

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE IMAGE OF PEACE IN ANCIENT GREECE: A FEW LITERARY AND ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCES¹

CARLOS A. MARTINS DE JESUS

University of Coimbra

RESUMEN

El presente artículo busca identificar y analizar algunas de los principales tratamientos poéticos y artísticos del binomio paz / riqueza en una perspectiva diacrónica y comparativa, intentando aislar las más frecuentes imágenes, metáforas y epítetos relacionados con ese tema. El estudio de los pasajes elegidos deja claro cómo ambos, poetas y artistas plásticos, conocían y manipulaban con su arte un mismo patrimonio bastante antiguo.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to identify and analyse some of the main poetic and artistic manifestations of the pair peace / wealth, adopting a diachronic and comparative perspective and trying to isolate the most frequent images, metaphors and epithets in relation to that subject. The study of the selected passages intends to clarify how both poets and plastic artists knew and made use of the same very ancient heritage.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Eirene - Paz - *Ploutos* – Riqueza - Lírica Griega - Iconografía.

KEY-WORDS

Eirene – Peace – *Ploutos* – Wealth - Greek Lyrics - Iconography.

¹ I would like to thank Professor J. Ribeiro Ferreira for his readings and suggestions on this paper, the result of an oral communication formerly presented at the congress “Pindar, Bacchylides and the memory of the city”, held at the University of Coimbra in 2008. My thanks are also addressed to the UI&D Centro de Estudos Clásicos e Humanísticos for providing the financial help for the translation of the Portuguese paper.

The light of the bridal torches, the white of the bridal gowns, the sound of the epithalamia and the whirling dances of the young men complete the most ancient synaesthetic picture of a city at peace; this passage would further be recovered and developed, at least thematically, by other poets. It appears in Hesiod's³ more detailed description of Heracles' shield. Apparently describing Thebes (ἐπὶ τὰ πύλαϊ, v. 272), Heracles' city and the Boeotian metropolis where Hesiod himself comes from, the poet alludes to parties and dances (ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς, v. 272; πᾶσαν δὲ πόλιν θαλάϊα τε χοροί τε/ ἀγλαΐα τ' εἶχον, vv. 284-285), to the celebration of a wedding (πολύς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει, v. 274) and to the fertility of mother-earth (αὐτὰρ ἔην βαθὺ λήϊον, v. 288), in yet another picture rich in light, colour and flavours. Both these texts perfectly encompass *ekphrasis*, the poetic description of an artistic artifact plausibly existent, a category also defined as the poetic ability to make vividly synaesthetic pictorial descriptions; such an ability would also be explored by the poets we will study.

Eirene (Peace) and *Ploutos* (Wealth), the two deities that are also moral concepts, are the pair that poetically and pictorially best represent such a scenario of prosperity.⁴ *Eirene*, along with the two *Horae*, her sisters – *Dike* (Justice) and *Eunomia* (Order) – is the daughter of *Zeus* and *Themis* (the personification of divine Justice), as explained by Hesiod (*Th.* 901 sq.), Apollodorus (1.13) or even the later Latin mythographer Hyginus (*Fab.* 103); they were the goddesses of the seasons, frequently represented carrying varied fruits and vegetation. Pindar (*O.* 13.6-12) refers to this perfect breed of deities in an excerpt that we will take as a starting point for our considerations:

ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει κασι-
γ' νήτα τε, βάθρον πολιῶν ἀσφαλές,
Δίκη καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰ-
ρήνη, τὰμ' ἀνδράσι πλούτου,
χρύσεαι παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος·

10

³ Stesichorus (6th century BC), Megacles the Athenian (4th century BC) and Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century BC) attributed to Hesiod the authorship of the *Scutum*, today believed to be from another author.

⁴ Although none of them are seen as such in the Homeric Poems, the association of peace with wealth was already evident, as in *Od.* 24.485-486 (πλούτος δὲ καὶ εἰρήνη ἄλις ἔστω), referring to Ithaca.

ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλέξειν
Ἵβριν, Κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

*For there dwell Order with her sister Justice,
firm foundation for cities,
and Peace, steward of wealth for men,
who was raised with them –
the golden daughters of wise-counseling Themis.* 10

*They resolutely ward off
Hybris, the bold-tongued mother of Excess.*

In the initial praise of Corinth, the birthplace of Xenophon – the athlete who obtained a double victory at the stadium and the pentathlon in Olympia, in 464 BC – Pindar identifies the town as the symbolic dwelling of the three Horae, who warrant prosperity to the city and its children. The adjective ἀσφαλές (v. 7) accurately represents the idea that these deified values are the unwavering foundations of the victor's community, a notion also expressed in *Olympian* 4 (v. 16), where Tranquility (Ἡσυχία), not Eirene, is said to be φιλόπολιν (“friend of the city”). Wealth (πλούτου, v. 9) is the consequence for a city living under the auspices of Eirene and the Horae in general, in reference to which the epithet ὀμότροφος (“steward of wealth for men”, v. 8)⁵ is quite expressive. In an *adespota* fragment once attributed to Pindar, an authorship rejected by D. L. Page and D. A. Campbell (fr. adesp. 1021 *PMG*), two single verses characterize Eirene as such:

ὦ γλυκεῖ' Εἰράνα,
πλουτοδότειρα βροτοῖς.

*O sweet Peace,
wealth-giver to mortals!*

⁵ The epithet, strongly related to the notion of fertility, appears, among other examples, in *hAp.* 199 (Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὀμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι), *hDian.* 2 (ὀμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος) and *Ar. Av.* 329 (ὀμότροφά... πεδία).

It is clear that only a city at peace, prosperous and focused on the life of its citizens, not wasting time and resources on wars which bring no advantage, will breed a son capable of surpassing mortality by means of athletic triumph. The victor's valour, in this regard as well, stems from the community that witnessed his birth and educated him,⁶ a society bestowed upon by the gods with all kinds of prizes and crowned by the Horae with an admirable destiny of peace and harmony.

In regard to Bacchylides, something very similar is found in Ode 13 (vv. 175-189), dedicated to Pytheas from Aegina upon his victory in the *pankration* at Nemea, around 487-480 BC:⁷

οὐ γὰρ ἀλαμπεῖ νυκ[τὸς
πασιφανῆς Ἄρετ[ἄ
κρυφθεῖσ' ἀμαυροῦ[νται καλύπτραι,

ἀλλ' ἔμπεδον ἀκ[αμάται
βρύουσα δόξαι
στρωφᾶται κατὰ γᾶν [τε
καὶ πολύπλαγκτον θ[άλασσαν.
Καὶ μὰν φερεκυδέα ν[ᾶσον
Αἰακοῦ τιμᾶι, σὺν Εὐ-

⁶ In the context where an individual was meaningful only as a member of his polis, the importance the Greeks attributed to victory in the Games was such that cities not only compensated victorious athletes with substantial economical benefits but often even erected a statue in their honor with public funds. They could also receive other benefits and privileges exclusive of minorities, like public offices. See, in this regard, Heat (1988: 180-195) and Bernardini (1980: 81-111).

⁷ Bacchylides' poem celebrates the victory also sung by Pindar (*Nemean 5*), a poet who also dedicated both *Isthmians 5* and 6 to Phylakidas, brother of Pytheas. Although dating these texts is not entirely safe, an excerpt of *Isthmian 5* (vv. 48-51) may give us a clue, as it seems to refer to the Greek victory in Salamis, known to have happened in September 480 BC. Given that the victory of Phylakidas reported in *Isthmian 5* is the most recent, his first triumph at the Isthmian games would not have been before 478. Consequently, as Pytheas' victory took place before these two, the dating of its triumph should be around 487-480. Maehler (1982: 250-251) seems to think so. On the other hand, Severyns (1933: 50) went back to 487, opening the possibility of its occurrence at the next Nemean games. Pfeijffer (1995: 318-332) concludes that the year 485 should be taken as *terminus post quem* for the composition of the two epinikia, by noticing that the excerpts of both poems referring to the athlete's trainer, the Athenian Menander (Pi. N. 5.48-51; B. 13. 190-198), suggest their presentation at the time when Aegina and Athens were at war.

κλείαι δὲ φιλοστεφ[άνωι
πόλιν κυβερνᾷ, 185
Εὐνομία τε σαόφρων,
ἃ θαλίας τε λέλογχεν
ἄσπεά τ' εὐσεβέων
ἄνδρῶν ἐν εἰ[ρη]ήναι φυλάσσει.

For Excellence, shining among all men, is not dimmed, hidden by the lightless (veil) of night: flourishing constantly with undying fame she ranges over the land and the sea that drives many from their course. Look, now she honours the glory-winning island of Aeacus and with garland-loving Eucleia steers the city, she and wise Eunomia, who has festivities as her portion and guards in peace the cities of pious men.

The city receives glory — a sparkle of which the winning athlete has also received eugenically — from Virtue (Ἀρετ[ᾶ], v. 176), which acts in accordance with Good Fame (Εὐκλείαι, vv. 183-184) and wise Concord or Good Order (Εὐνομία τε σαόφρων, v. 186), thus ensuring a peaceful and festive environment. The use of the traditional image of the ship of state (πόλιν κυβερνᾷ, v. 185) acknowledges that the city depends on its captain, in this instance both the goddesses *Eukleia* and *Eunomia*, who sail a ship of prosperity towards the land of memory, overcoming oblivion. The adjectivation of these concepts-deities is noteworthy: φιλοστεφ[άνωι (v. 184) refers to the crowned heads of either the victors or the playful young men of a prosperous city,⁸ whereas σαόφρων (v. 186) alludes to the caution and moderation that ought to be observed, even amidst celebration,

⁸ Both realities are described by the poet in the epinikion, which presents us the athlete returning home with his head crowned with a garland (πανθαλέων στεφάνοισιν/ ἀνθ[ῆ]ων] χάρταν, vv. 69-70), as well as a chorus of girls celebrating his triumph (ταῖ δὲ στεφανωσάμε[ναι φοιν]ικέων/ ἀνθέων, vv. 90-91).

Although there are no concrete references to the local and circumstances regarding the public performance of the ode, the quantity of references to flower garlands, together with the explicit mention by Pindar (*N.* 5.53-53 + schol. *Pi. N.* 5.94e-f) to the ceremony of the victory garland awarding at the *Aiakeia* festival seems to suggest, according to Fearn (2007: 119), that Bacchylides' poem will have been composed to be performed in the same context, relating to the cultural activity of the festivities in honour of Aiakos.

so as not to attract the wrath of the gods. The laudatory insistence on Aegina makes sense in the context of the city's continuous hostilities with Athens,⁹ which would ultimately drive the latter to accuse the former of Medism, of conspiring with the Persians against the Greek interests. The triumph of the athlete and the atmosphere of his birthplace are therefore the means by which the poet presents to the entire Greek world a prosperous city which will not engage in pointless wars; thus the epinikion, amongst other artistic forms, may also be read as defensive propaganda against the accusations by Athens.¹⁰

Such an environment of festivity and euphoria can also be found in the famous fr. 4 Maehler of Bacchylides¹¹ (vv. 61-80), an emotional and rather expressive hymn to Peace that places the author in the ranks of the most significant writers of the 5th century BC, regarding the poetic expression of peace. The text seems to be a paean, a genre originally linked to the cult of Apollo, the god mentioned in the initial part of the poem.

The first twenty verses refer to Heracles' stay at Ceÿx' home in Trachis, as already noted by Athenaeus (178b) and Zenobius (2.19). In two verses of the heroe's speech there is an explicit reference to a Greek proverb, according to Zenobius. At stake in the first sixty verses — thirty-eight of which entirely lost (vv. 1-20 e 25-39) — is the ethiology of the temple dedicated to Apollo Pythaeus in Asine, 10 Km from Nauplion, in Argolis, a place widely known in Antiquity, as stated by Pausanias (2.36.4-5).¹²

⁹ This might well be the conflict referred in Hdt. 6.73, 85-93, which will have started after Cleomenes' death, not before 490/489 BC. For a broad vision of the hostilities between the two cities see Podlecki (1976: 396-413) and Figueira (1985: 49-74).

¹⁰ A much debated question on this issue relates to Bacchylides' praise of Pytheas' trainer, the Athenian Menander (vv. 190-198). Jebb (1905: 212-216) proposed to date ode 13 at the year 481 BC, thus refuting the arguments of Blass (1898: 283-307), who considered that the hostilities between Aegina and Athens, which ended only in 481 BC, would not have allowed an Aeginetan to send his son to be trained by an Athenian, or even the poet to consider praising him in his ode.

More recently, Fearn (2007: 153) rightly considered that the political rivalry between two cities would not hinder private relations and that the odes, as seems clear, will not have been commissioned by the state, but rather by the winner's family, an important cell of commercial aristocracy on the island. Moreover, Bacchylides apparently tried to justify early on in the poem the later mention of Menander, when referring the strong hospitality of Aegina, said to be a παγξεί[ινου χθονός (v. 95).

¹¹ This is surely one of the most commented texts of Bacchylides, yet the longest fragment of his work available prior to the publication of the so-called London Papyrus (P. Lit. Lond. 733) by Kenyon (1897). It was transmitted to us indirectly by Ath. 5.178b (vv. 21-25), Stob. 4.14.3 (vv. 61-80) and Plut. *Num.* 20.6 (vv. 69-77), later completed by the P. Oxy. 426.

¹² The author informs us that although the city had been destroyed by the Argives in the 8th century BC, the sanctuary was spared and went on as the religious centre of the region. It is therefore possible that Bacchylides

Pausanias (4.34.9) tells us that, according to the myth, the people initially known as the Dryopes lived in the Parnassus before moving to Asine. Heracles fought them, for arguable motives, and took them to Delphi, where he consecrated them to Apollo, who ordered him to take them to Asine, in Argolis (vv. 41-43). The Dryopes were to establish themselves in Argolis, and Alcmena's son was to demarcate the new territory with olive trees bent to the ground (vv. 44-48). It was much later that the soothsayer Melampus built there an altar and a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo (vv. 48-53), which Bacchylides claims to be "the root of this [temple]" (v. 54). The conclusion of the mythical narrative is an admission to the ethiological intent behind its inclusion in the text. It is not clear how the original text transfers to the laudatory hymn on the benefits of peace. However, verses 55 ff. apparently describe the graces that the god, appeased by the temple dedicated to him, dispensed to that place; the reference to prosperity (ὄλβ[ov, v. 59) indicates that this might be the tie between the final of epode 2 to strophe 3. Let us analyse verses 61-80:

τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰ-
ρήνα μεγαλάνορα πλοῦτον
καὶ μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα
δαϊδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν
θεοῖσιν αἴθεσθαι βοῶν ξανθᾶι φλογί 65
μηρί' εὐμάλ]λων τε μήλων
γυμνασίων τε νέοις
αὐλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν.
Ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν
ἄραχνᾶν ἴστοι πέλονται, 70

ἔγχεα τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεα
τ' ἀμφάκεα δάμναται εὐρώς.

...

presented the poem *in loco*. Regarding the archeological traces of this sanctuary and its historical evidences see Wells (1990: 157-161); on Bacchylides' text see Barrett (1954: 421-444).

“yellow flame” (ξανθαῖ φλογί, v. 65).¹³ Hesiod (*Op.* 227-229) said that Peace made cities and their inhabitants bloom (λαοὶ δ’ ἀνθελύουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ, v. 227) and, referring to the birth of the goddess (*Th.* 902), qualified her with the epithet τεθαλυῖαν (“blooming”). The visual impressions attained in the narrative are remarkable, when the author speaks of the rich-carved altars (δαιδαλέων τ’ ἐπὶ βωμῶν, v. 64),¹⁴ of the sacrificial victims immolated there and the purity of their wool (εὐμάλλων τε μίλων, v. 66).¹⁵ To the (implicit) marble of the altars, the soft touch of the hair of the animals consumed by the golden flame, the poet adds the excitement and noise of euphoric youth engaged in physical exercising, music and religious practices, thus composing an initial picture of intense synaesthetic flavour and deep detail (vv. 67-68).

In a last moment (vv. 69-72 and 75-80) the scenery is of war, albeit of a dimmed bellicism, as if serenely asleep in the dark cold quietness of an abandoned armoury no one has entered for a long time. Delicate and precise brush strokes depict by words the “iron-pinned shieldgrips”, conquered by the webs of dark small spiders (vv. 69-70),¹⁶ like dark dots on an iron-colour canvas. The poet goes on speaking of abandoned useless weapons, noting with content the decaying action of time and rust on them (vv. 71-72). Since there is no war to proceed with the following morning¹⁷ in the context of this poem, the rising Dawn does not bring the proud din of the trumpets, a detail that Plutarch would use to describe the absence of war, as we have noted above (*Nic.* 9.5). As sweet as honey, like the song, is also sleep (μελίφρων ὕπνος, vv. 76-77), no longer necessary to interrupt at daybreak for an inglorious fight.¹⁸ Recovering the festive scene that, in the mythological

¹³ Cf. B. 3.56 (ξανθαῖ φλόγα); Pi. fr. 70b.11 (ξανθαῖσι πέλκας).

¹⁴ This adjective, which conveys the detailed visual impression of Bacchylides’ poem, like a camera objective progressively zooming from a wide frame view into a close-up, was astonishingly famous in archaic Greek poetry, especially in choral lyrics, where it has the most occurrences. See Simon. 543.2 *PMG* (δαιδαλέαι [λάρνακι]), 77.2 *PMG* (δαιδάλεον τρίποδα); Pi. *P.* 4.296 δαιδαλέαν φόρμιγγα], fr. 106.7 (ὄχημα δαιδάλεον); B. 5.140-141 (δαιδαλέας ἐκ λάρνακος). The recurrence of this adjective in Simonides, in just the few remaining fragments of his work, suggests that Bacchylides might have learned it from his uncle.

¹⁵ See Pi. *I.* 5.62 (εὐμαλλον μίτραν) and *O.* 6.100 (εὐμήλοιο Ἀρκαδίας).

¹⁶ This image would have been famous in Greek literature. See Eur. fr. 369 Nauck², Theoc. 16.96-97. Maehler (1997: 336) considers that Bacchylides’ paean was plausibly famous in the time of Euripides, at least the verses on Peace herein transcribed, which could have circulated separately.

¹⁷ This is basically the difference between Bacchylides’ depiction of the abandoned arms and that previous one from Alcaeus (fr. 357 *PLF*). In the latter, the weaponry is described not as abandoned but only at rest, hinting that by dawn it will cause carnage.

¹⁸ See Pi. *P.* 9. 23-25.

narrative at the beginning of the poem, Heracles found in his visit to Ceŷx (v. 22) – could it also be a scene of peace and prosperity capable of summoning the final hymn? – once again the poet alludes to the streets filled with joyous banquets and homoerotic (παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται, v. 80) chants to boys.¹⁹

The hymn to peace is an unparalleled literary text, particularly because of its ritualistic function as part of a ceremony in the temple of Apollo, for which it was commissioned. The complicated, politically and militarily-wise years throughout the 5th century BC — the war against the Persians and the internal strife between Athens and Sparta — drove Aeschylus, Euripides and Aristophanes to praise the virtues of peace, whether as a utopia, whether as a real but frail brittle state. It is not safe to ascertain the direct knowledge of Bacchylides' passage — already famous by then —, but the coincidence among the texts justifies at least the conclusion that these artists used the same poetic material to describe the sceneries of peace, for they apply the same images, metaphors or even linguistic expressions. So there was a dynamic semantic and linguistic code to describe the benefits of peace — the description of Achilles' shield is but the most ancient example known in Greek literature —, a collection of images and expressions, a pallet of colours for an artist to readily use with distinct originality and innovation.

Let us first consider Aeschylus. Although we do not find in his work as many reflections on peace (at least as developed as in the Bacchylides' paean), in *Suppliant Maidens*²⁰ the chorus sings a long benedictory ode to Argos and depicts the traditional setting of a city where there is peace and wealth, the earth and the women are fertile, the young play and amuse themselves and the poets repeatedly chant thankful praises to the gods. We can analyze, for example, vv. 667-673 e 688-697, two antistrophes of the choral songs: {{ἀντ. β.}}

¹⁹ There are two possible interpretations for παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι: either songs intoned by boys or love songs in honor of boys, therefore with a homoerotic theme. Maehler (2004: 234) prefers this second option – as we do –, particularly on account of the verbal form used in this verse (φλέγονται), which alludes to the image of fire and passion as flames spreading in the air.

²⁰ *Suppliant Maidens* was thought to be the oldest of the preserved tragedies from Aeschylus – and as such the most ancient western drama — for a long time, until the publication of Papyrus 2256 (no. 3) from the Oxyrhynchus collection in 1952, when that idea was abandoned and the second quarter of the 5th century BC was considered an acceptable date for the drama. Nonetheless, some critics still refuse to accept this dating and in some cases even doubt the authenticity of the papyrus itself.

*and which good, and how much more peace benefits humankind. She is most dear to the Muses, hated by Vengeance. She loves strong children, she rejoices in wealth.*²²

Although in this passage peace is more of a concept than a deity, the devotion of the muses, goddesses of song, to peace, the source of the wealth and fertility, everything suggests the same scenery we have found in the aforementioned texts. In *Bacchae*, known only to have been written after the poet's exile in Macedonia, which took place in 408 BC, the chorus of maenads, in one of its many praises to Zeus, also exalts Eirene (vv. 417-420):

ὁ δαίμων ὁ Διὸς παῖς
χαίρει μὲν θαλίαισιν,
φιλεῖ δ' ὀλβοδότειραν Εἰ-
ρήναν, κουροτρόφον θεάν. 420

*The god, Zeus's son,
rejoices in the feast,
he loves wealt-giving
Peace, the goddess who rears boys to manhood.*

The established association of peace with wealth achieved great importance during the 5th century BC and theatre became its foremost form of expression. While we do not find any previous usage of the epithet ὀλβοδότειρος (“giver of wealth”),²³ the following, κουροτρόφος (meaning “breeder of men”, but well translated in the aforementioned text in its literal sense, “who rears boys to manhood”), dates back at least to the *Odyssey* (9. 27), where Ithaca is mentioned as ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, and became widely used.²⁴ Both

²² Translated by Warren – Scully (1995: 38).

²³ The epithet would later be used in the *Palatine Anthology* (9.655.2: αἰχμὴν ὀλβοδότειραν), by Oppian (*Cyneg.* 1.45: δεξιτερὴν πανίλαον ὀλβοδότειραν) and in the *Sibylline Oracles* (11.219: Αἰγύπτου μεγάλην πόλιν ὀλβοδότειραν). In regard to the passage from Oppian see the comment on the schol. ad loc.: ὀλβοδότειραν πλουτοδότειραν.

²⁴ We provide just a few examples from the many occurrences of the epithet: Hes. *Th.* 450 (Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον), *Op.* 228 (γῆν κουροτρόφος); Archil. fr. 112.6 M-W (πόλιν Κουροτρόφος); Pi. fr. 109.5 (ἐχθρὰν κουροτρόφον); Eur. *Tr.* 555-556 (στέφανον ἔφερον Ἑλλάδι κουροτρόφον); Call. *Hymn.* 4.2 (Δῆλον Απόλλωνος κουροτρόφον), 4.276 (Απόλλωνος κουροτρόφος); Theoc. 18.50 (Λατώ

how Eirene is tied to the choruses of dances and the garlands of flowers (καλλιχόρους αοιδάς/ φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους, vv. 7-8), as in the paeon of Bacchylides. Colour, sound, movement and even smell (implicit) are the elements of yet another common synaesthetic picture herein expressed by two epithets equally frequent in the preserved Greek poetry: καλλιχόρος²⁶ and φιλοστεφάνος.²⁷ In the last verse of the fragment, the very iron of the weaponry — which in Bacchylides' text is overcome by rust and inhabited by spinning spiders — is the symbol of a situation of effective war, for the scenery of peace is, in the context of the tragedy, nothing but an illusion or a very far expectation.

The case of Aristophanes is special — deserving a longer analysis which cannot be done here —, first and foremost because he dedicated two comedies, precisely called *Eirene* (421 BC) and *Ploutos* (388 BC), to the pair peace/wealth on which we have been focusing. In these plays we find the same imagery and epithets: Peace is said to be πότνια (“mighty”: *Pax* 445, 520, 675, 975, 1055, 1108), and is even named Λυσιμάχη (“she who ends the battle”: *Pax* 992);²⁸ in an obvious allusion to the imagery of Bacchylides, the author coins the epithet μισοπορπακιστάτη (“shield-handle-hating”: *Pax* 662). It has also a peculiar occurrence in *Thesmophoriazousae*, where it is qualified as φιλέορτος (“fun-loving”, v. 1147), as well as in the lost play *Farmers* (fr. 111 K-A), where it is called βαθύπλουτε (“deeply rich”), in a passage that scholars consider an Aristophanic parody of Euripides' *Cresphontes*, namely the above-mentioned fr. 453 Nauck², based on the use of the epithet and temporal proximity between the two poets.

Iconographically Eirene must be seen from two perspectives. First of all, as one of the Horae she is also one of the three goddesses of the seasons and atmospherical phenomena, frequently represented holding the flowers of the seasons, as pictured on the external decoration of the famous Berlin attic red-figured cup, by the Sosias Painter, dated

²⁶ See also Eur. *Heracl.* 359-360 (καλλιχόροις Αθάναις), *HF* 690 (είλισσουσαι καλλιχόροι), *Hel.* 1454-1455 (καλλιχόρων δελφίνων), *Ph.* 786 (καλλιχόροις στεφάνοισι). Among the many poetic occurrences, see e.g. *Od.* 11.581 (καλλιχόρου Πανοπήος); Simon. fr. 146.2 D. (ἀγορῆς καλλιχόρου), 117.3 D. (καλλιχόρου περὶ πατρίδος); Pi. fr. 70b.25 (Ἑλλάδι κα[λ]λ[ι]χόρω), *P.* 12.26 (καλλιχόρον ναίοισι); B. 5.106 (καλλιχόρον Καλυδῶν), 11.32 (ἐν χθονὶ καλλιχόρω).

²⁷ *hHom Cer.* 102 (φιλοστεφάνου Ἄφροδίτης); B. 13.184-185 (φιλοστεφ[άνω] κυβερνᾶ); Anacr. 109.1 D. (Παῖδι φιλοστεφάνω Σεμέλας); fr. adesp. 117.1.1 *PMG* (παιᾶνι φιλοστεφά[νωι]).

²⁸ Similar intentions were the source of the name Lysistrata (Λυσιστράτη, literally meaning “Army-disbander”), a character after which the comedy from 411 BC is named.

around 500 BC (*ARV²* 21.1; 1620 = *LIMC* 'Horai' 42 = **plate 1**), where Heracles is welcomed to the Olympus, with the three Horae (inscr.) in his retinue, carrying the natural symbols of autumn: a grape vine, several branches and an unidentified fruit. The scenery in this painting concerning the three Horae can be dated further back. It is depicted, for instance, on a black-figure pyxis from Boeotia (*Berlin Vasen* II.1010 n° 3989 = *LIMC* 'Horai' 20). In Portugal, in the Manuel de Lancastre's collection, there is a red-figured pelike from the first quarter of the 5th century BC signed by the Brygos Painter (= **plates 2a, 2b**);²⁹ presumably inspired by the aforementioned Sosias Painter's cup, it depicts Hermes and three more goddesses, who may well be the three Horae. Eirene, one of three goddesses of the seasons, represented spring, flora and the rebirth of Nature; thus, after the goddesses became abstract moral concepts — already in Hesiod —, the poetic association of Peace with flowers, the rebirth of flora and fertility became common.

As goddess of peace, the artists represented Eirene in the company of her son Ploutos (Wealth), in a traditional literary and iconographic association familiar to the writers we have already considered. This representation can be seen on a set of Panathenaic amphorae (*LIMC* 'Eirene' 6, 7) from the archonship of Callimedes (360-359 AC),³⁰ aside from the most famous statue group erected in Antiquity in honour of the goddess, the *Eirene* of Cephisodotus (c. 375-370 BC),³¹ of which only roman copies remain (**plates 3a, 3b**). It was probably displayed in Athens around 370 BC, but there are only copies and reconstructions of it showing the goddess carrying her son (Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλούτον παῖδα, in the words of Paus. 1.8.3),³² the personification of Wealth, exchanging tender glances, thus symbolising the prosperity only a city at peace can achieve.

The official cult to the goddess, also existent in Rome (Suet. *Vesp.* 9; Paus. 6.9.1)

²⁹ A study of this vase can be found in Rocha Pereira *et alii* (2007: 92-93).

³⁰ Note that in at least two of these amphorae we see Eirene holding both the infant son Ploutos and the cornucopia. The latter would become, in the roman epoch, almost a substitute for the child.

³¹ We refer to Cephisodotus the Elder, who will have attained artistic maturity around 400-360 BC, and was possibly the father of Praxiteles. He should not be confused with the son of Praxiteles, his grandson, Cephisodotus the Younger, also a sculptor. According to Pliny (34. 37), Cephisodotus will have also sculpted a *Hermes* carrying the child Dionysus, which seems to indicate that the artist specialized in personifications of deities in pairs. Regarding the style, as has been noted, this sculpture presents several similarities with those from the 5th century, such as the draping with folds, which are very close to what is seen e.g. in the Caryatids from the Parthenon. Nevertheless, details as the tender expression of the goddess, the complicity with her infant son or even the folds of her drapery hint at a new style, other than the classical.

³² Pausanias (1.18.3) mentions yet another statue of the goddess located close to the one of Hestia, in the Prytaneion.

probably began in Athens after the truce in 371 BC.³³ We also know that, in 465 BC, Cimon erected an altar in her honour in celebration for his victory against Sparta in the previous year (Plut. *Cimon* 13. 5). It is thus fair to say that when Aristophanes (*Pax* 973-1016) parodies what appears to be a sacrifice to Eirene, he was well aware of the cult he fools with. It is not our contention that it existed in Athens already in 421 BC, but only that peace, in the aftermath of the Peace of Nicias, had such a political importance that comedy could not have been impervious to it. Our iconographic data suggest that the official cult to Eirene and Ploutos as a whole became relevant only in the 4th century BC. The vase painting and the literary tradition, particularly that of the 5th century BC, will have laid the foundations for Cephisodotus' well-known statue group.

Peace, wealth, prosperity, abundance. All this inspires the depiction of literary and iconographic sceneries of peace that propagate either during periods of war — such praise is then a much-needed reward —, or during periods of flourishing and productive calm. Since the dawn of time, from when Eirene was but a goddess of the seasons, until she became an abstract deified concept (a process usual in Greek religion), certain motifs are recovered and reused poetically and pictorially: flowers, crowns, altars, feasts and partying young people, and also abandoned weapons, for long are the days of combat gone. While Bacchylides' paean seems to be the most ancient text with such an encomiastic tone about the goddess and her benefits (it seems sure that the author will have influenced other poets, essentially the dramatic authors of the 5th century BC), Cephisodotus' *Eirene* is the culmination of a cultural, literary and iconographic tradition — the ultimate artistic crystallization of the inspiring attributes of the deity, both poetic and iconographic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BARRET, W. S. (1954) "Bacchylides, Asine, and Apolo Pythaieus", *Hermes* 82: 421-444.
Repr. in Barrett, W. S. (2007) *Greek Lyric, Tragedy and Textual Criticism* (ed. M. L. West), Oxford: 289-313.
- BERNARDINI, P. A. (1980) "Esaltazione e critica del atletismo nella poesia greca dal VII al V secolo a.C. Storia di un'ideologia", *Stadion* 6: 81-111.

³³ Philoch. *FGrHist* 328F 151; Isocr. 15.109-110.

- BLASS, F. (¹1898, ²1899, ³1904, ⁴1912) *Bacchylidis Carmina cum Fragmentis*, Leipzig.
- CAMPBELL, D. A. (1992) *Greek Lyric. Bacchylides, Corinna, and Others*, Vol. IV, Cambridge, Mass.
- CAMPBELL, D. A. (1993) *Greek Lyric. The New School of Poetry and Anonymous Songs and Hymns*, Vol. V, Cambridge, Mass.
- FEARN, D. (2007) *Bacchylides. Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition*, Oxford.
- FIGUEIRA, T. (1985) "Herodotus on the early hostilities between Aegina and Athens", *AJP* 106. 1: 49-74.
- GARVIE, A. F. (1969, repr. 2006) *Aeschylus' Supplices. Play and Trilogy*, Cambridge.
- HEAT, M. (1988) "Receiving the *kómos*: the context and performance of epinician", *AJPh* 109: 180-195.
- JEBB, R. C. (1905) *Bacchylides. The Poems and Fragments*, Cambridge.
- KASSEL, R. – AUSTIN, C. (1983) *Poetae comici graeci*, Berlin. [K-A]
- KENYON, F. G. (1897) *The Poems of Bacchylides*, London.
- LOBEL, E. – PAGE, D. L. (1963) *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford. [PLF]
- MAEHLER, H. (¹2003) *Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis*, Leipzig.
- MAEHLER, H. (1982) *Die Lieder des Bakchylides I* (2 vols.), Leiden.
- MAEHLER, H. (2004) *Bacchylides: a Selection*, Cambridge.
- MAEHLER, H. (1997) *Die Lieder des Bakchylides II. Die Dithyramben und Fragmente* (2 vols.), Leiden.
- NAUCK, A. (²1964) *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Leipzig. [Nauck²]
- PAGE, D. L. (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford. [PMG]
- PFEIFFER, I. L. (1995) "The date of Pindar's fifth *Nemean* and Bacchylides' thirteenth ode", *CQ* 45.2: 318-332.
- PODLECKI, A. J. (1966) *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy*, Michigan.
- PODLECKI, A. J. (1976) "Athens and Aegina", *ZAG* 25.4: 396-413.
- ROCHA PEREIRA, M. H. et alii (2007) *Vasos Gregos em Portugal. Aquém das colunas de Hércules*, Lisboa.
- SEVERYNS, A. (1933) *Bacchylide. Essai biographique*, Liège, Paris.
- WARREN, R. – SCULLY, S. (1995) *Euripides. Suppliant Women*, Oxford.
- WELLS, B. (1990) "The Asine Sima", *Hesperia* 59.1: 157-161.



Plate 1

Attic red-figured cup in Berlin, from the Sosias Painter. About 500 BC.
(*ARV*² 21.1; 1620 = *LIMC* 'Horai' 42)



Plates 2a, 2b

Red-figured pelike signed by the Brygos Painter. First quarter of the 5th century BC.
(Portugal, Manuel de Lancastre's Collection = *Vasos Gregos em Portugal*, n.º 16)



Plates 3a, 3b

Roman copy of Cephisodotus the Elder's *Eirene* (1st quarter of the 5th century BC).
(Glyptothek Museum, Munich = LIMC 'Eirene' 8)