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REVERSALS IN ARISTOPHANES' *CLOUDS* AND IN TRAGEDY*

I should like to underline from the start the object of this study and to explain what I mean by this term. My intention is to examine those reversals which are deeply involved with the plot and the characters of a play. Moreover, I investigate only those reversals which are intentional and at-a-certain-purpose-aiming, so to speak, and not those which are resulting from the «natural» development of events, e.g. in Sophocles' *Antigone* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*¹.

Aristophanes in two plays, the *Clouds* and the *Wasps*, produced respectively in 423 and 422 B.C., centered his interest in the reversal of roles and situation. The most striking case is undoubtedly in the *Clouds*. I would like to suggest that this is not accidental and that Aristophanes shaped these two plays under the following influences:

- (i) the contemporary sophistic movement;
- (ii) the actual social and political life of his age; and
- (iii) the classical tragedy, especially the tragedy of Aeschylus.

It would be a commonplace to mention that the sophists not only questioned the traditional values on every aspect, but tried to reestablish and redefine them. Quite often this redefinition was seen as an overthrow of the good old values and as an establishment of an «immoralist» world the world of natural law. Within this framework are enclosed the controversial understanding of traditional values, such as εὐσέβεια, αἰδώς, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, etc, notions which are significantly present in the *Clouds* too.

*This paper was first read at a lecture in 1985 to the students and staff (as well as other scholars from other Universities of Britain and abroad) of the Department of Classics of the University of Leeds and was repeated to a similar audience at the Department of Classics of the University of Bristol, England.

1. For this kind of reversal see R. Kannicht, *Sophocles*, transl. by H. Harvey and D. Harvey, Oxford 1979, 64ff, 94ff.



Second, the annihilation and reversal of traditional, moral and political, values was undoubtedly accelerated by the Peloponnesian war and the civil strife which resulted in several Greek cities. The most characteristic case is the horrific civil war in Corfu and the bloody confrontation of the political opponents, as we see from Thucydides' excellent description in III. 82-84. In chapter 82.4 Thucydides writes the following characteristic words: *καὶ τὴν εἰωθεῖν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξεν τῆ δικαιοσύνῃ*, that is «the ordinary meaning of words was changed as they thought fit». Thus *τόλμα ἀλόγιστος* (reckless audacity) was interpreted as *ἀνδρείη φιλέτικρος* (courageous loyalty to party), *μέλλησις προμηθής* (prudent hesitation) as *δειλία εὐπρεπής* (specious cowardice), *τὸ σῶφρον* (moderation) as *τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα* (a cloak of unmanly weakness), *τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν συνέτον* (to be clever in everything) as *ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν* (to do naught in anything), *τὸ ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ* (frantic impulsiveness) as *ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα* (a true man's part), *ἀσφαλείη τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι* (caution in deliberation) as *ἀποτροπῆς πρόσχημα εὐλόγος* (a specious pretext for shirking).

Thucydides stresses also the notions of greed and ambition (*πλονεξία, φιλοτιμία*), lack of piety and violation of oaths (*ἀσέβεια, ἐπιορκία*), violation of the law and deceitfulness (*πικρονομία, ἀπάτη*), and in general the fact that human nature, triumphant over the laws, was ungovernable and stronger than justice (84.2 *τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἢ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις...κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου*). All these notions are also characteristic of the Unjust Argument in the *Clouds*.

Third, the moral teaching of the chorus just before the end of the play, lines 1452-1462, is worth quoting¹, because it concentrates the whole meaning of the play:

- ΣΤΡ. ταῦτι δι' ὑμᾶς, ὦ Νεφέλαι, πέπονθ' ἐγώ,
 ὑμῖν ἀναθεὶς ἅπαντα τὰμὰ πράγματα.
 ΧΟ. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν σαυτῶ σὺ τούτων αἴτιος,
 στρέψας σεαυτὸν ἐς πονηρὰ πράγματα.
 ΣΤΡ. τί δῆτα ταῦτ' οὐ μοι τότε ἠγορεύετε,
 ἀλλ' ἄνδρ' ἄγροικον καὶ γέροντ' ἐπήροτε;
 ΧΟ. ἡμεῖς ποιούμεν ταῦθ' ἐκάστοθ' ὅταν τινὰ
 γινώμεν πονηρῶν ὄντ' ἐραστὴν πραγμάτων,
 ἕως ἂν αὐτὸν ἐμβάλωμεν ἐς κακόν,

1. See also K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes The Clouds*, Oxford 1968, Lxix, and comment. on 1458.



ὅπως ἂν εἰδῆ τοὺς θεοὺς δεδοικέναι.

ΣΤΡ. ὦμοι! πονηρὰ γ', ὦ Νεφέλαι, δίκαια δέ.

This Aristophanean idea is quite Aeschylean¹ and it will be exploited by us as a starting point for an understanding of this Aeschylean notion.

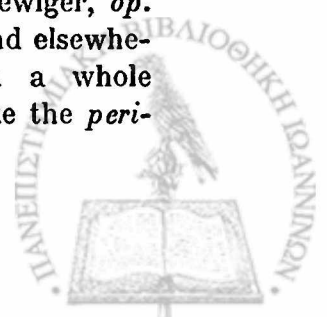
There are three points which are worth pointing out in the above passage. First, the notion of responsibility; second, the cause of one's suffering; and third, the problem of the Clouds' intervention, responsibility and purpose. Strepsiades lays the responsibility entirely on the Clouds (1452). On the contrary, the Clouds accuse Strepsiades as the only one responsible (1454), defining the cause as being the old man's reversal and pursue of πονηρὰ πράγματα (1455)². Strepsiades complains that (i) they should have told him earlier, and (ii) they should not incite an old and uneducated man, as himself, to do so³. The Clouds, consenting with this last remark, add that they act in such a way, when they understand that somebody is ἐρυστήρ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων, a lover of evil deeds, and that their purpose is to teach him to fear and respect the gods through suffering⁴. It is cle-

1. Dover, on 1458, believes that this morality of the clouds «is fully in accord with ordinary Greek theology and ethics» and in the Introduction, Lxx, that they behave «as the gods in tragic legend», «leading him on to disaster to punish him for the ἀδικία on which he set his heart». We believe, moreover, that Aristophanes has in mind the Aeschylean notion in this play. Cf. also Newiger, *Metaphor und Allegorie*, Zetemata 16, München 1957, 67 and 68; and Ch. Segal, *Aristophanes' Cloud-Chorus*, in: *Aristophanes und die alte Komödie*, ed. by H.-J. Newiger, Darmstadt 1975, 189, 190: with the reversal of the Clouds in 1454 ff the ending seems like the *peripeteia* of a tragedy; see also 191, 192, 193, 196. The Clouds behave like the Erinyes in tragedy (see W.S. Teuffel, *Die Wolken des Aristophanes*, 2. Auflage von O. Kaehler, Leipzig 1887, 47). These lines are a comic version of the Aeschylean theodicy (P. Rau, *Paratragodia*, Zetemata 45, München, 1967, 173-175, and 190) without parodying its Aeschylean model.

2. Cf. also 1303ff.

3. The use of the verb ἐπήρετε here echoes the same verb ἐπῆρε (42) of his prologue-monologue. Cf. also ἐπηρμένος (810) in reference to Strepsiades as well. The verb usually denotes a state of excitement, folly, and impending trouble (C. H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, Cambridge Ma. 1964, 313 note 26).

4. There is much criticism of the «sudden» change of the role of the Clouds at this point, which several scholars find insufficiently motivated: see C.H. Whitman *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, Cambridge Ma. 1964, 129; W.J. Starkie, *Aristophanes The Clouds*, Amsterdam 1966 (=London 1911), on 1458f.; Newiger, *op. cit.*, 68 and 69. For a different view see Ch. Segal, *loc. cit.*, 175f., 188 and elsewhere, who argues that reversal of the Clouds in 1454 ff «is only one item in a whole series of carefully calculated reversals which made the ending seem like the *peripeteia* of a tragedy» (190).



ar that they acknowledge some responsibility: not only they do not warn a lover of evil actions about the possible consequences, but on the contrary they incite and almost «push» him to follow more eagerly his line of action, because they want to teach him through suffering. We have indeed here the Aeschylean notion of *πάθει μάθος* (*Ag.* 177), which is again developed in an Aeschylean manner, that is *ὄταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, γὰρ θεὸς συνάπτειται*¹, whenever a man himself goes rushing in, god speeds him on.

The *Clouds* is in many ways unique and exceptional compared with the surviving plays of Aristophanes² and is explicitly acknowledged by its author - who speaks in the first person singular³ - in the revised form of the play as the most intellectual of his comedies⁴ and as the play that has costed him a great deal of labour (*καὶ τούτην σοφώτατ' ἔχειν τῶν ἐμῶν κωμωδιῶν, ἣ πηρέσχε μοι ἔργον πλεῖστον*, 522f). One exceptional feature is the continuous reversal of roles and situations. This I intend to examine in more detail, in connection with the role of the chorus⁵ and its relation to the comic heroes of the

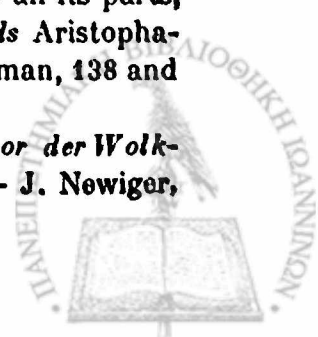
1. *Pers.* 742. Cf. Newiger, *op. cit.*, 67 and 68 with note 3, and *Hermes*, 89, 1961, 428. Whitman (p. 129), noting that the tone is tragic, wonders «what, if any, is the comic point» in lines 1458-61. Cf. also P. Rau, *Paratragodia*, 174 note 12.

2. This is the only play known to be revised by Aristophanes. For the relation of the first with the second revised edition of the *Clouds*, see M. W. Humphreys, *Aristophanes Clouds*, 1913, 17-47. Some striking features of the *Clouds* are: the comic hero, Strepsiades, «is stupid and excitable, never truly resourceful, never in control of the situation»; he is not triumphant, as in other plays, although he burns Socrates' school. The relation of the chorus to the comic hero is in this play strange and ambiguous; «it encourages Strepsiades in the first part of the play, turns by degrees to moralizing, and emerges at the end as a stern agent of divine retribution». The entry of the chorus is very different than in other plays; first we hear them singing and then we see them appearing in the orchestra, etc. See Dover, xxiii f and Lxix. Exceptional is moreover the use of the cupolidean instead of the usual, in this part, anapaestic metre, as well as the use of the first person instead of the third.

3. It may have been recited by the poet himself (see W. J. M. Starkie, *Aristophanes The Clouds*, Amsterdam 1966 (=London 1911), xv).

4. Cf. C.A. Wheelwright, *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, vol. I, 65: The *Clouds* is perhaps the most beautiful and the most ingenious of all the comedies of Aristophanes. Both in the invention of his subject and the distribution of all its parts, he shows the comic genius, in an admirable manner». With the *Clouds* Aristophanes probably intended to introduce a new kind of comedy (see Whitman, 138 and note 50). Cf. also *Wasps*, 1044-48.

5. See Dover, Lxvi ff; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Chor der Wolken des Aristophanes*, in: *Aristophanes und die alte Komödie*, ed. H. - J. Newiger,



play¹ as well as the subtle techniques which Aristophanes employed to achieve his ends².

In the first lines there is an antithesis between night and day, darkness and light, which could be viewed as symbolic³, and an impressive appeal to Zeus the king. The same appeal is repeated in 153, before his reversal; an appeal to Zeus is again uttered by Strepsiadēs in 1468, after his final reversal. After an allnight thinking Strepsiadēs found an excellent, so he believes, way out of his torments, which result from his son's horse-loving. The solution, however, requires absolutely the participation of his son Pheidippides. The old man requires a reversal of his son's character and behaviour: *ἐκστρεψον ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς σαντοῦ τρόπους* (88), turn inside out at once your way of life⁴. The means by which this change could be achieved is Socrates' Research Institute (the *Phrontisterion*). Pheidippides is asked to attend this Institute, in order to learn rhetoric, which will enable him to win in any lawsuit, just or unjust (*καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα*, 99)⁵, and more specifically the unjust argument (*λόγον τὸν ἥττονα*), by which Strepsiadēs intends not to pay back his debts. It is clear that the old man consciously wants to follow an antisocial behaviour relying on injustice. This is the starting point of the old man's reversal from just to unjust line of action⁶. His first at-

Darmstadt 1975, 170-173; Ch. Segal, Aristophanes' Cloud-Chorus, *Ibid.*, 174-197; and W. J. M. Starkie, *Aristophanes The Clouds*, xivf.

1. See Whitman C.H., *Aristophanes and the comic Hero*, Cambridge Ma. 1964, 119ff.

2. One such technique masterfully exploited in this play is the verbal echo.

3. The antithesis between darkness and light is connected with false and right lines of behaviour and action and is found throughout the play.

4. The adoption of *ἐκστρεψον* instead of *ἐκτρεψον* (Dover) is more suitable here, for it carries on further the idea of *στρέφειν* which is important in this play and it makes the metaphor more striking. See, for the contrary, Dover on 88. For the metaphor see Schol. ἀντι τοῦ μετάβαλε ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ρυπουμένων καὶ ἐκστρεφόμενων. ἐκστρέψαι δὲ ἱμάτιον τὸ ἀλλάξαι τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἔσω μέρος ἔξω (*Scholia in Aristophanem I 3 continens Scholia vetera in Nubes*, ed. D. Holwerda et W.J.W. Koster, Groningen 1977). The research center is viewed as a dark place, the Underground - as it is implied in 94f and the reference to Socrates and his pupils as «souls» - or a dark cave (506-8).

5. This is certainly the sophistic aspect of rhetoric; cf. Protagoras' *δισσοὶ λόγοι*. Cf. Starkie, on 99, and *Introd.* xLii ff.

6. Actually the first reversal in his life took place, when he decided to marry an aristocratic and rich woman from the city, *he* a man of the country.



tempt to induce his son fails (80-125)¹. It is also interesting to note the opposing views of father and son about the «phrontisterion» and the people living there. Strepsiades shows admiration and refers to one of their teachings (95 - 97), calls them «wise spirits» (ψυχὰς σοφάς², 94) and «reflecting thinkers, fine upstanding people»³ (μεριμνοφρονισταὶ καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, 101)⁴. Pheidippides, on the other hand, shows contempt and lack of respect calling them πονηροὺς (102), ἀλαζόνας, ὀχριῶντας and ἀνυποδήτους (102f)⁵. At this first stage the son manages to escape his father's pressure. He will reappear after line 814. Meanwhile, Strepsiades is determined to follow his course of action: he himself, although aware of being old, forgetful and slow⁶, will attend the School. Here we have a comic reversal of situation: it is the old man, and not his young son, who will attend Socrates' school.

Section 133-812 is very significant in many ways: Strepsiades attends Socrates' school, fails and is expelled. In this section we see, first, the character of the School of Socrates, his teaching methods, the various fields of research, his relation to the Clouds, and, second, Strepsiades' incapability to follow these teaching, his relation with the Clouds, and his pursue of his initial aim. In this section we also see the Clouds applying the principle which they explain at the end of the play.

1. The recurrent failure of the comic hero in this play differentiates the *Clouds* from the other Aristophanean plays; in fact «he is the victim of everybody, primarily of himself, throughout, at least until his moment of desperate retaliation» (Whitman, 122).

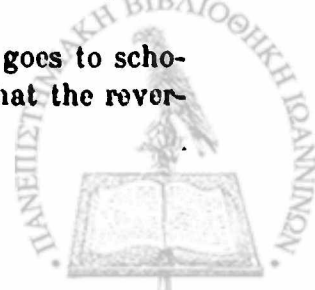
2. The use of the word ψυχαί, according to Segal, is significant, because «with its suggestion of the disembodied Homeric dead, carry us from the fresh air of the Attic uplands» (p. 179); cf. also 181 with the metaphor of the grotto of Tropho-nius. All these emphasize the antithesis «outdoors versus indoors» (p. 178). Starkie explains the use of ψυχή as an allusion to the ψυχαγωγία with which Socrates was popularly credited (on 94).

3. I use the translation by A.H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes' Clouds*, ed. with transl. and notes, Warminster, Wilts 1982.

4. For the political connotations of the phrase καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ see Starkie, on 101.

5. Pheidippides' refusal comes in contrast with Aristophanes' contemporary practice, for young men of the aristocratic class sought the tutorial of the Sophists (see Starkie, on 102).

6. Here again we have an inversion of situation, for Strepsiades goes to school in place of the younger, his own son. Whitman (p. 135) observes that the reversal of roles with Pheidippides is a basic point of structure.



Strepsiades is first introduced by a pupil of Socrates to the environment of the School, its pupils and instruments. From the very beginning of the play a distance is created between real practical life and the life in the *Phrontisterion*¹, which moves in the sphere of ideas and theoretical thinking and research². The experiments on measurement, creation of sound, astronomy and geometry³, which are referred to by the pupil, in order to show how important work was carried out in the School, parody contemporary scientific theories⁴. The old man's admiration makes him feel certain that he will succeed in his aim to cheat and win a lawsuit (167). The contrast is obvious: he understands scientific research so far as it is useful. This is made explicit once more in the scenes which follow: the pupils who are bent down in deep thought about problems related with the Underworld are thought by Strepsiades to look for onions⁵. Moreover, Astronomy and Geometry⁶ are useful⁷ for dividing land. The antithesis between practical and theoretical life is obvious here and elsewhere in this play and is a permanent *Leitmotiv*⁸. If we compare the first important picture of rural life (43-50), in which the old man feels happy, and the atmosphere of Socrates' school, we should ask what common ground is there between them? The distance is further stressed by the appearance of Socrates on a sling⁹ hung from the crane. Socrates' fine and minute thinking about the celestial phenomena requires a corresponding environment, the fine air¹⁰. The old

1. Cf. Segal Ch., *loc. cit.*, 178. There is an antithesis «between the simple goods of the country and the cloying luxuries of the city».

2. Lines 135-7, 140 and 143 create an atmosphere of mysteries. Cf. Segal, 179f, 180 and note 10.

3. 144-152 156-164 171-2 177.

4. See Dover, *ad loc.*, and Introduction.

5. Cf. H. - J. Newiger, *Metaphor und Allegorie*, *Zetemata* 16, München 1957, 52; Segal, *loc. cit.*, 180 and note 11; Dover, *ad loc.*

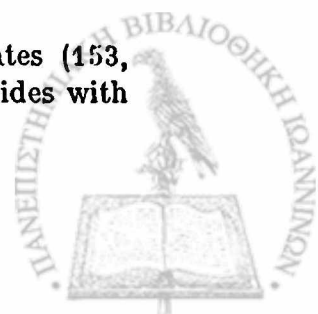
6. It is difficult to imagine how Astronomy and Geometry were presented on stage. Very probably they were geometrical and astronomical instruments (see Schol. on 200, 201). We suspect that they were personified by girls, but this is only a suspicion. In regard to symbols employed by Aristophanes to denote something, see Newiger, *op. cit.*, 52f.

7. Cf. Starkie, on 202.

8. Cf. Segal, 177ff. This antinomy could be also labelled the country versus the city (cf. Whitman, 126).

9. For the meaning of *κρεμάθρα* see Starkie and Dover, *ad loc.*

10. There is a continuous reference to the *λεπτότητα φρενῶν* of Socrates (153, 230, 311f, 359, 741). Cf. also the association of the character of Pheidippides with



man again and again proves his *βραδύτητα* (129) in grasping the fine thinking of his teacher¹. He explains his purpose, which is to learn oratory; this ability will save him, so he believes, from his creditors. It is important to note that the old man is conscious of his unjust course of action. A casual reference to the gods by Strepsiades gives Socrates the chance to deny the existence of the traditional gods and to explain to his pupil the new deities (246ff). He promises to bring Strepsiades in contact with his deities, the Clouds, and that he will make him an excellent orator (*τροῖμμα κρόταλον παιπάλη*, 260). Here we note another important feature of this play. Socrates, who is renowned for his irony and pretense that he knows nothing (*ἐν οἶδα δι οὐδὲν οἶδα*), in this play not only he arrogantly declares his knowledge, but also he has no reservations to exhibit it. The irony will be apparent in the course of action, when it will be shown that he who declared he knew, in fact did not have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the world-order as well as of *his* deities². The second point is that he regards the Clouds as *his* deities (*ταῖς ἡμετέραισι δαίμοσι*, 253)³. Is this relation true? There appears to be some, at first sight, external resemblance, first through the *λεπτότης*⁴; then it is in answer to his prayer that they appear soon after. His new deities here are Ἄηρ, Αἰθήρ and Νεφέλαι. It is ironic to put in the mouth of Socrates the traditional form of prayer in order to call not the traditional gods but his new deities⁵. Thunders are heard (292) and songs

Socrates, which is achieved, among other methods, by Pheidippides' employment of the same word, *γνώμαις δὲ λεπταῖς* 1404, and Strepsiades' sarcastic *διαλεπτολογεῖται ταῖς δοχοῖς τῆς οἰκίας* 1496, when he sets fire to the School and answers the pupil's question *τί ποιεῖς*; (1495). See also Dover, on 153. On the contrary, Strepsiades is characterized as *παχύς*.

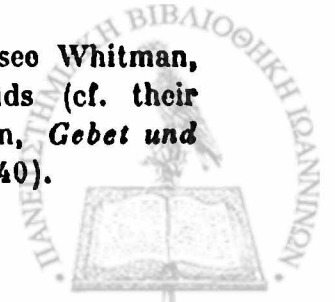
1. This is the role of a mere *homolochos*, who reduces with his comments his master's words to his own level of comprehension (Whitman, 139).

2. This is, of course, a further tragic technique in this play.

3. Cf. Segal, 181. See also 266 *ἄρθητε φάνητ' ὧ δέσποιναι τῶ φροντιστῆ μετέωροι* καὶ 269 *ἔλθετε δῆτ' ὧ πολυτίμητοι Νεφέλαι τῶδ' εἰς ἐπίδειξιν*, 274 *ὑπακούσατε δεξάμεναι θυσίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖσι χαρεῖσαι*; cf. 291, 359f, 436.

4. Cf. lines 319f where Strepsiades, after he had heard their songs, confesses that his soul flies and *λεπτολογεῖν ἤδη ζητεῖ καὶ περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχεῖν* (see also Newiger, *op.cit.*, 55, and D.F. Sutton, *Self and Society in Aristophanes*, Washington D.C. 1980, 91 note 165). On *λεπτολογεῖν* and *στενολεσχεῖν* cf. also Starkie and Dover, *ad loc.*

5. The «cluster of air and cloud imagery» in Socrates' prayer (see Whitman, 138) creates a misleading impression that he is related with the Clouds (cf. their entrance song). In fact we have here a parody of prayer (cf. W. Horn, *Gebet und Gebetsparodie in den Komödien des Aristophanes*, Nürnberg 1970, 40).



by the chorus of the *Clouds* who gradually approach the parodos to enter finally into the orchestra after line 326¹.

Socrates' address ὦ μέγα σεμναὶ Νεφέλαι φανερωῶς ἠκούσατέ μου καλέσαντος (291) expresses his satisfaction and establishes the impression that indeed these deities are closely related to him. Nevertheless, both the high style of the songs and their content² come in sharp contrast with what we have seen so far about Socrates and his teaching. Nature with its beauty and fertility on the one hand and respectful reference to the holy Eleusinian mysteries, the temples and statues of the gods and the Dionysiac festivals³ on the other, which are the content of the strophe and the antistrophe, create a different atmosphere than the Socratic one⁴. Socrates' interpretation of their essence is somewhat different: they are heavenly great goddesses (316) who give to idle men⁵ intelligence, discourse, understanding, fantasy, circumlocution, incisive and repressive power⁶ (γνώμην καὶ διάλεξιν καὶ νοῦν..., καὶ τερατείαν καὶ περίλεξιν καὶ κροῦσιν καὶ κατάληψιν, 317-8). Socrates explains to his pupil what he believes about the true nature of his divinities. He rejects his pupil's notion that the

1. Segal believes that their peaceful entrance (ἡσυχῆ, 324) suggests the blessings of serenity, contrasted with the «noise of sophistic fast-talk» (p. 183).

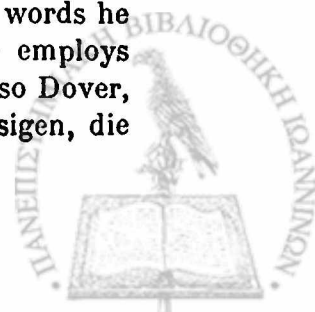
2. «Their opening song is formally much closer to tragedy and choral lyric than to comedy, and this befits their status as deities responding to Socrates' invocation» (Dover, Lxix; see also his Commentary, *ad loc.*). Cf. also Segal, 182: «The lovely dactylic chorus...reveals them to us as figures who far transcend the understanding which either of the two human characters has of them. Their flowing and stately rhythms establish the opposite pole to that enclosed mental existence which Socrates would have them sponsor». They are joyful nature-goddesses, associated with light, production, and feast. Their song is «one of the most melting pastoral lyrics in all Aristophanes, in softly rolling dactyls» (Whitman, 127f), and this comes in contrast with the impression created before that they are «the true gods of the city sharpeners» (lines 317ff).

3. See J. Reckford, Aristophanes' ever-flowing *Clouds*, *Emory Univ. Quarterly* 22, 1967, 234-5, for the Dionysiac associations of the *Clouds*.

4. Cf. Whitman, 128, and P. Händel, *Formen und Darstellungsweisen in der aristophanischen Komödie*, Heidelberg 1963, 18f and 234f.

5. These are specified as the seers, doctors, long-haired well-to-do idlers, and the dithyrambic poets.

6. Sommerstein A.H., *Aristophanes' Clouds*, ed. with transl and notes, Warminster, Wilts 1982. It is interesting to note that four of his technical words he uses are abstract nouns ending in -σις and that all seven expressions he employs have to do with oratorical skills (see Sommerstein, comm. on 317-8. Cf. also Dover, on 317, 318). Newiger, *op. cit.*, 55, explains it as «die Göttinnen der Müssigen, die



Clouds are *δμίχλη*, *δρόσος* and *καπνός* (330). In lines 346ff, apart from the ridicule of contemporary Athenians, the Clouds reveal their pro-*teic* character. The mysterious¹ reference in 344 *αὐται δὲ ῥίνας ἔχουσιν* probably has to do with their present manifestation which is caused by the character of Socrates and his School².

There follows the Clouds' first direct confrontation (356ff) with our comic heroes which is important. They greet the old man and address him as hunter of artistic arguments (*θηρατὰ λόγων φιλομούσων*, 358), and they ask Socrates, calling him *λεπτοτάτων λήρων ἱερεῦ* (359), to tell them his wish; they add that they do not give ear to anyone else but Socrates and Prodicus, drawing at the same time a distinction between the two: Socrates *σεμνοπροσωπεῖ*, but he lacks Prodicus' wisdom and intelligence³. Another instance of Socrates' theology and scientific theories is his rejection of Zeus; Dinos rules in his place; thunder and lightningbolt are explained in scientific terms, which are once again ridiculed by the explanation and parallel paradigms offered by the old man⁴, who again plays the role of a *bo-molochos*. We are recalling Strepsiades' first line of the play *Ζεῦ βεσιλεῦ*.

Until this point, several things are established, (i) the reversal of Strepsiades from practical to theoretical life, (ii) the connection of theoretical life with injustice and sophistry, (iii) the Clouds' apparent «association» with Socrates, and (iv) the different interpretation of

Urteil, Fertigkeit im Disputieren und Verstand verleihen, prahlerisches Übertreiben, Drumherumreden, das Schlagende, das Packende». See also Starkie, and Dover, *ad loc.*

1. «The joke is mysterious», notes Dover, on 344. Very probably this was a dominant feature of their mask. A long nose eant great intelligence (see C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, Hildesheim and New York 1970 = Leipzig 1890, 88 with notes 4 and 5). The Scholia explain it thus: *εἰσεληλύθασι οἱ χορευταὶ προσωπεῖα περικείμενοι μεγάλας ἔχοντα ῥίνας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχήμονα...».*

2. Actually Socrates' explanation is different, 355: *καὶ νῦν γ' ὅτι Κλεισθένη εἶδον, ὄρας, διὰ τοῦτ' ἐγένοντο γυναῖκες*. See Schol. *οὗτος γὰρ ἐπὶ κιναιδίᾳ διαβάλλεται*. A homosexual is an ambivalent person. Perhaps Aristophanes with this line, apart from the satire of a contemporary Athenian, wants to manifest the Clouds' ambiguous and ambivalent role in this play. This ambiguity and ambivalence is present in their words, addressed to both Socrates and Strepsiades, until at least the revelation of their true nature in lines 1458ff.

3. The irony in their address both to Strepsiades and Socrates is obvious and prepares us not to take seriously what they say as well as their relation to them.

4. Cf. Newiger, *op. cit.*, 60f.



their essence by Socrates and Strepsiades¹. There was not until now any intentional misleading of the old man by the Clouds. Lines 412f mark a transition to the Clouds' behaviour: these deities clearly mislead the old man, when they say that he desires *τῆς μεγάλης σοφίας*², the great wisdom (412), and when they promise him that he will become happy (*εὐδαίμων*) in the eyes of the Athenians and of all Greeks; here we have a reversal of the meaning of these notions. What is required to achieve this end is a good memory, the capacity of theoretical thinking, endurance in one's soul and body (standing, walking, cold, hunger, abstention from physical exercise, wine and sex), and an understanding of the ultimate good as being success in action and deliberation and in the warfare of the tongue (412-419). The Tongue (*Γλῶσσι*) together with the Chaos and the Clouds are the three deities accepted both by Socrates and Strepsiades (424).³ The misleading of the old man continues soon after: «tell us then with confidence what to do for you, for you will not come to grief, if you honour and respect us and seek to be an educated man» (*ὡς οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις / ἡμᾶς τιμῶν καὶ θαυμάζων καὶ ζητῶν δεξιὸς εἶναι*, 427-8). There is, probably, an ambiguity in their words: honour and respect of the Clouds will not certainly lead to misfortune. But this ambiguity is certainly not grasped by Strepsiades. A trap is slowly and carefully built by the Clouds for the old man⁴. He catches the bait quite unsuspecting. The great wisdom (*μεγάλη σοφία*) is now defined as *πάνυ μικρόν*: what he wants is very small, to become the best orator of Greece. The Clouds promise to grant him this favour (*ἔσται σοι τοῦτο*

1. Cf. Segal, 181f.

2. The notion of *σοφία* is recurrent in this play. The word *σοφός* and its cognates is used 32 times (see Simon Byl, *AC* 50, 1981, 112). Several times it is used ironically in reference to Socrates and his like (94, 331, 360, 412, 489, 491, 517, 841, 1024, 1370), to Strepsiades (412, 517, 764, 773, 1024, 1207, 1309), to Pheidippides (877, 1111), to the *Ἡττων λόγος* (895, 925), to Aristophanes (520, 547), to the Clouds (522), to the spectators (526, 535, 575), to Solon (205) and Prodicus (361). The problem of wisdom is central; most of the people who profess wisdom in this play are proved wrong. True wisdom leads to happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*), but can anyone in this play be characterized as wise and happy? Moreover, we should perhaps see here an irony springing from the comparison of Strepsiades' pettiness with the great wisdom of the Clouds (see Segal, 184, 188, 192). Strepsiades does not in fact care for *σοφία* (cf. Starkie, on 412).

3. Cf. 627: *Ἀναπνοή, Χάος, Ἀήρ*, 814 *Ὀμίχλη*, and 1150 *Ἀπαιόλη*.

4. The word *νεφέλαι* probably had also the meaning of hunting-net: see *Birds* 194, *μὰ γῆν, μὰ παγίδα, μὰ νεφέλας, μὰ δίκτυα*. In any way these deities «are not easily pinned down» (see Segal, 183; cf. Newiger, 59f).



παρ' ἡμῶν, 431). Strepsiades explains what he means by πάνυ μικρόν in lines 434f: ὅσ' ἐμαυτῶ στρεψοδικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς χρήστας διολισθεῖν¹, that is to «twist justice and slip away and escape from his creditors». The words στρεψοδικῆσαι and διολισθεῖν are significant. Once more the promise is given by the Chorus, «you will get what you wish» (τεύξει τοίνυν ὧν ἰμείρεις (435); furthermore, they ask him to hand himself over (πκράδος) to *their* ministers (τοῖς ἡμετέροις προπόλοισιν, 436). Strepsiades, trusting them, promise to do so (437) and is prepared to suffer everything in order to achieve his aim. Their misleading advice is continued in lines 456f and 510-7. In the first passage they tell him that, after his study, he will have among men a κλέος οὐρανόμηκες, a renown reaching heaven; that he will live ζηλωτότατον βίον, the most envied life on earth; and that people will come crowding to his door asking advice and consultation. The phrase ἐς λόγον ἔλθεῖν (470) and κἀντιγραφὰς πολλῶν τάλάντων (471), oratory and law-suits, correspond to what Strepsiades specifically wants to learn. In the second passage, which is the *kommation* of the parabasis, which functions as an *encomium* and as an exhortation to the old man sung just when Strepsiades goes into the School of Socrates², they praise him for his courage and wish him good luck³, for, though an old man, νεωτέροις τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν χρωτίζεταί καὶ σοφίαν ἐπσχκεῖ, «he is dipping himself in the dye of revolutionary new ideas and pursuing knowledge»⁴.

The parabasis gives us another glimpse into the Clouds' true nature⁵. The high style and the contents of the Ode and Antode remind

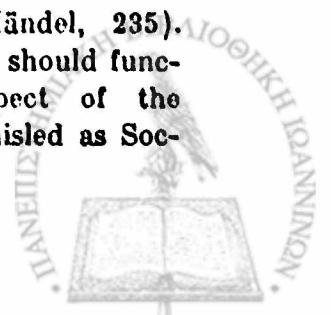
1. Both στρεψοδικεῖν and διολισθεῖν are two important words related to μῆτις (see S. Byl, *AC* 50, 1981, 113). Cf. Schol. στρέψαι τὰς δίκας. πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πεποικηται τῷ γέροντι Στρεψιάδης. διολισθεῖν· διαφυγεῖν, ἐκφυγεῖν. Cf. also στρόφις, 450 (and Schol. ἀπὸ τοῦ στρόφιγγος ἢ μεταφορὰ. ὅλον εὐστροφος καὶ εὐκίνητος ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν).

2. To the question why at this moment the Clouds do not reveal to the old man their true role, but instead they continue to mislead him, P. Händel's answer is that we should distinguish the words addressed by the Clouds directly to Strepsiades, and those which are spoken when nobody is present (p. 235).

3. εὐτυχία is «perhaps a liturgical formula, with an allusion to the εὐδαιμονία», which is promised to the initiates in the Orphic mysteries (Starkie, on 512).

4. The translation is by Sommerstein.

5. The parabasis «tut den nächsten Schritt zur Klarheit» (P. Händel, 235). Before the parabasis, as we have seen, there are several hints which should function as a warning to the spectators not to see only the superficial aspect of the chorus' relation with Socrates (cf. P. Händel, 235) and not to be misled as Soc-



us their first entrance songs¹. They address Zeus, Poseidon, Aether, Helios, Apollo, Artemis, Athene and Dionysus, all traditional gods except perhaps Aether². In the epirrhema they stress their salutary role in the Athenian affairs: they warn in case of a senseless expedition; they protest against the election of Cleon as a general; and they give advice about the future³.

In the scenes following the parabasis (627-790), Socrates is trying in vain to educate Strepsiades. It is obvious that the old man's attendance of the Socratic School is a complete failure. Socrates finally expells him (789f). The Clouds' encouragements in 700ff⁴ and 716 do not have any result. It is not probably incidental that, in the last scene before the old man's expulsion, the topic of education is «court justice» in relation to avoiding payment of interest and getting away from lawsuits (*ὅπως ἀποστρέψαι' ἂν ἀντιδικῶν δίκην*, 776). After his expulsion, Strepsiades is deeply disappointed, because he did not learn *γλωττοστροφεῖν* (792). The use of this verb functions in two ways, first, it reminds us of *Γλῶττα*, one of Socrates' deities, and secondly, of *στρέφειν*, which is recurrently connected with Strepsiades⁵. He appeals to the Clouds to give him some good advice: *ἀλλ' ὦ*

rates and Strepsiades. Thus the Clouds underneath their songs retain their true character, which is finally revealed in 1458ff (cf. P. Händel, 237 «Sie haben also Strepsiades von allem Anfang an getäuscht, den Zuschauer aber Einblick in diese Absicht nehmen lassen und sind sich von Anfang bis Ende treu geblieben»).

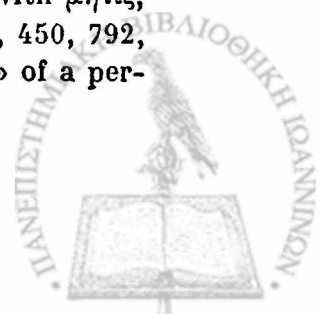
1. Both form and content are serious, «not peculiar to comedy or even characteristic of it» (Dover, on 563-74). Cf. Newiger, 70.

2. Thus an antithesis is actually created between the Clouds' belief on the one hand and Strepsiades' and Socrates' on the other. They start their song with *ὕψι μέδοντα ... Ζῆνα*, the same Zeus who was expelled by Dinos, according to Socrates (cf. Segal, 184, Whitman, 128, and P. Händel, 235).

3. Cf. Newiger, 71. With the parabasis, and in particular with the epirrhema and antepirrhema, the Clouds not only «take sides against humbug and dishonesty», but also «they claim special knowledge of the ways of the gods» (Segal, 184, Händel, 235).

4. The use of the word *στρόβει* here is also significant; it is explained by Schol. as *περίφερε τῆδε κάκεισε*, and it is thus connected with Dinos. The encouragement is also misleading.

5. The idea of reversal, which is inherent in the name of Strepsiades (see Marzullo B., *Strepsiade, Maia* 6, 1953, 99-124), is prevailing in this play, and is magnificently related to the new supreme divinity, Dinos. The word *στρέφειν* or similar words as *ἀνατρέπειν*, which is one of the key-words connected with *μητις*, recurs often in this play, often in relation to Strepsiades: 35-6, 88, 434, 450, 792, 1455; 812, cf. S. Byl, *loc. cit.*, 113ff. For the reversal of the «character» of a person, see Newiger, 67ff.



Νεφέλαι, *χρηστόν τι συμβουλεύσατε* (793). The Clouds, understanding that the old man continues on the same line of action, once again give him a misleading advice: if you have a son, send him to attend the School instead of you (795-6)¹. After a full reversal of the previous situation, things seem to take to their normal course. After Strepsiades' hesitations, they advise him to force his son attend the School willy-nilly; the old man obeys and leaves the stage determined to carry on his plans and at the same time unsuspecting of the true role of the Clouds. The irony continues in the following choral song (804-812)², where the Clouds (i) inform Socrates³ about the *πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ* which he will get from them; (ii) describe the condition of the old man: he is willing to do everything Socrates tells him, for he is *ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ φανερώς ἐπηρμένος* (moonstruck and plainly in great excitement)⁴. The last line, *φιλεῖ γὰρ πως τὰ τοιαῦθ' ἑτέρα τρέπεσθαι* (812) is the first ominous hint about what could happen. The use of the verb *τρέπεσθαι* here as the last word of their song is quite significant⁵.

The reversal of roles is continued in the following scene (814-888), where Strepsiades plays upon his son the role of Socrates, as we have seen him earlier in his encounter with the old man. The points worth noting in this scene are the following: (i) Strepsiades' *μὰ τὴν Ὀμύχλην*⁶ (in his first line) echoes line 330 and the various new dei-

1. Segal probably is right when he suggests that in these lines there is an ironic foreshadowing springing from the tone of paratragic solemnity, which is created with the formal address *ὦ πρεσβῦτα, συμβουλεύομεν* in answer to *συμβουλεύσατε*, and the pompous language (p. 188f).

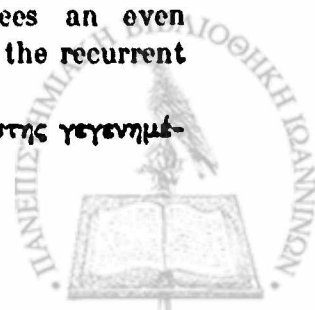
2. For the significance of this song see also P. Händel, 236.

3. There is here a problem whether *ἴσθ' αἰσθάνει θεῶν* is addressed to Socrates or to Strepsiades; Dover (on 804-813) suggests that these words are addressed to Socrates, who, after the departure of Strepsiades at 803, «remains on stage for a moment, perhaps rubbing his hands expectantly and jigging with pleasure»; *ἔδε* refers to Strepsiades. The opposite view is that the first line is addressed to Strepsiades at the moment when he enters into his house, and the second part of the strophe is addressed to Socrates (see P. Händel, 236, and note 3; A. Römer, *SBWA* 1896, 243f, and Piccolomini before him have made the same suggestion).

4. See Sommerstein's translation.

5. Dover, in my view, is rather exaggerating, when he argues that the undertones of this phrase and the sinister and treacherous part of the Clouds cannot be perceived yet by the spectators (on 813). Segal, on the contrary, sees an even more explicit irony in this line. The word *τρέπεσθαι* echoes ironically the recurrent image of twisting and turning (p. 189).

6. «The oath is of Socratic type» (Dover, on 814). Schol: *ὡς μύσσης γεγενημέ-*



ties of Socrates ('Αήρ, Αἰθήρ, Νεφέλι 264-5, Δῖνος 380, Χάος Γλῶττα 424, 'Ανκπνοή Χάος 'Αήρ 627). It would not be exaggerating to say that the irony lies in the fact that Strepsiades unknowingly mentions the nature of the Clouds, which is like that of the mist which covers the mountains and plains and gradually and steadily is dissolved by the sunshine thus revealing the true image underneath in its brilliance¹; (ii) the antithesis between Zeus and Dinos (817f), which is parallel to the antithesis between father and son; (iii) Pheidippides accuses his father of madness (οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖς 817², τῶν μανιῶν 832, τὴν μανίαν 846, παραφρονοῦντος 844, παρανοίας 845)³, and he is accused by his father as ignorant and old-fashioned in his ideas (μωρίας 819, παιδάριον εἰ καὶ φρονεῖς ἀρχαϊκὰ 821, ἀμαθῆς εἰ καὶ παχὺς 842)⁴; (iv) their opinion about Socrates and his pupils is also antithetical: Pheidippides talks scornfully about them (ἀνδράσιν χολῶσιν 833, τὰ δεξιὰ 852, γηγενεῖς 853). On the contrary, Strepsiades speaks with respect and admiration calling them ἄνδρας δεξιούς and νοῦν ἔχοντας, 834f, who teach all human wisdom (ὅσαπερ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις σοφά, 841)⁵; (v) Strepsiades' request to his son to do wrong in obedience to his father (τῷ πατρὶ πιθόμενος ἐξάμαρτε, 860f) is quite ominous, because the ἀμαρτία is followed by punishment⁶. This last notion is soon stressed by Pheidippides' comment ἦ μὴν σὺ τούτοις τῷ χρόνῳ ποτ' ἀχθέσει (865); (vi) Strepsiades' main concern for his son is to learn in any way the "Ἄδικος λόγος. The antithesis between κρείττων-ἥττων, ἄδικος λόγος-δίκαια at the end of the scene is again significant. Moreover, this is contrary to the everyday practice of a normal father.

The *proagon* and the *agon* which follow are a manifestation of the power of that kind of unjust argumentation which Strepsiades wanted for himself and his son. It is rather strange, of course, that the Right Argument comes out of Socrates' School at all. This is to

νος τῶν φιλοσόφων τὴν 'Ομίλῃν ὄμνουσι μιμούμενος αὐτούς. Cf. Strepsiades' initial concept of the clouds as ὀμίλῃν καὶ δρόσον καὶ καπνόν (330).

1. Cf. the manner in which they are supposed to move from the mountains to the orchestra (279f, 285ff, 322ff).

2. Here it is equivalent to παραφρονεῖς (Dover, on 817).

3. The accusation is the same in 1475, but the cause is different. (Cf. 1476, where finally Strepsiades acknowledges his «mania»).

4. Cf. 398 ὦ μῶρε σὺ καὶ Κρονίων ἔζων καὶ βεκκεσέληνε, 492 ἄνθρωπος ἀμαθῆς οὔτοσί; see also 628-9, 646, 655, 790. The antithesis between old and new recurs often in the play.

5. This should be contrasted with the *Clouds*' μεγάλη σοφία.

6. Cf. 1439.



be explained within the conventions of the ἀγῶν λόγων between two parties¹. Although the debate here is between the old and the new education related to the Right and Wrong Argument respectively², there are several points which must be pointed out for the purpose of our discussion. The Δίκαιος λόγος is mainly related to Strepsiades' own background and traditional values³. The notions connected with the Δίκαιος λόγος and which are verbally stressed in his arguments are respect of justice and Δίκη⁴, belief in the traditional gods⁵ and ideas, such as σωφροσύνη (962)⁶, αἰδώς⁷, εὐκλεία (997), κοσμιότης⁸ and ἀπραγμοσύνη (1007)⁹. A further point is his insistence on avoiding rhetoric and the market-place¹⁰. The Ἄδικος λόγος, on the other ha-

1. There is also the view based on the Argument VI, that the Δίκαιος λόγος is a new addition in the second revised form of the *Clouds* (Whitman, 134f. Cf. also M.W. Humphreys, who argues that all the section with the «agon» between the Δίκαιος λόγος and Ἄδικος λόγος is a new addition (*Aristophanes Clouds*, 1913, 27ff). Gelzer, however, argues that the two ἀγῶνες must be regarded as one undivided unit and that it is not possible to regard one piece of the first «agon» as an addition, without regarding something similar with the second «agon» (*Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes*, München 1960, 19).

2. See on that Dover, Lviii f; and Gelzer, *Der epirrh. Agon*, 13f. Cf. also Nussbaum, «Aristophanes and Socrates on learning practical wisdom», in: *Aristophanes. Essays in interpretation*, YCS 26, 19, 43-97; Whitman, 123 f. Aristophanes has dealt with old and new education in the *Daitaleis* (see fr. 225 K-A) and in the *Wasps*.

3. Cf. Nussbaum, YCS 26, 1980, 55.

4. τὰ δίκαια λέγων 900, 962, Δίκη 902-907.

5. 903f.

6. Cf. also 973ff, 996ff, 1006, 1027, 1060. It is useful to be reminded (see Starkie, on 962) of the content of σωφροσύνη: «modération, pudeur, réserve dans les propos comme dans les actes, tenue discrète, sentiment délicat des convenances, avec cela zèle, activité, obéissance ponctuelle a tous les devoirs» (P. Girard). Starkie's suggestion, that the repeated use of σωφροσύνη and καταπυγοσύνη is intended to recall the Σώφρων and Καταπύγων in the *Daitaleis*, is very probably right.

7. τοῖς αἰσχροῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι 992, μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν 995, τῆς Αἰδοῦς 995, 1020f.

8. μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι 963, εὐτάκτως 963 and elsewhere in reference to behaviour of the young boys.

9. There is probably here an antithesis, as suggested by Segal (p. 190), between πράγματα (1303, 1459) and ἀπραγμοσύνη and ἡσυχία (cf. 324 the peacefulness of the *Clouds*' descent over Parnes). See also 190 note 23 for the contrast ἡσυχία - ἀπραγμοσύνη with πολυπραγμοσύνη. The Athenians «throughout the classical period paid lip-service to ἀπραγμοσύνη, not interfering with other people's business and not becoming involved in litigation as a virtue» (Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy*, London 1972, 146).

10. μισεῖν ἀγορὰν 991, οὐ στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτράπελα 1003, γλῶτταν βαιὰν 1013.



nd, is characterized by his opponent as *θρασύς*¹, *καταπύγων ... κἀναί-σχυντος* (900)², *βωμολόχος* (910), *πατραλοίας* (911), mad³, loquacious⁴ and able to turn everything upside down, especially the traditional values, *τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἅπαν καλὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ καλὸν δ' αἰσχρὸν* (1020f)⁵. He himself acknowledges his ability to talk especially before a crowd (*ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖσι λέγων*, 892), and invent new ideas⁶; his ability to invert his opponent's arguments (*ἀνατρέψω γ' αὐτ' ἀντιλέγων*, 901). Contrary to his adversary, he does not believe in law and Justice⁷ nor in *σωφροσύνη*⁸, qualities which he believes are old-fashioned and useless⁹. A further point which is strikingly emphasized in their debate is their reference to nature. Apart from the metaphors *ἀνθεῖ* (897) and *εὐκνθής* (1002), it is extraordinary the description of nature in lines 1005-1008:

*ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξει
στεφανωσάμενος καλάμῳ λευκῷ μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου,
μίλακος ὄζων καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ λεύκης φυλλοβολούσης
ἤρος ἐν ὥρᾳ χαίρων, ὁπότεν πλάτανος πτελέα ψιθυρίζει.*

This image undoubtedly is recalling the description of *ἄγροικος βίος* by Strepsiades in the opening scene of the play, 43-45 and 50, as well as the beautiful song of the *Clouds* about nature, 275-290¹⁰. Thus nature, as Segal rightly observes (p. 187), «forms a background which unites related elements and clarifies the antitheses which govern the movement of the play... The *Clouds* can speak the windy langu-

1. 890, 915.

2. Cf. 1023. See also M. Nussbaum, *YCS* 26, 1980, 56.

3. See line 925.

4. See line 1017 *γλωτταν μεγάλην*.

5. Thus the Wrong Argument is connected with *Dinos*, Socrates' new supreme god.

6. Cf. 896 *γνώμας καινὰς ἐξευρίσκων*, 943f *ῥηματίοισιν καινοῖς...καὶ διανοίαις* (cf. 1031), 948 *ὑπὸ τῶν γνωμῶν* (cf. 924), 1015 *ἐν ἀγορῇ τὴν διατριβὴν ψέγεις· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπαινῶ*, 1058 *τὴν γλωτταν...ἀσχεῖν*.

7. See 902 *οὐδὲ...εἶναι...Δίκην*, and 1040 *τοῖσιν νόμοις καὶ ταῖς δίκαις τάναντί' ἀντιλέξαι*.

8. See 1060ff, where *τὸ σωφρονεῖν* is a bad thing; instead he emphasizes that in life other qualities are more useful, such as *πονηρία* (1066), *ὑβρις* and *ἡδονή* (see 1068, 1071, 1072).

9. He repeatedly speaks scornfully about the *Δίκαιος λόγος* calling him *ἀρχαῖος* (915), *Κρόνος* (929) or *Κρόνιππος* (1070). Cf. 984 f *ἀρχαῖα...*

10. The *Clouds* too delight in the coming of the spring (311). Thus a strong link is created between the *Clouds* and the Right Argument, through their delight of the beauty of nature (cf. Segal, 187).



age of the sophist... But their native tongue is the pastoral mode (275ff) and this they share with the Just Argument's clean and sweet promises of whispering platans, clear complexion, broad shoulders and so on» (1005-1014). In the speech of the "Αδικος λόγος, apart from the metaphors in 910 (ρόδον...) and 911 (κρίνεσι...) and the simile in 947, there are two more important references to nature in 1075 and 1078. It is important to note that the metaphors and the simile take a different quality than the one they have, if we see them in their context, for in the former they are connected with the ἀντίσχυτος and the βωμολόχος (909, 910), whereas in the latter the simile is connected with an attack against his adversary by the "Αδικος λόγος. In 1075 the reference is to sexual needs, τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκας¹ (both words convey sophistic connotations), as it is obvious from line 1076. The most important reference to nature is in line 1078: χρῶ τῆ φύσει, σκίρτα, γέλα, νόμιζε² μηδὲν αἰσχρόν. The interpretation of this line is obvious; pleasure³ is derived from nature as contrasted with law (φύσις-νόμος); everything «natural», whether it is right or wrong, is good⁴. There is, therefore, a divergence in the comprehension of nature by the Right and Wrong Arguments.

What is the attitude of the Clouds towards the two λόγοι? It appears that they take the part of the Δίκαιος λόγος, and this is apparent from lines 959 and 1024f⁵. In the first place they praise him for having «crowned» the old men with many good manners (πολλοῖς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς στεφανώσας); lines 1024f are an enthusiastic praise to his speech, with special emphasis on his wisdom

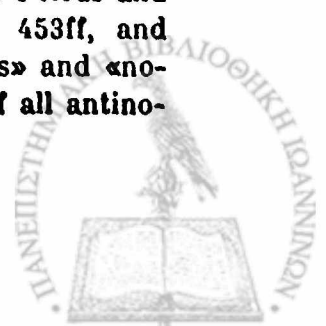
1. The phrase φύσεως ἀνάγκας, which could mean the physical laws of universe, could also be used as an excuse for illegal or immoral action (see Dover, on 1075). It is interesting to note that «physis» is associated with Socrates and his followers (cf. Nussbaum, *loc. cit.*, 52f).

2. The verb νομίζειν is used in the *Clouds* more often than in any other play of Aristophanes (Nussbaum, 52).

3. The Wrong Argument believes in hedonism (see line 1072; cf. Nussbaum, 64).

4. Cf. Dover, on 1078. This kind of amoralist appeal to «physis» is sophistic (cf. Segal, 186) and is contrasted to σωφροσύνη (cf. the passage about Pelous and Thetis in lines 1063ff. A similar reasoning we find in Eur. *Hippolitus*, 453ff, and Menander, *Samia*, 590ff. Cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, 582-589. The «physis» and «nomos» antinomy is, in Whitman's view (129f) the most important of all antinomies of this play.

5. Cf. Nowiger, 66; Segal, 185; Händel, 236f.



(σοφίαν) and σωφροσύνην (σῶφρον...ἄνθος)¹ which brought happiness (εὐδαιμονίαν) to his followers. When the Clouds talk to the "Ἄδικος λόγος, they only warn him about the difficulty he faces to win over his excellent opponent (1030-35). The phrase κομποπρεπῆ μοῦσαν ἔχων is used rather ironically, for the word κομψός conveys sophistic attitude². Once more, at the very end of the scene, the Clouds warn Strepsiades more explicitly about the consequences, 1114 οἴμμι δέ σοι τὰ μετὰ μελήσειν³, «I think that you will come to regret this», but Strepsiades, who had already gone inside, very probably did not hear them⁴. In fact this is the first unambiguous warning by the Clouds⁵.

The first and the second parabasis⁶ give us a glimpse into the Clouds' true nature. Their theology is the traditional one. In the second parabasis (1115-30) we get a further dimension of their nature which is mainly to be understood as agricultural production (wine, olives, building or brick-making, and marriage)-emphasising the practical aspect of the Clouds in their relation to it⁷; second, their moral character is established and this is based on justice; they present themselves as guards of justice and morality: ἦν δ' ἀτιμάσῃ τις ἡμᾶς θνητὸς ὦν οὔσας θεάς, προσεχέτω τὸν νοῦν, πρὸς ἡμῶν οἷα πείσεται κακά (1121-22). Here we find the common tragic vision of «hamartia» and «hybris» which is followed by punishment. Dishonour of the gods, which is a kind of «hybris», brings the gods' punishment of the mortal. Socrates' teaching and Strepsiades' evil course constitute an ἀτιμία towards the Clouds and, therefore, one should expect the κακά which they (Socrates and Strepsiades) will eventually suffer.

1. The metaphors καλλίπυργον σοφίαν -σῶφρον ἄνθος- κομποπρεπῆ μοῦσαν convey an ironic touch (cf. P. Rau, *Paratragodia*, 190, on lines 1024-30, «sind zum poetischen (ironischen) Preis gewählt»).

2. See Starkie, on 649.

3. This recalls Pheidippides' ominous warning in 865.

4. Cf. Dover, on 1114.

5. The gradual revelation of their true nature is like the clearance of mountain-tops and plains from the mist after a brilliant sunshine.

6. Cf. Newiger, 73.

7. This is in agreement with their first song, 275ff. This aspect of «physis» as productive energy is characteristic of the Clouds, but also of Strepsiades' rural background (43ff), and it produces happiness (cf. Segal, 185). For the Clouds' siding with the positive aspect of «physis» in its contrast to «nomos» see Segal, 186f, 191f, 193, 195.



The next section corresponds to the usual part of Aristophanic comedy with the triumph of the comic hero over his adversaries¹. The following points are important for our discussion: (i) the problem of justice and injustice is once more stressed² in the beginning of this section; (ii) the ambiguity of εἰ λέγειν (1143), which in fact in this case is related to ἀδίκως λέγειν³; (iii) Strepsiades' address in 1150, ὦ πικροβασίλει 'Απειόλη, «almighty Fraud»⁴, functions in two ways, first, it shows once more Strepsiades' contempt of the traditional gods⁵, and, second, it truly conveys the power of the Clouds in this play as is exercised towards Socrates and Strepsiades; (iv) the song of triumph (1153-62) is like the tragic⁶ glimpse of light before the final destruction⁷; (v) the reversal of Pheidippides' character and appearance is now accomplished; he is ὠχρός (see line 1171)⁸; (vi) the display of Pheidippides' knowledge is based on a reversal of the meaning of a common and well-known phrase, ἔνη καὶ νέα⁹; the words μάκκρ and σοφός in the imagined *encomium*¹⁰ referring to Strepsiades

1. Cf. also D. S. Sutton, *Self and Society in Aristophanes*, Washington D.C. 1980, 39.

2. See 1137 and 1141.

3. For such an association cf. Sophocles, *OC* 806-7

γλώσση σὺ δεινός· ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' οἶδ' ἐγὼ
δίκαιον ὅστις ἐξ ἅπαντος εἰ λέγει.

4. Cf. 729 ἀπαιόλημα and Schol. κίνημα, ἀποπλάνημα καὶ ἀπάτην τινά, πανούργημα, ἀποπλάνησις· πανουργία, ἀπάτησις. The word 'Απειόλη is related to the vocabulary connected with μῆτις (see S. Byl, *loc. cit.*, 115). The words ἀπαιόλημα and ἀπαιόλη are tragic; cf. Aeschylus, *Cho.* 1002 and fr. 186 R respectively, and ἀπαιολεῖν Euripides, *Ion* 549. Cf. Rau, *Paratragodia*, 190.

5. Cf. also 1235f and 1241.

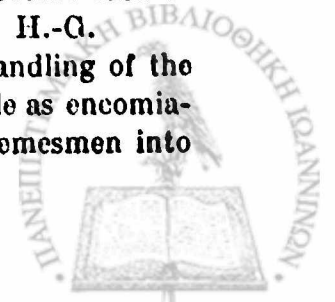
6. The echo of tragedy is emphasized by the tragic phrase of which the song is largely composed (see Dover, on 1154-70).

7. Cf. Segal, 190 (with reference to e.g. Sophocles, *OT* 1076-85), who believes that there is an Aeschylean echo behind these lines. See also p. 189.

8. Thus he is in the same family with Socrates and his pupils (cf. 103, 1017, 1112). This is certainly emphasized by the mask he now wears, which must be of the same kind as that of Socrates' pupils (cf. L.M. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Poetry*, New York 1961, 22f).

9. Cf. Whitman, 126, who suggests that his discussion perhaps conveys the idea of a comic vicious circle, in which the old and new imply and become each other. Cf. the idea of παλιμπαις in the *Clouds* 1410f, 1417, and fr. 378 H.-G.

10. This is characterized by Macleod C.M. as «the most unusual handling of the encomium». The chorus of the *Clouds* «does not assume its usual role as encomiast, and Strepsiades has to invent a pseudo-chorus of friends and domesmen into



are very ironical¹, and at the same time they put forward the question of wisdom and happiness, which is also present in other words in Strepsiades' opening monologue²; (viii) the section with the creditors, 1214-58 and 1259-1302, shows Strepsiades' ἀναίδεια³ (1236) and ὕβρις⁴ (1299). Here we also see a reversal of roles: in the first case (lines 1248-51) Strepsiades plays the role of Socrates, and in lines 1297-1302, as a horse-driver and as charrioteer, he plays the role of Pheidippides⁵; and (xi) a further warning by the first creditor that Strepsiades in due time will pay a penalty for his present behaviour: ἦ μὴν σὺ τούτων τῷ χρόνῳ δώσεις δίκην (1242)⁶.

By now the audience has witnessed several explicit warnings addressed to Strepsiades both by humans and the Clouds⁷. These are in fact a preparation of the audience for the scenes which will follow after the choral song.

In their song (1303-1320)⁸ the Clouds state unambiguously that Strepsiades is in love (ἐρᾶν 1303, ἐρασθεῖς 1304) with evil things (πραγμάτων... φλαύρων 1303, πανουργεῖν 1310)⁹. This is particularly explained as his desire to evade payment of the money he had borrowed. «This sophist today will suffer something evil» (κοῦκ ἔσθ' ὀπῶς οὐ τήμερον λήψεται τι πρᾶγμ', ὃ τοῦτον ποιήσει τὸν σοφιστήν... ἔξαίφνης λαβεῖν κακόν τι). The reversal of his son's character is now complete: he is δεινὸς γνώμας ἐναντίας λέγειν τοῖσιν δικαίοις and win over every adversary, although his cause is utterly wicked (παμπόνηρα)¹⁰.

The scenes which follow between Strepsiades and Pheidippides (1321-1451) take the shape of formal agon, which corresponds in

whose mouth he puts the encomium» (The Comic Encomium and Aristophanes *Clouds* 1201-1211, *Phoenix* 35, 1981, 142-4). The *encomium* here is also ironically connected with the Chorus' praise of the Right Argument in 1024-29 (σοφίαν... σῶφρον ἄνθος... εὐδαίμονες).

1. «The dramatic irony, which is present in the *encomia* in *Eq.* and *Vesp.*, is very sharp in the *Clouds*» (Macleod, 144).
2. See especially lines 41ff.
3. In contrast to line 995 of the Right Argument.
4. ὕβρις is the opposite of σωφροσύνη.
5. Cf. Whitman, 125f.
6. This line recalls Pheidippides' similar warning in 865.
7. 813, 865, 1114, 1242.
8. It is addressed to the audience. Cf. also P. Händel, 140 and 237.
9. This state of mind would be called by Aeschylus νόσος φρενῶν (see *Pers.* 650).
10. Thus he is related to the Wrong Argument: cf. 901, 948, 1037, 1040, 1339.



many ways with the agon between the Right and Wrong arguments. This is certainly intended by Aristophanes. He wants his audience to identify Pheidippides with the "Αδικοῦς λόγος"¹. Strepsiades, who until now did not care about law and justice², or rather he wanted to find a way to evade law and justice, after his πάθος inside the house at the dinnertable, slowly realizes that his son has gone beyond certain limits³. It is interesting to note that justice is a word differently interpreted by father and son. Pheidippides calls justice what the Clouds have previously defined as *πυμπότης*. This time the father stands for the traditional justice, which is the sons' respect of their fathers⁴. The antithesis between *φύσις-νόμος*⁵ is now more emphasized. The son puts forward the sophistic view of law, which is the result of a group's persuasion over others and thus changeable (1421-1425)⁶. Strepsiades is finally persuaded by his son (1437-39) and admits that old men should be punished, if they do wrong. Thus Strepsiades finally comes to the point of understanding, with the moral explanation offered to him by the Clouds (1454ff), that his wicked line of action has led him to this suffering. He is now de-

1. Cf. for instance 1330 πάντε πολλοῖς τοῖς ῥόδοις with 910, ῥόδα μ' εἰρηκας and 912 χρυσῶ πάντων μ', 1327 πατραλοῖα with 911 πατραλοίας, 1339 τοῖσιν δικαίους ἀντιλέγειν with 900 f, and the antithesis between the old and the new education (1356 ἀρχαῖον, 1371 τῶν νεωτέρων, Simonides and Aeschylus / Euripides). «The parallelism of structure between the two contests emphasizes the extent to which Pheidippides has emerged from his education a replica of Wrong; we shall see how he reproduces not only the rhetorical methods but even the actual words of Wrong» (Dover, on 1321-1344). Cf. also Gelzer, *op. cit.*, 17-19.

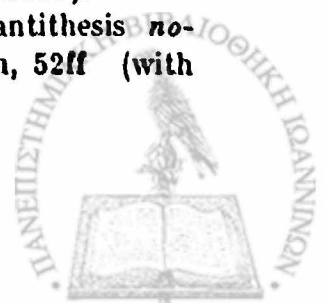
2. Cf. 1142 ὀλίγον γὰρ μοι μέλει.

3. The notion of justice is recurrent in their speech: 1332, 1333, 1339, 1340, 1377, 1380, 1405, 1411, 1419, 1434, 1437, 1439. Gelzer observes in an apparent criticism of this change: «Strepsiades wird plötzlich in einem Augenblick so intelligent, dass er den Kern der Probleme erfasst» (*Der epirr. Agon*, 18). For the criticism of the change of the Clouds' attitude towards Strepsiades, see Segal, 175 (with references); cf. W.S. Teuffel, *Die Wolken des Aristophanes*, 2. Auflage von O. Kachler, Leipzig 1887, 47.

4. The conflict between father and son is dealt with by Aristophanes in several plays, the *Daitaleis*, *Clouds*, *Wasps* and *Birds* (see D.F. Sutton, *Self and Society in Aristophanes*, Washington D.C. 1980, 77f, and *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. by S. Bertman, Amsterdam 1976).

5. Cf. F. Heinemann, *Nomos und Physis*, Basel 1945. For the antithesis *nomos - physis* in Aristophanes, see Whitman, 129ff. Cf. also Nussbaum, 52ff (with bibliographical note 17).

6. Cf. Nussbaum, 53f; and Whitman, 131f.



terminated to get revenge, to kill Socrates and Chaerephon (1465f), and he asks the assistance of his son. Thus a final reversal - a full circle reversal - of Strepsiades is accomplished; he becomes the man of practical wisdom, as he was before the beginning of the play. But, if he has reversed himself to the old ways, his son has not. A final confrontation between father and son (1466-75), with central theme of argument Zeus and Dinos - it is the third time now that this theme recurs¹ - proves the unbridged antithesis between Strepsiades and Pheidippides. Zeus is reestablished in the father's conscience; he explains that he was misled to believe in Dinos by a piece of pottery (*δῖνος*); he confesses that the expulsion of the traditional gods, caused by Socrates, was a madness (*παρανοίας*²...*ἐμανόμην*, 1476)³. Pheidippides leaves the stage (after 1475) following his wicked manners. With the son we have a half circle reversal, and his corruption is permanent.

This final scene, the burning of Socrates' School, is an addition to the second revised edition of the *Clouds*⁴. The first play ended in all probability at 1475-77 or with some more exit lines. This scene is ingeniously written. Strepsiades asks Hermes for counsel (1478f) and he gets the advice⁵ to burn Socrates' *phrontisterion*. With the help of his slave Xanthias who brings a ladder and a mattock and other slaves who bring him a torch, Strepsiades and his men hack down the roof of the house and set it to flames. Socrates is choked by the smoke and Chaerephon is burned to death⁶. This is the punishment of Socrates for his «hybris» and atheism (1506). Socrates' self-assurance, which springs from his supposed knowledge of all human wisdom, as well as *his* belief that the Clouds are *his* deities, are both cont-

1. 380ff, 828f, 1470ff.

2. Cf. 844-845.

3. Cf. 1480.

4. See *hypothesis* VI. Cf. Whitman, 135.

5. Actually from the herm standing beside the door (cf. Dover, on 1478). For the prayer, see Horn W., *Gebet und Gebetsparodie in den Komödien des Aristophanes*, Diss. Erlangen Nürnberg 1970, 46, 60, 75.

6. The problem whether Socrates and his pupils were murdered is controversial. Dover (on lines 1493) believes that Socrates and Chaerephon «perhaps winked out of the burning house by other students». On the other hand Kopff E. Ch. argues that they remained inside the Phrontisterion and were burnt to death (*Nubes*, 1493ff: Was Socrates murdered; *GRBS* 18, 1977, 113-122). See also Harvey F. D., *Nubes* 1493ff: Was Socrates murdered? *GRBS* 22, 1981, 339-343, in support of Dover's view.



radicted and disappointed; *his* goddesses have in the end, at the crucial moment, deserted him¹. This scene is verbally connected with previous scenes, especially by the scornful and sarcastic remarks of Strepsiades in answer to the pupils' and Socrates' questions:

1496 διαλεπτολογούμι τις δοκοῖς τῆς οἰκίας with λεπτήν...230 κ.ε.

1503 ἀεροβιτῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον, which is a repetition of line 225 spoken by Socrates as he is sitting on the κρεμάθρα.

The reversal of roles is stressed by the verbal reversal. The Clouds finally, taking the form of κλπός, choke Socrates' pupils.

Hermes' final appearance² and comment reminds us of the Euripidean device of the *deus ex machina*, and his comment is that they should pay a penalty for their ἀδικία towards the gods.

In conclusion, the prevailing feature of this play is the reversal of characters and situations³: nothing remains unchanged⁴; Strepsiades is twice reversed, from hard-working law-abiding man to a theorizing self-centered sophist and back again to a practical and just man; Pheidippides, who in the beginning is a respectful son, after his attendance of the *phrontisterion* becomes a replika of the Wrong Argument; the Clouds, who appear as associated with Socrates and as supporters of Strepsiades' evil ways, in the end reveal their real character and desert them to their fate⁵. Strepsiades, after his unsuccessful study with Socrates, plays the role of his teacher towards Pheidippides; and in the very end Pheidippides plays the role of a teacher to his father. Strepsiades, who in the beginning of the play is the man who hates horse-riding, plays later the role of a horse- and chariot-rider; the rustic thick-minded man of the most part of the play becomes at the end of the play the only enlightened person; etc. It appears that Dinos did in fact rule in this play, until he was overturned at the end of the play by Strepsiades (and the Clouds, we should say). If we view the development of the plot and characters under this angle, we can have a better understanding of the play as a whole, the relation of the Chorus to the comic heroes and its rever-

1. Cf. Segal, 193, 196; and Händel, 237.

2. Lines 1508-1509 are attributed to Hermes by some manuscripts (see the edition of Hall and Geldart). Dover, on the contrary, argues that they are uttered by Strepsiades (on 1508).

3. The motif of inversion of roles between father and son is also present and important in the *Wasps* (see Whitman's discussion of the play, 143ff).

4. Cf. also Gelzer, 18.

5. Cf. also Humphreys, *Aristophanes Clouds*, 17.



sal in the final scenes of the play, which is unjustly regarded by Whitman (p. 129) as «an anomaly in Aristophanes».

The motifs which link the *Wasps* with the *Clouds* are many and significant:

(i) In the *Clouds* the old man, Strepsiades, comprehends the clouds as mist, dew and smoke (δμίχλην, δρόσον, κκπνόν). In the *Wasps*, 144ff, Philocleon, the old man, tries to escape through the chimney pretending to be smoke.

(ii) We have seen earlier the misleading and deceitful cooperation of the Clouds, who exploit in an Aeschylean manner the faults in the human character. The chorus of the wasps, soon after the *agon* between father and son, see, in the son's effort to reform his father, a divine intervention:

σοὶ δὲ νῦν τις θεῶν
παράν ἐμφανῆς
ξυλλαμβάνει τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ δῆλός ἐστιν εἰ ποιῶν
(773a-734).

The use of the verb ξυλλαμβάνει is worth noting.

(iii) In the *Clouds* the chorus lead the old man to be trapped in the invisible nets which they set around him (νεφέλι are the hunting nets). In the *Wasps* the old man, Philocleon, is prevented by his son and his slaves from escaping by huge nets stretched over the house (131-132). Here the man is trapped in a net symbolizing that he is caught by his own disease, which in this case is love of judging. His efforts to escape though will not take him away from his viciousness, his νόσος φρενῶν. We should recall that man trying to escape from *ate's* nets is a common Aeschylean metaphor. Amusingly enough, Philocleon tries to escape by gnawing the net (367-371).

(iv) In the *Clouds* there is much emphasis on the ability to talk persuasively. This is what Strepsiades wants to learn from Socrates. This ability is closely related to shamelessness and injustice. The old man employs it to avoid his debts, and Pheidippides to put forward his newly acquired ideas and to justify his wrong-doings. Similarly, the ability to speak is a way to get away from any wrong action and harm of others, and from any punishment. This is what the son tries to persuade his father in 1258-1261. As a result the father is willing, 1262-3,

μαθητέον τάδ' ἐστὶ πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων
εἴπερ γ' ἀποτείσω μηδέν, ἢ τι δρῶ κακόν,



and actually he employs this newly-acquired technique of speech in the last scenes of the *Wasps*, exactly in a similar way as Strepsiades in the *Clouds*. Rhetoric is used to camouflage his hybristic behaviour (see lines 1332ff, 1394ff, 1420ff).

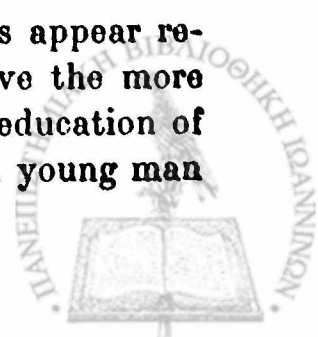
(v) But the most striking link between the two plays is the reversal of roles and situation. Whitman has rightly observed that «the inversion of roles between father and son... is so basic» to the *Wasps* (p. 159). I intend to deal briefly with this reversal.

Philocleon's νόσος φρενῶν is his love to judge (87 τὴν νόσον τοῦ δεσπότου, 88 φιληλιαστίης, 89 ἐρᾷ τε τούτου τοῦ δικάζειν, πρβλ. ἐρᾷν *Clouds* 1303, ἐραστής 1459), even more than that, to convict the defendants without mercy. He is a man of difficult character (882 τῆς δυσκολίας), very tough and harsh (τὸ λίαν στρουφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος, 877). His son, Bdelycleon, wants to transform his father into a gentleman and a pitiful man (ἦπιον... τοὺς φεύγοντας τ' ἐλεεῖν, 879f), convivial and sociable person (ξυμποτικὸς καὶ ξυνουσιαστικὸς, 1209). The change of Philocleon's character is manifested through the change of his external appearance (lines 1131ff): he takes off his worn garment (τριβώνιον) and his felt-shoes (ἐμβάδης) and puts on a mantle (χλαῖνι) and Laconian shoes. With the external appearance he must also learn to speak in an impressive language (λόγους σεμνοὺς λέγων, 1174, πρβλ. 1258-1263). Pheidippides too in the *Clouds*, after his reform in the School of Socrates, changes mask, to show that he became pale.

In the *Clouds* the reversal of roles is complete with Strepsiades and Pheidippides. Strepsiades makes a full circle, from one extreme to the other and back again, whereas his son moves from one extreme to the other. The same is true with Philocleon in the *Wasps*. The old man moves from the one extreme to the other, from inflicting mercilessly the law to the «complete violation of all social boundaries in the play's final drunken orgy» (Whitman, 156). He became ὑβριστότατος (1303) and he behaves according to the doctrines of the Unjust Argument (the natural law) in the *Clouds*. There are also the verbal echoes to remind the audience of this fact (1305-6):

ἐνήλατ', ἐσκίρτα, ἔπεπόρδει, κατεγέλα,
ὥσπερ καχρῶων ὀνίδιον εὐωχημένον.

There is also an imaginary transformation of the old man into a young man. In the *Wasps* «the roles of the generations appear reversed» (Whitman, 145). Whereas in the *Clouds* we have the more natural process of an old man seeking a reform and a re-education of his son, here in the *Wasps* we have exactly the opposite: a young man



wants to reform his father. We should note that in the *Clouds* too the young man Pheidippides, after his reform, tries to do the same, that is to persuade his father that it is good and just for the sons to hit their mothers and fathers. Both in the *Clouds* and in the *Wasps* the effort to reform the other person ends into a complete failure. The reversal of the old into young, which is present in both plays, reaches its climax in «a singular piece of inspired lunacy» (Whitman, 158) in the *Wasps*, 1351-1363:

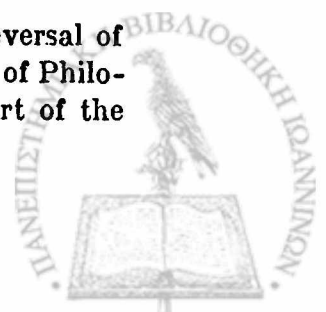
«Now if you just won't be a naughty girl,
when my son dies, I'll set you free, and take you
all for myself, o little piggy-wig:
As 'tis, I've not come into my estate,
for I am young and most severely guarded.
My dear son watches me, and he's a crusty
and altogether hair-splitting mustard carver.
So, I'm an only father. He is peevish and
κυμινοπριστοκρηδζμογλύφος, skin-flint-cheese-paring.
And here he comes himself. He seems to be chasing you and me.
Here, quick, stand here holding the torches so,
so I can flout him in true youthful style,
in the same way as he flouted me before the Eleusinian myste-
ries»¹.

Philocleon, after his re-education by his son, is turned from a pitiless judge into a braying donkey (1310), who has a good time regardless of any social values, a real personification of the doctrines of the Unjust Argument of the *Clouds*, as are put forward especially in the following passage (1071ff):

«Look, my lad, at all that virtue entails, and all the pleasures you'll be deprived of: boys, women, cottabus, good food, drink, laughter. How can life be worth living for you if you're deprived of these? Very well. I will go on from there to the demands of nature. You've erred, you've fallen in love, you've had a bit of an affair, and then you've been caught. You're done for, because you're not able to argue. But if you become my pupil, you can indulge your nature, leap and laugh, think nothing shameful»².

1. Cf. also 1333 *κεῖ σφόδρ' εἰ νεανίας*.

2. A.M. Bowie argues that the basic uniting theme in the *Wasps* is reversal of the pattern of the *ephebeia*, and that the final scene is «the culmination of Philocleon's removal from his position as adult citizen-juror-hoplite at the start of the



The reversal of roles in the *Wasps* has one more aspect. Philocleon the judge is threatened to become a defendant (1332, 1392, 1406f, 1417f), because of his insults to men in the street, to a bread-seller, and others.

Dinos, the supreme god which had ousted Zeus and rules in the *Clouds*, appears to have extended his rule beyond the *Clouds* into the world of the *Wasps*. Here the reversal of roles and situation, the vicious circle into which human often is being trapped is magnificently and symbolically represented in the final whirling dance of the play «which seems to convey... the underlying idea of the vicious circle where all things return upon themselves» (Whitman, 160f). Both the three sons of Carcinus and the chorus get out of the orchestra in a spinning dance which is representing the Dinos. In a short passage there are five instances which stress the circular and spinning dance of the sons of Carcinus and of the chorus.

The problem of changeability of human nature and the forces behind it seem to have been in the mind of Aristophanes during the period when he produced these two plays. I have suggested above that one such decisive force was the Peloponnesian war.

I should like here to make a short comment on the little choral song, lines 1450-1473, where the chorus congratulate Philocleon on his change of life, and Bdelycleon on his wise treatment of his father. The two opposing views are, (i) that this song is out of place and inconsistent with the previous scene, and (ii) that the song describes the re-education as begun but not yet completed, and that it «is not meant to be a comment on that scene alone» (MacDowell).

I believe that there is a problem of inconsistency, if we take every word spoken by the chorus here seriously. In my view, there is to be much irony. They say with their tongue in their cheek that they envy the old man for his comfortable life, his change from the dry austere way of life into luxury and softness. On the contrary, what the chorus say about one's nature is meant to be serious. Aristophanes wants to say that «it's always hard to depart from one's nature» (τὸ γὰρ ἀποστῆναι χαλεπὸν φύσεως, ἢν ἔχοι τις, ἀεί, 1457-58); «however, many men have this experience; they change their way of life

play and his transition to the opposite - irresponsible youth» (p.123) and suggests that perhaps the fundamental theme in this play is the resistance to the changes of rituals and to legal and social laws. (Ritual Stereotype and Comic Reversal: Aristophanes' *Wasps*, *BICS* 34, 1987, 112-125).



convinced by others' opinions» (καίτοι πολλοὶ ταῦτ' ἔπαθον ξυνόντες γνώμαις ἐτέρων μετεβάλλοντο τοὺς τρόπους, 1459-961). And that in human life a continuous reversal is taking place.

Significant is also the reversal of roles of Dionysus and Xanthias in the *Frogs*¹, 464-673. Even from the very beginning of the play Dionysus, the effeminate (θηλύμορφος)² god, has disguised himself as Heracles. His softness, symbolized by the womanly dress (κροκωτός) and his cowardice, as it is soon to be demonstrated (285ff), are covered up by the lion's skin, the symbol of extraordinary bravery, that only Heracles exhibited. Thus there is a striking contrast between the real character of Dionysus and the wished-to-be character of Heracles, which is more emphasized in the scene where the god meets Heracles (38ff). Dionysus, in 464ff, thrice changes costume and disguise, appearing successively as Dionysus, slave, Dionysus, slave, according to the situation he confronts, aiming each time at avoiding responsibility³ and the consequent misfortune springing from that or at gaining and enjoying something. This is the main point of these reversals⁴, and is made clear in the chorus' song, in 534-541:

ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
 νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας καὶ
 πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος,
 μετακυλίνδειν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ
 πρὸς τὸν εἰς πράττοντα τοῖχον
 μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην
 εἰκὸν' ἐστάναι, λαβόνθ' ἐν
 σχῆμα· τὸ δὲ μεταστρέφεισθαι
 πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον
 δεξιῶ πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
 καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους.

Versatility and self-interest are what characterize the «wise» and «shrewd» man. And the embodiment of these qualities is Dionysus in the play and Theramenes the politician in real life⁵. Fur-

1. In an article of mine published some years ago I had the opinion that these reversals did not convey any meaning further than the comic one (Doubling of scenes for comic purposes in Aristophanes and Menander, *LCM* 6, 1981, 73-76).

2. Cf. Eur. *Bacchae*, 453-459.

3. Cf. C. H. Whitman, 237.

4. Cf. Whitman, 239f.

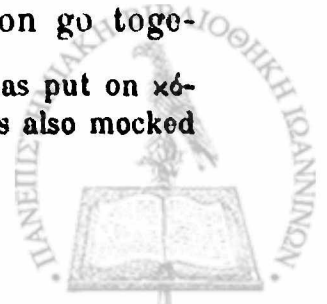
5. Theramenes is regarded by Euripides as his own pupil (967) and was nic-



thermore, this seems to be now, towards the end of the fifth century and the Peloponnesian war, the characteristic attitude of the Athenian citizen.

Changeability and reversal of situations is connected and affects the problem of relativism. Several times in the play these themes appear. Thus the dead corpse in 177 denies to carry the luggage for less than two drachmas saying ἀνχβιοίτην νυν πάλιν, reversing the phrase used by the living, τερθνχίτην. In 288 - 295 the changing forms and instability of Empousa signifies that nothing is stable and unchangeable in the world of the late fifth-century Athens. In 297, Dionysus, reversing the usual practise, seeks protection from his own priest, and in 310, he blames the gods for his own sufferings. In 320, Diagoras, the notorious atheist who mocked the mysteries, is quite unexpectedly one of those who sing and praise Iacchos [if this is the correct reading]. In 424, the Athenians are called by the dead, the chorus of the initiates, οἱ ἄνω νεκροί. Archedamus is among the Athenians not the first in wisdom and virtue, but the first in villainy (425). Cleisthenes reverses with his behaviour the habits of dirging women (426-8), and Callias the bravery of fighting soldiers (432-4). In the epirrhema of the parabasis, the social and political reversal is being stressed, citizens by birth are ἄτιμοι, whereas slaves are now turned into masters (κάντι δούλων δεσπότας, 694). In the antepirrhema, a comparison is drawn between the old and gold and the new and worthless coins on the one hand and the εὐγενεῖς, σώφρονες, δίκαιους and καλοὺς κάγαθούς, brought up in the traditional values (727-9), and the χαλκοῖ, ξένοι, πνροῖαι, πονηροί (730-1) politicians on the other hand employed in State affairs. The old monetary and political leadership is turned upside down. Moreover, the Aeschylean dramatic art and moral κόσμος is now replaced by the immorality and babbling of the Euripidean art. The content of wisdom has also been changed: wise now is a man who easily shifts attitudes, like Theramenes; if he faces difficulties and senses trouble, he changes suddenly to the opposite side, like in dices, from the worst (Χῖος) to the best throw (Κῶος). Successive reversal and changeability lead to confusion: Dionysus in 298-300 denies completely his, real or disguised, identity. The Athenians have confused feelings about Alcibiades: (ἡ πόλις) ποθεῖ, ἐχθαίρει, βούλεται ἔχειν (1425). Mental and verbal confusion go toge-

named Κόθορνος. It is not without any significance that Dionysus has put on κόθορνοι, shoes that is which suit either foot. Theramenes' versatility is also mocked in lines 968-970.



ther: *ὅταν τὰ νῦν ἄπιστα πίσθ' ἠγώμεθα, τὰ δ' ὄντα πίστ' ἄπιστα* (1443-4). Euripides, who is the symbol of this confusion, suggests reversal of practice¹. This confusion leads to relativism, and this is exploited finally by Dionysus in making his choice. When Euripides indignantly calls Dionysus' act *ἄσχιστον ἔργον*, the god answers back parodying Euripides' words: *τί δ' αἰσχρόν, ἦν μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῆ;* (1475) and again (1477-8):

*τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστι καθανεῖν,
τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κῆριον;*

Neoptolemus in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (408 B. C.) is one more impressive example of reversal of character. At the beginning of the play, Achilles' son presents an Achillean «physis»², violent and primitive, honourable, with an «all-too-naive idealism» of a boy³, young and inexperienced⁴. He is not willing to win by deceit; on the contrary: *ἀλλ' εἴμ' ἔτοιμος πρὸς βίαν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἄγειν καὶ μὴ δόλοισιν* (90f). But he also believes it to be his obligation not to be traitor (*προδότης* 94). His general attitude is rounded up in his statement that he is willing *καλῶς δρῶν ἐξαμαρτεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ νικᾶν κακῶς* (94f). However, he is soon persuaded by Odysseus who uses «a deft to mixture of authority, sophistic persuasion⁵, and appeals to his ambition»⁶, to use lies and deceit (*δόλος*)⁷. Finally Neoptolemus «consents to lie and

1. Cf. 1446-1450.

2. See lines 1310-1313 ...οὐχὶ Σισύφου πατρός, / ἀλλ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως... The notion of «physis» is very essential in this play. Cf. M.H. Jameson, *Politics and the Philoctetes*, *CPh* 51, 1956, 225 note 29. Neoptolemus changes his behaviour towards Philoctetes «um nicht seiner eigenen φύσις zuwiderzuhandeln» (H. Diller, *Menschendarstellung und Handlungsführung bei Sophokles*, *A and A* 6, 1957, 169). The way in which Sophocles exploits this element is a manifestation of what Aristophanes says in the *Wasps*, 1457-61, and Thucydides, I. 78.1. For the way and the significance of Sophocles' exploitation of «physis» in this play, see also K. Alt, *Schicksal und Φύσις im Philoktetes des Sophokles*, *Hermes* 89, 1961, 141-174 (= *Sophokles*, ed. H. Diller, Darmstadt 1967, 412-459); H. Diller, *Über das Selbstbewusstsein der sophokleischen Personen*, *WS* 69, 1956, 70-85.

3. Cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Achilles' son and Achilles*, *YCS* 6, 1939, 6 and R.P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles: An Interpretation*, London 1980, 283.

4. My indebtedness for this characterization to B. M.W. Knox, *Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, London 1964, is great (see p. 121, 123). Cf. also lines 86ff.

5. The influence of the sophists and rhetoric on this play is beyond any doubt.

6. Knox, 123.

7. Note the repetition of the words *ψευδος* and *δόλος*: *ψευδῆ λέγειν* 100, *δόλω* 101, *ἐν δόλω* 102, *δόλω* 107, *τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν* 108, *τὸ ψεῦδος* 109.



abandons the Achillean standart¹; thus he becomes «a lying parody of his greathearted father»². The reversal is, so it seems at least, complete. The deceiver, *πᾶσαν αἰσχύνην ἀφείς* (120), behaves selfishly, employing, as if a replica of Odysseus, *ψεῦδος* and *δόλος*³. But as the action develops and the young man is confronted with the pain and agony of Philoctetes, Neoptolemus feels pity and admiration and his Achillean «physis» awakes and reacts slowly⁴ but steadily against his shameful behaviour and, after an agony in his mind, he reverses to his Achillean ideal, which is represented by honour, nobility, truthfulness, self-sacrifice for a human fellow⁵, abandoning *ψεῦδος* and *δόλος* and restoring back to Philoctetes his bow (1287f)⁶. Thus we have a full-circle reversal of Neoptolemus: Achillean - Odyssean - Achillean. With this reversal we also have the «destruction and regeneration» of friendship and trust (*φίλιχ, πίστις*), of social and political relations⁷.

Reversals of a smaller scale occur in several other plays of Sophocles and Euripides: Ismene and Ajax in the *Antigone* and *Ajax* respectively, Medea, the nurse, and Menoikeus in the *Medea*, *Hippolytus* and the *Phoenissae* respectively. Ismene first follows the principle *κακῶς ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι*, which is obvious in the introductory prologue, lines 1-99. However, in her second appearance, she follows exactly the opposite principle (536ff). Ismene's re-

1. Knox, 123. Cf. 902f *τὴν αὐτοῦ... φύσιν... λιπῶν... δρᾶ τὰ μὴ προσεικότα*. Neoptolemus' scruples are overcome in less than 40 lines.

2. Knox, 123.

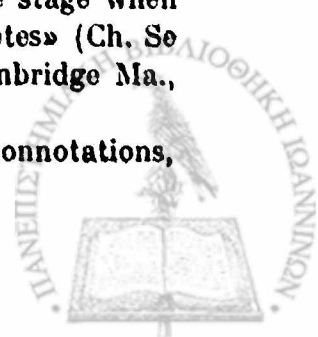
3. The manifestation of this Odyssean attitude takes place in lines 220-895. See especially Neoptolemus' long speech in 343-390. Thus the reversal of Neoptolemus' character is for Sophocles the major theme of the play.

4. See 965ff. Cf. Bellinger, *YCS*, 6, 1939, 7. It is noteworthy that the young man returns from the ship, where he went taking the bow with him (see 1074 - 80 and 1217ff) in order to «undo his mistake» (1224). Cf. also T.B.L. Webster, *Sophocles Philoctetes*, Cambridge 1970, 7. Thus Sophocles exploits masterfully the expectations of his audience and also the psychology of the young man, before his final decision.

5. In this respect Neoptolemus is like his father Achilles in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* (see Bellinger, *YCS* 6, 1939, 3-13).

6. Before Neoptolemus' final reversal «there is an intermediate stage when he is torn between obedience to the army and compassion for Philoctetes» (Ch. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles*, Cambridge Ma., London 1981, 329. See lines 985ff and 925ff).

7. Cf. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization*, 330f. For the political connotations, see also Jameson M. H., *CPh* 51, 1956, 217-227.



versal is a genuine one. It is the result of her love towards her sister, who is the center of crucial events. In a complete change of attitude she now wants to share responsibility with Antigone.

Ajax, after the abortive attempt to kill the Atridae and Odysseus, feels deeply humiliated and is determined to commit suicide on the principle that ἢ καλῶς ζῆν ἢ καλῶς τεθνηκέναι τὸν εὐγενῆ χοῆ (479-480). In 642-692 however we have a pretentious (?) reversal of his decision and his views about life, which is soon followed by a song of exultation by the chorus (693ff). Ajax' speech serves his aim to commit suicide alone, away from any attempts by his comrades to save him. There is a long and controversial discussion whether Ajax' change in this speech is meant to be genuine or pretentious¹.

A speech of fake reconciliation (*Medea*, 869ff) is for Medea only the necessary means for the destruction of her own children and Jason's new young bride (this is made dear in 774ff).

In the *Hippolytus* the nurse is first indignant and abhorrent and then with sophistic morality she reappears to «help» Phaedra (353-361, 433ff). Her reversal of attitude comes in sharp contrast with the more «noble» characters of the play.

The young man Menoikeus in the *Phoenissae*, who pretends to agree with his father's suggestion to leave urgently, so that he would not be killed for the sake of the city, according to Teiresias' prophecies, lines 977-990, and then, as soon as he gets rid of his father, reveals his real intention, which is self-sacrifice for the safety and freedom of his city, lines 991-1018, is in sharp contrast with his father's attitude in these crucial for the freedom of the city circumstances.

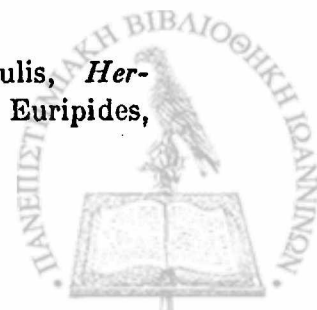
Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, produced in 406 B.C., is «la tragédie des revirements»². Aristotle has criticised it as having ἀνώμαλον ἦθος, «irregular character»³. His ground: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ ἰκετεύουσα τῇ ὑστέρῳ⁴. In this play, which has political connota-

1. See a survey of related bibliography in J. Errandonea, *LEC* 36, 1958, 23-27, his article «Die vier Monologe des Aias», in: *Sophocles*, Edited by H. Diller, Darmstadt 1967, 268-294, and Ch. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization*, 1981, 113f and 432 note 9; K. Reinhardt, *Sophokles*, Oxford 1979, transl by H. and D. Harvey, 24ff.

2. See Goossens R., *Euripide et Athènes*, Bruxelles 1962, 688. Cf. B.M.W. Knox, *Word and Action*, Baltimore London 1974, 243f.

3. *Poet.* 1454 a 31.

4. See further Funke H., Aristoteles zu Euripides' Iphigenia in Aulis, *Hermes* 92, 1964, 284-299; and Lesky A., Psychologie bei Euripides, in: *Euripides, Entretiens Hardt* 6, 1960, 46.



tions¹, we see a reversal of character in several persons, namely Agamemnon, Menelaus, Iphigeneia, which is centered around the theme of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. We intend to examine briefly each character's reversal and the motives behind it, starting from Agamemnon².

In the opening dialogue scene of the play³ Agamemnon is in a state of mind which could well be characterised as δῖνος of mind, which comes in sharp contrast with the absolute peace of time and place⁴. This state is obvious from his confused action which is this described by his faithful servant (35-4)⁵:

δέλτον τε γράφεις
 τήνδ' ἦν πρὸ χειρῶν ἔτι βαστάζεις,
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπάλιν γράμματα συγγεῖς
 καὶ σφραγίζεις λύεις τ' ὀπίσω
 ὄλπτεις τε πέδω πεύκην, θαλερόν
 κατὰ δάκρον χέων,
 καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῖς
 μὴ οὐ μαίνεσθαι.

The confusion is then explained by Agamemnon in his narrative (49-114). There is a conflict between his duty as chief of the Greek army and his duty as a father⁶. His first reaction to Calchas' prophecy was (i) not to sacrifice his daughter, and (ii) to order the dis-

1. See Pohlenz M., *Die griechische Tragödie*, Göttingen 1954 second edition, I. 460, and Delebeque E., *Euripide et la guerre du Péloponnèse*, Paris 1951, 368, 378.

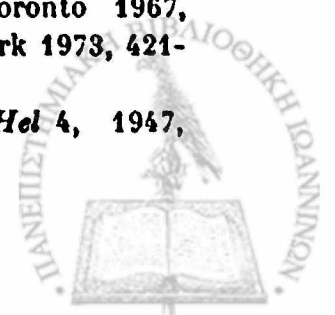
2. Cf. also the discussion by Vretska H., Agamemnon in Euripides' *Iphigeneie in Aulis*, *WS* 74, 1961, 18-39, and Dale Chart, Role inversion and its function in the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, *Ramus* 15.2, 1986, 83-92.

3. I discuss the controversial problem of the opening scenes of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* in a forthcoming book about the Prologue.

4. Cf. Snell B., Euripides' *Aulische Iphigenie*, in: *Euripides*, ed. E. - R. Schwinge, Darmstadt 1968, 494.

5. Agamemnon's behaviour is undoubtedly mock-heroic. Cf. Snell B., *loc. cit.*, 494. Cf., on the contrary, the image of Agamemnon presented by Aeschylus in his *Agamemnon* 206 ff, and how differently is his character portrayed in Euripides (cf. Vretska H., *WS* 74, 1961, 23f, 31f, and Snell B., 503ff). Cf. also on Euripides' Agamemnon, F. M. Wasserman, Agamemnon and the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *TAPA* 80, 1949, 174-186, and D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama*, Toronto 1967, 249-264, G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides*, London New York 1973, 421-438, on Agamemnon and Menelaus.

6. Cf. Frey V., Betrachtungen zu Eur. *Aulische Iphigenie*, *MusHel* 4, 1947, 44.



persing of the Greek army (94-96). But soon he had changed his mind, persuaded by his brother Menelaus, who had used every means of persuasion, and decided to sacrifice his daughter and carry on the expedition (97ff): first reversal. However, he changed his mind again; he will not sacrifice his daughter (107ff): second reversal. It is interesting to note that Agamemnon (i) puts the blame for his «wrong decision» to sacrifice his daughter on others, namely his brother Menelaus; and (ii) he regards the sacrifice of Iphigeneia as «horrible» (δεινὰ 98, cf. 133), as a mistake (οὐ καλῶς ἔγνω 107, γνώμας ἐξέεσταν 136), as a fall in *ate's* nets (137). He elaborates on the later in his confrontation with his brother.

The account given by Menelaus, however, is different. He accuses his brother of νοῦς οὐ βέβησιος (334), that is of instability and inconsistency, of discrepancy between his real desires and his appearances (338). His hypocrisy was due to ambition, φιλότιμον, i.e. φιλαρχίαν, love of power (342)¹. The contrast is between his behaviour before and after he got the power:

- (i) before: humble, greeting everyone, accepting in his house every citizen, in other words a demagogue.
- (ii) after: unfriendly, inaccessible, accepting only very few in his house².

This is in itself a reversal due to ambition and based on mean motives of one's character, and in some way it is the background against which the present behaviour of Agamemnon should be judged. According to Menelaus, Agamemnon's reaction to the situation created at Aulis because of the ἀπλοία was the following:

- (i) The leaders of the Greek army were willing to disperse (352-3); Agamemnon was unhappy and confused, because of his ambition (354-5), and asked Menelaus for help.
- (ii) After Calchas' prophecy, Agamemnon was glad and promised willingly to sacrifice his daughter (359-360).
- (iii) Now, he changed his mind and is not willing to sacrifice his daughter.

Menelaus criticises Agamemnon's reversal of attitude, which is due either to γνώμη ἀσύνετος of the citizens (368) or to their own incapacity (369). The necessary requirements for a leader are νοῦς

1. Cf. Vretska H., *WS* 74, 1961, 20.

2. All these sound like a criticism of a contemporary politician.



(374) and ξύνεσις (375)¹. Agamemnon, on the contrary, explains his latest change of attitude as a result of εὐβουλίᾳ (388) and φροναῖν εὔ (401, cf. συνσωφροναῖν 407)-characterizing his earlier decision to sacrifice his daughter as ἀσύνατον (γνοῦς οὐκ εὔ, 388), ἄνομον οὐ δίκαιον (399)². Besides there is also the psychological factor which will torment him in case he sacrifices his daughter (398).

The messenger's news about the arrival of Clytaemnestra with Iphigeneia and Orestes marks another reversal of character. In the confrontation of the two brothers which preceded, Agamemnon expressed vividly his determination not to sacrifice his daughter (a decision characterised as εὐβουλίᾳ, as we have seen), whereas Menelaus pressed for the sacrifice and accused Agamemnon of discrepancy and unfriendliness. But after the messenger's news, Agamemnon, finding himself in the yoke of ἀνάγκη (443, cf. 511)³, has again changed his mind and decided to sacrifice his daughter: third reversal. His motive: fear of the Greek army's reaction and of Odysseus' ambition and power⁴. Menelaus soon after makes a sudden and unexpected⁵ gesture of reconciliation with his brother (471). He does not insist any more on sacrificing Iphigeneia; on the contrary, he urges Agamemnon not to do it. His motive: ἔλεος. He explains his sudden reversal from the one extreme to the other as εἰκός (501-502)⁶. Such reversal, he adds, characterizes a man who is not κκός (502f)⁷.

1. In his first appearance on stage and in his first speech to Agamemnon Menelaus is presented by Euripides as «une brute et un sophiste», as is usually the case (see Bogaert R., *Le revirement de Ménélas Euripide, Iphigénie à Aulis*, vv. 471ss, *LEC* 33, 1965, 1. Cf. Blaiklock E.M., *The Male Characters of Euripides*, Wellington 1952, 74ff).

2. Cf. the chorus' characterization of Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 219f φρονός πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπικίην / ἄνακτον ἀνέρον and 223 παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.

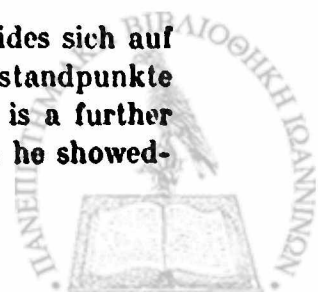
3. Whatever its meaning is; see Vretska H., *WS* 74, 1961, 29f.

4. Cf. Snell B., 496. Agamemnon's change of attitude, from the initial weakness to decisiveness and certainty is the most important element of the first part of the play, whereas the contrarywise development of Menelaus' attitude is in some way the «negative» to Agamemnon's change.

5. Even to Agamemnon (see 506). Bogaert, however, following Blaiklock (*The Male Characters of Euripides*, 99), argues for the good psychological motivation of Menelaus' change of attitude (*LEC* 33, 1965, 9f).

6. This notion, i.e. εἰκός, is well-established by now in rhetoric.

7. This is a good example, as Snell B. says, «wie geistreich Euripides sich auf Bühnenwirkungen versteht, dass plötzlich die beiden Brüder ihre standpunkte vertauscht haben» (p. 495). Menelaus' understanding and compassion is a further indication of the weakness of his character, the same weakness which he showed-



One further abrupt reversal we see in Iphigeneia's attitude. At first she makes an emotional appeal to her father to save her life (1211-1252): (i) life is the most pleasant¹; (ii) she has no relation at all with Helen's seduction. She culminates her speech with an impressive generalization: *κακῶς ζῆν κρείσσον ἢ καλῶς θανεῖν* (1252)². One point worth noting in Agamemnon's answer is in the last seven lines of his speech (1269-1275). Hellas and her freedom is now the superior motive for carrying on the expedition and sacrificing Iphigeneia. However, Iphigeneia continues her lament in a monody (1279 ff). Like Neoptolemus in Sophocles's *Philoctetes*, she needs time to realize and understand the broader dimension of her sacrifice; she too develops from the childish innocence to experience and thus to greater maturity. The scene between Clytaemnestra and Achilles, in which it is made clear to her that the only one who puts in jeopardy his life in order to help her is Achilles, is the turning point for Iphigeneia's attitude. She interrupts them delivering a speech marking her reversal and explaining the motives: *εὐχλεῖα* (1376, 1383, cf. 1440), self-sacrifice for the freedom of Hellas (thus adopting and expounding Agamemnon's arguments). In general she now acts according to *καλῶς θανεῖν κρείσσον ἢ κακῶς ζῆν*, an attitude which is completely contrary to her previous one³. Her reversal from self-pity and lament to self-sacrifice is an act of heroism. «Had she gone to her de-

towards Helen (Snell B., 496). Many scholars have interpreted Menelaus' change of attitude as hypocritical (see on that Bogaert, *LEC* 33, 1965, 4f, and Marlene Ryzman, *The reversal of Agamemnon and Menelaus in Euripides' Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Emerita* 57/1, 1989, 111-118. For those who share the view of a true change, see on p. 5 f with note 16 in Bogaert's article). Medea's change is pretentious and this is made clear in the text (see *Med.* 764-810 and 869-905).

1. Cf. a similar argument in Menelaus' speech, 494.

2. This is in itself a reversal of the traditional Greek values. Cf. e.g. its ironic exploitation by Euripides in the *Cyclops*, 201-2, spoken by Odysseus:

*ἀλλ', εἰ θανεῖν δεῖ, καθανούμεθ' ἐδγενῶς
ἢ ζῶντες αἶνον τὸν πάρος συσσώσομεν.*

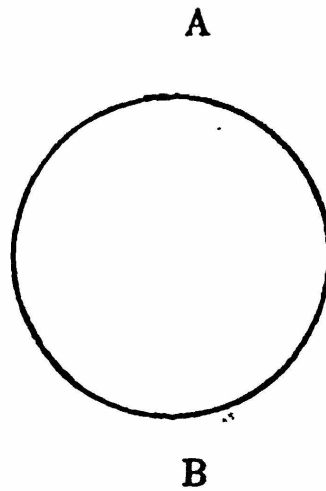
Such statements, as Iphigeneia's, were to attract a negative response from the audience.

3. Iphigeneia's change from anxiety and fear before death to free self-sacrifice should not be viewed as a sign of weakness in her character, but as due, first, to uncertainty and lack of experience and, then, to open-mindedness with which she grasps the real meaning of the situation (Snell, 497). Her change is well-knitted with the plot and is psychologically motivated (p. 497). See, on the contrary, e.g. Zürcher N., *Die Darstellung des Menschen im Drama des Euripides*, *SBAW* 2, 1947, 184, and Lesky A., *Psychologie bei Euripides*, *Enteretiens Hardt* 6, 145.



ath reluctant and lamenting, her character would have been perfectly consistent»¹, but unheroic.

DIAGRAM OF THE REVERSALS



major reversals

<i>Ar. Clouds</i>	Strepsiades	A B A
	Pheidippides	A B
<i>Wasps</i>	Philocleon	A B
<i>Frogs</i>	Dionysus	A B A B
	Xanthias	A B A B
<i>S. Philoct.</i>	Neoptolemus	A B A
<i>Eur. IA</i>	Agamemnon	A B A B
	or	A B A
	Menelaus	A B
	Iphigeneia	A B

mimor reversals

<i>S. Ajax</i>	<i>Ajax</i>	A B A
	<i>Antig.</i> Ismene	A B
<i>Eur. Med.</i>	Medea	A B A
	<i>Hippol.</i> nurse	A B
	<i>Phoen.</i> Menoikeus	A B

1. Bellinger A.R., Achilles' son and Achilles, *YCS* 6, 1939, 11.



It is noteworthy that all the reversals are in plays produced during the Peloponnesian war. Two of them, the *Clouds* and the *Philoctetes*, are dealing with educational problems. The extreme example of reversal is Agamemnon in the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. In four cases at least the reversal is connected with young persons and their unselfishness and willingness for self-sacrifice (Neoptolemus, Iphigeneia, Ismene, Menoikeus). We suggest that in some cases at least the reversals are meant to convey social and political connotations during the last 30 years of the fifth century¹.

Before I finish the discussion, I think it would be useful to refer to one last example from later Greek drama, which focuses on educational problems, namely Terence's *Adelphi*, an adaptation of Menander's *Ἀδελφοί β*. Two brothers, Demea and Micio, represent two opposing views of education. Demea displays «surliness, quarrelsomeness, irascibility, illiberality» towards his son Ctesipho; Micio, on the contrary, employs liberality², affability, generosity, and friendliness towards his adopted son Aeschinus. This is what we see until about 100 lines before the end of the play. Demea in a monologue, 854-881, makes a deliberate³ and sudden reversal to the opposite extreme⁴, showing in the scenes that follow excessive affability and prodigality. His justification: he wants to show to Micio how easy it is with extravagant generosity to win the affection of young people.

1. One extreme example of reversal during the Peloponnesian war is Alcibiades, whose political ambition led him to work consecutively for the interests of Athens, Sparta, Tissaphernes, and again for Athens. See, for a short indication of his career the Index to Thucydides by Smith Ch. F., (LOEB) 1958, vol. IV, s.v. Alcibiades.

2. See Martin R.H., *Terence Adelphoe*, Cambridge London New York Melbourne 1976, 22, and in general the Introduction, p. 16-26.

3. In fact one gets the impression from his monologue that his reversal is genuine. Only later (986f) we hear that this was only a pretence (cf. Martin, 26).

4. On the problem of the reversal of Demea and the related problems, see Rieth O., *Die Kunst Menanders in den «Adelphen» des Terenz*, ed. with an Appendix by K. Gaiser, 1964; Tränkle H., Micio und Demea in den terenzischen Adelphen, *MusHel* 29, 1972, 242-255; Pöschl V., *Das Problem der Adelphen des Terenz*, Heidelberg 1975, and its review in *Latomus* 38, 1979, 254-256; and Martin R.H., *Adelphoe*, 26 ff.



Π Ε Ρ Ι Λ Η Ψ Η

Μεταστροφές στη συμπεριφορά προσώπων του δράματος στις *Νεφέλες* του 'Αριστοφάνη και την *Τραγωδία*.

Ἡ μεταστροφή στη συμπεριφορά τῶν ἡρώων στὰ δραματικά κείμενα, ἰδιαιτέρως ὅταν αὐτὴ εἶναι συνειδητὴ, ἀποτελεῖ βασικὸ δομικὸ στοιχεῖο, εἶναι σημαντικὴ γιὰ τὴν ἐξέλιξη τῆς δράσης καὶ τονίζετχι ἰδιαιτέρως ἀπὸ τὸν κωμικὸ ἢ τὸν τραγικὸ ποιητὴ, πιστεύομε ὅτι εἶναι ἄρρηκτα συνδεδεμένα μὲ τὸ σοφιστικὸ κίνημα, τὶς κοινωνικο-πολιτικὲς συνθήκες τῆς ἐποχῆς, πιθανὸν μὲ συγκεκριμένα πρόσωπα ποὺ δημιουργήσαν πρότυπα συμπεριφορᾶς, καθὼς καὶ, τοῦλάχιστο σὲ μιὰ περίπτωση, μὲ τὴν τραγικὴ, καὶ εἰδικώτερα τὴν Αἰσχύλεια τραγικὴ παράδοση.

Ἡ σύγκυση στὴν ἐννοιολογικὴ ἀντίληψη τῶν παραδοσιακῶν ἀξιῶν ποὺ προκάλεσε ὁ μακροχρόνιος Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλεμος καὶ τὸ σοφιστικὸ κίνημα εἶναι φανερὴ στὰ «Κερκυραϊκὰ» τοῦ Θουκυδίδου, καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς καιροσκοπισμὸς καὶ «εὐελίξις» ἀντιπροσωπεύονται καίρια ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτικὴ συμπεριφορὰ τοῦ Θηραμένη καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου.

Ὁ Στρεψιάδης καὶ ὁ Φειδιππίδης στὶς *Νεφέλες*, ὁ Φιλοκλέων στοὺς *Σφήκες*, ὁ Δίωνυσος στοὺς *Βατράχους* τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνη, ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, ἡ Ἰσμήνη, ὁ Αἶας στὸν *Φιλοκτήτη*, τὴν Ἀντιγόνη καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἀντίστοιχα τοῦ Σοφοκλῆ, ἡ Μήδεια, ἡ τροφός, ὁ Μενοικεύς στὴ *Μήδεια*, τὸν Ἰππόλυτο καὶ τὶς *Φοίνισσες* ἀντίστοιχα, καὶ κατεξοχὴν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ὁ Μενέλχος καὶ ἡ Ἰφιγένεια στὴν *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Αὐλίδι* τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἀποτελοῦν τὶς πρὸ ἐντυπωσιακῆς περιπτώσεις.

Ἡ Αἰσχύλεια θεοδικία εἶναι βασικὴ δομικὴ ἀρχὴ στὶς *Νεφέλες*. Ἡ μεταστροφή τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς τοῦ Στρεψιάδου καὶ τοῦ Φειδιππίδου συμβαδίζει μὲ τὴν ἀντροπὴ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπὸ τὸν Δῆνο καὶ τὶς ἄλλες Σωκρατικὲς θεότητες, καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς «σοφιστικῆς» δικαίωσής τους στὸ Φροντιστήριον, ὅπου ἡ παλαιὰ παιδεία ἔχει ἀντικατασταθῆ ἀπὸ τὴν κεινὴν παιδείαν. Ὁ χορὸς τῶν Νεφελῶν συμπεριφέρεται πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸ ἥρωα ὅπως ἡ «φιλόφρων ἄτα» στοὺς *Πέρσες*, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔργα τοῦ Αἰσχύλου. Ὁ κωμικὸς ἥρωας ὠριμάζει μέσῃ ἀπὸ τὴν δικαίωσιν «πάθος μάθος».

Ἀντιστροφή τῆς πραγματικότητος στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῶν σχέσεων πατέρα καὶ γιοῦ ἔχομε στοὺς *Σφήκες*, ὅπου ἐπίσης ἡ μεταστροφή στη συμπε-



ριφορά του Φιλοκλέωντα είναι σημαντικό δομικό στοιχείο. Το χορευτικό στροβίλισμα τόσο του χορού όσο και των γιών του Κερκίνου στο τέλος του έργου εκφράζει συμβολικά με τον καλύτερο τρόπο τη δίνη στην οποία βρίσκονται οι άνθρωποι της εποχής. Ο Δίνος που αντικατέστησε τον Δία στις Νεφέλες φαίνεται πως επεξέτεινε την κυριαρχία του και στους Σφῆκες.

Η «εὐελίξις» και ο κίροσκοπισμός είναι ιδιότητες που ειρωνικά επικνεῖ ο Ἀριστοφάνης στους Βατράχους, κι αυτές τις ιδιότητες αντιπροσωπεύει κάλλιστα στη ζωή ο Θηραμένης και στο θέατρο ο Διώνυσος, όπως φαίνεται από τις διχδοχικές μεταμφιέσεις του και την ἐνλλαγή του ρόλου του με το δούλο του Ξανθία.

Με βασικές ἀρχές του τὸν πολιτικό κίροσκοπισμό και τὸν ἠθικό σχετικισμό και ἐκμεταλλεόμενος τις νεκρικές ἀδυναμίες και φιλοδοξίες ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς κίρορθώνει στὸν Φιλοκτήτη τοῦ Σοφοκλῆ νὰ ἐπιφέρει μεταστροφή στη συμπεριφορά του Νεοπτόλεμου: δηλαδή «μεταμορφώνει» τὴν Ἀχιλλεὺς φύση του σὲ «Ὀδυσσεική». Ὁμως, στη διάρκεια τῆς «Ὀδυσσεικής» συμπεριφορᾶς του ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπήρειά του «ἐλέου» και τῆς «συμπάθειας» ἐπκνέρχεται στὴν Ἀχιλλεὺς φύση του. Ἡ «σοφιστική» πκίδευσις τοῦ ἀπειροῦ νέου ἀπὸ τὸν πολῦπειρο και «δόλιο» Ὀδυσσεύς εἶχε μόνο πρόσκιρα ἀποτελέσματα.

Μικρότερης σὲ σχέση με τὴ δομὴ και τὴν ἐξέλιξη τῆς δράσης εἶναι ἡ μεταστροφή τῆς Ἰσμήνης στὴν Ἀντιγόνη. Πιὸ σημαντικές εἶναι ἀπὸ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀποψη ἡ μεταστροφή τοῦ Αἴαντα και τῆς Μήδειας στὰ ὁμώνυμα ἔργα ἀντίστοιχα - ὅπου ἡ μεταστροφή εἶναι ἓνα κίροσυχαστικό μέσο γιὰ νὰ πκίρομοποιήσει ὁ ἥρωας / ἡ ἡρώιδα τὰ σχέδιά του / τῆς γιὰ αὐτοκτονία ὁ πρῶτος, ἐκδίκηση ἡ δεύτερη-, τῆς τροφοῦ με τὸν σοφιστικό ἀμοραλισμό τῆς στὸν Ἰππόλυτο και τοῦ Μενοικέα με τὴ φιλοπατρία και τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοθυσίας στὶς Φοίνισσες.

Οἱ πιὸ ἐντυπωσιακές ὡστόσο περιπτώσεις μεταστροφῆς στη συμπεριφορά τριγωνῶν προσώπων, οἱ ὁποῖες εἶναι πολὺ σημαντικές τόσο γιὰ τὴ δομὴ ὅσο και τὴν ἐξέλιξη τῆς πλοκῆς τοῦ ἔργου, βρίσκονται στὴν Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Αὐλίδι τοῦ Εὐριπίδη. Στὸ ἔργο αὐτὸ οἱ μεταστροφές εἶναι πολλές και διχδοχικές και ἀφοροῦν πολλὰ πρόσωπα, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν Μενέλαο, τὴν Ἰφιγένεια. Ὁ δῖνος φαίνεται ὅτι βίρολεύει σ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργο και ἔχει κυριεύσει τὸ μυκλό τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονα, και γι' αὐτὸ οἱ μεταστροφές του εἶναι πολλές και διχδοχικές ἀνάλογα με τις περιστάσεις: προτοῦ λάβει τὴν ἀρχιστρατηγία και μετά· πκίρο ἀπὸ τὴν προφητεία τοῦ Κάλχαντα και μετά· πκίρο ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφιξη τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας και μετά. Παρόμοια μεταστροφή πκροσιάζει και ὁ Μενέλαος, και εἶναι ἀντιστρόφως ἀνάλογη με τὴν ἐκάστοτε συμπεριφορά τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονα. Ἡ μεταστροφή ἐπίσης τῆς Ἰφιγένειας εἶναι ἀπότομη και πλήρης, τέτοια που κατακρίθηκε ἀπὸ τὸν



Ἄριστοτέλη. Εἶναι σχεδὸν βέβαιο ὅτι ὁ Εὐριπίδης μὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργο ἤθελε ἴσως νὰ δώσει τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς πλήρους συγχύσεως πὺ ἐπικρατοῦσε στὸ τέλος τοῦ 5ου αἰ. π.Χ. στὰ ἠθικὰ καὶ κοινωνικο-πολιτικὰ πράγματα τῆς ἐποχῆς του. Εἶναι ἀξιοπρόσεκτο ὅτι οἱ *Βάτραχοι*, ὁ *Φιλοκτήτης* καὶ ἡ *Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Αἰδίῳ* διδάκτηκαν τὴν τελευταία δεκαετία τοῦ 5ου αἰ. π.Χ.

