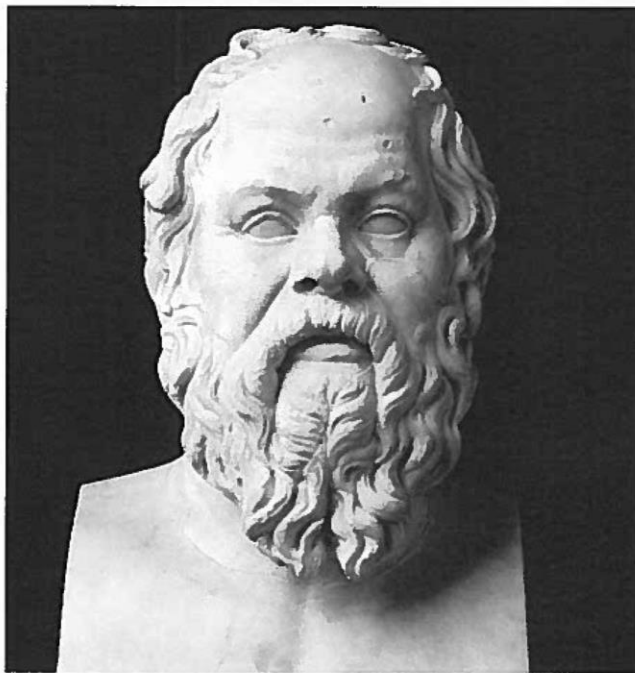


Candidate 2 evidence

To What Extent Is The Portrayal of Socrates in Aristophanes' Cloud Accurate?

To What Extent is the Portrayal of Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* Accurate?



Word Count: 4,395

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To What Extent Is The Portrayal of Socrates in Aristophanes' Cloud Accurate?

INTRODUCTION:

Socrates was and remains to be one of the world's most influential philosophers. When he was alive, however he was often misunderstood by those around him. An example of both misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Socrates, is in Aristophanes' production of the *Clouds* in 423BC – within however, the element of comedy and satire. I plan to explore the extent of which the portrayal of Socrates in the *Clouds* is accurate, the variations of Socratic methods, how the portrayal was influenced by the context of play and how it compares to the other portrayals of Socrates by Plato and Xenophon.

The major issue of this topic is that Socrates himself did not write anything down. Therefore, our key sources are from philosophers, contemporary to his time, such as Plato and Xenophon, and from modern scholars such as Douglas MacDowell and Meg Parker. One mistake to make in approaching this topic is to presume that the Socrates of Plato and Xenophon immediately equate to the 'real-life' Socrates, as although these sources provide us with a depth of information, they are not wholly reliable. In choosing a title for this topic, I looked at a number of alternatives such as "To what extent was Socrates a sophist?" However, this does not specifically address Socrates' role as a scientist within the *Clouds*, which is a key aspect of his character, therefore to look at Socrates' character within the *Clouds* in general, is a better alternative.

The *Clouds* is a Greek comedy written by the playwright Aristophanes. It was originally produced at the City Dionysia in 423 BC but was not successful as Aristophanes had hoped, coming last, it was thus later revised and no copy of the original production survives. The *Clouds* follows an Attic farmer called 'Strepsiades,' who is suffering extreme debt from his son, Pheidippides' over-spending on horse-racing. His only hope is a school known as the 'Thinkery', run by a pair of intellectuals, Chaerephon and Socrates. This school aims to teach young men the ability to win any argument, regardless if they are right or wrong.¹ Socrates was familiar to most Athenians because he had lived in Athens all his life, his appearance was noticeable and mildly comic, and he frequently engaged people in conversation in public. Aristophanes was therefore likely to choose Socrates to be the character that was assigned all the intellectual theories and activities which he wished to ridicule.

Socrates holds huge historical and philosophical value to the modern world, as one of the greatest thinkers the world has ever seen. His influence stretches down through modern politics and law, and he is credited as being the first moral philosopher of the Western ethical tradition of thought.² He is essential for drawing comparisons to modern ideas today and his on-going significance in the modern world demonstrates how classical studies is so important.

¹ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

² KRAUT, R. (2019) *Socrates: Greek Philosopher*. Encyclopedia Britannica.

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CHAPTER ONE: Socrates and the Sophists

In the *Clouds*, Socrates is the leader of a group of Sophists. The methods and ideas of the Sophists play a key, yet controversial role within the play. Within the 5th century the term "Sophist" was applied to professional teachers who charged fees for lessons in rhetoric, politics and mathematics. After the death of Pericles, many politicians began to gain influence by manipulating and flattering the citizens of the Assembly in order to win their votes, so the skill of rhetoric was highly valued. The Sophists however, would not teach their students about things like right versus wrong, truth, and justice, but would teach their students how to win their argument regardless if they were right and had justice on their side.³ In the *Clouds*, Strepsiades explains the sophists who study at the Thinkery to Pheidippides: "And if you pay them well, they can teach you how to win a case whether you're in the right or not."⁴ Aristophanes is hereby suggesting, that Socrates, who is the leader of these Sophists, is in agreement with the concepts of charging fees in exchange for lessons in rhetoric. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Socrates dismisses the Sophists for their expensive fees: "Those who prostitute wisdom."⁵ Socrates hereby felt that knowledge and wisdom should not be sold to anyone who was willing to pay for it. Xenophon was a Greek historian and philosopher, a student of Socrates and a contemporary source of Athenian society during the time of Socrates, making him therefore reliable. In modern society, in Britain for example, there are many people who disagree with the existence of private schools, where parents pay for their children to have a separate education than the ones provided by the state, as they feel it implements the class system as wealthier children gain educational advantages and opportunities.⁶ In classical Athens there were no state schools. Payment of fees meant that though most parents could afford at least elementary education for their children, the children of the rich would be educated.⁷ It is clear that Socrates did not align himself with the Sophists, due to the fundamental factor of finance. This is clearly contrasting to the character of Socrates in the *Clouds*, who is the leader of the Sophist group, and charges education in rhetoric for a fee, which therefore shows that Aristophanes' portrayal of Socrates is not wholly accurate.

Some Athenian citizens at the time praised the Sophists, as they valued the skill of rhetoric, however others were scared that the Sophists were challenging morality, as sophist teachings preached the idea that 'nothing is absolute.' Socrates was accused of being a sophist as he tried to show people the limitations of their knowledge. According to the classical scholar Dover, Socrates' main goal was to find a better alternative than cynical immortality as an answer to the question of living a good life; therefore the primary difference between

³ DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

⁴ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics) p. 78

⁵ XENOPHON, *Memorabilia*. 1.6.13 - PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD. page. 24

⁶ SAROFIAN-BUTIN, D. *A Debate on Public Versus Private Schools* (2016) Huffington Post Online

⁷ Various authors, *Athens: Education* (2018) Encyclopedia Britannica [online]

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Socrates and the Sophists seems to lie in disagreement on whether or not a truth or knowledge might be absolute.⁸ Aristophanes' Socrates however, focuses on natural science, rather than cynical immortality. A key aspect of the play that some audience members may have believed to have been promoting the idea that 'nothing is absolute,' is the teaching of the Right and Wrong Argument. It is the Wrong Argument that ultimately wins in the play, and trumps the debate in education against Right. In modern society, when new ideas come about that challenge tradition and religion, they are often met with controversy. In 2015 same-sex marriage was nationally legalised, even though many members of society who were more religious were strongly against it. For example, in September 2015, the Westboro Baptist Church notoriously picked funerals for victims of mass shootings to draw attention to their campaign arguing that God is punishing America for accommodating homosexuality.⁹ This is similar to the reaction towards the 'radical' ideas in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. The play ends with Strepsiades realising how the Wrong Argument has negatively affected his son by challenging traditional morality, and he burns down the Thinkery.¹⁰ It appears that Socrates as a Sophist is a generally inaccurate portrayal by Aristophanes, however it must be remembered that Aristophanes is putting on a comedic production in order to garner laughs and votes in the competition. This will inevitably mean that we cannot take *Clouds* to be a reliable source as Aristophanes may be applying exaggeration or fantasy to gain the most support, in this case; the controversial moral beliefs of the Sophists.

CHAPTER TWO: Socrates and Morality

In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, the character of Socrates is the leader of a sophist group of thinkers who teach lessons in natural science and rhetoric in exchange for a fee.¹¹ According to other sources, Socrates was born in Athens in 469BC yet we know little of his childhood other than the fact that his father was a sculptor and his mother was a midwife. Generally, he avoided politics, apart from the event in 399, described by Plato in *Apology*, in which Socrates was put on trial on the charges of atheism and corrupting the youth of Athens. He was ultimately found guilty and condemned to death.¹²

In the *Clouds*, the Thinkery, of which Socrates is a leader, teaches the skill of rhetoric. This skill was a key aspect of Athenian politics in the 5th century, as it enabled you to successfully argue and persuade people to vote for your ideas. When Strepsiades asks that Pheidippides should be taught "the Right and Wrong Argument," Socrates goes off-stage, and immediately the two Arguments appear. The Right and Wrong Arguments are personifications of the concepts of winning an argument with truth and justice, or by using rhetoric to win regardless if you

* DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

⁹ GREY, H. (2018) *They're Still Here: The curious evolution of Westboro Baptist Church*. Religion News Service. [online]

¹⁰ DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

¹¹ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

¹² PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD.

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are telling the truth.¹³ The debate between 'Right' and 'Wrong' shown in the play is very unlike Socrates' beliefs, according to Plato, Socrates didn't see things as so easily defined, as his method of philosophy involved the constant reconstruction of definitions. In Plato's *Republic*, which follows a dialogue of Socrates, we see him using this technique in trying to get to the essence of justice: "What is justice?"¹⁴ He goes on to pick at every aspect of the word, before coming to the conclusion that he doesn't really know the true meaning. However, it was not Socrates' goal to come to such a defined conclusion, his aim was to get to the essence of moral qualities, such as justice, and to understand that they were not so subjective and relative, unlike the clear division of Right and Wrong in the *Clouds*. Aristophanes' portrayal of Socrates promotes the teaching of the Wrong Argument, which twists moral values to suit their situation.¹⁵ It is clear in Plato's *Republic*, that Socrates was actually against this concept, when he criticises the subjectivity of laws: "And by good ones you mean those that are to their own advantage and by bad ones those that are not?"¹⁶ Plato had been one of Socrates' many disciples, so would have been present at many of Socrates discussions and lectures. However, in the dialogues written by Plato, it is not possible to tell if the Socrates in the dialogues is an accurate representation of Socrates, or simply the mouthpiece for Plato's own opinions.

In the modern world, the misinterpretation of philosophical ideas is something that is often seen, an example being Sigmund Freud (1856-1929). Freud was an Austrian neurologist whose words and phrases he popularised are so deeply ingrained in popular culture to the point that many people use them without knowing the real meaning. The 'Oedipus complex' was Freud's term for the complex set of emotions which occur between children and their parents, named after the tragic figure of Sophocles' Greek drama 'Oedipus,' however it is often misused for film plots and everyday communication.¹⁷ The misinterpretation of Freud's philosophical ideas is similar to that of Socrates, in the sense that Socrates' methods of moral objectiveness have been completely confused and misused by Aristophanes, when portraying him as supportive of the sophist moral subjectivity and use of the Wrong Argument. Socrates believed that if we knew what was right, we would always do it, the key issue is a lack of understanding that causes people to go wrong.¹⁸ Aristophanes may have simply created the characters of the Right and Wrong Argument to comically play into issues surrounding Athenian politics at the time and use of rhetoric, as well as the new ideas being introduced in Athens by Ionian philosophers, as in order for the play to be appreciated it does need to have some vein of truth. However, through the dialogues of Plato, we can see that this comic portrayal of Socrates moral values was largely inaccurate.

¹³ DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

¹⁴ PLATO. *Republic* - PARKER, M. (1979) *Socrates: The Wisest and Most Just?* Cambridge University Press

¹⁵ MACDOWELL. Douglas M. *Aristophanes and Athens*.

¹⁶ PLATO. *Republic* - PARKER, M. (1979) *Socrates: The Wisest and Most Just?* Cambridge University Press

¹⁷ KELLY, J. Sigmund Freud: The phrases you use without realizing it. (2014) BBC News Magazine. [online]

¹⁸ PARKER, M. (1979) *Socrates: The Wisest and Most Just?* Cambridge University Press.

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Socrates was well known for his seemingly odd behaviour.¹⁹ Although the portrayal of Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* is clearly an exaggerated caricature, some aspects are recognisable from our other sources. In Plato's *Symposium*, one of the guests recalls that when they were on military service together, Socrates seemed impervious to the cold, even in winter: "Socrates went out in conditions like that, just wearing his usual long cloak and without any shoes on at all."²⁰ In the *Clouds*, the chorus implies that Strepsiades will get on well with Socrates: "if you laugh at the cold and at shortage of food."²¹ This shows a subtle similarity between Aristophanes' portrayal of Socrates and the other sources portrayal. The guest in *Symposium* goes on to say that: "the soldiers used to glare at him, because they thought he despised them."²² This is not dissimilar to Pheidippides' description of Socrates and the other members of the Thinkery as: "stuck-up white-faced barefoot characters."²³ This suggests that Aristophanes' description of Socrates as stuck-up and barefooted may not be such an exaggeration. This also shows how easily Socrates' behaviour could be misunderstood and how arrogant he could appear to ordinary people, other than Plato and Xenophon who looked up to him. Plato's Socrates is mostly a paragon of patience who never loses his temper: "Oh come on, let's give him advice, not abuse."²⁴ However, Plato was so concerned to make a hero and a martyr of the teacher who inspired so much of his philosophy that his version is not necessarily wholly reliable. Aristophanes' portrayal seems to show a more exaggerated side of Socrates, for the purpose of satire. Perhaps Socrates' portrayal in the *Clouds* is not so much inaccurate, but simply shows a different side of Socrates that Plato was unwilling to confront.

Most of Socrates' time seemed to have been spent sitting about in public places talking to anyone who would listen. He was very interested in issues of morality and words like 'truth, wisdom, justice, love,' which people often use without understanding their real meaning, leading him to demand a definition, seeking to expose contradictions.²⁵ In the *Clouds*, Socrates encourages Strepsiades to question himself and the things that he already knows. The Socratic Method was ultimately based on the idea of trying to rebirth new ideas.²⁶ He viewed himself as somewhat of a spiritual midwife; there is a subtle reference to this in the *Clouds* with the phrase "totally abortive." In a number of dialogues by Plato, Socrates logically but mercilessly destroys his opponents.²⁷ However, it seems doubtful that people would allow Socrates to make them look stupid without resorting to violence. Perhaps these feelings of irritation towards Socrates are communicated in the *Clouds*, when the play ends with

¹⁹ MACDOWELL, Douglas M. *Aristophanes and Athens*.

²⁰ PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD.

²¹ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

²² PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD.

²³ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

²⁴ PLATO. *Laches* – PARKER, M. (1979) *Socrates: The Wisest and Most Just?* Cambridge University Press. p.45

²⁵ PARKER, M. (1979) *Socrates: The Wisest and Most Just?* Cambridge University Press

²⁶ PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD.

²⁷ PLATO. (380BC) *Lysis*. – JOWETT, B. *The Dialogues of Plato*. page. 816

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Socrates and his sophist students being painted as villains when Strepsiades burns down the Thinkery in a bout of rage. This violent tone is seen in the result of Socrates' trial, in which he was condemned for death for charges of atheism and corrupting the youth. In modern history, there have been many examples of people who aim to question what we already know to be true, and who have exposed the ignorance of others with their discoveries. For example, in 1859 Charles Darwin published his theories about evolution, at first they were shunned by those who felt it would show them as ignorant, however in most recent civilisation it is one of the most celebrated scientific discoveries.²⁸ Darwin also has been portrayed as a caricature, in the 2012 animated film 'The Pirates!' he is portrayed as an outsider, who demonstrates odd and irrational behaviour in comparison to the other characters, much like Socrates.²⁹ In the classical world, Socrates' ideas and methods of thinking may have been met with controversy as they proved those who followed religious concepts ignorant. Socrates' talent for showing people their own ignorance did not make him popular, therefore causing many people to believe he was a sophist who just used clever words.³⁰ It is therefore understandable as to why Socrates was portrayed as the leader of the Sophists in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, as to play into stereotypes is a simple technique in order to achieve comic effect. E

CHAPTER THREE: Socrates and Science

The character of Socrates in the *Clouds*, is introduced whilst suspended in the air conducting a scientific experiment. When Strepsiades asks Socrates why he is in the air, Socrates responds: "Why, for accurate investigation of meteorological phenomena it is indispensable to get one's thoughts into a state of suspension."³¹ Many philosophers at the time were interested in issues of science, mainly explanations for weather and for how life came about. According to Plato's *Phaedo*, Socrates had little interest in studying science, as he felt it wrong to neglect issues of morality over "alien" matters.³² However, Socrates may have previously had an interest in natural science at the time of the *Clouds*, especially as *Phaedo* was published a number of years later. Plato even contradicts himself in *Phaedo* when he states that when Socrates was young he was interested in scientific questions and "what happens concerning the sky and the earth."³³ Regardless of whether or not Socrates truly had an interest in science like his portrayal in the *Clouds*, his 'experiments' show humorous extremities, those of a comic poet. For example, at the beginning of the play the Student describes how Socrates and Chaerephon decided to measure how many feet a flea could S

²⁸ DESMOND, A.J. (2019) *Charles Darwin British Naturalist*, Encyclopaedia Britannica [online]

²⁹ *The Pirates!* (2012). [Film]. Peter Lord. Dir. United Kingdom. Aardman Studios.

³⁰ DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

³¹ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

³² PLATO, *Phaedo*. – GUTHRIE, W. K. C. (1963). *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Vol. III). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³³ PLATO, *Phaedo*. – GUTHRIE, W. K. C. (1963). *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Vol. III). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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jump, in the length of the flea's feet: "He melted the wax and put the flea's feet into it, so that when it set the flea had a stylish pair of slippers on."³⁴ Not only is this a far-fetched and unrealistic experiment, but it is a comic reference to the fact that Socrates supposedly rarely washed. We must remember that Aristophanes wanted to write a play that made fun of the behaviour of intellectuals and for dramatic and entertainment reasons needed one character to represent that. The majority of the leading intellectuals in the fifth century were not suitable for this purpose as they were foreigners and would not have been known enough by the Athenian audience to understand the reference. However, Socrates was widely known in Athens for his unusual behaviour of engaging people in conversation and comic appearance.

In 399 BC, two charges were brought against Socrates: of not believing in the gods, and of corrupting the youth of Athens.³⁵ We can see that in Socrates' recorded speeches he was a very pious man: "I do believe that there are gods, and in a far higher sense than that in which any of my accusers believe in them."³⁶ We can trust Plato's account of Socrates' trial to a considerable extent, as he was present at the time and would have written down the events shortly after they happened. There is no evidence of Socrates introducing foreign gods into Athens out with the *Clouds*. The character of Socrates explains to Strepsiades: "The first thing you'll have to learn is that with us the gods are no longer current."³⁷ Socrates claims that the traditional Gods such as Zeus do not exist, and that the true divinities are the *Clouds*, who make up the chorus of the play: "With our divinities, the *Clouds*?"³⁸ According to Socrates, the *Clouds* are goddesses that are responsible for things like thunder, lightning and rain, which are traditionally controlled by Zeus, however it is later revealed that Socrates was incorrect, and the *Clouds* really are under the control of Zeus. Aristophanes is constructing comedy out of the beliefs of other philosophers; Diogenes of Apollonia apparently called air 'God', a reference that we see when Socrates swears not by Zeus but: "By Air!"³⁹ This shows how Aristophanes combines the ideas of other philosophers into a singular character. The depiction of Socrates in Aristophanes' play, as not believing in the Gods and of corrupting the youth (Pheidippides) into learning the Wrong Argument, may have impacted upon Socrates being charged guilty during his trial, as the play may have been misinterpreted out with the main comic purpose. Ultimately, we can see in this case the possible impact that the misrepresentation of Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* may have had. Aristophanes was a comedian and a satirist, therefore we ought not to be surprised that his picture of Socrates is

³⁴ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

³⁵ PARKER, M. (1973) *Socrates and Athens*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Education LTD.

³⁶ PLATO, *Apology*. (1970c) In R. M. Hare & D. A. Russell (Eds.), *The Dialogues of Plato* (Vol. 1) (B. Jowett Trans.). London: Sphere Books.

³⁷ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

³⁸ ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds* (423BC) – SOMMERSTEIN, A.H. (2003) *Lysistrata and Other Plays* (Penguin Classics)

³⁹ MACDOWELL. Douglas M. *Aristophanes and Athens*. p.123

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not identical with Plato's. Although the Sophists were providing alternative theories about how the world came to exist, in ancient Athens most of the universal explanations of the world were based on the actions of the Gods, so this portrayal by Aristophanes of Socrates had some controversial significance. Overall, it is safe to say that the portrayal of Socrates as believing that the gods "are no longer current" is inaccurate according to the classical sources on him.

CONCLUSION:

One key question that must be asked is how far Aristophanes intended to implicate Socrates in the immoral side of sophistry, that being the teaching of the Wrong Argument. Socrates would-be pupil comes to him expecting to learn how to cheat, and is encouraged in this by the chorus, but in fact Socrates only teaches him all sorts of unpractical and unworldly things. Socrates is not responsible for what the Wrong Argument says, and is accused of nothing worse than wasting time in talk and finicky argument. Therefore, it could be argued that Aristophanes was not in fact presenting a completely inaccurate portrayal, as Socrates doesn't wholly engage with the sophistic purposes of the Thinkery, but instead engages in conversation – much like what Plato and Xenophon describe when he discusses various issues in public places.

The philosophical descriptions of Socrates are a far cry from that of the comic poet Aristophanes, who describes Socrates as the leader of the Sophists, teaching the tricks of oratory, devoting himself to studies in meteorology and grammar and of not believing in the traditional gods. The Socrates of Plato and Xenophon is openly hostile against oratorical techniques, proves himself pious in various dialogues and is against the concept of passing on knowledge for money. Although there is some evidence of Socrates taking interesting in natural science, it was not his primary moral concern. However, some of Socrates' behaviour in the *Clouds* does line up with the contemporary sources, such as walking around without shoes and his stuck-up nature. A fundamental factor of inaccuracy in the play in the portrayal of Socrates as believing in moral subjections, as the leader of the Sophists and by supporting the teaching of the wrong argument - whereas according to Plato Socrates believed in moral objectiveness, and analysing the essence of moral values rather than finding an answer.

Aristophanes makes Socrates responsible for all the intellectual activities that were occurring at the time, and then exaggerates them for comic purpose. The key areas of truth in Aristophanes' portrayal of Socrates, and which also help to explain why Aristophanes chose him in the first place; are his recognisable appearance and his odd behaviour, which often isolated him from ordinary people. All of these factors made him an easy target for mockery and an ideal representative of philosophers and thinkers in general, regardless of specific teachings. It must be remembered that Aristophanes is putting on a comic production in order to generate laughs and win the competition, *Clouds* is ultimately not a wholly reliable source in itself, as Aristophanes is applying exaggeration or fantasy to entertain and gain the most support.

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Thus, the most suitable conclusion is that Aristophanes' portrayal of Socrates, though inaccurate and unfair in many ways, is not wholly false. Dover would conclude that Aristophanes had little care for the impact on Socrates with his ruthless and fallacious portrayal.⁴⁰ Whereas, MacDowell describes the portrayal as simply: "a comic reflection of the man in a distorting mirror, not a picture of a quite different man."⁴¹

⁴⁰ DOVER, K.J. (1969) *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford University Press; Abridged edition

⁴¹ MACDOWELL. Douglas M. *Aristophanes and Athens*.

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