fortunate only when he has finished his life in the prosperity that all desire. If I am one who will act consistently on these principles, I have nothing to fear.

Clytemnestra wishes Agamemnon harm and is trying to persuade him to do this while knowing that such an act is an act of transgression and excess. These types of acts incite divine φθόνος which is later punished. This is ultimately Clytemnestra’s intention, as D. L Cairns affirms: “her device of the purple path is a means of attracting *phthonos* to her husband.” In their exchange in vv. 935-941, Clytemnestra continues to try to convince him:

Κλυταιμήστρα.- τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ' ἤνυσεν;  
Ἀγαμέμνων.- ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.  
Κλυταιμήστρα.- μὴ νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.  
Ἀγαμέμνων.- φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.

<sup>227</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 67.

<sup>228</sup> Medda, Enrico. (2017), pp. 102-103.

Κλυταιμήστρα.- ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητος γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.

Ἀγαμέμνων.- οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἰμείρειν μάχης.

Κλυταιμήστρα.- τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.

Clytaemestra: And what do you think Priam would have done, if he had had a success like this?

Agamemnon: I definitely think he would have walked on embroideries.

Clytaemestra: Then do not feel shame at the criticisms of mortals.

Agamemnon: All the same, the buzz of popular talk is something very powerful.

Clytaemestra: But he who is not envied is not enviable.

Agamemnon: It is unwomanly, you know, to be eager for a fight.

Clytaemestra: But for the fortunate, even a defeat can be honourable.

As Cairns explains, Clytemnestra plays on the ambiguity of the word φθόνος which can allude to divine or human envy. Agamemnon is clearly afraid of the φθόνος of the gods by committing such an act that transgresses his limits as a mortal. Clytemnestra, however, insists on the fact that it is good to arouse φθόνος among humans.

Agamemnon is now to put all *aidōs* for human censure out of his mind; he is reminded that, in spite of his protestations of the power of popular disapproval (938), human jealousy is a natural concomitant of success; one who does not attract *phthonos* is one whose position is not to be envied.<sup>229</sup>

Clytemnestra continues to allude to human jealousy as positive by finishing with a general affirmation in which her words are chosen wisely, v. 942: τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει. Clytemnestra is saying that even powerful kings and those who are ὀλβιοί have to let their inferiors win now and then. This adjective applies to someone who is 'honoured by enjoying a high status in society', either because of wealth and prosperity or because of receiving honour as a cult hero. This high status normally arouses some human envy, φθόνος, which is considered positive. However, if this privilege is used in excess and one oversteps the mark this can result in divine φθόνος which can end with one's downfall. To avoid committing ὕβρις, a good sense of judgement is crucial. Agamemnon says that he should be revered as a mortal and not as a god, and that to not err in judgement (τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν) is one of god's greatest gifts because it serves to perpetuate a state of being ὀλβιος. However, Agamemnon, by not using good judgement, is overtaken by the desire to be envied and honoured, and thereby transgresses his limits:

Agamemnon's *aidōs*, then, is assuaged, but not allayed, by a restriction of his scruple to the human level; and on the human level his desire to attract positive envy as proof of his success outweighs his fear of critical resentment, or, to put it another way, *aidōs*

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<sup>229</sup> Cairns, Douglas Laidlaw. (1999), p. 196.

at excess, transgression, or inappropriateness is overcome by the positive desire for honour.<sup>230</sup>

There is a sense of permanence in being ὄλβιος since Agamemnon affirms that one can only be considered ὄλβιος if one has ended life well. This seems to be a clear reference to a maxim of traditional wisdom which is found in the already analysed dialogue of Solon and Croesus of *The Histories* of Herodotus. As previously demonstrated, ὄλβιος can apply to two types of circumstances. On the one hand, it can refer to a person who has lived a comfortable life, has enjoyed high status and wealth, has avoided adversities and therefore, ends their life in prosperity. On the other hand, it can be applied to an immortalised hero who receives hero cult after death. Agamemnon cannot really be considered ὄλβιος in terms of the first option because, as the audience were aware, his death would be tragic. However, Agamemnon was honoured through hero cult and this passage could be foreshadowing the reverence he will receive after death as a hero. This is not the only reference to hero cult in the *Oresteia*, since there is another in *Libation-Bearers*. In vv. 87-92, Electra wishes to honour the tomb of her father by pouring a libation but she is not quite sure how to do it so she decides to ask the chorus who is represented by a group of maidens:

τί φῶ χέουσα τάσδε κηδείους χοάς;  
πῶς εὐφρον' εἶπω; πῶς κατεύξομαι πατρί;  
πότερα λέγουσα παρὰ φίλης φίλῳ φέρειν  
γυναικὸς ἀνδρί, τῆς γ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα;  
[...]  
τῶνδ' οὐ πάρεστι θάρσος, οὐδ' ἔχω τί φῶ  
χέουσα τόνδε πέλανον ἐν τύμβῳ πατρός.

What should I say as I pour these drink-offerings of mourning? How can I speak sensibly? How will I pray to my father? Should I say that I am bringing them from a loving wife to a dear husband - when they come from my mother? [...] I don't have the courage for that, and I can't think what to say when I pour this thick-flowing offering at my father's tomb.

Nagy analyses this passage and clarifies that Electra's doubts on how to perform this libation arise because Agamemnon is not simply a family member who Electra is honouring after death, he is a hero and this changes the way one has to perform the rituals.

The libation intended by Electra for Agamemnon could be considered a standard procedure for those engaging in the cult of the dead, that is, in ancestor worship. But Agamemnon is not only an ancestor for Electra. He is also a cult hero in the making. And the destiny of Agamemnon as a cult hero stands in the way of successfully

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<sup>230</sup> Cairns, Douglas Laidlaw. (1999), p. 197.

performing a libation in his honor. That is because cult heroes require libations that are different from the kinds of libations offered by ordinary persons to their immediate ancestors.<sup>231</sup>

As Gina Salapata explains there is evidence that indicates that Agamemnon was honoured as a hero in various locations. The most remarkable are at his tomb in Mycenae and at the tomb in Amyclae which he shared with Cassandra.<sup>232</sup> Taking into account that there is support for Agamemnon being honoured as a cult hero after his death, in the instance under analysis ὄλβιος can be taken as anticipating his state as a cult hero. It is also fair to assume that Aeschylus must have been aware of the duality of meanings and perhaps knew that by using it, he was giving way to a double interpretation.

Moving on to the analysis of εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, this adjective occurs in vv. 326-337 of *Agamemnon*, during Clytemnestra's description of how she imagines the fall of Troy, depicting the points of view of both sides, that of the victors and that of the vanquished:

οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων  
παῖδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου  
δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον.  
τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος  
νήστεις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις  
τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,  
ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον.  
ἐν δ' αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωϊκοῖς οἰκήμασιν  
ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων  
δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαχθέντες, ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες  
ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.

On one side, they have prostrated themselves to embrace the bodies of husbands and brothers, and children those of their aged progenitors, and from throats that are no longer free they cry out their laments for the death of their dearest. On the other, weary nocturnal patrolling after the battle has led to their mustering, famished, at breakfasts consisting of what the city has available, with no criteria for taking turns, but just as each individual draws fortune's lot. They are now living in captured Trojan dwellings, freed at last from the frosts and dews of the open air, and they will sleep the whole night without needing guards, like happy men.

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<sup>231</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 488.

<sup>232</sup> To read more about the heroic cult of Agamemnon, consult Gina Salapata (2011).

The adjective εὐδαίμων seems to have a relationship with ‘security’ since it is used for the victors who can finally sleep without the need of any guards, ὡς δ’ εὐδαίμονες ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην. It relates to a type of happiness that comes from the security and peace of being able to rest without any worries, in contrast to the unease and anguish that are experienced during unstable situations such as war. This link to security is also put forward by De Heer who proposed a primary sense component of “security from adversity allied with lofty status”.<sup>233</sup> This sense of lofty status could be found in the fact that the victors occupy a position of power in relation to the vanquished, which grants them certain peace and security. However, whether this passage shows that this adjective has a sense component of permanence is dubious and depends on how the conjunction ὡς is interpreted, either as an exclamation or a comparison. De Heer preferred to understand ὡς as comparative, to respect the sense of permanence which he sees in εὐδαίμων: “They will sleep as if they were εὐδαίμονες, i.e. like people who lead an untroubled, god-favoured life.”<sup>234</sup> In my opinion, I do not find εὐδαίμων to be permanent and I think the following verses, vv. 338-342, introduce the idea that the victors’ fortunes can be reversed by their actions:

εἰ δ’ εὐσέβουσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοῦς  
τοὺς τῆς ἀλόουσης γῆς θεῶν θ’ ἰδρύματα,  
οὗ τᾶν ἐλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.

If they act reverently towards the protecting gods of the city and land they have captured, there is no risk, you may be sure, that after capturing it they may become victims in their turn.

Clytemnestra underlines how the fortune of these victors who are εὐδαίμονες can change if they are not respectful to the gods of the land they have conquered. This shows how to be εὐδαίμων is related to having a good relationship with a δαίμων and with εὐσέβεια. The ‘security’ and ‘lofty status’ come from experiencing ‘divine favour’ and can be compromised by one’s actions. If ἀσέβεια is committed, then this puts the victors at risk of becoming victims themselves. This passage anticipates the act of ἀσέβεια the victors commit, which will consist of killing Priam at the altar of Zeus and of abducting Cassandra from Athena’s temple. The next appearance of εὐδαίμων, vv. 524-531 in *Agamemnon*, is strongly linked to this last passage:

ἀλλ’ εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου

<sup>233</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 60.

<sup>234</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 60.

Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον  
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.  
τοιόνδε Τροία περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ  
ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιότατος βροτῶν  
τῶν νῦν.

Give him a noble welcome, for that is truly proper, when he has dug up Troy with the mattock of Zeus the Avenger, with which the ground has been worked over and the seed of the whole country destroyed. Such is the yoke that has been cast upon Troy by the son of Atreus, our senior king, who has come home a happy man! He deserves to be honoured above all other mortals now alive.

The Messenger explains how Agamemnon, who is εὐδαίμων for having returned triumphant, is worthy of being celebrated for having completely destroyed Troy. In the first instance, there seems to be the sense component of ‘high status’ when considering the last verse: τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιότατος βροτῶν τῶν νῦν. Furthermore, behind this there is a clear reference to the prior use of εὐδαίμων and the sense component of ‘enjoying a good relationship with a δαίμων’. It is no coincidence that the adjective εὐδαίμων is used for Agamemnon, as Medda explains: “Vantando la smisurata ira con cui l'esercito ha punito i colpevoli, Agamennone contribuisce dunque inconsapevolmente, con un procedimento di ironia tragica, a erodere le fondamenta della propria condizione di ἀνήρ εὐδαίμων.”<sup>235</sup> Clytemnestra’s concerns have become reality since the Achaeans have committed sacrilege, ἀσέβεια. By committing ἀσέβεια, the good relationship with a δαίμων has been compromised and so they can no longer be considered εὐδαίμων and lose the ‘security’ and ‘lofty status’ which come with divine favour. It can also be interpreted that Agamemnon is εὐδαίμων for returning home, after the war, to a place considered secure. However, this resonates as tragic irony since the public knows his death is imminent. Aeschylus, through the herald's carefully chosen words, reveals the character's obliviousness to Agamemnon's impending fate, creating a stark contrast with the harsh reality that awaits.

Cassandra, in vv. 1299-1305 of *Agamemnon*, through the muttering of incoherent prophecies, announces her imminent death and that of Agamemnon.

Κασάνδρα.- οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξις, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνον πλέω.  
Χορός.- ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.  
Κασάνδρα.- ἦκει τόδ' ἡμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῆ.  
Χορός.- ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὔσ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

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<sup>235</sup> Medda, Enrico. (2017), pp. 96-97.

Κασάνδρα.- οὐδεις ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.  
Χορός.- ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.  
Κασάνδρα.- ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ σῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.

Cassandra: There is no escape, friends, none, for any longer time.  
Chorus: But people put special value on the last bit of time they have.  
Cassandra: That day has come. I shall gain little by running away.  
Chorus: Well, I tell you, your resolution comes from a courageous heart.  
Cassandra: That's something that's never said about anyone who is happy.  
Chorus: But it's a gratification to any mortal, you know, to die creditably.  
Cassandra: Io, my father, for you and your noble sons!

The adjective εὐδαίμων appears again in v. 1303, after the chorus tries to console Cassandra by reminding her of the courage with which she is facing her imminent death. Cassandra answers back by stating that those who are εὐδαίμονες are not condemned to hear such consolation. Cassandra knows that those who are 'favoured by the divine' live a life that is more secure and face less adversities. She recognises that the consolation of the chorus is only for those who have to face a terrible death: "La reazione di Cassandra alla lode tributatale è una sconsolata considerazione sul fatto che complimenti di quel genere non si rivolgono a chi è felice, ma solo a chi, come lei, si trova di fronte alla prospettiva della morte."<sup>236</sup> Cassandra, in these last moments, feels abandoned by the divine and knows she is not among the favoured, and thus no longer secure or privileged. This contrasts strongly with Agamemnon who is called εὐδαίμων and does not question it: "due personaggi, così vicini nel loro destino di morte, non potrebbero essere più distanti sul piano della conoscenza."<sup>237</sup>

The different sense components of εὐδαίμων are explored further in vv. 700-706 of *Libation-Bearers* when Orestes appears at the palace pretending to be a foreigner from Phocis who announces his own death.

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ξένοισιν ᾧδ' εὐδαίμοσιν  
κεδνῶν ἕκατι πραγμάτων ἂν ἤθελον  
γνωτὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ξενωθῆναι· τί γὰρ  
ξένου ξένοισιν ἐστὶν εὐμενέστερον;  
πρὸς δυσσεβείας δ' ἦν ἐμοὶ τόδ' ἐν φρεσίν,  
τοιόνδε πρᾶγμα μὴ καρανῶσαι φίλοις,  
καταινέσαντα καὶ κατεξενωμένον.

I would have wished to make the acquaintance of such prosperous hosts, and to be entertained by them, as a bringer of good news; for what friendship is there greater

<sup>236</sup> Medda, Enrico. (2017), p. 273.

<sup>237</sup> Medda, Enrico. (2017), p. 122.

than that of host and guest? But I would have thought it an act of impiety to fail to complete such a task for my friends, after having agreed to and after having been welcomed as a guest.

Orestes fears that Clytemnestra may have forgotten her initial offer of hospitality and is reminding her. Brown interprets in his commentary that Orestes is appealing to her honour so that she will welcome them. Here, Orestes chooses the word εὐδαίμων to appeal to her ‘high status’ and ‘wealth’ and it also has a sense of ‘security’ that can serve to make Clytemnestra believe she is safer than she thinks. Furthermore, there is a play on the fact that Clytemnestra is called εὐδαίμων when clearly she has angered the gods. Again the choice of the word εὐδαίμων serves to contrast the unawareness of the character with the harshness of the reality. As Brown says: “In Orestes’ mouth the words have a tinge of irony”.<sup>238</sup>

In vv. 768-772 of *Persians*, the adjective εὐδαίμων appears again:

τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,  
ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·  
φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ῥακοστρόφουν·  
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτίσατο,  
Ἴωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βία·  
θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὖφρων ἔφυ.

The third ruler in the succession from him was Cyrus, a man blessed by the gods, who gave peace to all those he cared for, since his intelligence was in control of his fighting spirit, he gained mastery over the peoples of Lydia and Phrygia, and overran all of Ionia by force. God did not hate him, because he was wise.

Cyrus is a model of leadership since he founded the great Achaemenid Empire, the first Persian Empire, and made a series of other important conquests. Furthermore, Cyrus’ victories are attributed to his good relationship with the divinity because it is said that a god, namely Zeus, did not hate him because he had good judgement, εὖφρων, in contrast to Xerxes who was punished by Zeus for his ὕβρις, causing the defeat of the Persians. To be εὐδαίμων, in the sense of having a good relationship with a god, is achieved if one has good judgement and is εὖφρων. If one acts piously and with good judgement, this avoids bringing about the wrath of the gods. This good relationship brings favour from the gods which in Cyrus’ case is externalised through his victories. However, when mortals do not act with good judgement or piously and instead act with ὕβρις, then the gods detest them, (ἐχθαίρω) and punish them, as in Xerxes’ case. Marianne McDonald states the following: “Cyrus was a tyrant and powerful

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<sup>238</sup> Brown, Adam. (2018), p. 357.

prosperity was due to the fact that he was a powerful ruler, and it lasted until his death because he enjoyed the favor of the gods (a result of his own merit).<sup>239</sup> There seems to be some control in coming close to being εὐδαίμων, by practising εὐσέβεια and being εὐφρων. De Heer presented this appearance of the adjective εὐδαίμων as one that summarizes the full meaning of the adjective, in particular strongly evidencing the relationship that the word has with divine favour.<sup>240</sup> Evidently, this passage manages to demonstrate clearly the three sense components of εὐδαίμων — a type of happiness that intertwines ‘enjoying prosperity and a high status’ with ‘security’, which are both dependent on ‘being in a good place with the divine which will favour them’.

Lastly, whether εὐδαίμων is permanent or not will be returned to in the following passages of *Prometheus Bound*. Firstly, in vv. 601-606 there is the appearance of the negative form δυσδαίμων and shortly after εὐδαίμων occurs in vv. 645-649.

[...] δυσ-  
 δαιμόνων δὲ τίνες, οἷ ἔἔ,  
 οἷ? ἐγὼ μογοῦσιν;  
 ἀλλὰ μοι τορῶς  
 τέκμηρον ὅ τι μ' ἐπαμμένει  
 παθεῖν· τί μῆχαρ, ἢ τί φάρμακον νόσου,

Who among the wretched — oi, ah, ah! —  
 suffer as I do?  
 Give me a clear indication  
 of what still lies in store for me  
 to suffer. What means of escape, what cure for my affliction? (vv. 601-606)

αἰεὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἔννουχοι πωλεύμεναι  
 εἰς παρθενῶνας τοὺς ἐμοὺς παρηγόρου  
 λείοισι μύθοις· “ὦ μέγ' εὐδαιμον κόρη,  
 τί παρθενεύη δαρὸν, ἐξόν σοι γάμου  
 τυχεῖν μεγίστου;

In my maiden chamber I was persistently visited by nocturnal visions which coaxed me in smooth words: “Most greatly blessed maiden, why do you remain a virgin so long, when you could have the greatest of unions?” (vv. 645-649)

The fact that Io refers to herself as δυσδαίμων in the present while before she was called εὐδαίμων, seems to highlight Io’s change of fortune and conveys that to be εὐδαίμων is

<sup>239</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 24.

<sup>240</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 60.

subject to change. Io is called εὐδαίμων in order to convince her to have amorous relations with Zeus. However, the fact that this adjective is found so close together with its negative form underlines how fragile this state can be. As it will also be seen in the examination of other happiness-related words, I propose that to be εὐδαίμων, like other forms of human happiness, is in no way permanent and is susceptible to change. Furthermore, De Heer added: “ὦ μέγ’ εὐδαίμων κόρη illustrates the sense component of having lofty status because one is favoured by a god in a direct manner, as appears from v. 648: ἐξόν σοι γάμου / τυξεῖν μεγίστου: Io is the object of Zeus’ amorous pursuits.”<sup>241</sup> Io goes from being in a good relationship with a god and favoured to being hated and punished by Hera. When she is punished, she is inevitably forced to live a life that is insecure and she no longer enjoys a high status. Once again, it seems clear that the primary sense component of εὐδαίμων is ‘to be favoured by a god due to enjoying a good relationship secured by judgement and piety’ and the ‘divine favour’ is externalised through ‘security’ and ‘high status’.

Turning to the adjective εὐτυχής and its derivatives, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω, these appear throughout and they portray a momentary happiness from ‘enjoying a favourable momentary fortune’ and, secondly, ‘absence of pain’.<sup>242</sup> This is appreciated in vv. 20-21 of *Agamemnon* when the Watchman laments his unfortunate situation of having to keep watch for Agamemnon's arrival and asks the gods to be freed from this arduous task: νῦν δ’ εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ’ ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων / εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός. (“But now may there be a happy release from misery, by the appearance in the darkness of the fire that brings good news.”) Being set free from his task results in him being εὐτυχῆς because he experiences a favourable change of fortune from a difficult situation to one that is more advantageous. This change brings with it a momentary feeling of happiness that only lasts as long as the favourable situation does. As the audience knows, Agamemnon's arrival, although it brings a momentary sense of happiness to the beholder, will later lead to a series of murders that will prove to be terrible. This momentary sense of εὐτυχῆς is further seen in vv. 1327-1329 of *Agamemnon* with the appearance of εὐτυχέω:

ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ’· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν  
 σκιᾶ τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχήῃ,  
 βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὄλεσεν γραφήν.  
 καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτίρω πολύ.

<sup>241</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 60.

<sup>242</sup> It is true that the adverb εὐτυχῶς does appear in two instances, in v. 325 and v. 1012 of *Persians*. However, to respect the scope of this work it is not taken into account.

Alas for the fortunes of mortals! When they prosper, one may liken them to a shadow; and if things go badly, a few strokes of a damp sponge wipe their image out. And I pity the latter much more than the former.

These verses clearly indicate that the type of happiness represented by εὐτυχέω is momentary and that the fortune of mortals can change to δύστυχέω. To find εὐτυχέω followed so shortly after by its negative form, further represents the reality of alternation of τύχη.

In vv. 59-65 of *Libation-Bearers*, there is another occurrence of the verb εὐτυχέω, pronounced by the chorus:

τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν,  
τόδ' ἐν βροτοῖς θεός τε καὶ θεοῦ πλέον·  
ρόπα δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ Δίκας  
ταχεῖα τοὺς μὲν ἐν φάει,  
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταχμίῳ σκότου  
μένει χρονίζοντα βρύειν,  
τοὺς δ' ἄκρατος ἔχει νύξ.

Good fortune, that is a god, and more than a god, among mortals;  
but Justice with her scales watches over them,  
against some acting swiftly in the daylight,  
while other things wait, to burgeon after long delay  
in the no-man's-land between light and darkness,  
and others again are held in pitch-black night.

Here it seems that when a mortal enjoys good fortune, it is taken as a great good and sometimes people are blind to the fact that, sooner or later, Justice catches up with them and their fortune changes. In this context, it specifically alludes to Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, who may consider themselves to be fortunate now, but are blind to the fact that this will change when Justice punishes them.

In *Persians*, there is the use of the verb εὐτυχέω in vv. 506-507 when the Messenger talks about the deaths from the Persian expedition: ἠτύχει δὲ τοι / ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου (“and he was lucky, I tell you, who broke off the breath of life soonest.”). He is εὐτυχής who dies a painless death and does not have to suffer any further. To be εὐτυχής here is related to the ‘absence of suffering’ and ‘enjoying a τύχη without adversities’. Alexander Fehmi Garvie in his commentary says the following: “The implication here is

that a man was δυστυχής who either died slowly and painfully or lived to face defeat and mourn the others.”<sup>243</sup>

In vv. 706-712 of *Persians*, there is an interesting exchange between the ghost of Darius and Queen Atossa in which εὐτυχής appears, this time also accompanied by ὄλβος.

Εἶδωλον Δαρείου.- [...] ἀνθρώπεια δ’ ἄν τοι πῆματ’ ἄν τύχοι βροτοῖς·  
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ’ ἐκ χέρσου κακὰ.  
γίγνεται θνητοῖς, ὁ μᾶσσων βίωτος ἦν ταθῆ πρόσω.

Βασιλεία.- ὃ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχὼν ὄλβον εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ,  
ὥς, ἕως τ’ ἔλευσσεσ ἀγὰς ἡλίου ζηλωτὸς ὦν  
βίωτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγαγεσ,  
νῦν τέ σε ζηλῶ θανόντα πρὶν κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος.

Ghost of Darius: Human beings, you know, are bound to experience human sufferings; there are many evils that befall mortals, both by sea and by land, if their life is prolonged to a great span.

Queen: You whose fortunate fate surpassed all mortals in bliss, how enviable you were when you saw the light of the sun and led a life of such happiness that Persians looked on you as a god! And now too I envy you, because you died before seeing the depths of our present suffering.

Darius makes a general affirmation about the variability of human life and how mortals experience toil. Queen Atossa answers back by saying that Darius, in contrast, has had a good τύχη. Darius’ fate has been εὐτυχής in the etymological sense, similarly to how being εὐδαίμων means having a good δαίμων - he who is εὐτυχής has been favoured by τύχη. This favour shows through ‘absence of suffering’ and ‘human alternation’. This permits for one’s prosperity, ὄλβος to continue, unchanging. Atossa says Darius, with a εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ, has surpassed others in ὄλβος because he ended life being admired as a god and envied, living a life εὐαίων, ἕως τ’ ἔλευσσεσ ἀγὰς ἡλίου ζηλωτὸς ὦν βίωτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγαγεσ. Darius can only be called ὄλβιος now that he has lived a life εὐτυχής without suffering and ended it in this way. In this manner, these two happiness-related words are linked. Moreover, this is another example of how ὄλβιος and ὄλβος are related to ‘being admired and honoured which arouses human envy’ as is demonstrated by the use of ζηλωτός.

In conclusion, this analysis of happiness-related words in Aeschylus has resulted in some interesting findings. Firstly, concerning the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, it is important to note that there is no use of the noun εὐδαιμονία or the verbs εὐδαιμονέω and

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<sup>243</sup> Garvie, Alexander Femister. (2009), p. 29.

εὐδαιμονίζω. There is only the occurrence of the adjective εὐδαίμων, which proves to be complex and multifaceted in meaning. It refers mostly to rulers or people who enjoy a high status or wealth, such as Agamemnon who is a ruler respected for his triumphs. It is also used for Clytemnestra and Aegisthus for their wealth and status and then for Cyrus who is an honoured ruler. This wealth, πλοῦτος, ‘high status’, to be worthy of honour (τίεσθαι δ’ ἀξιώτατος) and the ‘security’ are external evidences of ‘being favoured by a δαίμων’ and is dependent on ‘enjoying a good relationship with a δαίμων’. In order to secure this relationship, one has to act in a certain way so as to not anger the divine. This is evidenced when Clytemnestra hints at how the fortunes of the victors, εὐδαίμονες, can change if they do not practice εὐσέβεια. Similarly, in *Persians*, Cyrus is called εὐδαίμων for being εὐφρων. Even though one can come closer to being εὐδαίμων, by being εὐφρων and practising εὐσέβεια, it is still an external happiness that depends on a δαίμων. When the relationship with this δαίμων is compromised through impious acts, a mortal is hated by the gods, ὃν θεὸς ἤχθηρην, and no longer is he who the gods love, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ, nor favour. That means they are no longer secure and, therefore, are vulnerable to suffering. Those who are favoured by the divine experience ‘security’ because they are protected, as is evidenced when Cassandra says that those who are εὐδαίμονες do not have to suffer like her because they are out of danger. However, to be εὐδαίμων is not permanent and can change. This has been observed in *Prometheus Bound* with the change in fortune that Io suffers from being εὐδαίμων to δυσδαίμων for having been persuaded to lie with Zeus. Effectively, the three sense components of εὐδαίμων are all connected and interrelated — ‘someone who enjoys wealth and high status’ and ‘security’ as material proof of being ‘being in a good relationship with the divine, through piety and good judgement’ and thus, ‘favoured by a benevolent δαίμων’.

Regarding the adjective μάκαρ, it is important to note that Aeschylus only uses it strictly for the divine. This happiness is the highest form of happiness and is strongly related to ‘stability’ and ‘security’. The stability and security enjoyed by the gods, who are εὐεδροί, inaccessible to humans so for this reason it cannot be found referring to a mortal in Aeschylus. Human lives are ever-changing and affected by the actions of the gods, while the gods live a stable and worry-free life. Zeus is called the most μάκαρ of all since he is the one who lives most peacefully, having the most power, κράτος on the outcome of circumstances, on the τέλος, out of all the gods. Furthermore, in *Libation-Bearers* there is also the use of μάκαρες to placate the subterranean divinities, the μάκαρες χθόνιοι, which is not a unique use since it was also present in Hesiod.

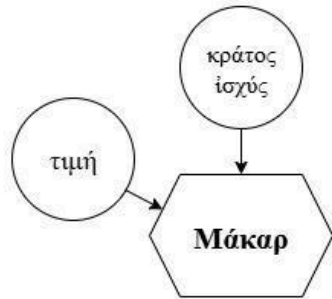
In relation to the adjective εὐτυχής and its derivatives, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω do appear, but the noun εὐτυχία does not. To be εὐτυχής and to εὐτυχέω involve ‘enjoying a favourable momentary fortune’. As in the etymological sense, to be εὐτυχής is someone who ‘has a good τύχη’. When one is favoured by τύχη this shows through ‘absence of pain and human alternation’. When one lives a life avoiding misfortune and dies being εὐτυχής, permitting them to keep their ὄλβος intact, then they can be considered ὄλβιος. Furthermore, sometimes it is used to evidence a change in someone’s fortune from a challenging or difficult situation to a more favourable one, evidenced in the speech of the Watchman in *Agamemnon*. In all cases, this type of happiness is momentary and not permanent, as demonstrated particularly in *Agamemnon*, when Cassandra laments how one person can change from εὐτυχέω to δυστυχέω.

Lastly, focusing on the adjective ὄλβιος and its derivatives, there are not many occurrences of these words. The verb ὀλβίζω and ὄλβιος appear together in the purple veil scene of *Agamemnon*. There is the possibility of interpreting a duality in meaning of ὄλβιος and ὀλβίζω, where they can refer to someone ‘honoured for occupying a high status in society’, either ‘through hero cult’ or ‘through prosperity and wealth’. This high status can arouse envy in others, ζῆλος, and it is important to have good judgement, εὖ φρονεῖν, in order not to overstep one’s mark, committing ὕβρις, and incite divine jealousy, φθόνος. There seems to be a sense of permanence because Agamemnon declares that only one who has come to the end of a life of prosperity can be considered ὄλβιος, ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ βίον τελευτήσαντ’ ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ. Agamemnon dies a tragic death and therefore does not avoid adversities in life, but he does become ὄλβιος after death, as in ‘honoured through hero cult’. The noun ὄλβος appears in *Persians* referring to Darius as surpassing others in ὄλβος because he lived a good life without adversities and for this he is envied. This further demonstrates how ὄλβιος and ὄλβος are related to ‘being admired and honoured which arouses human envy’. The only other appearance of ὄλβιος is in *Suppliants*, v. 526, and it is used for Zeus, in the sense that he is ὄλβιος because he is the one who distributes ὄλβος to humans, proving that ὄλβος is dispensed by the gods. This use of ὄλβιος for a god is not usual because it is normally used for mortals, however, this sense is not new, considering that it had already been seen in Sappho when Aphrodite is called πολυόλβος.

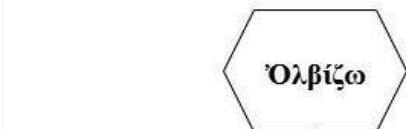
In effect, all terms relating to happiness in Aeschylus which can be applied to humans are external and are granted by the gods. The adjective μάκαρ is strictly used for the gods, marking a sharp distinction between the happiness of the gods and that of humans. Humans cannot achieve the security and stability that gods enjoy and can only aspire to be ὄλβιος, εὐδαίμων and εὐτυχής. These types of happiness are all ultimately dependent on divinities and supernatural powers; it is up to the gods to grant ὄλβος, to be εὐδαίμων depends on a relationship with a δαίμων and to be εὐτυχής requires a favourable τύχη. This shows how the happiness of mortals is profoundly passive and external and the only way humans can assure εὐδαιμονία is to steer away from committing ὕβρις and to practice εὐσέβεια and to be εὔφρων. In these types of human happiness, there is always the threat and worry that these can change. There is no doubt that in tragedy, and precisely in Aeschylus, the characters are subjected to constant instability and insecurity, experiencing intense emotions such as fear and misfortune. Even when the characters enjoy moments of prosperity, they are conflicted because they are unsure as to whether this will last and worry that their luck will change. Mortals are sentenced to a life of alternation which they cannot control and they are destined to admire from a distance the stable and permanent happiness which the gods enjoy.

μάκαρ	ὄλβιος	εὐδαίμων	εὐτυχής
<p><b>divine realm:</b>  -‘Stability’  -‘Life of ease’  -‘Power’ κράτος  -‘Awe-inspiring’ and ‘object of τιμή’</p>	<p><b>divine realm:</b>  - One use for Zeus as dispenser of ὄλβος, as Aphrodite in Sappho was πολύολβος.</p> <p><b>mortal realm:</b>  ‘To be have πλοῦτος and high status which incites envy, ζῆλος, and to have it with good judgement, εὖ φρονεῖν, and a sense of αἰδώς so as not to incite divine jealousy, φθόνος.’  ‘Only when one is εὐτυχής and conserves this without changes in fortune until death, they can be called ὄλβιος.’</p>	<p>-He who is in a good relationship with a δαίμων and is loved by them, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ because of their good judgement, εὖ φρονεῖν, and piety, εὐσέβεια. When this is secured one enjoys ‘security’ and receives external evidence of divine favour which can be god-given ‘wealth and status’ and ‘to be honoured among others’.</p>	<p>-‘To have a good τύχη and to be favoured by τύχη, avoiding misfortunes and suffering.</p>
Used for subterranean entities, μάκαρες χθόνιοι.	Possibility of referring to being permanently ὄλβιος after death immortalized through hero cult.		
-Unachievable for mortals	<p><b>PASSIVE/ DEPENDENT ON GODS (Zeus dispenses ὄλβος)</b></p> <p>- Only considered ὄλβιος after finishing one’s life.</p>	<p><b>PASSIVE / DEPENDENT ON δαίμων</b></p>	<p><b>PASSIVE / DEPENDENT ON τύχη</b></p> <p>-Most common type of happiness when it is momentary. To experience it permanently until death is rarer and this, together with other factors, can lead to being considered ὄλβιος.</p>

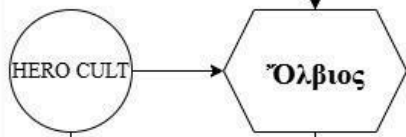
DIVINE REALM



MORTAL REALM



to call someone



ὀλβίσει δὲ γρη  
βίον  
τελευτήσαντ'  
ἐν εὐεστοί  
φύλῃ.

εὐ φρονεῖν  
αἰδώς

ἐπίζηλος  
to incite  
φθονός

... κακῶς φρονεῖν ...

ὑβρις

πλοῦτος



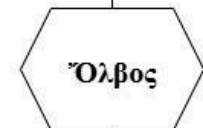
≠ εὐφρων

εὐσεβέω

ὄν θεός φιλεῖ

Εὐδαίμων

≠ ὄν θεός ἤχθηρεν



βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχῶν ὄλβον

εὐτυχεῖ  
πότιμω,



'absence of suffering'

ἠτύχει δὲ τοι  
ὅστις τάχιστα  
πνεῦμ'  
ἀπέρρηξεν  
βίου

γένουι'  
ἀπαλλαγὴ  
πόνων

βίον εὐαίωνα  
Πέρσαις ὡς  
θεός διήγαγε

θανόντα  
πρὶν κακῶν  
ιδεῖν βάθος

### 3.2. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SOPHOCLES

The following section will examine the appearance of words relating to happiness in the works of Sophocles, one of the most celebrated ancient Greek tragedians. Born in the 5th century BC, Sophocles wrote a large number of tragedies but only seven have survived in their entirety: *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Women of Trachis*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Electra*, *Philoctetes* and *Oedipus at Colonus*. Solely the complete works and not fragments will be closely analysed to gain an insight into the meaning Sophocles assigned to happiness-related words and whether his interpretations align or differ from authors prior to him.

Before embarking on this analysis, it is important to highlight some common themes found in Sophocles. Firstly, the importance of the role of the gods in Sophocles and their great power over human life is a central theme, as Charles Segal in *Sophocles' Tragic World* affirms:

In Sophocles' plays “everything is full of gods”, to quote Thales' famous saying; but these gods are remote, dangerous, and awesome powers, easily offended but not easily appeased once their realm has been violated or their rights infringed. Those gods maintain the world order and demand reverence or piety (*sebas*, *eusebeia*) from humans; but their ways of maintaining this order, which Sophocles, like Aeschylus, calls *dikē*, justice, are neither predictable nor necessarily wholly intelligible to mortals.<sup>244</sup>

Sophocles' second common theme is that in this world ruled by the gods, mortals are at their mercy and can only aspire to attain the stability that the ever-mighty powerful gods enjoy. In contrast, human life is full of fluctuations and the fear this brings with it. As Felix Budelmann puts it: “The most fearful and pitiful change of atmosphere in Greek tragedy is, of course, the major catastrophe, the sudden move from happiness and prosperity to grief and deprivation.”<sup>245</sup> The following passages demonstrate this sense of instability which the characters experience, for example in vv. 132-135 of *Women of Trachis*:<sup>246</sup>

νῦξ βροτοῖσιν οὔτε κῆ-  
ρες οὔτε πλοῦτος, ἀλλ' ἄφαρ  
βέβακε, τῷ δ' ἐπέρχεται  
χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι.

For neither spangled Night nor spirits of death nor riches abide for mortals, but joy or loss at once is gone, and then comes back.

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<sup>244</sup> Segal, Charles. (2009), p. 5.

<sup>245</sup> Budelmann, Felix. (2000), p. 117

<sup>246</sup> The Greek text and translation of *Women of Trachis* are taken from Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2007).

Or in vv. 604-614 of *Antigone*:<sup>247</sup>

τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀν-  
δρῶν ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι;  
τὰν οὔθ' ὕπνος αἰρεῖ ποθ' ὁ πάντογῆρωσ  
οὔτ' ἄκματοι ε θεῶν  
μῆνες, ἀγήρωσ δὲ χρόνω δυνάστας  
κατέχεισ Ὀλύμπου  
μαρμαρόεσσαν αἶγλαν.  
τό τ' ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ μέλλον  
καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἐπαρκέσει  
νόμοσ ὄδ'· οὐδὲν ἔρπει  
θνατῶν βίότοσ πάμπολυσ ἐκτὸσ ἄτασ.

Zeus, what arrogance of men could restrict your power? Neither sleep the all-conquering nor the unwearying months of the gods defeats it, but as a ruler time cannot age, you occupy the dazzling glare of Olympus. For present, future and past this law shall suffice: to none among mortals shall great wealth come without disaster.

With these themes established as a baseline, it is easier to grasp Sophocles' concept of human happiness and how, like everything in the world of Sophocles, it too is destined to be unstable and ever-changing. The following in-depth analysis of nuances in meaning of each of the words related to happiness shall further reveal insights into Sophocles' ideas of happiness.

In relation to μάκαρ and its derivatives, firstly, it is important to note that the adjective μάκαρ only appears once in the complete works of Sophocles and the only derivative used is μακαρίζω<sup>248</sup>, also only on one occasion. The only occurrence of μάκαρ is the following in vv. 400-402 of *Philoctetes*<sup>249</sup> to invoke Cybele: ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων / λεόντων ἔφεδρε, τῷ Λαρτίου, / σέβασ ὑπέρτατον. (“Ah, blessed one that sits behind bull-slaughtering lions!—an object of reverence sublime, to the son of Laertius!”). It is significant that μάκαρ is hardly used for the gods since this adjective occurred repeatedly as an epithet for the divine in authors prior to Sophocles. This use is substituted by other ways of referring to the divine. As Budelmann states:

References to super-human forces are frequent in all of Sophocles' plays. Often characters identify them as particular named gods like Zeus, Apollo or Aphrodite. But no less often they fail to give them names, speaking instead of something like *theos*

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<sup>247</sup> The Greek text and translation for *Antigone* are extracted from Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2007).

<sup>248</sup> Due to the fact that μακαρίζω appears in conjunction with other words related to happiness, it will be examined later on in this section.

<sup>249</sup> The Greek text and translation for *Philoctetes* are taken from Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2007).

(‘god’), or even to single them out as a personage, staying with words such as *nemesis* (‘divine retribution’) or *tuchē* (‘fate’).<sup>250</sup>

However, the most used non-specific name for gods similar to the use of μάκαρ in Sophocles is δαίμων. For example, in vv. 278-280 of *Women of Trachis*, there is a use of δαίμονες to refer to the gods in general, instead of μάκαρες:

εἰ γὰρ ἐμφανῶς ἠμόνατο,  
Ζεὺς τᾶν συνέγνω ξὺν δίκη χειρουμένῳ.  
ὔβριν γὰρ οὐ στέργουσιν οὐδὲ δαίμονες.

If he had fought him openly, Zeus would have pardoned him, since he had worsted his enemy in just fashion, for the gods also do not put up with violent crime.

Budelmann explains the following about the word δαίμων:

The word is more frequent in Sophocles than any divine name except for those of Zeus and Hades. Its etymology is unclear and it appears to display a perplexing breadth of usage. Terms as different as ‘god’ and ‘fate’ are among its most common translations in tragedy and elsewhere.<sup>251</sup>

It should be borne in mind that μάκαρες had been used strictly for the gods to the point where it was no longer necessary to add the noun θεοί to make it understood that it was referring to the gods. It could be that the broad usage of δαίμων is what draws Sophocles to employ it instead of μάκαρ, considering that it is versatile in the way it envelops various supernatural forces.

In relation to the adjective ὄλβιος and its derivatives, ὄλβιος appears only twice in all of Sophocles’ works and the first instance of this adjective is found in vv. 281-285 of the *Women of Trachis*.

κεῖνοι δ’ ὑπερχλίοντες ἐκ γλώσσης κακῆς  
αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἄιδου πάντες εἶς οἰκήτορες,  
πόλις δὲ δούλη· τάσδε δ’ ἄσπερ εἰσορᾶς  
ἐξ ὄλβιων ἄζηλον εὐροῦσαι βίον  
χωροῦσι πρὸς σέ·

They in the arrogance fed by their evil speech now all inhabit Hades, and their city is enslaved; and these women whom you see come to you, having exchanged their good fortune for an unenviable life.

Lichas is recounting to Deianira a fabricated story about Heracles enslaving the city of Oechalia to avenge his own forced slavery. Lichas describes the captive women he brings

<sup>250</sup> Budelmann, Felix. (2000), p. 140.

<sup>251</sup> Budelmann, Felix. (2000), pp. 143-144.

with him as being once ὄλβιος. However, now they have been enslaved and are living a life that is not enviable by anyone, ἐξ ὄλβιων ἄζηλον εὐροῦσαι βίον. Among these captives from Oechalia is Iole, the daughter of King Eurytus. Iole had been highly-esteemed and had enjoyed a prestigious position, she had been ὄλβιος, and this inevitably must have aroused certain envy among others. However, now she and these women have been enslaved and are living a life which is neither honourable nor enviable, which seems to be the complete opposite of ὄλβιος.

The second appearance of the adjective ὄλβιος is in vv. 153-163 of *Electra*, when Electra and the chorus are interacting and the chorus attempts to console Electra by focusing on Orestes' return.<sup>252</sup>

οὔτοι σοὶ μούνα,  
τέκνον, ἄχος ἐφάνη βροτῶν,  
πρὸς ὃ τι σὺ τῶν ἔνδον εἶ περισσά,  
οἷς ὁμόθεν εἶ καὶ γονᾶ ξύναιμος,  
οἷα Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα,  
κρυπτᾶ τ' ἀχέων ἐν ἧβᾳ,  
ὄλβιος, ὃν ἄ κλεινὰ  
γᾶ ποτε Μυκηναίων  
δέξεται εὐπατρίδαν, Διὸς εὖφροني  
βήματι μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν Ὀρέσταν.

Not to you alone among mortals, my child, has sorrow been made manifest, a sorrow that you suffer beyond others in the house with whom you share your lineage and your blood, such as Chrysothemis and Iphianassa- and Orestes, he who is happy in his youth concealed from painful things, he whom the famous land of the Mycenaeans shall receive, glorious in his ancestry, when he comes to this land, brought by the kindly aid of Zeus.

The chorus refers to Orestes as ὄλβιος, he who was born of noble lineage (εὐπατρίδης), will one day be welcomed back by the Mycenaeans under the gracious stride of Zeus (Διὸς εὖφροني βήματι). Orestes is Agamemnon's heir so when he arrives he will take his father's place, a position of honour and prestige, and he will achieve eminence thus making him ὄλβιος. Before being enslaved, Iole, also the offspring of a king, had enjoyed a similar status and had been ὄλβιος. It is clear that ὄλβιος has a relationship to experiencing certain eminence, as well as, in these cases, to being of noble background and to being in a position of power. This aligns with De Heer's interpretation, which emphasized that the: "The primary sense

<sup>252</sup> The Greek text and translation for *Electra* are taken from Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2007).

component of ὄλβιος is lofty position.”<sup>253</sup> However, De Heer proposed as a secondary sense component “security from adversity” which I find more questionable. It is true, however, that it can be understood that Orestes’ life changes from roaming around, unprotected, to returning to a supposedly safe and stable palace and that Iole enjoyed a type of safety before being captive. However, it seems to me that to identify this security as a sense component of ὄλβιος is going beyond the scope of the word. Instead, I think that it is likely that any sense of security may be collateral to the sense component of ‘enjoying a high status’ rather than an essential part of the word's meaning. The essential meaning of these words would be ‘to be honoured in a position of power’, ὄλβιος, ‘to enjoy reverence’, which is ὄλβος and, thus, live a life that is enviable, ζηλωτός, to others. Moreover, it is important to highlight that these two appearances clearly show that to be ὄλβιος or to enjoy ὄλβος is not a secure, permanent state since there is always the danger of one’s downfall.

In the following verses of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, vv. 1524-1530, there is the first instance of the verb ὀλβίζω. From my understanding, this verb can be taken as ‘calling someone ὄλβιος’.<sup>254</sup>

ὦ πάτρας Θήβης ἔνοικοι, λεύσσειτ', Οἰδίπους ὄδε,  
 ὃς τὰ κλείν' αἰνίγματ' ἤδει καὶ κράτιστος ἦν ἀνὴρ,  
 ὅστις οὐ ζήλω πολιτῶν ἦν τύχαις ἐπιβλέπων,  
 εἰς ὅσον κλύδωνα δεινῆς συμφορᾶς ἐλήλυθεν.  
 ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν  
 ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν  
 τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδέν ἀλγεινὸν παθῶν.

Inhabitants of Thebe our fatherland, behold, this is Oedipus, who knew the famous riddle and was a most mighty man who, not looking upon the envy of the citizens and fortunes, has come to what a great billow of terrible misfortune. The result is that someone who is a mortal looks as he gazes on that final day does not consider anyone blessed, before he passes the limit of his life without suffering anything painful.

Oedipus was ὄλβιος as a result of defeating the Sphynx and proving to be the strongest man, κράτιστος, and his good fortune was envied by everyone, οὐ τίς οὐ ζήλω πολιτῶν ἦν τύχαις ἐπιβλέπων. The meaning of ὄλβιος evidently relates to ‘being honoured in a position of power’ and thus living a life that is envied by others. However, now his fortune has turned around and the chorus states that one should not call someone ὄλβιος until they have died without experiencing pain. This had been appreciated also in the last section of this work, in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, Agamemnon declares that one cannot be considered ὄλβιος before

<sup>253</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 69.

<sup>254</sup> The Greek text and translation for *Oedipus Tyrannus* are extracted from Patrick Finglass (2018).

finishing one's life in prosperity, ὀλβίσει δὲ χρὴ βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ.<sup>255</sup> To be ὀλβιος is clearly unstable and Oedipus is a prime example of this, demonstrating why before death one cannot be called ὀλβιος.

In vv. 686-697 of *Electra*, there is another appearance of ὀλβίζω when the Pedaegogus announces to Clytemnestra the “fake” death of Orestes during the Delphic Games. Firstly, the Pedagogus explains how Orestes came out victorious in the first contest, the foot-race:

δρόμου δ' ἰώσας τῇ φύσει τὰ τέρματα  
νίκης ἔχων ἐξῆλθε πάντιμον γέρας.  
χῶπως μὲν ἐν παυροῖσι πολλά σοι λέγω,  
οὐκ οἶδα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἔργα καὶ κράτη·  
ἐν δ' ἴσθ' ὅσων γὰρ εἰσεκήρυξαν βραβῆς,  
[δρόμων διαύλων πένταθλ' ἃ νομίζεται,]  
τούτων ἐνεγκῶν πάντα τὰπινίκια  
ὀλβίζετ', Ἀργεῖος μὲν ἀνακαλούμενος,  
ὄνομα δ' Ὀρέστης, τοῦ τὸ κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος  
Ἀγαμέμνονος στράτευμ' ἀγείραντός ποτε.  
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦθ' ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν  
βλάβη, δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν.

He made the result of the race correspond with his appearance, and emerged holding the greatly honoured prize of victory. To tell much in few words, I do not know of the deeds and triumphs of any other such man; but one thing you may know, that he carried off all the prizes in every contest that the judges proclaimed [the races on the double track that are custom], and men called him fortunate. He was proclaimed as an Argive, by name Orestes, son of Agamemnon who once gathered the famous armament of Greece. So far, things stood thus; but when one of the gods does mischief, not even a mighty man can escape.

Understanding the verb ὀλβίζω as ‘calling someone ὀλβιος’, Orestes is called ὀλβιος not because of being revered by occupying a position of power or having status, but due to him being victorious in the foot-race. After Orestes achieves the all-honoured prize of victory (νίκης ἔχων ἐξῆλθε πάντιμον γέρας) and stands out among all the other competitors with this victory, ἐν δ' ἴσθ' ὅσων γὰρ εἰσεκήρυξαν βραβῆς δρόμων διαύλων πένταθλ' ἃ νομίζεται, τούτων ἐνεγκῶν πάντα τὰπινίκια ὀλβίζετ', he was considered ὀλβιος. In the context of the athletic games, he who is ὀλβιος is he who ‘surpasses others and is honoured’ for reason of his victory in the athletic games. Be it because of status, wealth or victory, to be ὀλβιος is not

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<sup>255</sup> This also resembles the dialogue between Solon and Croesus in *The Histories* of Herodotus. This passage is discussed in depth in the next section of this work in [Happiness-related Words in Herodotus](#).

permanent, it lasts for however long one is in a higher position. This is made clear by the γνώμη which states that when a god hinders not even the most powerful can escape, ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν βλάβη, δύναιτ' ἄν οὐδ' ἄν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν. This brings the characters and the audience back to the reality that even though one is ὄλβιος, the gods are ultimately in control. Finglass puts forward as an exact parallel of this γνώμη, *Il.* 16. 688: ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος ἢ ἐπερ ἀνδρός.<sup>256</sup> Orestes is briefly favoured by the gods to reach a state of glory in his victory, however then he is hindered by the gods and ultimately falls, as can be seen in vv. 749-753 of *Electra*:

στρατὸς δ' ὅπως ὄρᾳ νιν ἐκπεπτωκότα  
 δίφρων, ἀνωτότυξε τὸν νεανίαν,  
 οἷ' ἔργα δράσας οἷα λαγχάνει κακά,  
 φορούμενος πρὸς οὐδᾶς, ἄλλοτ' οὐρανῶ  
 σκέλη προφαίνων, ἕξ τέ νιν διφρηλάται.

And when the crowd saw his fall from the chariot, they cried out with pity for the young man, seeing what misfortunes followed upon such deeds, as at one moment he was borne earthwards, at another with legs skywards.

Orestes, the young man who had done such incredible deeds, has now been allotted such evils, as indicated by the use of the verb λαγχάνω which in this context means: “to obtain by lot, by fate, by the will of the gods.”<sup>257</sup> Ultimately, there seems to be a sense of divine favour involved in being ὄλβιος in the same way that the gods are also in control of hindering it. In Sophocles, there is a sense of human helplessness and great inferiority to the gods that will be seen in other examples of happiness-related adjectives.

In *Antigone* vv. 944 to 954, during the intervention of the chorus, there is the occurrence of the noun ὄλβος:

ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς  
 ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς:  
 κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβή-  
 ρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη·  
 καίτοι <καὶ> γενεᾷ τίμιος, ὃ παῖ παῖ,  
 καὶ Ζηνὸς ταμιεύεσκε γονὰς χρυσορύτους.  
 ἀλλ' ἄ μοιριδία τις δύνασις δεινά·  
 οὔτ' ἄν νιν ὄλβος οὔτ' Ἄρης,  
 οὐ πύργος, οὐχ ἀλίπτυποι  
 κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν.

<sup>256</sup> Finglass, Patrick. (2010), p. 310.

<sup>257</sup> Liddell, Henry George. Scott, Robert. (1889). s. u. λαγχάνω.

Danae too endured an exchange of heaven's light for the brass-fastened dwelling, and immured in the tombl-like chamber she was held prisoner. Yet she came of an honoured house, my daughter, and had the keeping of the seed of Zeus that flowed in gold. But the power of fate is strange; neither wealth nor martial valour, nor a wall, nor black ships crashing through the sea can escape it.

It is important to explain that, in this moment of the tragedy, Antigone has already been caught for burying her brother Polynices unlawfully and she is being taken away by the guards to be punished. In response to this, the chorus mentions a series of characters and their stories in an intent to try to relate them to Antigone's sorrowful outcome. Among the characters who are cited, Danae and Antigone have their honourable lineage in common, as seen in v. 947, *καίτοι καὶ γενεᾷ τίμιος*. However, the chorus then goes on to say that there is nothing that can oppose the power of fate, *ἀλλ' ἅ μοιριδία τις δύνασις δεινά· / οὔτ' ἄν νιν ὄλβος οὔτ' Ἄρης, οὐ πύργος, οὐχ ἀλίκτυποι / κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν*. The noun ὄλβος does seem to be referring back to *γενεᾷ τίμιος*, as if to say that Antigone's high status will not help her escape her fate. The noun ὄλβος has a clear sense of the honour that comes from enjoying a high status and in a close relationship to having a noble background.

The next occurrence of ὄλβος appears in vv. 1280-1285 of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, during the Messenger's intervention following Oedipus's discovery of Jocasta's body. The Messenger goes on to describe how Oedipus gouges out his eyes, choosing blindness over witnessing first-hand his own disgraces and misfortunes day after day. He then says the following:

τάδ' ἐκ δυοῖν ἔρρωγεν, οὐ μόνου κακά,  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ συμμιγῇ κακά.  
ὁ πρὶν παλαιὸς δ' ὄλβος ἦν πάροιθε μὲν  
ὄλβος δικαίως, νῦν δὲ τῆδε θῆμέρα  
στεναγμός, ἄτη, θάνατος, αἰσχύνη, κακῶν  
ὅσ' ἐστὶ πάντων ὄνόματ', οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπόν.

These evils broke forth from the pair, not from one, but as evils shared by a man and a woman. The previous prosperity was, in the past, truly prosperity, but as it is, on this day, groaning, ruin, death, shame, whatever is the name of every evil, none is missing.

Here, once again, the audience is being reminded of the fragility of the fortune of mortals and how it is ever-changing. In the past, Iocasta and Oedipus had enjoyed ὄλβος, however, in the present day, *νῦν δὲ τῆδε θῆμέρα*, this has turned into the worst things known to man: sorrow, destruction, death, dishonour (*στεναγμός, ἄτη, θάνατος, αἰσχύνη, κακῶν / ὅσ' ἐστὶ πάντων ὄνόματ'*). The noun ὄλβος here is linked to his high and wealthy position as a member of a noble family since Oedipus had been a king, as well as to the fact that Oedipus' was

honoured because of his heroic deeds in defeating the Sphinx. De Heer stated: “The noun ὄλβος means primarily possession with the secondary component of lofty status.” In my opinion, in both instances, it is more accurate to put as the primary sense component ‘honour or reverence from enjoying a high status’. Antigone enjoyed honour because of her noble background and Oedipus did so due to his heroic deeds and being in a position of power. It seems to me that wealth or possessions may sometimes come with this lofty status, but it is not necessarily always so. It is evident that in previous authors, ὄλβιος and ὄλβος have been related to wealth and riches. However, in my opinion, in Sophocles, ὄλβος has less to do with possession and more with an intangible possession which elevates one's standing, making them eminent, either accompanied by nobility and/or due to heroic deeds. Furthermore, it is remarkable how the word, αἰσχύνη, is put in contrast with ὄλβος. This is reminiscent of previous sections in which the concept of shame-culture and the importance of honour is observed.<sup>258</sup> Douglas L. Cairns explores the meaning of *aidos* and related words such as *aeikes*, *aischros*, *nemesis*, *elenchos* etc... through different authors and explores its important connection to honour. Concerning αἰσχρός, which together with αἰσχύνη derives from the noun αἴσχος, Cairns says the following: “The term *aischron*, then, describes a situation in which martial prestige is at stake, and characterizes it as liable to excite the disapproval of others. [...] The adjective *aischros* refers to appearances, whether those of a man, an action, a state of affairs, or whatever;”<sup>259</sup> Oedipus now is left with a feeling of disapproval when before he had the opposite, a feeling of being ὄλβιος related to honour and social approval. The fact that αἰσχύνη is an opposite brings light to the meaning of ὄλβιος used to refer to how someone is perceived externally as someone admirable, honourable and thus, enviable. To be ὄλβιος and to experience αἰσχύνη seeming to be the two sides of the same coin in a culture of honour and shame.<sup>260</sup> Furthermore, Oedipus is a prime example of how enjoying ὄλβος is unstable and ever-changing.

Lastly, in v. 929 of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, there is the appearance of ὄλβία. This is used in a simple form of greeting where the Messenger wishes future good fortune to Iocasta: ἀλλ’ ὄλβία τε καὶ ξὺν ὄλβίοις ἀεὶ / γένοιτ’, ἐκείνου γ’ οὔσα παντελῆς δάμαρ (“Well, may she be blessed and always among blessed things, since she is completely that man’s wife”). This is similar to the use of ὄλβία in future wishes of fortune found in Homer in vv. 41-42 of Book

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<sup>258</sup> See Section [Happiness-related Words in Homer](#).

<sup>259</sup> Cairns, Douglas Laidlaw. (1999), p. 60.

<sup>260</sup> In other authors, it clearly had a meaning of wealth when it was contrasted with words that meant to be poor or to lack resources.

XIII of the *Odyssey*: πομπή καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τά μοι θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες ὄλβια ποιήσειαν.<sup>261</sup> So it seems that ὄλβια used for future wishes was still employed by Sophocles.

Turning to an analysis of the appearance of the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, the adjective εὐδαίμων is used in vv. 582-592 of *Antigone*, during the intervention of the chorus after Ismene and Antigone are captured by Creon:

εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰών.  
οἷς γὰρ ἂν σεισθῆ θεόθεν δόμος, ἄτας  
οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει γενεᾶς ἐπὶ πλῆθος ἔρπον·  
ὥστε ποντίας ἀλὸς  
οἶδμα δυσπνόοις ὅταν  
Θρήσσαισιν ἔρεβος ὕφαλον ἐπιδράμη πνοαῖς,  
κυλίνδει βυσσόθεν  
κελαινὰν θῖνα καὶ δυσάνεμοι  
στόνω βρέμουσιν ἀντιπλῆγες ἀκταί.

Fortunate are they whose lifetime never tastes of evil! For those whose house is shaken by the gods, no part of ruin is wanting, as it marches against the whole of the family; like the swell of the deep sea, when darkness runs beneath the water, brought by the dire blast of winds from Thrace, it rolls up from the bottom of the black sand and the wind-vexed shores resound before its impact.

The chorus says that εὐδαίμονες are those who have not witnessed (lit. tasted) any evil, because once the gods have shaken one's household, no wrath is lacking, and it goes from generation to generation. Laius is cursed for abducting Pelops' son, Chrysippus, and his punishment is that his son will kill him. Then, Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother, which ultimately pollutes him. Later on, Oedipus curses his sons, leading to the death of Polynices which subsequently affects Antigone when she buries him unlawfully. All the misfortunes of the family go back to the ancient curse on Laius from when he acted unlawfully and provoked the wrath of the gods. Here it is said that εὐδαίμονες are those who have never felt the wrath of the gods. Therefore, it seems to have a similar meaning to that seen in Hesiod and denotes happiness that comes from having a good relationship with the gods.

To further confirm this, it is important to examine other appearances, such as that in vv. 278-288 of *Oedipus at Coloneus*:<sup>262</sup>

[...] ἡγεῖσθε δὲ

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<sup>261</sup> This passage is discussed in [Happiness-related Words in Homer](#).

<sup>262</sup> The Greek text for *Oedipus at Coloneus* is taken from Hugh Lloyd-Jones (2007).

βλέπειν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ βροτῶν,  
 βλέπειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς, φυγὴν δὲ του  
 μήπω γενέσθαι φωτὸς ἀνοσίου ποτέ.  
 ξὺν οἷς σὺ μὴ κάλυπτε τὰς εὐδαίμονας  
 ἔργοις Ἀθήνας ἀνοσίοις ὑπηρετῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔλαβες τὸν ἰκέτην ἐχέγγυον,  
 ῥύου με κάκφύλασσε· μηδέ μου κάρα  
 τὸ δυσπρόσοπτον εἰσορῶν ἀτιμάσης.  
 ἦκω γὰρ ἱερὸς εὐσεβῆς τε καὶ φέρων  
 ὄνησιν ἀστοῖς τοῖσδ'·

But believe that they look upon the mortal who shows reverence, and look upon the impious, and that no unholy fellow has ever yet escaped! With their aid do not cloud the fame of fortunate Athens by lending aid to unholy actions; but as you received the suppliant under a pledge, so protect and guard me, and do not dishonour me when you behold my unsightly face! For I come sacred and reverent, and I bring advantage to the citizens here.

In their commentary, Giulio Guidorizzi states:

Quello che Edipo intende dire è che gli dèi premiano chi pratica l'εὐσέβεια che si manifesta nell'accogliere i supplici posti sotto la protezione di Zeus Ἰκέσιος; questo è un tipo di argomentazione implicita nella formulazione della supplica, a partire dai casi omerici.<sup>263</sup>

Guidorizzi goes further and explains how Oedipus is referring to a distributive view of divine justice, grounded less on an ethical distinction between good and bad and more on a ritualistic difference between piety and impiety, (as can be seen by vocabulary such as *δυσσεβεῖς*, *εὐσεβῆ*, *ἀνοσίους*).<sup>264</sup> Therefore, those who are pious will be rewarded and those who are not will be punished. Oedipus is saying that by not accepting the supplicants, the Athenians would be impious, *δυσσεβεῖς*, and consequently, they would be punished and denied *τὰς εὐδαίμονας*. There is evidently a strong link between being *εὐδαίμων* and piety, *εὐσέβεια*, indicating that *εὐδαίμων* seems to mean having a good relationship with a *δαίμων*, which consequently brings good fortune and rather than punishment.

This anticipates the end of the tragedy when Oedipus, who is dying, takes Colonus as his burial place and states the following in his last monologue, vv. 1551-1555 of *Oedipus at Colonus*:

ἤδη γὰρ ἔρπω τὸν τελευταῖον βίον  
 κρύψων παρ' Ἄιδην· ἀλλά, φίλτατε ξένων,

<sup>263</sup> Guidorizzi, Giulio. Avezzi, Guido & Cerri, Giovanni. (2008), pp. 247-248.

<sup>264</sup> Guidorizzi, Giulio. Avezzi, Guido & Cerri, Giovanni. (2008), p. 247.

αὐτός τε χώρα θ' ἦδε πρόσπολοί τε σοὶ  
εὐδαίμονες γένοισθε, κάπ' εὐπραξία  
μέμνησθέ μου θανόντος εὐτυχεῖς ἀεὶ.

For now I am setting off to conceal in Hades the finish of my life. Come, dearest of strangers, may you have good fortune, yourself and this land and your attendants, and in prosperity remember me when I am dead for your success for ever!

Oedipus wishes those who have shown hospitality to him to be εὐδαίμονες and that if they remember him after death they will prosper, be εὐτυχεῖς. This passage should be read from the perspective of hero cult, a theme that is central to the tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus* and which is studied in depth by Gregory Nagy.<sup>265</sup> Nagy affirms that the theme of hero cult is already presented at the beginning of the tragedy, when Oedipus talks to a stranger who describes that at Colonus there is the dwelling of a local cult hero, a chariot rider called Colonus.<sup>266</sup> He also observes that Colonus is named after the landmark that physically distinguishes where the hero is laid to rest. The term κολωνός in Greek can mean a “tumulus” or mound, which is often used to indicate a notable physical landmark and in the case of Colonus it refers to a shiny white rock. Nagy states how the word κολωνός and the hero's name Κολωνός contain an inherent metonymy:

As we have seen, this rock is personified as a cult hero, and the word becomes the name of that hero. By extension, the word also becomes the name of an entire sacred space, Kolōnos. And, by further extension, Kolōnos becomes the name of the entire deme of Attica in which the sacred space is situated.<sup>267</sup>

Nagy also observes how κολωνός is used in *Heroikos* 9.1-3 to refer to the mound that covers the body of the hero Protesilaos and, in 53.10-11, it alludes to the tomb of Achilles.<sup>268</sup> Oedipus, after being purified by the Eumenides, will become a cult hero of Colonus too, like the charioteer Colonus himself. In v. 627, Oedipus anticipates this by saying that he desires to be an οἰκητῆρ within Colonus,<sup>269</sup> clearly meaning that he wishes to be a cult hero because as

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<sup>265</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013, Hour 18)

<sup>266</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013), p. 499. The reference to the hero Colonus can be found in vv. 53-63: ὄσ' οἶδα κάγω πάντ' ἐπιστήση κλύων. / χῶρος μὲν ἱερός πᾶς ὄδ' ἔστ'· ἔχει δέ νιν / σεμνὸς Ποσειδῶν· ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς / Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς· ὃν δ' ἐπιστεῖβεις τόπον / χθονὸς καλεῖται τῆσδε χαλκόπουσ ὁδός, / ἔρεισμι' Ἀθηναίων: οἱ δὲ πλησίοι γυῖαι / τόνδ' ἱππότην Κολωνὸν εὐχονται σφίσι / ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι, καὶ φέρουσι τοῦνομα / τὸ τοῦδε κοινὸν πάντες ὠνομασμένοι. τοιαῦτά σοι ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ ξέν', οὐ λόγοις / τιμῶμεν', ἀλλὰ τῆ ξυνουσία πλέον.

<sup>267</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013), p. 505.

<sup>268</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013), p. 499.

<sup>269</sup> The vv. 625-628 go as following: ἔα μ' ἐν οἴσιν ἠρξάμην, τὸ σὸν μόνον / πιστὸν φυλάσσω· κοῦποτ' Οἰδίπου ἐρεῖς / ἀχρεῖον οἰκητῆρα δέξασθαι τόπων / τῶν ἐνθάδ', εἴπερ μὴ θεοὶ ψεύσουσί με.

Nagy states: “οἰκός, that is, a ‘dwelling place’ or ‘abode’ befitting a cult hero.”<sup>270</sup> Ultimately, Oedipus will dwell after death in Colonus honoured as a cult hero<sup>271</sup> and, in return, he will bring prosperity to the land of his burial: “That body, once Oedipus is purified, will become a talisman of fertility and prosperity not only for the local community that worships this new cult hero of Colonus but also, by sacred metonymy, for the overall community of Athens”.<sup>272</sup> In exchange for the honour bestowed upon him by the Athenians through the libations and the rituals of hero cults, Oedipus will be benefactor and protector of the land. However, it is key that the Athenians remember him every time they are prosperous, εὐτυχεῖς. As De Heer stated:

The injunction to remember Oedipus no doubt means the bringing of sacrifices of thanksgiving at his tomb whenever they have been εὐτυχεῖς, since they will owe their achievement to his δαίμων. The momentary, but repetitive, sense component contrasts vividly with the enduring one of εὐδαίμων; it is corroborated by the distributive αἰ.<sup>273</sup>

By always remembering and reverencing him as a cult hero with honorary practices, the Athenians will be εὐδαίμονες. Only through this maintained reverence to him as a cult hero whenever they are prosperous can they continue being εὐδαίμονες. The Athenians, by remembering and reverencing Oedipus after death, assure a good relationship with this supernatural force, making them at peace with a δαίμων, εὐδαίμονες, and with that comes prosperity, εὐτυχεῖς. This passage is unusual in the way that these words are found in a context of hero cult. Even so, these sense components seem to be similar to those found in other contexts. Firstly, εὐτυχής refers to a momentary prosperity that can be repeated through time, as will be examined later in more depth. Secondly, the adjective εὐδαίμων can be interpreted as following the meaning already established in Sophocles of being in a good relationship with a δαίμων through practising εὐσέβεια. The δαίμων is the cult hero, Oedipus, and the practice of piety is done through hero cult rituals.

Lastly, in *Philoctetes*, there is one instance of εὐδαίμων in vv. 719-729, the only happiness-related word in this tragedy appears in an intervention of the chorus.

νῦν δ’ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν παιδὸς ὑπαντήσας  
εὐδαίμων ἀνύσει καὶ μέγας ἐκ κείνων·  
ὅς νιν ποντοπόρῳ δούρατι, πλήθει

<sup>270</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013), p. 500.

<sup>271</sup> At the end of *Oedipus at Coloneus*, vv. 1720-1722, it is said that Oedipus ends his life in a way that is ὀλβίως: ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ὀλβίως γ’ ἔλυσεν / τὸ τέλος, φίλοι, βίου, / λήγετε τοῦδ’ ἄχου· κακῶν γὰρ / δυσάλωτος οὐδεὶς. Further enforcing the idea that Oedipus’ death is a heroic one.

<sup>272</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2013), pp. 510-511.

<sup>273</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 89.

πολλῶν μηνῶν, πατρίαν ἄγει πρὸς αὐλάν  
Μηλιάδων νυμφῶν,  
Σπερχειοῦ τε παρ' ὄχθας, ἴν' ὁ χάλκασπις ἀνήρ θεοῖς  
πλάθῃ θεὸς θεῖω πυρὶ παμφαής,  
Οἴτας ὑπὲρ ὄχθων.

But now he has met the son of noble men, and will attain happiness and greatness through them; and he is bringing him in a ship travelling over the sea, after many months, to the haunts of the nymphs of Malis, native to him, and to the banks of Spercheius, where the man with the brazen shield joined the gods as a god, blazing with fire divine, beyond the hills of Oeta.

The chorus explains how Philoctetes, who has come from such disgraceful circumstances, will now become εὐδαίμων because of meeting Neoptolemus. This occurrence is difficult to interpret because, as De Heer explained, εὐδαίμων in this passage is due to human agency, to Neoptolemus in fact. However, he goes on to argue that “This does not, however, invalidate the possibility of indirect divine favour.”<sup>274</sup> This sense of indirect divine favour can be understood in the larger context of the work of *Philoctetes*. As Budelmann states: “The most prominent god in the whole of *Philoctetes* is Zeus, and Heracles calls his orders explicitly ‘plans of Zeus’.”<sup>275</sup>

Examining the derivatives of εὐδαίμων, the verb εὐδαιμονίζω appears in vv. 144-150 of *Oedipus Coloneus* pronounced by Oedipus:

οὐ πάνυ μοίρας εὐδαιμονίσαι  
πρώτης, ὧ τῆσδ' ἔφοροι χώρας.  
δηλῶ δ'· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὧδ' ἀλλοτρίοις  
ὄμμασιν εἶρπον  
κάπι σμικροῖς μέγας ὄρμουν.

Not one with a fortune you can envy him, guardians of this land! And I will prove it; for else I should not be moving with another's eyes and be anchored, great as I am, upon a small person.

Guidorizzi cites two options for understanding what Oedipus is saying in this intervention: “πρώτης potrebbe significare «di prima sorte, di fortuna eccelsa» (non sono stato il primo a scegliere la mia sorte) oppure «non sono da ritenere felice neppure dal mio primo giorno».”<sup>276</sup> Then the authors go on to explain how the latter option makes sense taking into account that the chorus in the next verses asks Oedipus if he was born blind. Clearly, Oedipus is trying to

<sup>274</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 62.

<sup>275</sup> Budelmann, Felix. (2000), p. 149.

<sup>276</sup> Guidorizzi, Giulio. Avezzù, Guido & Cerri, Giovanni. (2008), p. 231.

say that the destiny he was given, literally the portion he was dealt, μοῖρα, was not a happy one. Oedipus' life could not be called εὐδαίμων because it was full of misfortunes, it was not peaceful or graceful. Oedipus repeats in *Oedipus Coloneus* that he was dealt this fortune by the gods, thus making him innocent of his actions.<sup>277</sup> As Guidorizzi highlights: “In effeti la μοῖρα di Edipo fu sciagurata sin dai suoi primi giorni, quando venne esposto sul Citerone, e lo era in fondo anche prima della nascita.”<sup>278</sup> Oedipus' continuous misfortunes come from before his birth, from the curse of Laius when the relationship with a δαίμων was compromised. From that moment on, a δαίμων was provoked, causing an ongoing wrath that passes from generation to generation and of which Oedipus is victim, as seen before in the first instance of εὐδαίμων, vv. 583-591 of *Antigone*. The only control a person has over being εὐδαίμων comes from being pious and wise so as not to provoke the gods, whose wrath can affect future generations who are ultimately innocent but are destined to suffer the consequences of their ancestors' decisions.

This importance of piety and wise-thinking relating to εὐδαίμων and its derivatives is clear in vv. 1347-1352 of *Antigone*, during the intervention of the Chorus:

πολλῷ τὸ φρονεῖν εὐδαιμονίας  
 πρῶτον ὑπάρχει· χρὴ δὲ τὰ γ' ἐς θεοὺς  
 μηδὲν ἄσεπτεῖν· μεγάλοι δὲ λόγοι  
 μεγάλας πληγὰς τῶν ὑπεραύχων  
 ἀποτείσαντες  
 γήρα τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν.

Good sense is by far the chief part of happiness; and we must not be impious towards the gods. The great words of boasters are always punished with great blows, and as they grow old teach them wisdom.

The Chorus suggests that wise-thinking is essential for εὐδαιμονία, and that mortals must not show impiety towards the gods in any way, χρὴ δὲ τὰ γ' εἰς θεοὺς μηδὲν ἄσεπτεῖν. In vv. 1349-1352, it says how those who speak or act with arrogance often face severe consequences, and these hard lessons lead them to gain good judgement, though sometimes only in old age. When they learn this prudence to be cautious and pious, they are closer to having a good relationship with a δαίμων and being εὐδαίμων. De Heer's analysis of v. 1347 is the following: “The passage posits a certain attitude of mind, εὐσέβεια, as a prerequisite.” Schneidewin-Nauck-Bruhn interpret εὐδαιμονία as “der seelische Zustand des Menschen, der

<sup>277</sup> For example in vv. 266-267: ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἔργα μου / πεπονθότ' ἴσθι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα, vv. 266-267.

<sup>278</sup> Guidorizzi, Giulio. Avezzi, Guido & Cerri, Giovanni. (2008), p. 232.

im Frieden mit der Gottheit lebt”, but this is only partially correct, for the Chorus leave no doubt that εὐδαιμονία is sound judgement learnt as the result of experiencing adversity<sup>279</sup> I would agree with Schneidewin-Nauck-Bruhn that εὐδαιμονία is a state of peace that comes from having a good relationship with a δαίμων and it is only possible to come close to this state through good judgement, τὸ φρονεῖν, and piety, εὐσέβεια. I disagree with De Heer that εὐδαιμονία is the “wisdom learnt as the result of experiencing adversity” in itself. Instead, I think that in the same way εὐσέβεια is a prerequisite to εὐδαιμονία, so too is discernment and in its essence εὐδαιμονία means ‘to have a good relationship with a δαίμων’. However, τὸ φρονεῖν does not assure a state of εὐδαιμονία because there is no stability or assurance, but it does bring one closer to εὐδαιμονία. As Marianne McDonald affirms: “If a man does not know his limitations and what acts are permitted him, then he may commit evil which the gods will punish, thereby destroying his prosperity.”<sup>280</sup> She goes even further suggesting that: “The seeds are there for the Euripidean development whereby both happiness and unhappiness can be internal, but contextual evidence in Sophocles shows only the beginnings of this idea”<sup>281</sup>. Effectively, there are some considerations one can take into account in order to come closer to happiness, but it is still external and dependent on the gods. According to De Heer, εὐδαιμονία has as a primary sense component: “Security from adversity”<sup>282</sup>. Although having a good relationship with a god brings a sense of security since one is “protected” by divine favour, this security, however, is itself dependent on divine favour. Therefore, in order to reflect this, I propose instead as a primary sense component ‘security from adversity which comes with absence of suffering as result of being at peace with the divine’. This is reminiscent of when in the Theognidea, he who has γνώμη to avoid committing ὕβρις is called μάκαρ and how in Aeschylus, Cyrus was called εὐδαίμων for being εὐφρων. To assure one’s happiness there seems to be a relation to knowledge and good judgement.

Verses 506-507 of *Antigone*, with the only appearance of the verb εὐδαιμονέω, are difficult to interpret because this instance seems to differ in meaning from its derivatives. Antigone says to Creon: ἀλλ’ ἢ τυραννὶς πολλὰ τ’ ἄλλ’ εὐδαιμονεῖ / κάξεστιν αὐτῇ δρᾶν λέγειν θ’ ἅ βούλεται. (“But kingship is fortunate in many ways, and in particular it has power to do and say what it wishes.”)

<sup>279</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 62.

<sup>280</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 32.

<sup>281</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 32.

<sup>282</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 61.

Here, Antigone is saying that tyranny, being prosperous in so many other ways, also succeeds in doing and saying whatever it wants. As James C. Hogan remarks: “Tragedy often uses “tyrant” and “tyranny” as synonyms for king and kingship, but here Antigone's taunt and rebuke of the quiescent chorus imply a meaning such as the Athenian democrat found in “tyrant.”<sup>283</sup> It is clear that Antigone, who is being punished for her acts by Creon, is talking to him in a hostile manner and holds against him how a tyrant has the freedom to do or say whatever he pleases. The tyrant, having been favoured by a δαίμων in such a way that he has been bestowed high status and power, has the authority to do or say what he pleases. Antigone seems to say that the tyrant, who has been favoured with this position, abuses this power and the security it brings. The criticism of tyrants' happiness and the false sense of security will be appreciated in further sections of this work.<sup>284</sup> This interpretation is similar to De Heer's: “discloses from the context that one aspect is the freedom to act arbitrarily with impunity, i.e a form of security.”<sup>285</sup> Effectively, the words εὐδαίμων, εὐδαιμονία, εὐδαιμονίζω and εὐδαιμονέω all show the sense component of ‘security’ and ‘high status’ as external proof of the deeper meaning of ‘being favoured by the divine’ and ‘enjoying a good relation with a δαίμων’.

Turning to the adjective εὐτυχής and its derivatives, I consider that εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω both carry the same sense components similar to that of ‘being fortunate’ and ‘experiencing fortune’ in a momentary sense. Since there are so many appearances of these two words in Sophocles' works, I have decided to group them according to the meanings that can be observed. Firstly, De Heer stated that in both εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω the primary sense component is “achievement of a desired end”,<sup>286</sup> but I would go further and say ‘to prosper’ or ‘to be prosperous’ and not necessarily simply an achievement of a desired end.

In vv. 263-264 of *Ajax*, during the intervention of the Chorus, εὐτυχέω refers to Ajax now prospering in contrast with the insanity he was subjected to before:<sup>287</sup> ἀλλ' εἰ πέπαυται, κάρτ' ἄν εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶ· / φρούδου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ μείων λόγος. (“Well, if it has stopped, I think he is very fortunate; for now that the trouble has gone there will be less talk about it.”) Furthermore, during Teucer's speech in *Ajax*, in vv. 1008-1012, the verb εὐτυχέω appears and Teucer intends to say that Telamon does not smile, whether luck is on his side or when it is

<sup>283</sup> Hogan, James C. (2010), p. 147.

<sup>284</sup> In sections: [Happiness-related Words in Herodotus](#) and [Happiness-related Words in Euripides](#).

<sup>285</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 63.

<sup>286</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 74.

<sup>287</sup> The Greek text and translation for *Ajax* is extracted from Alexander Femister Garvie (1998).

not. Therefore, here there is also the same sense of momentarily enjoying fortune in juxtaposition with when one does not.

ἦ ποῦ με Τελαμών, σὸς πατήρ ἐμός θ' ἅμα,  
δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος Ἰλέως τ' ἰδὼν  
χωροῦντ' ἄνευ σοῦ. πῶς γὰρ οὔχ; ὅτφ πάρα  
μηδ' εὐτυχοῦντι μηδὲν ἥδιον γελᾶν.  
οὔτος τί κρύψει;

Telamon, no doubt, your father and mine alike, would receive me cheerfully and graciously when he sees me coming without you. Of course he will; he who even in good fortune finds it just as impossible to laugh with pleasure. What will he keep back?

In addition, in vv. 11-17 of *Antigone*, during the conversation between Ismene and Antigone. Ismene, unaware of the news that Creon will not bury Polyneices rightfully, says to Antigone:

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων  
οὔθ' ἠδὺς οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸς ἵκετ' ἐξ ὅτου  
δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο,  
μιᾶ θανόντων ἡμέρα διπλῆ χερί·  
ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὸς ἐστὶν Ἀργείων στρατὸς  
ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, οὐδὲν οἶδ' ὑπέρτερον,  
οὔτ' εὐτυχοῦσα μᾶλλον οὔτ' ἀτωμένη.

To me, Antigone, no word about our friends has come, either agreeable or painful, since we two were robbed of two brothers, who perished on one day each at the other's hand. Since the Argive army left during the night, I know nothing further, nothing that improves my fortune or brings me nearer to disaster.

Ismene says that she does not even know if Antigone's news will be prosperous for her or make her suffer, οὔτ' εὐτυχοῦσα μᾶλλον οὔτ' ἀτωμένη. Again, εὐτυχέω is to be understood as momentary since it is contrasted with the opposite, in this case ἀτάομαι, to be distressed.

In v. 192 of *Women of Trachis*, Deianira says the following about Lichas, asking why he has not arrived yet if he is prosperous, as in carrying good news: αὐτὸς δὲ πῶς ἄπεστιν, εἴπερ εὐτυχεῖ; ("But why is he himself not here, if indeed fortune favours him?") It is implied that the prosperity in the good news the herald brings has been transferred to the herald himself, making him prosperous, only momentarily, however.

As has been shown, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω indicate a happiness related to enjoying prosperity or fortune, but it is momentary and these passages further indicate this transient sense. For

example, in v. 1159 of *Antigone*, there is another appearance of εὐτυχέω, in the intervention of the Messenger, vv. 1155-1165:

Κάδμου πάροικοι καὶ δόμων Ἀμφίονος,  
οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅποιον στάντ' ἄν ἀνθρώπου βίον  
οὔτ' αἰνέσαιμ' ἄν οὔτε μεμψαίμην ποτέ.  
τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοῖ καὶ τύχη καταρρέπει  
τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα τὸν τε δυστυχοῦντ' αἰεί·  
καὶ μάντις οὐδεις τῶν καθεστώτων βροτοῖς.  
Κρέων γὰρ ἦν ζηλωτός, ὡς ἐμοί, ποτέ,  
σώσας μὲν ἐχθρῶν τήνδε Καδμείαν χθόνα,  
λαβὼν τε χώρας παντελεῆ μοναρχίαν  
ἠϋθυνε, θάλλων εὐγενεῖ τέκνων σπορᾶ·  
καὶ νῦν ἀφεῖται πάντα.

Neighbours of Cadmus and the house of Amphion, there is no state of human life that I would praise or blame as though it had come to a stop; for fortune makes straight and fortune brings down the fortunate or the unfortunate man at all times, and no prophet can tell mortals what is ordained. Why, Creon once was enviable, as it seemed to me; he had saved this Cadmean land from enemies, had acquired the all-powerful kingship of the land, and was guiding it, happy with a noble brood of children. And now all has been let go.

The Messenger says that there is no human life that he would ever praise as being stable, ὅποιον στάντ'. It is τύχη that sets one's life straight, making one εὐτυχέω, or making one fall, causing one to δυστυχεῖν. It is similar to how a δαίμων can favour someone making them εὐδαίμων or can turn their back on someone making them, δυσδαίμων. This intervention clearly shows the idea that there is no stability in one's fortune and that it is external and dependent on τύχη, in the same way to be εὐδαίμων depends on a δαίμων. De Heer presented this passage as an exception to εὐτυχέω being due to a natural endowment.<sup>288</sup> However, as it will be shown later on with more examples, I think that the idea of εὐτυχέω being due to natural endowment is not present in Sophocles' works, and instead I propose that εὐτυχέω in Sophocles is clearly due to divine intervention in a similar way to εὐτυχής.

In vv. 293-306 of *Women of Trachis*, Deianira intervenes to talk about the mutability of human fortune and the adjective εὐτυχής appears.

πῶς δ' οὐκ ἐγὼ χαίροιμ' ἄν, ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχεῖ  
κλύουσα πράξιεν τήνδε, πανδίκῳ φρενί;  
πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη τήνδε τοῦτο συντρέχειν.  
ὅμως δ' ἔνεστι τοῖσιν εὖ σκοποῦμένοις

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<sup>288</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 74.

ταρβεῖν τὸν εὐ πρᾶσσοντα, μὴ σφαλῆι ποτε.  
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἶκτος δεινὸς εἰσέβη, φίλαι,  
ταύτας ὀρώσῃ δυσπότημους ἐπὶ ξένης  
χώρας ἀοίκους ἀπάτοράς τ' ἄλωμένας,  
αἱ πρὶν μὲν ἦσαν ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἴσως  
ἀνδρῶν, τανῦν δὲ δοῦλον ἴσχουσιν βίον.  
ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαῖε, μὴ ποτ' εἰσίδοιμί σε  
πρὸς τοῦμὸν οὔτω σπέρμα χωρήσαντά ποι,  
μηδ', εἴ τι δράσεις, τῆσδέ γε ζώσης ἔτι.  
οὔτως ἐγὼ δέδοικα τάσδ' ὀρωμένη.

And how should I not rejoice at hearing of my husband's successful action, with every right? Without fail, my joy must match his triumph. But none the less it is the way of those who consider things with care to fear for the man who is fortunate, in case he may one day come to grief. Yes, a strange pity comes upon me, dear women, when I see these unhappy ones homeless and fatherless, astray in a foreign land; perhaps they were formerly the children of free men, but now their life is one of slavery. Zeus, god of trophies, may I never see you go against my offspring in this fashion; if you do so, may it not be while I still live! Such is my fear as I look upon these women.

After hearing of the successful deed of Heracles, *πρᾶξις εὐτυχῆ*, which refers to the capture and enslavement of Oechalia, Deianira cannot feel joyful. Here *εὐτυχῆς* is equivalent to fortunate, prosperous or successful, to indicate that Heracles' endeavour resulted in a favourable outcome due to being favoured by *τύχη*. Moreover, this passage also proves interesting because of Deianira's reflection on the instability of fortune. Her joy for Heracles' success is tainted by her own fear of a reversal of fate, seeing the captive women, who were once free individuals and are now reduced to servitude. This clearly shows how *εὐτυχῆς* has a momentary sense because Deianira is aware that it can change and fears this. Deianira invokes Zeus to pray that her own offspring never have to face such a fate and for her not to have to witness it. Zeus is invoked with an intriguing epithet, *τροπαῖος* that comes from *τροπέω* and has the sense of: 'Zeus the one that turns'. Patricia Elizabeth Easterling, in her commentary, states that: "because Zeus who turns the tide of battle was responsible for the plight of these women"<sup>289</sup>, which points us back to v. 26 of *Women of Trachis*: *τέλος δ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀγώνιος καλῶς* ("But in the end Zeus the god of contests decided well.") Deianira had already said that Zeus is the one who determines the outcome of every battle. There seems to be an evident divine involvement in the reversals of fortune. These two passages are also representative of the instability that characters are faced with in Sophocles' works. Deianira

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<sup>289</sup> Easterling, Patricia Elizabeth. (1982), p. 116.

here shows that even her momentary feeling of good fortune is tainted by fear of its reversal, which is wholly dependent on the gods.

These passages have hinted at a strong indication that εὐτυχέω is fully dependent on the will of the god's, especially Zeus who decides every outcome, contrary to De Heer's proposal to put forward as a sense component of εὐτυχέω that it "vaguely admits the possibility that it is due to a natural endowment"<sup>290</sup>. The following passages will further show the dependency on divine intervention in being εὐτυχής and in εὐτυχέω.

Creon having returned from consulting Apollo at Delphi, says to Oedipus that troubles can result in success, εὐτυχεῖν, when there are good indications from the gods, in vv. 87-88 of *Oedipus Tyrannus*: ἐσθλήν· λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ', εἰ τύχοι / κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξιόντα, πάντ' ἄν εὐτυχεῖν. ("A good one. I say that even troubles hard to bear, if they change to turn out well, can have a wholly fortune outcome.") A few verses later in vv. 144-146, the adjective εὐτυχής appears when Oedipus expresses his commitment to finding the murderer of Laios and exclaims that he will do anything for the town of Cadmos. Oedipus says that with the aid of the gods they will be fortunate in finding the murderer of Laios or, if not, they will fail:

ἄλλος δὲ Κάδμου λαὸν ᾧδ' ἀθροίζετω,  
ὡς πᾶν ἐμοῦ δράσοντος. ἢ γὰρ εὐτυχεῖς  
σὺν τῷ θεῷ φανούμεθ', ἢ πεπτωκότες.

And let another man gather the people of Cadmus here, since I intend to do everything. For either we will manifestly succeed with the god's help, or we will manifestly fail.

The following appearance of εὐτυχέω in vv. 67-72 of *Electra* also indicates that it refers to being prosperous due to divine intervention or divine favour.

ἀλλ' ᾧ πατρώα γῆ θεοὶ τ' ἐγχώριοι,  
δέξασθέ μ' εὐτυχοῦντα ταῖσδε ταῖς ὁδοῖς,  
σύ τ', ᾧ πατρῶον δῶμα· σοῦ γὰρ ἔρχομαι  
δίκη καθαρτῆς πρὸς θεῶν ὠρμημένος·  
καὶ μή μ' ἄτιμον τῆσδ' ἀποστείλητε γῆς,  
ἀλλ' ἀρχέπλουτον καὶ καταστάτην δόμων.

But do you, my native land, and you, gods of the place, receive me in good fortune on this mission, and you, house of my fathers! For I come in justice to cleanse you, sped on my way by the gods. And do not send me from the land dishonoured, but let me control my riches and set my house upon its feet!

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<sup>290</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 74.

Orestes, on entering the palace at Mycenae where Clytemnestra resides, prays that his plan of killing his mother will be successful, strongly indicating that to prosper, εὐτυχέω depends on the gods who control the force of τύχη.

Finally, there are two instances where εὐτυχής is used in a way that suggests a more enduring state. Even though, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω are momentary, they can be understood as repeated, thus, a momentary feeling of good fortune can reoccur and give the impression of lasting over time. In vv. 550-551, during Ajax's emotional speech before killing himself, he talks to his son, Eurysaces: ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, / τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὅμοιος, καὶ γένοι' ἂν οὐ κακός. ("My son, may you be more fortunate than your father, but in other respects like him; you could not then be bad.") I interpret that Ajax is ultimately wishing for his son to prosper more than he has and these momentary repetitive successes can be understood as taking on a broader meaning of having a successful life.

The verb εὐτυχέω appears again near the end of the tragedy of *Oedipus Tyrannus* in vv. 1478-1479, during Oedipus' emotional speech: ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίης, καὶ σε τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ / δαίμων ἄμεινον ἢ μὲ φρουρήσας τύχοι. ("But may you be fortunate, and, for this coming, may a deity happen to guide you better than he did me.") Here, Oedipus hopes that Creon is successful and he desires for him a better δαίμων in his path of life than he himself has had keeping watch over him. Oedipus is blaming his misfortune on the fact that he has not had a good δαίμων, indicating that to εὐτυχέω depends on one's relationship with the divine, to be εὐδαίμων, as had already been seen. Εὐτυχέω seems to have a sense of permanence here, but it is referring more to the repetition of momentary fortunes that amount to a fortunate life. De Heer did not comment on this passage specifically but he did put forward as a sense component of εὐτυχέω "Remotely felt to be momentary but repeated."<sup>291</sup> When εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχής are reoccurring, they appear to convey a sense of permanence or a more prolonged state of prosperity however this ultimately comes from the momentary sense having good τύχη simply repeated.

A representative passage of εὐτυχής understood as repeating itself over time is in vv. 997-1000 of *Electra*, when Chrysothemis says no to aiding Electra in her plans of vengeance:

γυνή μὲν οὐδ' ἀνὴρ ἔφους,  
σθένεις δ' ἔλασσον τῶν ἐναντίων χερί.  
δαίμων δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὐτυχής καθ' ἡμέραν,

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<sup>291</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 74.

ἡμῖν δ' ἀπορρεῖ κάπῃ μηδὲν ἔρχεται.

You are a woman, not a man, and your strength is less than that of your adversaries. Their fortune prospers day by day, and ours ebbs away and comes to nothing.

Chrysothemis says how every day Clytemnestra's and Aegisthus' fates become increasingly prosperous. In contrast, the fortune of the two sisters drains away from them day after day. The use of the verb ἀππορέω further proves that to be εὐτυχής fluctuates and is unstable.

At the end of *Electra* in vv. 1293-1300, there is another appearance of εὐτυχεῖω where it clearly means 'to come out prosperous' or 'to succeed'.

ἄ δ' ἀρμόσει μοι τῷ παρόντι νῦν χρόνῳ  
σήμαιν', ὅπου φανέντες ἢ κεκρυμμένοι  
γελῶντας ἐχθροὺς παύσομεν τῇ νῦν ὁδῷ.  
τούτῳ δ' ὅπως μήτηρ σε μὴ 'πιγνώσεται  
φαιδρῷ προσώπῳ νῶν ἐπελθόντοιν δόμους·  
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἄτη τῇ μάτην λελεγμένη  
στέναζ'· ὅταν γὰρ εὐτυχήσωμεν, τότε  
χαίρειν παρέσται καὶ γελᾶν ἐλευθέρως.

But tell me what will suit the present time, where we must appear or where we must hide to put a stop to our enemies' laughter by our present expedition. And see to it that our mother does not learn your state from that joyous countenance when we go into the house, but lament as though disaster falsely told of were the truth. When we are triumphant, then we shall be able to rejoice and laugh in freedom.

Orestes is saying that when they do succeed, then they will have the freedom to rejoice and laugh freely. Clearly εὐτυχεῖω is used in a momentary sense of being fortunate in their endeavour to kill Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. Although, this isolated momentary success will change their fortune and will cause a domino effect that will bring future successes, the meaning of εὐτυχεῖω is still a momentary one in itself.

Similarly, in v. 1126 of *Ajax*, Teucer is trying to convince Menelaus to consider giving Ajax an honourable burial. However, Menelaus argues by saying: δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ' εὐτυχεῖν κτείναντά με; ("What, is it just that he should prosper after killing me?"). Here it also seems a momentary sense because Menelaus questions how it is fair that someone who tried to kill him will come out prosperous by receiving a proper burial. This is related to the momentary action of burial, however, a proper burial will also bring with it later permanent prosperity since this allows one to receive proper cult after death.

Lastly, there are two uses of εὐτυχέω in *Electra* that have resonances of archaic poetry.<sup>292</sup> For instance, in v. 794, after the announcement of Orestes' fake death by the Pedagoegus, Electra sees how unaffected her mother is<sup>293</sup> and invokes the goddess Nemesis for vengeance of the dead and says the following: ὕβριζε· νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχάνεις (“Insult me! Now is your moment of good fortune”). It is remarkable how there is the play of words in the repetition of the root τύχη in εὐτυχέω and τυγχάνω one after another. For this passage, Finglass directly cites from Robin George Murdoch Nisbet's and Margaret Hubbard's *A Commentary on Horace: Odes*: “archaic Greek poets warn against the *hybris* generated by prosperity echoed by many successors.”<sup>294</sup> This theme has also been noted in this work in the analysis of Solon and Theognis<sup>295</sup>, as seen in 8 G.-P.=6 W. of Solon, τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται / ἀνθρώποις ὀπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι, and vv. 153-154 of the Theognidea: τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῶι ὄλβος ἔπηται / ἀνθρώποι, καὶ ὅτωι μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦι. Here the use is ὄλβος because in Solon and the Theognidea, ὄλβος refers to happiness that comes from material wealth, a meaning very different to that in Sophocles. However, it transmits the same idea that if there is prosperity in abundance for those who are not of sound mind this leads to an overconfidence and arrogance. This excessive pride brings acts of ὕβρις that eventually lead to one's downfall.

Later, Electra realizes that Orestes, whose help she had been counting on, cannot assist her further in avenging their father's death. Electra decides to take matters into her own hands and kill Clytemnestra and Aegisthus herself. She decides to explain to Chrysothemis her plan in search of her assistance, but before doing so, she warns her that it is impossible to prosper without toil, v. 945: ὄρα, πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ (“Remember, there is no success without hard work”).

In his commentary, Patrick Finglass, also relates this passage to Archilochus' Fragment 17 (πάντα πόνος τεύχει θνητοῖς μελέτη τε βροτείη) and to Pindar P. 12.28-29 (εἰ δέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνευ καμάτου / οὐ φαίνεται).<sup>296</sup> If it is understood that with toil one can work

<sup>292</sup> The appropriation of archaic Greek thought in tragedy has been studied extensively in Cairns, Douglas. L. (2013). *Tragedy and Archaic Greek Thought*. Classical Press of Wales.

<sup>293</sup> Just before Clytemnestra had shown relief at her son's death and even goes to the extent of calling the death of her son a sign of good fortune, vv. 766-768: ὦ Ζεῦ, τί ταῦτα, πότερον εὐτυχῆ λέγω, / ἢ δεινὰ μὲν, κέρδη δέ; λυπηρῶς δ' ἔχει, / εἰ τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς τὸν βίον σφῶζω κακοῖς.

<sup>294</sup> Finglass, Patrick. (2010), pp. 153-154.

<sup>295</sup> See Sections Happiness-related Words in Solon and Happiness-related Words in the Theognidea.

<sup>296</sup> Finglass, Patrick. (2010), p. 394.

towards coming out prosperous, this seems to imply that there has to be a degree of human involvement too. However, ultimately it is the gods who will facilitate or hinder this.

Finally, it is interesting to examine an intervention where many of the words relating to happiness occur together, εὐδαιμονία, μακαρίζω, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβος appear in vv. 1186-1204 of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The first strophe goes as follows:

ἰὼ γενεαὶ βροτῶν,  
ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ.  
τίς γάρ, τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον  
τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει  
ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον δοκεῖν  
καὶ δόξαντ' ἀποκλῖναι;  
τὸν σὸν τοι παράδειγμ' ἔχων,  
τὸν σὸν δαίμονα, τὸν σὸν, ὃ τλᾶμον Οἰδιπόδα, βροτῶν  
οὐδὲν μακαρίζω·

Iō, generations of mortals, how I count you as living a life that is equal to nothingness! For what, what man wins more of prosperity than enough for him to seem prosperous, and, after seeming, to decline? Having your fate, your fate, yours as an example, O wretched Oedipus, I count nothing that pertains to mortals as blessed.

The Chorus represents a pessimistic view of human life, describing how mortal generations are worthless and how no δαίμων of mortals can be regarded as μάκαρ, μακαρίζω. I interpret μακαρίζω to simply mean 'to call someone μάκαρ'. In this sense, no mortal can be called μάκαρ because they cannot enjoy the happiness related to stability that the gods enjoy. Oedipus' life shows how human fortune can fluctuate and how it is possible to achieve happiness, τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει, and then experience one's downfall, ἀποκλῖναι. There is no sense of stability in human life and for this reason mortals cannot be considered μάκαρ, like the gods.

In the following verses, vv. 1196-1204, the Chorus goes on to remember Oedipus' good fortune, how he became king and highly respected by so many:

ὅστις καθ' ὑπερβολὰν  
τοξεύσας ἐκράτησας τοῦ πάντ' εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου,  
ὃ Ζεῦ, κατὰ μὲν φθίσας  
τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον  
χρησμοδόν, θανάτων δ' ἐμᾶ  
χώρῳ πύργος ἀνέστας·  
ἐξ οὗ καὶ βασιλεὺς καλῆ

ἐμὸς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐτιμάθης, ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν  
Θήβαισιν ἀνάσσων.

You who, on hitting the mark with surpassing skill, mastered a prosperity wholly blessed by the gods. O Zeus, after destroying the crooked-taloned maiden who sang her verses, and stood as a tower gains death for my land. Since then you have been called my king and honoured most greatly, the ruler in mighty Thebes.

Oedipus achieves an all-favoured fortune ἐκράτησας τοῦ πάντ' εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου. He stands out from other humans for his far-reaching success, as if he were shooting an arrow further than anyone else, καθ' ὑπερβολὰν τοξεύσας. The double use of happiness-related words, εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου, is an emphatic way of underlining that Oedipus reaches a high state of happiness. Not only does he achieve ὄλβος, but the type of ὄλβος he achieves is εὐδαίμονος in itself. This combination of happiness-related words is to represent that Oedipus was the closest to the highest type of human happiness possible: “the article may additionally have a universalising quality, emphasising that Oedipus’ prosperity was the ultimate to which any mortal could aspire.”<sup>297</sup> However, it is true that εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου could be indicating a relationship between these two happiness words, determining that ὄλβος is bestowed when one is εὐδαίμων. This was De Heer’s interpretation: “The interrelation between εὐδαίμων and ὄλβος has already been determined in my investigation of Pindar’s usage; the latter is the visible manifestation of the former.”<sup>298</sup> One who is εὐδαίμων is favoured by the gods and one form of external favour can be in the form of ὄλβος. Moreover, ὄλβος is not materialistic and has a clear relation to honour, τιμή. From the moment Oedipus defeats the Sphinx, κατὰ μὲν φθίσας τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον χρησμοδόν, he is called king and is respected, ἐτιμάθης, as master of great Thebes. Here, ὄλβος again refers to an intangible possession that elevates one to a high status in which one is honoured. In relation to the adjective εὐδαίμων, I agree with Finglass’ interpretation: “The appearance of εὐδαίμων so soon after the lament over the δαίμων that now afflicts Oedipus (1194) underlines the contrast between his past and present states, calling into question the extent to which his previous prosperity was indeed divinely blessed.”<sup>299</sup> The adjective εὐδαίμων again takes on the sense here of being in a good relationship with a δαίμων, in this case it refers to the fact that this ὄλβος was dispensed as external evidence of this favour. However, Oedipus is no longer favoured and the Chorus reminds the audience of this by describing Oedipus’ disgraces in the present: τανῶν δ’

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<sup>297</sup> Finglass, Patrick. (2018), p. 1015.

<sup>298</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 88.

<sup>299</sup> Finglass, Patrick. (2018), p. 1015.

ἀκούειν τίς ἀθλιώτερος. Oedipus demonstrates the cycle of rise and downfall that is human life according to Sophocles.

After examining the words related to happiness in Sophocles, a series of conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, Sophocles has a pessimistic undertone that repeats the theme of ever-changing fortune. The gods are central in Sophocles and are not referred to using μάκαρες, as used by other authors. For this specific use, Sophocles seems to employ δαίμονες, maybe because of its more general use and because it could refer to any supernatural force. There is only one use of μάκαρ and it is used to invoke the goddess Cybele who is called σέβας ὑπέρτατον, demonstrating a sense component of object of ‘awe’ and ‘honour’. The only derivative of μάκαρ to appear is μακαρίζω and it means “to call someone μάκαρ”. It is remarked that no mortal can be called μάκαρ, ὃ τλαῖμον Οἰδιπόδα, βροτῶν οὐδὲν μακαρίζω, because it is impossible for them to enjoy this happiness related to stability that is only accessible to the gods.

In relation to the adjective ὄλβιος and its derivatives ὀλβίζω and ὄλβος, they are all closely tied together in meaning, referring to a grandeur-induced happiness. These words are all connected to ‘surpassing others’ and ‘being honoured’, either because of ‘noble status’ (εὐπατρίδης), ‘power’ (κράτιστος) or achieved through one’s own deeds. The noun ὄλβος had a clear materialistic sense in authors prior to Sophocles, however, in the works examined, this sense component has become more ambiguous, appearing only distantly and as collateral to enjoying a prestigious position. Honour is central and holds greater value than wealth as can be seen in the fact that ὄλβος is put in conjunction with τιμή and the complete opposite of being ὄλβιος or enjoying ὄλβος is to experience shame, αἰσχύνη or to live a life that is not enviable by anyone else, ἄζηλος βίος. I consider the first sense component of ὄλβος to be a ‘god-given intangible possession of honour or status’ and to be ὄλβιος is to ‘be favoured with a higher status and being honoured’. Considering the fact that ὄλβος appears qualified by εὐδαίμων in one instance, it can be gathered that to be dispensed ὄλβος results from having a good relationship with a δαίμων who favours. As shown, neither ὄλβος, ὄλβιος nor ὀλβία, words that relate to this grandeur-induced happiness, have any promise of permanence or stability in them. This sense of instability and uncertain human destiny is present throughout Sophocles’ works. Interestingly, in one instance the adjective ὄλβιος could be understood in the context of hero cult when it is used for Oedipus, foreshadowing the honour he will

receive as a cult hero. This is alluded to also at the end of *Oedipus at Coloneus*, but this time with the adjective εὐδαίμων and εὐτυχής also used in the context of hero cult.

Effectively, in Sophocles' works, there is clearly an importance of ritual and religious practices, specifically in relation to the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives. This is not surprising considering that the world Sophocles presents is marked by a sharp boundary between humans and gods, in which human happiness is at the mercy of the gods. The closest humans can come to attaining happiness is to cultivate a harmonious relationship with a δαίμων, making them εὐδαίμονες. This favourable relationship can be through ritual practices, such as libations or sacrifices done to a δαίμων, which as seen can be a god or a cult hero. In addition, to achieve εὐδαιμονία it is essential to practice good judgement (τὸ φρονεῖν) and piety (εὐσέβεια) which serve as safeguards against provoking divine displeasure and consequently suffering the wrath of the gods. When the gods are provoked, this punishment can echo through generations, but if one is pious and is favoured by the gods, εὐδαίμων, then one experiences a sense of security alongside which other types of happiness can arise, such as being εὐτυχής, for example, as seen in *Oedipus at Coloneus*. However, it is important not to forget that even though being εὐδαίμων feels the most permanent, it is not so because there is always a risk of downfall.

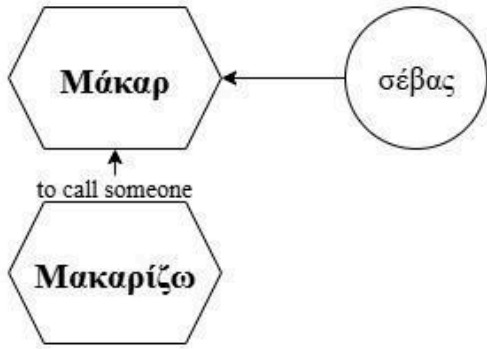
Lastly, examining εὐτυχής and its derivatives, it is interesting to highlight that εὐτυχέω is the most common word relating to happiness in Sophocles' works. Generally, εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχής share the same sense components and have a momentary meaning of "to enjoy good fortune" or in some cases even more directly, "to succeed" or "to prosper". This is the result of when the force of τύχη aids, τύχη ὀρθοῖ. The force of τύχη is controlled by a δαίμων and specifically in these passages Zeus is mentioned with the epithet, τροπαῖος, "the one who turns". Even though there is also the implication that one has to work towards it and without toil it is not possible, the one who decides the outcome is a god. To be εὐτυχής or to εὐτυχέω, is linked to 'absence of suffering and pain', this is seen clearly when it is contrasted to ἀταόμαι. In accordance with other words related to happiness, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω have no sense of stability and the characters live in fear of their fortune changing, as best represented by Deianira's intervention. Although in some cases these terms can refer to repeated instances which seem to indicate a durative nature, their sense is still momentary and unstable.

In conclusion, in Sophocles' works there is a pessimistic outlook and a distinct separation between gods and mortals which is also present in Pindar and in Hesiod. Firstly, however, it

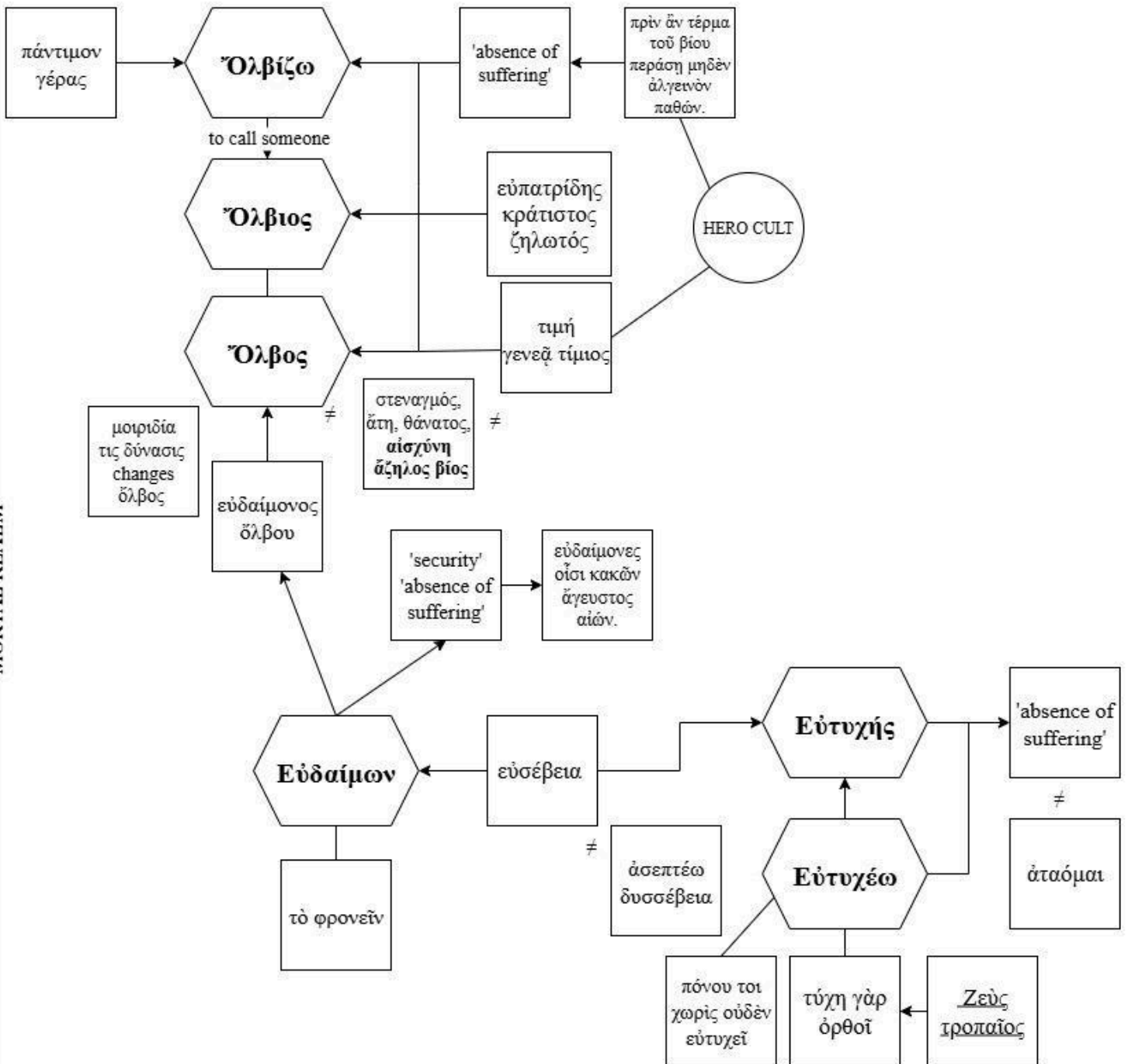
is notable that Sophocles hardly uses μάκαρ and does not employ it to refer to the gods which could indicate that this use is in decline. Secondly, it seems that to achieve other types of happiness, to have a good relationship with the gods is crucial. It could be said that to be εὐδαίμων is a prerequisite to be ὄλβιος and to be εὐτυχής. It is significant that Sophocles breaks away from the materialistic meaning of ὄλβιος and ὄλβος found in authors immediately before him and recovers a former meaning of ὄλβος as intangible, putting great emphasis on its relation to honour. Lastly, in Sophocles' works, the adjective εὐτυχής and its derivatives, clearly correspond to momentary fortune, a meaning that is also very present in authors prior to him. However, it is noteworthy that, in some instances, there is a sense of recurrence and repetition that he adds to these terms. Effectively, all these different types of happiness are ever-changing and subject to the gods, causing a profound feeling of uncertainty that echoes throughout Sophocles' works.

εὐδαίμων/εὐδαιμονία/εὐδαιμονίζω	μάκαρ	εὐτυχής/εὐτυχέω	ὄλβιος/ὄλβος/ὄλβίζω
<p>To be εὐδαίμων means ‘to have a good relationship with a δαίμων’, to do so one has to have good judgement (τὸ φρονεῖν) and act with piety (εὐσέβεια). When one is εὐδαίμων, they are favoured through external evidence and live a life that is more ‘secure’ and ‘absent of suffering’. With being εὐδαίμων can come to be εὐτυχής and to be ὄλβιος.</p>	<p>Only appears once, used to invoke Cybele. Related to being object of ‘awe’ and ‘τιμή’.</p>	<p>Seems to be dependent on being εὐδαίμων. When a god favours one by favouring them through the force of τύχη, then one can enjoy ‘success’, ‘good fortune’, and ‘an absence of suffering’. Contrasted to ἀταόμαι.</p>	<p>Seems to be dependent on being εὐδαίμων since one can be favoured with ὄλβος. It is used for those who ‘surpass others’ by ‘being favoured’ through ‘high status’ (εὐπατρίδης), ‘power’ (κράτιστος) and being honoured’, receiving τιμή, and living a life that is enviable, ζηλωτός. It is also related to an absence of suffering. One can only be called ὄλβιος when they have finished their life not experiencing pain.</p>
<p>This status is not permanent and can change when this relationship is compromised by acts of impiety.</p>	<p>Compound μακαρίζω appears once to say that no mortal can be called μάκαρ, because they do not enjoy the ‘stability’ and ‘security’ gods do.</p>	<p>It seems that it is not possible without toil, πόνος, but it is ultimately up to the gods’ will.</p>	<p>Secondarily, it is understood that there is a relation that with high status normally comes wealth, but there is no emphasis on this aspect.</p> <p>There is one use of ὄλβιος that seems to be anticipating the state Oedipus will reach when after death he will be immortalized through hero cult.</p> <p>Ὅλβια is used as a form of greeting to wish future good fortune, for example: ἀλλ’ ὄλβια τε καὶ ξὺν ὄλβίοις ἀεὶ / γένοιτ’ ἐκείνου γ’ οὐσα παντελῆς δάμαρ</p>

			similar to that already found in Homer.
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βροτῶν οὐδὲν μακαρίζω



### 3.3. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HERODOTUS

Herodotus, acknowledged as “The Father of History” (*pater historiae*) by Cicero<sup>300</sup>, was a Greek historian who lived during the 5th century BC in Halicarnassus. Herodotus is most known for his work, *The Histories*, which is considered one of the most significant classical historical works. In his work, Herodotus focuses primarily on the Greco-Persian Wars, as well as the early stages leading up to the conflict. The lives of prominent kings and famous battles like Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataea are also featured in *The Histories*. In what at first glance seems a purely historiographical work, Herodotus often reflects on the essence of morality, human nature and the role of divine involvement in historical events. His emphasis on the human experience opens a window into the analysis of his work from a philosophical standpoint. Herodotus’ works have sparked ongoing philosophical discussions on subjects including political theory, ethics and cultural studies. In this section, Herodotus’ works will be approached from the standpoint of an analysis of happiness-related words.

Starting with the verb μάκαρ and its derivatives, it is important to mention that neither μάκαρ nor μακάριος appear in Herodotus’ works, only μακαρίζω. This verb seems to portray the meaning of ‘deeming someone momentarily happy’, a very different usage to that appreciated in previous sections of this work. In Chapter 45 of Book VII, Xerxes deems himself happy, ἐμακάρισε ἑωυτὸν, upon seeing a vast army of ships and soldiers on the shores of Abydos, however, he then bursts into tears, ἐδάκρυσε: Ὡς δὲ ὦρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηγῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. (“But when he saw the whole Hellespont hidden by his ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos thronged with men, Xerxes first declared himself happy, and presently he fell a-weeping.”)<sup>301</sup> In Chapter 46, Xerxes explains to his uncle Artabanus that this change is due to his realization of the brevity of human life.<sup>302</sup> Artabanus responds to Xerxes saying there are sorrows worse than the brevity of life and that there is no man so εὐδαίμων that he does not wish to be dead at some point: ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχεί βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἀνθρώπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλακίς καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ

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<sup>300</sup> See *De legibus*, I, 5.

<sup>301</sup> The Greek text and translation for Books V-VII are taken from Alfred Denis Godley (1938).

<sup>302</sup> Xerxes says the following: ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἶη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπιος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.” (“Ay verily,” said Xerxes; “for I was moved to compassion, when I considered the shortness of all human life, seeing that of all this multitude of men not one will be alive a hundred years hence.”)

ζώειν. (“For short as our lives are, there is no man here or elsewhere so fortunate, that he shall not be constrained, ay many a time and not once only to wish himself dead rather than alive.”) Artabanus explains how everyone experiences misfortunes, συμφοραί, that can make life seem longer than it is and, because of this, death is seen as the most wanted refuge for mortals: οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγρονε (“Thus is life so sorry a thing that death has come to be a man’s most desirable refuge therefrom.”) Even though the verb μακαρίζω is only used on two occasions and it is difficult to appreciate fully the meaning, it is very clearly momentary and does not have the same permanence as μάκαρ. Μακαρίζω has less force and is not permanent, but does seem to share the sense component of ‘power’ because it is used when Xerxes is witnessing his own military power. Secondly, there may be a component of ‘security’ in seeing his military prowess.

Examination of the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives demonstrates that Herodotus’ works offer a new usage which is different to that appreciated in previous authors who referred solely to happiness relating to material possessions and wealth with no allusion to its etymological meaning. This is seen more clearly on the occasions when it is contrasted to its opposites. An example of this use is clear in Book I Chapter 133 of *The Histories* which talks about the customs of the Persians for their birthday celebrations:

Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιοῦσι προτιθέσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὄλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται.

The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle.<sup>303</sup>

The adjective εὐδαίμονες is used for those who have the money to be able to serve an abundant meal with different kinds of meat on their birthdays and is contrasted to those who are πένητες, who are poorer and serve cheaper kinds of meat. It seems that εὐδαίμων is related clearly to ‘wealth’ and to ‘material prosperity’, coming to mean the same as being πλούσιος. Another example of this use of εὐδαίμων is found in Chapter 196 of Book I when Herodotus describes the customs of the Eneti in Illyria:

[...] ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες

<sup>303</sup> The Greek text and translation for Books I and II are taken from Alfred Denis Godley (1975).

ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον.

[...] Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith;

The contrast with ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου makes it clear that the εὐδαίμονες are those who are wealthy and from the upper classes which demonstrates the sense components of ‘wealth’ and ‘status’. These had been appreciated before, but with the idea that this wealth and status came from divine favour from having a good relationship with a δαίμων. However, in the uses of εὐδαίμων in Herodotus’ works, there is no reference to this etymological meaning and seems to be a synonym of πλούσιος.

The uses of εὐδαιμονία seem to refer to a more ‘general prosperity’ normally used for cities, as seen in Book VI, Chapter 68: τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξιν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίης. (“’twas likelier that huge calamity would come upon Lacedaemon than huge prosperity.”)<sup>304</sup> However, in line with the objectives of this analysis, the focus is on the use of εὐδαιμονία applied to the mortal experience. An example is found in Chapter 4 of Book V, where the customs surrounding birth and death of the Trausi are explained. When a child is born, the Trausi lament all the disgraces the child will have to endure, however, when someone dies they bury them with joy: τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντες τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι γῆ κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἐξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἐστὶ ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. (“but the dead they bury with jollity and gladness, for the reason that he is quit of so many ills and is in perfect blessedness.”) To be in εὐδαιμονία here seems to be a general state of prosperity that contrasts with a bad situation. When one dies, one enjoys ‘absence of pain and toil’, in a similar way to how death had been described as a refuge. To be εὐδαίμων is clearly materialistic, however εὐδαιμονία can refer to ‘general prosperity’.<sup>305</sup>

Instead, ὄλβιος, has a more complex meaning in Herodotus’ works. It seems to refer to a state that endures throughout one’s lifetime and is intricately linked to the manner of one’s passing.

<sup>304</sup> It is used mostly for cities or places instead of people, as seen in Book VII, 220: μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. (“if he remained, he would leave a name of great renown, and the prosperity of Sparta would not be blotted out”). Book VI, 28: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίη τῶν νήσων προέφερε (“For Naxos, surpassed all the other islands in prosperity”)

<sup>305</sup> Interestingly, in other authors ὄλβιος and ὄλβος have a similar distinction, ὄλβιος being ‘possessing material wealth’ and ὄλβος which may refer to either ‘prosperity coming from wealth’ or a ‘general prosperity’.

For example, in Chapter 216 of Book I, when the customs of the Massagetae are explained, it is said that when a man becomes very old, his family comes together to kill him and eat his flesh during a feast. This type of death is considered to be the most ὄλβιος: ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὄλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται (“This is held to be the happiest death”). If a man dies from an illness, the Massagetae people do not consume his flesh, but instead bury him in the ground. The use of ὄλβιος in Chapter 24 of Book VI also relates ὄλβιος to the manner of one’s passing, when explaining how Scythes ended his life in Persia ὄλβιος: ἐς ὃ γήραϊ μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι (“at the last he ended his life in Persia, full of years and of great possessions”). Since a monarch is the subject here, it may be supposed that Herodotus is simply talking about wealth, however, Scythes is ὄλβιος because his state of prosperity endured until old age. The adjective ὄλβιος seems to be a permanent state that comes when one ends one’s life in a state of prosperity. This adjective will be analysed further in the dialogue between Solon and Croesus, but it is manifest that this usage departs from its materialistic sense.<sup>306</sup>

Turning to the examination of the usage of εὐτυχίας and its derivatives, the passage relating to Amasis and Polycrates is of great interest. In Chapter 40 of Book III, Amasis sends a letter to Polycrates, who was experiencing great success: (καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε) Amasis expresses his happiness for Polycrates’ prosperity, but also conveys his concern over the dangers of such continuous good fortune.<sup>307</sup>

ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἰ σαὶ μεγάλα εὐτυχία οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν· καὶ κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἄν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γὰρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα.

It is pleasant to learn of the well-being of a friend and guest. But I like not these great successes of yours; for I know how jealous are the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>306</sup> De Heer (1969, 72) also puts forward as an example of this in Chapter 75 of Book VIII, where ὄλβιος is qualified by χρήμασι to give it the meaning of being fortunate in money matters, so in no way is ὄλβιος simply equivalent to ‘wealthy’ (τὸν δὴ... ἐποίησε... καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον).

<sup>307</sup> For the entire passage see Annex, [Chapter 40-43 of Book III](#).

<sup>308</sup> The Greek text and translation for Books III and IV are taken from Alfred Denis Godley (1928).

His μεγάλοι εὐτυχίαι are related to εὖ πράσσω, ‘to fare well’ that seems to be ‘absence of disaster’. Amasis warns against φθόνος, the jealousy of the gods. He advises Polycrates that it is preferable to experience a life of both successes and failures, rather than to εὐτυχεῖν all the time. Amasis suggested that Polycrates should consider what he valued most and willingly give it up to avoid the dangers of continuous good fortune, which Amasis believes ultimately leads to destruction. Polycrates followed the advice and threw a valuable ring into the sea. However, when Amasis learned that his ring had returned to Polycrates, he broke off their alliance, believing that such luck would eventually lead to disaster (ἔμαθε [...] ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσῃν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει). Here, to be εὐτυχής in this case seems to come from when one is aided by τύχη and they are εὐτυχής and thus, they enjoy an ‘absence of misfortune’ and ‘avoid calamities’. However, if this fortune is excessive then it can incite the jealousy of the gods, φθόνος, which can result in punishment, as will eventually happen to Polycrates.<sup>309</sup>

Having analysed these words-relating to happiness separately, now it is possible to appreciate more fully their nuances in the famous dialogue between Croesus and Solon in Chapter 32 of Book I, which is the most interesting passage for their examination.<sup>310</sup> Nagy refers to this passage as an αἶνος which he describes: “As a difficult code that bears a difficult but correct message for the qualified and a wrong message or messages for the unqualified, the *ainos* communicates like an enigma.”<sup>311</sup> In this case, the enigma revolves around the word ὄλβιος.<sup>312</sup> Croesus invites Solon into his opulent palace and orders his servants to show Solon all his treasures. Croesus then asks Solon who he thinks is the happiest person of all, ὄλβιώτατος. It is clear that Croesus expects Solon to name him, given the wealth and treasures that he has just shown him. However, Solon responds that the happiest man, ὄλβιώτατος, who he knows is Tellus from Athens, in Chapter 30 Book I:

“Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἠκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπανσι τέκνα ἐγγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἦκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μέγਾਲως.”

<sup>309</sup> Herodotus in Book III, Chapter 125 explains how Polycrates was assassinated by the satrap of Sardis, Oroetes, in Magnesia.

<sup>310</sup> For the entire passage see Annex, Chapter 30-33 of Book I.

<sup>311</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (1990), §6.

<sup>312</sup> Hollmann, Alexander. (2015), p. 88.

“Tellus’ city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well established; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour.”<sup>313</sup>

Here it is clear how Tellus in life had ‘material possessions’ from the idea that he had everything good in life, τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι and also he had ‘offspring’ to perpetuate this. However, Tellus is only considered ὄλβιος because of the way he ended his life.<sup>314</sup> After death, Tellus is ὄλβιος in the sacral meaning, since it is explained how he died a noble death and was buried at public expense where he fell (Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῆ περ ἔπεσε καὶ) and was honoured (ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως). Nagy explains how: “*timé* can refer to the honor of hero cult that a cult hero receives after death.”<sup>315</sup> Tellus is the most ὄλβιος because in life he was thus because of his ‘wealth’, ‘status’ and ‘offspring’ and also, after death, he is ὄλβιος since he is eternally immortalized through hero cult, ‘receiving τιμή’. Solon goes on to say that the second happiest men he knows are Cleobis and Biton, brothers born in Argos, who offered to pull the cart, and they transported their mother in order to fulfil the rituals. They are described as athletes in previous verses and are said to be celebrated by the Argives (Ἀργεῖοι ... ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων) and are immortalized after death, in Chapter 31 Book I.<sup>316</sup>

“[...] ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπων τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. [...] Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.”

“[...] Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. [...] Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence.”

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<sup>313</sup> This war is reminiscent of the annual ritual battle at Eleusis and may be related to the Eleusinian Mysteries, as Nagy (2020, 369) remarks: “I find it significant that the figure of Tellos [...] is connected with the prehistory of the Eleusis (Herodotus 1.30.5), the site of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

<sup>314</sup> Pelling (2006, 147) points out the relationship of the name Tellus with τελός.

<sup>315</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 576.

<sup>316</sup> Hollmann (2015, 91) states: “Rather than merely telling us that they have the necessary bodily strength to perform the exploit that will soon be narrated, this detail can also be understood as setting up a connection between the *aethlos* of the athlete and the *aethlos* of the hero, who receives compensation after death for his struggles: for as we will see by the end of the story, Kleobis and Biton are characterized precisely as cult heroes.” Nagy (1990, §3) explains how *aethlos* can be both related to the *aethlos* of the athlete and the *aethlos* of the hero.

Nagy states: “For the uninitiated, this wording means that you are better off dead – that you might as well choose to be put out of your misery instead of going on with life. For the initiated, this same wording means that a life after death will be better for you than the life you are living now.”<sup>317</sup> After this, the mother prayed that her sons, who had so greatly honoured the goddess (οἱ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως) would, in exchange, receive the highest good. In the sense of hero cult, it is one of the highest achievements to die and be immortalized as a hero, and they themselves will be honoured greatly after death as cult heroes, making them ὄλβιοι. The main difference between these two is put forward by Alexander Hollman, saying that it is Cleobis’ and Biton’s unseasonal death: “Tellos dies after a good innings and has children and grandchildren (1.30.4), whereas Kleobis and Biton die young and without offspring: it is in this sense that they must take second place.”<sup>318</sup>

Croesus, who understands to be ὄλβιος as purely material, does not understand what Solon is referring to and takes his answers as insulting. The different understanding of ὄλβιος between Croesus and Solon ultimately comes from the fact that “only those who are initiated into the mysteries of hero cult can understand the sacral meaning of *olbios*.”<sup>319</sup>

Solon explains why he does not consider wealth to be the only thing that makes someone ὄλβιος: οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ’ ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. (“For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him.”) He who τύχη attends is εὐτυχής, as in avoiding misfortune, ‘faring well’. This is seen clearly when Solon affirms how a man who is εὐτυχής has the advantage that disaster and calamity is kept away from him: ταῦτα δὲ ἢ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής. (“yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness.”) When one has εὐτυχία, absence of misfortune and human alternation, until the day he dies, then he can be considered ὄλβιος.

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<sup>317</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 586.

<sup>318</sup> Hollmann, Alexander. (2015), p. 92.

<sup>319</sup> Nagy, Gregory. (2020), p. 576. De Heer’s way of explaining the difference in the meaning of ὄλβιος comes from a dialectal misunderstanding between Oriental and Greek, he affirms (1969, 71): “This meaning, which he (Solon) believes to have a higher, moral value than the primary one of popular currency, refers to the performance of one’s duty as a citizen, a sense which is patently unknown to an Oriental monarch, instead of the pursuit of wealth for the sake of gratifying personal ambitions.” However, De Heer’s analysis does not explore the duplicity in meaning of ὄλβιος relating to hero cult or the initiates in Mysteries. That this dialogue refers to this duplicity of meaning is the most plausible considering that it goes back to Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*.

εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὁ ὄλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσει, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα.

If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate.

It seems that to be ὄλβιος in life is dependent on having lasting εὐτυχία until one dies because human life is all about chance (οὕτω ὧν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῆ) and that there are many to whom the god has given ὄλβος and then this has been reverted, (πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε).<sup>320</sup> The gods dispense ὄλβος and one can keep it if one's favouredness by τύχη is long-lasting, being εὐτυχῆς until death, when this happens, then one can be called ὄλβιος. In this sense, Solon sees Croesus as only worthy of being called εὐτυχῆς, because his life is not over yet and he cannot be called the happiest man (ὀλβιώτατος) without having ended his life happily (ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι)

Croesus does not understand what Solon means until he witnesses his own downfall. These two episodes are linked in Chapter 34 of Book I: Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. (“But after Solon’s departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus: as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men.”). It seems that Croesus’ overconfidence in deeming himself the most ὄλβιος, an act of ὕβρις, incites νέμεσις of the gods.<sup>321</sup> Carolyn Dewald affirms: “wealthy, powerful people, kings, generals, politicians and the like - both Greek and barbarian, often do not understand this truth, and often make decisions that bring them down, based on their confidence in their own resources and trust in the fact of their own past success.”<sup>322</sup>

Croesus’ realization is found in Chapter 86 of Book I, when tied to a pyre and about to be set on fire by Cyrus, he remembers Solon’s words that one cannot be considered ὄλβιος while alive.<sup>323</sup> Cyrus’ hearing Croesus words, repents of his intention of burning a man who was

<sup>320</sup> This is reminiscent of how in Sophocles, vv. 303 of *Women of Trachis*, Zeus is called ὁ τροπαῖος as the one who is responsible for human alternation.

<sup>321</sup> Pelling (2006, 150) states: “It is disputed whether Croesus’ overconfidence would itself be regarded as ὕβρις. But in any case it remains true that such thoughts, insufficiently alert as they are to the boundary between god and human, resemble those which lead to or accompany hybriotic behavior elsewhere.”

<sup>322</sup> Carolyn Dewald (2011), p. 57.

<sup>323</sup> For the entire passage see Annex, [Chapter 86 of Book I](#).

once equal to him in εὐδαιμονία, meaning ‘wealth’ and ‘status’.

καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίῃ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον.

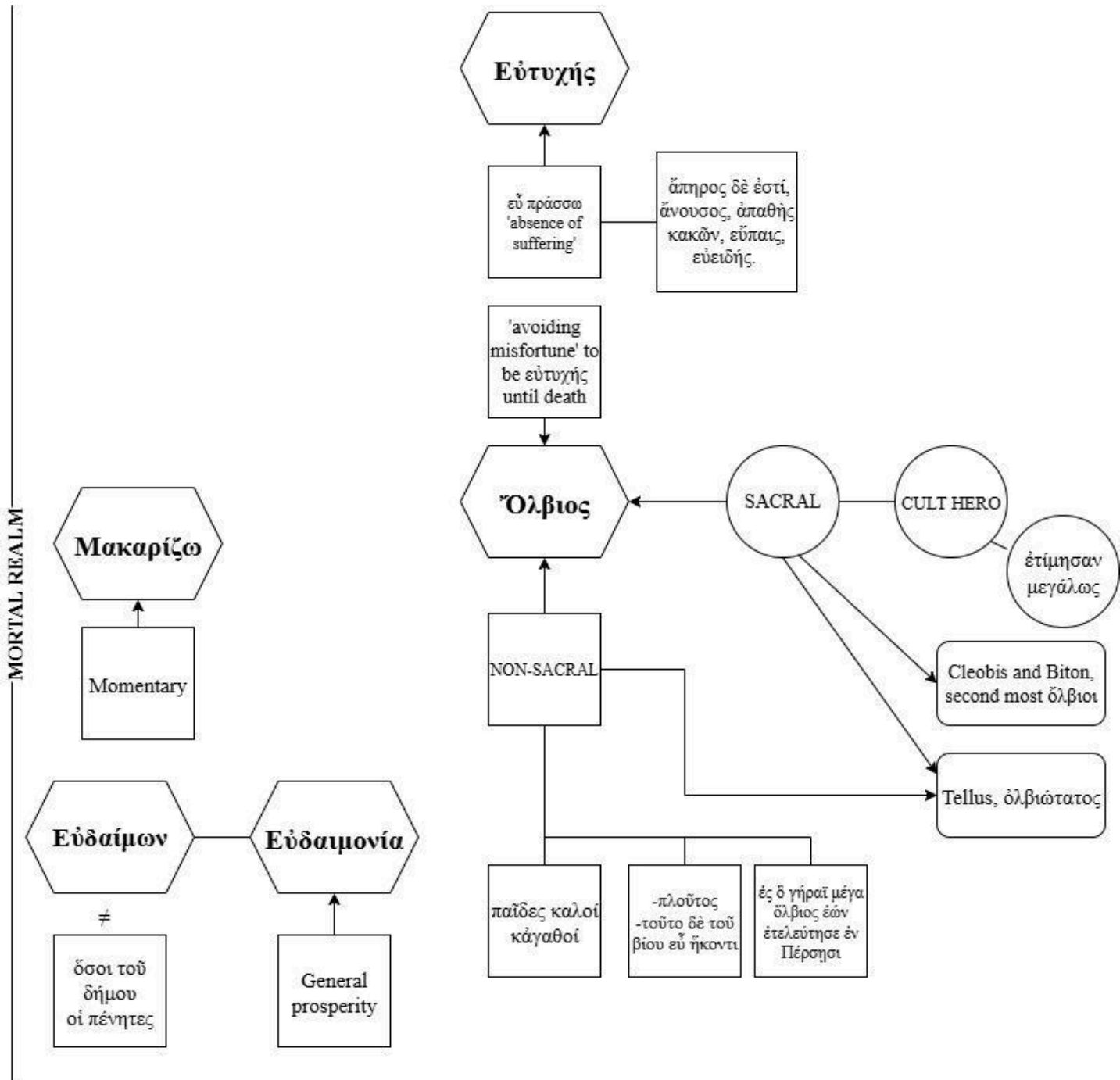
Then Cyrus when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, repented of his purpose. He bethought him that he, being also a man, was burning alive another man who had once been as fortunate as himself; moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his mind that there was no stability in human affairs.

Cyrus orders Croesus to be saved from the fire because of his fear of divine retribution, τίσις, and his awareness that human affairs are ever-changing, οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον. The idea that human affairs are changing is a central topic in Herodotus’ works and the happiness-related words that are found are all vulnerable to changes of τύχη or to the will of the gods. The best one can hope for is to be permanently ὄλβιος, as in immortalized after death through hero cult.

Through the analysis of these passages, the usage of happiness-related words in Herodotus can be appreciated. Firstly, it is remarkable how the adjective μάκαρ does not appear as an epithet for the gods and neither is μακάριος used for mortals. Only the verb μακαρίζω is used and it seems to have less force than the latter, but conserving the sense of ‘power’ and ‘awe’. In both occurrences it seems that one is deemed happy because of these things, but it is only momentary, contrasting strongly with the ‘stability’ and ‘security’ normally present in μάκαρ. Secondly, the adjective εὐδαίμων is linked solely to ‘possessing wealth and riches’, with no appearance of its etymological meaning. The noun εὐδαιμονία refers to either prosperity coming from wealth or to a general type of prosperity. In some ways, it seems to take on the meaning commonly found in ὄλβιος and ὄλβος. In contrast, ὄλβιος no longer has materialistic connotations and it is only ὄλβος that seems to still conserve this relationship to riches. To be ὄλβιος is judged over a lifetime and is intrinsically related to the manner of one’s passing. The dialogue between Solon and Croesus is especially interesting because the duplicity of meaning of ὄλβιος found in previous authors is addressed, showing the two meanings, one that is personified by Solon who has the more profound definition of ὄλβιος and Croesus who sees ὄλβιος as simply material. At first glance, it could be seen that Solon is simply teaching Croesus about human alternation, remarking how fragile his riches really are and how no one can count themselves ὄλβιος until they die. However, the examples that Solon puts forward as the ὄλβιοι of all mortals are those who were immortalized after death and received hero

cult which seems to be hinting at a sacral meaning of ὄλβιος. Even though they enjoyed ‘wealth’ and ‘status’ (and in Tellus’ case offspring), the most important is that their εὐτυχία endured until the end of their lives, which culminated in a heroic death. After death, they are permanently ὄλβιοι because they are honoured through hero cult. This is why, before death, one cannot be considered ὄλβιος, only εὐτυχής. To be εὐτυχής is to be aided by τύχη and thus, avoiding misfortunes or changes of fate. If one is εὐτυχής until the day one dies an honourable death and is venerated, then one can be called ὄλβιος. To be εὐτυχής could be interpreted as a prerequisite to being ὄλβιος. This is the only way that ὄλβιος is permanent, because human life is susceptible to alternation and all materialistic goods can change by force of τύχη or the gods. Without a doubt, within the scope of Herodotus’ usage of happiness-related words, what proves to be of most interest is the passage of Solon and Croesus concerning the meaning of ὄλβιος. In previous authors, the duplicity in meaning of ὄλβιος had been appreciated, however in Herodotus it is addressed. The sacral and ephemeral meaning, personified by Solon and Croesus respectively, come face to face; the initiate and the non-initiate, the knowledgeable and the ignorant, the ὄλβιος and the ἀνόλβιος.

μακαρίζω	εὐδαίμων	ὄλβιος	εὐτυχέω/ εὐτυχία
<p>-Only for humans who are deemed happy momentarily for ‘power’ and enjoying certain ‘security’.</p>	<p>-‘Possessing wealth’ and ‘status’.</p>	<p>In its non-sacral meaning, it refers to πλοῦτος and having a healthy offspring to perpetuate this.</p> <p>In its sacral meaning, it is used for those immortalized after death through hero cult and is a permanent state. This is judged over a lifetime and from the manner of one’s death. If one lives a life of εὐτυχία and dies an honourable death and is honoured through hero cult, then one can be considered ὄλβιος.</p> <p>-understood wrongly by Croesus as ‘material possession’.</p>	<p>-‘To be aided by τύχη’ and thus, ‘to avoid adversity’.</p> <p>Due to one’s εὐτυχία, one is kept from sickness, evil and is happy with one’s offspring, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής.</p>
	<p><b>εὐδαιμονία</b></p> <p>-‘General prosperity’ which can be linked to ‘wealth’ also. Normally applied to cities.</p> <p>-There is one use for the ‘general prosperity’ after death because of ‘absence of pain’.</p>		
<p>-Surprisingly momentary and not stable.</p> <p>-Much less force than μάκαρ.</p>	<p>-No explicit link to its etymological meaning.</p> <p>-Seems to take ὄλβιος and ὄλβος place when this is used solely with materialistic meaning.</p>	<p><b>ὄλβος</b></p> <p>-Wealth and prosperity dealt by the gods which is not permanent.</p>	<p><b>Etymological link, εὐ + τύχη, dependent on τύχη.</b></p>



### 3.4. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN EURIPIDES

To conclude the analysis of happiness-related words in Tragedy, this section examines the works of the tragedian, Euripides. Those of his works to be studied are: *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Children of Heracles*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Suppliants*, *Trojan Women*, *Madness of Heracles*, *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, *Electra*, *Helen*, *Ion*, *Phoenician Women*, *Orestes*, *Cyclops*, *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*.<sup>324</sup> The analysis will follow the same method as that of the other tragedians and the fragments will not be analysed. Moreover, there are many occurrences of happiness-related words in Euripides so this section offers a selection of those the most relevant.<sup>325</sup>

Starting with the adjective μάκαρ, this adjective appears as a standard epithet for the gods accompanying θεοί as seen in vv. 824-834 of *Medea*:

Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι  
καὶ θεῶν παῖδες μακάρων, ἱερᾶς  
χώρας ἀπορθήτου τ' ἄπο, φερβόμενοι  
κλεινοτάταν σοφίαν, αἰεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου  
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος, ἔνθα ποθ' ἀγνάς  
ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι  
ξανθὰν Ἄρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι·

From ancient times the sons of Erechtheus have been favored; they are children of the blessed gods sprung from a holy land never pillaged by the enemy. They feed on wisdom most glorious, always stepping gracefully through the bright air, where once, it is said, the nine Pierian Muses gave birth to fair-haired Harmonia.

As can be appreciated, the adjective μάκαρ is an epithet for the gods and refers to the happiness related to 'stability', 'a life of ease', 'power' and 'awe', a state generally reserved for the gods. The Chorus calls the descendants of Erechtheus the children of these gods who are μάκαρες and also calls them ὄλβιοι. Here, ὄλβιος means 'to be favoured by the gods through material prosperity and status' that is perpetuated through generations, as occurs with the descendants of Erechtheus, the Athenians. The adjective μάκαρ also appears as a standard epithet for the gods in *Bacchae*, in vv. 374- 378:

αἴεις οὐχ ὀσίαν  
ὔβριν ἐς τὸν Βρόμιον, τὸν  
Σεμέλας, τὸν παρὰ καλλι-

<sup>324</sup> The Greek text and translations for these passages are taken from David Kovacs (1995–2002).

<sup>325</sup> For a complete study of happiness-related words in Euripides, see Marianne McDonald (1978).

στεφάνοις εὐφροσύναις δαί-  
μονα πρῶτον μακάρων;

Do you hear of his impious  
violence against Bromios,  
Semele's son, the chief god invoked  
amid the fair-garlanded  
delights of the feast?

Dionysus is called δαίμονα πρῶτον of the μακάρων “as the spirit presiding over fair-crowned festivities”.<sup>326</sup> Here, the adjective μάκαρ has the same meaning already put forward, the only difference is that it appears without θεός. In Euripides' works, there is both the use of μάκαρ with θεός and without, however the use of μάκαρ accompanying a noun is more common.<sup>327</sup>

In *Hecuba*, vv. 644-646, the adjective μάκαρ appears once again: ἐκρίθη δ' ἔρις, ἃν ἐν Ἴδῃ / δακρίνει τρισσὰς μακάρων / παῖδας ἀνήρ βούτας. (“The quarrel that the shepherd upon Ida judged for the three daughters of the blessed gods was decided.”) Athena, Aphrodite and Hera are the three children of the μάκαρες, τρισσὰς μακάρων παῖδας. They are children of immortal gods and they themselves are also μάκαρες, who enjoy a ‘life of ease’, ‘security’, ‘stability’, ‘power’ and are an ‘object of awe’ and ‘of τιμή’.

Even though the adjective μάκαρ is generally reserved for the gods, Euripides also uses it for mortals. For example, in vv. 375-380 of *Helen*:

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθένη  
Καλλιστοῖ, Διὸς ἃ λεχέων ἀπέ-  
βας τετραβάμοσι γυίοις,  
ὡς πολὺ κηρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,  
ἂ μορφᾷ θηρῶν λαχνογυίων  
[ὄμματι λάβρῳ σχῆμα λεαίνης]  
ἐξαλλάξασ' ἄχθεα λύπας·

O lucky maid of Arcadia long ago  
Callisto, who left the bed of Zeus  
with limbs that go on all four,  
how much your lot surpasses mine  
since by taking the form of a shaggy beast  
[with violent eye, the form of a lioness]  
you have put from yourself the burden of pain!

<sup>326</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 269.

<sup>327</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1979), p. 3.

Helen, through the form of a μακαρισμός, praises Callisto, who is also known for having suffered pain and toil because of her beauty, but is now freed from this. As McDonald points out: “‘Beauty’ even appears in her name (κάλλος/Καλλιστώ).”<sup>328</sup> Callisto, now converted into a bear by Hera, has escaped from pain and lives a ‘life of ease’, similar to the gods. When the adjective μάκαρ is applied to a mortal, it is because this mortal shares either one, a few or all of the characteristics that gods enjoy that make them μάκαρες. In this case, the sense of ‘life of ease’ and ‘stability’ are present and with these come ‘absence of pain and suffering’, circumstances which normally characterise the mortal existence. The adjective μάκαρ here is also clearly used with a sense of ‘awe’ from Helen who admires and envies the fact that now Callisto no longer experiences the pain caused by her beauty. McDonald asserts: “Callisto lost what Helen considered δυστυχὲς κάλλος (236-237. Cf. also 261, 304, 263-267, 375-385. [...] Helen is praising and envying Callisto for her release from sorrow (380), a factor which makes Callisto comparable to the gods.”<sup>329</sup>

In vv. 995-1005 of *Alcestis*, μάκαρ is applied to Alcestis herself after death.

μηδὲ νεκρῶν ὡς φθιμένων χῶμα νομιζέσθω  
τύμβος σᾶς ἀλόχου, θεοῖσι δ’ ὁμοίως  
τιμάσθω, σέβας ἐμπόρων.  
καί τις δοχμίαν κέλευθον  
ἐμβαίνων τόδ’ ἐρεῖ·  
Αὔτα ποτὲ προύθαν’ ἀνδρός,  
νῦν δ’ ἔστι μάκαιρα δαίμων·  
χαῖρ’, ὦ πότνι’, εὖ δὲ δοίης.  
τοῖα νιν προσεροῦσι φήμα.

Let not the grave of your wife be regarded as the funeral mound of the dead departed but let her be honored as are the gods, an object of reverence to the wayfarer. Someone walking a winding path past her tomb shall say, “This woman died in the stead of her husband, and now she is a blessed divinity. Hail, Lady, and grant us your blessing!” With such words they will address her.

It is remarked that Alcestis after death shall not have the same fate as others, but will instead be a μάκαιρα δαίμων. As Dale asserted: “Alcestis is to be a μάκαιρα δαίμων, a beneficent presence to whom the wayfarer may do reverence and pray for blessing.”<sup>330</sup> As Paley declared: “The *daemons*, or spirits of heroes in the nether world, were thought capable of

<sup>328</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 191.

<sup>329</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 191.

<sup>330</sup> Dale, Amy Marjorie. (2003), p. 123.

sending up blessing.”<sup>331</sup> And Parker states: “the chorus announce that Alcestis will be a ‘hero’, in the technical, religious sense.”<sup>332</sup> Alcestis, after death, will be immortalized through hero cult and will be a δαίμων enjoying ‘a life of ease’, ‘security and stability’ and will have a ‘divine-like power’ over the life of mortals and inspire ‘awe’. Moreover, after death, her tomb will be honoured in the same way that the shrines of the gods are honoured (θεοῖσι δ’ ὁμοίως τιμάσθω) and it will be an object of veneration (σέβας ἐμπόρων).<sup>333</sup> Therefore, because she shares in these god-like qualities, she receives the adjective μάκαρ.

Another interpretation is that of Richard Hunter who affirms that this passage reflects the language from inscribed poetic epitaphs and the use of μάκαρ is because it is an epithet applied to the dead in these contexts.<sup>334</sup> De Heer also remarked that these verses read like an epitaph and relates this usage to that observed in Hesiod’s *Works and Days* for the dead in v. 141: μάκαρες θνητοί. In both cases, the use of μάκαρες has the meaning of ‘life of ease’ and ‘awe’ and ‘honour received’ and is used for Alcestis as a supernatural force after death. In my opinion, the interpretation of Alcestis as a benevolent cult hero is more convincing, given that there is emphasis on her fate after death being different to others and on her being object of honour like the gods. Furthermore, the use of μάκαρ for dead heroes is one that had already been appreciated in previous authors, such as Homer and Hesiod.<sup>335</sup>

In vv. 543-557 of *Iphigenia at Aulis*, μάκαρ is applied to humans who venerate Aphrodite with moderation and σωφροσύνη:

μάκαρες οἱ μετρίας θεοῦ  
 μετά τε σωφροσύνας μετέ-  
 σχον λέκτρων Ἀφροδίτας,  
 γαλανεῖα χρησάμενοι  
 μανιάδων οἴστρων· ὅθι δὴ  
 δίδυμ’ Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας  
 τόξ’ ἐντείνεται χαρίτων,  
 τὸ μὲν ἐπ’ εὐαίωνι πότμῳ,  
 τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς.  
 ἀπενέπω νιν ἀμετέρων,  
 ὧ Κύπρι καλλίστα, θαλάμων.

<sup>331</sup> Paley, Frederick Apthorp. (2010), p. 294.

<sup>332</sup> Parker, L. P. E. (2017), p. 250.

<sup>333</sup> Parker (2017, 250) declares: “Strictly, the subject of τιμάσθω is the tomb, and ‘like the gods’ is a ‘brachylogy’ for ‘like the shrines of the gods’. However, it is easy to slip into thinking of Alcestis as the subject, so that ‘like the gods’ sounds natural.”

<sup>334</sup> Hunter, Richard. (2025), p. 22.

<sup>335</sup> See [Happiness-related Words in Homer](#) and [Happiness-related words in Hesiod](#).

εἴη δέ μοι μετρία  
μὲν χάρις, πόθοι δ' ὄσιοι,  
καὶ μετέχοιμι τᾶς Ἀφροδί-  
τας, πολλὰν δ' ἀποθείμαν.

Blessed are they who with moderation  
and self-control where the goddess is concerned  
share in the couch of Aphrodite,  
experiencing the calm absence  
of mad passion's sting. In love  
twofold are the arrows of pleasure  
golden-haired Eros sets on his bowstring,  
the one to give us a blessed fate,  
the other to confound our life.  
I forbid him, O Cypris most lovely,  
to come to my bedchamber!  
May my joy be moderate,  
my desires godly,  
may I have a share in Aphrodite  
but send her away when she is excessive!

McDonald explains how this type of defence of moderation and restraint in the context of Aphrodite is common in Euripides, specifically found in vv. 119-30 of *Medea* and vv. 250-266 of *Hippolytus*.<sup>336</sup> One is μάκαρ who shares in Aphrodite's favour in a way which is moderate and beneficial, and can avoid the desires that drive one mad, γαλανεῖα χρησάμενοι μανιάδων οἴστρων. In this way, to partake in moderation makes it so that one can enjoy a πότμος εὐδαίων 'a life of ease' and certain 'security and stability', however, excessiveness can confuse one's life, ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς, making it unstable.

There is another use of μάκαρ for mortals in the vv. 72-82 of *Bacchae*. This consists of a μακαρισμός for those initiated in the Bacchic rituals in honour of Dionysus and will serve to illuminate further the meaning of εὐδαίμων:

ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαί-  
μων τελετὰς θεῶν εἰ-  
δὼς βιοτὰν ἀγιστεύει  
καὶ θιασεύεται ψυ-  
χὰν ἐν ὄρεσσι βακχεύ-  
ων ὀσίοις καθαρμοῖσιν,  
τά τε ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄρ-  
για Κυβέλας θεμιτεύων,

<sup>336</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 286.

ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσων,  
κισσῶ τε στεφανωθείς  
Διόνυσον θεραπεύει.

O blessed the man who,  
happy in knowing the gods' rites,  
makes his life pure  
and joins his souls to the worshipful band,  
performing bacchic rites upon the mountains,  
with cleansing the gods approve:  
he performs the sacred mysteries  
of Mother Cybele of the mountains,  
and shaking the bacchic wand up and down,  
his head crowned with ivy,  
he serves Dionysus.

He is μάκαρ who is εὐδαίμων and knows the rites in honour of Dionysus and initiates himself in the sacred mysteries. It is reminiscent of the μακαρισμός of the initiates found in the *Hymn to Demeter*; but in this case it applies to those initiates of the Bacchic rites.<sup>337</sup> However, there are some other key differences to consider. Firstly, Romilly remarks that in other μακαρισμοί of this type there is insistence on death and the subsequent compensation for the initiate in the form of a more favourable afterlife. Secondly, there is emphasis on the favouredness of the initiates in comparison to the uninitiated. Romilly interprets these verses, vv. 72-82 of *Bacchae*, as an insistence on the happiness that comes from the practice of the ritual itself: “dans les Bacchantes, le bonheur qui est décrit est joie — joie présente et intense, qui naît de la pratique même du rite.”<sup>338</sup> As Dodds stated in his commentary: “The present passage [...] bases the promise of happiness on a religious experience, but its promise, unlike theirs, is for

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<sup>337</sup> In v. 495-502 of *Cyclops*, there are verses that follow the same formula that is appreciated here and McDonald (1978, 256) puts them forward as a hedonistic predecessor of this chorus:

μάκαρ ὅστις ἐυιάζει  
βοτρυῶν φίλαισι πηγαῖς  
ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐκπετασθεῖς,  
φίλον ἄνδρ' ὑπαγκαλίζων,  
ἐπὶ δεμνίοισι τε ξανθὸν  
χλιδανῆς ἔχων ἑταίρας  
μυρόχριστος λιπαρὸν βό-  
στρυχον, αὐδᾶ δέ· Θύραν τίς οἶξει μοι;

Clearly, the emphasis is on the mundane desires such as wine and sexual pleasure. McDonald (1978, 257) says: “Their philosophy based on mindless pursuit of pleasure is particularly appropriate to them: they are not ‘thinkers’ and they are in a position to satisfy their desires because they are strong enough to do so.”

<sup>338</sup> De Romilly, Jacqueline. (1963), p. 363.

this world, not for the next—the happiness which Dion. gives is here and now.”<sup>339</sup> There is no doubt that both of these apply to this realm and not to the next. I defend that the happiness which refers to the bliss in the rites is found in μάκαρ and to be εὐδαίμων is the state necessary to achieve this. When one is ‘in a good relationship with a god’, in this case Dionysus, and knows, εἰδώς, and practices the rites, εὐσέβεια, through which one can be elevated to the status of μάκαρ by divine proximity. To be εὐδαίμων represents a favouredness that goes beyond the ritual and relates to day-to-day life. The tragedy itself serves as an antithesis to the favouredness in life of the initiate and the non-initiate, through the representation of Pentheus’ suffering. To be εὐδαίμων and having a good relationship with a god is the stepping stone to achieving other types of happiness which are superior such as being μάκαρ.

In vv. 902-911 of the *Bacchae*, there is another μακαρισμός pronounced by the Chorus in which the adjective εὐδαίμων appears, as well as and the verb μακαρίζω.

εὐδαίμων μὲν ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσης  
 ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ’ ἔκικεν·  
 εὐδαίμων δ’ ὃς ὑπερθε μόχθων  
 ἐγένεθ’· ἕτερον δ’ ἕτερον ἕτερον  
 ὄλβω καὶ δυνάμει παρήλθεν,  
 μυρία δ’ ἔτι μυρίοις  
 εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες· αἱ μὲν  
 τελευτῶσιν ἐν ὄλβω  
 βροτοῖς, αἱ δ’ ἀπέβησαν·  
 τὸ δὲ κατ’ ἡμᾶρ ὄτω βίος  
 εὐδαίμων, μακαρίζω.

Blessed is he that out of the sea  
 escapes the storm and wins the harbor;  
 blessed he who triumphs over  
 trouble: one man surpasses another  
 in respect of wealth or power.  
 Furthermore, in countless hearts  
 there live countless hopes, some  
 ending in good fortune,  
 though some vanish away.  
 But the man whose life today is happy,  
 him I count blessed.

<sup>339</sup> Dodds, Eric Robertson. (1960), p. 75.

He who is εὐδαίμων, ‘in a good relationship with a god’, is favoured externally with ‘security’ expressed in ὄς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ’ ἔκιχεν, and by ‘surpassing others’ in the form of ‘wealth’, ὄλβος, and ‘power’, δύναμις. However, he who is considered μάκαρ, is he whose life today is εὐδαίμων. This is referring to that said in the previous verses analysed; he who is εὐδαίμων in life, has access to the elevated to the status of being μάκαρ. Εὐδαιμονία, apart from bringing favouredness on a day-to-day basis, grants initiates access to the participation in rites, during which they come the closest to the divine and themselves are deemed μάκαρες.<sup>340</sup>

Apart from μάκαρ, Euripides also uses the adjective μακάριος. It has less force than μάκαρ and is a form that is only applied to mortals and not to gods.<sup>341</sup> “In Euripides, μακάριος describes men 27 times, and 17 times things rather than human beings; but these things can be easily associated with human beings (such as χεῖρ, οἶκοι, γάμος). It is never applied to the gods.”<sup>342</sup> What is clear is that this adjective applies to mortals and it has less force than μάκαρ, a use of μακάριος which had been appreciated in Pindar.<sup>343</sup>

When this adjective is applied to mortals it is because they share in some characteristic which is divine-like, but not enough to warrant the use of μάκαρ which has more force. There is a sense of ‘admiration’ towards such a person and normally they enjoy some ‘power’, ‘wealth’ or ‘status’. For example, in vv. 708-712 of *Electra* this adjective is applied to tyrants:

Ἄγορὰν ἀγοράν, Μυκη-  
ναῖοι, στείχετε μακαρίων  
ὀψόμενοι τυράννων  
φᾶσματα δεινά· χοροὶ δ’  
<αὐτίκ’> Ἀτρειδᾶν ἐγέραιρον οἴκους.

“To assembly, to assembly,  
men of Mycenae,  
to see the august portent  
of your blessed rulers!” And choruses

<sup>340</sup> In v. 1180 of *Bacchae*, Agave calls herself μάκαρ, however it is clearly ironic: (pp.267-268) when Agave says the following after striking Cadmus: πρῶτον ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας. / μάκαρ’ Ἀγανὴ κληζόμεθ’ ἐν θιάσοις. (“That honor belongs first to me. I shall be called “Agave the blessed” among the god’s worshippers.”) Here, as throughout the tragedy, there is the play on the fact that Agave is ignorant of the reality and uses the adjectives used to describe Bacchic happiness. She uses μάκαρ thinking of herself as a favoured initiate that surpasses others, but the reality could not be any further from the truth.

<sup>341</sup> McDonald dedicates her article to analysing the two instances where it has been interpreted as applying to the gods and argues why it does not, see McDonald, Marianne (1979).

<sup>342</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1979), p. 29.

<sup>343</sup> See Section Happiness-related Words in Pindar.

<straightway> hailed the house of the Atridae.

In vv. 621-632, μακάριος is applied to a tyrant:

[τυραννίδος δὲ τῆς μάτην αἰνουμένης  
τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἡδύ, τὰν δόμοισι δὲ  
λυπηρά· τίς γὰρ μακάριος, τίς εὐτυχής,  
ὅστις δεδοικῶς καὶ περιβλέπων βίαν  
αἰῶνα τείνει; δημότης ἂν εὐτυχής  
ζῆν ἂν θέλοισι μᾶλλον ἢ τύραννος ὢν,  
ὃ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἡδονὴ φίλους ἔχειν,  
ἐσθλοὺς δὲ μισεῖ καταθανεῖν φοβούμενος.  
εἴποις ἂν ὡς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐκνικᾷ τάδε,  
πλουτεῖν τε τερπνόν· οὐ φιλοῦ ψόφους κλύειν  
ἐν χερσὶ σφύζων ὄλβον οὐδ' ἔχειν πόνους·  
εἴη γ' ἐμοὶ <μὲν> μέτρια μὴ λυπουμένῳ.]

[Mortals foolishly praise kingship, but though its façade is pleasant, what it holds indoors is painful. What man is blessed or fortunate who lives his life in fear, constantly looking out for violence? I would rather live as a happy commoner than as a tyrant. The tyrant finds his pleasure in the friendship of the base and hates men of good character, since he is afraid of being killed. You might argue that money overcomes these disabilities and that to be rich is pleasant. But I do not enjoy hearing noises as I guard my wealth, nor do I like to work so hard. My prayer is for modest means without pain.]

These verses question the happiness of a tyrant, asserting how, even though this life is commonly praised, in reality it brings distress. Since tyrants live a life of fear and are wary of violence or threat of assassination, they cannot be μακάριοι nor εὐτυχεῖς. The adjective μακάριος here has a sense of ‘life of ease’, and ‘security’ and ‘stability’ while εὐτυχής refers to a life ‘absent of suffering’. The tyrant cannot have these qualities and lives a life that is insecure, not allowing him to be μακάριος. Ion rejects the life of a tyrant and the wealth that comes with it, to instead live a moderate life which is more secure.<sup>344</sup>

The tyrant’s happiness is again questioned in vv. 1167-1170 of *Trojan Women*:

ὦ φίλταθ', ὣς σοι θάνατος ἦλθε δυστυχίης.

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<sup>344</sup> This same idea of the tyrant’s life being dangerous and making it impossible to achieve types of happiness is found in vv. 1016-1020 of *Hippolytus* but with εὐτυχέω: ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνας μὲν κρατεῖν Ἑλληνικοὺς / πρῶτος θέλοισι' ἂν, ἐν πόλει δὲ δευτερός / σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις εὐτυχεῖν ἀεὶ φίλοις / πράσσειν τε γὰρ πάρεστι, κίνδυνός τ' ἀπὼν / κρείσσω δίδωσι τῆς τυραννίδος χάριν. (“I for my part would wish to be first in the Greek games but in the city to be second and to enjoy continuous good fortune with noble friends. For not only is there scope for accomplishment, but the absence of danger yields a greater pleasure than being king.”)

εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔθανες πρὸ πόλεως ἥβης τυχῶν  
γάμων τε καὶ τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος,  
μακάριος ἦσθ' ἄν, εἴ τι τῶνδε μακάριον·

Dear child, what an unlucky death was yours! If you had attained manhood and marriage and godlike kingship and been killed defending the city, you would have been blessed, if blessedness lies in any of these things.

Astyanax would have been μακάριος if he had not died so young, but instead had reached manhood, if he had married, been a king and then had died an honourable death in battle. In addition, by experiencing τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος, he would have enjoyed ‘power’ and ‘a life of ease’, making him μακάριος.

There is another application of μακάριος in vv. 956-958 of *Medea*, when Medea calls Glauce μάκαρ moments before her death:

λάζυσθε φερνάς τάσδε, παῖδες, ἐς χέρας  
καὶ τῆ τυράννω μακαρία νύμφη δότε  
φέροντες· οὔτοι δῶρα μεμπτὰ δέχεται.

Take this bridal dowry, children, into your hands. Take and give it to the happy royal bride. It will be no unwelcome gift she receives.

At first glance, it seems that Glauce is being called μακαρία for reason of her marriage as it was common to refer to the bride or groom with happiness-related words in wedding μακαρισμοί, as has been seen in the section Happiness-related words in Sappho, for example. However, μακάριος can also be used for the dead and the use of this adjective could be foretelling Glauce’s death. This is clearly a play on the double meaning μακάριος can have, as McDonald stated: “She (Medea) plays on the double use of μακαρία as an epithet for a bride and/or as an epithet for a person who is dead.”<sup>345</sup>

In vv. 86-87 of *Orestes*, Electra, after talking about her own misfortune, says to Helen: σὺ δ’ ἢ μακαρία μακάριός θ’ ὁ σὸς πόσις / ἦκετον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἀθλίως πεπραγότας. (“You and your husband, both fortunate, have arrived to find us faring badly.”). This could be interpreted again as calling them μακαρία and μακάριος for reason of their favourable wedding in contrast to Electra and Orestes who are unmarried.<sup>346</sup> However, as McDonald points out, it goes beyond this and Electra is contrasting how Helen and Menelaus enjoy their wealthy

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<sup>345</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 47. Interestingly, in Euripides’s *Children of Heracles*, the character called Makaria will sacrifice herself, McDonald (1978, 64-65) affirmed: “By her act, Makaria makes herself worthy of her name and of a μακαρισμός.”

<sup>346</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 235.

lives and status with certain stability and Electra and Orestes are now in danger of losing theirs.<sup>347</sup> Their unfavourable insecure situation contrasts with Menelaus and Helen's favourable secure one. Again, μακάριος is related to 'enjoying a life of ease', 'stability' and 'security'. In addition, there is the idea of 'admiration' for both Helen and Menelaus who have this.

Orestes and Electra's unfortunate fate goes back to Tantalus, who at one point was μακάριος himself. The idea of stability is clear in vv. 4-7 of *Orestes*:

ὁ γὰρ μακάριος (κοῦκ ὄνειδίζω τύχας)  
Διὸς πεφυκῶς, ὡς λέγουσι, Τάνταλος  
κορυφῆς ὑπερτέλλοντα δειμαίνων πέτρον  
ἄερι ποτᾶται·

Tantalus was a prosperous man (and I do not reproach him with this good fortune), the son of Zeus, they say: now he is suspended in the clouds, in constant fear of a rock hanging above his head.

He was μακάριος because he shared in being μάκαρ for his condition as semidivine and he enjoyed a 'life of ease' and 'stability'. As a king, he also wielded certain 'power'. However, Tantalus is a prime example of how to be μακάριος can be completely overturned since he goes from a life of ease to being condemned to eternal suffering characterized by instability and fear of danger.

Changing focus to the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, the analysis of these in Euripides' tragedies proves to be intriguing. As it has been appreciated, one who is εὐδαίμων has a 'good relationship with a god' and thus 'is favoured'. In those tragedies which centre on the relationship with a god, as is *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus*, there is an insistence on this relationship and how to secure it. In vv. 1336-1343 of the *Bacchae*, the etymological meaning is clear in εὐδαιμονέω:

ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον  
διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν  
σχήσουσι· σὲ δ' Ἄρης Ἀρμονίαν τε ρύσεται  
μακάρων τ' ἐς αἶαν σὸν καθιδρύσει βίον.  
ταῦτ' οὐχὶ θνητοῦ πατρὸς ἐκγεγῶς λέγω  
Διόνυσος ἀλλὰ Ζηνός· εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖν  
ἔγνωθ', ὅτ' οὐκ ἠθέλετε, τὸν Διὸς γόνον  
ἠδαιμονεῖτ' ἂν σύμμαχον κεκτημένοι.

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<sup>347</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 235.

And when they have plundered Apollo's oracle, they will have a miserable homecoming. But Ares will rescue you and Harmonia and settle you to live in the Land of the Blessed. It is I, Dionysus, who make this prediction, and my father is not a mortal but Zeus. If you all had known how to be moderate when you were refusing to, you would now have Dionysus as your ally and be enjoying blessedness.

It is clear that to know, to γινώσκειν, how to be moderate, to σωφρονεῖν, brings one to εὐδαιμονεῖν. To εὐδαιμονεῖν is 'to have a god as an ally, σύμμαχος', and with this comes the external favour of 'stability and security'. There is importance on exercising moderation and restraint and not committing ὕβρις with which comes one's punishment and downfall, as seen in the example of with Pentheus.

In *Hippolytus*, the etymological meaning can be seen in vv. 104-105: εὐδαιμονοίης, νοῦν ἔχων ὅσον σε δεῖ. ("I wish you fortune-and the good sense you need!"). This is said immediately after Hippolytus does not honour the statue of Aphrodite. By doing this, he risks his relationship with this god and consequently may receive punishment. For this reason, the servant not only wishes for him to εὐδαιμονεῖν, but also to have the good sense that one needs to εὐδαιμονεῖν. There is certain responsibility in securing this relationship with the δαίμων through one's own actions, mainly through good sense and acts of εὐσέβεια. It is also interesting to remark how εὐδαιμονέω is used in a wish clause and Euripides is the first tragedian to use εὐδαιμονέω in this way. It is used generally to say 'thank you' by wishing for the other person to receive divine favour.

In other tragedies, εὐδαίμων and its derivatives often refer to those who enjoy 'wealth', 'status' and 'power', understanding these as external evidence of their good relationship with the divine. For example, in vv. 1247-1252 of *Andromache*, Thetis prophesied to Andromache that she will move to the land of the Molossians where Molossus, Andromache's son, will rule in εὐδαιμονία:

[...] βασιλέα δ' ἐκ τοῦδε χρῆ  
ἄλλον δι' ἄλλου διαπερᾶν Μολοσσίας  
εὐδαιμονοῦντας· οὐ γὰρ ᾧδ' ἀνάστατον  
γένος γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ σὸν κάμὸν, γέρον,  
Τροίας τε· καὶ γὰρ θεοῖσι κάκείνης μέλει,  
καίπερ πεσούσης Παλλάδος προθυμία.

It is fated that his descendants in unbroken succession will rule over Molossia in blessedness. For, old sir, it was not to be that your race and mine should be so laid waste, nor that of Troy, for Troy too is in the gods' care although it fell by the will of Pallas.

Here to εὐδαιμονεῖν is related to the prosperity kings enjoy, based on ‘wealth’, ‘power’ and ‘status’. Furthermore, there seems to be an element of ‘stability’ since it says it will pass on from generation to generation. When one has descendants that continue one’s prosperity, then it can be stable and continuous. It clearly seems to be a prosperity that is dependent on a relationship with the gods, since as it is said that Troy is still cared for by them, καὶ γὰρ θεοῖσι κάκεινης μέλει.

In vv. 163-167 of *Suppliants*, it is used for Adrastus, who was once a τύραννος εὐδαίμων:

ἀλλ’, ὦ καθ’ Ἑλλάδ’ ἀλκιμώτατον κάρα,  
ἄναξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐν μὲν αἰσχύναις ἔχω  
πίτνων πρὸς οὐδας γόνυ σὸν ἀμπίσχειν χερί  
[πολιὸς ἀνὴρ τύραννος εὐδαίμων πάρος]·  
ὅμως δ’ ἀνάγκη συμφοραῖς εἴκειν ἐμαῖς.

But, O most valiant warrior in Greece, king of Athens, though I consider it disgraceful to fall upon the ground and cover your knees with my hands, [since I am an old king who was once prosperous,] yet I must yield to my misfortunes.

Adrastus was once εὐδαίμων, enjoying ‘wealth’, ‘power’ and ‘status’. However, now he has lost this and by remembering the prosperity he once had, he is also warning Theseus that his own can change one day. As McDonald affirms: “If Adrastus’ prosperity can fail, so might Theseus’, which is another reason for Theseus to help Adrastus: one day Theseus himself may need help.”<sup>348</sup>

When analysing the tragedies *Alcestis* and *Medea*, the examination of εὐδαίμων and its cognates becomes more complex. It is on the basis of these tragedies that McDonald defends that Euripides presents a new application of εὐδαίμων and its cognates explored through the two female protagonists who defend a new internal meaning of εὐδαιμονία based on φιλία. As McDonald remarks: “True happiness for Alcestis and Admetus is, as Solon pointed out (H. 1.30-32), a happiness which lasts; what is more, and this is unique with Euripides, this happiness is based on φιλία.”<sup>349</sup> In *Alcestis*, vv. 163-169, Alcestis, before dying, prays to Hestia to secure the following for her children in order to make them εὐδαίμονες:

Δέσποιν’, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρχομαι κατὰ χθόνος,  
πανύστατόν σε προσπίτνουσ’ αἰτήσομαι,

<sup>348</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 101.

<sup>349</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 45. According to McDonald (1978, 59), the difference between the two is in that in *Alcestis* Admetus learns that it is internal while in *Medea* it is presented as a debate as to whether it is external, consisting of power and wealth or internal, due to φιλία.

τέκν' ὀρφανεῦσαι τὰμά· καὶ τῷ μὲν φίλην  
σύζευξον ἄλοχον, τῇ δὲ γενναῖον πόσιν·  
μηδ' ὥσπερ αὐτῶν ἢ τεκοῦσ' ἀπόλλυμαι  
θανεῖν ἄωρους παῖδας, ἀλλ' εὐδαίμονας  
ἐν γῆ πατρώα τερπνὸν ἐκπλήσσει βίον.

“Lady, since I am going now beneath the earth, as my last entreaty I ask you to care for my orphaned children: marry my son to a loving wife and give my daughter a noble husband. And may they not, like their mother, perish untimely but live out their lives in happiness in their ancestral land!”

Here, there is no emphasis on the ‘god-given wealth’ or ‘status’ one enjoys when εὐδαίμων, but instead Alcestis prays to Hestia for the bestowal of a loving wife, φίλη ἄλοχος, and a noble husband, γενναῖος πόσις, for her children, to make them εὐδαίμονες. It could be thought that the adjective γενναῖος refers to a wealthy husband, but, as McDonald explains, in Euripides γενναῖον actually refers to good actions.<sup>350</sup> It is already implied that they will marry someone who will match their status, so it seems that Alcestis is wishing for someone loving and of good character, in the same way as she is, but Admetus is not.

Admetus seems to have a different idea of what makes one εὐδαίμων which seems clear when he tells Pheres that he has everything to be εὐδαίμων, in vv. 653-661:

καὶ μὴν ὄσ' ἄνδρα χρὴ παθεῖν εὐδαίμονα  
πέπονθας· ἤβησας μὲν ἐν τυραννίδι,  
παῖς δ' ἦν ἐγὼ σοὶ τῶνδε διάδοχος δόμων,  
ὥστ' οὐκ ἄτεκνος κατθανὼν ἄλλοις δόμον  
λείπειν ἔμελλες ὀρφανὸν διαρπάσαι.  
οὐ μὴν ἐρεῖς γέ μ' ὡς ἀτιμάζοντα σὸν  
γῆρας θανεῖν προύδωκας, ὅστις αἰδόφρων  
πρὸς σ' ἢ μάλιστα· κἀντὶ τῶνδέ μοι χάριν  
τοιάνδε καὶ σὺ χεῖρ τεκοῦσ' ἠλλαξάτην.

What is more, all that is required for a man to be happy has already befallen you: you spent the primer of your life as a king, and you had me as son and successor to your house, so that you were not going to die childless and leave your house behind without heirs for others to plunder. Surely you cannot say that you abandoned me to death because I dishonoured you in your old age, for I have always shown you every respect. And now this is the repayment you and your mother have made to me.

To be εὐδαίμων is related to receiving divine favour which shows in ‘kingship’ enjoying ‘power’, ‘wealth’ and ‘status’ and also ‘having offspring to perpetuate this prosperity’.

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<sup>350</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 38.

However, as McDonald remarks, Admetus himself has three things that he enumerates, but he still considers himself unhappy, coming to realize that to be εὐδαίμων is more than these three aspects. McDonald interprets this as: “Admetus has to learn the truth through suffering: a royal house is nothing if it is empty; external happiness, even with the most elaborate trappings, is nothing if internal happiness is lacking.”<sup>351</sup>

The meaning of what to be εὐδαίμων involves is debated in *Medea*. Jason’s idea of being εὐδαίμων is similar to that of Admetus at the start of *Alcestis*, as seen in vv. 562-565:

παῖδας δὲ θρέψαιμ’ ἀξίως δόμων ἐμῶν  
σπείρας τ’ ἀδελφοὺς τοῖσιν ἐκ σέθεν τέκνοις  
ἐς ταὐτὸ θεῖην, καὶ ζυναρτήσας γένος  
εὐδαιμονοίην.

I wanted to raise the children in a manner befitting my house, to beget brothers to the children born from you, and put them on the same footing with them, so that by drawing the family into one I might prosper.

Jason’s view of to εὐδαιμονέω is clearly related to ‘wealth’ and ‘status’. Medea then answers back putting forward her own interpretation of what a εὐδαίμων βίος is in vv. 589-599:

ΜΗΔΕΙΑ.- μή μοι γένοιτο λυπρὸς εὐδαίμων βίος  
μηδ’ ὄλβος ὅστις τὴν ἐμὴν κνίζοι φρένα.  
ΙΑΣΩΝ.- οἷσθ’ ὡς μετεύξῃ καὶ σοφωτέρα φανῆ;  
τὰ χρηστὰ μή σοι λυπρὰ φαίνεσθαι ποτε,  
μηδ’ εὐτυχοῦσα δυστυχῆς εἶναι δοκεῖν.

MEDEA: A prosperous life that causes pain is no wish of mine, nor do I want any wealth that torments my heart.

JASON: Do you know how to change your prayer and show yourself the wiser? Pray that you may never consider advantage painful nor think yourself wretched when you are fortunate!

McDonald states that Medea rejects a life that is εὐδαίμων because it lacks φιλία: “These lines are at once an implied criticism of the purely materialistic standard of *eudaimonia* and an acknowledgement that this is the normal use of the word.”<sup>352</sup> Jason replies by saying that Medea should not think of herself as δυστυχῆς when she is εὐτυχεῖν, clearly understanding that ‘material prosperity’ should be enough to consider herself fortunate. Jason considers to be εὐδαίμων involves ‘wealth’ and ‘status’, but for Medea there is an element which is lacking. McDonald argues that this element is φιλία, however, in my opinion I propose that instead it is ‘absence of suffering’, which is a sense component of εὐδαίμων which had been

<sup>351</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 40.

<sup>352</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 51.

appreciated before. In both these tragedies, the wives suffer because of their links of *φιλία*, and this pain makes it impossible for them to consider themselves *εὐδαίμων*. Alcestis prays to Hestia for a noble husband and loving wife, because if she herself had had this, she would not have suffered in life and could have been *εὐδαίμων*. I consider that the innovation in Euripides is not found in the added dimension of *φιλία* in *εὐδαιμονία*, but in the heightened aspect of importance of ‘absence of suffering’, as one’s pain counteracts all other external proofs of divine favour such as ‘wealth’, ‘power’ or ‘status’. This is why Medea has no interest in a life of ‘high status’ or ‘wealth’ if it is one that is *λυπρός*. The links of *φιλία* only take on the importance that they do in relation to *εὐδαιμονία* because of the contexts of these tragedies and how these hinder the *εὐδαιμονία* of these female characters who suffer because of them.

The idea of ‘absence of suffering’ linked to *εὐδαίμων* and its cognates is also present in other tragedies. In vv. 1290-1291 of *Electra*, *το εὐδαιμονεῖν* is related to ‘absence of pain’: *πεπρωμένην γὰρ μοῖραν ἐκπλήσας φόνου / εὐδαιμονήσεις τῶνδ’ ἀπαλλαχθεὶς πόνων*. (“For when you have fulfilled the fated course that the murder requires, you will be freed from these troubles and find happiness.”) To be freed from *πόνος* will make one *εὐδαιμονέω*, which is very similar to that found again in vv. 1357-1359 of *Electra*, the last three verses of the play pronounced by the Chorus: *χαίρετε· χαίρειν δ’ ὅστις δύναται / καὶ ξυντυχία μὴ τιμὴ κάμνει / θνητῶν εὐδαίμονα πράσσει*. (“Farewell! The mortal man who can fare well and suffers no misfortune is indeed blessed.”). However, suffering is part of mortal existence and this is why no mortal can experience a total ‘absence of suffering’, thus making *εὐδαιμονία* difficult to achieve, as seen in vv. 1224-1230 of *Medea*:

τὰ θνητὰ δ’ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἠγοῦμαι σκιάν,  
οὐδ’ ἂν τρέσας εἶποιμι τοὺς σοφοὺς βροτῶν  
δοκοῦντας εἶναι καὶ μεριμνητὰς λόγων  
τούτους μεγίστην μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν.  
θνητῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ·  
ὄλβου δ’ ἐπιρρυέντος εὐτυχέστερος  
ἄλλου γένοιτ’ ἂν ἄλλος, εὐδαίμων δ’ ἂν οὔ.

As for our mortal life, this is not the first time that I have thought it to be a shadow, and I would say without any fear that those mortals who seem to be clever and crafters of polished speeches are guilty of the greatest folly. For no mortal ever attains

to blessedness. One may be luckier than another when wealth flows his way, but blessed never.<sup>353</sup>

The Messenger says that one may be εὐτυχέστερος when they have ὄλβος, wealth. However, it is affirmed that to be εὐδαίμων is not possible. This is a meaning of εὐδαίμων that demonstrates the sense of ‘absence of suffering’ and it is affirmed that even with external goods, one cannot be εὐδαίμων because there is always toil in human existence. This is similar to, vv. 160-162 of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when it is said that no mortal is εὐδαίμων nor ὄλβιος, because one cannot be born to a life without suffering: θνητῶν δ’ ὄλβιος / ἐς τέλος οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ εὐδαίμων· / οὐπω γὰρ ἔφω τις ἄλυπος.] (“No mortal is completely blessed or happy. No one has yet been born to a life free of pain.]”).

The aforementioned verses link to the analysis of the next adjective in question, ὄλβιος and its derivatives, which generally refer to ‘wealth’, as seen in vv. 176-170 of *Suppliants*:

σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ’ εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον,  
[πένητα τ’ ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν  
ζηλοῦνθ’, ἵν’ αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἔρωσ ἔχη,]  
τά τ’ οἰκτρὰ τοὺς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκεῖναι.

It is a wise thing for the rich man to look on poverty [and the poor man to turn his gaze on the rich in envy, so that desire for money may seize him,] and for those who are not unfortunate to look at what is pitiable.

Here, to be ὄλβιος is clearly related to wealth, considering that it is found in contrast to πενία, poverty, and to the poor, πένης. It is also manifest that to be ὄλβιος is not permanent. This is Adrastus again warning Theseus of the changes of fate he may experience and for this reason he should help those who are poorer, as his state of ὄλβιος, as well as his state of εὐδαίμων may be reversed.

In vv. 417-430 of *Bacchae*, the Chorus says the following:

ὁ δαίμων ὁ Διὸς παῖς  
χαίρει μὲν θαλίαισιν,  
φιλεῖ δ’ ὀλβοδότειραν Εἰ-  
ρήναν, κουροτρόφον θεάν.  
ἴσαν δ’ ἔς τε τὸν ὄλβιον  
τόν τε χεῖρονα δῶκ’ ἔχειν  
οἴνου τέρψιν ἄλυπον·  
μισεῖ δ’ ᾧ μὴ ταῦτα μέλει,

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<sup>353</sup> McDonald (1978, 55) comments how μεριμνηταὶ λόγων is apparently a reference to the sophists, also found in Nu. 101 of Aristophanes.

κατὰ φάος νύκτας τε φίλας  
εὐαίωνα διαζῆν,  
σοφὰν δ' ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε  
περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν·  
τὸ πλῆθος ὅ τι τὸ φαυλότερον ἐνόμισε χρῆ-  
ταί τε, τόδ' ἄν δεχοίμαν.

The god, Zeus's son,  
rejoices in the feast,  
he loves wealth-giving  
Peace, the goddess who rears boys to manhood.  
Equally both to the rich  
and to the lowly he has given  
the painless joy of wine.  
He hates the man who does not make this his aim,  
by day and through the sweetness of night  
to live a life of bliss,  
and to keep his heart and his thoughts wise,  
far from men of excess.  
What the simple folk believe and practice  
that shall I accept.

Here, ὄλβιος again clearly refers to those who are 'wealthy' and also of 'high status' because it is said that Dionysus gives wine to he who is ὄλβιος and those of inferior status, χείρων. Interestingly, the goddess Peace is called, ὀλβοδότειρα, "wealth-giver". The stability brought by Peace makes it possible for wealth to remain stable, as McDonald declares: "ὄλβος in this compound comprises all the prosperity possible when manpower is not destroyed in war."<sup>354</sup>

In *Helen*, vv. 430- 434, it clearly means the same as πλούσιος:

ιδῶν δὲ δῶμα περιφερὲς θριγκοῖς τόδε  
πύλας τε σεμνάς ἀνδρὸς ὄλβιου τινός  
προσηλθον· ἐλπὶς δ' ἔκ γε πλουσίων δόμων  
λαβεῖν τι ναύταις· ἐκ δὲ μὴ 'χόντων βίον  
οὐδ' εἰ θέλοιεν ὠφελεῖν ἔχοιεν ἄν.

I saw this house, a rich man's house, its walls surmounted by coping all around and its impressive gates, I have approached. From a rich house there is hope of getting something for my sailors. From the poor we could get no benefit even if they wanted to keep it.

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<sup>354</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 270.

Here, ὄλβιος is used to refer to a man who is πλούσιος. Menelaus is looking for food for his men and himself and he approaches the house of Theoclymenus which seems to belong to a man who is ὄλβιος and, therefore, there is hope of getting something from πλουσίων δόμων. Here, ὄλβιος is clearly related to wealth and material possession.

In vv. 494-497 of *Trojan Women*, the component of nobility and wealth in ὄλβιος is clear:

[...] κὰν πέδῳ κοίτας ἔχειν  
ῥυσοῖσι νώτοις, βασιλικῶν ἐκ δεμνίων,  
τρυχηρὰ περὶ τρυχηρὸν εἰμένην χροά  
πέπλων λακίσματ', ἀδόκιμ' ὄλβιοις ἔχειν.

They will make me lay my aged back on the ground after sleeping in royal state, my broken body dressed in tattered rags, a disgrace for the prosperous to wear.

Hecuba explains her current situation and how it has changed from sleeping in βασιλικῶν ἐκ δεμνίων to having to lay her back on the floor. Her broken body is clothed with torn rags that are ἀδόκιμα and therefore, not suitable, for those who are ὄλβιοι as she herself was. To be ὄλβιος is related to 'material wealth' and also to 'high status', but it is not permanent and can change at any point.

In vv. 488-498 of *Hecuba*, Talthibius says the following:

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; πότερά σ' ἀνθρώπους ὄρᾶν;  
ἢ δόξαν ἄλλως τήνδε κεκτῆσθαι μάτην,  
[ψευδῆ, δοκοῦντας δαιμόνων εἶναι γένος],  
τύχην δὲ πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖν;  
οὐχ ἦδ' ἄνασσα τῶν πολυχρύσων Φρυγῶν,  
οὐχ ἦδε Πριάμου τοῦ μέγ' ὄλβίου δάμαρ;  
καὶ νῦν πόλις μὲν πᾶσ' ἀνέστηκεν δορί,  
αὐτὴ δὲ δούλη γραῦς ἅπαις ἐπὶ χθονὶ  
κεῖται, κόνει φύρουσα δύστηνον κάρα.  
φεῦ φεῦ· γέρων μὲν εἰμ', ὅμως δέ μοι θανεῖν  
εἶη πρὶν αἰσχρᾶ περιπεσεῖν τύχη τινί.

O Zeus, what shall I say? That you watch over men? Or that you have won the false reputation for doing so, [false, supposing that the race of gods exist,] while chance in fact governs all mortal affairs? Is this not the queen of Phrygia rich in gold, the wife of Priam the highly blessed? And now her whole city has been devastated by the spear, and she herself, a slave, old and childless, lies upon the ground, defiling her luckless head in the dust. O the horror of it! Though I am an old man, still I pray I may die before I meet with such an ignominious fate!

It is said that Hecuba was the wife of Priam, the μέγ' ὄλβιος. The adjective ὄλβιος is manifestly related to 'nobility' and to 'wealth'. Now her situation has changed from enjoying these, to being a slave, δούλη, showing that to be ὄλβιος is not permanent. Neither Hecuba nor Priam are ὄλβιοι any longer. In addition, there is a certain relationship between being ὄλβιος and having offspring. They are no longer ὄλβιοι also because they are childless, ἄπαιδες, and there is no one to perpetuate their prosperity. This use of ὄλβιος is similar to that found in *Odyssey*, vv. 543-548, when Achilles talks about how Peleus and Priam were once ὄλβιοι because they enjoyed 'god-given material possession', 'occupied a position of power and thus, were admired by others' and 'had offspring that could perpetuate their legacy'.<sup>355</sup> Interestingly, it is remarked how τύχη rules all human affairs, and not Zeus. McDonald states that this explains the fact that words relating to τύχη are the most used happiness-related words in *Hecuba*: "Εὐτυχής is preferred over all other terms for happiness: it occurs 11 times, δυστυχής 3, εὐδαίμων 2, ὄλβιος 3, and μάκαρ 1 time."<sup>356</sup> In *Hecuba*, τύχη seems to govern human affairs far more than the gods.

This relates to our next use of ὄλβιος in vv. 623-628 of *Hecuba*, in which the most ὄλβιος is said to be the one who avoids suffering brought on by τύχη introducing a more general use of this adjective:

[...] εἶτα δῆτ' ὀγκούμεθα,  
 ὁ μὲν τις ἡμῶν πλουσίοισι δώμασιν,  
 ὁ δ' ἐν πολίταις τίμιος κεκλημένος;  
 τὰ δ' οὐδέν, ἄλλως φροντίδων βουλεύματα  
 γλώσσης τε κόμποι. κείνος ὄλβιώτατος  
 ὅτω κατ' ἡμᾶρ τυγχάνει μηδὲν κακόν.

After this can any of us pride ourselves, one on the wealth of his house, another on his eminence among the citizens? These things are of no account, mere fancies of the mind and idle boasting. That man is most truly happy who from day to day escapes calamity.

As it has been pointed out in other tragedies, ὄλβιος is generally related to possessing wealth, to having certain status and thus being honoured among others. Here, these meanings are presented (ὁ μὲν τις ἡμῶν πλουσίοισι δώμασιν, / ὁ δ' ἐν πολίταις τίμιος κεκλημένος;) and then it is affirmed that the one who is the most ὄλβιος is the one who avoids suffering. In the end, τύχη can change one's state of ὄλβιος so there is no use in having wealth and being eminent

<sup>355</sup> See Happiness-related Words in Homer.

<sup>356</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 88.

among the citizens if this can be lost. It could also be understood as the one who is the most ὄλβιος is the one who avoids internal suffering. However, in my opinion, this meaning is one reserved for εὐδαίμων. I understand that to be ὄλβιος is one who can avoid this human alternation caused by τύχη. Following this interpretation, this use of ὄλβιος is reminiscent of *The Histories* of Herodotus, where the one who is εὐτυχής until death, as in avoiding misfortune, is ὄλβιος. This is a more general use of ὄλβιος related to ‘ongoing prosperity by avoiding changes of fortune by being εὐτυχής’. This relation between εὐτυχία and to be ὄλβιος can be seen in vv. 608-617 of *Children of Heracles*:

οὐτινά φημι θεῶν ἄτερ ὄλβιον, οὐ βαρύποτμον,  
 ἄνδρα γενέσθαι·  
 οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἴμβεβάναι δόμον  
 εὐτυχία· παρὰ δ’ ἄλλαν ἄλλα  
 μοῖρα διώκει.  
 τὸν μὲν ἀφ’ ὑψηλῶν βραχὺν ᾤκισε,  
 τὸν δ’ ἰάληταν† εὐδαίμονα τεύχει.  
 μόρσιμα δ’ οὐτι φυγεῖν θέμις, οὐ σοφί-  
 α τις ἀπόσεται, ἀλλὰ μάταν  
 ὁ πρόθυμος αἰεὶ πόνον ἔξει.

No man, I say, is blessed or cursed with disaster without the will of the gods. The same house does not always tread the path of prosperity. One fortune after another pursues us. It takes one man from his loftiness and settles him in low estate, and moves another from misery to blessedness. It is not possible to flee from fate, no one by skill can ward it off, and the man who is eager to do so shall always toil in vain.

It is said that no mortal can be ὄλβιος without the gods’ intervention and the same house is not always in the same state of εὐτυχία. In this case, ὄλβιος is more general in its meaning and references a ‘general prosperity’ which is god-given. McDonald classifies it under “general use (includes materialistic prosperity but can include more).”<sup>357</sup> It is not contrasted to being poor, πένης, but to βαρύποτμος so it refers to someone who is prosperous because they have a good πότμος, avoiding changes of fate, εὐτυχής. Moreover, the gods can convert a man who is εὐδαίμων, into the opposite, a wanderer, ἀλήτης, thus revealing that to be εὐδαίμων is related to certain ‘security’.

The use of ὄλβιος in vv. 1111-1116 of *Hippolytus* is interesting since it appears with συνευτυχέω:

εἶθε μοι εὐξαμένα θεόθεν τάδε μοῖρα παράσχοι,

<sup>357</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 297.

τύχαν μετ' ὄλβου καὶ ἀκήρατον ἄλγεσι θυμόν·  
δόξα δὲ μήτ' ἀτρεκῆς μήτ' αὖ παράσημος ἐνείη,  
ράδια δ' ἦθεα τὸν αὖ-  
ριον μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον αἰεὶ  
βίον συνευτυχοίην.

O that in answer to my prayer destiny might give me this gift from the gods, a fate that is blessed and a heart untouched by sorrow! No mind unswervingly obdurate would I have, nor yet again one false-struck, but changing my pliant character ever for the morrow may I share its happiness my whole life through!

McDonald states that this use probably has the primary meaning of material prosperity, considering that the other uses in *Hippolytus* are similarly used. However, she affirms that it could mean prosperity in general also and classifies it under “general use (may be more than wealth or power).”<sup>358</sup> The Chorus is praying for a τύχη with ὄλβος, θυμός untouched by suffering, ἀκήρατον ἄλγεσι θυμόν, as well as a character which can adapt to different situations, to συνευτυχεῖν. McDonald follows Barrett’s commentary in line with Wilamowitz’s interpretation that “βίον εὐτυχεῖν is to be happy in one’s life (βίον internal acc.); συν- because they achieve this by adapting themselves to circumstances (Wilamowitz), by joining in whatever good fortune the day may bring, by sharing its gladness with it.”<sup>359</sup> In my opinion, ὄλβος refers to a ‘general prosperity’ as this use of ὄλβιος and ὄλβος commonly appears with derivatives of εὐτυχής which represent the idea of ‘avoiding misfortune’.

The resemblance of the use of ὄλβιος to that found in the dialogue between Solon and Croesus in *The Histories*, I. 32 becomes evident in vv. 100-102 of *Andromache* when it is said that one cannot be called ὄλβιος before one’s death: χρῆ δ’ οὐποτ’ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν’ ὄλβιον βροτῶν, / πρὶν ἂν θανόντος τὴν τελευταίαν ἴδης / ὅπως περάσας ἡμέραν ἤξει κάτω. (“One should never call any mortal happy until he dies and you can see how he has completed his last day and gone below.”) This idea that one cannot be called ὄλβιος before death had been appreciated firstly in Aeschylus and then also appreciated in Sophocles. As Steven’s asserted, it is described as an ἀρχαῖος λόγος in *S. Tr.* 1.<sup>360</sup> The idea is to reinforce the fact that to be ὄλβιος is changing, and once Andromache had been considered ὄλβιος. Previously her status and wealth had been notable as the wife of Hector, but now all of this is lost. As McDonald points out: “She gives the reasons she is ἀνόλβιος: she lost her city (97), Hector is dead (97),

<sup>358</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 70.

<sup>359</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 297.

<sup>360</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 83.

and now she is a slave through no fault of her own (99).<sup>361</sup> Presumably, Andromache would have been considered ὄλβιος if she had avoided changes of fortune, being εὐτυχής, remaining in Troy as Hector's wife, surrounded by wealth, status and her family living.

Passing onto ὀλβίζω, this verb means simply 'to call someone ὄλβιος'. It appears in vv. 1253-1255 of *Trojan Women*: μέγα δ' ὀλβισθεὶς ὡς ἐκ πατέρων / ἀγαθῶν ἐγένου / δεινῷ θανάτῳ διόλωλας. ("You, child, though greatly blessed in your noble birth, have perished by a terrible death!"). It is described how Astyanax was considered ὄλβιος because of his noble origins, but now he has lost this. As McDonald states: "Death which was called δυστυχής in 1167 was able to destroy his ὄλβος."<sup>362</sup> Again ὄλβιος is related to status and to the wealth which normally accompanies it. This wealth brings with it many possibilities but these were curtailed by death for Astyanax.

In vv. 912-925 of *Alcestis*, Admetus remembers when he once entered his house after marrying Alcestis and how the κῶμος called them ὄλβιοι:

τότε μὲν πεύκαις σὺν Πηλιάσιν  
σύν θ' ὑμεναίοις ἔστειχον ἔσω  
φιλίας ἀλόχου χέρα βαστάζων,  
πολύαχητος δ' εἶπετο κῶμος  
τὴν τε θανοῦσαν κᾶμ' ὀλβίζων  
ὡς εὐπατρίδαι κἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων  
ὄντες ἀριστέων σύζυγες εἶμεν·  
νῦν δ' ὑμεναίων γόος ἀντίπαλος  
λευκῶν τε πέπλων μέλανες στολμοὶ  
πέμπουσί μ' ἔσω  
λέκτρων κοίτας ἐς ἐρήμους.

Once I entered with pine torches from Mount Pelion and bridal songs, holding the hand of my dear wife, and a clamorous throng followed, praising the blessedness of my dead wife and me, because she and I, both nobly born, had become man and wife. Now groans of grief in an answer to those songs and black robes in place of white escort me in to a desolate bed chamber.

McDonald classifies this use under "call, deem or make happy (nonmaterial source), 1. pronounce happy (on occasion of marriage)".<sup>363</sup> The adjective ὄλβιος is used in a wedding μακαρισμός for the bride and groom, a use that had already been appreciated in Sappho, verses 1-2 of Fragment 112 (Neri, 2021): ὄλβιε γάμβρε, σοὶ μὲν δὴ γάμος ὡς ἄραο

<sup>361</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), pp. 83-84.

<sup>362</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 127.

<sup>363</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 297.

ἐκτετέλεστ', ἔχῃς δὲ πάρθενον ἂν ἄραο.<sup>364</sup> Secondly, there is also the mention of them being εὐπατρίδαι making them even more worthy of being pronounced ὄλβιοι.

In vv. 306-309 of *Ion*, there is the following occurrence of ὄλβίζω:

ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ.- ὁ Φοῖβος οἶδε τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπαιδίαν.

ΙΩΝ.- ὦ τλῆμον, ὡς τᾶλλ' εὐτυχοῦς' οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς.

ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ.- σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; ὡς σου τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὄλβισα.

ΙΩΝ.- τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος εἰμί τ', ὦ γύναι.

Creusa: Apollo knows my childlessness.

Ion: Poor lady! Though your fortune in other things is good, you are unfortunate!

Creusa: But who are you? How blessed in my eyes is your mother!

Ion: I am called the god's servant, and that is what I am, lady.

Firstly, Creusa calls Ion's mother ὄλβιος for having such a fitting offspring, one that she thinks she has not got herself and something she desires. McDonald remarks that this is said as a compliment to Ion and relates it to *Od.* 6. 154.<sup>365</sup> What is manifest is the relationship between being ὄλβιος and having offspring.<sup>366</sup> Secondly, the verb εὐτυχέω appears in verse 307, in which Ion says that even though Creusa does prosper in other ways, she is not fortunate. This is reminiscent of vv. 261-262 in which Ion praises Creusa's nobility and her origins. McDonald declares: "Ion considers her nobility and the fact that she lives in famous Athens reasons for her being fortunate, but without a child she is not fortunate (οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς)."<sup>367</sup> There will be further analysis of the verb εὐτυχέω in Euripides later in this section, but, in this occasion, it means 'to accomplish a desired objective', specifically in this case to have children, an objective which Creusa thinks she has not accomplished successfully.

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<sup>364</sup> See Happiness-related Words in Sappho. In vv. 1218-1221 of *Andromache*, the same use of the non-material type of ὄλβιος on occasion of marriage is present: ΧΟΡΟΣ.- μάτην δέ σ' ἐν γάμοισιν ὄλβισαν θεοί. / ΠΗΛΕΥΣ.- μπτάμενα φροῦδα πάντ' ἐκεῖνα / κόμπων μεταρσίων πρόσω. / ΧΟΡΟΣ.- μόνος μόνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἀναστρέφη. ("CHORUS: It was for nothing that the gods blessed you in marriage. PELEUS: All that blessedness is flown, sped beyond the reach of high-flying boasts. CHORUS: Lonely in a lonely house you dwell."). At their wedding, Peleus and Thetis were pronounced ὄλβιοι by the gods. However, this was in vain considering that Peleus is now lonely. The wish for them to be ὄλβιοι did not come to fruition since the marriage did not bear fruit, an offspring that could perpetuate Peleus' wealth and status.

<sup>365</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 196.

<sup>366</sup> In vv. 711-718 of *Medea*, Medea says the following: οὕτως ἔρωσ σοι πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος / γένοιτο παίδων καυτὸς ὄλβιος θάνοις. ("As you grant my request, so may your longing for children be brought to fulfillment by the gods, and may you yourself die happy.") To be ὄλβιος is manifestly related to offspring here. Medea wishes for Aegeus to have children, which he desires. It has to be remembered that the continuation of one's estate depended on one's children.

<sup>367</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 196.

In Euripides' works, the noun ὄλβος can also refer simply to 'wealth'. This use is manifest in vv. 415-421 of *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*:

φίλα γὰρ ἐλπίς † γέενετ' ἐπὶ πῆμασι βροτῶν †  
ἄπληστος ἀνθρώποις, ὄλβου βάρος οἱ φέρονται  
πλάνητες ἐπ' οἶδμα πόλεις τε βαρβάρους περῶντες,  
κοινᾷ δόξα·  
γνώμα δ' οἷς μὲν ἄκαιρος ὄλ-  
βου, τοῖς δ' ἐς μέσον ἤκει.

Hope is enticing, and for their hurt  
it comes insatiable to men who strive to win a weight of riches  
by wandering over the sea to barbarian cities,  
pursuing a common fancy.  
To some the thought of wealth proves untimely,  
while for others it hits the mark of moderation.

As McDonald affirms: "Here ὄλβος is equivalent to πλοῦτος (411) as further indicated by the noun βάρος indicating a tangible quantity. The entire phrase ὄλβου βάρος may be translated "hoard of gold" (cf. πλούτου βάρος, *El.* 1287)."<sup>368</sup> The judgement of some mortals about wealth is not accurate and they act with ὕβρις, however others seek it in moderation. To have ὄλβος with moderation without acting unjustly, further secures it.

In vv. 939-944 of *Electra* it is affirmed how ὄλβος, wealth, that is possessed unjustly, ἀδίκως, is fleeting. Only one's φύσις is secure, βέβαιος:

ὃ δ' ἠπάτα σε πλεῖστον οὐκ ἐγνωκότα,  
ἠὔχεις τις εἶναι τοῖσι χρήμασι σθένων·  
τὰ δ' οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ βραχὺν ὀμιλῆσαι χρόνον.  
ἢ γὰρ φύσις βέβαιος, οὐ τὰ χρήματα.  
ἢ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ παραμένουσ' αἴρει κακά·  
ὃ δ' ὄλβος ἀδίκως καὶ μετὰ σκαιῶν ξυνῶν  
ἐξέπτατ' οἴκων, σμικρὸν ἀνθήσας χρόνον.

But where you were most deceived and mistaken was that you thought you were really someone on the strength of your money. But money does nothing except to stay with us a short while. It is character that is reliable, not money. Character stands beside us always and shoulders our troubles, while wealth lives unjustly with fools and then flies off from their houses, having blossomed for only a short time.

Hanah Roizman and Cecelia Anne Eaton Luschnig remark that: "Greek literature often distinguishes between wealth that is gained with the approval of the gods, and deemed secure,

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<sup>368</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 148.

and wealth that is acquired through some wrongdoing, which is viewed as insecure.”<sup>369</sup> The noun ὄλβος is used for wealth, whether it is distributed unjustly or justly, equivalent to τὰ χρήματα or πλοῦτος, but it is remarked how for those who possess it unjustly, it is insecure. This idea is reminiscent of Solon and the Theognidea. Electra here is thinking about the wealth of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus which was acquired unjustly since it came from the murder of Agamemnon. If one possesses ὄλβος unjustly, one will consequently lose it. This idea is also present in vv. 726-730 of *Suppliant women*:

τοῖόνδε τοι στρατηγὸν αἰρεῖσθαι χρεῶν,  
ὃς ἔν τε τοῖς δεινοῖσιν ἔστιν ἄλκιμος  
μισεῖ θ’ ὑβριστὴν λαόν, ὃς πράσσων καλῶς  
ἐς ἄκρα βῆναι κλιμάκων ἐνήλατα  
ζητῶν ἀπώλεσ’ ὄλβον ᾧ χρῆσθαι παρῆν.

This is the kind of general one should choose, a man who is brave in the hour of danger and who hates an insolent people, a people who in their prosperity tried to climb to the highest rung of the ladder, and lost the blessedness they might have enjoyed.

Those people who, while prospering, act with ὕβρις and aspire beyond their limits, lose their ὄλβος. It seems that one’s actions and whether these are just or not can also influence whether one can secure ὄλβος or endanger it.

In vv. 340-347 of *Orestes*, it is clear how a δαίμων is in charge of dispensing ὄλβος and also taking it away. A δαίμων shakes the sail of a swift ship, ὄλβος, representing how unstable one’s ὄλβος can be.

ὁ μέγας ὄλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς·  
ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὡς τις ἀκάτου θοᾶς  
τινάξας δαίμων κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν  
πόνων ὡς πόντου λάβροις ὀλεθροῖσι-  
σιν ἐν κύμασιν.

Great good fortune among mortals is not lasting:  
some god, shaking it like the sail of a swift ship,  
overwhelms it in waves of fearful trouble  
deadly and boisterous  
like those of the main.

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<sup>369</sup> Roizman, Hanah, & Luschnig, Cecelia Anne Eaton. (2014), p. 204.

This is a material use of ὄλβος, but it does seem to be more general and could refer to something more than wealth and power, as ὄλβιος did.<sup>370</sup> McDonald puts forward only one instance of ὄλβος used in a way to refer to ‘general prosperity’, that in vv. 966-969 of *Ion*:

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ.- οἴμοι, δόμων σῶν ὄλβος ὡς χειμάζεται.  
ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ.- τί κρᾶτα κρύψας, ὦ γέρον, δακρυρροεῖς;  
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ.- σέ καὶ πατέρα σὸν δυστυχοῦντας εἰσορῶν.  
ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ.- τὰ θνητὰ τοιαῦτ’ οὐδὲν ἐν ταῦτῳ μένει.

OLD MAN: Ah me, what a storm has troubled the happiness of your house!

CREUSA: Why do you hide your head, old man, and weep?

OLD MAN: Since I see you and your father in misfortune.

CREUSA: Such is our mortal life. Nothing remains unchanged.

The house has lost its ὄλβος, ‘prosperity’ in this case due to the ‘absence of offspring’ because the child of Creusa and Apollo is thought to be dead. Again, the use of ὄλβιος and derivatives to refer to ‘general prosperity’ commonly appears with some derivative of εὐτυχής. They no longer have ὄλβος since they have suffered misfortune, δυστυχέω, since nothing in mortal life remains stable, οὐδὲν ἐν ταῦτῳ μένει.

Passing onto the analysis of εὐτυχής and its derivatives, there are many occurrences so these will be grouped according to the different uses identified by McDonald.<sup>371</sup> Firstly, εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχής can mean “fortunate, in a good circumstance”.<sup>372</sup> One can be ‘in a good circumstance’ for different reasons. For example, McDonald classifies vv. 850-851 of *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, as ‘being fortunate in a good circumstance due to nobility alone’: γένει μὲν εὐτυχοῦμεν, ἐς δὲ συμφοράς, / ὦ σύγγον’, ἡμῶν δυστυχῆς ἔφυ βίος. (“In our ancestry we are blessed, sister, but in its chances our life has been unblessed.”)<sup>373</sup>

According to McDonald, in vv. 371-373 of *Orestes*, εὐτυχέω means to be in a good circumstance understood in a general sense.<sup>374</sup> Menelaus thought that Clytemnestra and Orestes would be in ‘good circumstances’, however, the reality is far from this considering that Clytemnestra is dead.

δοκῶν Ὀρέστην παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος  
φίλαισι χερσὶ περιβαλεῖν καὶ μητέρα,  
ὡς εὐτυχοῦντας, ἔκλυον ἀλιτύπων τινὸς

<sup>370</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 297.

<sup>371</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 295.

<sup>372</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 295.

<sup>373</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 294.

<sup>374</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 294.

τῆς Τυνδαρείας παιδὸς ἀνόσιον φόνον.

Though I thought I would embrace his son Orestes and his mother with loving arms, and supposed they would be prospering, I heard from a sailor about the unholy murder of Tyndareus' daughter.

Turning to another use of εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχής, which is that of 'experiencing good happenings'. This is found in *Alcestis*, when Alcestis says that Admetus' future wife will be more εὐτυχής than her because she will have better circumstances, in vv. 181-182: σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται, / σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχής δ' ἴσως. ("Some other woman will possess you, luckier, perhaps, than I but no more virtuous.") As McDonald says: "She would be more fortunate if she were not confronted with the choice of either dying or having her husband die."<sup>375</sup>

Another use of εὐτυχής and its cognates is that of simply 'succeeding' or 'achieving a desired objective', as had already been appreciated in Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles. This is seen in v. 1172 of *Orestes*: ἐνὸς γὰρ εἰ λαβοίμεθ', εὐτυχοῖμεν ἄν ("For if I can grasp one of my goals, I will be a lucky man.") This usage is also seen in v. 737 of the *Children of Heracles* in which εὐτυχεῖω refers to a victory in battle: ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ.- τί δρῶντα; βουλοίμην δ' ἄν εὐτυχοῦντα γε. / ΙΟΛΑΟΣ.- δι' ἀσπίδος θείοντα πολεμίων τινά. ("SERVANT: Doing what? I could wish it were enjoying great success. IOLAUS: ...striking one of the enemy through his shield!")

This idea to 'succeed' depends on the objective of the person who says it. In *Ion*, εὐτυχεῖω refers a few times to 'succeeding in having children' which makes sense considering this is Creusa's wish. This can be appreciated in v. 307 which has already been analysed and in vv. 566-568:

κοινὰ μὲν ἡμῖν δωμάτων εὐπραξίαι·  
ὄμως δὲ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐς τέκν' εὐτυχεῖν  
ἐβουλόμην ἄν τοὺς τ' Ἐρεχθέως δόμους.

I share in good fortune of the house. But I would have preferred that my mistress and the house of Erechtheus also were enjoying good fortune as regards children.

Throughout these different uses of εὐτυχής and its derivatives, certain control can be appreciated over achieving this type of happiness, for example, in vv. 741-747 of *Suppliants*:

[...] ὁ δ' αὖ τὸτ' εὐτυχής,

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<sup>375</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 42.

λαβὼν πένης ὡς ἀρτίπλουτα χρήματα,  
ὑβρίζ', ὑβρίζων τ' αὖθις ἀνταπώλετο  
Κάδμου κακόφρων λαός. ὃ κενοὶ βροτῶν,  
οἱ τόξον ἐντείνοντες † τοῦ καιροῦ † πέρα  
καὶ πρὸς δίκης γε πολλὰ πάσχοντες κακά,  
φίλοις μὲν οὐ πείθεσθε, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν·

In its turn the foolish people of Cadmus, once so prosperous, acted insolently, like a poor man who suddenly becomes rich, and in their insolence were destroyed. O foolish mortals, who shoot beyond the mark and justly suffer much calamity, you do not learn from your friends but only from events!

This use of εὐτυχής means ‘to be fortunate in experiencing good happenings’. However, what is interesting is how one’s fortune seems to be dependent to some degree on one’s actions. There is the idea that the people of Cadmus were once εὐτυχεῖς, but then, because of their ὑβρις, they lost it. They overstepped their bounds and strived for more than they should have. McDonald declares: “This is comparable to trying to reach the ladder’s peak and in so doing losing the ὄλβος at hand (729-30). In each case the poet seems to suggest that man can go too far when he thinks himself secure in his good fortune.”<sup>376</sup> It shows how to ὑβρίζεῖν can be the reason of one’s downfall and loss of this type of happiness, and how to be εὐτυχής can change from one moment to another.

Instead of acting with ὑβρις, if one acts with justice, one can εὐτυχεῖν, as seen in vv. 1030-1031 of *Helen*: οὐδεὶς ποτ' ἠτύχησεν ἔκδικος γεγώς, / ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ δ' ἐλπίδες σωτηρίας. (“No unjust man has ever enjoyed good fortune. But in righteousness there is hope of rescue.”) This is the response of the Chorus after Theonoe decides to help Helen and Menelaus. It is said that no man who has acted unjustly has prospered, εὐτυχέω, but in what is just, ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ, there is hope for salvation, ἐλπίδες σωτηρίας. Here, εὐτυχέω means “to be successful”<sup>377</sup> or to ‘accomplish a wished objective’. In this case, salvation, σωτηρία, is Menelaus and Helen’s desired end.<sup>378</sup> Since their cause is just, Theonoe will help them, meaning that they will achieve this to εὐτυχεῖν. To act with justice, δίκη, can permit one to εὐτυχεῖν, ‘to succeed or to achieve a desired outcome’, while acting with ὑβρις can hinder it.

<sup>376</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 107. This is similar to vv. 608-610: ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐτυχία λαμπρὸν ἄν τις αἰροῖ / μοῖρα πάλιν· τόδε μοι θάρσος ἀμφιβαίνει. (“But the man glorious in good fortune may be destroyed in turn by fate: that is the confidence that surrounds me.”). As McDonald (1978, 107) states “The Thebans went too far after their victory, and now the mothers have hope that fate will reverse their victory.”). This shows again how if one acts with ὑβρις they can experience a reversal of fortune as punishment. In this case it is the force of the μοῖρα who can take it away.

<sup>377</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), pp. 183-184.

<sup>378</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 76.

As seen in the following verses of *Helen*, vv. 1212-1213, when Helen responds to Theoclymenos who wonders how Menelaus died and his servant did not, to be εὐτυχής does not depend on one's social class: ΘΕΟΚΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ.- καὶ πῶς ὄδ' οὐκ ὄλωλε κοινωνῶν πλάτης; / ΕΛΕΝΗ.- ἐσθλῶν κακίους ἐνίστε' εὐτυχέστεροι ("THEOCLYMENUS: How did this man survive? He shared the same ship. HELEN: The lowly are often luckier than their betters.") De Heer says that the use of ἐνίστε indicates that this does not happen regularly.<sup>379</sup> On many occasions, it has been noted that to be εὐτυχής or to εὐτυχεῖν has been linked with other advantages such as wealth or power or status. It is true that these factors make it easier to succeed, but these verses show how one can be more εὐτυχής, 'more successful', despite social class. Menelaus, who had wealth, status and power, died in the shipwreck, but his servant, who did not have these advantages, did not. This further shows that, even though to εὐτυχής can be present with wealth, power and status, it does not depend on these.

In certain occurrences of derivatives of εὐτυχής, there is the idea that this 'fortune and good circumstance' are due to 'an absence of pain'. See the following verses of *Medea*, vv. 1090-1097:

καί φημι βροτῶν οἴτινές εἰσιν  
 πάμπαν ἄπειροι μηδ' ἐφύτευσαν  
 παῖδας προφέρειν εἰς εὐτυχίαν  
 τῶν γειναμένων.  
 οἱ μὲν ἄτεκνοι δι' ἀπειροσύνην  
 εἶθ' ἠδὲ βροτοῖς εἶτ' ἀνιαρὸν  
 παῖδες τελέθουσ' οὐχὶ τυχόντες  
 πολλῶν μόχθων ἀπέχονται·

I say that those mortals who are utterly without experience of children and have never borne them have the advantage in good fortune over those who have. For the childless, because they do not possess children and do not know whether they are a pleasure or a vexation to mortals, hold themselves aloof from many griefs.

Clearly, this meaning becomes manifest within the context of the tragedy of *Medea*, considering that this is the answer of the Chorus to *Medea* who is thinking about killing her children. If she had not had children, she could have avoided this pain and suffering:

The chorus uses the term εὐτυχία which here means 'good fortune', and a man is more fortunate (προφέρειν εἰς εὐτυχίαν, 1092) without children: he then escapes the worst sorrow (λύπην ἀνιαροτάτην, 1113) man can experience, namely the death of a

<sup>379</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 75.

child. [...] So the good fortune which mortals gain by not having children is a negative thing: what one escapes rather than what one gains.<sup>380</sup>

By escaping the pain, πολλῶν μόχθων ἀπέχονται, that can come with having children, a childless person can find themselves in a better circumstance than the person who has children who provoke suffering.

In vv. 375-378 of *Hecuba*, there is the same idea that the one who is the most εὐτυχής is the one who avoids suffering:

ὅστις γὰρ οὐκ εἴωθε γεύεσθαι κακῶν  
φέρει μὲν, ἀλγεῖ δ' ἀχέν' ἐντιθεὶς ζυγῶ·  
θανῶν δ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον εὐτυχέστερος  
ἢ ζῶν· τὸ γὰρ ζῆν μὴ καλῶς μέγας πόνος.

One who is unaccustomed to the experience of disaster, though he endures it, yet feels pain at putting his neck in the yoke. He will be luckier dead than alive, for life without honour is sore vexation.

Polyxena is not accustomed to suffering and was once considered fortunate.<sup>381</sup> However, now she is a slave and is forced to suffer great toil, μέγας πόνος: “It is the very change from her former happiness which is not the least of her present pain.”<sup>382</sup> For her, dying is a better circumstance than living with the suffering and shame of being a slave. The meaning of εὐτυχής here is that which McDonald classifies as ‘to be fortunate, to be in a good circumstance’<sup>383</sup>. She would be more εὐτυχής dead because she would be in better circumstances than being alive because she would free herself from suffering.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>380</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 53. McDonald (1978, 53) goes on to say: “In the *Andromache* a childless person is said to have less pain, but he has a mixed happiness (δυστυχῶν δ' εὐδαιμονεῖ, 420. Cf. also fr. 571 (N): those who do not have children are ἄθλιοι however those that have them are in no way εὐτυχεστέροι. This shows that according to the perspective of the speaker one can be either εὐτυχής or δυστυχής without children, and in both of the above cases the happiness or good fortune involved is based on an absence of pain.”

<sup>381</sup> As McDonald (1978, 91) asserts: “1. Her father was king of Phrygia (349). 2. She was raised with fair hopes, a bride for kings (351-53). She was the equal of the gods in all except her mortality (356.” She enjoyed ‘wealth’, ‘status’.

<sup>382</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 91.

<sup>383</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 295.

<sup>384</sup> This is similar to how Admetus says that Alcestis δαίμων is more εὐτυχής than his because she is freed from the suffering he feels from her death, in vv. 935-938: φίλοι, γυναικὸς δαίμων' εὐτυχέστερον / τοῦμοῦ νομίζω, καίπερ οὐ δοκοῦνθ' ὄμως. / τῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἄψεται ποτε, / πολλῶν δὲ μόχθων εὐκλεῆς ἐπαύσατο. (My friends, I think my wife's lot is happier than my own, though it may not appear so. For she will never be touched by any grief and has ended her many troubles with glory.)”

In the same way that the other happiness-related words referred to states that are ever-changing, to be εὐτυχής is not permanent either. For example, in vv. 861-866 of *Children of Heracles*:

δεσμοῖς τε δήσας χεῖρας ἀκροθίνιον  
κάλλιστον ἦκει τὸν στρατηλάτην ἄγων  
τὸν ὄλβιον πάροιθε. τῇ δὲ νῦν τύχῃ  
βροτοῖς ἅπασι λαμπρὰ κηρύσσει μαθεῖν,  
τὸν εὐτυχεῖν δοκοῦντα μὴ ζηλοῦν πρὶν ἄν  
θανόντ' ἴδη τις· ὡς ἐφήμεροι τύχαι.

He has bound his hands and returned with the general who once was so fortunate, the glorious first fruits of battle. By this present blow of fortune he gives all men a lesson plain to learn, that none should envy him who seems fortunate until they see he has died. For our fortunes may change with the day.

The general, Eurystheus, who seemed to be ὄλβιος, was living in affluence and enjoying high social standing with power as a tyrant. However, by the force of τύχῃ, his prosperity has changed and, for this reason, no one should envy someone who seems to εὐτυχεῖν, ‘to be successful’ (in this case, in battles), until they have died, because this state is unstable. Eurystheus himself has now been overpowered in battle and is no longer εὐτυχής nor ὄλβιος having lost the status and power he had. As McDonald states: “Τύχῃ is here mentioned twice; Euripides is probably emphasizing this element in εὐτυχία. Since the τύχαι are ephemeral, so also is εὐτυχία, and it can easily turn into δυστυχία.”<sup>385</sup>

Lastly, there is another use of εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω which consists of a formulaic use. This usage goes back to Aeschylus, who seems to have been the first to employ it. In Euripides’ works, it is found in v. 163 of *Helen* when Teucer says to Helen before exiting: σὺ δ’ εἴης εὐτυχής ἀεὶ, γύναι (“But may your fortune always be good, lady”). It is a way of saying ‘thank you’ and expressing gratitude and is also used as a parting formula. It is also found in v. 889 of *Electra* when Electra says to Orestes: αἰεὶ δ’ εὐτυχεῖς φαίνοισθέ μοι (“Ever may I see you both in prosperity!”). This is also found used with the verb εὐτυχέω, for example, in v. 1153 of *Alcestis*: ἀλλ’ εὐτυχοίης, νόστιμον δ’ ἔλθοις δρόμον (“May you have good fortune and run your homeward course!”). In *Alcestis*, the formulaic use of εὐδαιμονέω is also present in vv. 1136-1138: ὦ τοῦ μεγίστου Ζηνὸς εὐγενὲς τέκνον, / εὐδαιμονοίης καὶ σ’ ὀφειτύσας πατὴρ / σώζοι: (“O noble son of mighty Zeus, may good fortune attend you and may your father who begot you preserve your life!”). It is a wish for Heracles to receive divine

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<sup>385</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 64.

favour from Zeus in the form of ‘security’. McDonald declares: “Zeus is the δαίμων who can give a mortal long-lasting security.”<sup>386</sup> McDonald comments about these two formulaic uses: “Both wishes are formulaic and are combinations of “farewell” and “thank you” in leave-taking.”<sup>387</sup> This use can also be found in v. 688 of *Medea*: ἀλλ’ εὐτυχοίης καὶ τύχοις ὄσων ἐρᾷς (“Well good luck attend you, and may you obtain what you desire!”) This use with τύχοις ὄσων ἐρᾷς further shows how εὐτυχέω has the sense component of “achieving a desired end”, which for Aegeus is a child.

Effectively, the analysis of words-related to happiness in Euripides yields interesting results. Firstly, μάκαρ appears in its common use as an epithet for the gods accompanied in most cases with a noun like θεός. However, Euripides also applies this epithet to mortals because these share some characteristic of being μάκαρ that the gods enjoy, namely: ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’, ‘security’, ‘power’ and ‘object of awe and τιμή’. By divine proximity, one can be referred to with the same epithet used for the gods, μάκαρ. Those who participate in the rites of Dionysus in *Bacchae* are called μάκαρ (μακαρίζω) because through these they are the closest possible to the divine. It is used for the dead heroine Alcestis, calling her a μάκαιρα δαίμων, since after death she will enjoy a ‘life of ease’, ‘stability and security’, she will have a ‘divine-like power’ over mortals and will be the object of ‘awe’ and ‘τιμή’. The adjective μάκαρ had also been used for dead heroes going back to the *Odyssey*. Both μακάριος and μάκαρ are used for the dead, considering that the dead experience a ‘life of ease’, ‘free from suffering’ similar to the gods. Even though the adjective μακάριος has less strength than μάκαρ and is strictly applied to humans, it shares the same sense components already mentioned. However, the adjective μακάριος shows slightly more materialistic connotations and is used for tyrants due to their ‘wealth’ and ‘status’ which grant them a ‘life of ease’. Nevertheless, this is questioned as tyrants cannot enjoy ‘security’. Μακάριος is also used in wedding μακαρισμός while μάκαρ is not, even though this is a traditional usage for the latter adjective going back to the *Odyssey* where it is applied to Nausicaa.

In relation to the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, the analysis reveals that they are multifaceted in meaning. There is clearly the etymological meaning in εὐδαίμων which comes to light more in those tragedies which focus on the relationship with a god, such as *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus*. To be εὐδαίμων is the same as having a god as an ally, συμμαχός, but to secure this relationship one has to have the knowledge to σωφρονεῖν and to act with

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<sup>386</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 41.

<sup>387</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 41.

εὐσέβεια. If one is εὐδαίμων and knows the rites, one can be an initiate and experience what it is to be μάκαρ. The external favour of being εὐδαίμων can appear in other external evidences such as ‘wealth’ (πλοῦτος/ὄλβος), ‘status’ and ‘offspring’ (παῖδες). Another aspect which had been appreciated before is the idea of ‘absence of suffering’. This is linked to favour bestowed by a god making one’s life more secure with less toil. However, the innovation in Euripides is the heightened aspect of this. In his tragedies, Euripides questions if one can one really be εὐδαίμων if the internal element of ‘absence of suffering’ is lacking. Nevertheless, pain is present in every mortal’s life to some degree, which makes to be εὐδαίμων difficult to attain. Interestingly, Euripides is the first to use the verb εὐδαιμονέω in a formulaic way, as εὐτυχέω and ὄλβια are used.

Concerning ὄλβιος and its derivatives, normally these refer to having ‘wealth’ and being of ‘high status’, thus ‘admired’ for this. The verb ὀλβίζω simply means to deem someone ὄλβιος. It can be used to call someone ὄλβιος following a more specific meaning or a more general meaning. On the one hand, the first normally relates to wealth and status, as it is said in *Trojan Women* that Astyanax could have been ὄλβιος because of his noble birth from ἄγαθοί. In addition, having offspring is important so that this prosperity can continue, this is why one can be called ὄλβιος for their offspring as in *Ion*. On the other hand, the general use of ὄλβιος is reminiscent of that found in *The Histories* and is intrinsically linked to εὐτυχής and its derivatives. It is used for those who can avoid misfortune and enjoy an ‘on-going general prosperity’. This is why it is said that one cannot be called ὄλβιος before death, as before then, fortune is ever-changing. A third use, which is formulaic, can be found in wedding μακαρισμοί used for the bride and groom, for example, in *Andromache* and *Alcestis*. The noun ὄλβος can refer simply to ‘wealth’, with no moral differentiation, as it can be wealth distributed justly or unjustly. However, if one acts with ὕβρις, this god-given wealth can be taken away while if one acts with measure it can be secured. However, in both cases, ὄλβος is still dependent on the will of a δαίμων. There is only one use of ὄλβος related to ‘general prosperity’ and it is similar to the general use of ὄλβιος already mentioned. The loss of ὄλβος is linked to being unfortunate, δυστυχέω, once again highlighting the relationship between these two happiness-related words.

Turning to the examination of the use of εὐτυχής and its derivatives, this research has followed as a guide McDonald’s classification of the meanings of εὐτυχής. Firstly, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω can mean ‘be fortunate and to find oneself in good circumstances’. Εὐτυχής and

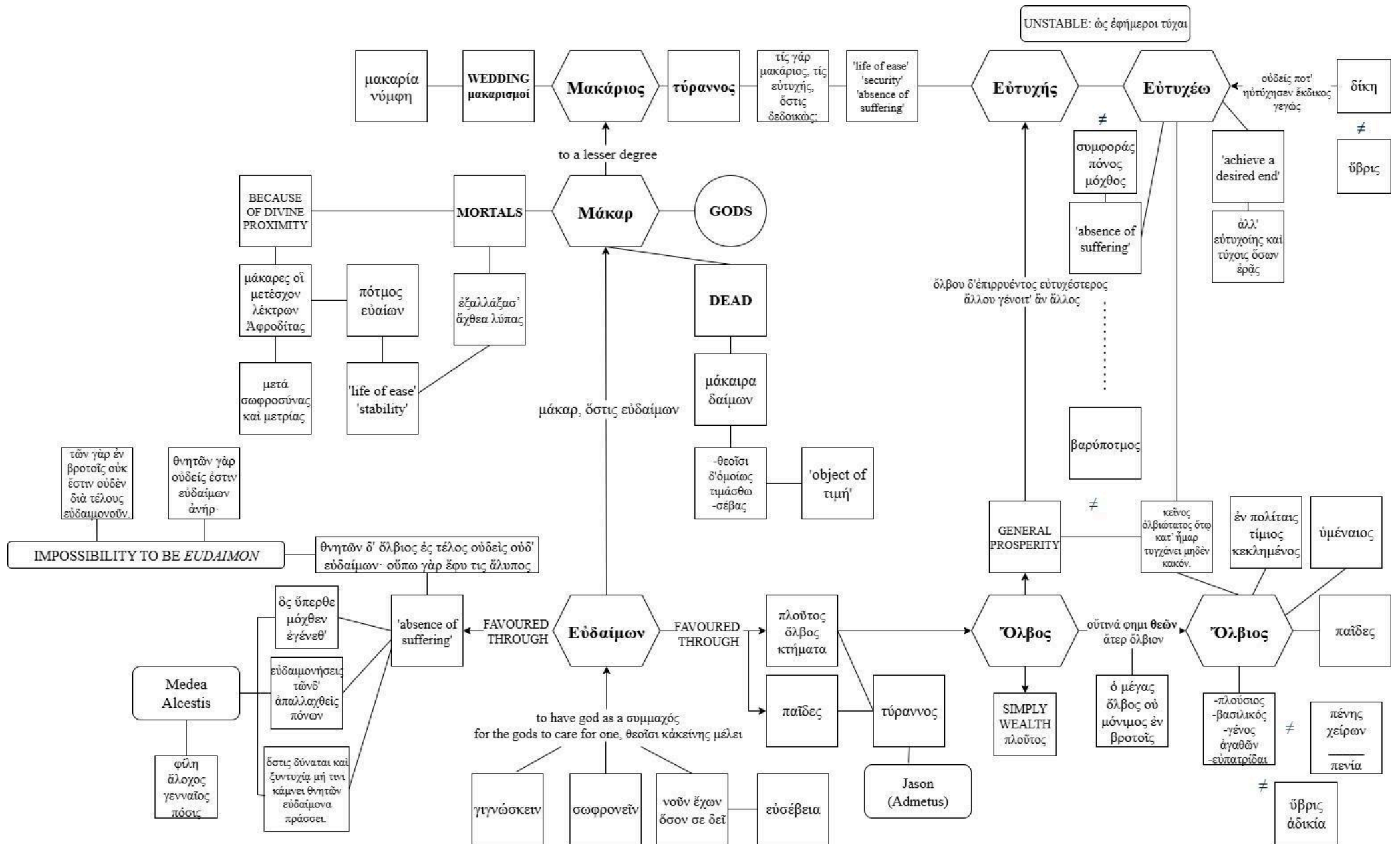
εὐτυχέω can also mean ‘to be successful’ or to ‘accomplish a desired outcome or objective’. Depending on the context and the goals of the person who it is used for, it can have a different meaning, either to be successful in victories, in attaining a certain goal, in having children or in achieving security. In these different meanings, there is also the idea that one can have certain control over achieving this type of happiness, from avoiding ὕβρις. On certain occasions, when εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω mean ‘to be fortunate, in good circumstances’ this is due to an ‘absence of suffering’, as seen in πολλῶν μόχθων ἀπέχονται. This is seen in how someone who is childless is said to be in better circumstance, more εὐτυχής, than someone who suffers because of their children. In addition, if one suffers greatly in life, death can make one be in a ‘better circumstance’, more εὐτυχής, because of freedom from pain and suffering. To be εὐτυχής is ever-changing and unstable, as are the other states represented by happiness-related words and applied to mortals. Lastly, as found in Aeschylus, there is a formulaic use of εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω, which are ways of expressing gratitude and also of bidding farewell.

In conclusion, Euripides presents new uses especially in the application of εὐδαίμων and its derivatives. Even if one is in a good relationship with the gods and is favoured through ‘wealth’, ‘power’ and ‘security’, if there is internal suffering then one cannot be counted as εὐδαίμων. Democritus is the predecessor in this application of internal happiness to εὐδαίμων. However, both the etymological and external meanings can be found also in Euripides. Simply, there is a heightened importance to the aspect of ‘absence of suffering’. Interestingly, all types of happiness-related words are related in some way to ‘absence of suffering’, which seems to demonstrate a general importance to this aspect. Another new application in Euripides is the formulaic use of εὐδαιμονέω. In this way, εὐτυχέω, εὐδαιμονέω and ὄλβια can be used in a formulaic use of greeting and of farewell. Moreover, the use of μακάριος proves interesting as in Aeschylus and Sophocles this use cannot be found and that of μάκαρ is very limited. Lastly, the use of ὄλβιος is very similar to that in The Histories, linked intrinsically to the manner of one’s passing and if one dies εὐτυχής. Without a doubt, it is clear that Euripides’ works present many occurrences of happiness-related words which make their analysis both complex and fructiferous.



μάκαρ	μακάριος	εὐδαίμων/εὐδαιμονία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβος	εὐτυχής/εὐτυχέω
<p>-Gods: ‘power’, ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’ and ‘awe’</p>	<p>Only humans, not gods: -stability, life of ease, power, admiration.</p> <hr/> <p>-Used in wedding μακαρισμός, Helen &amp; Menelaus, Glauce. -Used for the dead, Glauce.</p>	<p>-Etymological meaning, ‘being in a good relationship with a δαίμων’ having god as a συμμαχός. Related to γινώσκειν, σωφρονεῖν, to having νόος and εὐσέβεια.</p>	<p>-Enjoying god-given ‘wealth’ and ‘high status’, ‘being admired’ and ‘having offspring’ to perpetuate this prosperity.</p>	<p>-God-given material, equal to ‘wealth’, when used in moderation and justly it can be secured. Acting with ὕβρις hinders it. -God-given ongoing general prosperity, related to ‘absence of misfortune’, to avoid being δύστυχης.</p>	<p>-Be fortunate, in a good circumstance, due to wealth, status or general use. This good circumstance can be absence of suffering as seen when contrasted to συμφοράς, πόνος and μόχθος.</p>
<p>-Applied to humans also who share one, a few, or all of these last characteristics</p> <hr/> <p>-Humans who are μάκαρ because they share through divine proximity with the gods either Aphrodite or Dionysus. By participating in rites one can gain certain ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’ and ‘admiration from</p>	<p>-Used for strong admiration for heroes who die an honourable death, Astyanax. -Used for questioning the tyrant’s happiness, denoting a clear relation of μακάριος to ‘life of ease’ and ‘stability’.</p>	<p>The external evidence of this relationship can be seen through ‘wealth’, πλοῦτος, and possessions, κτήματα, as a τύραννος εὐδαίμων or through even παῖδες. Or through ‘security’ and ‘absence of suffering’. Euripides begs the question whether any amount of external wealth is enough to compensate internal suffering.</p>	<p>-‘General prosperity’, related to the manner of one’s passing. One cannot be called ὄλβιος before dying, εὐτυχής.</p> <hr/> <p>-In a wedding context for Admetus and Alcestis.</p>	<p>Formulaic use, a way to say thank-you or goodbye by wishing good fortune for the other.</p>	<p>-To succeed in something desired, either in victories or in tasks, or in having children.</p>

<p>others' compared to the non-initiate.</p> <p>-Applied to the dead heroine Alcestis as a μάκαιρα δαίμων who after death will have a 'divine-like' power and will be an 'object of τιμή' and also will be an 'object of σέβας', through hero cult.</p>					
<p><b>μακαρίζω</b> - 'Deem someone μάκαρ', only applied to mortals.</p>			<p><b>ὀλβίζω</b> - Deem someone ὀλβιος because of god-given 'wealth' and 'status', Astyanax in <i>Trojan Women</i>.</p>		



### 3.5. HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN DEMOCRITUS

Democritus was an ancient Greek philosopher who is thought to have been born in the fifth century BC in Abdera and is generally classified among the presocratics. Unfortunately, none of his work has survived and his way of thinking is only known from references<sup>388</sup>. Even though he is most known for his revolutionary contributions to the development of atomic theory, the focus of this section will be on the usage of happiness-related works in the fragments of Democritus, often referred to as “the laughing philosopher”<sup>389</sup>.

Before entering into the analysis of the words relating to happiness in question, it is important to highlight that Democritus introduces a new concept that is εὐθυμία. This noun is formed by εὐ and θυμός, which Beekes describes as ‘spirit, courage, anger, sense’<sup>390</sup>. So etymologically this implies that this type of contentment comes from having a good spirit. Democritus says that this type of happiness comes from moderation in pleasure and way of life. It is clear that this sense of good spirit is directly related to stability, but this stability comes from within. It is up to humans to accomplish this state of good spirit where they are calm and stable. To attain this state, it is important to separate oneself from external matters that can disrupt one’s emotions.

In Fragment D55, which explores the concept of εὐθυμία, μακαρίζω appears meaning ‘to call one happy with awe because of their possessions’: ὁ γὰρ θαυμάζων τοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ μακαριζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων (“For he who admires those who have and who are congratulated by others...”). The noun μάκαρ does not appear in Democritus’ fragments and this use of μακαρίζω refers clearly to a mortal and does not seem to have the same strength. However, the sense components of ‘power or means’ and ‘awe-inspiring’ are still present.

Passing on to εὐδαιμόνων and its derivatives, Democritus’ usage of εὐδαιμονία proves to be intriguing and seems to portray similar nuances to those found in the concept of εὐθυμία, as seen in Democritus’ fragment D24: εὐδαιμονίη ψυχῆς καὶ κακοδαιμονίη (“Blessedness and

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<sup>388</sup> The Greek text and numbering is extracted from Christopher Charles Whiston Taylor (2010).

<sup>389</sup> As seen in Seneca’s *De Ira* Book II Chapter 10 Section 5: *Democritum contra aiunt numquam sine risu in publico fuisse ; adeo nihil illi videbatur senum eorum quae serio gerebantur. Ubi istic irae locus est? Aut ridenda omnia aut flenda sunt.* Or as seen in Hippolytus’ *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* Book I Chapter 13 Section 2 DK 68A40: οὗτος ἐγέλα πάντα, ὡς γέλωτος ἀξίων πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>390</sup> Beekes, Robert. (2010). s. u. θυμός.

wretchedness belong to the soul”). Furthermore, in fragment D25: εὐδαιμονία οὐκ ἐν βοσκήμασιν οἰκεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐν χρυσῶ· ψυχὴ οἰκτήριον δαίμωνος (“Blessedness does not reside in herds or in gold; the soul is the dwelling-place of the guardian spirit.”). According to these fragments, εὐδαιμονία has nothing to do with possessions,<sup>391</sup> it depends on one’s δαίμων found in one’s ψυχή. This is related to Heraclitus Fragment D111 (B119): ἥθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων (“Character, for a human, is his personal deity”).<sup>392</sup> It can be deduced that, Democritus’ usage of εὐδαίμων follows the etymological meaning of ‘having a good relationship with a δαίμων’ but in this case the δαίμων component is internal and not external. As De Heer stated: “It implies that the δαίμων element of the noun εὐδαιμονία is internal, so that man is not dependent on external influences for achieving this condition.”<sup>393</sup> Furthermore, Stefan Imhoof asserts:

Cette découverte implique à la fois l'existence de la responsabilité éthique et la découverte d'un lieu intérieur de l'homme, défini comme la demeure d'une divinité anonyme, ou d'un *daimôn*. Une fois encore, s'il ne s'agit pas explicitement de la conscience dans sa conception moderne, on voit néanmoins l'affirmation de l'existence d'une sorte de demeure interne à l'homme, dans laquelle viendrait «loger» le bonheur.<sup>394</sup>

Democritus states that happiness has nothing to do with possessions. Instead, he is suggesting that the achievement of happiness and unhappiness is to do with the soul where the δαίμων is. Democritus uses the adjective εὐτυχής in the Fragment D151: εὐτυχής ὁ ἐπὶ μετρίοσι χρήμασιν εὐθυμεόμενος, δυστυχής δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ πολλοῖσι δυσθυμεόμενος. (“Lucky is he who is happy with moderate wealth, unlucky he who is unhappy with great wealth”) Democritus considers fortunate those who are content with moderate wealth and he thinks that those who are dissatisfied with great wealth are unfortunate. As De Heer states: “Instead of allowing εὐτυχής to be the result of fortuitous circumstances, of accepting it in its usual passive sense, he gives it an active content. The finding is good through one’s own efforts.”<sup>395</sup> The force of τύχη is presented as unstable in Fragment D41: τύχη μεγαλόδωρος, ἀλλ’ ἀβέβαιος, φύσις δὲ

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<sup>391</sup>In Fragment D115 the understanding that happiness is related to wealth is criticized: ἡ ἐν δημοκρατίῃ πενία τῆς παρὰ ταῖς δυνάστησι καλομένης εὐδαιμονίας τοσοῦτόν ἐστι αἰρετωτέρη, ὀκόσον ἐλευθερίῃ δουλείῃς. (“Poverty in a democracy is as much more desirable than so-called well-being under tyrants as freedom is more desirable than slavery.”) It comes to mean that it is better to be free than enslaved and that material prosperity is secondary.

<sup>392</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 22. The Greek text and translation of Heraclitus’ Fragment D111 (B119) are taken from André Laks & Glenn W. Most (2016).

<sup>393</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 79.

<sup>394</sup> Imhoof, Stefan. (2000), p. 13.

<sup>395</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 80.

αὐτάρκης· διόπερ νικᾷ τῷ ἥσσονι καὶ βεβαίῳ τὸ μείζον τῆς ἐλπίδος. (“Fortune gives great gifts, but is undependable, while nature is self-sufficient; so its dependable inferiority excels the greater advantage which one hopes for [sc. from fortune].” To be εὐτυχής is not dependent on any external force such as the gods or τύχη, but dependent on one’s interpretation. This makes it so that, to some extent, it becomes more secure than depending on the will of the gods or arbitrary forces.

Effectively, Democritus’ usage shows a departure from previous uses. The least innovative would be the use of the verb μακαρίζω, which conserves the sense components of ‘power or means’ and ‘inspiring awe’. Both εὐδαιμονία and the adjective εὐτυχής present captivating innovations. Both of these refer to an internal happiness and are not dependent on any external influences. Democritus believed that εὐδαιμονία was not dependent on outside factors or the acquisition of possessions. Instead, it stems from a person’s inner temperament. He held the view that the balance and harmony within one’s soul was what determined their level of happiness and well-being. This balance and harmony can only come from learning how to live a moderate life with little wants or needs. In regards to the adjective εὐτυχής, Democritus believed that being fortunate comes from within and has nothing to do with possessions. He emphasizes the importance of being internally satisfied rather than constantly striving for more material possessions.

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

This research has analysed words relating to happiness in authors of the Archaic and Classical periods, as well as that of their respective cognates. The words analysed have been εὐδαίμων, μάκαρ, ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής and their derivatives εὐδαιμονίζω, εὐδαιμονέω, εὐδαιμονία, μακαρίζω, μακάριος, ὄλβος, ὄλβίζω, εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχία.

Each section has focused on an author and their works with the objective of examining their usage of happiness-related words. The results of this are presented first. Starting with the adjective μάκαρ and its derivatives, the use of μάκαρ is generally used as an epithet for the gods, who enjoy a ‘life of ease’, ‘stability’, ‘power’, ‘security’ and are ‘object of awe’ and ‘τιμή’. Homer uses this word for the gods in this way and when applied to them it normally appears accompanying a noun, like θεός, apart from on two occasions. When used for mortals it is because they share circumstances that are similar to the gods. This can be because they live a ‘life of ease without toil’, having ‘power’ over others (τὸ κρατεῖν), certain ‘security’ or ‘stability’, (ἀσφαλής) or being an ‘object of awe’ similar to how the gods are admired and honoured, (ἐτίομεν ἴσα θεοῖσιν). Even though one can be called μάκαρ, one cannot fully attain the happiness that the gods enjoy and there is always a risk of one’s fortune changing since it is not permanent as it is for the gods. The only permanent way to be μάκαρ for mortals is after death when it is applied to dead heroes who have escaped from the instability of human alternation and are worshipped after death. To call someone μάκαρ, an epithet reserved for the gods, is one of the highest praises and shows a great feeling of awe, σέβας. This is seen in the use of μάκαρ in a μακαρισμός for Nausicaa in what seems to be an antecedent of wedding songs. In the *Homeric Hymns*, the sense components are the same as already appreciated, but it is only used for mortals. In all cases, it is an epithet for the gods and it is found now both accompanying θεός or/and another noun, and substituting them. In Hesiod, the barrier between mortals and gods is manifest and this is reflected in the use of μάκαρ also solely for divine-like entities. It is used with the same meaning, but mostly substituting θεός or a similar noun. Another novelty in Hesiod’s application is that it is used to placate divine-like entities, thereby, showing the great force of the adjective. These entities also enjoy ‘a life of ease’, ‘security’, ‘stability’, ‘power’ and are ‘awe-inspiring’, as well as an ‘object of honour’, τιμή (as said in ἀλλ’ ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ).

Continuing into the Lyric genre, in Alcman's works, there is only one use of μάκαρ and it seems to be applied to the deified Heracles and it is accompanied by ἐν σάλεσσι πολλοῖς ἡμενος, seeming to bring to light the sense component of 'life of ease'. In Sappho and Alcaeus, there is a strict use of μάκαρ only for mortals and it appears accompanying θεός. It presents the same sense components seen in the Epic genre. In Solon, the impossibility for a mortal to be μάκαρ is expressed by stating that while the immortals, ἀθανάτων, are described as μάκαρες, mortals, θνητοί, are destined to be merely, πονηροί. In the Theognidea, there are only four uses of μάκαρ, three for the gods, accompanying θεός or ἀθανάτος, and one for mortals which stands out. This appears in a μακαρισμός applied to Cynus who is said 'to have been bestowed the divine gift of judgement, γνώμη'. The divine gift of γνώμη is so precious and rare that the person who has it is superior and an 'object of awe', and thus called μάκαρ. One is not μάκαρ because of γνώμη itself, but because γνώμη is what permits one to avoid committing ὕβρις and angering the gods, thus living a more 'secure' and 'stable' life. One is also considered μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος if one dies without having experienced hardships, ἄπειρος. In Pindar, it is interesting how μάκαρ, μακαρίζω and μακάριος are used. Pindar uses μάκαρ primarily for deities without accompanying θεός. There are two exceptional uses of μάκαρ and one of μακαρίζω applied to humans, used for the Battiads, King Battus and his son, Arcesilaus. This use seems to be referring to Battus' immortalization as a cult hero after death when he will have a 'divine-like power', will be an 'object of awe' and 'honoured like a god', making him worthy of being called μάκαρ. For Arcesilaus, μακαρίζω is used, meaning 'to deem someone μάκαρ but to a lesser degree', due to his heroic ancestry. The adjective μακάριος is used solely for mortals, but shares in the same sense components, however, to a lesser degree. It is applied to the chariot driver Carrhotus who will be immortalized through song. In Bacchylides, μάκαρ is only used once and for the gods, but this time θεός appears again, βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων. This could be due to the fact that there are uses of it applied to mortals in previous authors and the epithet is no longer used exclusively for the gods.

When it comes to authors and works of the Classical period, in Aeschylus' tragedies, the barrier between the mortal and the divine is strict, which is demonstrated through the restricted use of μάκαρ solely for the divine. The most μάκαρ of all is Zeus, being the most 'powerful' of the gods, τελέων τελειότατον κράτος, and thus the most 'stable'. There is a use for it to placate the subterranean divinities, which was previously noted back in Hesiod.

In Sophocles, the adjective μάκαρ appears once and it is used to invoke the goddess, Cybele who is referred to as σέβας ὑπέρτατον which shows the sense component of ‘awe’ and ‘honour’. Instead of μάκαρες, it seems that δαίμονες is used more to refer to the gods in general, indicating a clear decline in the usage of the adjective μάκαρ. Only the derivative μακαρίζω appears and it means ‘to deem someone μάκαρ’ and it is used to say that no mortal can be called μάκαρ, ὃ τλᾶμιον Οἰδιπόδα, βροτῶν οὐδὲν μακαρίζω. This is due to the fact that this happiness is related to a stability impossible for humans to achieve because of the inevitable ever-changing nature of mortal existence. In Herodotus, neither μάκαρ nor μακάριος appear, only the verb μακαρίζω. It is clearly momentary in meaning and has much less force than μάκαρ in other authors, but seems to have the sense components of ‘power’ and an ‘object of awe’.

In Euripides’ tragedies, μάκαρ is used for gods with the same meaning already appreciated and commonly appears accompanying θεός or another noun. Euripides also applies μάκαρ to mortals normally because these share in some characteristic of being μάκαρ that gods enjoy. For example, Callisto, now dead, is called μάκαιρα because she no longer has to endure pain, she now lives ‘a life of ease’, ἐξαλλάξασ’ ἄχθεα λύπας, comparable to that of the gods, which inspires great ‘awe’ in Helen. Μάκαρ is used for the dead heroine, Alcestis, because she shares in a ‘life of ease’, has ‘divine-like power’ and is an ‘object of awe and τιμή’. It is said that her tomb will be honoured like the shrines of the gods θεοῖσι δ’ ὁμοίως τιμάσθω and it will be an object of veneration, σέβας. By divine proximity, the initiates in the rites of Dionysus and of Aphrodite are called μάκαρες, elevated to this status through the participation in the rites due to being εὐδαίμονες. Μακάριος has the same sense components, but to a lesser degree and it is used frequently in Euripides’ tragedies. Μακάριος also has clearly a sense of ‘security’ and ‘stability’. It is also used for tyrants due to their ‘power’, but a tyrant’s happiness is questioned because they do not enjoy a life that is secure or stable. Μακάριος is used in wedding μακαρισμός and is also applied to the dead, for example, for Glauce.

Concerning the adjective εὐδαίμων and its derivatives, the adjective εὐδαίμων first appears in Hesiod. Εὐδαίμων is a mortal who ‘has a good relationship with a divine-like force’, φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν, through the art of labour (ἐργάζεσθαι) and being ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν, avoiding committing transgressions, ὑπερβασία.

An analysis of the Lyric genre reveals that in Alcman εὐδαίμων is contrasted to πολυπήμων showing a clear relation to ‘absence of suffering’. In the Thegonidea to be εὐδαίμων is to be a ‘friend of the gods’ φίλος θεοῖς, showing manifestly its etymological meaning. There is also a relationship to ‘absence of suffering’ and ‘security’, since it is related to dying ἄπειρος. In Pindar’s works, εὐδαιμονία seems to take on the duplicity of meaning normally found in ὄλβιος, namely that of referring to a happiness in life and one that transcends the mortal realm. In its non-eschatological meaning, its sense is ‘to be in a good relationship with a divinity’ which in turn will ‘favour’ one, resulting in enjoying external proof of this favour which is ‘to come out victorious’, ὅς κρατήσαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστ’ ἀέθλων ἔλη, and ‘be immortalized through song’, ὕμνητός. To witness the success of one’s offspring in the Games can further complement this εὐδαιμονία. There is also a sense of ‘absence of suffering’. In its eschatological meaning, it refers to the prosperity one achieves through literal immortalization after death and it seems to be permanent. This possibility is only for a select few who have religious ties, as is the case of Hieron both, a known ἱεροφάντης and the founding hero of Aetna. After death, Hieron will be favoured by ὁ μέγας πότμος and receive his share of εὐδαιμονία. It is only a share, μοῖρα, however, as a life of complete εὐδαιμονία, both in life and after death, is said to be impossible because mortals experience negative happenings and human alternation is part of the mortal experience. In Bacchylides, the same duality in εὐδαίμων is found, one reading being accessible within the contexts of the epinicians while another is reserved for those with the knowledge to grasp its deeper meaning. Both εὐδαίμων and εὐδαιμονία are reserved only for the odes dedicated to Hieron, demonstrating how this state is reserved for only a select few who have the knowledge, economic means and religious ties. The non-eschatological meaning is to use one’s ὄλβος following εὐσέβεια and fostering a good relationship with a δαίμων, who will favour one with power and status, ὅς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας, and coming out victorious in Olympic Games resulting in being immortalized through song, ὕμνητός. The eschatological meaning alludes also to using ὄλβος with εὐσέβεια, however this favouredness is one that transcends death and makes one permanently εὐδαίμων with a more favourable afterlife, either through the Mysteries or hero cult. However, as in Pindar, one can only have a share of εὐδαιμονία, in this case πέταλον εὐδαιμονίας, because complete εὐδαιμονία is not possible due to the constant risk of human alternation.

In Aeschylus, he who is εὐδαίμων is he who ‘is in a good relationship with a δαίμων’ and ‘is not hated by the gods’ but instead ‘loved’, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ. In order to secure this relationship,

one can act in a certain way so as to not anger the divine, by being εὐφρων and practising εὐσέβεια. When this relationship is secured, mortals are favoured externally through ‘wealth and high status’ and ‘security’. Εὐσέβεια and to be εὐφρων are crucial to being εὐδαίμων. In Sophocles, the same meaning is found of having a ‘good relationship with a δαίμων’ and the evidence of divine favour, primarily, is ‘security’ and ‘absence of suffering’ and, secondarily, ‘wealth and status’. Those who are εὐδαίμονες are those who have not experienced evil, εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰών. To secure the relationship with a δαίμων one has to practice good judgement, τὸ φρονεῖν, and piety, εὐσέβεια. This is clear in *Oedipus at Coloneus* when it is said that the Athenians will be εὐδαίμονες if they honour him as a cult hero after death following hero cult practices. If they do so, they will be εὐτυχεῖς. It is interesting how through this type of happiness other types of happiness can arise such as being εὐτυχής or to be bestowed ὄλβος, marked by the occurrence of εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου. To be εὐδαίμων is not permanent and one can enjoy εὐδαιμονία and then experience one’s downfall, to ἀποκλινεῖν.

In Herodotus, to be εὐδαίμων means the same as being πλούσιος. It seems that both εὐδαίμων and εὐδαιμονία are related to material prosperity taking on the normal meanings of ὄλβιος and ὄλβος. There is an explicit relationship to the etymological meaning. In Euripides’ tragedies, there is a manifest etymological meaning, seen most clearly in *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus*. The initiates have Dionysus as their ally, σύμμαχος, and are εὐδαίμονες. To be εὐδαίμων, one needs to have good judgement, νοῦν ἔχων ὅσον σε δεῖ, and act with moderation, σωφρονεῖν. The external evidence of being εὐδαίμων consists of ‘wealth’ (ὄλβος), ‘status’, ‘security’ (ὄς ἐκ θαλάσσης ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ’ ἔκτεν) and ‘absence of suffering’. To be εὐδαίμων is related on many occasions to being a τύραννος, for their ‘wealth’ and ‘status’. However, in Euripides there is the question whether materialistic possessions can compensate for internal suffering and insecurity. To be εὐδαίμων can open up the possibility of other types of happiness such as being μάκαρ or ὄλβιος. To be εὐδαίμων is in some way a prerequisite to these types of happiness. However, this state is unstable and can change. This makes it so that there is always an element of suffering and insecurity, making it difficult to be εὐδαίμων, since it is linked to ‘absence of suffering’. The verb εὐδαιμονέω clearly also has this sense component, as seen in *Electra*, to εὐδαιμονεῖν is related to being ‘freed from toil’, τῶνδ’ ἀπαλλαχθεῖς πόνων καὶ ξυντυχία μή τι κἀμνει/ θνητῶν δ’ ὄλβιος ἐς τέλος οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ εὐδαίμων· οὐπω γὰρ ἔφυ τις ἄλυπος. In addition, it is

remarkable that Euripides is the first to use the verb εὐδαιμονέω as a formulaic use for leave-taking, for example in εὐδαιμονοίης, νοῦν ἔχων ὅσον σε δεῖ.

According to Democritus's works, εὐδαιμονία, is a type of happiness that is dependent on the soul, ψυχή, and not on material possessions. There is a notable change from the δαίμων element of the term εὐδαιμονία being external to being internal. This means that this state is not dependent on any external factors.

Turning focus to the adjective ὄλβιος and its derivatives, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there are differences in the nuances of ὄλβιος, presenting a sacral and a non-sacral meaning. In its sacral meaning, the proper heroic praise is to be found in the word ὄλβιος, understood in its sense relating to a hero who will be immortalized after death and receive hero cult, the highest form of κλέος and the highest form of honour, τιμή, for a mortal. Those who worship heroes can also be considered momentarily ὄλβιοι themselves as a form of transfer of this favour. In its non-sacral meaning, to be ὄλβιος is related to receiving favour from the gods (δῶρα θεῶν) in the form of 'wealth and possessions' (πλοῦτος, κτήματα) which permit one to 'live well' (εὖ ζῶειν), 'surpassing others by power or status' (ἀνάσσω, καίνυμαι) and 'being honoured and admired among others' (receive κλέος and τιμή). Occasionally, it appears with a prepositional phrase, for example, ὄλβιος ἐν ἀνδράσιν, which highlights this sense of being preeminent. Having offspring, (παῖδες, υἱεῖς), that can perpetuate this material wealth and power is crucial to being ὄλβιος. Even though there is this duality in ὄλβιος, these both share the idea of 'being favoured by a divinity', 'surpassing others' (either by wealth, physical attributes or being a cult hero) and thus 'being admired and honoured'. In the *Homeric Hymns*, there is again a sacral meaning and a non-sacral meaning of ὄλβιος. It is used in a μακαρισμός for the initiate, τελετής, in the Eleusian Mysteries who, due to what he has seen (ὀράω), has superior knowledge and is permanently ὄλβιος after death. The initiates are favoured in life by having material prosperity, πλοῦτος, and a more favourable afterlife, αἴσα. It is also used in its non-sacral ephemeral meaning for those who have 'god-given material prosperity (αγλαὰ δῶρα, πλοῦτος) and have 'offspring' (θαλερός γόνος, παῖδες) that can perpetuate this wealth. It is also related to being honoured among others and receiving κλέος and τιμή. It is used with prepositional clauses like ἐν λαοῖς, marking the preeminence of someone who is ὄλβιος as it is used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Having all these advantages for the extent of one's life, means 'to live well', εὖ ζῶειν. It is also used for the poet who receives an immaterial possession for which he is 'compensated' materially'. These three

uses, which at first glance seem very different, all share the following sense components: ‘to be loved by a divinity and favoured’, to receive ‘compensation from the divinity’ (either material or ritual), ‘to surpass other mortals’, thus ‘be admired for this superiority’. Ὀλβιος appears with κλέος in the *Hymn to Hermes*. The noun ὄλβος is a divine material bestowal, it appears coordinated with ἀρετή and coordinated πλοῦτος. Turning to Hesiod, ὄλβος is god-given wealth, (πλοῦτος, ἄφενος) while ὄλβιος is applied to mortals who surpass others, either to poets or heroes. Both applications have the sense components of: ‘to be loved by a divinity’, ‘to be favoured by this divinity’, ‘to surpass others and be honoured’, to πρέπειν, ‘to be an object of reverence’, αἰδώς and ‘to receive certain compensation, either material for poets or ritual for heroes. Secondary to this meaning, to be ὄλβιος also encompasses the idea of ‘life of ease’ since a poet can earn a living without physical toil and the ὄλβιοι ἥρωες live on the Blessed Islands enjoying a perpetual state without suffering, ἀπήμαντος and with a ἀκηδής θυμός.

In the Lyric genre, in Alcman, to be ὄλβιος is he who is εὐφρων and spends his days ἄκλαυτος by avoiding ὕβρις and τίσις. What seemed to be a secondary meaning of ‘life of ease’ is highlighted with an added sense of ‘absence of suffering’. In Sappho, it is used in a wedding μακαρισμός for the bridegroom who has been honoured by Aphrodite (τετίμακ’ ἔξοχά σ’ Ἀφροδίτα) in achieving the marriage (ἐκτελεῖν γάμον) and having the bride (ἔχειν πάρθενον) for which he had prayed. Aphrodite also favours the newly-weds with a εἶδος χάριεν. The newly-weds, during the ritual convention, are assimilated to the gods, ἴσοι θεοῖσιν and are objects of τιμή and stupefaction like the gods, surpassing other mortals. Even though the application is different, ὄλβιος here shares in sense components already appreciated, ‘to be favoured by the gods’, ‘to enjoy god-given possessions’ (in this case, a wife and a marriage), ‘to surpass others’ (by being elevated in the ritual convention of marriage) and ‘to be honoured’. In Alcaeus, ὄλβιος is applied to Achilles following the same sense components as already seen when applied to a hero; ‘surpassing others’, ‘to be honoured’ and ‘immortalized through hero cult’. In Solon to be ὄλβιος is to be ‘favoured by the gods by being bestowed god-given wealth, ὄλβος and to use it with sound judgement, νόος ἄρτιος, avoiding κόρος and ὕβρις. It is also related to having certain reputation, δόξα ἀγαθή and standing out among others for this. In addition, to have ‘offspring who can perpetuate this prosperity’ (παῖδες) is important. Secondarily, there is the idea of ‘life of ease’ because those who are ὄλβιοι are part of an aristocratic circle who have economic means and can even participate in leisurely activities. In the Theognidea, ὄλβιος is contrasted with

πενιχρός and κακός, showing a clear relationship to ‘wealth’ and ‘status’. However, it is more complex than this, as it is said that ὄλβιος is he who has been bestowed ἀρετή and κάλλος. He who is ὄλβιος ‘surpasses others’, to μεταπρέπειν, and ‘is honoured’, receiving τιμή, and ‘reverence’, αἰδώς, and the just rights, δίκη. To be ὄλβιος is related to being ἀγαθός and ἐσθλός and in this way one can avoid κόρος and ὕβρις. In addition, it is said that he who is μάκαρ, εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος is he who dies without having experienced any hardships, ἄπειρος. In Pindar’s works, both ὄλβιος and ὄλβος are strongly linked to ‘victory in games’ and the subsequent ‘glory’, κλέος. Even though an athlete has to toil to achieve victory, it is only possible when a god fulfils it, δαίμων τελευτᾷ, for this it is necessary to be εὐδαίμων, ‘to have a good relationship with the divine’. Ὀλβος appears linked to κλέος and πλοῦτος. There is no apparent use of the sacral meaning and instead μάκαρ and εὐδαίμων seem to take on this aspect.

In Bacchylides, both ὄλβιος and ὄλβος share a similar meaning and are only used in a non-sacral sense. Ὀλβος is ‘god-given wealth’ (related to πλοῦτος and to that which is ἀφνειός) and to ‘status’ (εὐδοξος). He who has been bestowed ὄλβος and enjoys it following the principle of δίκη, is ὄλβιος. He who uses his ὄλβος with the principle of εὐσέβεια, which is the most fitting way to use it, ἄριστος, and knows not to keep it hidden, οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμπαρέϊ κρύπτειν σκότῳ, nurtures his relationship with the divine and is favoured, being εὐδαίμων both in life and after death.

Moving on to tragedy, in Aeschylus, ὄλβιος is used for ‘those who surpass others’ either because of ‘wealth and status’ or because of ‘hero cult’. This arouses envy in others, ζῆλος, and when one does not have good judgement, εὖ φρονεῖν, and commits ὕβρις, one can incite divine jealousy, φθόνος, which can end in one’s downfall. Due to human alternation, one cannot be considered ὄλβιος before ending one’s life in prosperity, ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ βίον τελευτήσαντ’ ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ. However, this could also consist of an allusion to hero cult, since it is Agamemnon who pronounces these verses. Moreover, what is remarkable is the use of ὄλβιος for Zeus, but it can be understood as he is ὄλβιος since he distributes it, similar to Aphrodite being called πολύολβος in Sappho. In Sophocles’ tragedies, there is again the duality in meaning. In its non-sacral usage, ὄλβιος refers to ‘being bestowed ὄλβος’ and ‘surpassing others’ because of ‘status’ or ‘power’ (as seen in relation to κράτιστος and to ἀνάσσω) and ‘being honoured and envied for this’. The emphasis is put on one’s honour, τιμή, and how one arouses envy, ζῆλος, in others. The opposite of ὄλβιος is to live a life that

is unenviable, ἄζηλος. The opposite of ὄλβος is shame, αἰσχύνη. Ὀλβος is not merely materialistic, it seems to encompass, ‘status’, ‘power’ and ‘honour’. Clearly to be ὄλβιος is ever-changing and it is up to the gods to bestow it and to take it away. It is declared that one cannot be called ὄλβιος before one has died without experiencing pain in life, πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθῶν. It seems that to be bestowed ὄλβος, there is an idea that one has to be εὐδαίμων. Ὀλβια is used as a form of wishing good fortune, for example: ἀλλ’ ὄλβια τε καὶ ξὺν ὄλβιοις ἀεὶ γένοιτ’, ἐκείνου γ’ οὔσα παντελῆς δάμαρ. Its sacral meaning is found when applied to Oedipus alluding to his immortalization through hero cult.

In Herodotus, this duality in meaning of sacral and non-sacral is addressed in the dialogue between Solon and Croesus. Croesus represents the materialistic meaning of ὄλβιος while Solon represents the sacral. The examples that Solon puts forward as the most ὄλβιοι are mortals who were immortalized after death and received hero cult which seems to be hinting at a meaning that goes beyond life. Before death one can only be called εὐτυχής, but if one dies in this manner and is honoured after death, then one can be called ὄλβιος. In Euripides, there is a more specific materialistic meaning relating to ‘wealth’ and ‘possessions’ while there is another that refers to ‘general prosperity’. This last use is found on many occasions together with derivatives of εὐτυχής. Furthermore, it appears in wedding μακαρισμοί for the bride and groom, for Admetus and Alcestis.

Passing on to εὐτυχής and its cognates, the first to appear is the verb, εὐτυχέω, in Semonides. It is clearly related to τυγχάνω and seems to have a passive meaning of ‘being fortunate in what one comes across’. It does not appear again until Pindar’s works in which εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχία are closely connected, representing the momentary idea of ‘succeeding’ or ‘achieving a desired objective’. In the context of Pindar’s odes, εὐτυχέω refers mostly to ‘coming out victorious in the games’, for example, ἐν Ἴσθμῳ τετράκις εὐτυχέων. There is an active desire to achieve the objective and the athlete works towards it. The gods, who control τύχη, are the ones who aid the athlete, while in Semonides, the finder is met with what is put in his way and τύχη is an arbitrary force which controls this. In Bacchylides’ works, the usage is also innovative in the way that it is related to passing one’s life keeping one’s θυμός ungrieving, θυμὸν εἴ τις ἔχων ἀπενθῆ δύναται διατελεῖν βίον, which indicates a sense of ‘absence of pain and suffering’. It seems to be a type of happiness that comes from ‘avoiding misfortunes’. This can be secured by steering away from committing ὕβρις.

In Aeschylus' tragedies, to be εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω involve 'being favoured by τύχη'. When one is favoured by τύχη, one experiences less misfortunes and less suffering. When one can live a life avoiding misfortune, being εὐτυχής, and keeping one's ὄλβος intact, then one can be called ὄλβιος. In this way, these two happiness-related words are related, having a εὐτυχής πότμος being the stepping stone to being ὄλβιος. In Sophocles, εὐτυχέω and εὐτυχής have the meaning of 'enjoying momentary fortune by τύχη' and also 'to prosper'. When one is favoured by τύχη, one avoids misfortunes and suffering, as seen when it is contrasted to ἀταόμια. To εὐτυχέω, there is toil involved, but he who decides the outcome can be a divinity, such as Zeus who is ὁ τροπαῖος. This seems to indicate that the gods can control the force of τύχη. Τύχη by itself seems to be presented as a force which is arbitrary. According to Herodotus, to be εὐτυχής is to be aided by τύχη and thus, to 'fare well' (εὖ πράσσω) 'avoiding misfortunes' or 'changes of τύχη which bring distress'. Due to one's εὐτυχία, one is kept from sickness and evil and is happy with one's offspring, ταῦτα δὲ ἢ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδῆς. However, if one is εὐτυχής in excess, this can incite divine jealousy and retribution, φθόνος. If one is εὐτυχής, repeatedly avoiding misfortunes, until the day one dies and one's death is honourable and one is venerated, then one can be called ὄλβιος. It seems, therefore, that in this sense to be εὐτυχής could be interpreted as a prerequisite to being ὄλβιος after death. In Euripides, εὐτυχής and εὐτυχέω can mean 'to be successful' or to 'accomplish a desired outcome or objective'. What it means 'to be successful' obviously depends on the different objectives of the person involved or the context. One can have certain control over this by not committing ὕβρις and being punished. It can also mean to 'be fortunate, in good circumstances'. Death can make one be in a 'better circumstance', more εὐτυχής, because one is freed from pain experienced by the living. According to Democritus, to be εὐτυχής is no longer dependent on any external circumstances and it is up to one's own perspective. If one is internally satisfied with what one has, one is εὐτυχής.

In each of these authors, the context and genre is significant when assessing the meaning of each of these words. By examining each author, it is possible to see what sense components remain throughout and come closer to the meaning of each. Μάκαρ is generally used as an epithet for the gods, who enjoy a 'life of ease', 'stability', 'power', 'security' and are 'objects of awe' and 'τιμή', but it can be applied to mortals and to the dead.

Turning to the usage of μάκαρ and its derivatives and how these differ in each author, this adjective appears in Homer and is used frequently throughout until Euripides. However, there does seem to be a decline in usage in certain authors, particularly notable in the works of Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Herodotus. In Bacchylides, there is only one use as there is in Sophocles, in Aeschylus it only appears ten times and in Herodotus, only the verb μακαρίζω. The adjective μακάριος does not appear in either Sophocles or Aeschylus. The decline in use of μάκαρ led to other ways to denominate the gods such as, δαίμονες, as seen in Sophocles. In Herodotus, it is interesting how μακαρίζω represents a temporary happiness completely different to μάκαρ. Both Pindar and Euripides employ the most derivatives with the use of μακαρίζω and μακάριος also. In Democritus, there is no use of μάκαρ, of μακάριος or of μακαρίζω.

Μάκαρ shares the sense components throughout of ‘life of ease’, ‘security’, ‘stability’, ‘power’, ‘objects of awe’ and ‘of τιμή’. Homer uses it for mortals and immortals as in the Theognidea, Pindar and Euripides. In Hesiod, it is used strictly for the divine as in *Homeric Hymns*, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, Bacchylides, Sophocles and Aeschylus. It does not accompany a noun in Hesiod, Sappho, Pindar and Aeschylus. It generally appears accompanying a noun in Homer, Alcaeus, Solon, the Theognidea and Euripides. In the *Homeric Hymns* there are uses of μάκαρ both substituting and accompanying a noun. Another interesting use is that of Hesiod for subterranean divinities, μάκαρες θνητοῖς, which appears again in Aeschylus, μάκαρες χθόνιοι.

Although on many occasions the sense components are not expressed explicitly, it is interesting to see which words commonly appear with μάκαρ, (apart from θεός and ἀθάνατοι or words of this manner). In addition, it is interesting to remark how when μάκαρ is applied to mortals the sense components are clearer as there is normally an explanation as to why these mortals are worthy to be deemed as such. When **μάκαρ** is applied, commonly a relation to **τιμή** has been appreciated, for example, used for Achilles in the underworld, ἐτίμεν ἴσα θεοῖσιν and for the dead heroine, Alcestis in Euripides, θεοῖσι δ’ ὁμοίως τιμάσθω. In Hesiod, it said how the subterranean entities called μάκαρες are also worthy of τιμή, ἀλλ’ ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ. Moreover, there is the repetition of **σέβας**, this appearing in the μακαρισμός for Nausicaa, then σέβας ὑπερτάτων is used for Cybele in Sophocles and σέβας appears used for Alcestis in Euripides.

In addition, μάκαρ can appear with a verb that indicates power, **κράτος**, for example in the *Odyssey* when Achilles is said to rule over all the dead (κρατέω), νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν or how Agamemnon has many who are subject to him, πολλοὶ δεδμηάτο κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν. In Aeschylus, it is said that Zeus is the most μάκαρ for his power, τελέων τελειότατον κράτος.

The sense component of ‘**life of ease**’ is found in phrases such as τῷ ἔνι τέρπονται μάκαρες θεοὶ ἥματα πάντα in Homer, as ἐν σάλεσσι πολλοῖς in Alcman and as ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐεδροὶ in Sophocles. The idea of ‘**stability**’ is appreciated in the previous phrase ἥματα πάντα and also in μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες in Homer. In the Theognidea, the one use of μάκαρ seems to be innovative, however it is again linked to ‘life of ease’ and ‘security because one is μάκαρ for one’s god-given γνώμη which permits one to avoid ὕβρις and insecurity. The idea of life of ease is also seen in μακάριος in Euripides when the tyrant’s happiness is questioned because of it being a life inherently dangerous and that brings distress, τίς γὰρ μακάριος, τίς εὐτυχής, ὅστις δεδοικῶς καὶ περιβλέπων βίαν αἰῶνα τείνει; Also it is said that those who participate in the rites of Aphrodite with moderation will have a πότμος εὐαίων.

The idea that a mortal cannot be μάκαρ is expressed explicitly in Sappho, ἔλπις δέ μ’ ἔχει μὴ πεδέχη[ν] μηδὲν μακάρων, in Solon, οὐδὲ μάκαρ οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ / πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς ἡέλιος καθορᾷ, as well as in Sophocles ὃ τλᾶμον Οἰδιπόδα, βροτῶν οὐδὲν μακαρίζω.

The examination of μάκαρ becomes more complex when it occurs in conjunction with derivatives, μακαρίζω and μακάριος, as seen in Pindar and Euripides. The added derivatives make it possible to indicate different levels of who is μάκαρ and to what extent. Although it has to be remarked that both μακαρίζω and μακάριος are solely used for mortals. For example, in Homer, μάκαρ is used indistinctly for a rich man with a field of wheat or barley, in a wedding μακαρισμοί and for a cult hero. Even though all these uses share in the sense components of being μάκαρ, it is clear that the first two examples do so to a lesser degree and do not share all components, while clearly a cult hero is the closest to being μάκαρ for he is a δαίμων with a ‘divine-like power’ and ‘receives honour like the gods’, τιμή, through hero cult. This distinction is addressed by the introduction of μακάριος. In Euripides, for example, μακάριος is used for those tyrants who enjoy an easier life because of their means, as well as for the newly-weds in a wedding μακαρισμός. In this way, μάκαρ is reserved for the closest to the condition of divine, as are cult heroes or initiates in rites. Pindar shows these distinctions

also by using μακάριος for those immortalized through song and μάκαρ, which has more force, for those immortalized both through song and hero cult.

The noun εὐδαιμονία first appears in the *Homeric Hymns*, however the dates of these are uncertain and there is only one instance in a wish clause. The adjective εὐδαίμων is attested firstly in Hesiod and then continues throughout until Euripides. The derivatives εὐδαιμονέω and εὐδαιμονίζω first appear in Sophocles.

Εὐδαίμων presents the etymological meaning of **‘being in a good relationship with a δαίμων’** and being favoured by this δαίμων mostly through ‘security’ and ‘absence of suffering’. This is clear, firstly, in Hesiod and it is used for he who is φίλτερος and ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν. In the Theognidea, it appears as being φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν. In Aeschylus, he who is εὐδαίμων is he who is not hated by the gods, so it is he who is loved, ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ. In Euripides, he who is εὐδαίμων has a god as an ally, συμμαχός. Moreover, to εὐδαιμονεῖν means that the gods care for one, as seen in the fact that it is said that Troy will rule in prosperity, εὐδαιμονοῦντες since they are cared for by the gods, καὶ γὰρ θεοῖσι κακείνης μέλει.

The sense components of **‘security’** and **‘absence of suffering’** in εὐδαίμων, go back to Hesiod, but they are seen expressed explicitly in Alcman when εὐδαίμων is contrasted to πολυπήμων and also in the Theognidea when it is said that he who is εὐδαίμων is he who goes to Hades without having experienced trials, ἄπειρος. In Pindar and Bacchylides, although these sense components are also present, they are not expressed explicitly. Aeschylus it is said that the victors, who are εὐδαίμονες, can sleep the night soundly, ἀφύλακτοι. The idea of security and absence of suffering is found in Sophocles when it is said that those εὐδαιμονες are those who have not tasted evil, εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰὼν. In Euripides the idea of ‘absence of suffering’ is explicit when it is said that εὐδαίμων is ὃς ὑπερθε μόχθεν ἐγένεθ’ and when to εὐδαιμονεῖν is related to being freed from πόνος, εὐδαιμονήσεις τῶνδ’ ἀπαλλαγθεις πόνων. Moreover, it is said that he who can avoid distress is εὐδαίμων, ὅστις δύναται καὶ ξυντυχία μὴ τινὶ κάμνει θνητῶν εὐδαίμονα πράσσει. However, no mortal is free from pain and this is why to be εὐδαίμων and ὄλβιος is said to be impossible, θνητῶν δ’ ὄλβιος ἐς τέλος οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ εὐδαίμων· οὐπω γὰρ ἔφυ τις ἄλυπος.

The relationship of εὐδαίμων and **‘knowledge’**, goes back to Hesiod when one has to know the omens and how to avoid transgressions, ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων. In

Pindar there is also a relation to knowledge marked by the verb οἶδα and συνήμι, εἰ δὲ λόγων συνέμεν κορυφάν, Ἰέρων, ὀρφάν ἐπίστα, μανθάνων οἶσθα προτέρων. In Bacchylides, one has to know how not to keep one's wealth hidden, marked by the verb οἶδα, and how to use it with εὐσέβεια. This is understood by the man who φρονέοντι, indicating a relationship to the verb φρονέω. In Aeschylus, there is a clear link between being εὐδαίμων and to **being εὖφρων** and εὐσέβεια. In Sophocles, it is related to τὸ φρονεῖν and to εὐσέβεια. In Euripides, there is a relationship to knowledge in *Bacchae* when it is said that εὐδαίμων is he how knows, εἰδώς, the rites of the gods and performs them. In addition, it is also said that if they had known, γινώσκειν, how to σωφρονεῖν they would have had Dionysus as their ally, σύμμαχος and been εὐδαίμονες. In *Hippolytus*, the verb εὐδαιμονέω is also found related to having νόος.

The idea that **one cannot be completely εὐδαίμων** is seen in Pindar, τυχεῖν δ' ἔν' ἀδύνατον εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον, in Bacchylides, οὐ γάρ τις ἐπιχθονίων π[άντ]α γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφω, and Euripides, θνητῶν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ.

In addition, **the idea that to be εὐδαίμων can bring other types of happiness is found in Hesiod**, since avoiding the wrath of the δαίμονες and working can bring wealth, to be ὄλβιος. The relationship of εὐδαίμων to being bestowed ὄλβος is clear in Pindar and Bacchylides, since ὄλβος consists of the external proof of this divine favour in life that comes from being εὐδαίμων. The relationship of εὐδαίμων to other forms of happiness is very clear in Sophocles and seems to be the stepping stone to these other types of happiness. If the Athenians honour Oedipus as a cult hero they are said to continue prospering, being εὐτυχεῖς. The occurrence of εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου is interesting also and shows that if one is εὐδαίμων one can be bestowed ὄλβος. There is a clear relationship between being εὐδαίμων and being μάκαρ in Euripides, as to be εὐδαίμων seems to be a prerequisite to becoming μάκαρ, which is the state closest to the divine. Through nurturing a good relationship with the divine, one knows how to participate in the rites which brings one closer to the divine and to this happiness. This is seen clearly in the *Bacchae* in the verses ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις εὐδαίμων and τὸ δὲ κατ' ἤμαρ ὄτω βίωτος εὐδαίμων, μακαρίζω.

What is most interesting about εὐδαίμων is its evolution from the δαίμων element being external to one that is internal in Democritus. Therefore, happiness becomes entirely dependent on oneself making it more secure. The change from one having a passive role to an

active one in one's own happiness is remarkable since this is an idea that becomes embedded in later philosophical thought and persists through to the modern era. McDonald goes to the point of saying that this change to an internal δαίμων is already present in Euripides in some of the applications of εὐδαίμων.<sup>396</sup> However, I think that the fact that the etymological meaning is present in other instances indicates that the δαίμων element is still external. The heightened aspect of internal suffering is still dependent on an exterior δαίμων. Euripides is influenced by other authors in which εὐδαίμων has a sense of 'absence of suffering', dependent on one's relationship with a δαίμων. However, he innovates by questioning whether any amount of external evidence of wealth or status are enough to compensate for internal suffering. Coming from the archaic viewpoint that happiness had to be externally manifest, Euripides now insists on the internal element, even questioning whether a tyrant can be happy if his life is insecure. Moreover, I propose as further evidence of the δαίμων element in Euripides being external is the fact that no mortal can be εὐδαίμων because life is insecure. If the δαίμων were an internal element, it would depend on oneself to be εὐδαίμων, making it more accessible. There is only full control over being εὐδαίμων when the δαίμων element is internal which is what occurs in Democritus.

The adjective ὄλβιος is used from Homer up until Euripides and is complex in meaning. It is used for mortals who are favoured by the gods and in some way surpass others. There is a duality in meaning, sacral and non-sacral in Homer, *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, Aeschylus and Sophocles and Herodotus. However, in Solon, Sappho, Alcaeus, Theognidea, Alcman, Pindar, Bacchylides and Euripides there is no evident sign of this duality. It is interesting how in Pindar, μάκαρ is used instead to refer to immortalization through hero cult or Mysteries and how in Bacchylides it is the adjective εὐδαίμων which takes on this duality in referring to a favouredness that carries on after death.

The idea 'to surpass others' is expressed in the use of **πρέπειν** in Hesiod and in the Theognidea with the verb, μεταπρέπειν. He who is ὄλβιος receives 'reverence' from others marked by the use of **αἰδώς** in Hesiod and in the Theognidea. This links to its use with **κλέος** in Homer, the *Homeric Hymns* and in Pindar. It is found with **ἀρετή** in Homer, *Homeric Hymns* and in the Theognidea. In Solon, it is found linked with **δόξα ἀγαθή**, while in Bacchylides, it is related to being εὐδοξος. In the Theognidea, there is a clear relation to **τιμή**. In the Theognidea, he who is ὄλβιος is he who has ἀρετή and he who everyone honours,

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<sup>396</sup> McDonald, Marianne. (1978), p. 299.

πάντες τιμῶσιν. In Aeschylus, it is interesting how there is emphasis on how those ὄλβιοι are perceived, arousing envy ζῆλος (indicated both by appearance of compounds of ζῆλος, ἐπίζηλος and ζηλωτός) or inciting divine jealousy, φθόνος. In Sophocles, there is great stress on the honour component of ὄλβος, the opposite being to experience αἰσχύνη and the opposite of being ὄλβιος is to live a βίος ἄζηλος. There is also a direct relation to τιμή when it is said that Orestes achieves the πάντιμον γέρας, making him ὄλβιος and when it is said that Oedipus had εὐδαίμονος ὄλβου and was honoured greatly, μέγιστ' ἐτιμάθη. The relation to τιμή is found also in Herodotus when it is said that Tellus was honoured greatly after death, ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως and in Euripides when ὄλβιος is related to being ὁ δ' ἐν πολίταις τίμιος κεκλημένος.

To be ὄλβιος is also related to reaching old age and to living well in both Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*, to εὖ ζῶειν. In Hesiod, the idea of 'life of ease' is present since the heroes live a life without suffering, ἀπήμαντος and with a ἀκηδής θυμός. The idea of a life of ease is also present in Solon and the Theognidea when he who is ὄλβιος enjoys a leisurely lifestyle.

He who is ὄλβιος is he who 'is favoured by the gods through δῶρα θεῶν', as seen in Homer, in the *Homeric Hymns* and in Hesiod. The **materialistic meaning** of ὄλβιος and its derivatives, is clear when it is accompanied by words such as πλοῦτος, κτήματα or that which is ἀφνειός in Homer and πλοῦτος, ἄφθονος in the *Homeric Hymns*. In Hesiod, it appears with πλοῦτος and ἄφενος. In Pindar it is clearly linked to πλοῦτος and in Bacchylides it is related to πλοῦτος and to that which is ἀφνειός. Commonly, the materialistic meaning is linked to one's offspring, as through them one's prosperity can be perpetuated. This is seen in the appearance of παῖδες, υἱεῖς, in Homer and in *Homeric Hymns* as θαλερός γόνος/παῖδες and in Solon, παῖδες. In Sophocles and Euripides, ὄλβιος appears related to εὐπατριδής, showing a relation to status. While in Aeschylus and Sophocles there is less emphasis on the materialistic meaning and more on honour, this meaning is still present secondarily. In Euripides, the materialistic meaning of ὄλβιος is evident and related to πλούσιος and is contrasted to he who is πένης and χείρων.

The **formulaic expression** that one cannot be deemed ὄλβιος until dying is repeated throughout. This is found first in Aeschylus, ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ and then in Sophocles, μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθῶν. This is also found in Herodotus, when it is said that before death one can only be called εὐτυχής, πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. Lastly,

it appears also in Euripides when it is said that before one's death one cannot be called ὄλβιος, χρηὶ δ' οὐποτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδέν' ὄλβιον βροτῶν, πρὶν ἂν θανόντος τὴν τελευταίαν ἴδης ὅπως περάσας ἡμέραν ἤξει κάτω.

Ὀλβιος is found for **wishes for the future** in Homer, πομπὴ καὶ φίλα δῶρα, τά μοι θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες ὄλβια ποιήσειαν, in the *Homeric Hymns*, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν, and in Sophocles, ἀλλ' ὄλβια τε καὶ ξὺν ὀλβίοις ἀεὶ γένοιτ', ἐκείνου γ' οὔσα παντελῆς δάμαρ. In Sappho, it is used for the bridegroom in a **wedding μακαρισμός** and this use is also present in Euripides used for Alcestis and Admetus.

Moving onto εὐτυχίης and its cognates, the first to appear is εὐτυχέω in Semonides which means 'to come across something good which has been put in one's way by the arbitrary force τύχη'. In Pindar this changes and τύχη is an active force which one can toil towards, but ultimately it is the gods who control τύχη who make one εὐτυχέω.

The idea of '**absence of suffering**' is clear throughout, for example, in Bacchylides, there is the idea that εὐτυχία is to avoid suffering, to avoid the changes of τύχη, similar to how in Hesiod εὐδαίμων was to avoid the punishment of the δαίμων. This shows that clearly here τύχη is understood as an active force, this is also demonstrated in how one can have certain control over τύχη since this can be secured by steering away from committing ὕβρις. In Aeschylus, this sense is clear because he who is εὐτυχίης is who has escaped πόνος. It is also expressed that he who εὐτυχέω finishes his life avoiding pain, expressed by ηὐτύχει δὲ τοι ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου and by saying that he who is εὐτυχίης is who θανόντα πρὶν κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος. In Sophocles, he who εὐτυχέω is whose τύχη is straightened, τύχη ὀρθοῖ. In Herodotus, to be εὐτυχίης is to be aided by τύχη and thus, avoiding misfortunes or changes of fate and in Euripides, εὐτυχίης and its derivatives are contrasted to πόνος, μόχθος, συμφορά, and the opposite of εὐτυχέω is presented as ἀταόμαι.

At the end of this section, there will be a diagram that condenses the sense components that have been appreciated in the analysis of these authors. To reach a general understanding, only the sense components that have appeared in at least two authors have been considered. Moreover, there is a separate diagram representing the words which appear together with each happiness-related word which only takes into consideration those words which have occurred together in more than one author.

Having explored the semantic components of each, it is possible to appreciate the different nuances between each of these words and also their similarities. Both ὄλβιος and εὐτυχής are linked in Aeschylus, Herodotus and Euripides. In Aeschylus, it is clear how he who surpasses others in ὄλβος is due to a πότμος εὐτυχής. In Herodotus, to be ὄλβιος is he who dies before experiencing misfortune, as in dying εὐτυχής. In Euripides, it is said that one can be considered ὄλβιος when he εὐτυχέω as in avoiding misfortune, τυγχάνει μηδὲν κακόν. Furthermore, it is outstanding how μάκαρ and ὄλβιος both have in common a clear relationship to receiving τιμή. This makes ὄλβιος the only happiness-related word that shares a sense component with μάκαρ. This relates to how these two words share a close connection to the realm of the divine, since μάκαρ is generally applied to gods who are honoured while ὄλβιος has a sacral meaning reserved for cult heroes who are divine-like entities who also receive τιμή.

The similarities between the adjectives ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων and their derivatives also prove to be of interest. The lines between ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων are the most blurred in Pindar and Bacchylides, since in these εὐδαίμων presents a duality in meaning and can refer to ‘immortalization’ and ‘compensation’ when in previous works, ὄλβιος had been used to present this duality. Moreover, in Herodotus, εὐδαίμων takes on a clear materialistic meaning which is similar to that which ὄλβιος generally had in other occurrences, as it has been seen. It is also remarkable how, in many authors, to be εὐδαίμων and to be ὄλβιος is linked, as it has been seen in Hesiod, Pindar, Bacchylides, Sophocles, and Euripides.

If ὄλβιος and εὐδαίμων are so similar then this begs the question as to why εὐδαιμονία among all happiness-related words was chosen by Aristotle as the noun to describe happiness. Firstly, it is perhaps easier to deduce why neither μάκαρ nor εὐτυχής could have been chosen. It is clear that μάκαρ and μακάριος are complicated for their strong relationship with the realm of the gods. There is also a decline in usage and neither μάκαρ nor μακάριος appears in the historiographers which De Heer interprets as these, perhaps, being *vocabula sollemnia*.<sup>397</sup> This and the general restricted use of it for the divine realm, explains why Aristotle did not choose μάκαρ or its cognates. Concerning εὐτυχής and its derivatives, this type of happiness belongs strictly to the mortal realm, however it is used commonly for a momentary happiness which contrasts strongly with the idea of ‘fulfilment’ Aristotle expresses in the definition of εὐδαιμονία. Moreover, it is clearly dependent on τύχη and this makes it difficult to allow for

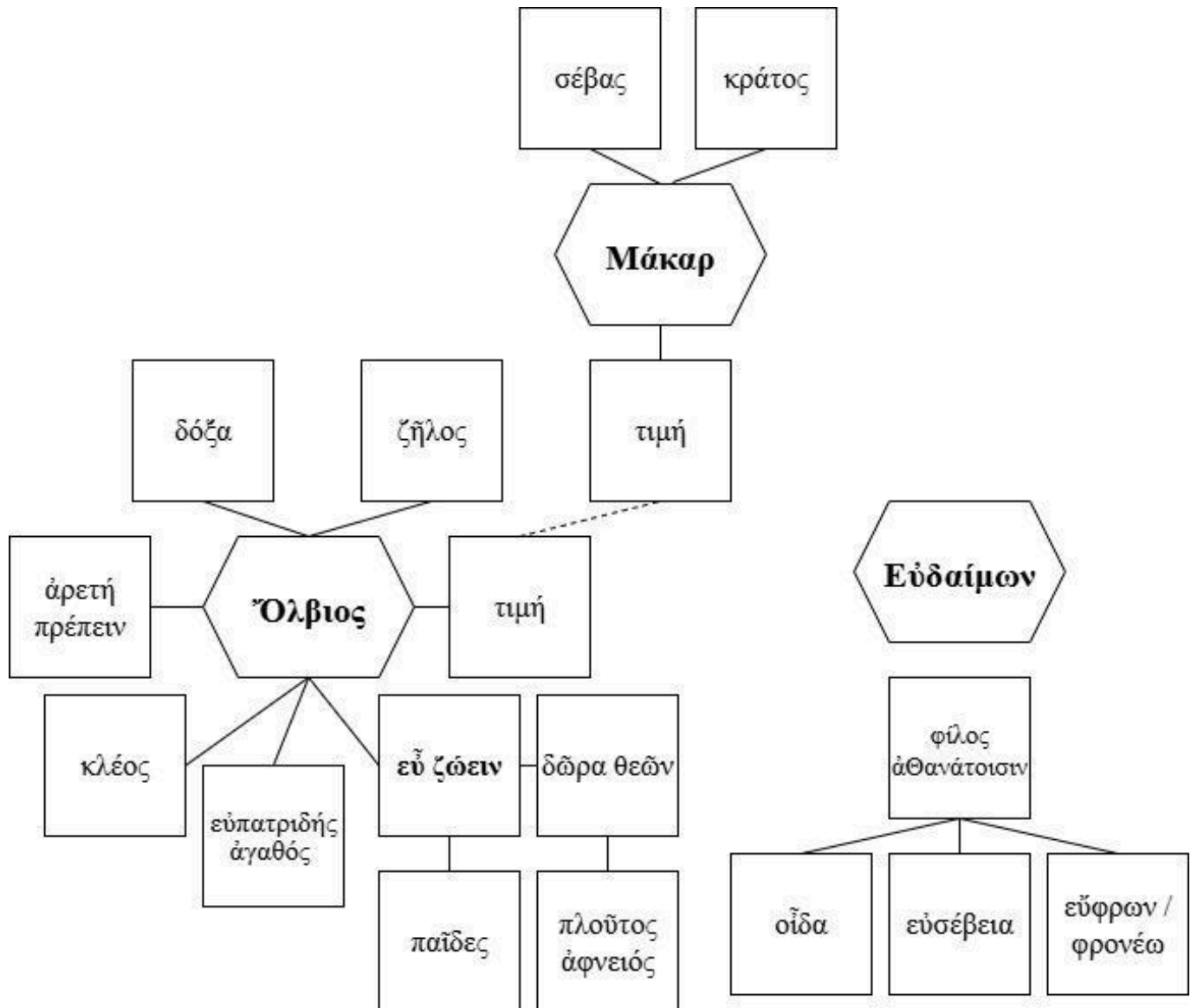
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<sup>397</sup> De Heer, Cornelis. (1969), p. 103.

it to have an internal meaning. Now, turning to the choice of εὐδαίμων in respect to ὄλβιος, in my opinion, one problem presented by ὄλβιος is its strong relation to how one is perceived externally in society. Furthermore, it could have been discarded for its materialistic meaning, which is consistent throughout this analysis, which εὐδαίμων does not present so clearly, at least not historically. Lastly, the relationship between ὄλβιος and hero cult and the Mysteries, which goes back to Homer and the *Homeric Hymns*, could have made ὄλβιος less preferable for its religious ties. Even though, εὐδαίμων itself is the word which etymologically is the most related to the divine, this is resolved when the δαίμων element is made internal by Democritus.



**DIAGRAM OF ANCIENT GREEK WORDS WHICH COMMONLY  
APPEAR WITH HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS**



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## ANNEXES

STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HOMER													
	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
<i>Iliad</i>					17						1		2
<i>Odyssey</i>					26		3				14		9
TOTAL 1					43		3				15		11
TOTAL 2	0				46			0			26		

STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE <i>HOMERIC HYMNS</i>														
	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος	ὄλβια
<i>To Athena</i>				1										
<i>To Demeter</i>					3						2			
<i>To Apollo (III)</i>					5						1			
<i>To Hermes</i>					5						2		2	

(IV)																
To Aphrodite (V)					3						1					
To Muses and Apollo											1					
To Earth Mother of All											1		1			
To Hercules													1			
To Ares					1											
To Hephaestus													1			
To Hera					1											
To Pan					1											
To Poseidon					1											
To Hestia (XXIX)					1											
TOTAL 1					22						8		6			
TOTAL 2					22				0				14			

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HESIOD

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
<i>Theogony</i>	1				4						2		2
<i>Works and Days</i>					8						2		6
<i>The Shield</i>					4						0		1
TOTAL 1	1				16						4		9
TOTAL 2	1				16			0			13		

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SEMONIDES

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
									1				
TOTAL	0				0			1			0		

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN ALCMAN

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
	1				1						1		

TOTAL	1	1	0	1
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### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SAPPHO

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
					2						1		1
TOTAL	0				2			0			2		

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN ALCAEUS

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
					6						2		
TOTAL	0				6			0			2		

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SOLON

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
					3						1		3
TOTAL	0				3			0			4		

### STATISTICS OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN THE THEOGNIDEA

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
	2				5						10		2
TOTAL	2				5			0			12		

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN PINDAR

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
	5			3	15	1	1		2	2	8		28
TOTAL	8				17			4			36		

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN BACCHYLIDES

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὀλβίζω	ὄλβος
	2			1	1					1	6		3
TOTAL	2				1			1		9			

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN AESCHYLUS

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὀλβίζω	ὄλβος
<i>Agamemnon</i>	3				1			1	1		1	1	
<i>Libation-Bearers</i>	1				1				1				
<i>Eumenides</i>													
<i>Persians</i>	1							2	1				1
<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>					3								
<i>Suppliants</i>					3						1		

<i>Prometheus Bound</i>	1				2								
TOTAL 1	6				10			3	3		2	1	1
TOTAL 2	6				10			6			4		

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN SOPHOCLES

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
<i>Ajax</i>								1	3				
<i>Antigone</i>	1		1	1					2				1
<i>Women of Trachis</i>								1	1		1		
<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	1			1			1	1	3		1	1	3
<i>Electra</i>								1	4		1	1	
<i>Philoctetes</i>	1				1								
<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	2	1						1					
TOTAL 1	5	1	1	2	1		1	5	13		3	2	4
TOTAL 2	9				2			18			9		

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN HERODOTUS

	εὐδαίμω ν	εὐδαιμονίζ ω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
	11		5	10			4	8	13	10	16		2
TOTAL	26				4			31			18		

### STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN EURIPIDES

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὄλβίζω	ὄλβος
<i>Alcestis</i>	2		1					6	3		2	1	
<i>Medea</i>	4		3		1	1		3	3	1	2		3
<i>Children of Heracles</i>	2		1					5	5	2	2		1
<i>Hippolytus</i>	1		1	1					2		2		3
<i>Andromache</i>	1	1	2					1	2		2	1	1
<i>Hecuba</i>	2				1			3	10		2		1
<i>Suppliants</i>	1		4	1				1	4	2	4		2

<i>Trojan Women</i>	2	1	1			7		3	7		1	2	2
<i>Madness of Heracles</i>	4				1	2		4	7	1	2		5
<i>Iphigenia Among the Taurians</i>	7		2		1			3	7	2	2		3
<i>Electra</i>	2		2	1	1	2		3	5		1		1
<i>Helen</i>	3		2		3	1		8	5		3	3	
<i>Ion</i>	1		1	1		4		10	11	3	1	1	3
<i>Phoenician Women</i>	2		1					7	5			2	1
<i>Orestes</i>	2		1			7		3	7	2	1		2
<i>Cyclops</i>					1								
<i>Bacchae</i>	7		1	1	4	3	1	1	2		1		2
<i>Iphigenia at Aulis</i>	4		1	1	1	7		4	5		3	1	
TOTAL 1	47	2	24	6	14	34	1	65	90	13	31	11	30
TOTAL 2	79				49			168			72		

## STATISTICS OF USE OF HAPPINESS-RELATED WORDS IN DEMOCRITUS

	εὐδαίμων	εὐδαιμονίζω	εὐδαιμονέω	εὐδαιμονία	μάκαρ	μακάριος	μακαρίζω	εὐτυχής	εὐτυχέω	εὐτυχία	ὄλβιος	ὀλβίζω	ὄλβος
			1	4		1	3	2	1	1			
TOTAL	5				4			4			0		

Chapter 40-43 of Book III: Amasis and Polycrates

[40] καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. Ἄμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. [2] ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα: ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν: καί κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἄν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. [3] οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιήσον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε: [4] φροντίσας τὸ ἄν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ὃ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἤξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους: ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τῶπὸ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθησι προσπίπτωσι, τρώπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο.'

40. Now Amasis was in some wise aware and took good heed of Polycrates' great good fortune; and this continuing to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: "From Amasis to Polycrates, these. It is pleasant to learn of the well-being of a friend and guest. But I like not these great successes of yours; for I know how jealous are the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this to mend your successes: consider what you deem most precious and what you will most grieve to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you."

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίξητο ἐπ' ὃ ἄν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὔρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. ἐπεὶ ὧν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίησε τοιάδε: πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκάς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὀρώντων τῶν συμπλόων ρίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ

ἔς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρᾶτο.

41. Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis' advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most afflict his soul to lose, and to this conclusion he came: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, wrought by Theodorus son of Telecles of Samos; being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and bade them put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were in the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἢ ἕκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἀλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἠξίου μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν, χωρήσαντος δὲ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίωτος, ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὲ μιν φέρων δίδωμι.” ὁ δὲ ἦσθεις τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν.” ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιούμενος ταῦτα ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτα, διδόντες δὲ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεω τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: “O King, I am a man that lives by his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you.” Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; “You have done right well,” he answered, “and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me.” Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομῖσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὔτελευτήσιν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίησε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεια καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

43. When Amasis had read Polycrates' letter, **he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end.** So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, with this intent, that when some great and terrible mishap overtook Polycrates, he himself might not have to grieve his heart for a friend.

#### Chapter 30-33 of Book I: Croesus and Solon

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆιοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροῖσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη κελεύσαντος Κροῖσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, **καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια.** θεησάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. “Ἐεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῆκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὧν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.” ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησάμενος λέγει “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.” ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέντος “Κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὔηκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὔηκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίनि, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and

Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus enter tained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, **and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it;** and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: “Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows.” So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: “Such an one, O King,” he said, “I have seen Tellus of Athens.” Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon replied: “How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?” Solon replied: “Tellus' city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well stablished; more over, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour.”

31. Ὡ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε Ἐκλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ ἐούσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος τοιῆδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δὲ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὄρῃ· ἐκκληθόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὄρῃ οἱ νεηνιαὶ ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἴλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρῆς ἐούσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, σᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἐουτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχῆθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνιαὶ οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς

**ἀριστῶν γενομένων.”**

31. Now when Solon had roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. **Solon answered: “Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Hera toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for rive and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence.”**

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε “Ἔξινε Ἀθηναῖε, ἢ δ’ ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ιδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Ἔω Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἴνα δὴ αἱ ὄραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλια πενήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πενήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἢ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοιον

προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὢν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορῆ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίναται καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκ ἔγω λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μόνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατότερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατός ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὀλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὥσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκες ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ὃ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστί φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρῆ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὀλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.”

32. So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, “Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?” “Croesus,” said Solon, “you ask me concerning the lot of man; well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much dislikes. For I set the limit of man's life at seventy years; in these seventy are days twenty-five thousand and two hundred, if we count not the intercalary month. But if every second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For

he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin.”

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὄρᾳν ἐκέλευε.

33. So spoke Solon: Croesus therefore gave him no largess, but sent him away as a man of no account, for he thought that man to be very foolish who dis regarded present prosperity and bade him look rather to the end of every matter.

#### Chapter 86 of Book I: Croesus' realization

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτεα τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὃ δὲ συνήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα

καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὄτεω δὴ, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τις μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιέειν ταῦτα· **τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτω, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον.** ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνευκαίμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρις ὀνομάσαι **“Σόλων.”** καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν **“Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.”** ὡς δὲ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρωτῶν τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, **ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὄλβιους δοκέοντας εἶναι.** τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. **καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὄτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίῃ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλῆως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.**

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. **It is related then that he did this; but Croesus, as he stood on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that no living man was blest. When this came to his mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed deeply and groaned, and thrice uttered the name of Solon.** Cyrus heard it, and bade his interpreters ask Croesus who was this on whom he called; they came near and asked

him; Croesus at first would say nothing in answer, but presently, being compelled, he said, "It is one with whom I would have given much wealth that all sovereigns should hold converse." This was a dark saying to them, and again they questioned him of the words which he spoke. **As they were instant, and troubled him, he told them then how Solon, an Athenian, had first come, and how he had seen all his royal state and made light of it (saying thus and thus), and how all had happened to Croesus as Solon said, though he spoke with less regard to Croesus than to mankind in general and chiefly those who deemed themselves blest.** While Croesus thus told his story, the pyre had already been kindled and the outer parts of it were burning. Then Cyrus when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus said, repented of his purpose. **He bethought him that he, being also a man, was burning alive another man who had once been as fortunate as himself; moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his mind that there was no stability in human affairs;** wherefore he gave command to quench the burning in fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.