

Socrates and the Socratic Dialogue

Edited by

Alessandro Stavru
Christopher Moore



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Abbreviations IX

Socrates and the Socratic Dialogue: An Overview from the First-Generation
Socratics to Neoplatonism 1

Christopher Moore and Alessandro Stavru

PART 1

Around Socrates

A Sage on the Stage: Socrates and Athenian Old Comedy 31

Jacques A. Bromberg

Aristophanes' Iconic Socrates 64

Andrea Capra

Protagorean Socrates, Socratic Protagoras: A Narrative Strategy from
Aristophanes to Plato 84

Michele Corradi

Isocrates as a Reader of Socratic Dialogues 105

David J. Murphy

The Origins of the Socratic Dialogue: Plato, Xenophon, and the Others 125

James M. Redfield

PART 2

The Immediate Socratic Circle

On the Dialectical Character of Antisthenes' Speeches *Ajax* and
Odysseus 141

Vladislav Suvák

Socratism and Eleaticism in Euclides of Megara 161

Aldo Brancacci

- Aristippus on Freedom, Autonomy, and the Pleasurable Life** 179
Kristian Urstad
- Shock, Erotics, Plagiarism, and Fraud: Aspects of Aeschines of Sphettus' Philosophy** 202
Claudia Mársico
- Phaedo of Elis: The Biography, Zopyrus, and His Intellectual Profile** 221
Danilo Di Lanzo
- PART 3**
- Plato**
- Plato and the Socratics** 237
Luc Brisson
- Philosopher Socrates? Philosophy at the Time of Socrates and the Reformed *Philosophia* of Plato** 268
Livio Rossetti
- A Literary Challenge: How to Represent Socrates' *Daimonion*** 299
Stefano Jedrkiewicz
- The Logical Structure of Socrates' Expert-Analogies** 319
Petter Sandstad
- Crying for Help: Socrates as Silenus in the *Euthydemus*** 336
Michael Erler
- Socrates and Natural Philosophy: The Testimony of Plato's *Phaedo*** 348
Jörn Müller
- Bios Praktikos* and *Bios Theôrêtikos* in Plato's *Gorgias*** 369
Ivan Jordović
- The Socratic *Dubia*** 386
Harold Tarrant
- Notes on *Lovers*** 412
Sandra Peterson

PART 4

Xenophon

How to Defend the Defense of Socrates? From the *Apology* to *Memorabilia*

Book 1 435

Pierre Pontier

Nature, Culture and the Rule of the Good in Xenophon's Socratic Theory of Friendship: *Memorabilia* Book 2 459

Gabriel Danzig

From Generals to Gluttony: *Memorabilia* Book 3 481

David Johnson

Xenophon's Socratic Education in *Memorabilia* Book 4 500

Christopher Moore

Fundamental Parallels between Socrates' and Ischomachus' Positions in the *Oeconomicus* 521

Louis-André Dorion

Aphroditê and *Philophrosunê*: Xenophon's *Symposium* between Athenian and Spartan Paradigms 544

Maria Consiglia Alvino

Xenophon's *Hiero*: Hiding Socrates to Reform Tyranny 564

Federico Zuolo

Xenophon's Philosophical Approach to Writing: Socratic Elements in the Non-Socratic Works 577

Noreen Humble

PART 5

Later Reception

Aristotle on Socrates 601

Nicholas Smith

Aristoxenus on Socrates 623

Alessandro Stavru

- Socratic Protreptic and Epicurus: Healing through Philosophy** 665
Jan Erik Heßler
- From Competitor to Hero: The Stoics on Socrates** 682
Robert Bees
- Cicero and the Socratic Dialogue: Between Frankness and Friendship (*Off.*
I, 132–137)** 707
François Renaud
- Socrates and Alcibiades as “Satiric Heroes”: The Socrates of Persius** 727
Diego De Brasi
- Plutarch’s Reception of Socrates** 744
Geert Roskam
- “A Man of Outstanding Perfection”: Apuleius’ Admiration for
Socrates** 760
Friedemann Drews
- Socrates in Maximus of Tyre** 772
Michael B. Trapp
- Socrates in the Ancient Biographical Tradition: From the Anonymous *PHib.*
182 to Diogenes Laertius** 787
Tiziano Dorandi
- An Embodiment of Intellectual Freedom? Socrates in Libanius** 799
Heinz-Günther Nesselrath
- Political Philosopher or Savior of Souls? Socrates in Themistius and Julian
the Emperor** 816
Maria Carmen De Vita
- Proclus on Socratic Ignorance, Knowledge, and Irony** 836
Danielle A. Layne
- Index of Passages** 855
Index of Ancient Names 912
Index of Modern Names 921

Aristophanes' Iconic Socrates

Andrea Capra

Durham University

λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς δι' ὧν σκώπτουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτόν

DL 2.27, on comic playwrights who abuse Socrates



In this chapter I shall try to sketch what is in my view Aristophanes' main contribution to the history of Socratism.¹ Aristophanes, I shall argue, provided Socrates with a (literally) “iconic” status that proved a major influence for Socratic writers and for Plato in particular, to the extent that it would be hard to imagine Plato's Socrates in the absence of Aristophanes'. In many ways, Socrates' aspect, behavior, and even views as they appear in Socratic literature were ultimately shaped by Aristophanes' *visual* characterization.

1 Comic Avatars

Let me begin by listing a few data in chronological order:

427 BCE. Aristophanes' first play, the now lost *Banqueteers*, compared the traditional with the new, corrupt education. Socrates may have been a character of the play, as a champion of the latter.² The comedy was second in the agon of the City Dionysia.

423 BCE. Aristophanes produced the *Clouds* at the City Dionysia. Socrates is the main individual target of the comedy: he is in fact the second great figure

1 Stavru 2013 provides a useful and updated *status questionis* on Socratic studies. My own references to secondary literature will necessarily be very selective, and I will not discuss the presentation of Socrates by other comic playwrights (see Patzer 1994 for a detailed examination of the relevant sources).

2 Segoloni 1994, 111–193, has come up with very strong arguments to the effect that Socrates should be identified with the dubious *didaskalos* of the *Banqueteers*.

thoroughly attacked by Aristophanes, whose *Acharnians* and *Knights* had singled out Cleon as the city's enemy. *Clouds* came in third and lost the contest to Amipsias' *Connus*, which also lampooned Socrates, and to the *Flask of Wine* by Cratinus, who was the winner.

423–?³ BCE. Aristophanes kept working on the *Clouds*. Apparently, the play's agon and exodus underwent significant revisions,⁴ and the parabasis was entirely rewritten: Aristophanes complains about the incompetence of the audience, who were unable to appreciate the quality of the 423 production.⁵ Except for very few fragments (fr. 392–401 PCG), only this revised and retrospective version has survived.

414 BCE. Aristophanes' *Birds* obtains the second prize at the City Dionysia. Toward the end of the play, the Herald sings the praises of the new regime, which he favorably compares with old Athens: back then, people used to go dirty and mean and "Socratize" (1282). Right before the final scene, moreover, the chorus mentions a sinister lake where Socrates acts as a necromancer in the company of his disciple "Chaerephon the Bat" (1553–1564).⁶

405 BCE. At the City Laenaea, Aristophanes presents the *Frogs*, which won the extraordinary distinction of a repeat performance.⁷ The play features a cutting remark about Socrates (1314–1315), whom the chorus identifies as an accomplice of Euripides in the murdering of traditional *mousikê*. As far as we know, this is the poet's last word on Socrates, who drinks the hemlock in 399.

Though it is seldom noticed, Aristophanes' references to Socrates stretch over a quarter of a century, starting from the poet's debut and virtually extending—thanks to the re-performance of the *Frogs* and possibly of the *Clouds*—until

3 Internal evidence may point to c. 414 as the date of the final revision, as Kopff 1999 argues on the basis of *Nub.* 335 and 830.

4 Sommerstein (2009, 183) aptly describes our text of the *Clouds* as a "transitional draft, intermediate between the performed script of 423 BCE and the never completed script that Aristophanes at one time hoped would be performed in, perhaps, 418."

5 The extent to which Aristophanes revised the play is a vexed question. For a recent and well-informed discussion, see Biles 2011, 167–210.

6 On *Av.* 1555 and its possible influence on *Phdr.* 261a7, see Moore 2013.

7 This was probably due to political rather than "artistic" reasons: see Sommerstein 1993. Contrary to common opinion, the *Frogs* did not come first. For a recent discussion of the evidence, cf. Canfora 2014, 402–410.

the philosopher's death and even beyond.⁸ This is important and should affect our understanding of Aristophanes' Socrates. Scholars rightly point out that satire, in order to work, must have a basis in reality,⁹ but it is equally true that Aristophanes' characters come into existence through repetition, until they begin to live a life of their own: Cleonymus may have abandoned his shield in real life, but it is Aristophanes' repeated mention of the event over the years—he attacks him in seven out of nine of his extant fifth-century plays—that made him notorious and synonymous with cowardice. In other words, we should be more sensitive to the fact that comic characters, play after play, tend to build upon themselves, until they become “living *topoi*.”¹⁰ Thus, even the passing remark we find in such a successful comedy as *Frogs* could have the power to revive what was by then a well-established satirical cliché,¹¹ and by the fact that the relevant mask surely remained available for some time and was possibly reused or adapted.¹²

The effects of Aristophanes' repeated mentioning of Socrates over the years could be all the more powerful as the *Clouds*, an early play that the poet presents as the “sister” of the *Banqueteers*, had singled him out as its main target character.¹³ Aelian's story that Socrates stood in the theatre during the performance of the *Clouds* as if to invite comparison between his real self and his comic avatar is intriguing, not least because it alerts us to the danger that the comic image could replace the real one over the years.¹⁴ This is all the

8 *Nub.* 523 seems to imply further performances of the play. On re-performance see Marshall 2012.

9 See, e.g., Bowie 1998, 54, and Konstan 2011, 76.

10 “*Topoi* viventi,” as Treu 1999, 73, nicely puts it. Platter 2014 shows how this applies to Socrates' reputation.

11 This is not the place to discuss the image of Socrates in playwrights other than Aristophanes; Edmunds 2007 argues that the identification between Socrates and the sophists is specific to Aristophanes.

12 Cf. Marshall 1999, 197. On Aristophanes' much-discussed portrait-masks see now Catenacci 2013 and Totaro 2015, who steer clear of over-scepticism. My argument is not affected by this problem, but I agree with them that portrait-masks existed and were recognized as such by the audience. There is also the possibility that statuettes representing Aristophanes' Socrates circulated as a souvenir of sorts. Such statuettes did exist, and although they usually represented stock characters, the archaeologist Mingazzini 1970, 357–358, has argued that one statuette, from the Hellenistic age, does in fact reproduce the aspect of an actor playing Socrates in a later re-performance of the *Clouds*.

13 Cf. *Nub.* 534–536. On the implications of the metaphor, see Imperio 2013.

14 *VH* 2.13.68–70. On this and other more or less fanciful anecdotes concerning Socrates' reaction to comic attacks, see Bouvier 2000, 428–432.

more possible in a world in which there were no visual or acoustic recordings, and individualized portraiture was the exception rather than the rule.¹⁵ Jobless Socrates may well have been always out in the streets, engaged in endless talk with as many bystanders as he could lure into discussion, and yet his comic avatar had a huge advantage, in that he was simultaneously visible or audible to huge audiences. Even today, the image of public figures, however powerful and skillful in controlling and manipulating the media, can be significantly distorted by satirists: one should try to imagine what could possibly happen in classical Athens, where the theater was no doubt one of the most powerful ways to become popular—or, indeed, notorious.

2 The Reaction of the Socratic Circle

In the light of Socrates' involuntary career on the stage, it is not surprising that his companions should be keen on trying to counter the vivid impression left in the Athenians' minds by his comic avatar. The case of the *Clouds* is especially fortunate, as we have an entire play devoted to Socrates, so that we are in a relatively good position to assess its impact on Socratic literature. Even discounting the direct reply found in Plato's *Apology*, to which I shall return, the data are impressive. Long ago, Guthrie made the following point:

Xenophon and Plato make several references to the treatment of Socrates by the comic poets, though not all are certainly to Aristophanes. In the *Oeconomicus* (11.3) he says he is "supposed to be a poor man" and in the *Symposium* (6.6) Xenophon makes a direct reference to the *Clouds* when the impresario rudely asks Socrates not only whether he is "the one they call *phrontistês*" but also whether he can tell him how many feet away a flea is, "for this is the sort of geometry they say you do" (cf. *Clouds* 145 f.). At *Phaedo* 70b–c Socrates says drily that if, as a man condemned to death, he discusses the possibility of immortality, "not even a comic poet could say that I am a chatterer about things that don't concern me," and the remark in the *Republic* (488e) that in the "democratic" ship the skilled steersman will be called a "sky-gazer, a chatterer, and useless" is a fairly obvious reference to the Socrates of comedy. In Plato's *Symposium* (221b)

15 Catenacci 2014 discusses a few Athenian exceptions prior to the Peloponnesian war (remarkably, democracy seems to have discouraged the development of individual portraiture).

Alcibiades quotes the actual words from the *Clouds* about his “swaggering and rolling his eyes.”¹⁶

GUTHRIE 1969, 374

Even more interestingly, Plato’s references are integral to the alleged biography of his hero. Vander Waerdt has argued that “the two Platonic texts that might be adduced with greatest plausibility as evidence for Socrates’ own philosophical development both are centrally concerned to respond to Aristophanes’ portrayal.”¹⁷ In other words, the *Clouds* seems to play a crucial role for Xenophon’s and especially for Plato’s construction of their Socrateses. Like other scholars, however, Vander Waerdt described this phenomenon in purely negative terms, and yet this is not the only way to look at Aristophanes’ influence for the definition of the fourth-century Socrates. As I shall argue, Aristophanes’ comic icon of Socrates had also a *positive* influence, which provided a point for deep imaginative and moral reflection by Plato and others.

Socrates’ physical aspect and mannerisms should not be underestimated: unlike its modern counterpart, Greek philosophy is foremost a *bios*, an all-encompassing way of life.¹⁸ The intrinsic inseparability of doctrines, behavior, and aspect takes center stage in Plato’s *Symposium*. The ostensible subject of the dialogue is *erôs*. This is the one area in which Socrates, thanks to the extraordinary teaching of the mysterious Diotima of Mantinea, gives up his usual disclaimer of knowledge by presenting himself as an expert in things erotic.¹⁹ The dialogue also hosts what is by far the fullest and most celebrated portrait of Socrates: Alcibiades’ comparison of Socrates with Marsyas, the satyrs, and especially what Alcibiades refers to as wooden Silenic statuettes, whose ugly and ridiculous aspect conceals—until one opens them up—sublime beauty

16 The list is far from complete. An entire dialogue, the *Protagoras*, is built as a reversal of the *Clouds*, with an impressive number of allusions to both verbal and performative facts. See Capra 2001, chs. 1–3.

17 Vander Waerdt 1994, 5. Vander Waerdt refers of course to the *Phaedo*’s intellectual autobiography (96a–100b) and to Socrates’ remark in the *Apology*, when he points out explicitly that his philosophical inquiry has nothing to do with Aristophanes’ caricature (18b–19d).

18 Hadot 1995 provides a classic discussion of the topic, although his main focus is Hellenistic philosophy. Rossetti 2011 and Sassi 2015 tackle Socrates’ *bios* and behaviors extensively.

19 At 177d, Socrates famously states that love is the only field in which he can claim some kind of knowledge (177d and *passim*). That love is something divine and potentially fruitful for pedagogy is also clear from the *Alcibiades* by Aeschines (*SSR VI A 53*): cf. Ioppolo 1999. Other Platonic passages relevant to the problem of Socrates’ knowledge of things erotic include *Chrm.* 155d, *Lysis* 206a, *Thg.* 128b.

and virtue.²⁰ Remarkably, the comparison is later emphatically reiterated to include not only the exterior ugliness of Socrates' aspect, but also the exterior of his *logoi*, which sound ridiculous at first, but, once opened, reveal sublime qualities (221d–e).

Scholars have taken the image of Socrates-Silenus as Plato's own invention, designed to challenge traditional notions of *kalokagathia* and to provide an implicit description of his own *Sôkratikoï logoi*, namely, the Platonic dialogue (e.g., Gaiser 1984, 55–76). Accordingly, Plato's hero oscillates between the arduous peaks of his reasoning and the low profile of his examples—to the bafflement of his interlocutors, he keeps talking about “pack-asses and smiths and cobblers and curriers” (*Symp.* 221e, tr. Jowett). On the iconographic side, a similar infraction of the *kalokagathia* code has been recognized in the so-called “Type A,” a family of Roman copies related to a portrait that Plato and his associates placed in the precinct of the Academy.²¹ With its markedly Silenic features, combined with a number of more “civilized” traits, this privately sponsored portrait was intended as a defiant challenge, and is arguably a milestone in Greek art history, in that it broke with the well-established tradition of idealized portraits.²² As such, it stands in sharp contrast with Lysippus' later and—as Paul Zanker puts it—“revised” portrait of Socrates.²³ This work (Type B) resulted from a public commission and—with its more dignified features designed to provide a tamer version of the earlier portrait—reflected an attempt on the part of the Athenians at reintegrating the unjustly convicted master into Athens' civic ideology and parameters.²⁴

20 215a–216d. Although some scholars have tried to undermine its credibility (e.g. Nightingale 1995, 120, and Narcy 2008), Alcibiades' description of Socrates is usually considered to be endorsed by Plato (see, e.g., Brisson 1998, 51–54; Zanker 1995, 32–39), though its relationship to Socrates' speech is debated (see Destrée 2012 for a discussion of the main options and Tulli and Erler 2016 for a wide range of approaches).

21 This is confirmed by a more accurate reading of *PHerc.* 1021. See Speyer 2001.

22 Cf. Zanker 1995, 32–39. Socrates' face was also taken as a challenge to physiognomic theories, as is clear from Phaedo's story of his conversation with Zopyrus (cf. e.g. Sassi 2015, ch. 2; and Toole 1974–75, on Phaedo's influence on Plato's silenic portrait of Socrates).

23 Zanker 1995, 57–62.

24 For a rich and updated discussion of both “Type A” and “Type B,” see Charalabopoulos 2012, 159–178, with comprehensive bibliography (including works that differ more or less markedly from Zanker's interpretations). Cf. also Capra 2016.

3 Enter Silenus

Although I share the idea that Plato and his companions wanted to provoke their fellow citizens, I think that a close examination of Socrates' entrance in the *Clouds* should prompt second thoughts as to the way scholars reconstruct the "invention" of Socratic iconography. Socrates' apparition *ex machina* on board a fantastic flying device, which usually scholars refer to as a "basket," must have been memorable,²⁵ and Plato often recalls the scene both explicitly and implicitly. In the *Apology*, Socrates mentions his invisible detractors, who "took possession" of the Athenians' mind "with their falsehoods, telling of one Socrates, a wise man, who speculated about the heaven above, and searched into the earth beneath, and made the worse appear the better cause."²⁶ This description, which foreshadows the perverse influence of poetry on young children's mind as described in the *Republic*, would be enough to conjure up the *Clouds*, but Socrates leaves no room for doubt.²⁷ Not only does he claim that his enemies are impossible to identify by name, "unless in the chance of a comic poet" (18d), but a few lines later he lays his cards on the table:

That is the nature of the accusation, and that is what you saw (ἑώρατε) yourselves in the comedy of Aristophanes, who has introduced one Socrates swinging about (περιφερόμενον) saying that he's skywalking (ἀεροβατεῖν), and talking a deal of nonsense concerning matters of which I do not pretend to know either much or little.

PL. *Ap.* 19c1–5 (tr. JOWETT, modified)

25 Rather than as a basket, the device should be more correctly described as a rack (Revermann 2006, 188).

26 18b–c, tr. Jowett. Stephen Halliwell 2008, 254–255, points out that in "the relevant passages of the *Apology*—passages whose one-sided interpretation has become one of the stalest received opinions in classical scholarship—a *distinction* is indicated between the comedian Aristophanes (and by extension other comic poets too who wrote plays about Socrates) and those who over the years have maligned Socrates with real 'malice and denigration' (φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ, 18d)." Even more radically, it has been argued that, in the context of the *Apology*, "Aristophane ... est l'un des témoins principaux de la défense à côté d'Apollon; celui-ci pour montrer que Socrate est un homme pieux, celui-là pour montrer que les impies sont les accusateurs qui font la comédie dans le tribunal" (Santoro 2013, 205).

27 Cf. *Resp.* 2.377a–b. Bouvier 2000, rightly emphasizes this important if seldom noticed parallel.

What we have here is an unequivocal reference to Socrates' first entrance in the *Clouds*, which Plato achieves by reproducing Aristophanes' extravagant words (ἀεροβατεῖν) and by conjuring up Socrates' "swinging" apparition *ex machina* (περιφερόμενον). Remarkably, the emphasis is on the *visual* impact of the scene (ἔωρᾶτε) as well as on the "deal of nonsense" uttered by Aristophanes' Socrates. Here is the relevant passage from the *Clouds*:

STREPSIADES: Socrates! Here, you, call out to him for me, good and loud.

DISCIPLE: No, you call him yourself; I'm busy.

STREPSIADES: Socrates! my sweet little Socrates!

SOCRATES: *O ephemeral* creature, why call on me (τί με καλεῖς, ὦ 'φήμερε)?

STREPSIADES: First of all, I pray, tell me what you are doing up there?

SOCRATES: I am sky-walking (ἀεροβατῶ) and scrutinizing (περιφρονῶ) the sun.

219–225, my italics

As the relevant (and largely overlooked) *scholion* suggests, Socrates' first words amount to a Pindaric quote:

When introducing the dialogue between Silenus and Olympus, Pindar had the former utter the following words: "*O ephemeral*, miserable creature (ὦ τάλαις ἐφήμερε), you speak silly things."

Σ ad *Nub.* 223(d) = fr. 157 SNELL

At first sight, the suggestion of the *scholion* may look far-fetched.²⁸ Yet Silenus' disparaging reply was made recognizable by the pompous and wholly exceptional apostrophe "O ephemeral."²⁹ This vocative form is unparalleled in ancient Greek literature and must have sounded very peculiar: as such it works as a powerful catchword,³⁰ either because Pindar's poem would be well-known

28 Willi 2003, 107–108, shares the scepticism of Dover 1968, 125–126, ad 223, as regards the possibility of a Pindaric allusion. He detects instead an Empedoclean echo in Socrates' words (cf. 31 B 3.4 DK).

29 Aristophanes' rare quotations from Pindar amount to easily recognizable lines (cf. Mastro-marco 1994, 153–155). Pindaric style and echoes may carry a connotation of ludicrous conceit (cf. Loscalzo 2005).

30 A TLG survey gives only another instance of (ἐ)φήμερε. This is found in a poem by Michael Choniates (*Carmina* 5.1) as late as the twelfth century CE (a time of revival for ancient

or because it would reflect a familiar story about Silenus.³¹ A neglected piece of evidence, preserved by Aristotle, provides decisive confirmation:

And Silenus was finally forced to talk: “*Ephemeral* seed (ἐφήμερον σπέρμα) of painful destiny, why do you force me to speak?”

ARIST. *Eudemus* fr. 44.27–29 ROSE

The conclusion to be drawn here is that Aristophanes’ Socrates, when he utters his first words, *presents himself in the guise of Silenus*. The allusion to Silenus’ revelation was probably as striking as it was easy to recognize, and the joke could be appreciated even more fully if the actor playing Socrates bore a clear resemblance with Silenus. This is why I am inclined to conclude that the mask of the actor must have been Silenic in character.³² However that may be, what we moderns regard as the most iconic trait of Plato’s Socrates is in fact a reinterpretation of his Aristophanic avatar.³³

On introducing the *eikon* of Socrates-Silenus, Alcibiades utters the following words:

comedy). Remarkably, the *Suda* has a specific voice for Aristophanes’ ὤφήμερε (s.v., under omega). The explanation coincides with that of the *scholion*. Socrates’ one apparition on the flying machine in the Platonic corpus has him address his audience with ὠνθρωποι: “O human beings” (*Clit.* 407a–b).

31 Easterling 2013, 194, aptly notes that the story “was certainly current before Aristotle’s time.”

32 Aelian *VH* 2.13.68–70 comments on the likeness of Socrates’ mask in the *Clouds*. His is no more than a fair guess, but—regardless of what Socrates’ real face looked like—the mask-makers had only to adapt or simply appropriate familiar satyr masks and faces, which clearly resemble “type A” (cf. Lapatin 2006, 111, and Marshall 1999, 194; note also that satyrs occasionally exhibit Socratic features: in the *Ichneutai*, Sophocles has them deal with the “Socratic” virtue of *sôphrosunê*). Especially relevant is a mid-fifth century statue of Papposilenus with child Dionysus and a tragic mask, found in the vicinity of the theatre of Dionysus and possibly related to Sophocles’ *Dionysiscus* (National Museum of Athens 257, now on display in the New Acropolis Museum). Papposilenus, who wears a theatrical fleece-like coat but has no mask, bears an exceptional resemblance to Socrates’ portraits. For a full and illuminating discussion see Charalabopoulos 2012, 159–178. Charalabopoulos suggests that “the Sokrates of the Academy could have been modelled on the Papposilenos of the Theatre of Dionysos” (176). This is very attractive; I would only add that Socrates’ mask in the *Clouds* provides the missing link (cf. Capra 2016).

33 Dupréel 1922, 324, suggested that “l’aspect caricatural que conserve Socrate dans la littérature et dans l’art doit sans doute plus au grossièrement conventionnel de la scène qu’au modèle vivant.”

I'll try and praise Socrates through images (δὲ εἰκόνων). And maybe he'll think I want to elicit laughter, but the purpose of the *eikôn* is not laughter but truth.

PL. *Symp.* 215a4–6

The reference to potentially *ridiculous* images points to comedy, and the idea is confirmed a bit further, when Alcibiades directly addresses Aristophanes:

There was another occasion on which his behavior was very remarkable ... He and Laches were retreating, for the troops were in flight, and I met them and told them not to be discouraged, and promised to remain with them; *and there, Aristophanes, you might see him, as you describe, just as he is in the streets of Athens, "swaggering in the streets and casting his eyes sideways,"* calmly contemplating enemies as well as friends, and making very intelligible to anybody, even from a distance, that whoever attacked him would be likely to meet with a stout resistance.

PL. *Symp.* 220e7–221b6 (tr. JOWETT, modified, my emphasis)

Alcibiades' words, in fact, feature a verbatim quotation from the *parodos* of the *Clouds*, which addresses Socrates:

And you, priest of the subtlest balderdash, tell us what you desire; for we would not give ear to any other present-day celestial expert except for Prodicus, in his case because of his skill and intelligence, in yours, *because you swagger in the streets and cast your eyes sideways,* go barefoot and endure much suffering, and give yourself airs on our account.

AR. *Nub.* 359–363 (tr. SOMMERSTEIN, my emphasis)

In their original context, the strange words describing Socrates' gait are of course comic and abusive, and—once again—stand out for their *visual* quality, in that they are likely to reflect the actor's look or behavior.³⁴ Thus, the principle enunciated at the beginning of Alcibiades' speech is promptly applied to a specific example. The very same image, whose original purpose was certainly

34 Remarkably, the chorus' words single out Socrates for his *aspect*, whereas Prodicus is mentioned because of his wisdom. This leaves little doubt that Socrates' exuberant countenance was indeed an important feature of the *Clouds*. Socrates' look should not be confounded with the pale and anodyne appearance of his disciples who, unlike Socrates, cannot tolerate the open air (cf. *Nub.* 185–200).

to elicit laughter, is put to the service of (Plato's) truth and turned into a model of military prowess.

The principle whereby Plato appropriates and “opens up” comic images is a productive and multi-faceted one, and it extends well beyond the pair formed by *Clouds* and *Symposium*: the *Banqueteers*, the *Birds*, and the *Frogs* may have had a similar impact on Socratic literature.³⁵ It is important to note that both the physical aspect and the behavior of Socrates are involved in the process, as the images of Silenus and that of swaggering Socrates make clear. It remains to see how Aristophanic comedy prefigures other aspects of Socrates' character as we know it from his companions, and especially from Plato.

4 Staring at the Sun

According to a successful if somewhat simplistic formula, Aristophanes' Socrates is a scapegoat (e.g., Guthrie 1969, 376) who stands for the sophists in general.³⁶ The question arises, then, why Aristophanes chose Socrates, of all people, as the main target of his lampooning. Socrates was probably a well-known figure, and he was enough of an eccentric to raise all sorts of suspicions, which resulted in the popular idea that he was a “sophist.” It was more than enough to make him a convenient target in the eyes of the audience at large, but this is not the whole story. Building on the suggestion of a few scholars, David Konstan puts forward an elegant explanation:

For one thing, Socrates seems to have been odd-looking, always a good qualification for being the butt of humor (Karavites 1973–1974), though it must be acknowledged that, as Dover points out (1968: xxxii), there is no mention of his appearance in *Clouds* (whether this was conveyed by a grotesque mask is a moot question). Besides this, Socrates was a native

35 A full catalogue would require a book-length monograph. In Capra 2007 I have collected a number of examples from the *Symposium* and other dialogues: Plato consistently appropriates and reverses comic images. The principle sheds light on the disconcerting similarities between Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* and Plato's *Republic* 5.

36 This reading has become almost universally accepted after Kenneth Dover's masterful edition of the *Clouds* (Dover 1968, xl). Bowie 1995 is a remarkable exception, which can work as a salutary warning against oversimplification. Bowie also offers a concise survey of scholarly interpretations that, unlike Dover's, emphasize the historicity of Aristophanes' Socrates (cf. n. 3). On the astonishing variety of philosophical influences in the *Clouds* see now Laks and Cottone 2013, an excellent collection of papers.

Athenian, whereas the great majority of natural philosophers and rhetoricians were foreign; it is better to attack a figure who is local and known to many than to pick on a visitor like Gorgias or Protagoras, who might be good for a laugh but hardly would sustain an Athenian audience's interest for an entire play ... Finally, and perhaps most important, Socrates was a character and even a bit of a public nuisance—that is, he was not simply an elite scientist or dialectician who hobnobbed with the rich, but a busy-body, as the Athenians would perceive it, who went round confronting people in the streets and squares, arguing with them and exposing their exaggerated opinion of their own intelligence.

KONSTAN 2011, 87

Although I would not subscribe to Dover's downright skepticism, I find this very convincing, and I would only add that Socrates, if we take Plato's insistence on his disavowal of knowledge at face value, had yet another advantage going for him: he presented himself, so to say, as a *tabula rasa*, on which a playwright, while making his character recognizable through visual and behavioral mannerisms, could easily inscribe any conceivable doctrine.³⁷

One may suspect that part of Aristophanes' game was precisely to ascribe as many doctrines as possible to someone who famously professed none. Similarly, Aristophanes confines his villain to the ludicrous space of the *phrontisterion*, something that was flatly belied by the fact that jobless Socrates could be seen spending his day in the streets of Athens—which is why he was recognizable to Aristophanes' audience, as Konstan remarks (cf. *Nub.* 102–104). Such a reversal would be in keeping with the irony that surrounds the play's parabasis, in which Aristophanes comes up with the astonishing claim that the *Clouds* stands out for its unprecedented chastity: allegedly, the play “has not sewn on a piece of hanging leather, thick and reddened at the end, to cause laughter among the children,” shows “no old man, who, while uttering his lines, batters his questioner with a stick,” and does not “rush upon the scene carrying a torch and screaming, *Iou Iou!*” (538–543). The second part of the comedy famously belies these boasts, in that it features hanging phalluses, torches, a violent old man and even the interjection “*Iou Iou!*” which is found both at the beginning and, repeatedly, at the end of the play.³⁸ Such blatant contradictions, it would

37 Including, at least in embryo, Socrates' own. See, e.g., Vancamp 1992 (on Socrates' maieutic art) and Broackes 2009 (on separate soul and Forms). Socrates' willingness to parrot back to his interlocutors *their* views may be also relevant, as he could *appear* to have many views while in fact having none.

38 *Nub.* 1, 1170, 1320, 1493. Hubbard 1991, 90–106, infers that the parabasis must refer to the

seem, are integral to the play's humor, and certainly do not make things easy for anyone searching for historical facts, let alone historical doctrines. However, they certainly do not detract from the productivity of Aristophanes' *visual* images.

As we (and, more literally, the Athenian audience) have *seen*, Aristophanes' Socrates contemplates the sun aboard his flying basket as he utters his opening cue. How was this realized on stage? Aristophanes surely resorted to the *machina*, which implicitly equates Socrates with a tragic god. As for the sun, Martin Revermann, on discussing the open-air conditions of the Greek theatre, has made the following point:

Particularly striking are those instances where the theatrical integration of the sun would seem to be mandated by the situational logic of a scene. One such instance is Socrates' airwalk (*Clouds* 225): ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον ("I airwalk and think around the sun"). During his airborne inspection Socrates must be looking at the real sun which thus becomes an integral part of the *mise en scène*, if only because ignoring the real sun is bound to strike the audience as confusing and nonsensical, not least given the southern orientation of the Theatre of Dionysus ... There is scope for more subtle theatricality lurking here, because Socrates' περιφρονεῖν can be humorously translated into visual action by letting the crane move "about," around the visible sun as the fixed point of reference. Plato's peculiar wording in the *Apology* may, as Moellendorff [2005, 127 n. 46] observes, point to exactly such movements.

REVERMANN 2006, 111–112

We can thus imagine the actor rotating, in the effort of scrutinizing the blinding Greek sun. In the *Apology*, the movement is rendered through the common verb περιφέρομαι, literally "to be brought around." To describe the action, however, Aristophanes resorts to two memorable words, namely ἀεροβατῶ and περιφρονῶ. The first is perhaps a hilarious invention, which I have translated with the verb "to skywalk." By contrast, the second verb is found in Thucydides (1.25.4) and elsewhere, but Aristophanes gives it what is likely to be an extraordinary meaning, which is peculiar to the *Clouds* and is found nowhere else in pre-Christian literature. The verb, which elsewhere means "to despise," refers here to Socrates' scrutinizing the sun from different angles, that is by swinging

original version of the *Clouds*. Olson 1994, however, has convincingly countered Hubbard's arguments.

around on board his flying device: this is of course suggested by the prefix περι-, but it is only the visual context that allows one to bring home Aristophanes' point.³⁹

As John Tzetzes acutely noted (ad 225a), the two meanings of the verb coexist in Socrates' cue. The ambiguity adds to Socrates' impiety, which consists precisely, among other things, in his pretension to displace the gods (remember that he enters as a *deus ex machina*) and to delve into mother nature's mysteries. This is made clear in the very close of the comedy, when Strepsides sets fire to the *phrontisterion*:

SOCRATES: Here, you on the roof, what do you think you're doing?
 STREPSIADES: "I'm sky-walking (ἀεροβατῶ) and scrutinizing (περιφρονῶ) the sun."
 SOCRATES: Help! wretched me! I'm going to choke!
 CHAEREPHON: But what about me, poor thing, I'll be burnt to death!⁴⁰
 STREPSIADES: Well, what was your idea in wantonly flouting the gods and inspecting the seat of the Moon? Chase them, hit them, pelt them, for a hundred causes, but most of all remembering how they wronged the gods!
 CHORUS-LEADER: Lead the way out; for we have done enough singing and dancing for today.

AR. *Nub.* 1502–1510/1 (tr. SOMMERSTEIN, modified)

Strepsides' appropriation of Socrates' bizarre words, besides making them memorable for future quotation, is a nice example of a recurrent feature of Aristophanic comedies, which Thiery once called "la structure tournante" and reminds one of the notion of *contrappasso* in Dante's *Comedy*: in a number of subtle and hilarious ways, which rest on both verbal and visual codes, the tables are turned, and the villain gets punished (see Thiery 1986, 345–346).

39 Further evidence can be found in a later scene, in which Socrates acts as a supercilious teacher and Strepsides as a thick student. Strepsides, whose very name means something like "rotator," is asked to "rotate himself" and "scrutinize things," in a long and hilarious passage (700–742). The lack of pre-Aristophanic instances of the verb may lead to the hasty conclusion that the meaning "compass in thought, speculate about" must be primary (cf. LSJ s.v.).

40 Sommerstein tentatively gives these words to Chaerephon (the manuscripts are silent). See Sommerstein 1998, 232, ad 1497.

5 The (Im)pious Skywalker and the Sunrise

As we have seen, the icon of skywalking, sun-scrutinizing Socrates-Silenus duplicates itself within the play according to the principle of *la structure tournante*. Its later offspring, however, is even richer. In the *Apology* Socrates confronts his skywalking avatar directly, and in the *Phaedo* he launches in what he refers to as a second apology, which is rounded up by one more explicit reference to the comic stage.⁴¹ Further on, when it comes to dissociating himself from the likes of Anaxagoras (the very same confusion which is denounced and ultimately associated with Aristophanes' influence in the *Apology*), Socrates recalls the time when he decided to give up directly *staring at the sun*, lest he turned blind (99d–e). This resulted in his decision to look for truth in *logoi*, Socrates' celebrated "second sailing," one of the founding texts of Socratism, and one that is arguably influenced by Aristophanes' comic avatar.

Another striking example is found in a passage from the *Theaetetus*, in which the malicious orator "gives the philosopher his revenge; for dizzied by the height at which he is hanging, whence he looks down into space, which is a strange experience to him, he being dismayed, and lost, and stammering broken words, is laughed at, not by Thracian handmaidens or any other uneducated persons, for they have no eye for the situation, but by every man who has not been brought up a slave" (175c–d, tr. Jowett). This passage belongs to the famous comparison between the life of philosophy and the life of politics, another founding text. Socrates' words have been rightly taken to contain yet another echo of the *Clouds*,⁴² as Plato conjures up Aristophanes' skywalking Socrates by hanging the dizzy orator in the air, thus appropriating the comedy's *structure tournante* at his expense.

The examples I have been discussing revolve around Socrates' aspect and behavior as well as his interests and views as recreated by Plato, and it is probably not a coincidence that they include a number of foundational texts. The list could certainly be longer: for example, it would be interesting to attempt a fresh reading of the *Republic* in this "solar" perspective, especially as regards the image of the sun and the trouble involved in its direct contemplation. However, it is time to conclude, and I would like to do so by returning one last time

41 Cf. 63b (beginning of the "apology") and 70b (reference to Aristophanes at the end of the "apology"). Rashed 2009 insightfully explores the crucial role played by the *Clouds* in the *Phaedo*.

42 See Ambrosino 1985 (esp. on *Tht.* 175d ~ *Nub.* 231–234). Cf. Nevola 1989 (on *Tht.* 161e ~ *Nub.* 135–139).

to Socrates-Silenus and to the special relationship between the *iconic* Socrates of the *Clouds* and his *ironic* counterpart in Plato's *Symposium*.

A number of further parallels could be adduced in favor of this very special relationship, but I shall focus on just one passage. I am referring to Socrates' strange behavior at Potidaea, when he was serving as a soldier. Right before quoting Aristophanes' line, Alcibiades recounts how Socrates stood "thinking from early dawn until noon—there he stood fixed in thought; and at noon attention was drawn to him, and the rumor ran through the wondering crowd that Socrates had been standing and speculating (φροντίζων) about something ever since the break of day" (*Symp.* 220c). Given the context of the speech, which opens and closes with the ultimately Aristophanic image of Silenus, the description of Socrates standing in full sun and "speculating" (note the verb φροντίζω, pointing to the *phrontisterion*) cannot but recall, once again, the *Clouds*, but Plato significantly alters the ending of the story:

At last, in the evening after supper, some Ionians out of curiosity (I should explain that this was not in winter but in summer), brought out their mats and slept in the open air that they might watch him and see whether he would stand all night. There he stood until the following morning; and with the return of light he offered up a prayer to the sun.

PL. *Symp.* 220c8–d5 (tr. JOWETT)

Of course, this may well be a true story that Plato, through the character of Alcibiades, is reporting faithfully, just as the historical Socrates, to a certain extent, was likely to resemble Silenus (e.g., Leão 1995), although the memory of his "real" face would have been lost within one generation.⁴³ However, I doubt that Plato would ever have written these lines—as well as the description of Socrates-Silenus—were it not for the Aristophanic verbal and visual subtext. Aristophanes' iconic and impious avatar, who goes so far as to "scrutinize" and "despise" the sun, turns smoothly into his Platonic namesake, the ironic and pious Socrates, who even *prays* to the Sun.

A whole set of strategies can be deployed to cope with Aristophanes' Socrates, from Xenophon's gloomy rebuttals⁴⁴ and Lysippus' tamed statue to the cunning appropriation of Plato who, with the fashioning of his dialogues and

43 Giuliani 1997, 34, makes the interesting point that "die Silensikonographie als Hilfskonstruktion verwendet wurde, um ein Phantombild des Sokrates herzustellen."

44 Carrière 1998, 245, aptly notes that "la référence à la Comédie Ancienne est, pour Xénonophon, fondamentalement dévalorisante." However, the beauty contest between Socrates and Critobulus (*Xen. Symp.* 5.5–7) can be viewed as a comic transfiguration of teleology.

of the Academy's revolutionary portrait, turned Aristophanes' "icons" into positive images and paradigms of the philosophical life. Either way, Aristophanes' Silenic character lies at the foundation of *Sôkratikoî logoi* and can be seen as a turning point in the history of Greek portraiture. Not too bad for a comedy whose production resulted in an epic failure. Whatever we make of his fantastic claims about the "chaste" superiority of the *Clouds*, Aristophanes, after all, definitely had, and scored, an important point.⁴⁵

References

- Ambrosino, D. 'Aristoph. *Nub.* 218–239', *MCr* 19–20 (1985), 65–69.
- Biles, Z.P. *Aristophanes and the poetics of competition*. Cambridge 2011.
- Bouvier, D. 'Platon et les poètes comiques: peut-on rire de la mort de Socrate?', in: M.L. Desclos, *Le rire des Grecs: anthropologie du rire en Grèce ancienne*, Grenoble 2000, 425–440.
- Bowie, E.L. 'Le portrait de Socrate dans les *Nuées* d'Aristophane', in: Trédé and Hoffmann 1998, 43–66.
- Brisson, L. *Platon: Le Banquet*. Paris 1998.
- Broackes, J. 'Ἄυτος καθ' αὐτόν in the *Clouds*: was Socrates himself a defender of separable soul and separate Forms?', *CQ* 59 (2009), 46–59.
- Canfora, L. *La crisi dell'utopia: Aristofane contro Platone*. Roma 2014.
- Capra, A. *Ἄγων λόγων: il Protagora di Platone tra eristica e commedia*. Milan 2001.
- Capra, A. 'Stratagemmi comici da Aristofane a Platone I: il satiro ironico (*Simposio, Nuvole* e altro)', *Stratagemmi* 2 (2007), 7–48.
- Capra, A. 'Transcoding the Silenus. Aristophanes, Plato and the Invention of Socratic Iconography', in: Tulli and Erler 2016, 437–442.
- Carrière, J.C. 'Socratisme, platonisme et comédie dans le *Banquet* de Xénophon', in: Trédé and Hoffmann 1998, 243–271.
- Caserta, C. 'Vista, parole e inganno nelle *Nuvole* di Aristofane', *Stratagemmi* 29 (2014), 11–44.
- Catenacci, C. 'Le maschere 'ritratto' nella commedia antica', *Dioniso* 3 (2013), 37–59.
- Catenacci, C. 'Protostoria del ritratto ad Atene tra VI e V sec. a.C.: tiranni e poeti', in: P. Angeli Bernardini, *La città greca: gli spazi condivisi. Convegno del centro internazionale di studi sulla grecità antica, Urbino 26–27 settembre 2012*, Roma 2014, 55–73.
- Charalabopoulos, N. *Platonic drama and its ancient reception*. Cambridge 2012.

45 Warm thanks to M. Giovannelli and M. Sassi for their perceptive reading of drafts of this paper.

- Destrée, P. 'The speech of Alcibiades (212c4–222b7)', in: C. Horn, *Platon: Symposium*, Berlin 2012, 191–205.
- Dover, K.J. *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford 1968.
- Dupréel, E. *La légende socratique et les sources de Platon*. Brussels 1922.
- Easterling, P.E. 'Sophocles and the wisdom of Silenus: a reading of *Oedipus at Colonus* 1211–1248', in: D. Cairns, *Tragedy and archaic Greek thought*, Swansea 2013, 193–204.
- Edmunds, L. 'Socrates and the sophists in old comedy: a single type?', *Dioniso* 6 (2007), 180–187.
- Gaiser, K. *Platone come scrittore filosofico. Saggi sull'ermeneutica dei dialoghi platonici*. Napoli 1984.
- Giuliani, L. 'Das älteste Sokrates-Bildnis: ein physiognomisches Porträt wider die Physiognomiker', in: W. Schlink, *Bildnisse: Die europäische Tradition der Portraïtkunst*, Freiburg 1997, 11–55.
- Guthrie, W.K.C. *A history of Greek philosophy*, III: *The fifth-century enlightenment*. Cambridge 1969.
- Hadot, P. *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie antique?* Paris 1995.
- Halliwell, S. *Greek laughter: a study of cultural psychology from Homer to early Christianity*. Cambridge 2008.
- Hubbard, T.K. *The mask of comedy: Aristophanes and the intertextual parabasis*. London 1991.
- Imperio, O. 'Il conflitto generazionale nei *Banchettanti* di Aristofane', in: D. Susanetti and N. Distilo, *Letteratura e conflitti generazionali: dall'antichità a oggi*, Roma 2013, 75–95.
- Ioppolo, A.M. 'Socrate e la conoscenza delle cose d'amore', *Elenchos* 20 (1999), 53–74.
- Karavites, P. 'Socrates in the *Clouds*', *CB* 50 (1974), 65–69.
- Konstan, D. 'Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds*', in: D.R. Morrison, *The Cambridge companion to Socrates*, Cambridge 2011, 75–90.
- Kopff, E.C. 'The date of Aristophanes, *Nubes II*', *AJPh* 111 (1990), 318–329.
- Laks, A. and R. Sietta Cottone. *Comédie et philosophie: Socrate et les 'présocratiques' dans les Nuées d'Aristophane*. Paris 2013.
- Lapatin K. 'Picturing Socrates', in: S. Ahbel-Rappe and R. Kamtekar, *A companion to Socrates*, Malden, MA 2006, 110–155.
- Leão, D. 'Retrato físico de Sócrates nas Nuvens e em Platão — breve apontamento', *Humanitas* (Coimbra) 47 (1995), 327–339.
- Loscalzo, D. 'Vestire il poeta (Aristoph. *Av.* 904–959)', in: S. Grandolini, *Lirica e teatro in Grecia: il testo e la sua ricezione: atti del II incontro di studi*, Napoli 2005, 221–234.
- Luisse, F. de and A. Stavru, *Socratica III: studies on Socrates, the Socratics, and the ancient Socratic literature*, Sankt Augustin 2013.
- Marshall, H.R. 'Some fifth-century masking conventions', *G&R* 46 (1999), 188–202.

- Marshall, H.R. 'Clouds, Eupolis and reperformance', in: C.W. Marshall and G. Kovacs, *No laughing matter: studies in Athenian comedy*, London 2012, 55–68.
- Mastromarco, G. *Introduzione ad Aristofane*. Bari 1994.
- Mingazzini, P. 'Su due oggetti in terracotta raffiguranti Socrate', *PP* 25 (1970), 351–358.
- Moellendorff, P. von. *Grundlagen einer Ästhetik der alten Komödie: Untersuchungen zu Aristophanes und Michail Bachtin*. Tübingen 1995.
- Moore, C. 'Socrates *Psychagôgos* (*Birds* 1555, *Phaedrus* 261a7)', in: de Luise and Stavru 2013, 41–44.
- Narcy, M. 'Socrate nel discorso di Alcibiade (Platone, *Simposio* 215a–222b)', in: L. Rossetti and A. Stavru, *Socratica 2005: Studi sulla letteratura socratica antica presentati alle Giornate di studio di Senigallia*, Bari 2008, 287–304.
- Nevola, M.L. 'Aristoph. *Nub.* 135–139 (*ap. Plat. Theaet.* 161e)', *MCR* 23–24 (1989), 227–231.
- Nightingale, A.W. *Genres in dialogue: Plato and the construct of philosophy*. Cambridge 1995.
- Olson, S.D. 'Clouds 537–44 and the original version of the play' *Philologus* 138 (1994), 32–37.
- Patzer, A. 'Sokrates in der Attischen Komödie', in: A. Bierl and P. von Möllendorff, *Orchestra: Drama, Mythos, Bühne*, Stuttgart 1994, 50–81.
- Platter, C. 'Plato's Aristophanes', in: S.D. Olson, *Ancient comedy and reception: essays in honor of Jeffrey Henderson*, Berlin 2014, 132–165.
- Rashed, M. 'Aristophanes and the Socrates of the *Phaedo*', *OSAPh* 36 (2009), 107–136.
- Revermann, M. *Comic business: theatricality, dramatic technique, and performance contexts of Aristophanic comedy*. Oxford 2006.
- Rossetti, L. *Le dialogue Socratique*. Paris 2011.
- Santoro, F. 'La citation des *Nuées* dans l'*Apologie de Socrate* de Platon', in: Laks and Sætta Cottone 2013, 193–206.
- Sassi, M.M. *Indagine su Socrate. Persona filosofo cittadino*. Torino 2015.
- Segoloni, L.M. *Socrate a banchetto: il Simposio di Platone e i Banchettanti di Aristofane*. Roma 1994.
- Sommerstein, A.H. 'Cleophon and the restaging of the *Frogs*', in: A.H. Sommerstein, S. Halliwell, J. Henderson, B. Zommermann, *Tragedy, comedy and the polis: papers from the Greek drama conference, Nottingham, 18–20 July*, Bari 1993, 461–476.
- Sommerstein, A.H. *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Warminster 1998.
- Sommerstein, A.H. *Talking about laughter and other studies in Greek comedy*. Oxford 2009.
- Speyer, A. 'The earliest bust of Socrates? New observations to Philochoros in *PHerc.* 1021 Col. 2', *BCPE* 31 (2001), 81–95.
- Stavru, A. 'The present state of Socratic studies: an overview', in: de Luise and Stavru 2013, 11–26.
- Thiercy, P. *Aristophane: fiction et dramaturgie*. Paris 1986.

- Toole, H. Εἰς ποῖον Σωκρατικὸν πρέπει να ἀποδοθῆ ἡ δυσμορφία τοῦ Σωκράτους, *Athena* 75 (1974–75), 303–317.
- Totaro, P. 'Maschere e potere nella commedia greca antica', *C&C* 10 (2015), 373–387.
- Trédé, M. and P. Hoffmann. *Le rire des anciens*, Paris 1998.
- Treu, M. *Undici cori comici: aggressività, derisione e tecniche drammatiche in Aristofane*. Genova 1999.
- Vancamp, B. 'L'historicité de la maïeutique socratique: réflexions critiques', *AC* 61 (1992), 111–118.
- Vander Waerdt, P.A. 'Socrates in the *Clouds*', in: P.A. Vander Waerdt, *The Socratic movement*, Ithaca 1994, 48–86.
- Willi, A. *The languages of Aristophanes: aspects of linguistic variation in classical Attic Greek*. Oxford 2003.
- Zanker, P. *The mask of Socrates: the image of the intellectual in antiquity* tr. A. Shapiro. Berkeley 1995.