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Non-Literal Immortality for Peoples in Classical Attica

By

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Abstract:

The concept of immortality can have differing meanings, from biological immortality, the immortality of gods, eternal afterlife of the soul, or the continuation and remembrance of a person through their actions in life. This paper delves into this latter type of immortality, using the term 'non-literal immortality' to denote. Although I include eternal afterlives in this term, this paper excludes discussions of an afterlife to further limit the scope, thus excluding Plato's *Phaedo*. I propose that the concepts of non-literal immortality presented in Plato's *Symposium* and *Republic* have existed and influenced Greek thought before being written by Plato. By looking at different groups of people in classical Attica, we can see the influence and thoughts towards non-literal immortality in the Greek populace during and just prior to Plato's writings. This paper explains Plato's forms before looking at case studies of individuals as representatives of different groups of Athenians: Antisthenes and philosophers, Thrasybulus and soldiers, Aristophanes and playwrights, Cleon and politicians, and women and commoners. These case studies show that the ideas of non-literal immortality were prevalent in Greek thought and not influenced by philosophers such as Plato but were pre-existent. Evidence shows that after Plato, these concepts of non-literal immortality were indulged by the populace creating the schools of Epicureans and Stoics. I propose the theories of physical, honor, and intellectual offspring were heavily present in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and present in the minds of average Athenian citizens. Although evolved, these theories existed prior to Plato. By looking at case studies of individuals, we are able to better grasp the lives and ambitions of classical Athenians without relying on the writings of great men of history such as Plato.

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Introduction

How did ideas and beliefs of non-literal immortality change and evolve in classical Greece? Which theories of immortality were most prevalent to philosophers, to soldiers, to poets, to political leaders, and to commoners? The term 'non-literal immortality' I use is in reference to the ancient Greek belief of a person's soul desiring to be immortal even though the physical body will die. An example that gives modern readers the best insight into the idea of ancient Greek non-literal immortality dates back to the Homeric epics. Achilles is given a unique fate, a fate with an intrinsic choice: he could stay away from Troy and live a long healthy life with lots of children, or he could fight and die.¹ Typically the answer is clear if someone wants to live as long as possible; however, archaic Greek warrior culture valued the concept of *time* and *kleos* – honor and glory – as a non-literal form of immortality.² A warrior who earns honor and glory in life, will be remembered for generations, making their 'life' continue on much longer than any mortal could be alive. Achilles' *kleos* was so great, whether or not the person was real, that his name is still remembered and revered to this day, making his name immortal. The concept of *kleos* is ideal for the pre-phalanx warrior culture of mythical Greek heroes,

¹ Homer, and Richmond Lattimore. *The Iliad of Homer*. University of Chicago Press, 2008.

² *Time* is best described as the currency of honor. It can be earned through deeds, killing, or taking arms and armor. *Kleos* is glory and is representative of the total amount of *time* a hero had when they died. Because *time* is not destroyed when a hero is killed, but passes on to the killer, *time* is a zero sum system. Scodel. *The Economy of Honor*. Classical Press of Wales, 2008.

but how does a philosopher, a hoplite, a playwright, a politician, or a commoner seek immortality in classical Attica? Using the Platonic forms of offspring and desire outlined in the *Symposium* and *Republic* as a lens, this paper discusses how different groups of classical Greeks viewed death and these theories of non-literal immortality through the writings of philosophers, orations of politicians, performed plays, and gravestone markings of the common person. It is useful to use Plato's writings as the lens to view theories of non-literal immortality as his writings are the most extensive and well known. It is important to look at what role these theories played on non-philosophers of the time to better understand the driving forces of Athenian society; at least within the timeframe of Plato's life.

This paper focuses only on the forms of non-literal immortality presented in Plato's *Symposium* and *Republic*, excluding philosophy on an eternal afterlife, such as in *Phaedo*. Although I personally include an eternal afterlife in my concept of the non-literal immortality term, this paper excludes it to narrow the scope. In the *Symposium*, Socrates establishes that love is simply a result of the desire for immortality. This immortality, as AG Long, one of very few authors to write on non-literal immortality, describes is, "if something associated with a person in one of these ways will never cease to exist and will continue endlessly into the future, is it ipso facto immortal? And is the person, by virtue of its continued existence, immortal?"³ This "achieved" immortality differs from "essential" immortality, living forever⁴. Socrates claims all things desperately desire immortality, not in the sense that their own being will last for an eternity, but some

³ Long, A.G. *Death and Immortality in Ancient Philosophy*. Cambridge Press, 2019. 11.

⁴ *Death and Immortality*, 30.

kind of byproduct of oneself will last for many generations.⁵ The *Symposium* establishes two means of offspring-immortality, physical offspring and intellectual offspring, both requiring another person to 'birth' these entities. This book also addresses a third form of immortality: honor. Socrates discusses Achilles' and others' desires to gain honor even if death is imminent.⁶ These three types of immortality continue on into Plato's *Republic* where he emphasizes the desire of all people to strive towards one of these forms. There are multiple terms for each form that are used interchangeably. The lowest forms can be denoted by: physical offspring, appetitive desires, or profit-loving soul. The middle form is honor-loving or valor-loving. The highest form is intellectual offspring or the truth-loving soul. These forms are achieved progressively and each is more 'good' than the prior; from physical offspring, to honor, to intellectual offspring. The progressive nature of these forms is important to note, they, being Socrates and Plato, believed that every person begins with the lowest form of desire and later may desire honor, and only a few ever desire intellectual offspring and that these philosophers are the only ones that can understand the forms as they were the only ones to experience all of them.⁷ To bypass the Socratic Problem,⁸ I primarily denote Plato as the author of these philosophical ideologies, as Plato transcribed the philosophies of Socrates and may have edited them to fit Plato's own ideas and understanding.

⁵ Platon, and C. D. C. Reeve. *A Plato Reader: Eight Essential Dialogues*. Hackett Pub. Co., 2012. *The Symposium* 208b3-5.

⁶ *Symposium* 208c5-d5.

⁷ *Symposium*, 582c5-582c9.

⁸ The Socratic Problem relating to the fact Socrates never transcribed his own teachings leaving all historical evidence of Socrates' beliefs to be questioned as accurate to the actual historical figure.

Plato's Lowest Forms: Physical Offspring

The lowest form of non-literal immortality, morally and in length of immortality, is the physical desires. This is shown best in profit-loving souls or the appetitive element as is described in *The Republic*.⁹ These desires, unlike the ones that will be later described, are focused on the appetites of our physical body. They are short lived because when a person eats they will later become hungry, when they drink they will become thirsty, and when they have sex they will soon lust again. Profit is very similar, because a person can acquire wealth throughout their life; however, they can easily spend or lose it, making wealth and profit a temporary fulfillment of desire. This appetite is the lowest form of love. Love being the desire for immortality. The appetites for food, thirst, and sex are brief and give no sense of immortality.

The second part of the physical desire is material wealth. The idea that people desire material things and ownership so they can be identified and remembered by these items.¹⁰ This is a very weak form of immortality, yet many fall to its vices. An example of this would be artifacts that are tied back to an individual similar to how Trajan is remembered and thought of when we see Trajan's column or pharaohs buried in monuments with vast riches. Physical items representing a person can bridge the gap from physical appetites to honor-loving as many honor-loving souls build monuments to have their glory rather than their wealth remembered. Trajan's column is not an overly famous monument, therefore his immortality through this column is not very strong in

⁹ "One element, we say, is that with which a person learns; another, that with which he feels anger. As for the third, . . . we called it the appetitive element because of the intensity of its appetites for food, drink, sex, and all other things that go along with them" *Republic* 580d10-580e4.

¹⁰ *Republic* 580d10-580e4.

the lens of this theory. Similarly, the pyramids are grand monuments that have stood the test of time, their creators, however, are not known to most people and have largely been forgotten. Items quickly lose connection to their owners and creators, buildings waste away with time or are sold or repurposed. In the setting of eternity, this form of non-literal immortality is very short lived.

The next lowest form is the desire for physical offspring. The appetite for sex and the desire for children is the most common desire. Plato argues the desire for children in the physical desires is the belief that a part of you will live on through your children and then through your children's children resulting in a part of you 'living' forever as long as your line continues. The ancient philosophers believed this to be the most common and the most animalistic of the forms because even animals, with no concept of good or the forms, still desire offspring. Diotima of Mantinea – a philosopher and character in Plato's dialogues, also the originator of the concept of Platonic Love – discusses how even animals will sacrifice their mortal selves to protect their children. Diotima explains to Socrates in *The Symposium* her belief of love being the desire of immortality manifested through the desire of offspring, "mortal nature seeks so far as possible to live forever and be immortal. And this is possible in one way only: by reproduction, because it always leaves behind a new young one in place of the old."¹¹ Socrates reasons that because animals and most humans desire this form of immortality, that it can be easily referred to as an appetite, and that it is not entirely eternal, it must be the lowest and shortest form of immortality. The ancient philosophers often delegated physical desire to commoners, overlooking the necessity of life and indulging their bias against

¹¹ *Symposium* 207d1-4.

wage-labor, believing they are only feeding their mortal appetites rather than truly striving for immortality.¹²

A counter argument that gives more worth to the immortality of children presents itself in Euripides' *Heracles*. Heracles is tricked into killing his own wife and children and exclaims, "Oimoi! Why do I spare my life, since I've become the murderer of my dearest children? Shall I not go to leap from a smooth rock or by striking a sword into my liver become an avenger of my children's blood, or by kindling my vigorous flesh with fire thrust away my life's infamy which remains?"¹³ Euripides writes about the absolute turmoil Heracles is in for having killed his own children. Socrates later argues that an honor-loving soul would be willing to give up everything, including their children, for glory. But here we see Heracles contemplate suicide, ending his journey for glory, because he killed his sons. This suggests that Heracles is not willing to lose his children in place of glory. However, Euripides explains this in the later part of the quote that it is not the physical offspring Heracles mourns but the infamy that killing his sons will give him.¹⁴ An honor-loving soul will always seek revenge for such a killing to uphold its own honor; however, Heracles cannot avenge his children's death because he is the one that caused it. Because of this, he does not mourn the loss of his children, but the loss of honor the act caused. This true reason for Heracles' sorrow helps to prove Socrates'

¹² Plato claims that this lowest form of non-literal immortality is not necessarily strived for consciously, but rather it is an unconscious desire to both satiate appetites as well as to produce offspring to continue one's line.

¹³ There is also the fact that Heracles only dismays over the death of his children, disregarding the killing of his wife as this is not destroying his line. Euripides, and Stephen J. Esposito. *Four Plays*. Focus Publ., 2004. *Heracles* 1146-53.

¹⁴ "Formal argument concerning the thesis of immortality is thus supplemented with myths, which give speculative accounts of the soul's future after death" *Death and Immortality* 29. It is partially necessary when studying non-literal immortality in the culture and psyche of the ancient peoples to read myths as truth to better understand their beliefs.

theory that profit-loving and physical offspring is the lowest form of immortality and that honor-loving is a higher form as Heracles is more concerned with the death of his honor, rather than the death of his children.¹⁵

Plato's Middle Form: Honor-Loving

The middle form, the desire of honor, is the driving force of Achilles. The honor-loving part of the soul desires glory and fame through the body's actions. Achilles directly chose a short life in which he would be remembered forever over a long life with many children. The Homeric epic makes it clear that Achilles places honor above children in the end.¹⁶ Honor is most obvious in warrior culture, but is also prevalent in actors, artists, and even authors such as Homer. An example of how one may become an honor-loving person is explained in a section of Plato's *Republic* and ends with, "he compromises on a middle way when he is pulled in these two directions, and surrenders the rule within him to the middle element -- the victory-loving and spirited one -- and becomes a proud and honor-loving man."¹⁷ Honor-loving is not inherently bad but it is not the highest form of desire according to Plato as it is described as the middle path between appetites and intellectualism. This desire is very powerful and can result in a relatively permanent immortality.

¹⁵ Heracles is worshipped and idealized across Greece and much of the world. This figure-head prefers his honor to his own children, setting an example in Greek society.

¹⁶ It can be argued that Achilles actually desires to live a long life with children but is forced into war by Odysseus and the death of Patroclus. This is later supported in the *Odyssey* when Achilles tells Odysseus in the underworld that he would rather be a slave to a poor farmer but alive than be king over all in death. Homer, and Richmond Lattimore. *The Odyssey of Homer*. W. Ross MacDonald School Resource Services Library, 2008 488-91.

¹⁷ *Republic* 550a7-b6.

A concern with glory is the manipulation of stories throughout centuries. This is evident by the modern doubts that Achilles was real or merely a hero of a fictional tale, or that Homer was a pseudonym for countless storytellers that embellished and changed tales through their retellings. Honor and glory still require a second party to launch a name into immortality, a hero's story must be told, this telling and retelling can corrupt the truth and spoil the immortality of the hero. Still, immortality through glory is a major driving force for many people. Fear of death dissolves with the promise of glory.

Diotima exemplifies this in *The Symposium* when she says, “they’re ready to brave any danger for the sake of this, much more than they are for their children; and they are prepared to spend money, suffer through all sorts of ordeals, and even die for the sake of glory. Do you really think that . . . Achilles would have died for Patroclus . . . if they hadn’t expected the memory of their virtue -- which we still hold in honor -- to be immortal?”¹⁸ Here Diotima explains that the desire for glory in honor-loving people is so powerful they are willing to sacrifice themselves, their money, and their children for this honor. This also shows that honor-loving is the middle form of desire because an honor-loving man is willing to give up his mortal self, his short lived money, and his temporary immortality through his physical offspring; meaning that glory and honor can be a type of immortality that lasts longer than physical offspring, money, and one’s self. Diotima argues that the death of Patroclus was only a catalyst that engaged Achilles. This thought comes from the story that Achilles was given two choices, “If I hold out here and I lay siege to Troy, my journey home is gone, but my glory never dies. If I voyage back to the fatherland I love, my pride, my glory dies . . . true, but the life that's

¹⁸ *The Symposium* 208c5-d5.

left me will be long, the stroke of death will not come on me quickly.”¹⁹ Diotima expertly uses this example because Achilles chooses to fight and become immortalized in his actions. If he had chosen to return home, he would have soon been forgotten.

However, a counter to Achilles’ choice being the better of the two does appear in *The Odyssey*. Odysseus travels to the underworld and meets with many spirits, one of which is the spirit of Achilles. Odysseus tells Achilles not to grieve about his death because he is honored among the Gods on Earth and has authority over many of the dead. Achilles responds with, “O shining Odysseus, never try to console me for dying. I would rather follow the plow as thrall to another man, one with no land allotted him and not much to live on, than be a king over all the perished dead.”²⁰ Here, Achilles shows regret for his decision stating he would rather be a slave to a poor man than a king in the underworld. This shows that even an honor-loving soul such as Achilles’ may be misguided and that any life is better than death. This example counters many of the ideals of Socrates in that the life of a slave is not honorable, intellectual, or profitable, yet Achilles states he would prefer it. However, Achilles immediately after this asks if his son chose to fight and gain honor. When Odysseus tells him that Neoptolemus did fight and had earned great glory, Achilles walks away happy his son became famous. This is seemingly contradictory to his earlier claim and shows that fame is still very important to Achilles and that he may after all be satisfied with his and his son’s decisions to gain honor and glory. It is also possible that Achilles, having achieved immortality through honor, now desires immortality through intellectual offspring. Also, Plato would likely counter

¹⁹ *Iliad* 500.

²⁰ *Odyssey* 488-91.

Achilles' backtracking by pointing out that Homer is not a philosopher and is unaware of the true nature of the forms, and therefore may not have been accurate. A.G. Long also emphasizes the differences in respect to immortality in Homer versus in Plato. That Homer believes immortality is the strive to become an immortal, like Heracles, rather than non-literal immortality through remembrance like Achilles.²¹

Socrates also calls into question the ability for Homer and other poets to understand and know the true forms and desires when he explains to Glaucon, "Are we to conclude, then, that all poets, beginning with Homer, imitate images of virtue and of all the other things they write about, and have no grasp of the truth?"²² Socrates claims that poets are only imitators and do not have the true knowledge of what they imitate. The best they have is for other people to corroborate their imitations. In the case of Homer, Socrates states that he only imitates the virtues of the heroes he writes about, which makes it plausible Homer mistakenly wrote about Achilles recanting his decision to live a short and glorious life. Yet, another counter is shown in *The Republic* itself. Towards the very end of the book, the afterlife is being discussed and the past souls are choosing their new lives. Most pick a life that would match the nature of their soul, but Odysseus does not. The story goes, "Now it chanced that Odysseus' soul drew the last of all, and came to make its choice. Remembering its former sufferings, it rejected love of honor, and went around for a long time looking for the life of a private individual who did his own work, and with difficulty it found one lying off somewhere neglected by the others. When it saw it, it said that it would have done the same even if it had drawn the

²¹ *Death and Immortality*, 8.

²² *The Republic* 600e4-6.

first-place lot, and chose it gladly.”²³ Odysseus earned a lot of glory throughout his life in war, speech, and revenge. Odysseus is considered to be one of the greatest Greek heroes of all time; yet, he chooses not to repeat such glory in his next life and instead chooses to live in solitude working only for himself away from others similarly to the way Achilles had regretted his decisions in life. This statement is not refuted and stands to create doubt in the happiness of the honor-loving soul. It suggests that the soul itself prefers solitude over glory. Other great heroes such as Ajax and Agamemnon chose the lives of a lion and an eagle respectively continuing their honor-loving ideals.

Keeping Socrates' theories, it is most probable that Odysseus experienced the transition of a honor-loving soul to a truth-loving soul. This seemingly fits well. Socrates explains that a soul transgresses through the levels of desire and therefore it is likely that the highly intelligent and influential soul of Odysseus chose the life of solitude in order to begin its quest of knowledge instead of the honor it had already achieved. Socrates firmly believes that an honor-loving soul is a higher form than profit-loving or physical offspring yet is a lesser form than an intellectual-loving soul.

Plato's Highest Form: Truth-Loving

The desire for truth is considered the highest form as it is capable of identifying the other forms and is the last achieved in the idea of linear progression. Creating intellectual works can teach and influence people for generations who can then build off of your knowledge and continue teaching, making you immortal through knowledge. An important aspect of this desire is that it does not function solely on learning but in

²³ *The Odyssey* 620c3-d2.

teaching. The information must be taught to exist after you, otherwise this non-literal immortality dies with you. Although convincing, the bias of a moral leader must be remembered. There is an intrinsic bias when a philosopher says the highest good is intellectualism just as when a Roman politician says the only moral life is that of a farmer or a Roman politician. Bias plays a heavy role when attempting to understand the impact Plato had on Greek society.

The highest form of desire is the truth-loving soul which seeks to produce intellectual offspring. Socrates explains that profit can vanish in one's lifetime, bloodlines die out, and honor can fade; the longest lasting form of immortality is an intellectual work. An intellectual offspring can last an eternity by itself but can also influence and teach generation after generation in turn creating even more intellectual offspring. Not only is this form the highest and longest lasting form, it is the form that allows for analyses of the other forms. In *The Symposium*, Socrates explains that every person begins at the lowest levels of desire, the appetites, and then they progress to honor-loving and then lastly the truth-loving. This progression through the levels of desire allow for truth-lovers to understand the other levels of desire and to formulate analyses and theories about desire as a whole. Socrates exemplifies this when he says, "Honor comes to all of them, provided they accomplish their several aims. For the rich man, too, is honored by many people, as well as are the courageous and the wise ones. So, all have experienced what the pleasure of being honored is like. But the pleasure pertaining to the sight of what is cannot be tested by anyone except the philosopher."²⁴ Socrates argues that everyone has felt honor, but not everyone has had the encompassing desire of

²⁴ *The Symposium* 582c5-9.

knowledge except philosophers, such as himself. This can be proven true in the case of Socrates himself because he has had a wife and children, fulfilling his appetitive desires, and has fought for Athens in battle giving his name honor and glory satisfying his honor-loving elements, and in his later years devoted himself to the search of knowledge. Socrates never claimed to have answers, he simply asked questions, showing the goal of intellectualism is not to know everything, but to learn and to teach and create these intellectual offspring. Even when the Oracle of Delphi claimed Socrates to be the smartest man in Greece, he believed the oracle meant his duty was to find the smartest man in Greece. Socrates believed a mortal man could not fulfill the desire of knowledge but could have constant satisfaction in filling the bottomless jar of intellect.

This coincides with Socrates' leaky jar theory that we can only desire what we lack, and if we desire what we have, we are really desiring to maintain it. This explains why Achilles' and Odysseus' souls no longer wished for honor after they died, because they achieved immortality in glory and want to continue as truth-loving souls. What a truth-loving soul can do is produce intellectual offspring with another philosopher. These are what can grant someone such as Socrates and Plato immortality. Socrates' works in philosophy directly impacted and influenced Plato who wrote some of Socrates' works which are carefully studied today. Plato in turn influenced others such as Aristotle who wrote works and influenced people such as Alexander the Great. This ultimate form of immortality is what the human soul craves the most according to these philosophers. Socrates explains this to Glaucon by saying, "To its [the soul's] love of wisdom. We must

keep in mind what it grasps and the kinds of things with which it longs to associate, because it is akin to what is divine and immortal and what always exists, and what it would become if it followed this longing with its whole being and if that impulse lifted it out of the sea in which it now is.”²⁵ Socrates states that a human soul loves wisdom because the soul wants to associate with immortal things. He argues that the soul understands that wisdom is the most immortal thing that it can achieve and so it desires knowledge.

Below are five case studies to look at the beliefs of non-literal immortality of individuals and groups during the classical period. Starting with a case study on Antisthenes as an example of philosophers to see the beliefs of non-Platonic philosophers during the time of Plato. Then, a case study on Thrasybulus as an example of classical soldiers. We know the Greek heroes of Homer directly desired immortality through glory, but did this continue to affect the desires of phalanx-style soldiers. Next is a case study on Aristophanes to view the mind of a playwright. Playwrights, poets, artists, and musicians are viewed by Plato to be honor seeking through their acts. Aristophanes gives us insight into the truth of this and whether or not artists' goals reflected these philosophical ideas. The next case study looks at Cleon as an example of an Athenian politician with no ties to philosophy, poetry, or military. Cleon exemplifies the aspirations of Athenian demagogues and shows the impact of philosophical ideas on the Athenian state. The last case study is on Athenian women. Choosing women to represent commoners of ancient Greece allows us to view the ideals of the group most associated with childbirth and how the other levels of desire still influence this group of people.

²⁵ *The Republic* 611d8-e3.

These case studies together will give us better insight into the ideas of non-literal immortality, outlined by Plato, on different groups of classical Athenians. It is not expected that Plato directly influenced these peoples' views of immortality; however, it can be seen if these peoples' views on immortality reflect Plato's theories.

Case Study on Philosophers: Antisthenes

Working down the forms, we start with the discussion of philosophers and the desire for intellectual offspring. Plato's discussion of the three forms of non-literal immortality leave one question unanswered that Plato's fellow classical philosophers fiercely debated; should a philosopher indulge in all of the forms or only the highest form of intellectual desire? This question created two major schools of thought for Greek philosophers, the Cynics and the Epicureans. Both of these groups, as did Plato, believed that intellectualism was the 'most good' and longest lasting form of immortality, making it the goal and focus of their morality, but differed on how to indulge the other desires. The very fact that this was a primary topic of debate shows that Plato's theories were at least important to philosophers of his age, but did they inherently act and believe them to be true or was Plato's theories a mere debate rather than truth in the eyes of these philosophers?

The Stoics,²⁶ such as Diogenes, Antisthenes, and Hipparchia, only pursued intellectualism and did away with the lower forms, often abandoning any and all material

²⁶ Stoics and cynics are used interchangeably in this paper although true stoicism began approximately 100 years after Diogenes the Cynic with Zeno of Citium and Cynicism was founded by Antisthenes, Diogenes' teacher.

goods as well as not pursuing any personal honor.²⁷ Cynical and cynicism stems from nicknames given to these philosophers as they were “dog-like” by living without material wealth. Diogenes wrote, “poverty aids us to philosophy of its own accord, for what philosophy attempts to persuade us by means of arguments, poverty compels us to in very deed.”²⁸ Meaning philosophical ideas, such as Plato’s, argues that the moralistic life is without wealth. By living in poverty they see that the strive for material wealth is true moral poverty.²⁹ However, their cynicism went deeper than just material wealth. Stoics believed themselves to be moralists and disregarded all things outside of their intellectual virtue, including music and even intellectualism that was not ethics based.³⁰ They still believed in the ascension through the forms as Plato detailed but their core understanding was to forgo the lesser desires for intellectualism.³¹

Antisthenes was a fellow pupil of Socrates alongside Plato, yet Antisthenes’ cynicism often flew against the teachings of Plato as is evident with the rivalry of Antisthenes’ student Diogenes and Plato. Delving into the beliefs of Antisthenes we see how the Platonic theories of non-literal immortality may have influenced other classical philosophers. I chose Antisthenes for this case study not just for his philosophical views,

²⁷ Dobbin, Robert, *The Cynic Philosophers from Diogenes to Julian*. Penguin Classics, 2012.

²⁸ Hard, Robin. *Diogenes the Cynic: Sayings and Anecdotes: with Other Popular Moralists*. Oxford, 2012. 3.19

²⁹ True poverty referring to Diogenes’ and Alexander the Great’s interaction where Diogenes states, “‘Poverty does not rest’, I replied, ‘in having no money, nor is begging a bad thing, but real poverty lies in desiring everything, as is the case with you, and violently too.’” *Diogenes the Cynic: Sayings and Anecdotes* 21.649.

³⁰ “Tis wisdom that governs men and cities well, not the twanging of lyres and whistling of flutes” Diogenes’ response to a musical given for him. *Diogenes the Cynic: Sayings and Anecdotes* 5.96.

³¹ Diogenes allegedly falsified currency in his youth to gain wealth and when approached about this he said, “That was at a time when I was just as you are now; but what I am now, you will never be” *Diogenes the Cynic: Sayings and Anecdotes* 2.5, showing even Diogenes at one time desired material wealth before finding cynic philosophy. Diogenes’ teacher Antisthenes was also a soldier who had earned great renown but rarely boasted of it. Laertius, Diogenes, et al. *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers: Compact Edition*. Oxford University Press USA - OSO, 2020.

but because he was active in philosophy before and during Plato, meaning his ideas were not as influenced by Plato's popularity, but existed alongside Plato showing the impact of these ideas, not Plato, on philosophers of the age.³²

Antisthenes, the founder of Cynicism, clearly despised the lower forms as he refused to have any material wealth and is not known to have children. He wore only a cloak and carried all he had and was quoted to say "I would rather go mad than feel pleasure."³³ It is important to note that Antisthenes did not believe all people or even all cynics should completely disregard lower pleasures, but as the example of the school of thought, he himself needed to become the extreme.³⁴ This lead by example viewpoint made Antisthenes, and later his pupil Diogenes, incredibly famous for their lack of wanting fame.

In Xenophon's *Symposium*, philosophers discussed what they were most proud of, Antisthenes stated it was his own wealth.³⁵ Surrounded by incredibly wealthy philosophers, Antisthenes explained that he has just enough to eat when he is hungry, to drink when he is thirsty, and to stay as warm as the wealthiest citizens. He is not required to work to keep up with his spending because he doesn't buy expensive things. He reproached Calais, the wealthiest at this symposium, for saying he betters men by giving them money. Antisthenes pointed out that morality and righteousness is held in

³² Clearly the prestige of Socrates and the direct academic lineage of Socrates and Antisthenes likely led Antisthenes to work on these theories, but without knowing Socrates' true beliefs – only through the lens of Plato – we can assume Antisthenes' beliefs are at least separate from Plato.

³³ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.3

³⁴ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.35

³⁵ Xenophon, Atheniensis, et al. *Xenophon*. Harvard University Press, 2013. 3.8

the soul, not the wallet.³⁶ Calais admits that many of those who receive his gifts tend to despise him later for not giving more. An interesting aspect of Antisthenes' speech is that while he believes wealth begets greed, he also emphasizes the need to work as a grave burden. His greatest thanks is that he does not need to work to sustain his lifestyle and therefore can spend his days with Socrates, his teacher.³⁷

Antisthenes' views of death and remembrance after are not entirely in-line with Plato. Antisthenes believed marriage to beget children was wise,³⁸ glory was a sham,³⁹ but if you want to live forever, you must "live piously and justly."⁴⁰ Death, however, seemed to bring fear to Antisthenes, something that went against his own teachings. Diogenes of Laertius describes his last days and how Diogenes the Cynic offered a dagger to Antisthenes, to end his suffering which he responded he wanted freedom from his pain, not an end to his life. In the same passage Laertius writes, "(Antisthenes) was thought to have borne his illness without fortitude, wanting so much to live."⁴¹ Antisthenes also refuted a preacher who told him of all the greatness that awaited in the afterlife, to which he responded, "then why don't you die?"⁴² While this fear of death garnered Antisthenes a lack of respect and glory, even from his own pupil, it does give gravity to the inherent power of the lower forms, wanting to live forever literally, not just in memory.

³⁶ *Xenophon* 4.2

³⁷ "But you're always beholding my most exquisite possession: leisure time" *Xenophon* 4.44.

³⁸ "that he (a wise man) will marry for the sake of begetting children; and that he will experience passion, since only the wise man knows who deserves to be loved" *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.11

³⁹ Socrates jokes Antisthenes' torn ragged cloak represents his love of glory, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.8.

⁴⁰ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.5

⁴¹ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.19

⁴² *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.4

As to the ideas of Plato's offsprings, Antisthenes is an interesting example. He, as described above, was most thankful for leisure time to spend with Socrates, thus creating intellectual offspring with him. However, Antisthenes adamantly denied Diogenes the chance to study under him, literally beating him away with a stick.⁴³ It seemed he preferred writing his intellect rather than the more common discussions and teachings. Antisthenes wrote many books on philosophy, but none have survived the ages.

In contrast to this school of thought was the Epicureans, with notable members including Epicurus and Lucretius. Epicureans are often described as drunken sex-crazed party goers, while their actual doctrine states that while they should indulge in the lower forms, intellectualism was the most important and should be their focus.⁴⁴

The impact of these schools can be seen by the fame of their members. Socrates was executed for corruption of the youth, Aristotle tutored Alexander the Great of Macedon who later sought out Diogenes to witness his cynicism. These schools influenced philosophers for thousands of years, from the Roman emperor Julian in 362CE to modern philosophers. The names of these philosophers are still recognized, remembered, and revered today. The impact of Plato's theories in academia as well as the personal beliefs of scholars is clear and evident. It is important to note that these ideas and theories were not entirely Plato's alone; as was stated above, Antisthenes

⁴³ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 6.21

⁴⁴ O'Keefe, Tim. *Epicureanism*. Routledge, 2014. The differences and rivalry in these schools of thought is important to note the effects of theories of non-literal immortality. The core belief of these schools, however, remains the same.

lived and studied before Plato, alongside Socrates. Because Antisthenes' writings have not survived, it is impossible to know if he theorized the forms independently. It is possible that this topic was prevalent in the philosophical mind of Athens and – with or without Socrates and Plato – these theories still would have been a major focus of philosophers.

Plato's theories of non-literal immortality varied in prevalence for the people of classical Attica. Philosophers were dominated by these theories and started entire schools of thought around interpreting them. For non-philosophers who were interested in this theory, many joined the Platonic, Cynic, or Epicurean schools, becoming amateur philosophers themselves, thus removing themselves from the “non-philosopher” label. Antisthenes' beliefs do align with how Plato discussed philosophers would view immortality, however, Antisthenes' fear of death can be viewed in two different ways, it either shows that even great philosophers desire real eternal life, or that Antisthenes' core beliefs were tested and shaken at the end of his life.

Case Study on Soldiers: Thrasybulus

This case study will look at Thrasybulus as the exemplified Athenian soldier and whether his actions and desires aligned with ancient Greek theory of honor-loving souls, as well as the desires of average soldiers of Athens. Looking for a historical figure for this case study on a soldier from Athens during the time period of Plato, Thrasybulus shined as an example. Not only is he a great soldier with primary source writings about

him, but he was also not a philosopher, politician, or writer himself, meaning he was through and through a soldier.⁴⁵

Thrasybulus, while less well known today, was one of the most important people of Athenian history. He was elected a general during the Peloponnesian War and led numerous victories on both land and sea. After Athenian defeat in the war, Thrasybulus was exiled by the Thirty Tyrants. He then led a small group of men and captured the fortress of Phyle, defending against attacks by the Thirty, he then led his men to Piraeus, taking the port city and defeating the army of the Thirty yet again. Although Thrasybulus lost the next fight against Spartan reinforcements, Pausanias, the Spartan king, negotiated peace, allowing Athens to return to a democracy. Thrasybulus was therefore remembered to have nearly single handedly returned Athens from oligarchy to democracy.

Does Thrasybulus, a soldier and non-philosopher, follow this theory set by philosophers? Or are Thrasybulus' motivations as a soldier different than expected? Was he influenced by philosophers or the existing beliefs of Greek heroes? It also must be asked if Thrasybulus is an exception or the norm for Athenian soldiers of the era. Plato believed that only philosophers could identify and therefore know the forms, and that soldiers strived for honor and glory – *time* and *kleos* – as their form of non-literal immortality.

⁴⁵ Although Thrasybulus technically held office in Athens for a few years towards the end of his career, this short-lived excursion did not make Thrasybulus a 'politician'.

After becoming a general in 411 BCE, Thrasybulus was instrumental in many battles, such as the taking of Cyzicus.⁴⁶ Thrasybulus was one of three generals, along with Alcibiades and Theramenes, who “won most notable victories over the Lacedaemonians on both land and sea.”⁴⁷ Interestingly, Diodorus – an ancient Greek historian – specifies that once on land, “(Thrasybulus) slew many of them, he also saw not a few of his own men falling.”⁴⁸ Unlike the mass melees of Homeric epics, hoplite formations do not attribute well to individualized glory; yet, by specifying that Thrasybulus slew many opponents even while his men were suffering losses does play into the ideas of *time* and *kleos*. However, not all reports of Thrasybulus are completely positive or consistent. Diodorus reports that once Alcibiades was given supreme command, he elected two generals, Thrasybulus and Adeimantus. Xenophon reports that it was Conon and not Thrasybulus that was elected alongside Adeimantus. It is more likely that Xenophon is correct and that Thrasybulus becomes general once again after Conon is killed.⁴⁹ The most controversial event involving Thrasybulus is told differently by Diodorus and Xenophon, during the battle of Arginusae. Diodorus states that Thrasybulus held supreme command during the “greatest sea-battle on record of Greeks against Greeks,”⁵⁰ and the night before had visions of victory. However, in this dream seven Athenian generals die, which would come to be true in an odd way. Prophetic visions are reminiscent of Homeric epics, prophecies typically given by the gods and godly gifts are a direct form of *time* and *kleos*. After the Athenian victory, the generals were faced with a choice, pursue the fleeing enemy, or collect the dead and wounded. Diodorus

⁴⁶ Diodorus, and Giles Lauren. *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian in Forty Books*. Vol. 1, Sophron, 2017. 13.39-52

⁴⁷ *Diodorus* 13.49

⁴⁸ *Diodorus* 13.51

⁴⁹ Rhodes, Peter John. *A history of the classical Greek world: 478-323 BC*. John Wiley & Sons, 2011. 154

⁵⁰ *Diodorus* 13.98

states that as they debated, a storm came in disallowing either option. Xenophon on the other hand states that Thrasybulus did not have supreme command, and that he was tasked with collecting the wounded while the other generals would pursue the enemy, before the storm stopped either from completing their tasks. Not honoring the dead with proper burials led to great debate in Athens. Regardless of who reports this history accurately, the outcome was the same, Thrasybulus and Theramenes were spared as they attempted to reclaim the dead, while the seven other generals were executed for abandoning the heroes, completing Thrasybulus' prophetic dream. These discrepancies in the stories of Thrasybulus show how stories can change and vary from reality.⁵¹

After the war, fellow general Theramenes was elected into the Thirty Tyrants. When he opposed their rulings, he was killed with Socrates himself attempting to save him. Not wanting Socrates or his followers to be killed along with him, Theramenes told Socrates to stand down.⁵² Alcibiades was also killed around this time leaving just the exiled Thrasybulus from the original three generals that took Cyzicus. Now completely alone and independent, Thrasybulus found refuge in Thebes, where he was given money and supplies to fight against the Tyrants.⁵³ With 70 men, slaves, Metics, and Thebans, Thrasybulus led them to Phyle, taking the fortification. He was offered by the Thirty to replace Theramenes' position in the Thirty Tyrants, to which Thrasybulus responded, "he would not end the war unless all the citizens returned from exile and the people got back the form of government they had received from their fathers."⁵⁴ Thrasybulus

⁵¹ The changing of historical events, even when recorded immediately, shows the importance of reading myths as at least true in the ancient Greek mind. It also shows how quickly glory can fade or bolster due to inaccurate retellings.

⁵² *Diodorus* 14.3-4

⁵³ Plutarch *Life of Lysander* 27.4

⁵⁴ *Diodorus* 14.32, *Xenophon* 2.4

continually gained more and more followers that fled Athens or joined him from other cities and villages. Once he had enough men, Thrasybulus took the port city of Piraeus and soon outnumbered the forces of the Thirty. The following battles outside of Piraeus resulted in the death of Critias, the leader of the Tyrants and the eventual defeat of Thrasybulus by a Spartan army led by the Spartan king Pausanias.⁵⁵ Pausanias negotiated peace, allowing Athens to return to a democracy and the execution of the Thirty as long as those that supported them were free from punishment.

Expectations of Athenian soldiers are exemplified in Thrasybulus, fighting not for your leaders, but for Athens and democracy. At this point in history, Thrasybulus and other celebrated soldiers fought for the continuation of democracy, even when Athens gave way to oligarchy. This contradicts Plato's argument at the same time, that soldiers fight for honor and glory, rather than any notion of the greater good. Plato expects soldiers to fight for their names to be remembered in stories and celebrated through the ages; and yet, Thrasybulus rejects joining the Tyrants and leading Athens.

An issue with Plato's theory is soldiers of the time fought either on ships or in hoplite formations. Both of these circumstances result in victory or loss as a whole, with little to no room for individualized glory. Unlike the era of Homeric epics where battles were fought in mass melees allowing for individuals to kill and strip arms and armor from fallen foes, hoplite units fought as one. Spartan hoplites were recognized as so tremendous in part due to their equality, the Spartan *homoioi*, the equals. However, as noted before, Thrasybulus did have individualized glory attributed to him by Diodorus.

⁵⁵ Diodorus 14.33

In Thrasybulus' speech to his men as recorded by Xenophon, he emphasizes that victory is won by the efforts of each individual.⁵⁶ The reasons for fighting is then stated, "Victory – which, God willing, shall this day restore to us the land of our fathers, our homes, our freedom, and the rewards of civic life."⁵⁷ Thrasybulus' reasons for fighting is not for glory, he does not mention glory or honor or remembrance, but for the return of their land, for the return of democracy.

Could it be that Thrasybulus was more than just a soldier? Fighting not for honor but for the greater good? Plato argues that only the philosopher has the ability to know the forms; therefore, only the philosopher has the ability to know the greater good. Others can only see the shadows of the forms, never the true nature.⁵⁸ Plato's philosopher requires rigorous years of study and reflection to understand the world and the forms, training Thrasybulus never had.⁵⁹

Thrasybulus does not fight for monetary gain or any other physical offspring, as a soldier, Plato expects him to fight for glory and honor; yet, we see Thrasybulus emphasize democracy and the return of Athens. It is tempting to say he fights for justice, but once he restores democracy, he makes all swear a simple and straightforward oath, "We will remember past offences no more."⁶⁰ Clearly Thrasybulus

⁵⁶ "Men and fellow citizens, let me call upon you so to bear yourselves that each shall be conscious to himself that victory was won by him and him alone". Interestingly, many of those with Thrasybulus were Metics, non-citizens, but Thrasybulus had the full intention of making all who served with him – even slaves – citizens. *Xenophon* 2.4.

⁵⁷ *Xenophon* 2.4

⁵⁸ Plato *Republic*, the allegory of the cave

⁵⁹ A Philosopher King, the ideal philosopher with knowledge of the forms being the head of government.

⁶⁰ *Xenophon* 2.4

does not demand vengeance and it seems to me that justice is an afterthought.

Thrasybulus' sole driving force is the return of democracy in Athens. Some may point to his sense of duty; unlike Theramenes, Thrasybulus does not fight from the inside or through proper channels. He rebels, forms an army, and fights against Athenians. The glory of individual success and prophetic dreams is attributed to him by others, these are not necessarily Thrasybulus' own desire to be remembered by but may simply be others writing stories reminiscent of Homeric epics.

Thrasybulus was held in high regard throughout Athens, throughout Greece, and throughout ancient history, whether or not he fought for honor and glory, glory came to him. Thrasybulus' name is not recorded in history because of his children, his wealth, or his teachings, but because of his honor⁶¹. In this way, Plato's theories hold, but was this Thrasybulus' desire? It is most likely that Thrasybulus fought for what he deemed right, for democracy, over anything else. I find it unlikely that he was alone in this ideology as thousands flocked to fight alongside him. These nameless soldiers risked their lives, their homes, their everything to fight with Thrasybulus against the Tyrants. Thrasybulus was not the exception but the example of Athenian soldiers. The expectation of glory was unlikely the driving force for Thrasybulus or his followers.

⁶¹ Proof in Plato's theory that honor is shorter lived than intellectualism is highlighted by the fact that modern historians are forgetting Thrasybulus. Pericles is immediately recognizable, yet ancient historians placed Thrasybulus before even Pericles in importance, Pausanias the Traveller states "The first is that of Thrasybulus, son of Lycas, in every way the greatest of all famous Athenians, whether they lived before or after him his is the first grave, and after it comes that of Pericles" Kagan. 21. *The Struggle for Hegemony in Fourth-Century Greece*. YouTube, Yale, 2007, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zckc79jKOfA&t=2311s. Historians even mostly agree upon Homer and especially Achilles, to not be real individuals, though their names are remembered, their reality is doubted. Yet it is undeniable the teachings of Plato continue to influence our world today.

Case Study on Poets and Playwrights: Aristophanes

Another potential honor-loving group is poets and playwrights. Artists build fame and renown through works of art and are capable of becoming deeply entwined in Greek culture. One only needs to look at the influence of Homer on Greek society to know that poets can be remembered through the ages. Similarly to soldiers who build glory through great deeds, potentially influencing generations of soldiers, playwrights build honor through competitions and directly influence a broad spectrum of theatergoers. One such playwright from Athens during the 5th century BCE was Aristophanes. Aristophanes competed in and won numerous competitions during the festivals of Dionysus in comedy and is now known as the father of comedy, clearly living on in memory over two and a half thousand years later.

Aristophanes, Socrates, and Plato had complex relations, shown with Aristophanes crudely mocking Socrates in *The Clouds*, Plato writing of Socrates and Aristophanes together at a symposium, and even an epitaph potentially written by Plato praising Aristophanes. This case study will focus on Aristophanes' *The Clouds* as a viewpoint of poets on philosophers and their own ideals. *The Clouds* was written and first performed around the time of Plato's birth during the first phase of the Second Peloponnesian War. At this stage in the war, Athens' navy raided Spartan coastlines; however, the Spartan army threatened Athens directly, though ineffectively due to Athens' Long Walls. This created a mixed feeling of security and vulnerability, of joy and fear, of normalcy and upheaval. This can be seen in many aspects of Athenian life, but likely most of all by

plays. Even the location of the amphitheater in Athens adds to this idea, the theater of Dionysus – where *The Clouds* was first performed – was right next to and backed by the Acropolis. Sitting on the stone or wooden seats, a theater-goer could look out over the city, the walls, and the lands beyond, knowing or even seeing that the Spartans were just outside. Yet, they could also look just to the southwest over the expanse of the sea with Athenian trading and military ships ensuring safety and resources. This dichotomy is important to remember when looking at plays performed at the theater of Dionysus, such as *The Clouds*.

In *The Clouds*, an old man named Strepsiades, the name meaning “The Twister” or “The Cheat”, joins Socrates’ school to learn the art of Sophistry in order to avoid his debts. Sophists being people who contorted words and logical fallacies as a means to an end, typically positions of wealth. Strepsiades’ son is forced to join the school after Socrates refuses to continue teaching his father. Strepsiades successfully avoids paying his debtors, but after an argument, Strepsiades is beaten by his son. His son, Pheidippides, uses rhetoric and sophism to explain how it is rightful for him to beat his father and that he should even find his mother and beat her too. Aristophanes shows how Socrates and the sophists can corrupt both the young and the old. Strepsiades is so upset by this, he and his slave burn down Socrates’ school and chase off the students by throwing rocks. This ending, along with other pieces may not be in the original play as Aristophanes rewrote the play after losing the competition, this rewrite is the surviving copy we have today.⁶²

⁶² Biles ZP. *Aristophanes’ Clouds-palinode*. In: *Aristophanes and the Poetics of Competition*. Cambridge University Press; 2011:167-210.

The prosperous city of Athens, as well as the newly founded democracy, attracted professional sophists who gained great power and wealth. Aristophanes was a staunch conservative and stoutly against the ‘new age’ of thought. Socrates was also avidly against sophism – the art of twisting words, lying, or misleading as a means to an end. Yet, Aristophanes grouped Socrates in with them, making no distinction between sophists and philosophers. In *The Clouds*, Socrates is the target of Aristophanes’ mockery of sophism. But why Socrates, when other sophists were preying on Athens at the time? There are a few differing ideas, some say Aristophanes was too old school and conservative – or even too dimwitted – to tell the difference between philosophers and sophists. Others argue that Socrates was chosen purely because of his recognizable and comedic appearance as the actor portraying him would wear a caricature mask⁶³. Either way, targeting Socrates tells us that Aristophanes knew of Socrates and did not hold him in high regard, treating him in the play as a corrupter of Athens and blasphemer against the gods. Knowing that Socrates would later be tried and executed for corrupting the youth of Athens and for impiety, Aristophanes was not alone in this belief.

Aristophanes, by calling out Socrates’ disregard of the gods, contrasts Plato’s later telling of a symposium where Aristophanes blasphemes and looks at the sun, earth, and

⁶³ David Konstan cites Diogenes Laertius citing Plutarch of ancient debates on whether Aristophanes’ representation of Socrates was hostile in intention. Konstan also states, “But parody, if it is to be effective, must have some basis in reality” (76). I for one can imagine Socrates laughing along with the crowd watching *The Clouds* while Plato sulks at the mockery of his teacher. Konstan, David. *Socrates in Aristophanes’ Clouds*. The Cambridge Companion to Socrates 2011. 75-90.

moon as deities, mirroring Socrates in *The Clouds* deifying clouds and the Vortex. I therefore don't use Plato's writings as evidence of Aristophanes' actual beliefs.

Plato describes his views of poets through the lens of Diotima stating that poets work towards the love of honor, the goal of having their name and deeds remembered throughout the ages.⁶⁴ It is not so much that the material texts survive, but that the deeds and glory of poets are remembered. In this way, Aristophanes is a glowing example. The version of *The Clouds* that we have today is not the exact version that was performed during the festival of Dionysus; Aristophanes remade at least the ending of the play after losing the competition, "Aristophanes himself indicates (518-526), which he partially revised out of pique at its coming in last in the competition."⁶⁵ Aristophanes won many comedic competitions, but when he lost, he revised the play, showing his determination, competitiveness, and desire to be the best. Whether or not Aristophanes' goal was to be popular in life or popular in death is impossible to know, however, his revision of *The Clouds* leads me to believe his endeavors were for the latter. This revision would not have been allowed to enter competition – only completely original pieces were allowed to compete – yet the revision was widely available to the point that a copy of it survived and not the original.⁶⁶ Circulating the revised version means Aristophanes was not just concerned with winning the competitions, but having the best plays possible. Aristophanes knew his plays would be read and performed likely even after his own death, showing his desires directly align with Plato's honor-loving soul.

⁶⁴ *Symposium* 205a-e

⁶⁵ *Socrates in Aristophanes' Clouds*, 82.

⁶⁶ Some fragments of the original have been found but not enough to know the differences between the two.

Aristophanes is known and remembered today as the father of comedy, showing his success, whether real or perceived, in being immortalized through honor and glory. Although Aristophanes fought against the new ideologies in philosophy, it is clear as a playwright, Aristophanes was exemplary of Plato's honor-loving soul. While his plays are undoubtedly intelligent and witty, Plato's truth-loving soul is more than intelligence, but the philosophical knowledge of the forms. Aristophanes' conservatism and disdain for the new-aged philosophies shows he was not a part of this category, even with his comedic inclusion in the Symposium. Aristophanes is not remembered for his wealth or his children, but as the father of comedy, showing he did rise to the level of honor-loving. While Plato's assumption of artists is proven accurate by Aristophanes, it is abundantly clear that these theories of non-literal immortality did not influence Aristophanes' beliefs or actions; he strived for fame independently of the theories of philosophers and the mythos of Greek heroes.

Case Study on Politicians: Cleon

Selecting a politician for this case study required them to not also be a military leader or trained philosopher, which many leaders of Athens were. Cleon was an Athenian statesman and demagogue, and although he technically led the invasion force of Pylos as will be discussed later, Cleon was by no means a soldier in the Platonic form. Cleon rose to power in Athens after Pericles during the Peloponnesian War. Being a tanner turned self-made politician, He made himself known as a powerhouse speaker and

warmonger.⁶⁷ He is most notable for his parts in the Mytilenian Debate and the Battle of Pylos where Cleon gained both infamy and fame. This case study will look at the actions Cleon took and try to reason his driving force for the choices he made and whether or not he fits with Plato's theories of the forms and non-literal immortality.

We get a rather disturbing depiction of Cleon and his views from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*, especially in book 3 discussing the Mytilenian Debate. The Mytilenians from the island of Lesbos revolted from Athens and called upon Sparta for support, Athens quickly quelled the rebellion and held a debate to decide the fate of the Mytilenians. They decided that the entire adult male population should be executed and the women and children enslaved; this decision, according to Thucydides, was proposed and argued by Cleon, "It was he [Cleon] who had been responsible for passing the original motion for putting the Mytilenians to death. He was remarkable among the Athenians for the violence of his character."⁶⁸ They sent a ship to deliver their decision to the island and the next morning they met again to discuss whether they had made the correct choice. It is this debate that was recorded by Thucydides. Cleon spoke first, reiterating his previous decision that only a measure of great violence could deter other cities from revolting and that the Mytilenians did not simply revolt but had acted in "calculated aggression" against Athens.⁶⁹ Cleon also calls this entire

⁶⁷ Paul Roche in Aristophanes' *Knights*, "Cleon, a self-made politician though only a tanner by trade, and other warmongers like him are all that Aristophanes detests: shift, ambitious, scrambling for personal status, blackmailers and embezzlers, smooth talkers who stop at nothing to feather their own nests, but worst of all, deceivers of the people, tricking them into supporting a ruinous and unnecessary war."

Aristophanes, and Paul Roche. *Aristophanes: The Complete Plays*. New American Library, 2014. 65

⁶⁸ Thucydides, et al. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Penguin Books, 1972. 3.36

⁶⁹ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 3.39

re-discussion pointless and a clear failing of democracy stating, “Personally I have had occasion often enough already to observe that a democracy is incapable of governing others, and I am all the more convinced of this when I see how you are now changing your minds about the Mytilenians.”⁷⁰ Cleon may be relying on his first testimony, but here tries to shame the assembly into not changing their mind, that a reversal of their decision shows the utmost weakness. He calls their honor into question, hinting at the motivations of politicians.

Speaking against Cleon is Diodorus. Diodorus first claims that his stance is not for justice, but for usefulness for Athens, that the execution of the Mytilenians is not useful. Yet, Diodorus also makes a rather Socratic argument against the death penalty as a whole and argues that if life were better for those under the control of Athens, they would be less likely to rebel.⁷¹ The vote to decide whether or not they should stop the massacre is reported to have been extremely close with Diodorus winning in the end. A second ship was sent and arrived moments after the first ship but still in time to stop the massacre from occurring. The differences in Cleon’s argument and Diodorus’ makes an amazing comparison between a sophic argument and a philosophical one. Cleon simply states his position and the benefits of his position. Diodorus breaks the argument down to its basic parts, comes to his conclusion and factors in how any other position will not

⁷⁰ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 3.37 Cleon calling the second meeting evidence to the failings of democracy, that the people could change their mind, is humorous to me as I have always used the Mytilenian Debate as evidence against a direct democracy for the fact they voted in favor of such a brutal decision in the first place, how when angered, a mob is capable of voting in favor of extreme measures.

⁷¹ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 3.41-8, Diodorus breaks down the topic of capital punishment piece by piece and argues them individually. Coming to the conclusion that even though the death penalty exists, people still commit those crimes, therefore, capital punishment does not work and an alternate solution should be sought out.

work. Plato's philosopher king succeeds in this instance, yet the prior day's decision, the narrow margin on the second day, and the popularity of Cleon argue Athens was not yet ready for intellectualism in governing power. That glory and power were still the standard for politicians.

The battles of Pylos and Sphacteria earned Cleon great fame and glory which launched his political career to the next level, allowing Cleon to dominate the political landscape of Athens for years to come. A string of battles ended with 420 Spartans stranded on the island of Sphacteria. Sparta, wanting the safe return of the Spartan citizens agreed to an armistice while negotiations took place between Spartan ambassadors and the Athenian assembly in Athens. Sparta came to the meeting hoping for peace, to end the war in its entirety in order to save the stranded hoplites. Cleon, already known as a warmonger, did not want peace believing that Athens was in a strong enough position to win rather than settle with peace. This drive for ultimate victory rather than a settlement shows the drive for glory at all but personal cost for Cleon. However, Plutarch states Cleon's opposition to peace was primarily due to Cleon and Nicias' political rivalry, Nicias being the general in charge.⁷² Thucydides discusses this in book 4, "The man who, more than others, encouraged them in this attitude was Cleon, ... a popular figure of the time who had the greatest influence with the masses."⁷³ Cleon, convincing the Athenians of his position and jumping at the hesitation of the Spartan envoy declared

⁷² Plutarch, and Robin Waterfield. *Plutarch: Greek Lives*. Oxford University Press, 1998. *Nicias* 7

⁷³ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.21

the negotiation failed at the expense of the Spartans, allowing for the Athenians at Pylos to keep the Spartan ships surrendered for the armistice.

Nicias was put in charge of capturing the stranded hoplites but failed to do so. Returning to Athens, Nicias and Cleon went to verbal blows in front of the assembly. The Athenians were mad at Cleon's decision to not vote for peace, "As for Cleon, he realized that he was becoming unpopular because of the part he had played in preventing the agreement."⁷⁴ Cleon tries to blame and mock Nicias who offers to give his position as general to Cleon. Cleon tried to back track but in the end was forced to accept or seem a coward. Thucydides then writes, "the more intelligent members of his audience were not displeased with it, since they calculated that they would enjoy an advantage either way; either they would get rid of Cleon for the future – which was what they rather expected – or, if they were wrong about this, they would have the Spartans in their power."⁷⁵ Although Cleon held power and was popular, Thucydides points out that many still viewed him negatively and hoped he would not only fail, but die in the process. However, Cleon assigns Demosthenes to lead the attack and planning; Demosthenes successfully kills or captures all of the Spartan hoplites. Cleon, therefore, upholds his promise and returns to Athens with the captured Spartans within his 20 day time limit, skyrocketing his popularity.⁷⁶ This also allowed him to earn glory and fame in war, without actually risking his own life.

⁷⁴ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.27

⁷⁵ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.28

⁷⁶ *History of the Peloponnesian War* 4.29-39

Plutarch's response to Cleon's victory a few hundred years later shows some of the ramifications of this event; "And the fact is that Nicias did do the city, as well as himself, quite a bit of harm, in making it possible for Cleon to increase his reputation and power so much that he entered upon a phase of insolent pride and ungovernable boldness, during which he inflicted upon the city various disasters."⁷⁷ Nicias, by calling out Cleon, gave him the opportunity to be successful. This success massively hurt Athens by allowing Cleon more power. So why did Cleon take the mantle of general from Nicias? It's impossible to know his personal motives, but by reading Thucydides and Plutarch, it seems Cleon did not want to. It appears that Nicias' offer was a shock to Cleon who took the position only through pressure, not desire. This is supported by Cleon not leading the army himself but by using Demosthenes and happily taking the credit for the victory. Cleon desperately wants glory and the popularity of victory without the risk of death, so it is reasonable to see this as not honor loving, but material and wealth loving. The material and wealth being fame and popularity, a narrow difference.

Cleon also transitions nicely from Aristophanes as he was targeted in Aristophanes' play *Knights*. In *Knights*, the characters directly represent real world people(s); Paphlagon is pointedly Cleon and Demos is the people of Athens. If there was any doubt, the character Demosthenes directly points at Cleon in the audience and calls him Paphlagon mid play.⁷⁸ Cleon even sued for defamation against the play.⁷⁹ Why was

⁷⁷ *Plutarch Nicias* 8

⁷⁸ *Aristophanes* 76 "Demosthenes: {pointing a finger at Cleon, who was in the audience} This Paphlagon here is the hidebound one". Paphlagon translates to 'Scoulder' and was also a country in Asia Minor (66 footnote).

⁷⁹ *Aristophanes* 77 footnote "Cleon was writhing in fury and later brought a suit of libel".

Cleon so upset at the play's portrayal? I suggest you read the play in its entirety but the short and sweet is that Paphlagon (Cleon) is the steward and advisor of Demos (the people). Paphlagon corrupts, steals from, and brownnoses Demos to the absolute extreme; to rid Demos of Paphlagon, Demosthenes and Nicias (two Athenian generals of the time and servants of Demos in the play) hire a sausageseller to out-corrupt Paphlagon and take his place as steward. Once the sausageseller is successful, he steps down allowing Demos to think for himself and realise his failures for believing in Paphlagon. Some important lines from the play to discuss in order to see Aristophanes' and the peoples' view of Cleon and the current state of Athenian democracy include Demosthenes' line on page 75, "Politics, these days, is no occupation for an educated man, a man of character. Ignorance and total lousiness are better". Cleon, not being trained in philosophy or as a general or even using vast wealth, used shady tactics, his voice, and empty promises to take power in Athens.⁸⁰ This power is still given by the people and still gives Cleon *time* in the Homeric sense. The next line to note is on page 102 during a conversation between Paphlagon and the Sausageseller, where the Sausageseller says, "But if Demos ever gets back to his peaceful farm and becomes his real self again, ... he'll realize how you cheated him and how it sucks that you put him on the dole,⁸¹ and he'll turn on you in rustic fury and wallop you at the ballot box. This possibility of how he behaves is on your mind, so you go on bamboozling him with your dreams of glory". Cleon's "dreams of glory" refer to the warmongering and Aegean

⁸⁰ Much of *Knights* is Paphlagon and the Sausageseller going back and forth making grander and grander promises to Demos which clearly will not come true; yet, Demos almost entirely decides who will be steward based on these promises and prophecies.

⁸¹ "Dole" could either refer to the british slang of "on the dole" meaning to be unemployed as in Cleon has put the voice of the people out of work, or it could refer to the latin "dolus" meaning "mourning" as in Cleon has put the people of Athens to mourning, either has the same effect.

expansionism Cleon is famous for promoting. This ties directly into Plato's honor-loving soul, not that this is necessarily Cleon's viewpoint, but Cleon uses honor and glory to tender support from the predominantly pro-war Athenians.⁸² Aristophanes is known for his anti-war sentiments and longs for Demos, the Athenian people, to return to peace and to farming and that if Demos can return to peace, Cleon will no longer hold power over the vote by means of warmongering.

Cleon, a politician, sophist, and warmonger, hated by intellectuals and laughed at by generals, held the entire city of Athens in the palms of his hands. Where does infamy land in Plato's theories of immortality? Do Greek views of *kleos* and *time* only apply to heroes and those willing to die for their beliefs? Cleon clearly doesn't fit the idea of a truth-loving philosopher king, so the question lies whether he would identify with the honor-loving or appetitive souls. Plato aligns politicians with honor and glory, their service to the people is to earn fame and remembrance through their names and deeds. Cleon definitely sought out power and fame, stole glory and valor, and made his name known and remembered throughout the ages for good and for bad. Plato, and the ancient Greeks, do not specify that glory must be good. Furthermore, Plato states that only philosophers can even know good, meaning the non-philosopher Cleon, or any other physical or honor seeking soul, cannot be expected to do good for the sake of good. Reading Homer, the Trojans and Hector are clearly the antagonists, yet not by

⁸² "What is also amazing is that the Athenians, who generally supported the war, should have given him first prize. It speaks well for their open-mindedness". *Aristophanes* 67. The pro-war Athenians gave Aristophanes first place for his obviously anti-war play.

any means bad or evil. They are simply honor-loving souls fighting for glory and *kleos*. Achilles is the protagonist because the story is about him and his wrath and the Will of Zeus.⁸³ I believe Plato would place Cleon within this category, the honor-loving middle path. I do think there is a case to say that Cleon is appetitive towards fame rather than glory, and therefore could be placed in the lowest forms due to his cowardice and trickery. Trickery is difficult in the ancient Greek mind, if Achilles or Hector stabbed someone in the back, they would most likely lose honor for the dishonorable act; however, if Odysseus does, he earns *kleos* as he is known to be sly and cunning. Regardless of the outcome though, whether or not Cleon has high *kleos*, he fits best in Plato's middle form, as philosophers expect. Cleon in this manner is the extreme of infamy and political glory; we can then comfortably say other politicians that chased fame in Athens at the time fit Plato's narrative.⁸⁴ Were there politicians who acted purely for wealth or others yet that studied philosophy and sought to better Athens? Certainly. The average demagogue of this time period, however, most likely resembled Cleon and focused on glory, for themselves or for Athens.⁸⁵ The fame and popularity, or infamy, of some philosophers certainly had the attention of all politicians of Athens, however, it is doubtful the aspirations of these demagogues were influenced by theories of immortality but more so by wealth, popularity, and fame.

⁸³ The first lines of a Greek play state the priority. Most know the Iliad begins with "the wrath of Achilles" but the first line also includes "the will of Zeus was fulfilled". This Will has semblances of divine fate and is the promise of Zeus to Thetis that the glory of Achilles will surpass all others.

⁸⁴ "Souls would not forfeit their immortality if they, or the people to whom they belong, became wicked, impious or ignorant" *Death and Immortality* 30.

⁸⁵ "Solon and Lycurgus are not said to be their laws, or to live on through their laws, but to receive honour and fame on account of them" *Death and Immortality* 42.

Case Study on Commoners: Women

This final case study looks at the common peoples of Athens, people who Plato dismisses as near animalistic in their desires. Plato attributes the lowest form, the desire for physical offspring, to the majority of people. The ‘animalistic’ nature of this form is because animals as well as humans desire this form of immortality. Animals do not crave intellectualism or lust for glory, but they do fight for food, territory, and their offspring.⁸⁶ But these are the words of a philosopher, Plato claims to know the forms and to have lived through all the forms, but would the average Athenian citizen agree with Plato’s belief? This is what this case study will try to discover by looking primarily at gravestones to see how commoners wanted to be remembered after death.

I believe it is fair to say that when facing death, we want to be remembered for our best qualities; by looking at gravestone markings – *stelae* – we can get a feel for what aspects of life were most important to everyday Athenians. We are lucky to have this source as common people in ancient Greece don’t leave books or grand speeches for us to view, these inscriptions are often the only writing we have about commoners written by commoners. Focusing on women in classical Attica allows us to also look at topics of motherhood and child rearing in classical Greece as Plato assumes this is the sole driving force of immortality in commoners. The archaic period of Athens only supported *stelae* (Greek style memorial headstones) for wealthy and noble women rather than for common working women.⁸⁷ These graves had monuments designed to

⁸⁶ “So don’t be surprised if everything naturally values its own offspring, because it is for the sake of immortality that everything shows this zeal, which is Love” Socrates *Symposium* 208b3-5.

⁸⁷ Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo, *Ancient Greek Women and Art: The Material Evidence*. 1987. 400-5.

awe passerbyers and the women were often buried with fine jewelry and even in one case a chest with grain pots to represent the wealth of her family.⁸⁸ The classical period moved away from awe-inspiring monumentality to more personal stelae which worked to induce mourning.⁸⁹ Arrington explains that touch is often depicted on stelae as a way to create longing for the deceased and to keep the deceased in the memory of the living.

During the classical period, the availability for memorials of common peoples increased by pre-producing stelae for selection upon death. This removes the need for a memorial to be sponsored by a wealthy family member and allows for the appreciation of the peoples' role in society regardless of wealth, "On the positive side, however, even if no specific "sponsor" can be postulated for such stelai, the very fact that they were made readily available implies greater recognition of women in Athenian society."⁹⁰ These stelae depicted women in common representative styles, such as woolworking or nursing. It is important to note that having any sort of gravestone marking implies a desire to be remembered, tending toward a middle path.

Other women that often had more customized stelae in classical Attica were priestesses. One such example is the key holder Polystrate of Kerameikos, currently held at the Kerameikos Museum in Athens dating to the early 4th Century⁹¹. The stele

⁸⁸ "Even more significant of female importance, since the object was meant for use by a woman, is another find among the grave goods: a large terracotta chest/pyxis surmounted by five ovoid shapes. These have been interpreted as models of granaries, and as a possible indication of the social standing of the dead lady's family" *Ancient Greek Women and Art* 400.

⁸⁹ Arrington, *Touch and Remembrance in Greek Funerary Art*. *The Art Bulletin*, 100:3, 7-27, 2018. 8-10.

⁹⁰ *Ancient Greek Women and Art* 405.

⁹¹ Kosmopoulou, *'Working Women': Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones* 4.

only bears one word, her name. This makes it difficult to determine if this was a sponsored stele or not as, “a significant number of vases and grave stelai dating to the Classical and Hellenistic periods depict temple keys or women holding a temple key. Most of the vases show mythical figures as key-holders, whereas the grave stelai honour women who served presumably as priestesses.”⁹² A highly respected and honored position of priestess could have been sponsored, however, the commonality of this type of stele and only the inclusion of her name and not an epigram, like the stele of the priestess Chairestrate,⁹³ possibly means that this stele was pre-produced and selected by Polystrate’s sponsor rather than specifically made for her. This trend of uncertainty continues for all women in Attica discussed below.

The average woman in classical Attica was not of the pentakosiomedimnoi, nobility, or a priestess; rather, women often had to work to help their families get by. Noted gravestones of non-noble women or priestesses often depicted them doing their work, such as nursing, midwifery, or woolworking. The most common female professional gravestones found in classical Attica were those of nurses, primarily wetnurses. While some of these tombstones were customized with epigrams and names, many of them simply have the word, *τίτην* , *τιθήνη*, or *τροφός*, meaning nurse or wetnurse.⁹⁴ The consistency of nurses’ stelae along with the fact they are the most common stelae of working women in Athens suggests that these were primarily premade gravestones selected by their sponsors. Although nursing was seen as a job for non-citizens, many

⁹² Karatas, Aynur-Michèle-Sara, *Key-bearers of Greek Temples: The Temple Key as a Symbol of Priestly Authority*. 2019.

⁹³ *Working Women* 313-4.

⁹⁴ *Working Women* 287-94

women who were citizens during the classical period, and especially during the Peloponnesian War, needed to work to support their families.

Interestingly, while the most common professional gravestone was for nursing, the most common profession for women was by far woolworking, yet very few stelae depict women weaving. It is most likely that woolworkers preferred to have their motherhood depicted rather than the immensely common profession leaving the women who were recognized for their work more likely to have been without children or to have been exceptionally famous woolworkers.⁹⁵ Motherhood remains to be the most popular representation of women on stelae, meaning that the examples of professional women on stelae shows the importance of their profession to themselves and their potential sponsor. This along with the previously stated stigma of female citizens working typically lower class professions resulted in many women not having their work be depicted on their stelae, "One's profession was not an important means of self-identification, as it is in most modern societies. This mentality influenced individuals against having their profession recorded on their memorials, even when they excelled in it."⁹⁶ Although pre-produced stelae would reduce the cost compared to customized gravestones, it was still an expense for women who were working in professions that were considered beneath them. This makes the imagery of working female Athenian citizens on gravestones even more important to study to understand the daily life of Athenians. These small glimpses into the lives of these women help scholars to understand the larger whole of Greek society.

⁹⁵ *Working Women* 284

⁹⁶ *Working Women* 283

Having discussed what was on stelae, it is important to note what was not included. Imagery of the elderly, pregnant, and women in childbirth were not depicted on stelae in classical Athens, which raises the question of why. Old age, pregnancy, and childbirth were the main cause of death for women, meaning that gravestones depicting this would be most representative of a woman before her death. It is theorized that this is because stelae in classical Athens attempted to depict people in the height of their life,⁹⁷ as stelae were designed to elicit mourning from passerbyers.⁹⁸ Pregnancy and childbirth were seen as intimate personal affairs that were not meant for the public eye as tombstones were. J.J.D. states, “an older woman isn’t the ideal image of a woman one would want to become public, childbirth or pregnancy is too intimate to depict, and the most usual role of a woman was that in her household.”⁹⁹ Even though these were common causes of death in classical Greece, Athenian women did not want to be remembered and publicly displayed as such, preferring to be seen and remembered by motherhood or their respective profession, whether or not they could afford a personalized stelae.¹⁰⁰

With the examples given, what can we glean from the lives of common women in ancient Athens? The majority of women did choose to be depicted as mothers on their

⁹⁷ J.J.D.vd H., *The funerary iconography of the Classical Athenian woman*. 2016.

⁹⁸ Arrington, *Touch and Remembrance in Greek Funerary Art*. *The Art Bulletin*, 100:3, 7-27, 2018.

⁹⁹ *The funerary iconography of the Classical Athenian woman*.

¹⁰⁰ A common misconception outside the scope of this paper is that only Spartan women who died in childbirth were given an inscribed stelae, as Matthew Dillon details, the inscriptions translate more closely to Spartan women who died while holding religious office, rather than childbirth. Dillon, Matthew. *Were Spartan Women Who Died in Childbirth Honoured with Grave Inscriptions?* *Hermes*, vol. 135, no. 2, 2007. 149–65.

stelae, showing that this was the most important aspect of their life, raising children. Plato views child rearing as the most basic and intuitive form of achieving non-literal immortality, as a part of you directly continues to live on, and this does seem to be true for the majority of Athenian women at the time.

However, many women were depicted, and therefore remembered, by their profession. Priestesses, nurses, and even woolworkers chose to be immortalized by these depictions often enough that premade stelae for these professions were manufactured. These women, in my opinion, lie outside of Plato's belief. Work does not fit neatly into Plato's forms. Work does not produce children, it does produce some wealth but these women were depicted with the act of their labor, not the results of their labor, such as wealthy women being buried with jewels and riches. It is better to attribute remembrance through work by the deeds of their labor, such as the deeds of heroes. Heracles is remembered for his 12 labors, similarly, these women chose to be remembered for their deeds in labor. Although the majority of women chose to be remembered by motherhood – which could be seen as physical offspring or the deed of raising citizens – the examples of professional women depicted on stelae shows that philosophers' belief of commoners was not true for all at the time. The importance of studying common peoples cannot be understated. It is easy to only look at the rich and powerful, or the great heroes, or even the storytellers of those heroes, yet common people are the history. Their stories, their beliefs, are what shape society and their values are what have been passed down through the ages.

Conclusion

The prevalence of theories of non-literal immortality in the lives of ancient Athenians during the time of Plato varied greatly. For philosophers it is safe to say that Plato – and Socrates before him – championed these theories and took over the philosophical theater of Athens. Entire philosophical schools were made and divided around this topic, from Cynics to Epicureans, to call Plato anything less than THE pivotal discussion would be madness even if these theories were pre-existing in the philosophical mind. The non-philosophers of Athens often strive towards these forms whether that be consciously, driven by cultural mythos, or contrary to the beliefs of philosophers.

Soldiers and warriors can easily be claimed to fight for honor and for glory, as Plato assumes. Even if true, it is likely this warrior tradition is passed on from Homeric style stories of great heroes fighting and collecting *time* and *kleos*. It is also fair to call into question the accuracy of Plato when describing the aspirations of the warrior class. It is seen from the case study on Thrasybulus that many soldiers fought for at least their idea of the greater good. Hoplite formations are not the same as Homeric grand melees and the individual soldier does not expect to turn the tide of battle as Achilles would. They fight for their beliefs, and soldiers chose to join Thrasybulus' defense of democracy, choosing near certain death for a cause rather than glory. Diotima seems to have been right in this case, that even if a person does not necessarily know the philosophical good, they can still strive for it without being a philosopher.

Another Plato described honor-loving class is poets and playwrights, working endlessly to have their names and deeds remembered through the ages. The case study on Aristophanes supports this narrative, but in Aristophanes' case, it seems to be in spite of philosophers, rather than because of them, following the traditions of Homer rather than his heroes. Aristophanes, in his attacks on philosophers, proved at least Plato correct in the motives of poets. I chose a hyper competitive and successful playwright to detail in the case study, but Athenian writers likely strove to attain the honor and glory Aristophanes had.

Politicians in Athens came from vastly different backgrounds and had equally vastly different goals. However, the demagogues of post Pericles Athens all strove for glory and power. Even through infamy, such as Cleon, we can see their devotion to remembrance through deeds, as honor-loving souls would. As stated in the case study, it is almost a guarantee some politicians strove only for wealth, while others strove for true philosophical good, but the vast majority wanted power, in spite of the teachings of Plato and his dream for a philosopher king.

Lastly, the case study on the common people of Athens shows that, while most women had chosen to be remembered for their motherhood, a significant portion of women chose to be remembered for their professions and for their work. This discrepancy shows that philosophers were not wholly accurate in their theories on common people. Commoners lived outside the symposiums and grandeur of power and politics. Yet, stories of archaic homeric heroes and grand deeds from the ongoing Peloponnesian

War, of Pericles or Thrasybulus, likely played a much larger role in the aspirations of the common person. Looking at women's stelae gave the most weight to Plato's theories, as men rarely were depicted for their roles as fathers, and yet; the women of Athens proved Plato wrong, striving for more than just physical offspring.

Plato is undeniably a major character in history, let alone Athenian history, his writings have influenced philosophers and historians for thousands of years and will continue to do so for thousands more. However, during the time of Plato, only philosophers were influenced in their aspirations by the theories of non-literal immortality, as the desires for the appetites or for honor do not involve philosophy. The non-philosophers of Athens often did desire and strive for these theories of immortality as Plato assumes they would, but the causes of their desires likely stems from deep cultural and historical foundations of living on through honor and remembrance.

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