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WHAT WAS SOCRATES CALLED?*

To construct a concept, like philosophy, construct also its opposite, like sophistry.[1] So Plato pitted Socrates, his exponent of philosophy, against various sophists. Though Xenophon, for his part, usually puts the sophists in a more favourable light than Plato does, he shows Antiphon the Sophist rebuking Socrates as a 'teacher of unhappiness' and Socrates defending himself (*Mem.* 1.6).[2] To most of his contemporaries, however, Socrates' activities would not have seemed markedly different from the sophists'.[3] Both he and they were known for ἀδολεσχία 'idle talk'.[4] In fact, he was convicted and executed partly because he could be alleged to be doing the same things as they. Was Socrates then also called a *sophistes*?

Not in Plato or Xenophon. Nor does a survey of relevant passages in other writers who were living in Athens at the same time as Socrates yield any conclusive evidence. These others include Aristophanes and some other poets of Old Comedy, of whom several fragments mentioning Socrates survive.[5] In only one of these fragments, to be

* Cassio = A. Cassio, Aristofane: Banchettanti (*ΔΑΙΤΑΛΗΣ*): *i frammenti* (Pisa, 1977); CPF = F. Adorno et al. (edd.), *Corpus dei papyri filosofici greci e latini*, pt 1, vol. 1* (Florence, 1989); *SSR* = G. Giannantoni (ed.), *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae*[2], 4 vols. (Rome, 1990).

[1] On Plato's construction of philosophy: R. Kraut, 'Introduction to the study of Plato', in id. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plato* (Cambridge, 1992), 1–2 (he uses the words 'invent' and 'invention'); A. W. Nightingale, *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construct of Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1995), 10–11, 14; 'Sages, sophists, and philosophers: Greek wisdom literature', in O. Taplin (ed.), *Literature in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A New Perspective* (Oxford, 2000), 156–7, 172–3. As for the sophists, A. Ford, 'Sophistic', *Common Knowledge* 2 (1993), 39 formulates Plato's strategy thus: 'Denigrating the sophists was inseparable from … establishing Socrates' and his own practice as nonsophistry: against the Sophists' artful deceptions was the permanent, transcendent truth attainable through dialectic.'

[2] For Xenophon's evaluation of the sophists, see C. J. Classen, 'Xenophons Darstellung der Sophistik und der Sophisten', *Hermes* 112 (1984), 157, 165–6.

[3] As is clear from Xen.: Classen (n. 2), 158, 165; L.-A. Dorion (tr.), *Xénophon: Mémorables* (Paris, 2000), 1.73–4 (n. 67). Cf. A. Nehamas, *The Art of Living: Socratic Reflections from Plato to Foucault* (Berkeley, 1998), 57 (with n. 43): 'Socrates was part and parcel of the "Sophistic movement" '; R. Wallace, forthcoming, 'Plato's sophists, intellectual history after 450, and Sokrates', in L. J. Samons, II (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Athens in the Age of Pericles*.

[4] Eupolis, incert. fab. 388 K–A (5.512), cited below in the text; cf. Ar. *Daitales* fr. 206 K–A (σοφίσματα) with K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford, 1968) on line 331. Cf. Eupolis, *incert. fab.* 386 K–A (5.511–12), where Socrates is called ἀδολέσχης. For the semantics of ἀδολεσχεῖν, see L. Edmunds, 'Socrates and the sophists in Old Comedy: a single type?', forthcoming in *Dioniso*; E. Dettori, 'Appunti sul "Banchetto di Pollis' (Call. Fr. 178 Pf.)', in R. Pretagostini and E. Dettori (edd.), *La cultura ellenistica: l'opera letteraria e l'esegesi antica* (Rome, 2004), 57–8.

[5] List in A. Patzer, 'Sokrates in den fragmenten der Attischen Komödie', in A. Bierl, P. von Möllendorff, and S. Vogt (edd.), *Orchestra, Drama, Mythos, Bühne* (Stuttgart, 1994), 50–81; another slightly different list in Edmunds (n. 4). In discussing Aristophanes, I am assuming that the Socrates of *Nub.* is historical and that the terms concerning sophists are relevant to the problem of the historical Socrates. On the historicity of Aristophanes' Socrates, see E. Bowie, 'Le portrait de Socrate dans les Nuées d'Aristophane', in M. Trédé and P. Hoffmann (edd.), *Le rire des anciens* (Paris, 1998), 53–66 (with bibliography in n. 3). P. Brown, 'Socrates in comedy', in V. Karasmanis (ed.), *Socrates: 2400 Years Since His Death* (Delphi, 2004), 526–30 distinguishes in

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discussed below, is it possible that Socrates is called *sophistes*.[6] Passages in Lysias and Aeschines of Sphettus, one in each, are also relevant.

Aristophanes in fact comes very close to calling Socrates *sophistes*. His Chorus of Clouds assigns Socrates and Prodicus to a particular kind of sophist, the μετεωροσοφισταί (360, that is, 'astronomical sophists' in the definition of *LSJ*[9]), as distinguished, apparently, from some other kind(s) of sophist.[7] Socrates, for his part, says that the Clouds support a great number of *sophistai*, and distinguishes five species (331–4). These include μετεωροφένακες, presumably the same species as the one to which the Clouds assign Socrates, but he does include himself among them.[8] (To four of these species I shall return below.[9])

While in *Clouds* Socrates is never directly called *sophistes* plain and simple, his Thinkery produces *sophistai*. The Weaker Logos promises Strepsiades that his son will there become a *sophistes* (1111), which is a way of saying that his son will become the clever speaker Strepsiades wants him to be. The Clouds, in calling Strepsiades himself a *sophistes*, clearly imply that he has earned this name from his association with Socrates (1310a). In at least one case, Socrates' real-life associates were called *sophistai*. In Lysias, Aeschines of Sphettus is called *sophistes* (fr. 1 Medda sub fin. = Athen. 13.612F).[10]

But the only place in Old Comedy in which Socrates himself might be so called is a one-line fragment of Eupolis (*incert. fab.* fr. 388 K–A [*PCG* 5.512]): ἀλλ' ἀδολεσχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκδίδαξον, ὦ σοφιστά. Andreas Patzer argues from comparison of the situation in this comedy (as inferred from the fragments) with the situation in *Clouds* that the unknown speaker is addressing Socrates.[11]

To sum up, Aristophanes and the relevant fragments of Old Comedy, with the possible exception of the one just mentioned, are consistent with Plato and Xenophon in avoiding *sophistes* as an appellation of Socrates. This observation on the silence of a few sources is not an argument for a negative (Socrates was never called *sophistes*),

Nub. between those elements of Socrates that are true to life and those that are not. A possible contemporary source which I do not discuss is Ion of Chios (d. before 421 B.C.E.) *FGrH* 392F9 = *SSR* I D 1 p. 213: Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος καὶ νέον ὄντα (scil. τὸν Σωκράτην) εἰς Σάμον σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ ἀποδημῆσαι (from Diog. Laert. 2.23), i.e. Socrates served in the Samian campaign in 440 B.C.E. with Archelaus. Cf. L. E. Woodbury, 'Socrates and Archelaus', in *Collected Writings* (Atlanta, GA, 1991), 223–5 (article originally published in *Phoenix* 25 [1971], 299–309).

[6] For Socrates in the fragments of Old Comedy see Patzer (n. 5).

[7] Such persons are elsewhere called μετεωρόσκοποι (Pl. *Resp*. 488E4), μετεωρόλογοι (Gorgias, *Hel*. 13; Eur. *fab. incert.* fr. 913 Nauck) and μετεωρολέσχαι (Ar. *Nub.* I fr. 401 K–A; Pl. *Resp*. 489C6; [Pl.] *Sisyph*. 389A2; cf. Plut. *Nic*. 23). Pericles became 'full of μετεωρολογία' through his contact with Anaxagoras (Pl. *Phdr*. 270A3-8).

[8] For this way of construing 331–4 cf. G. Guidorizzi in D. Del Corno and G. Guidorizzi, *Aristofane: le Nuvole* (Milan, 1996) on 331 (though I would take 334 as referring only to the last-named species, the dithyrambic poets); O. Imperio, 'La figura dell'intellettuale nella commedia greca', in A. M. Belardinelli, et al. (edd.), *Tessere: frammenti della commedia greca: studi e commenti* (Bari, 1998), 75. E. Degani, 'Appunti per una traduzione delle 'Nuvole' di Aristofane', *Eikasmos* 1 (1991), 126 has a different interpretation.

[9] Like everyone else, I am unsure of the referent of one of the species, σφραγιδονυχαργοκομῆται (332). Proposals range from unkempt Socratics (Dover [n. 4], ad loc.) to rich aristocrats who are entranced with sophists (Guidorizzi [n. 8], ad loc.).

[10] Considerably later in time, I assume, Xenophon in his *Symposium* has Callias say to Antisthenes, καὶ ἀνάσχου μέντοι, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐλεγχόμενος (4.5). An allusion to Antisthenes as the student of Gorgias has been seen here. See B. Huß, *Xenophons Symposion: Ein Kommentar* (Stuttgart, 1999), ad loc.

[11] Patzer (n. 5), 74–5.

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an argument not worth trying to make, but a way of opening the question of what Socrates *was* called in his lifetime. Aristophanes in fact offers another appellation, and, in this case, the concurrence of Plato and Xenophon is not a matter of their silence. Consideration of this word, φροντίστης, will ultimately lead back to *sophistes* and to the conditions which might have inhibited its application to Socrates.

SOCRATES AS ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΣ

Socrates, addressing the Clouds, refers to himself as φροντιστής (266). Strepsiades' name for Socrates and his students is μεριμνοφροντισταί (101). The first element indicates careful thought (cf. 420, 952, 1404), almost a watchword for the Thinkery (cf. 136),[12] and is probably Strepsiades' way of intensifying the second element of the compound. The Clouds tell Strepsiades that he must be, among other things, a φροντιστής (414), and Strepsiades also calls Socrates and his students by this name (456). Socrates' school is, of course, the φροντιστήριον (94, 128, 142, 181, 1144, 1487). Everything in *Clouds* except the Weaker Logos' use of φροντιστής of himself (1039) suggests that in this play the word means 'investigator of things above the earth', the meaning that the word has in Plato and Xenophon (see below).

The word also had the more general sense of 'thinker', as apparently in a comedy by one of Aristophanes' rivals. Socrates appeared in Amipsias' *Konnos* (fr. 9 [*PCG* 2.202] from Diog. Laert. 2.28), which was performed at the same dramatic festival as *Clouds* (423 B.C.E.). Connus was Socrates' music teacher.[13] The Chorus of this comedy consisted of named φροντισταί.[14] Patzer has imaginatively argued that, while it is possible that Socrates is a member of the Chorus (and thus a φροντιστής) who is addressed by an actor or actors, it is more likely that he is an actor addressed by other actors, namely the boys with whom the old Socrates studied music chez Connus (Pl. *Euthd*. 272C1-5). This scenario, Patzer further argues, does not rule out the possibility that Socrates was called φροντιστής in this comedy.[15]

To move ahead now in time to Plato and Xenophon, in the latter's *Symposium* the Syracusan impresario chides Socrates for having φροντιστής as his nickname (verb ἐπικαλέω). Socrates counters: 'Isn't that better than if I were called ἀφρόντιστος?' Back comes the impresario: 'It would be if you were not considered τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστής' (6.6). This riposte forces Socrates into some elaborate defensive joking. The Syracusan has been able to rely on an entrenched opinion, already expressed in Diopeithes' law of *c*. 432 B.C.E. (Plut. *Per*. 32), which links investigation of τὰ μετέωρα to atheism or impiety. Eupolis, in his *Flatterers* of 421 B.C.E., uses this opinion as the basis of a caricature of Protagoras.[16] As Socrates says in Plato's *Apology* (18C3; cf. *Leg*. 967A), people believe that those who investigate τὰ μετέωρα do not believe in the gods.

The dramatic date of Xenophon's *Symposium* is 422 B.C.E. Though the Syracusan might seem to be alluding to *Clouds* (performed in 423 B.C.E., in a version differing in

[12] Cf. Dover (n. 4), 107 on 101; Degani (n. 8), 121 (on 101); 122 (on 136).

[13] See D. Nails, *The People of Plato* (Indianapolis, IN, 2002) s.v. Connus; on the play see C. Carey, 'Old Comedy and the sophists', in D. Harvey and J. Wilkins (edd.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy* (London, 2000), 420–3. This fr. is not included in SSR I A.

[14] Athen. 5.218c = *Konnos* test. ii (PCG 2.200), with the discussion of Patzer (n. 5), 63–4. Dover (n. 4), p. li curiously says that Amipsias did not use the word φροντιστής.

[15] Patzer (n. 5), 65–6.

[16] *Flatterers* fr. 506 K–A. For ἀλιτήριος 'impious' in this fr., cf. Ar. *Eq*. 445–6.

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some ways from the revision that we have), the imputation of φροντιστής as a nickname suggests that it predates *Clouds* (and thus that the Aristophanic portrait of Socrates was not created out of whole cloth). For all one knows, it might have gone back to Socrates' youthful interest in natural science and in the doctrine of Anaxagoras in particular (*Phd.* 96A6-99D2). While Xenophon says in his own voice that Socrates counselled against becoming τῶν οὐρανίων … φροντιστής (*Mem.* 4.7.6),[17] Socrates presumably did not do so until he himself had abandoned natural science.

The word φροντιστής turns up in Plato's *Apology* when Socrates analyses the long-standing, Aristophanic charge against him into these two parts:

… Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἀνήρ, τά τε μετέωρα φροντιστὴς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἀναζητηκὼς καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν.[18] 18B7-C1

Proceeding to his refutation of this charge, Socrates restates it in such a way that the two parts are still clearer:

Σωκράτης ἀδικεῖ καὶ περιεργάζεται, ζητῶν τά τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνια καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττων ποιῶν … 19B4-6

The charge consists of cosmology and subterranean research, on the one hand, and skilful speaking, on the other. These two passages in *Apology* are the earliest places in which our distinction between 'Pre-Socratic' (cosmology etc.) and 'sophist' (skilful speaking) is clearly present.[19] Socrates' terminology, however, does not correspond to ours.

The first of the passages just quoted confirms the impression conveyed by Xenophon that the Aristophanic and perhaps earlier nickname φροντίστης had stuck to Socrates. As an alleged 'Pre-Socratic' he was called a φροντιστής. Though it may be only a coincidence, Alcibiades' report of what the soldiers at Potidaea said about Socrates' strange behaviour includes the verb φροντίζειν (ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ φροντίζων τι ἕστηκε Pl. *Symp.* 220C7). Eupolis *incert. fab.* fr. 386 K–A (*PCG* 5.511–12), undatable, provides another glimpse: the verb πεφρόντικεν is used of Socrates, and his abstract mental activity is set against his unconcern about where his next meal is coming from.

As for making the weaker speech stronger, it is notable that Plato's Socrates lacks a *nomen agentis* for this kind of activity, a title for the very person whom *we* call 'sophist'. He has no word corresponding to φροντιστής. In Plato's representation of him, Socrates still in 399 B.C.E. uses σοφὸς ἀνήρ as a term that encompasses two professions which we distinguish and for which we have two different terms, 'Pre-Socratic' and 'sophist'.[20] In the one place in Plato's *Apology* in which Socrates uses the word *sophistes* (20A4), apropos of Callias' hiring Evenos of Paros as tutor to

[17] Xenophon consistently distinguishes between *sophistes* and φροντιστής, except at *Mem.* 1.1.11, where he says that Socrates never studied nature and celestial things: he was not interested in what 'the sophists call the cosmos'. Here for the only time in *Memorabilia* Xenophon uses *sophistes* of the kind of thinker we call 'Pre-Socratic'. (Cf. LSJ[9] s.v. I.2 'of natural philosophers', citing Hippoc. *VM* 20.) Elsewhere, he uses this word of itinerant professors (but Antiphon is an Athenian) who teach for pay (Dorion [n. 3], 60, n. 30).

[18] N.b. the implicit bipartite structure of the phrase: (A) τά τε … καὶ τὰ … (B) καὶ … . These charges are linked to Aristophanes by name at 19C.

[19] E. De Strycker and S. R. Slings, *Plato's Apology of Socrates: A Literary and Philosophical Study with a Running Commentary* (Leiden, 1994), 51.

[20] W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1969), 3.28–9 and Classen (n. 2), 156 (for Xen.) speak of the synonymy of σοφός and *sophistes*. Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 177B1-5.

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his sons, Socrates is thinking of sophists as teachers of 'human and political excellence' (20B4-5). The art of speaking might be implied but is not specified. (Note that still at age eighty-two, in *Antidosis* 268 Isocrates includes Gorgias in a list of *sophistai* along with several Pre-Socratics.)

At this point, the observation with which this article began, that Socrates was not called *sophistes*, becomes more substantial. As a supposed natural scientist, he was going to be called φροντιστής and, as for his supposed making the worse argument better, he was not going to have any particular name.[21] But then the question arises why, even in 399 B.C.E., when Socrates is describing others' view of him, the term *sophistes* is unavailable for precisely the activity to which we apply it and one which, Socrates says, he is charged with. A survey of all the fifth-century uses of *sophistes* shows a surprisingly wide range of meanings and suggests that the term, lacking the more restricted sense which it has for us, was in fact inconvenient for the purposes of Socrates in the *Apology*. (I have put a chronological list of fifth-century occurrences of *sophistes* in an Appendix at the end of this article.)

SURVEY OF *SOPHISTES* IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

I begin with four of Aristophanes' five species of sophist.[22]

1. Seer: Ar. *Nub.* 332; Hdt. 2.49.1. Though it is unknown who the sophists of Plato Com. *Sophistai* were, it is inferred from the title of this comedy that the person referred to as χρησμοδέληρος was a sophist (fr. 161 K–A [*PCG* 7.497]).[23]

2. Physician: Ar. *Nub.* 332. No other example, but physician and sophist are juxtaposed by the author of Hippoc. *VM* 20.1–2 in his resistance to a natural-philosophic approach to medicine.[24]

3. Dithyrambic poet: Ar. *Nub.* 333. Also other kinds of poet and musicians (Pind. *Isthm.* 5.28). Curiously all the occurrences of *sophistes* in the fragments of Old Comedy have to do with music or poetry, and likewise some fragments of tragedy: the citharode (Aesch. fr. 314 Radt; Soph. fr. 906 Radt); the αὐλήτης (Plato Com. *Sophistai* fr. 149 K–A [7.494]: the Opountian Bacchylides); the musician (Phrynichus *incert. fab.* fr. 74 K–A [7.425]: Lamprus [ὑπερσοφιστής], the music teacher of Sophocles[25]); the rhapsode (Eupolis *incert. fab.* fr. 483 K–A [5.536]; Iophon 22 F 1 Sn. ['rhapsodes and some others']); and Homer and Hesiod (Cratinus, *Archilochi* fr. 2 K–A [4.123] from Diog. Laert. 1.12 [τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον]).[26] In Eur.[?] *Rhesus*, the Muse, lamenting her son's death, blames Athena for causing it, and threatens not to bring any other *sophistes* to her city (949), apparently meaning that Athens will have no more poets.

4. Natural philosopher: Ar. *Nub.* 333. It may be that in most strata of Athenian society φροντιστής preempted *sophistes* as a name for this métier.[27] The only example

[21] Even if this nefarious skill was associated with Protagoras (Arist. *Rh.* 1402a23; cf. Ar. *Nub.* 112–14) and Plato has Protagoras call himself a sophist (*Prt.* 317B4).

[22] For the first three species in my list, see Imperio (n. 8), 54–62 (seer); 63–75 (physician); 75–94 (dithyrambic poet).For the one species which I do not discuss, see n. 9 above.

[23] On this comedy, see Carey (n. 13), 425–6.

[24] For the date of this work, see J. Jouanna, *Hippocrate*, vol. 2, pt 1 (Paris, 1990), 84–5. He opts for 420–410 B.C.E.

[25] Cf. Anaxandrides (4th cent. B.C.E.) fr. 16.5 K–A (2.245).

[26] For σοφίη as the skill of poet or musician in archaic poetry, see M. L. West, *Hesiod: Works and Days* (Oxford, 1978) on *Op.* 649.

[27] '[V]orübergehend ein Konkurrenzbegriff zu σοφιστής' (Huß [n. 10], 339) gives *sophistes* in this sense a currency which, so far as I can see, it did not have.

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I have is likely to be fourth-century: Anaxagoras in Aeschines of Sphettos, *Callias* fr. 34 Dittmar = *SSR* VI A.73 (vol. 4, p. 618). 'His *Callias* includes the disagreement of Callias with his father and the mockery of Prodicus and Anaxagoras the *sophistai*'. The mockery comes either from the father or, more likely, from Socrates.[28] (I return to Prodicus below at 7.) Cf. 2. above and also on Xen. *Mem*. 1.1.11 (n. 17).[29]

Aristophanes' list at *Nub*. 331–4 does not exhaust the named species of sophist in the fifth century. One has to add several others.

5. Sage or wise man: Hdt. 1.29 (Solon; cf. Isoc. *Antid*. 235, 313); 4.95.2 (Pythagoras).

6. Teacher of moral virtue: to his father's bitter observation that mankind teaches and discovers everything except how to teach those lacking sense to think rightly, Euripides' Hippolytus says: *δεινὸν σοφιστὴν εἶπας, ὅστις εὖ φρονεῖν / τοὺς μὴ φρονοῦντας δυνατός ἐστ' ἀναγκάσαι* (*Hipp.* [428 B.C.E.] 921–2).[30] It would be a clever *sophistes* who could do what Theseus wishes could be done. Hippolytus' words could be taken to presuppose that, while sophists or some sophists claim to teach moral virtue (cf. Pl. *Grg*. 519C4-6; *Prt*. 38C4; Xen. *Cyn*. 13.1), they are in fact, in certain cases unable to do so.[31] These are the cases in which they are thwarted by the given nature of the student (cf. Isoc. 13.21; also Theognis 435–8, of course without reference to sophists). As Barrett said (ad loc.), Hippolytus is not saying anything against sophists. He is talking about a defect of human nature.

7. Display orator and perhaps also teacher of oratory (cf. Hornblower below): Thuc. 3.38.7; cf. Ar. *Nub*. 1111 (legal argumentation and skill at speaking on 'greater matters', that is, affairs of state), 1310a (of Strepsiades just after he has defrauded his creditors). Cleon chides the Athenians as … *ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι ὡς εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἱκανῶς, ἁπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις*. The date is summer 427 B.C.E. Gorgias arrived in Athens later this summer as ambassador of Leontinoi and astounded the Athenians with his rhetorical style (Diod. Sic. 12.53.2–5). Hornblower comments: 'The sophists came to be seen as specifically professors of the *art of speaking* … an idea certainly implied in the present passage; and the word often had a derogatory sense … . This sense is *perhaps* implied in the present passage, which is remarkable as the only mention of the sophists in Thucydides.'[32]

[28] *ὁ δὲ Καλλίας αὐτοῦ περιέχει τὴν τοῦ Καλλίου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα διαφορὰν καὶ τὴν Προδίκου καὶ Ἀναξαγόρου τῶν σοφιστῶν διαμώκησιν*. The fr., of which I have quoted the first sentence, is from Athenaeus (5.220B), who is taken to be quoting Herodicus (cf. 5.219C). It might have been doubted, then, that the word *σοφιστῶν* was Aeschines', but a glossarium in a papyrus fr. (2nd cent. C.E.) attributes it to him (fr. 4T *CPF* I.1, with bibliography; first published as *POxy*. 2087 col. 2.29–30 [A. Hunt (ed.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1927), 17.110–13]). The glossarium is quoting [Pl.] *Erx*. 399C3, which has led to the identification of the author of this dialogue as Aeschines. For bibliography, see *CPF*.

[29] In the fourth century, 'sophist' was retrojected onto the earlier natural philosopher. For other sophists as teachers of astronomy etc. in distinction to himself, cf. Protagoras in Pl. *Prt*. 318D5-E5. In his *Antidosis* (353 B.C.E.), Isocrates gives a parodistic summary of the cosmologies of Empedocles, Ion, Alcmeon, Parmenides and Melissus, and Gorgias, whom he introduces under the heading 'the old *sophistai*' (268).

[30] W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford, 1964), 399 on lines 917–20: moral faculties of the mind are covered by the terms which Theseus and his son are using.

[31] For Gorgias' claim to be able teach *arete*, contradicting Pl. *Meno* 95C1-5, in *Grg*. 459C6-460A4, see E. R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959), 216–17; cf. 366–7 on 519E7.

[32] S. Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1991), ad loc.

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As this survey is showing, fifth-century sources in fact seldom use the word *sophistes* to refer to a skilled speaker or a teacher of the art of speaking. Besides the place in Thucydides just cited and the two places in Ar. *Nub.* (of Strepsiades and his son), the word is connected with speaking in Eur. *Supp.* 902–3 (cited below under 8.), where it is presupposed that a sophist has to do with words. There is also the mention of Prodicus as a sophist in Aeschines of Sphettos' *Callias* (cf. 4 above), which, however, is probably fourth-century.

Hornblower's 'came to be seen' describes a development (unfortunately without a chronology that can be determined) dramatized in Plato, where rhetorical displays such as those suggested by Cleon's 'spectators of sophists' are attested. In Plato, epideixis is the orator's way of advertising his skills. Plato's *Gorgias* (dramatic date indeterminable) opens with reference to a display just given by Gorgias (447A5-6), perhaps for the purpose of attracting students. In *Hp. mai.* (dramatic date 421–416 B.C.E.), apropos of Gorgias and Prodicus, Socrates closely associates private rhetorical displays (like the one in *Gorgias*), the teaching of young men, and the earning of money (282B4-C6). Euthydemus and Dionysodorus have come to Athens to 'demonstrate and to teach' (*Euthd.* 274A10-B1; dramatic date in or after 407 B.C.E.) but with them it was a matter of eristics.

8. Figurative: the sophist is the type of the expert and, in particular, someone who is good at inventing or discovering things.[33] In Eur. *Heracl.* (*c.* 430 B.C.E.) 993, Eurystheus refers to himself as a sophist in his devising of sufferings for Heracles (*πολλῶν σοφιστήν πημάτων ἐγιγνόμην*). Adrastus, in his praise of Tydeus in Eur. *Supp.* (420s B.C.E.?), uses *sophistes* of someone who was good at inflicting pain in battle. He begins by referring to Tydeus as *οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν λαμπρός ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπίδι / δεινὸς σοφιστὴς πολλά τ' ἐξευρεῖν σοφά* (902–3).[34] Another example of this figurative use of *sophistes* occurs in a fragment of tragedy: *ψυχὴ γὰρ εὔνους καὶ φρονοῦσα τοὔνδικον / κρείσσων σοφιστοῦ παντός ἐστιν εὑρέτις* (Soph. fr. 97 N^2 = adesp. F 1b [*a*] Sn.–Kannicht).

In this category I would put also the fragment of Euripides, *μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός* (905 N^2; cf. the similar fr. 61 N^2). It does not express hatred of sophists in general any more than *ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν* (*Ev. Luc.* 4.23) expresses scorn of physicians as such. Both of these aphorisms apply to the expert who cannot or does not apply his expertise to himself.

Finally under this heading come the two occurrences of *sophistes* in Aesch. *PV.* The date of the play is notoriously uncertain, and so, then, is its relevance as a source for present purposes. Its pejorative use of the word *sophistes*, for whatever this observation is worth, suggests a later, not earlier, date. *Clouds* 331, cited above, is considered the earliest example of the pejorative use of the word. But Hornblower's idea that it 'often had a derogatory sense' is not borne out by the fifth-century evidence. What is of greater interest here is the use of the word in connection with the hero who brought mankind its arts and skills. Kratos says to Prometheus: … *ἵνα / μάθῃ σοφιστὴς ὢν Διὸς νωθέστερος* (61– 2). Word order seems to cause one to take *μανθάνω* with *ὤν* (as *LSJ*[9] s.v. *μανθάνω* III.2 took it): 'in order that he may learn that

[33] In *Daitales* 206 K–A = 2 Cassio, it is presupposed that *σοφίσματα* are what will be learned from the teacher to whom the father has sent his two sons. From another fragment, it appears that this teacher has a device by means of which he and his students *σκοποῦσι τὰ μετέωρα* (227 K–A = 26 C). Cf. Cassio, 72–3. (In Ar. *Nub.* 205 Strepsiades uses *σόφισμα* of a map.)

[34] Bracketed by Diggle along with the three following lines, though in his apparatus he seems to waver at least about 902–3.

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he is a sophist stupider than Zeus'. Zeus is then implicitly included in the category of sophist, a thought which Kratos is unlikely to hold. One would prefer 'that he may learn that, being a sophist, he is stupider than Zeus', which requires understanding *ὤν* a second time as the participle governed by *μανθάνω*.[35] Hermes, too, calls Prometheus *sophistes* (944), where it is part of 'a peremptory and belligerent mode of address'.[36]

These eight species or usages constitute the list for the fifth century. To the extent that a chronology can be established, it does not show any progressive narrowing of the term *sophistes* in the course of the fifth century. It is striking that even after 411 B.C.E. or perhaps even after 404 B.C.E., Plato Comicus is still using the term of musicians. Neither does it seem that a derogatory sense is coming to predominate. In Euripides' *Heraclidae* (414 B.C.E.) the term can still refer to someone who is good at inventing or discovering things. If one takes all the attestations synchronically, as an aggregate, it could hardly be said that a derogatory sense predominates.

Though Isocrates, *Against the Sophists*, usually dated to around 390 B.C.E. on the basis of *Antidosis* 193, falls just beyond the time-frame of the examples on which I have concentrated, it ought to be a valuable witness to the usage of *sophistes*. Isocrates is as au courant as one could wish, and he has a professional stake in distinguishing himself from others teaching oratory. The speech or treatise in question is somewhat disappointing, however. The word *sophistes* occurs only twice (in six Teubner pages). Isocrates says that some have succeeded (perfect tense) in oratory and politics without contact with sophists (14). It sounds as if he is referring to contemporary teachers. This usage would fit with 7. above. Isocrates later distinguishes, within the category of those teaching *πολίτικοι λόγοι*, between two generations of sophists, those who have recently sprung up and 'those who came before me and wrote the so-called *τέχναι*' (19).

But were those in this preceding generation called *sophistai* in their own time? Considering Plato's anti-sophistic tendency, one would expect to find *sophistes* in his *Phaedrus*.[37] In this dialogue, at the point at which Socrates turns from his definition of the dialectician to the project of defining the rhetorician, he and Phaedrus run through a list of rhetoricians who have written treatises: Thrasymachus, Theodorus, Evenus, Tisias, Gorgias, Prodicus, Hippias, Polus, Licymnius, and Protagoras (266C1-267D2). Confirmation of the title *sophistes* is, however, lacking. Though Socrates says ironically that these persons have become *sophoi* at speaking (266C1-5), he never calls them *sophistai*, as Isocrates did and as we do. In fact, the word *sophistes* occurs only once in this dialogue, when Phaedrus says that the most important men do not want to write speeches and leave writings behind them through fear of being called *sophistai* (257D3-8).[38] Here, however, Phaedrus has a different kind of writing and a different kind of occupation in mind (cf. 257C1-8, 277A9-B1 on Lysias rebuked as a speech-writer), the one criticized by Alcidamas, the contemporary of Isocrates, in *On the Writers of Written Speeches* or *On the Sophists* (undatable). Alcidamas begins by referring to 'some of those called *sophistai*' who have practised the writing of

[35] Cf. M. Griffith, *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge, 1983), 95. Ellipse of *ὤν* after this verb is not impossible (cf. Smyth 2119).

[36] Griffith (n. 35), ad loc. As Ford (n. 1), 36 observes, in the context of the play as a whole, the force of the taunt is qualified. Prometheus refers to his discoveries as 'sophisms' (459).

[37] For the dramatic date, see Nails (n. 13), 314 (with bibliography).

[38] *σοφιστικός* also occurs once (248E3), of one of the kinds of person (ranked ninth in a list of ten, just above the tyrant) into whom, by the Law of Adrasteia, the *οὐσία*-deprived, reincarnated soul enters.

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speeches. (Others, then, also called *sophistai*, were doing something else, but Alcidamas gives no indication of what it was.)

RESULTS OF SURVEY COMPARED WITH PREVAILING VIEWS

At the end of this survey of fifth- and a few fourth-century uses of *sophistes,* one inevitably returns to W. K. C. Guthrie's history of the term, which is still authoritative, though hardly the last word.[39] He concluded, against George Grote, that 'it would have been quite impossible for Plato to have referred, in the manner and contexts in which he does so refer, to the paid teachers as Sophists if that had not been their recognized title'. The fifth-century evidence, however, hardly supports the existence of such a title for the persons whom Guthrie has in mind, a 'professional class' comprising Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias and the other usual suspects, whose teaching has the common denominator of 'rhetoric or the art of the *logos'*.[40] Of course the class could have existed without the title. The defining characteristics of this class, if this is the right word, will continue to be debated. Similarly to Guthrie, though more vaguely, in their large-scale study of the sophists, probably the successor to Guthrie's, George B. Kerferd and Hellmut Flashar affirm that there 'entwickelte sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. eine engere Bedeutung des Wortes (*sophistes*), durch die die ältere und weiter gefasste mehr und mehr verdrängt wurde'.[41] Again, one has to say that the fifth-century evidence does not support such a picture of the narrowing of the meaning of *sophistes*.

It was only in the fourth century that *sophistes* became the standard term for the professional teachers of rhetoric and the art of speaking in fifth-century Athens. Because Socrates was still seen as one of them (though readers of Plato knew better), he could now be called *sophistes*, and so we find this word used of Socrates by Aeschines (*In Tim*. 173)[42] and by Androtion.[43]

OTHER NAMES FOR SOCRATES

It might be objected that the preceding discussion has been framed too narrowly. Even if Socrates was not called *sophistes*, he could have been called by other names in the same semantic field and with the same derogatory implications that *sophistes* has in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, for example.

In order to reply to this objection, it is necessary to distinguish between derogatory words and *noms de profession*. Of the former, there are many. In the comedy just

[39] Guthrie (n. 20), 27–34.

[40] Guthrie (n. 20), 44. This standard view of the sophists' activities continues in H. Flashar and G. B. Kerferd, 'Die Sophistik', in H. Flashar (ed.), *Grundriß der Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 2.1 (Basel, 1998), 4: 'An erster Stelle … stand in ihrem Unterricht diejenige Kunst, deren Ausübung vor allem politische Erfolge verbürgte: die Rhetorik'. A. Ford, 'Sophists without rhetoric: the arts of speech in fifth-century Athens', in Yun Lee Too (ed.), *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Leiden, 2001), 85–109 argues that the presence of sophists in fifth-century Athens answered to a need not for training in rhetoric, which the sophists were not in fact professing, but for something like a 'higher education', beyond the traditional one, which would confer refinement and sophistication.

[41] Flashar and Kerferd (n. 40), 3.

[42] Cf. Hypereides fr. 55 Jensen: *Σωκράτην οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἐκόλαζον*.

[43] *FGrH* 324 F 69, from Aelius Aristides, *To Plato: In Defense of the Four* 46.311 Jebb = 2.407 Dind. = 3.677 Lenz–Behr. Jacoby puts this fr. under the heading 'Zweifelhaftes und Gefälschtes' but accepts the part about Socrates as genuine.

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mentioned, Strepsiades gives a list of twenty-one expressions which his opponents in lawsuits are welcome to use against him, some of them slang, some of them closer to standard Attic (437–56). One of them, *ἀλάζων*, current also outside the legal arena, was applied to Socrates, as *Clouds* itself shows (102, 449, 1492).[44] Some of the other items in Strepsiades' list were probably also applied to Socrates, as was a term not in the list, *ἀδολέσχης*.[45] In sum, plenty of words besides *sophistes* in its derogatory sense were available for use against Socrates and some of them were used against him.

As for *noms de profession*, not many were available in the fifth century for someone whose activity consisted mainly in the use of speech (leaving aside the names for those engaged in poetry). If Plato invented *φιλοσοφία* as a discipline, then *φιλόσοφος* as the name for the practitioner of this new discipline will also be new in Plato's time.[46] Though Pythagoras is said to have called himself *φιλόσοφος* (Diog. Laert. *Proem* 12), the word is in fact scantily attested in the fifth century, and in Plato's *Apology* Socrates has to go to some lengths to explain his activities as *φιλοσοφεῖν* (28E5, 29C8, D5). Still less likely is it that Socrates was called *ῥήτωρ*. This word was used of an extra-constitutional group of 'politicians' who were important enough to be represented (by Lycon) in the prosecution of Socrates.[47]

The only professional name, a rather broad one, besides *φροντιστής*, of which one can be reasonably sure that it was applied to Socrates is *σοφός* (see above on *σοφὸς ἀνήρ* at Pl. *Ap.* 18B7-C1). It could be used as a synonym of *sophistes*,[48] and had the same or an even broader application and similarly varied between positive and negative connotations. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, while *sophistes* is derogatory, *σοφός* is not.[49] In Euripides, one has the impression that 'everyone above all wishes to be *σοφός*'.[50] In Plato's *Apology*, however, *σοφός* is distinctly derogatory. Socrates refers in the same breath to the accusation against him and the 'name' (*ὄνομα*) he has acquired (20D3), meaning *σοφός*. This 'name', as he again calls it, came along with the hatred which his examination of his fellow-citizens incurred (22E6-23A3). He uses *σοφός* when he reformulates Meletus' charge of impiety in the form of a riddle by which, he suggests, Meletus thought to trick him (27A2). He develops, however, a special, limited sense in which he could rightly be called *σοφός*, distinguishing between divine and human wisdom, when he comes to explain his questioning of his fellow-citizens. At this point he refers to the oracle concerning his wisdom received by Chaerephon (21A3-7). The historicity of this oracle is much debated. The 'name' could be historical, however, as the hatred surely was, even if the oracle is not.

What Socrates calls a 'name' we would call a fixed epithet. It is not clear that, as he uses it and as he imagines Meletus using it, it is a synonym for *sophistes*. One has to remember that in *Apology* Socrates uses *σοφὸς ἀνήρ* as a term that encompasses the two professions which we call 'Pre-Socratic' and 'sophist'. In any case, as Socrates uses it, *σοφός* is opprobrious, and can be added to the terms from slang and everyday

[44] Also to Protagoras: Eupolis, *Flatterers* fr. 506 K–A.

[45] See n. 4 above. Cf. C. Natali, '*Ἀδολεσχία*, *Λεπτολογία* and the philosophers in Athens', *Phronesis* 32 (1987), 232–41 on pervasive mistrust of philosophers in Athens.

[46] On Plato's invention of philosophy, see n. 1 above.

[47] Pl. *Ap*. 24A1, cf.32B8; Thuc. 3.40.3, 6.29.3. Socrates in Pl. *Grg*. 465B6-C8 says that people (*ἄνθρωποι*) confuse the *ῥήτωρ* and the sophist. He is talking about categorical or conceptual confusion, not about synonymy. It is difficult to imagine who, in the second half of the fifth century, would have made such a confusion.

[48] See n. 20 above.

[49] See Dover (n. 4), 106 on 94.

[50] G. Bond, *Euripides: Heracles* (Oxford, 1981), 117 on 189; cf. 381–2 on 1254.

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speech mentioned above. In conclusion, then, one can say that *σοφός* in a derogatory sense and other consistently derogatory words were indeed used of Socrates. But it is hard to find another *nom de profession* beside *φροντιστής*.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF FIFTH-CENTURY OCCURRENCES OF *SOPHISTES*

±478 Pind. *Isthm*. 5.28
<456 Aesch. fr. 314 Radt
>434 or >429[51] Phrynichus *incert. fab*. fr. 74 K–A (*PCG* 7.425)
±430 Cratinus, *Archilochi* fr. 2 K–A (*PCG* 4.123)
>429[52] Eupolis, *incert. fab*. fr. 388 K–A (*PCG* 5.512)
>429 Eupolis, *incert. fab*. fr. 483 K–A (*PCG* 5.536)
428 Eur. *Hipp.* 921
427[53] Thuc. 3.38.7
423 Ar. *Nub*. 331
423 Ar. *Nub*. 360 *μετεωροσοφισταί*
423 Ar. *Nub*. 1111
423 Ar. *Nub*. 1310a
422 Eur. *Supp*. 902–3
<420s Hdt. 1.29
<420s Hdt. 2.49.1
<420s Hdt. 4.95.2
420–410[54] Hippoc. *VM* 20.1–2
414 Eur. *Heracl*. 993
>411 or >404 Plato Com. *Sophistai* fr. 149 K–A (*PCG* 7.494)
Undatable or datable only with a very broad period
prob. 4th cent. Lys. fr. 1 Medda sub fin. = Athen. 13.612F
prob. 4th cent. Aeschines of Sphettos, *Callias* fr. 34 Dittmar = *SSR* VI A.73 (vol. 4, p. 618)
Damastes of Sigeum, *FGrH* 5 T 1 (book title: *Περὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν*)
>479 or >475<424 or <414[55] Aesch. *PV* 61
>479 or >475<424 or <414 Aesch. *PV* 944

[51] K. J. Dover and W. G. Arnott, 'Biographical appendix', in D. Harvey and J. Wilkins (edd.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy* (London, 2000), 521 (dates of production of first play).

[52] Dover and Arnott (n. 51), 515 (first play produced in 429 B.C.E.).

[53] The historicity of Cleon's use of *sophistes* is of course open to challenge. I am assuming that the passage in question belongs to an early stratum of composition, one demarcated by the 'second preface' (5.26). The down-dating of the terminus ante quem of composition by J. Pouilloux and F. Salviat, 'Lichas, Lacédémonien, archonte à Thasos, et le livre viii de Thucydide', *CRAI* (1983), 376–403; 'Thucydide après l'exil et la composition de son histoire', *RevdePhil* 59 (1985), 13–20 (contra: P. A. Cartledge, 'A new lease of life for Lichas son of Arkesilas?', *LCM* 9 [1984], 98–102; cf. S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* [Baltimore, 1987], 136–7, 151–3) makes the possibility of revision, thus of an anachronism, all the greater.

[54] See n. 24 above.

[55] M. Griffith, *The Authenticity of the Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge, 1977), 9–13, discusses the date. A well-fixed terminus post quem is the eruption of Etna in 479 or 475 B.C.E. Griffith accepts, with qualification, the common opinion that Ar. *Eq*., echoing *PV* (*PV* 613~*Eq*. 836, *PV* 59, 308~*Eq*. 758f.), provides a terminus ante quem of 424 B.C.E. Cf. Griffith (n. 35), 33. If the echoes of *PV* in Ar. *Eq*. are not accepted, the next terminus ante quem is 414 B.C.E., the date of Ar. *Av*., where the echoes of *PV* are more certain.

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>455<406 Eur. fr. 905 N^2
>455<406 Eur.[?] *Rhes.* 949
>468<406 Soph. fr. 906 Radt
>468<406 Soph. fr. 97 N^2 = adesp. F 1b [*a*] Sn.–Kannicht
Iophon 22 F 1 Sn.[56]

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