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Abstract:	<p>Socrates' burial is dismissed as irrelevant in Phaedo 115c-e although it was discussed by Plato's older contemporaries. In Antisthenes' Kyrsas there is a visit to Socrates' tomb by a lover of Socrates who receives advice in a dream sequence while sleeping over Socrates' grave. The dialogue is an explanation of Socrates' spiritual message continuing after death. Plato underplays its imagery by lampooning Antisthenes and his work (Phd. 81b-82e) and precludes him from an active role in the Phaedo . Similar is the exclusion of Euclides of Megara whose fragment of a Socratic dialogue depicting Apollodorus and an unnamed Megarian to justify care for the remains of the dead. Similar mistaken notions explain Kyrsas' who does not distinguish the living Socrates from the dead one. In spite of these disputes, Euclides, Antisthenes and Plato each attempted to present Socrates' moral influence as a force that continued after his death .</p>
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1 Introduction

Crito's concern with the details of Socrates' burial are dismissed by Plato as unworthy of philosophical discussion (*Phd.* 115c-e), the grounds given being: that 'Socrates' whom Crito once knew will have departed to a better place leaving behind remains of no consequence for burial.¹ In complete contrast to this, we hear of a dialogue ascribed to Plato's older contemporary, Antisthenes of Athens, describing an imaginary visit to Socrates' grave where his tomb is central to the philosophical discussion and scenery of the dialogue.² Here a lad named *Kyrsas* is portrayed as a lover of Socrates but harboring misconceived notions of Socratic *eros* although finally recalled to his senses in a dream dialogue while asleep over Socrates' grave.³ In the first section of this paper, I will analyze this episode for its Antisthenean characteristics suggesting that we regard it as an educative "parable" showing how Socrates' spiritual message continued even after his death. In the last section, I will examine its relationship with the *Phaedo* with emphasis on Plato's attempts to undermine the moral point of Antisthenes' parable by closely lampooning his message (*Phd.* 81b-82e) before the section where he dismissed any meaningful discussion of Socrates' burial (115c-e). We will finally consider whether Plato's lampoon can also explain how Antisthenes was completely precluded from an active role in the *Phaedo* although particularly mentioned as present at the scene (*Phd.* 59b). A final question will also be raised concerning Antisthenes' older contemporary, Euclides of Megara, who was also precluded from participation in Plato's dialogue although similarly mentioned in its introduction (59c). Just as with Antisthenes, Euclides seems to

¹ *Phd.* 115d; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 103. Crito was rebuked for his concern with how to bury Socrates (Luz (2022), xx-xx).

² Texts in Prince (2018), 304-308; SSR 1D2. II 39-42. Background in: Brancacci (2003), 261-264; SSR IV 295-299; Dittmar (1976), 62-63.

³ *Suda* Σ 829.

1 have discussed care for the dead in a manner different from Plato.⁴ Late imaginary accounts of Socrates' burial
 2 may well reflect this tradition since they are fictitiously associated with Euclides' name.⁵ I will thus attempt to
 3 analyze the serious philosophical purpose of Antisthenes' narrative concerning Socrates' grave (*taphos*) and
 4 *stela* in spite of Plato's personal reservations.
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8 2 The question of Socrates' tomb.

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 10 It should have been clear to an ancient reader that some minimal form of *taphos* for depositing Socrates' remains
 11 was required however Crito decided to resolve the issue in reality.⁶ When discussing this very subject,
 12 Xenophon recalls a *logos* portraying Socrates giving his eldest son, Lamprocles, a lesson on filial duty adding
 13 that any child who does not furnish a burial for his departed parents is morally deficient and even punishable
 14 by law.⁷ It is true that Xenophon does not portray Socrates tendering advice regarding his own burial
 15 specifically, but this is easily understood from the context given that he lectures his own son on filial upkeep of
 16 a parent's grave. If this was the original context of this *logos*, then its origin is best understood as derived from
 17 a literary reference to Socrates' burial and tomb where the philosopher's advice to his son was incidentally
 18 mentioned. It is uncertain on which sources Xenophon precisely drew for this *logos* but the adjacent passages
 19 in the previous and following memoirs borrow themes that reflect both Antisthenes and Euclides of Megara.⁸
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43 ⁴ An extract from a lost Socratic dialogue portrays an early Megarian of Apollodorus' generation discussing Socrates' differentiation
 44 between body and soul but justifying discussion of care for the dead (Stob. IV. xxxv.33 vol. V.2, Hense pp. 863-64). See Luz (2022),
 45 xxx-xxx.
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47 ⁵ *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xiv was previously assigned to Aeschines (SSR VIA 102. 75-85; Malherbe (1977), 252) but it presupposes Euclides as
 48 its imaginary author (xiv.9: ἐγὼ καὶ Τερψίων) and alludes to Aeschines only incidentally (Bolzan (2009), 44, 268-270, 272, 298).
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50 ⁶ Socrates' family's grave is also presupposed in Plutarch's fictitious dialogue *De Gen. Soc.* 590a where a youngster asked permission
 51 to be interred with Socrates' son Lamprocles.
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53 ⁷ Cf. Xen. *Mem.* II. 2.13 (ἐάν τις τῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τοὺς τάφους μὴ κοσμήῃ) referring to a the legal obligation for the upkeep
 54 of the deceased's grave (καὶ τοῦτο ἐξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων δοκιμασίαις).
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56 ⁸ 1) Socrates scolds Chaerectes' sibling rivalry (Xen. *Mem.* II.3.1-3) teaching brotherly love (16-17) that is a central theme in both
 57 Antisthenes (*Symp.* iv. 35, 43) and Euclides (Doering (1972), fr. 10A-F); 2) Socrates immediately discusses friendship with Antisthenes
 58 himself (*Mem.* II.5.1-5); 3). Throughout *Mem.* II, Xenophon introduces various Socratic *logoi* circulating in his time (5.1) citing only
 59 one as based on "hearing" Socrates (4.1) that could also be derived from "hearsay".
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We shall examine the case for Antisthenes below, but we should particularly note Euclides as a known author of Socratic *logoi* including a serio-comic discussion of death and burial.⁹ Xenophon's source may well have originated in the same Socratic dialogue that we mentioned above where an early Megarian of Apollodorus' generation defended the theme of care for the remains of the dead.¹⁰ Perhaps recalling this tradition is Ps-Socratic letter (XIV) that imaginatively reconstructs details of Socrates' funeral ascribing the account to Euclides himself.¹¹ Aside from the funeral theme, the tomb itself is the subject of an equally fanciful account discussed in another Ps-Socratic letter (XVII) where the grave is facetiously described as an object of outlandish pilgrimage by lovers of Socrates.¹² This theme is reflected in three additional sources where Socrates' tomb is made a literary and philosophical *topos* handed down from earlier Socratic writers.¹³ Although each of these sources belongs to a separate literary genre, a number of common motifs stand out:-

1. The supposed arrival of stranger(s) from abroad hoping to consort with Socrates but on hearing of his death sought out his grave.¹⁴
2. An outbreak of licentiousness resulting from the abrupt cessation of Socrates' moralizing influence with youths smitten by Spartan (same-sex) desires, chiefly for Socrates.¹⁵

⁹ His Socratic dialogues were re-handled by Plato (*Theaetetus*. 143a-c) and he is known for mocking a bereaved father who invited Death to visit him on the loss of his son (Doering (1972), fr. 12) recalling the style of "Megarian mockery" (γέλως Μεγαρικός).

¹⁰ Stob. IV. xxxv.33 vol. V.2, Hense pp. 863-64.

¹¹ *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xiv was previously assigned to Aeschines (SSR VIA 102. 75-85; Malherbe (1977), 252) but it presupposes Euclides as its imaginary author (xiv.9: ἐγὼ καὶ Τερψίων) and alludes to Aeschines only incidentally (Bolzan (2009), 44, 268-270, 272, 298).

¹² *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii. 2-3, 9-10 (Koehler); SSR VIA 102 ll. 75-85; IH 1 ll. 9-14; Prince (2018), 20B; Trapp (2003), 29 n. 118, 119.

¹³ It is mentioned: 1. incidentally in Celsus (in Origen *Contra Celsum* IV.59); 2. Liban. *Decl.* I. 174-175; 4; 3. *Suda* lexicon (Σ 829 s.v. Σωκράτη l. 60). On the background, see: Prince (2018), pp. 74-75; Kennedy (2017), 183; Brancacci (2003). 266.

¹⁴ Liban. *Decl.* I. 174-175 (οἱ ξένοι καταπλέωσι μὲν ὡς συνεσόμενοι τάνδρι, τεθνεῶτα δὲ εὐρόντες ζητῶσι τὸν τάφον); *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii. 1 ll. 17.3 (ἦκε γάρ τις κατ' ἔρωτα Σωκράτους συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ διαπυθόμενος δὲ ὅπου εἶη ὁ τάφος); *Suda* Σ 829 l. 60 (ὡς συνεσόμενος ἦλθε Σωκράτει· ᾧ καθευδῆσαντι παρὰ τὸν τάφον).

¹⁵ *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii. 1 ll. 17-23 (Λακεδαιμόνιον πάθος); *Suda* Σ 829 cites the example of Kyrzas' lust for Socrates without ever having seen him; Libanius criticizes Socrates' erstwhile lovers (*Decl.* 1.1.36.5 οὐκ ἔώρας τοὺς ἐρῶντας αὐτοῦ νεανίσκους;) and the loss of his moralizing voice (175 .1 ἔρημον δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς; also 2 1.36).

1 One of these sources give details of a weird story concerning a visit paid to Socrates' tomb by a lad with the
 2 Doric name of *Kyrsas* although allegedly Chian by family (*Suda* Σ829). He was said to have come to Athens
 3 with a lust for Socrates (κατ' ἔρωτα Σωκράτους) in order to consort with him (ὡς συνεσόμενος/ συγγενέσθαι
 4 αὐτῷ) without ever having met him.¹⁶ On hearing of the philosopher's death on arrival in Athens, the lad hunted
 5 out his tomb (τὸν τάφον/ τῆ στήλῃ) where he cried and conversed with the stone (ὠμίλησεν/ διελέγετο) till sleep
 6 overcame him (κοιμηθεῖς) and he beheld a dream (ὄναρ ὀφθεῖς) conversing with an unnamed presence.¹⁷ Having
 7 passionately made love to Socrates' dust, he immediately sailed off to Megara at dawn.¹⁸

8 The *Suda* gives the lad the singular Doric name of *Kyrsas* reflecting his ties with Doric Megara.¹⁹ However,
 9 *Kyrsas* may have been not so much a personal name as a pejorative description of him as a Doric sleazy
 10 youngster (κυρσάνιος).²⁰ Thus although the lad is said to be of Ionic Chios by origin (Χῖος τὸ γένος), his name
 11 and return home to Megara mark him out as one of those several Doric youths criticized by Libanius for seeking
 12 out Socrates' tomb (1.1.174). The literary origin of the *Suda*'s account is clarified by Cicero who refers to a
 13 dialogue by Antisthenes entitled *KYPCAC* comparing it not uncritically to other compositions by that
 14 philosopher.²¹ Taking up this lead, modern scholars have suggested that we identify the *Kyrsas* with a
 15 composition once listed in the 10th volume of the Hellenistic catalogues of Antisthenes' works under the

16 In *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii.3 ll. 11-22, he returns to Doric Megara (ᾠχετο ἀπιὼν Μέγαράδε). Similarly, *Suda* Σ 829 gives him a Doric name (Κύρσας) although making him Chian by origin (cf. *Ep.* xvii.1 l. 10.) and he sails off back home (ἀπέπλευσε δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος).

17 *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii.3 ll. 11-22 (Kohler); Bolzan (2009), 295-297, 302-30; *Suda* Σ 829 Σωκράτη (*SSR* 1D2 ll. 39-42); Prince (2018), fr. 84c.

18 *Ps. Soc. Ep.* xvii.3 ll. 11-22: πολλοῦ φιλήσας τὴν ἐπι κειμένην αὐτῷ κόνιν, πολλὰ δὲ περιεσπασάμενος πάση φιλότιτι. ᾠχετο ἀπιὼν Μέγαράδε.

19 *Suda* Σ 829 Κύρσας δὲ τις ὄνομα ; *Ps. Soc. Ep.* xvii.3 ll. 1 describes him simply as a veanískos. The contributors to *Suda On Line* (<https://www.cs.uky.edu/~raphael/sol/sol-cgi-bin/search.cgi>) n. 11 note 'Kyrsas' as not known elsewhere as "a proper name".

20 1) Galen 19.116.5 on "κύρσειον = πρωκτόν" (anus); 2) *Suda* K 2780 Doric κυρσάνιοι = "youngsters and worthless (εὐτελεῖς) people"; κυρσός = "worthless (εὐτελεῖς) vegetable" (viz. "cheap cabbage").

21 Cicero's criticism is that like his other compositions the *Kyrsas* was more sharp (*acutum*) than learned (*ad Atticum* xii. 38a = 279). Almost all codd. of Cicero read *KYPCAC* similar to *Suda* Σ 829 with no manuscript testimony to justify emending it to Κῦρος β' (apparatus *ad loc.* in: Shackleton Bailey (1966) Kasten (1980); also: *SSR* VA84, IV n. 31).

erroneous title of †κύριος† ἢ ἐρώμενος (“*Lord or the Besotted*).²² However, the latter can be explained as an easy misreading of †Κύρ<σα>ς ἢ ἐρώμενος that many scholars accept today.²³ Its secondary title is also appropriate in this context if we translate it as *Kyrsas or the Besotted* since the lad in the Suda is said to lust after Socrates. We may also surmise that such a composition dwelt on similar ethical and Socratic themes as the other dialogues of Antisthenes listed alongside it in that Hellenistic volume of his compositions.²⁴

From a literary point of view, the content of the *Kyrsas* does indeed show several characteristics typifying the style of Antisthenes' philosophical dialogues: a narrated drama interspersed with dialogue but structured episodically, thus not always describing events within the same chronological or contextual framework. In this case, the account opens with Kyrsas' quest to find Socrates followed by his arrival in Athens, his subsequent search for the tomb, followed by Kyrsas' dream sequence and ending with his return to Megara. Much may have been narrated indirectly while at least the lad's interaction with Socrates' tomb would seem to have been in dialogic format. A parallel example is Antisthenes' lost dialogue *Hercules or On Strength* narrated in part by Antisthenes himself but interspersed with short episodes of reported dialogue between Prometheus and Hercules - and between Achilles and Chiron's pupils. Another example is his *Alcibiades* composition where Antisthenes describes not only episodes from Alcibiades' youth, but also separate conversations concerning the latter's army duty (Fr. 200), the immorality of his middle age and a discussion concerning Cyrus (Fr. 141A). In contrast to Plato, these dialogues were then not confined by the chronological strictures of a single conversation.²⁵ This episodic structure reminds us more of Xenophon's Socratic *Memorabilia* than Plato's dialogues and means that

²² In D.L. VI.18 are preserved two inexplicable titles †κύριος† ἢ ἐρώμενος and †κύριος† ἢ κατάσκοποι (*Lord or the Beloved, Lord or the Spies*) with the copyist's emendation of †κύρος for †κύριος† (Dorandi (2013), p. 418 *ap. crit.* 232-236). Previous scholars **emended** conjectured an unattested 4th-5th volumes of Antisthenes' *Cyrus* (Κῦρος δ' ε'; SSR IV n. 31 pp. 295-299) or an unknown *Cyrus in Love* and *Cyrus or Spies* (Goulet-Cazé (1999), 696 n.1, 698 n.1, 770 n. 3).

²³ Prince (2018), Fr. 41A 72, Fr 84b p. 304; Brancacci (2003, 261-262). For older arguments see: Kennedy (2017), 38, CD5; Caizzi (1966), 86.

²⁴ In D.L. VI.18 it was meant to follow Antisthenes' *Hercules* dialogues and precede his *Menexenus*, *Alcibiades* and *Archelaus*.

²⁵ On the episodic structure of Antisthenes' dialogues, see: Luz (2019), 138-146; Brancacci (2003), 261-62).

the *Kyrsas* could well have been a brief episode narrated in a longer composition. We have no way of knowing whether Antisthenes narrated this serio-comic scene in the *Kyrsas* himself - or whether it was meant to be told by some other character in the dialogue.²⁶

Contextually, a presupposition of the narrative is that Socrates' grave was a known site in Athens since the lad was not meant to have stumbled on it by accident, but made enquiries where the grave would be found (*Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii. 3.5: διαπυθόμενος δὲ ὅπου εἶη ὁ τάφος). Moreover, he presumably was given directions on setting out (προσελθὼν) to find it prior to his dialogue with Socrates' *stela* (διελέγετο τῇ στήλῃ). The action itself is imagined to have occurred a substantial time after Socrates' burial since it refers to the Antisthenean motif of Athenian remorse for Socrates' execution that concluded with the supposed prosecution of his accusers, Anytus and Meletus (2.5).²⁷ Although later anecdotes make Antisthenes personally responsible (αἴτιος) for Anytus' exile and Meletus' execution, this is merely an imaginative reconstruction of literary themes aired in his dialogues.²⁸ There he described imaginary encounters with Pontic lads in the Piraeus, on one occasion spitefully directing them to Anytus' home.²⁹ It is thus interesting to note that *Kyrsas* here returns to Megara by sea (ἀπέπλευσε; Suda Σ829) and presumably was one of similar foreign (ξένοι) lads who sailed to Athens (καταπλέωσι) to hunt out Socrates (DL VI.9-10). The *Kyrsas* episode thus shares the common Antisthenean serio-comic theme of encounters in Piraeus and a post-mortem quest for Socrates.³⁰ However, in the case of *Kyrsas*, the lad does not

²⁶ Unlike Plato – but resembling Xenophon - Antisthenes would sometimes interrupt the flow of his dialogue *in persona* (sometimes described as ἀυτόπτης) in order use his authorial position to clarify the moral discussed (Luz (2019), 135).

²⁷ *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii.2; Liban., *Decl.* 1.1.175. When answering Celsus' literary s, Origines also refers to the discussion of Socrates' burial and tomb in the context of Anytus' deserved death (*Cels.* IV. 59.12).

²⁸ Anytus' somber end is implied as early as Xen, *Apolog.* 31-32. Both he and Meletus were allegedly condemned to death without trial (Diod. Sic. xiv.37.7) with Anytus fleeing to Pontic Heraclea where he was supposedly stoned to death (D.L. II.43; Them. *Or.* II. 239c).

²⁹ Antisthenes could thus be only indirectly responsible for Anytus' condemnation. Moreover, since Antisthenes' encounters with Pontic lads who came to seek out Socrates was a recurrent theme in anecdotes (D.L. vi.9-10, Dorandi, 100-105 &n.), their origin has been thought to be derived from one of his lost dialogues (Prince (2018), pp. 74-74; Luz (2015), 201-202; *SSR* VA21). Anytus' execution in Pontic Heraclea seems to belong to a similar literary motif.

³⁰ Brancacci (2003), 267-268 suggests that the scene is a more serious theme either copied from the *Phaedo* or Plato's source for a description of Socrates' pupils present at his execution. However, the serio-comic style is completely different.

enter Athens itself but rather makes enquiries concerning the tomb at the city gates (περὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ ἄστεος;

Ps. Soc. Epist. xvii.3.5).

In view of its pungent subject matter, the depiction of an act of physical *eros* with Socrates' remains – whether they were supposedly bones or cremated dust - was likely to have been the subject of serious criticism in a later section of this work. We may assume this not only from the moral context of the tale itself, but also from the criticism raised in our sources that report this story.³¹ In that sense, the correction of the lad's mistaken understanding of *eros* could well be expected at one point of the composition. So much can also be understood from Antisthenes' fragments where he calls physical *eros* an evil of nature (τόν τε ἔρωτα κακίαν φησὶ φύσεως) and a disease (νόσος) induced by ignorance.³² By contrast, Kyrsas is said not only to have been incited by lust (κατ' ἔρωτα) for Socrates but also to have arrived in Athens already excited with pleasure (ὡς δὲ ἠδομένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ; *Ps. Soc. Epist.*, xvii 3.4) and continued to be excited even after hearing of the philosopher's death. Antisthenes' often repeated witticism that he would rather go mad than enjoy himself (μανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἡσθεῖν) is often misinterpreted as anti-hedonistic in principle although the brunt of his criticism was against physical erotic pleasure that needed correction.³³ I would thus suggest that Kyrsas' correction would have been an expected finale of this episode, perhaps, as we shall see, narrated in his dream-sequence over Socrates' grave.

To a certain extent, the introduction to the story concerning the lad's Doric (*viz.* Spartan) desire to sleep with Socrates reminds us of Alcibiades' attempt to seduce Socrates in Plato's *Symposium* (218b-219d, 220a). However, it is less of a copy of Plato than an allusion to a similar situation associated with Antisthenes' own sympotic compositions. In the Greco-Roman dialogue preserved in *PFlor* 113 are cited two adjoining

³¹ 1. his pejorative name κύρσας (sleazy; above, n. 20); 2. *Ep.* xvii 4.1-5 on the adverse reaction of the Athenians to the lad's necrophilia;

3. Libanius' criticism of Spartan *pathos* (above, n. 15).

³² SSRVA 123A-123B; Prince (2019), 374-377.

³³ SSR VIA 120, 122A-H, 123A.

anecdotes.³⁴ The first describes Socrates' failure to teach Alcibiades who had abandoned him for nightly (*sympotic*) trysts with others. The second describes Antisthenes' similar situation concerning an unnamed ward of his own who had abandoned him for rival suitors (*anterastai*) at sumptuous *symposia* (Fr. 175). Both Socrates and Antisthenes are here described as having failed to persuade a pupil to grasp the educative meaning of *eros*. In each case, their protreptic arguments have lost effect when the companion escaped beyond the teacher's sphere of influence.³⁵ In the *Kyrsas*, the lad is obviously beyond the sphere of the dead Socrates but nonetheless experiences a vocal revelation while asleep over his tomb. That this revelation was protreptic in nature may be inferred from two literary references in our text. The lad is described as attempting to embrace the dust of Socrates with signs of physical love (*Ps. Soc. Epist. xvii. 3*):

"Much embracing (the stela) with all tenderness"
πολλὰ δὲ περιεσπασάμενος πάση φιλότητι.

This line appears to be a *cento* based on the erotic elegies of Theognis of Megara:

"With many embraces and love".
πολλοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ φιλότητας ἔχω (860)

Similarly, *Kyrsas* kisses Socrates' dust that settled on him:

φιλήσας τὴν ἐπι κειμένην αὐτῷ κόνιν.

In Theognis, we find the lover masquerading as a rider lying tossed in the dust (κείμενον ἐν κόνιῃ) by the boy, his steed (1268). In our dialogue, the role is reversed with the boy lying rejected in the dust of his *eromenos*, Socrates.

³⁴ Both anecdotes are not only contextually parallel but also adjoin each other in our source (*PFlor* 113). On Antisthenes and his ward, see Prince (2019), Fr. 175, pp. 565-567; on this and the immediately preceding anecdote on Socrates and Alcibiades, see: Luz (2015), 197-203; Luz (2014), 14-17.

³⁵ Socrates explains his failure to educate Alcibiades since his rivals dismantle (ἀναλύουσι) the thread of his moral arguments (*logoi*) like Penelope's web at the times when Alcibiades was out of his presence at nocturnal trysts. Similarly, Antisthenes' unnamed ward forgets his master's teaching when away at decadent *symposia* with rival suitors (*anterastai*).

As we know, Antisthenes devoted five books to the protreptic power of persuasion that closed with two final books on themes from Theognis.³⁶ While the first three of this series (*Protreptics* 1-3) were devoted to cases of virtue, they were supplemented by two final books (*Protreptics* 4-5) that discussed Theognis' poetic attempts to persuade his erstwhile lover, Kyrnos of Megara, to return to him. We will recall from Theognis' elegies how Kyrnos betrayed Theognis' trust and love despite the poet's protreptic attempts to restore him to the virtue of good company. While Theognis' poetry was often cited at real *symposia* for its erotic and sexual imagery, it also served Antisthenes as a prop for explaining his own moral, often anti-hedonistic critique.³⁷ The figure of Kyrnos thus appears to be mockingly described in a *cento* borrowed from Theognis' lines on Kyrnos since both these lads of Megara, Kyrnos and Kyrnos, are infatuated with an unbalanced *eros*.³⁸ This point would possibly suggest that the Kyrnos episode was narrated in a section of Antisthenes' *Protrepticus* and in particular, in the last 2 books concerning Theognian motives.

I would thus suggest that the relationship between the *Kyrnos* episode and Antisthenes' concept of protreptic argument in moral discourse can be deduced from the language of our fragment as well as its contents. In fact, Kyrnos' motivation for consorting with Socrates out of lust (κατ' ἔρωτα) recalls Antisthenes' description of Hercules seeking the wise Centaur Chiron first out of lust (κατ' ἔρωτα), but finally in order to obtain a natural education (Fr 92A-B). Among the fragments of this same work, Achilles is also described as the subject of Chiron's educational system founded on *eros* with his initial attraction to the path of virtue through physical desire (Fr. 95). Similarly, Antisthenes' own love for Socrates proves the basis of philosophical *eros* and

³⁶ D.L.vi.16 (Dorandi). Volume II included the series: *On Justice and Courage Protreptics I, II, III About Theognis IV V* (προτρεπτικός πρώτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, περὶ Θεόγνιδος δ', ε'). On the series, see: Prince 2015, 44, 123, 137-139; Goulet-Cazé 1999, 695 n.5; SSR IV pp. 285-286, 288.

³⁷ Prince (2018), Frs 123A-B, pp. 374-377. On the Platonic Socrates and Theognis, see: Hejduk (2019), 24-50.

³⁸ I would thus connect this episode with Antisthenes' protreptic ethical works and not with his writings *On Dying*, *On Life and Death* and *On What is in Hades* (fr. 41A 42-44) as sometimes suggested (Brancacci (2003), 259-260).

friendship between them.³⁹ In this context, the point of the *Kyrsas* narrative would have an underlying educative purpose confirming Socratic love as *eros* between kin spirits of the soul. *Kyrsas* himself has initially misunderstood this. In that, he resembles both Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium* as well as the lad discussed in the fragments of Antisthenes' own *symptic* fragment mentioned above. However, in contrast to a Platonic context where Socrates masquerades as the *erastes* of a prospective pupil, in the fragments of Antisthenes, the pupil acts as Socrates' *erastes*, vying for his attention.

We should finally discuss the lad's dream (ὄναρ) where, according to Suda Σ 829, *Kyrsas* "spoke" to Socrates' grave (ὠμίλησεν παρὰ τὸν τάφον). This is also reflected in *Ps. Soc. Epist.* xvii where the Megarian lad held a conversation with the tomb-stone (διελέγετο τῇ στήλῃ) over which he slept. *Kyrsas* was thus not merely a passive witness to a spectral annunciation as in Socrates' dream premonition of death (*Crito* 44a-b) - or a passive recipient of spectral instruction as in those delivered Socrates in prison (*Phd.* 60d-e). Instead, *Kyrsas* is supposed to have imagined that he actively participated in a dialogic conversation in his dream. Moreover, the latter was both a visual as well as a vocal experience (ὄναρ ὀφθεῖς ὠμίλησεν) in Homeric mode like the vision of Patroclus' *psyche* dreamt by the sleeping Achilles "similar in appearance and voice" to what his friend had once been (*Il.* xx.iii. 65-67). It is thus not coincidental that the scholiast to this line in Homer adds that Antisthenes derived from it (ἐντεῦθεν) the notion that souls were similar in shape (ὁμοσχίμουνας) to the bodies that once encompassed (περιέχουσι) them (Fr. 193).⁴⁰ It is thus likely that it was to Antisthenes that Libanius referred when he mentioned "those philosophers" who believed that the shades had a voice just as did Patroclus (*II.1.21*).

³⁹ SSR VIA 99, 134: only the good is worthy of love (ἀξιέραστος) and the moral are his friends. Similarly: Xen. *Symp* viii.3-6 (Antisthenes is the *erastes* of Socrates) while the Pontic *neaniskoi* are in pursuit of Antisthenes (D.L. vi. 3, 9, 10; Luz (2015), 201).

⁴⁰ In spite of the scholiast's ἐντεῦθεν, Antisthenes probably did not accept the passage *simpliciter* (Prince (2018), 665-666). In Plato's view, this would have made the soul or its shade not only sensed but also materialized (Brancacci (2003), 268-269). The question to be pondered is whether Plato's non-sensual and μονοειδής soul (*Phd.* 78d, 80b, 83e) is a response to Antisthenes' semi-materialistic ὁμοσχίμων soul or the subject of the latter's criticism.

1-7) and that Socrates' voice would not be silenced after death (II.1.27, 32-34).⁴¹ In Homer, the voice that Achilles heard was protreptic in nature in that Patroclus' shade stirred him on to do his duty and bury him. Similarly, the voice from Socrates' tomb protreptically restored Kyras to his senses as we see from the closing lines of the Suda where the lad relinquishes all intentions of sleeping with Socrates and, on waking from the dream, returned to Megara (Σ 829) presumably a better person. This, as we have seen, was underpinned by the protreptics of the Theognian *centos* examined above.

We are not told about whom Kyras dreamt, but granted his "longing" for Socrates and his address to his grave, then it is likely that he was meant to have spoken either to Socrates himself or the latter's *daimon*.⁴² However, in contrast to the well-discussed theme of Socrates' own dreams we rarely hear of dreams *about* Socrates. Of note is one mentioned incidentally in Themistius' commentary on the Aristotelian *lemma* that dreams are only imagined sensation accompanied by opinion and longing (*pothos*). In this context, Themistius adds his own example to explain the *lemma* where someone who thinks that he sees Socrates risen from the dead and though asleep he beholds the master as when "I longed to find a book".⁴³ He thus explains dreaming about Socrates in reference to his emotional longing (ἐπόθου) for the subject of the dream. More specifically, Libanius touches on this motif when he prays (II. 1. 39.5): "be not silent, Socrates, but speak to us in our dreams just as the gods do now" (μη σιώπα καὶ δι' ὀνείρων ἡμῖν λάλει, Σώκρατες, ὡς νῦν οἱ θεοί). We thus may suppose that while sleeping on Socrates' tomb, Kyras dreamt of a voice that held an imaginary Socratic dialogue with him. Nevertheless, in a partial sense, the Homeric theme of Achilles' love for the dead Patroclus is still a literary prototype for that of Socrates and Kyras: Patroclus' dream appearance led to Achilles' arousal to perform the funerary rites for his friend. Although the address to the sleeping Kyras was obviously made long after Socrates'

⁴¹ In *Crito* 44a-b, Plato compares Socrates' passage to the afterlife to Achilles' return home to Phthia (*Il.* ix.363) whereas Antisthenes expanded on the theme of Achilles' dream of Patroclus. See also Mariscal (2019), 123, 137; Vázquez (2019), 82-86.

⁴² Cf. the youngster seeking to be interred with Socrates' son, Lamprocles hoping to encounter Socrates' *daimon* (Plu. *De Gen. Soc.* 590a (21); 579d-e; cf. Apul. *De Deo* 20.23-26).

⁴³ Them. *In PN* V.6. 29 (copied in: Mich. *In. PN* 62). The example of dreaming *about* Socrates was not in the original *lemma* (Aristot. *De in Som.* 458b) but Themistius added it perhaps from Antisthenes whom he quotes at length elsewhere (*SSR* VA96).

1 burial was over, an imagined voice of Socrates or his *daimon* could still be supposed to arouse the lad to
 2 understand the meaning of virtue better. The final line in the *Suda* (Σ 829) could possibly indicate this: that
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 4 Kyrsas enjoyed only this of the philosopher (τοῦτο μόνον ἀπολαύσας τοῦ φιλοσόφου) – viz. sleeping on his
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 6 tomb – and then returned to Megara without having cohabited with him in the end.⁴⁴
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9 3 The *Kyrsas* and the *Phaedo*

10 The primary question to be considered is the relationship between the *Kyrsas* and Plato's *Phaedo*. We should
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 12 first consider the sub-textual implications of Plato's serio-comic description of dead souls haunting graveyards.
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 14 Having discussed the release of virtuous souls to the next world (*Phd.* 81a), Socrates expands on the fate of
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 16 sensual souls weighed down by communion and association with the body (ὁμιλία τε καὶ συνουσία τοῦ
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 18 σώματος; 81b). Such a soul is forever dragged back to the world of light where it is said to “roll around
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 20 memorials and graves” (περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη) visible as shadowy apparitions
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 22 (φαντάσματα) and images (εἶδωλα) as such souls possess (81c-d).⁴⁵ At variance with the philosophy of the
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 24 previous sections of the *Phaedo* concerning the unity (μονοειδής) and indivisibility of the soul based on its
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 26 insensible and conceptual nature (78d, 80b, 83e), the above passage stands out as a facetious lampoon of what
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 28 is alleged (ὥσπερ λέγεται; 81c) by others regarding the appearance of shades in the graveyard. It also scornfully
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 30 mocks a person who is not a true philosopher (μὴ φιλοσοφήσαντι; 82c) but a mere lover of learning whose own
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 32 soul similarly “rolls around in every ignorance” (82e) affected by philosophy on a non-professional level
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 34 (ἀτεχνῶς). During all of this tirade, Plato continued to maintain Antisthenes' silence throughout the *Phaedo*
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 36 although the latter's presence was noted at its beginning (59b). However, even if Antisthenes was permitted a
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 38 *post facto* response, the presuppositions of the *Kyrsas* would not have been the place to set them out given that
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 40 its aims were protreptic and ethical rather than metaphysical. It would make better sense if this composition
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 57 ⁴⁴ While *Ps. Soc. Ep.* xvii.3 ll. 11-22 ends with his embracing the stone, we have seen that this is couched as a *cento* in an attempt to re-
 58 educate the lad).

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 60 ⁴⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Nickolas Pappas for drawing my attention to this passage.
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1 served as a catalyst for Plato's critique of an "ignorant" philosopher who imagined that the soul was of similar-
 2 shape (ὁμοσχήμοναζ) to the bodies that enclosed them (Fr. 193) rather than being uniform (μονοειδήζ) like the
 3 conceptual. Having lampooned the philosophy of this dialogue where *Kyrzas* has converse and association
 4 (ὁμίλια τε καὶ συνουσία) with the spirit, Plato then dismissed this theme as unsuited for serious philosophical
 5 speculation altogether (*Phd.* 115c-e). I would thus suggest that the *Kyrzas* was written before Plato's *Phaedo*
 6 rather than later, leading Plato to lampoon Antisthenes' "non-philosophical" and "non-professional" notions
 7 (82b-c) and thus precluded him from participating freely in his own composition on Socrates' death.
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16 Euclides is another case of a philosopher who was noted as present with Socrates at his execution (*Phd.* 59b)
 17 but precluded from participation in the dialogue. Let us leave aside the question whether Plato's depiction of
 18 Crito's rebuttal for concern with Socrates' burial (*Phd.* 115c-e) could in anyway illuminate or be illuminated by
 19 the parallel account in "the alternative version" of this scene where Apollodorus is rebutted by Socrates on very
 20 similar grounds.⁴⁶ It is sufficient to turn to Stobaeus' testimony concerning a lost Socratic dialogue that once
 21 presented Apollodorus' summary of a contemporary Megarian who justified concern for the remains of the dead
 22 with an argument that was later dismissed in *Phd.* 115c-e. If I am correct, Plato's lampoon of Antisthenes' ideas
 23 and his dismissal of Euclides' argument for care of the dead, lead him to formulate these closing scenes of the
 24 dialogue in the way that he did.
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37 Another avenue for comparing these texts is to examine their rebuttal of the argument for identifying the body
 38 of the departed with its (former) owner. The discussion in the *Phaedo* argues for the total separation of body
 39 and soul with Socrates consequently mocking the misconception of "burying Socrates" since the true Socrates
 40 would have left this world. The distinction between Socrates the man and 'Socrates' the body is also
 41 presupposed in Apollodorus' citation of the unnamed Megarian in Stobaeus' extract.⁴⁷ In its first (Socratic)
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57 ⁴⁶ Apollodorus is rebuked for concern with Socrates' funerary attire (D.L. II. 35 = SSR ID (35); Ael. *Var. Hist.*I. 16. 4-5 (= SSR IC142)
 58 on the same grounds as Crito who shows concern with the details of Socrates' funeral (*Phd.* 115c-e). See: Luz (2022), xx-xx.
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60 ⁴⁷ Stob. IV. xxxv.33 vol. V.2, Hense pp. 863-64; Luz (2022), xx-xx.
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1 section, the Megarian argues that we feel least sorrow when we are convinced that men(οἱ ἄνθρωποι) are other
 2 than their body but does this without presupposing Plato's metaphysical arguments that Crito was accused of
 3 refusing to accept (*Phd.* 115c-d). It is important to note that precisely the same presuppositions underlie the
 4 discussion in Antisthenes' *Kyrsas* as well. Like Apollodorus and Crito, Kyrsas has the mistaken belief that
 5 Socrates' physical ashes are somehow still to be identified as the living 'Socrates' and thus continue to be an
 6 object of desire. Kyrsas is not only excited when seeking out Socrates on arrival in Athens, but continues to be
 7 excited even after hearing of the philosopher's demise when he kissed and embraced the spot where his dust
 8 lay.⁴⁸ His behavior is certainly more extravagant than that of Apollodorus (D.L. II. 35) but learns his lesson in
 9 the dream.

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 21 Finally, the *Kyrsas* story could on one level be taken as making mockery of Euclides himself. Anyone who
 22 read Antisthenes' account of a Megarian lad making a journey to Athens out of love of Socrates would
 23 immediately recall the case of the historical Euclides journeying from Megara to Athens in order to be with
 24 Socrates.⁴⁹ However, while the literary figure of Kyrsas may sub-textually mock the personal history of
 25 Euclides, Kyrsas' conversion to Socratic morality before returning to Megara a better lad could suggest that
 26 Antisthenes had a more positive outlook on Euclides' conversion to Socrates' philosophy. As the lad apparently
 27 adopted protreptic advice delivered in his sleep, the implication would be that as a *Kyrsas* prototype Euclides
 28 had also corrected his former self through Socratic example.

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 40 Although Plato listed both Euclides and Antisthenes attending Socrates on the day of his execution, his
 41 dismissal of the burial theme in the *Phaedo* would make sense as a serious rejection of both of their earlier serio-
 42 comic accounts. His own reference to the light side of Socrates' last day (*Phd.* 59a) is much more delicate than
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56 ⁴⁸ Literally he embraced the dust lying *over* Socrates (πολλοῦ φιλήσας τὴν ἐπὶ κειμένην αὐτῷ κόνιν, *Ps. Soc. Ep.* xvii.3 ll. 11-22), but
 57 since we do not know if he had been cremated, it could refer to the dust intended the remains themselves.

58 ⁴⁹ Although Euclides' alleged infiltration into Attica in drag in order to visit Socrates illegally (Doering (1972), test. 1; *SSR* IIA2) is
 59 probably fiction (*SSR* V pp. 33-36; Doering (1972), 72-75), this does not negate a journey to attend Socrates at his death (*Phd.* 59b-c).
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1 these earlier less sophisticated writers. The three major Socratic philosophers, Euclides, Antisthenes and Plato
2 had one purpose in common: the promotion of Socrates' moral teaching for future generations. This was
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4 achieved through the composition of Socratic dialogues each in his own style and with his own philosophy. The
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6 *Phaedo* is supported by an elaborate metaphysical argument for establishing the immortality of the soul and its
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8 continuation in the after-life. Neither Euclides nor Antisthenes has need for these eschatological assumptions
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10 but rather makes a case based solely on the protreptic effect of Socrates' example and his ability to transform
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12 physical *eros* into philosophical love even after death. If Kyrzas returned to Megara a better lad by imaginatively
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14 discoursing with Socrates' spirit or *daimon* while asleep over his tomb, then Antisthenes could have closed his
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16 dialogue, much as did Plato, recording how Socrates' memory would be treasured by his friends and disciples
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18 down through the generations and that his spirit still spread his moral influence over us for the good.
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