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A Generation Gap in Late Fifth-Century-BC Athens

That the young began to play an important role on the political scene after Pericles' death and that this may have been one of the major features of a "revolution" underway in Athenian public life at the time has been suggested by W. R. Connor in his monograph published in the early 1970s.[1] W. G. Forrest's thesis proposed in 1975 that there was a generation gap in Athens in the third part of the fifth century BC has attracted much scholarly attention.[2] That his thesis reflected the then current scholarly interests is evidenced by the fact that his stance was adopted in an edited volume published the following year.[3] The topic has also received much attention from M. Ostwald in his study on the development of the Athenian democracy in the fifth century BC.[4] The far-reaching influence of Forrest's hypothesis is best shown by B. S. Strauss's *Fathers and Sons in Athens* published almost twenty years later,[5] where Forrest's thesis is challenged, but not completely rejected. Strauss suggests that complaints about filial disobedience arose at a time the sons were still mostly obedient rather than at a time when paternal authority became seriously challenged. Had it not been so, the rhetoric of

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[1] W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton 1971), 147–151 (chapters Toward Revolution, Two New Developments, Youth in Command).

[2] W. G. Forrest, "An Athenian Generation Gap", *YCS* 24 (1975), 37–52.

[3] S. Bertman, ed., *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Amsterdam 1976), and therein especially: M. Reinhold, "Generation Gap in Antiquity", 28–35; F. Mench, "The Conflict Codes in Euripides' Hippolytos", 75–88; K. J. Reckford, "Father-Beating in Aristophanes' *Clouds*", 89–118; F. Wasserman, "The Conflict of Generations in Thucydides", 119–121; L. S. Feuer, "Generational Struggle in Plato and Aristotle", 123–127.

[4] M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society, and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1986), 229–245 (chapters The Polarization of the 420s, The Generation Gap and the Sophists).

[5] B. S. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens. Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1993).

confrontation between father and son, as conveyed, for example, in Aristophanes' comedy *Clouds*, would not have elicited such a strong emotional response from the audience.[6] Therefore, in Strauss's view, the conflict between sons and fathers should rather be seen as a tension between the old and the new.[7] He assumes "the reign of youth" until 413 BC, followed by the re-establishment of "the rule the father" in the aftermath of the disaster of Sicily.[8]

What all these views have in common is the emphasis on the Peloponnesian War and the sophistic movement as factors conducive to intergenerational conflict and destabilization of the traditional order and its values.[9] The first part of this paper is, therefore, focused on these two factors.

Thucydides is normally expected to be the foremost source for the Peloponnesian War to turn to. There are several places in Thucydides indicating differences between the old and young Athenians in their response to the challenge of war.[10] Preparing the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica in the summer of 431 BC, Spartan king Archidamus II had calculated that young Athenians would not just stand and watch their homeland being ravaged, but that they would rise in protest and compel the whole polis to engage in open battle.[11] Indeed, the Athenian youth strongly pressed their fellow citizens and the Athenian leadership to send the army against the Peloponnesians. Their pressure failed to produce the intended result only on account of Pericles' authority.[12]

The same contrast between young and elderly is observable in several places in Thucydides in the context of Athens' most crushing defeat – the Sicilian expedition. One finds Nicias' speech contrasting youth and age in order to warn against the perils of the expedition. From his direct appeal to the elderly Athenians not to yield to youthful pressure to vote for war, the wisdom of the elderly being superior to the young men's thoughtlessness, greed and lust for power and wealth, it appears that it was largely the young who supported the campaign.[13] A "young" supporter of the expedition, Al-

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[6] See Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 15, 136, 143 ff, 153.

[7] *Ibid*., 145–146.

[8] *Ibid*., 128–129, 176.

[9] *Ibid*., 146.

[10] Cf. H. Leppin, *Thukydides und die Verfassung der Polis. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Ideengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 1999), 121.

[11] Thuc. 2.20,1–2.

[12] Thuc. 2.21,2–3; see S. Hornblower, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. I (Oxford 1991), 274–275.

[13] Thuc. 6.12,2; 13,1; HCT, IV, 236–238.

cibiades, counters by pleading for cooperation between generations.[14] The mutilation of the herms and profanation of the Eleusinian mysteries, which had taken place just before the fleet sailed for Sicily, had severe political implications. Once again, these religious offences were brought into connection with the younger generation.[15] After the defeat in Sicily, one of the first steps Athens took was to set up a board of ten magistrates (*próbouloi*) over forty who were to thrash out all issues and draw up guidelines for the Assembly.[16] The intention was to prevent the Assembly from making overhasty and precarious decisions.[17]

According to Thucydides, during the oligarchic coup of the Four Hundred in 411 BC the young instigated violence, whereas the elderly sought to alleviate tensions. Thus the young were held responsible for the murder of Androcles, a democratic leader.[18] When the Council of Five Hundred was about to be dissolved, the Four Hundred took along some 120 young Athenians in case the use of force proved necessary;[19] or, when a group of "moderate" oligarchs and young men led by Theramenes and Aristocrates set out to Piraeus to tear down the fortifications on Eetioneia, direct conflict was avoided only owing to the conciliatory intervention of older citizens.[20]

The examples from Thucydides show that there were intergenerational differences in Athens inasmuch as the youth are described as reckless, prone to violence and light-minded, whereas the elderly citizens are portrayed as experienced, moderate and level-headed in politics, but a fundamental generation gap does not seem inferable from his accounts. Namely, Thucydides reports on such intergenerational differences elsewhere in his work in reference to other poleis whose constituions and histories were often completely different from those of Athens.[21] It appears, therefore, that his observations on Athens were universally applicable.[22] Thus even before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the Corinthian speech in Athens

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[14] Thuc. 6.17,1; 18,6–7.

[15] Thuc. 6.28,1; see Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 537–550.

[16] Thuc. 8.1,3–4; cf. H. Heftner, *Der oligarchische Umsturz des Jahres 411 v. Chr. und die Herrschaft der Vierhundert in Athen: Quellenkritische und historische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt am Main 2001), 6–16.

[17] See K.-W. Welwei, *Das klassische Athen. Demokratie und Machtpolitik im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt 1999), 212–213.

[18] Thuc. 8.65,2.

[19] Thuc. 8.69,4.

[20] Thuc. 8.92,6–10.

[21] Leppin, *Thukydides*, 121; Wasserman, "Conflict of Generations", 121.

[22] Cf. Forrest, "Generation Gap", 48.

pointed to the greater experience and knowledge of senior citizens in comparison with young people.[23] One of the motives for a speech the Athenians gave in Sparta, according to Thucydides, was to teach the young what the elderly had already known.[24] Thucydides observes that young men on both warring sides were eager to take up arms.[25] Spartan king Archidamus II thought of the elderly citizens when he said that whoever had experienced war could not be thrilled at such a prospect.[26] Athenagoras, a democratic leader in Syracuse, associated the threat of civil strife and oligarchic coup with young men keen on taking power.[27] This speech is all the more important as its general and abstract nature suggests that it was not so much a reflection of the situation in Syracuse as it was an expression of democratic ideology in general.[28] That Thucydides does not provide sufficient evidence for arguing for a fundamental generation gap may be seen from the Sicilian debate in particular. Although Nicias and Alcibiades make a distinction between young and elderly, Thucydides himself, when describing the motives behind voting for the expedition, does not point at any fundamental intergenerational difference ascribable to different socio-political backgrounds. So, despite Nicias' warnings, all Athenians were equally taken by an ardent desire for the campaign.[29] The elderly wanted to conquer the country or the campaign to be successful, whereas the youth yearned for new vistas and hoped for a safe return.[30] According to Thucydides, then, both generations were driven by the motives typical of their respective age groups. Hence the difference between them can be assumed to have been neither fundamental in nature nor specific to Athens.

This perspective may find corroboration in Xenophon's account of the developments in Athens in 404–403 BC put forward in his *Hellenica*. Thus Critias, the leader of the Thirty Tyrants, used his armed young follow-

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[23] Thuc. 1.42,1; cf. HCT, I, 175; Wasserman, "Conflict of Generations", 119.

[24] Thuc. 1.72,1.

[25] Thuc. 2.8,1.

[26] Thuc. 1.80,1.

[27] Thuc. 6.38,5; 39,2; cf. HCT, IV, 304; 306. For the view that Hermocrates cannot be classified as "young", see H. D. Westlake, *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History*, chap. "Hermocrates the Syracusan" (Manchester 1969), 185; for a different view, see Wasserman, "Conflict of Generations", 121.

[28] Leppin, *Thukydides*, 90–93, esp. 93; there is also a view that Athenagoras' speech does not refer to the situation in Syracuse, but in Athens; cf. E. F. Bloedow, "The Speeches of Hermocrates and Athenagoras at Syracuse in 415 B.C.: Difficulties in Syracuse and in Thucydides", *Historia* 45 (1996), 141–158.

[29] V. J. Hunter, *Thucydides. The Artful Reporter* (Toronto 1973), 143–144.

[30] Thuc. 6.24,3.

ers to force other council members into endorsing his indictment against Theramenes.[31] When the democrats seized Phyle, several young men who had joined the forces of the Thirty were the first to attack the fortress, though unsuccessfully.[32] That Xenophon, as well as Thucydides, thought of audacity, risk-taking behaviour and belligerence as characteristic of all young people rather than only of the young Athenians can be seen from his interpretation in *Anabasis* of the motives that prompted the leaders of Greek mercenaries to join the campaign Cyrus the Younger launched against his brother Artaxerxes II.[33] Namely, they joined the campaign unaware of its purpose; once they learnt it, they simply carried on despite its highly uncertain outcome.[34] Most of them were young men. A Beotian, Proxenus of Thebes, was about thirty when he was killed. He was a friend of Xenophon's and a student of Gorgias'. He saw the campaign as an honourable opportunity to gain a good reputation, power and a fortune.[35] Menon of Pharsalus in Thessaly craved the very same things, but, being unscrupulous, in reverse order.[36] Both Agias of Arcadia and Socrates of Achaia were about thirty-five when they lost their lives.[37] Xenophon says nothing of their motives for joining the campaign, but it may be assumed that their ambition was the same as that of Proxenus and Menon. Xenophon himself, who also took part in the expedition, was about thirty at the time. As he puts it – mature enough to think he can ward off all harms from himself.[38] He joined the campaign at Proxenus' invitation, hoping of becoming friendly with Cyrus the Younger.[39] But, contrary to Socrates' advice, he showed great carelessness, for Cyrus the Younger was one of the Lacedaemonian main allies in the Peloponnesian

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[31] Xen. Hell. 2.3,23–24; 50–51; on the brutality of the regime of the Thirty, unparalleled in Athenian history, see A. Wolpert, "The Violence of the Thirty Tyrants", in S. Lewis, ed., *Ancient Tyranny* (Edinburgh 2006), 213–233.

[32] Xen. Hell. 2.4,2–3; see P. Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens* (Ithaca–London 1982), 73.

[33] For this characterization, see O. Lendle, *Kommentar zu Xenophons Anabasis: (Bücher 1–7)* (Darmstadt 1995), 132–145.

[34] Xen. Anab. 3.1,10; see also 1.2,1; 3,1–21; 4,11–16.

[35] Xen. Anab. 2.6,16–20.

[36] He was proud of being a good liar and a cheater, and looked down on those who were not describing them as "weak" and "uneducated" (Xen. Anab. 2.6,21–29); see Lendle, *Kommentar*, 139–140. On Menon, see also T. S. Brown, "Menon of Thessaly", *Historia* 35 (1986), 387–404.

[37] Xen. Anab. 2.6,30.

[38] Xen. Anab. 3.1,25.

[39] Xen. Anab. 3.1, 4–10.

War.[40] Interestingly, Xenophon asked the Delphi oracle: *to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety*.[41] This question demonstrates not only that he and other campaign leaders were like-minded, but also a way of thinking quite similar to the one Thucydides ascribes to the young men who joined the Sicilian expedition.

In Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, staged in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian War (421 BC), young people's recklessness is seen as one of the main causes of the war and defeat.[42] The dialogue between Adrastus, king of Argos, and Theseus, king of Athens, shows that Archidamus II's plan for the first invasion of Attica had good chances of success. The two kings agree that many generals have suffered defeat because they were carried away by the clamour of young people, and in that way "great courage triumphs over great wisdom".[43] The poet criticizes the young for their arrogance and their lust for power, honours and fortune pushing them into one war after another without giving thought to other people and the harm they cause.[44] And yet, it cannot be inferred that Euripides has ever seriously thematized an intergenerational conflict. The famous tragedian simply criticizes the typically youthful characteristics. Hence his later appeal for the young to be forgiven, since they must be forgiven, does not come as a surprise.[45] In this tragedy he even describes youthful recklessness as an enemy of tyrannical rule and a friend of every good form of government, in this case democracy.[46] Contrary to the widely-held belief, this drama shows that the contemporaries did not always saw the young as inherently antidemocratic.

The ways in which Thucydides, Xenophon and Euripides perceive the difference between young and elderly as regards their attitudes towards the war lead to several conclusions. Firstly, young people's risk-taking behaviour, self-delusion, inclination toward violence, hunger for fame and recklessness made them susceptible to the harmful effects of war, all the more so as they as a rule faced those effects at an age when human character is still being formed. That is why the youth, unlike older generations, tended to engage

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[40] On Xenophon's participation in the campaign of the Ten Thousand as a contributing factor in his being indicted in Athens, see M. Dreher, "Der Prozeß gegen Xenophon", in Chr. Tuplin, ed., *Xenophon and his World* (Stuttgart 2004), 60–64.

[41] Xen. Anab. 3.1,6 (transl. C. L. Brownson).

[42] Eurip. Suppl. 737 ff.

[43] Eurip. Suppl. 160–163.

[44] Eurip. Suppl. 232 ff.

[45] Eurip. Suppl. 251–252.

[46] Eurip. Suppl. 442 ff.

more easily in international or domestic conflicts and, in doing so, were quicker to use force. Secondly, for this reason, the youth were a destabilizing rather than stabilizing factor. Thirdly, the abovementioned observations of the ancient authors on the youthful attitude towards war being of a general nature and amounting to traits common to all members of that age group, they should not be taken as proving a generation gap in Athens in the third part of the fifth century BC. The same appears to follow from, for example, some of Aristotle's observations.[47]

As for the relationship between the youth and the sophists, this paper will focus on two sources in particular: Aristophanes' *Clouds* and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. Both works thematize the student–teacher relationship, though in connection with Socratic philosophy and method rather than the sophist movement itself, but that is not central to the subject here discussed. Namely, Socrates' manner of conducting a dialogue through questions and answers had much in common with sophistic rhetoric, which is why Socrates was often wrongly identified with the sophists by his contemporaries.[48] An excellent example is precisely Aristophanes, who identifies Socrates with the sophists and criticizes his manner of presenting arguments.[49]

Xenophon's *Memorabilia* was written several decades after Socrates' death, but it is an important historical source nonetheless. A good part of it is probably literary fiction, but it still provides many relevant data.[50] It becomes clear from this work that what Socrates wanted was to prepare the young for an active political life: this can be seen from remarks made by Socrates himself, for example in the dialogues with Antiphon and Euthydemus,[51] or from the example showing that Socrates sought to prepare young members of the Athenian elite for political life, or the example showing that young people were coming to him precisely for that reason.[52] Apart from this, Socrates was accused of being responsible for his former students' political actions that made Athens suffer disastrous consequences.[53]

Taking into account this political aspect of Socrates' teaching, Xenophon makes every endeavour to defend his teacher from the accusations

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[47] Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* points out more than once that the youthful type of character is more passionate, intemperate, gullible and honour-loving; and also prone to excess both in loving and in hating (Aristot. Rhet. 1389a 1 ff.).

[48] See J. de Romilly, *The Great Sophists in Periclean Athens* (Oxford 1992), 88–89.

[49] See also Plat. Apol. 18b–d; 19c–20c; 23d.

[50] Cf. P. Jaerisch, Xenophon, *Erinnerungen an Sokrates, Übersetzung, Einführung und Erläuterungen von P. Jaerisch* (Munich–Zurich 1987), 330 ff.

[51] Xen. Mem. 1.6,15; 4.2,2.

[52] Xen. Mem. 3.1; 5; 7; 4.2.

[53] Xen. Mem. 1.2,12.

of having exerted a bad influence on his students. Thus, he points out that Socrates believed it important to teach the young prudence (*sophrosýne*) and righteousness (*dikaiosýne*), rather than merely how to resourcefully achieve success in practical politics.[54] He shows that Socrates' art of dialectical argument had an ethical purpose and that this clearly distinguished him from sophistic rhetoric, which was mostly value neutral.[55] Xenophon also suggests that it is not the Socratic elenchus that poses a threat, but its abuse by unscrupulous students.

The central significance Xenophon ascribes to the possible abuse of Socrates' elenchus can also be seen from his insistence on it in his portrayal of Alcibiades and Critias.[56] Critias is seen as the most violent, most merciless and greediest of all oligarchs, and Alcibiades, as the most violent, most insolent and most self-willed of all democrats.[57] As both of them belonged to Socrates' circle when they were young, the prosecutors blame Socrates and his bad influence for their subsequent development.[58] Xenophon defends Socrates by insisting that the famous philosopher very much practised the prudence he taught, and that the two were prudent and able to restrain their passions for as long as they were in association with him.[59] Besides, Xenophon suggests that Critias and Alcibiades were the most ambitious of all Athenians and interested in only one aspect of Socrates' teachings – how to achieve proficiency in oratory and action in the political domain.[60] To them, the ethical aspect of his teaching was of little significance. How they used, that is abused, what they had learned from Socrates is shown by Xenophon through the conversation between Alcibiades and Pericles.[61] Alcibiades, barely twenty at the time, uses the Socratic method to demonstrate his wits to Pericles.[62] Xenophon uses this example, which deals with the

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[54] Xen. Mem. 4.2; 3,1.

[55] Sophistic rhetoric valued success more than the truth (see Plat. Phaedr. 267a; Tht. 162d–e; Gorg. 454d–455a; Aristot. Rhet. 1402a 18–20); this does not mean that the sophists advocated the unscrupulous use of rhetoric as a principle, but they certainly contributed to the possibility of its being abused, see P. Woodruff, "Rhetorik und Relativismus: Protagoras und Gorgias", in A. A. Long, ed., *Handbuch frühe griechische Philosophie. Von Thales bis zu den Sophisten* (Stuttgart 2001), 264–284.

[56] Xen. Mem. 1.2,17.

[57] Xen. Mem. 1.2,12.

[58] Xen. Mem. 1.2,12.

[59] Xen. Mem. 1.2,17–18; 24–25.

[60] Xen. Mem. 1.2,14–16; 39; 47.

[61] See D. M. Johnson, "Xenophon's Socrates on Law and Justice", *Ancient Philosophy* 23 (2003), 277–279.

[62] Xen. Mem. 1.2,40–46.

question "what is law?", to suggest that the Socratic method of questions and answers, the ultimate goal of which is to find the truth, could be misused in order to make the weaker argument the stronger, which then opens the way for bringing value norms into question.

Interestingly, the problem of abuse is persistently highlighted in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, as can be seen from the example cited above or from the conversation between Euthydemus and Socrates.[63] In his dialogue with Euthydemus, Socrates observes that such gifted and energetic young men, if lacking the education enabling them to differentiate between right and wrong, can become most dangerous individuals and perpetrators of heinous deeds.[64] Socrates' observation refers to Alcibiades and Critias too, both fame loving, wealthy and proud of their origin.[65] This lack of proper education and the resulting susceptibility to negative influences of power are, according to Xenophon, the main cause of their subsequent behaviour. It is the example of Euthydemus that shows that Socrates wanted and was able to prevent such ambitious young men from straying into the wrong path. It is true that Euthydemus collected many sophistic works, thought of himself as being superior to his peers and intended to start his career as a statesman, but Socrates argued for good education as especially required for a would-be statesman and eventually persuaded Euthydemus that it was necessary for him to obtain real knowledge before taking an active part in public life.[66]

All Xenophon's examples illustrating Socrates' relationship with young people share a number of significant features. One is that many of Socrates' students were very young. Glaucus, for instance, was under twenty, and Euthydemus was too young to attend the Assembly, let alone to speak in it.[67] Even so, young Athenians were ambitious and impatient to take an active role in political life. Furthermore, these examples show that Socrates, Xenophon and other contemporaries were acutely aware that the Socratic art of dialectic argument was open to abuse. Xenophon's account of how Socrates was banned from meeting with young people and teaching conversation skills even under the Thirty led by a former student of his, Critias, confirms that the contemporaries were taking this danger seriously.[68] An-

[63] Xen. Mem. 4.2; 3,1.

[64] Xen. Mem. 4.1,3–4; cf. also Plat. Resp. 489d–495c, esp. 492b–c; 494c–d; 495a–b.

[65] Xen. Mem. 1.2,14; 25–26.

[66] Xen. Mem. 4.2,1; 11.

[67] Xen. Mem. 3.6,1; 4.2,1.

[68] Xen. Mem. 1.2,31; 33–39.

other feature common to all these examples is that the term "youth" is used primarily for young honour-loving members of the elite.

Aristophanes' *Clouds* is another excellent source for the subject studied here. Namely, being a comedy, it had to be not only understandable but also closely familiar to a large number of Athenians.[69] For the same reason, of course, one should be careful when analyzing its comments on Socrates, the sophists and their students, since the category of exaggeration and caricature, as well as widespread prejudices, are amply and skilfully used in order for the audience to find it comic.

Even a cursory glance at the *Clouds* and *Memorabilia* reveals that they have several features in common. Young Phidippides, who becomes Socrates' student under his father Strepsiades' pressure, is barely different from Socrates' students described by Xenophon. Just like them, Phidippides is a young member of the Athenian elite, as obvious from his name and demeanour.[70] But, unlike Xenophon, Aristophanes avoids to highlight the significant distinction between the philosophy and elenchus of Socrates, and the teaching and art of persuasion of the sophists.[71] That this is not the result of the famous comedy writer's ignorance may be seen not only from Plato's *Symposium* but also from the *Clouds*, where Socrates insists that Strepsiades should learn other things before he masters the skill of turning injustice into justice.[72] Unlike the sophists and contemporary philosophers, Socrates is famed for his daily communication with the Athenians regard-

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[69] Cf. P. v. Möllendorf, *Aristophanes* (Hildesheim 2002), 1–5, esp. 4–5; Ch. Schubert, *Die Macht des Volkes und die Ohnmacht des Denkens. Studien zum Verhältnis von Mentalität und Wissenschaft im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1993), 77–78; J. Ober & B. Strauss, "Drama, Political Rethoric, and Discourse of Athenian Democracy", in J. J. Winkler & F. I. Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context* (Princeton 1990), 238–240, 268–270.

[70] Aristoph. Nub. 14–31; 45 ff.; 63 ff.; 119–120.

[71] For Xenophon's view of the sophists, see C. J. Classen, "Xenophons Darstellung der Sophistik und der Sophisten", *Hermes* 112 (1984), 154–167.

[72] Aristoph. Nub. 657 ff. The fact that Plato portrays Aristophanes as one of Socrates' collocutors, and in the context of a complex philosophical theme such as *eros*, suggests that Socrates' teachings were not unfamiliar to Aristophanes (Plat. Symp. 189a–193d). Plato's Socrates in *Gorgias* argues for a completely different type of rhetoric from the one advocated by the sophists and required by democracy, its purpose being true knowledge rather than political success achieved by deception; see H. Yunis, *Taming Democracy. Models of Political Rhetoric in Classical Athens* (Ithaca–London 1996), 136–171; J. Ober, *Political Dissent in Democratic Athens. Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule* (Princeton 1998), 190–213; Ch. Kahn, *Plato and the Socratic Dialogue. The Philosophical Use of a Literary Form* (Cambridge 1996), 133–145; cf. K. Maricki Gadjanski, "Helenski retori kao političari", in K. Maricki Gadjanski, ed., *Istina – o istoriji* (Belgrade 2006), 55–57.

less of their social status and education. Ironically, this is the most likely reason that Aristophanes classified him as a "sophist" and that the common people, unable to perceive the difference, tended to connect him with the "new education".[73]

In accordance with his portrayal of the "sophist" Socrates in a negative light, Aristophanes focuses on Socrates' manner of presenting arguments and its destructive consequences, as well as on weaker (unjust) and stronger (just) speech.[74] The aim is to show how weaker speech can easily triumph even if it stands for injustice.[75] In *Clouds*, one of the primary motives for pursuing oratorical training is to be successful in the Assembly, which is another point that brings Aristophanes close to Xenophon.[76] Although Strepsiades is the first to go to Socrates for education, the dramatic emphasis is on the transformation undergone by his son Phidippides. Namely, a "comic hero" from the outset,[77] Strepsiades, being guided by his own selfish interest rather than by moral principles, accepts Socrates' advice only insofar as he finds it useful. As a result, all attempts to teach Strepsiades end in failure. On the other hand, Strepsiades' son Phidippides, who becomes Socrates' student only at his father's insistence, undergoes a radical transformation. A typical young aristocrat in a typically adolescent conflict with his father, Phidippides now begins to beat his father, using his newly-acquired oratory skills to deny any responsibility for, and even to justify, his misdeeds.[78] The new model of education encourages Phidippides to consciously break the traditional norms without even trying to hide it. Moreover, this new model also provides Phidippides with efficient tools for justifying his actions, that is, for making his wrongs pose as right.

That sophistic teaching above all endangers the young is emphasized in *Clouds* even before the son begins to beat his father, in the scene resulting in Phidippides' visiting Socrates. The focus is on a dialogue or a competition between the allegorical figures of stronger (just) and weaker

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[73] Plat. Apol. 17c–d; 19c–20 c; 22d–23a; 23e–24a; 30a–b; 30e–31a; Aristoph. Ran. 1491 ff.; see J. Henderson, "The Demos and Comic Competition", in Winkler & Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, 304; cf. also R. B. *Rutherford, The Art of Plato. Ten Essays in Platonic Interpetation* (London 1995), 41.

[74] On oratory as central in the activity of the sophists, see J. Martin, "Zur Entstehung der Sophistik", *Saeculum* 27 (1976), 146; de Romilly, *Great Sophists*, 147; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. III (Cambridge 1969), 44–45, 47, 50–51, 176–199.

[75] Aristoph. Nub. 112 ff.

[76] For the political sphere as the primary activity area of sophistic rhetoric, see Plat. Prot. 318e–319a; Gorg. 452d–e; 466a–c.

[77] Cf. Reckford, "Father-beating", 96.

[78] Aristoph. Nub. 1321–1350; 1399–1444.

(unjust) speech.[79] The two speeches are confronted, and so are the educational models they stand for. The weaker speech questions the very existence of justice.[80] The stronger speech advocates the traditional model, the one that produced the heroes of the Battle of Marathon, whereas the weaker argues for a new model of education which corrupts young people. The weaker argument emerges victorious from the competition due to the immoral and improper ideas it promotes. Hence it seems plausible that at the time *Clouds* was playing the Athenians were aware of the negative impact of sophistic teaching, manifested in its being abused by young members of the Athenian elite.[81] Aristophanes wittily shows that sophistic teaching provided young men with some theoretical and practical instruments for disputing the traditional system, but it did not provide them with new political principles.[82] Hence *Clouds* shows merely a typical conflict between father and son – intensified through some new devices and occurrences, it is true, but without producing a complete reversal of situation, i.e. a fundamental generation gap.

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[79] Aristoph. Nub. 886–1114; see *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, edited with translation and notes by Alan. H. Sommerstein, vol. III, chap. "Aristophanes: Clouds" (Warminster 1982), ad loc.

[80] Aristoph. Nub. 900 ff.

[81] As for the stronger and weaker speeches, it should be noted that the initial purpose of the technique was not immoral. Namely, the initial purpose was to present both arguments (thesis and antithesis) together, and not separately, in order to understand and assess the objective circumstances in the best possible way; see F. H. Tenbruck, "Zur Soziologie der Sophistik", *Neue Hefte für Philosophie* 10 (1976), 67; de Romilly, *Great Sophists*, 85–86; 88–89; Guthrie, *Greek Philosophy*, 181–188.

[82] Young men primarily went to the sophists for learning the art of persuasion. That some political principles were also involved, as suggested by Forrest, "Generation Gap", 42–43, seems unlikely. Namely, the sophists put emphasis on the practical aspects of teaching. Thus famous Gorgias saw himself merely as a teacher of rhetoric (Plat. Gorg. 449a–b; Men. 95c); see J. Dalfen, "Gorgias, Übersetzung und Kommentar von J. Dalfen", in E. Heitsch & W. Müller, eds., *Platon Werke: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, vol. VI/3 (Göttingen 2004), 128. Aristophanes and Xenophon also emphasize the connection between the young and the art of oratory; principles are not mentioned or are of minor importance. The theory about the right of the stronger might have played a role, but it was only mid-way through the Peloponnesian War that it took shape and none of the sophists known to us was its proponent; see I. Jordović, *Die Anfänge der Jüngeren Tyrannis. Vorläufer und erste Repräsentanten von Gewaltherrschaft im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main 2005), 70–116. On the other hand, one cannot fail to notice that the new type of education inspired a sense of superiority in young members of the Athenian elite who had both the money and the time it required; see Forrest, "Generation Gap", 43; W. Donlan, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece. Attitudes of Superiority from Homer to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Lawrence, Kansas 1980), 159.

One implication of this analysis of Thucydides, Euripides, Xenophon and Aristophanes may be that there was no severe generation gap in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC. If this assumption is correct, the question arises as to whether the notion "young" or "youth" had other meanings than the usual one, and what encouraged its use in Athens in the third part of the fifth century BC.

Aristophanes' comedy *Wasps* can help us further, especially because it thematizes neither the war nor sophistic teaching, but the political situation in Athens. Namely, there is again a generation gap, i.e. a conflict between father and son.[83] There is a father, Lovecleon, an ardent supporter of the rule of the demos, which is reflected in his passion for litigation and his susceptibility to Cleon's demagogy,[84] and there is a son, Loathecleon, a young aristocrat opposed to his father's viewpoint.[85] Unlike the other texts analyzed here, however, the main target of criticism is not the young son, but the father. Openly ridiculing Lovecleon's addiction to litigation and fascination with Cleon in a number of comical situations, but above all through Loathecleon's own comments, Aristophanes clearly inclines towards the son's point of view. He not only attacks Cleon and the worst excesses of democracy such as sycophantism and demagogy, but in fact rehabilitates the young. The fact that Lovecleon begins to do all kinds of follies, having undergone a transformation conforming to his son's attitudes, does not make an essential difference in that respect. Namely, the purpose of this part of the play is to take a look at the negative aspects of the young aristocrats' lifestyle. In this way Aristophanes shows that his critique, and hence young Loathecleon's critique, is unbiased and well-intentioned.[86] That this is so is supported by the fact that Loathecleon, in spite of his aristocratic traits, has no intention of questioning the democratic system in principle. Moreover, his wish to do away with its flaws indirectly portrays him as an honest sup-

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[83] A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 3rd. ed. (Bern–Munich 1971), 491–492.

[84] Aristoph. Vesp. 67–134; 242–244; 317–520; 548–647; 763–1102. On the role of demagogy in Athens, see M. I. Finley, "Athenian Demagogues", *Past and Present* 21 (1962), 3–24; J. Bleicken, *Die athenische Demokratie*, 4th ed. (Paderborn–Munich–Vienna–Zurich 1995), 203–209, 404.

[85] Aristoph. Vesp. 531; 1122–1264; 1297–1481.

[86] Aristoph. Vesp. 650–651; 729–734; 1015–1017. For this issue, see J. Spielvogel, "Die politische Position des athenischen Komödiendichters Aristophanes", *Historia* 52 (2003), 3–22; D. Konstan, *Greek Comedy and Ideology* (Oxford 1995), 5–7; Ober, *Political Dissent*, 125–126; C. Tiersch, *Demokratie und Elite. Zur Rolle und Bedeutung der politischen Elite in der athenischen Demokratie (480 – 322 v. Chr.)* (Dresden 2006), 184–195.

porter of democracy.[87] Besides, Lovecleon's follies make him the real hero of the comedy; he is the victim of his own "silliness", naiveté and good nature. This becomes quite clear in light of the fact that the old man, until his transformation, is quite aggressive in defending his position; which is why the author uses the word wasps as an allegorical figure for him and his fellow-fighters, themselves members of the senior generation.[88]

This analysis leads to three conclusions. Firstly, that there was no fundamental generation gap, or else Lovecleon's transformation would not have been possible at all. That this conclusion is not restricted to *Wasps* is confirmed by *Knights*. In this comedy, awarded first prize by the Athenian people in 424 BC, the resolution of the plot also brings about a transformation. Initially, Demos is portrayed as a half-deaf old man, voracious, morose, egotistical, liable to flattery, and consequently heavily influenced by his Paphlagonian slave (i.e. demagogue Cleon).[89] In the end, the old Demos' new servant, the Sausage-seller, restores him to his youth and wits, and Demos re-embraces the values of the glorious generation that fought against the Persians.[90] Secondly, that Aristophanes' intention in *Wasps* was to show the youth as a constructive part of the democratic system. Thirdly, that the word "young" or "the youth" may have been used as a defamatory term, as is clearly seen from the fact that in *Wasps* the word "the young" (*hoi neóteroi*) has negative connotations only when used to attack Cleon, who was over fifty at the time.[91] And this is not an isolated case. Diognetus, Nicias' brother, apparently was also about fifty in 412 BC, when Eupolis' *Demes* described him as the most powerful of younger scoundrels.[92] That the term "young" in these cases does not have much to do with the characters' actual age is also evidenced by Aristophanes' *Frogs*, where Alcibiades, although in his mid-forties at the time, is called a young lion, and in the context of the questionable usefulness of his political abilities to Athens.[93] Nowhere in the ancient sources, on the other hand, is Cimon reproached

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[87] Aristoph. Vesp. 650–734.

[88] Aristoph. Vesp. 217–227; 403–436; 456; 463–511; 973–1002; 1111–1121.

[89] Aristoph. Equ. 1–5; 40–73; 213–219; 624–683; 724–948; 1112–1150; 1340–1355.

[90] Aristoph. Equ. 1321 ff.

[91] That these verses refer to Cleon and to persons close to him (Hyperbolus) can be seen from the fact that the accusation that he steals the tribute of the allies is identical to Loathecleon's accusation against the notorious demagogue (Aristoph. Vesp. 1005–1007; 1100; 1114–1121); cf. Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 148. For the probable date of Cleon's birth, see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford 1971), 319.

[92] Eupolis frg. 122b–c (Edmonds), see Reinhold, "Generation Gap", 35.

[93] Aristoph. Ran. 1421–1431

for being young at the beginning of his career, although he was in his early thirties at the time of the victory at Mycale.[94] What all these examples have in common is that the word "young" is used in the context of denouncing or condemning individuals for their selfish and unscrupulous political actions which endanger the interests of the state. Therefore, it seems justified to believe that the contemporaries often used the term "young" or "youth" as synonymous with ruthless and egotistic policies, which in turn explains why Nicias described Alcibiades as young in Thucydides' Sicilian debate.

Of course, such justified critiques or unjustified defamations would not make any sense if they did not rely, at least in part, on reality or on the reality as perceived by the contemporaries. Indeed, that period witnessed political change in Athens, which is why W. R. Connor has introduced the term "new politicians" to describe Cleon, Cleophon, Hyperbolus and others of the kind.[95] The newness of the political style they promoted was even more conspicuous as the chronically volatile political situation in Athens – as a result of the Peloponnesian War and Pericles' death – was fertile ground for political radicalism.[96] Some of the politicians who entered politics at this period were indeed very young. For instance, Hyperbolus was barely thirty when he started his political career; but, unlike Alcibiades, who was in his mid-twenties when he first became involved in politics, he did not have high social status that might explain or justify, at least to an extent, his early entrance into politics.[97] To all appearances, these were not solitary cases.[98]

This circumstance can be helpful in explaining why the contemporaries used the term "young" to condemn the tendencies and practices that were seen as a threat to the established social and political order, but it certainly is not the only explanation. Some other circumstances, which have not been in the focus of scholarly attention, seem to have played a role as well. In a traditional society, such as Athens was, the antiquity of customs, rules, institutions or views as a rule is taken as a very important proof of their rightness.[99] This is evidenced, for example, by the attempt to relate

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[94] See Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 148.

[95] Connor, *New Politicians*, xi.

[96] For destabilizing effects of the Peloponnesian War, such as stasis, fluctuations within the elite or power concentration, see Jordović, *Anfänge der Jüngeren Tyrannis*, 24–69.

[97] Eupolis frg. 238; 310; 90; Cratinus frg. 262; cf. Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 232; Connor, *New Politicians*, 148; on Alcibiades, see Thuc. 5.43,2.

[98] Cf. Connor, *New Politicians*, 147–149.

[99] Cf. G. Beyrodt, "Orte, Nichtorte und Tyrannis", in W. Pircher & M. Treml, eds., *Tyrannis und Verführung* (Vienna 2000), 243; D. Boedecker, "Presenting the Past in Fifth-Century Athens", in D. Boedeker & K. A. Raaflaub, eds., *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens* (Cambridge MA–London 1998), 194–194.

the political concept of *pátrios politeía*, which did not emerge until the late fifth century BC, to Solon's reforms in order to make its rightness obvious to everyone.[100] Traditional societies also tend to equate advanced age with desirable traits such as wisdom, experience, forethought, steadiness, etc. It is not surprising, then, to find that traits and phenomena considered as harmful are associated with the young.

Three factors gave impetus to this development. In the first place, some of these phenomena, such as demagogy and sophistic teaching, were new.[101] Secondly, Pericles' death and the Peloponnesian War, marking a critical moment in Athenian history, must have produced some effects, as observed even by the contemporaries.[102] This, of course, additionally strengthened the impression that the phenomena were new even if some were not, at least not entirely. After all, the Peloponnesian War did add force to their destructive aspects.[103] Thirdly, it was the young that were the most susceptible to the harmful effects of the war and other destructive influences shaking up Athenian society.

Finally, there is the question of what has led scholars to believe that there was an intergenerational conflict in Athens in the late fifth century BC. Perhaps the answer may be found in Aristophanes' comedy *Clouds*, commonly used as one of the major arguments for the generation gap thesis. This, however, is not the only relevant feature of this play. What may also be considered important is that *Clouds* could create an impression – as indicated by Socrates himself in Plato's *Apology*[104] – that Socrates was held responsible for such a conflict even in his lifetime, given that his was accused

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[100] Cf. J. T. Roberts, *Athens on Trial. The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought* (Princeton 1994), 60–62; D. Haßkamp, *Oligarchische Willkür – demokratische Ordnung. Zur athenischen Verfassung im 4. Jahrhundert* (Stutgartt 2005), 42. On the political motivation for pushing the concept of *patrios politeia* back into the Athenian past, see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981), 376–377.

[101] Not that they were a complete novelty; but they were perceived as new because it was then that their negative aspects became manifest; see R. W. Wallace, "The Sophists in Athens", in Boedecker & Raaflaub, eds., *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts*, 203–222; Chr. Mann, *Die Demagogen und das Volk. Zur politischen Kommunikation im Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 2007), 75–96.

[102] Thuc. 1.1. This can be identified with the opinion that the Peloponnesian War caused an abrupt and fundamental political and social change; cf. P. Cartledge, "The Effects of the Peloponnesian (Athenian) War on Athenian and Spartan Societies", in D. R. McCann & B. S. Strauss, eds., *War and Democracy: A Comparative Study of the Korean War and the Peloponnesian War* (Armonk, New York 2001), 104–123.

[103] An excellent example is the right-of-the-stronger theory, see Jordović, *Anfänge der Jüngeren Tyrannis*, 82–116.

[104] Plat. Apol. 18b–d; 19c–20c; 23d.

of corrupting the Athenian youth.[105] This accusation was untrue, of course, but not any the less influential: Socrates was eventually brought to trial and sentenced to death. It seems, therefore, that it is Socrates' destiny that has led modern scholars to accept the generation gap thesis as fact based; otherwise the famous philosopher would not have been accused of corrupting the young, let alone sentenced.[106] Even though not all modern scholars take this trial as the key argument for the generation gap thesis, it has inevitably had impressed itself upon them.[107] The most obvious reason is that this is probably the best-known trial in the history of the classical world.

Perhaps an even more influential factor directly and indirectly contributing to the development of the generation gap thesis is that Socrates' followers themselves attached great importance to the count of the indictment charging their teacher with corrupting the young. What can be seen as a direct contribution is that this charge tended to be overblown in their defence of Socrates; as a result, other motives behind the indictment remained inadequately elucidated.[108] Thus, seeking to defend his teacher the best he could, Plato in his *Apology* avoids going deeper into the motivation of the prosecution and the nature of the indictment;[109] instead, he offers a quite general portrayal of Socrates as the only true educator in Athens.[110]

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[105] The philosopher corrupting the youth was to become a topos of comedy, which indicates an exceptional influence of *Clouds*, cf. P. Scholz, *Der Philosoph und die Politik. Die Ausbildung der philosophischen Lebensform und die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Philosophie und Politik im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1998), 49–50; Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 277.

[106] See Strauss, *Fathers and Sons in Athens*, 5; K. Robb, "*Asebeia* and *Sunousia*. The Issues behind the Indictment of Socrates", in G. A. Press, ed., *Plato's Dialogues. New Studies and Interpretations* (Lanham 1993), 77–106 esp. 97–102; E. A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write* (New Haven 1986), 4–5.

[107] Its influence on W. G. Forrest is best seen from his choice of Callicles as one of the best examples favouring his thesis ("Generation Gap", 42); see also Reinhold, "Generation Gap", 37–38; Reckford, "Father-beating", 89; 106–107; Feuer, "Generational Struggle", 123–124; Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 245–246. For the influence of Plato's portrayal of Socrates, see J. P. Euben, *Corrupting Youth. Political Education, Democratic Culture and Political Theory* (Princeton 1997).

[108] Cf. Scholz, *Der Philosoph und die Politik*, 46; R. A. Baumann, *Political Trials in Ancient Greece* (London–New York 1990), 106–107.

[109] E. Heitsch, *Apologie des Sokrates*, Übersetzung und Kommentar von E. Heitsch, in E. Heitsch and W. Müller, eds., *Platon Werke: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, vol. I/2 (Göttingen 2002), 193.

[110] E. DE Strycker, *Plato's Apology of Socrates. A Literary and Philosophical Study with a Running Commentary.* Edited and Completed from the Papers of the Late E. DE Strycker by S. R. Slings (Leiden 1994), 8–13; cf. also J. Ober, "The Athenian Debate

A similar tendency can be found in Xenophon's *Apology*,[111] which also deals with the indictment in a quite general way, focusing on the charge of *asébeia* and corrupting the young, and insisting on Socrates' moral superiority demonstrated before and during the trial.[112] This approach to the background and course of the trial becomes all the more conspicuous as Xenophon's *Memorabilia* views Socrates' association with Alcibiades and Critias in their youth as an overriding factor for the sentence, which it probably was.[113]

The indirect ways in which Socrates' followers have helped develop the generation gap thesis are subtler, and hence more effective. Unlike *Apology,* Xenophon's *Memorabilia* touches upon the background of the indictment inasmuch as it seeks to show that Socrates' influence on Critias and Alcibiades at the time of their youthful association with him was positive.[114] Not even there, however, does Xenophon attempt to expose the actual political background of the trial. In all probability, that was not possible anyway: in the aftermath of Athens' defeat and the downfall of the regime of the Thirty, because of the Athenians' bitter resentment against the two notorious politicians, and later on because their negative image had become embedded in the public mind.[115] Moreover, such an attempt would only have been counterproductive. Instead, Xenophon uses many other examples, such as Euthydemus or Glaucus, struggling to prove that Socrates' influence on ambitious young people was generally positive. One consequence of his bringing so many examples into play, however, is the impression that Alcibiades and Critias were not solitary cases but part of a broader phenomenon. Plato's *Gorgias* reflects the same tendency, but it is even less overt and, consequently, more effective. A young member of the Athenian elite and Socrates' main opponent, Callicles has much in common with Al-

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over Civic Education", in Yun Lee Too, ed., *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Brill 2001), 179 ff.

[111] For the links between Xenophon and Plato, see R. Waterfield, "Xenophon's Socratic Mission", in Tuplin, ed., *Xenophon and his World*, 79–113.

[112] Xen. Apol. 3; 5; 22–23; 34.

[113] See Strycker/Slings, *Plato's Apology*, 92–95; Scholz, *Der Philosoph und die Politik*, 79 note 26; M. Munn, *The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 2000), 289–291. More than fifty years later Aeschines (Aeschin. 1,173) states that the Athenians sentenced Socrates to death because he had been the teacher of Critias, the leader of the Thirty.

[114] See V. J. Gray, *The Framing of Socrates: The Literary Interpretation of Xenophon's* Memorabilia (Stuttgart 1998), 41–59, esp. 48.

[115] On the power of such images, see A. Wolpert, *Remembering Defeat. Civil War and Civic Memory in Ancient Athens* (Baltimore 2002), where the problem is studied on the example of the collective memory of the regime of the Thirty.

cibiades and Critias, which is why he has often been identified with them by scholars.[116] Still, Plato makes a conscious effort to shape the character as "neutral" as possible, which is why his Callicles has often been interpreted as epitomizing a whole generation.[117] Plato's intention is to demonstrate that the differences between Callicles and the likes of him on the one hand, and Socrates on the other are essential and unbridgeable.[118] That the positions of Callicles and Socrates are diametrically opposed is underscored by the emphasis on Callicles' corruption; he is portrayed as supporting not only the *nomos–physis* antithesis, but also the right-of-the-stronger doctrine.[119] The same intention is observable in the account of Socrates' failure, despite his great effort, to re-educate Callicles in accordance with his moral principles.[120]

What also prompted Xenophon and Plato to use such an approach in their defence was the fact that the amnesty of 403/2 BC had made it impossible for the prosecutors to pursue their political agenda overtly,[121] so

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[116] E. R. Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias, a Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford 1959), 12; O. Apelt, "Platons Dialog Gorgias", in O. Apelt, ed., *Platon, Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, Herausgegeben und mit Einleitungen, Literaturübersichten, Anmerkungen und Registern versehen von O. Apelt (Hamburg 1998), 167–168, note 1; S. Kriegsbaum, *Der Ursprung der von Kallikles in Platons Gorgias vertretenen Anschauungen* (Padeborn 1913), 37–38; W. Jaeger, *Paideia, Die Formung des Menschen*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1954), 410; C. Roßner, *Recht und Moral bei den griechischen Sophisten* (Munich 1998), 177–178; Guthrie, *Greek Philosophy*, 299; M. Vickers, "Alcibiades and Melos: Thucydides 5.84–116", *Historia* 49 (1999), 267–268.

[117] Cf. D. Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens: A Study in Literary Presentation* (Oxford 1999), 235, and notes 62 and 63. All Callicles' traits are present in Alcibiades too: he is young, a member of the elite, abuses sophistic learning and is thirsty for power; cf. Jordović, *Anfänge der Jüngeren Tyrannis*, 99–108. For the view that Callicles is not a fictitious character, see Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias*, 13; K. F. Hoffmann, *Das Recht im Denken der Sophistik* (Stuttgart–Leipzig 1997), 111–112. On Callicles as epitomizing one generation, or the generation's worst traits, see note 106 above.

[118] Plat. Gorg. 486d–488b; 485a–e; 500c; see also 486a–b; 519a–b; cf. Dalfen, "Gorgias", 342; 401.

[119] In his *Memorabilia* Xenophon also emphasizes the corruption of Alcibiades and Critias in order to better defend Socrates; see Gray, *Framing of Socrates*, 48.

[120] Plat. Gorg. 513c; cf. E. Buzzetti, "The Injustice of Callicles and the Limits of Socrates' Ability to Educate a Young Politician", *Ancient Philosophy* 25 (2005), 25–47; Ober, *Political Dissent*, 202, 213.

[121] Aristot. Ath. pol. 39,6; see M. Chambers, "Aristoteles, Staat der Athener, Übersetzt und erläutert von M. Chambers", in *Aristoteles Werke in Deutscher Übersetzung*, vol. 10/1 (Berlin 1990), 318; Rhodes, *Commentary*, 1981, 468–472. For the conciliation agreement, see Th. C. Loening, *The Reconciliation Agreement of 403/402 B.C. in Athens: Its Content and Application* (Stuttgart 1987); A. Dössel, *Die Beilegung innerstaatlicher Kon-*

they proceeded behind the veil of Socrates' indictment for corrupting the young.[122] It is not surprising, then, that the Socratists chose a similar approach, especially because it was easier to defend Socrates in that way. An undoubtedly important role was played by the fact that both Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and Plato's *Apology* were conceived in part as a response to a defamatory pamphlet of the sophist Polycrates.[123]

This analysis leads us to suggest that a generation gap in Athens at the end of the fifth century BC should be ruled out. This does not imply that the young and the elderly did not respond differently to the challenges and novelties that caused a stir in the private and public spheres in Athens at the time, but simply that the intergenerational differences did not become a subject of politics or a political factor. Perhaps the most striking argument against the widely established view that there was a gap is offered by the Athenians themselves: they thought *Clouds* were good enough only for third place at the Dionysia in 423 BC, and Aristophanes complained that his fellow-citizens had failed to grasp the gist of his play.[124] What adds weight to his complaint is the fact that the part of *Clouds* where the just and unjust speeches and their opposing views on proper education come into conflict was written several years after the first performance, most probably to underpin the central theme of the play.[125]

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flikte in den griechischen Poleis vom 5.–3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (Frankfurt am Main 2003), 89–146, esp. 89–112.

[122] Robb, "*Asebeia* and *Sunousia*", 102–105; Strycker/Slings, *Plato's Apology*, 94; Munn, *School of History*, 279–280; B. S. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian War. Class, Faction and Policy 403–386 BC* (London 1986), 95. For the dilemmas and problems the amnesty caused in Athens, see Ostwald, *Popular Sovereignty*, 500–509.

[123] Guthrie, *Greek Philosophy*, 331; Dodds, *Plato, Gorgias* 28–29; Rutherford, *Art of Plato*, 49.

[124] Aristoph. Vesp. 1037–1054; see Reckford, "Father-beating", 90, note 2.

[125] See F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis. Herkunft und Bedeutung einer Antithese im griechischen Denken des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Basel 1945), 141.

Abbreviations

HCT A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes & K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols., Oxford 1956–1981.

Sources

Aeschin. *Aeschines*

Aristoph. *Aristophanes*
- Equ. *Equites*
- Nub. *Nubes*
- Ran. *Ranae*
- Vesp. *Vespae*

Aristot. *Aristotle*
- Ath. pol. *Athenaion politeia*
- Rhet. *Rhetorica*

Eupolis

Eurip. *Euripides*
- Suppl. *Supplices*

Plat. *Plato*
- Apol. *Apologia*
- Gorg. *Gorgias*
- Men. *Menon*
- Phaedr. *Phaedrus*
- Prot. *Protagoras*
- Resp. *Respublica*
- Symp. *Symposium*
- Tht. *Theaetetus*

Thuc. *Thucydides*

Xen. *Xenophon*
- Anab. *Anabasis*
- Apol. *Apologia Socratis*
- Hell. *Hellenica*
- Mem. *Memorabilia*