

The Athenian Funeral Oration

After Nicole Loraux

In classical Athens, a funeral speech was delivered for dead combatants almost every year, the most famous being that by Pericles in 430 BC. In 1981, Nicole Loraux transformed our understanding of this genre. Her *The Invention of Athens* showed how it reminded the Athenians who they were as a people. Loraux demonstrated how each speech helped them to maintain the same self-identity for two centuries. But *The Invention of Athens* was far from complete. This volume brings together top-ranked experts to finish Loraux's book. It answers the important questions about the numerous surviving funeral speeches that she ignored. It also undertakes a comparison of the funeral oration with other genres that is missing in her famous book. What emerges is a speech that had a much greater political impact than Loraux thought. This volume puts the study of war in Athenian culture on a completely new footing.

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After Nicole Loraux

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Contents

List of Figures and Tables [page viii]
List of Contributors [xi]
Foreword by Paul Cartledge [xvi]
Preface [xix]
List of Abbreviations [xxii]

1. The Funeral Oration after Loraux [1]
 DAVID M. PRITCHARD

PART I: CONTEXTS

2. The ‘Beautiful Death’ from Homer to Democratic Athens [59]
 NICOLE LORAUX
 TRANSLATED BY DAVID M. PRITCHARD

3. Between Ideology and the Imaginary: The Invention of *The Invention of Athens* [74]
 VINCENT AZOULAY AND PAULIN ISMARD
 TRANSLATED BY DAVID M. PRITCHARD

4. An Imaginary with Images: Reconsidering the Funeral Oration and Material Culture [89]
 NATHAN T. ARRINGTON

PART II: THE HISTORICAL SPEECHES

5. The *Epitaphios Logos* of Pericles: Thucydides’ Ambivalence towards the Genre [115]
 BERND STEINBOCK

6. Demosthenes after the Defeat [140]
 LEONHARD BURCKHARDT
 TRANSLATED BY EDITH FOSTER AND
 DAVID M. PRITCHARD

7. Originality and Tradition in Hyperides’ *Funeral Oration* [157]
 JUDSON HERRMAN

PART III: THE LITERARY EXAMPLES

8. Gorgias’ *Funeral Oration* [181]
 JOHANNES WIENAND

9. Authorship and Ideology in Lysias’ *Funeral Oration* [198]
 ALASTAIR J. L. BLANSHARD

10. Corrupting the Youth in Plato’s *Menexenus* [221]
 RYAN K. BALOT

11. ‘To Gloat Over Our Catastrophes’: Isocrates on Commemorating the War Dead [241]
 THOMAS G. M. BLANK

PART IV: INTERTEXTUALITY

12. Imagining Athens in the Assembly [261]
 PETER HUNT

13. Fighting Talk: War’s Human Cost in Drama and Law-Court Speeches [280]
 JASON CROWLEY

14. Making Athens Great Again: Tragedy and the Funeral Oration [298]
 SOPHIE MILLS

15. Euripides’ *Erechtheus* and the Athenian Catalogue of Exploits: How a Tragic Plot Shaped the Funeral Oration [319]
 JOHANNA HANINK

16. ‘Back Then When the Barbarians Came’: Old Comedy and the Funeral Oration [339]
 BERNHARD ZIMMERMANN
 TRANSLATED BY EDITH FOSTER AND
 DAVID M. PRITCHARD

PART V: THE LANGUAGE OF DEMOCRACY

17. The Funeral Oration as a Self-Portrait of Athenian
Democracy [357]

DOMINIQUE LENFANT
TRANSLATED BY DAVID M. PRITCHARD

18. Sailors in the Funeral Oration and Beyond [376]
DAVID M. PRITCHARD

19. ‘Freedom Is the Sure Possession’: Modern Receptions
of Pericles’ *Funeral Oration* [414]
NEVILLE MORLEY

References [436]
General Index [476]
Index of Sources [499]

Figures and Tables

Figures

- 1.1 Nicole Loraux speaks at a conference in Montrouge (Paris) in 1987, along with, from left to right, Claude Lefort, Louis Dumont and François Furet. Paris © École des hautes études en sciences sociales, photograph of a session of the EHESS conference held on 12 and 13 June 1987, Grig Pop collection, photo no. 152 EHE 520. [page 8]
- 1.2 The list of the war dead from one Cleisthenic tribe that was part of a collective tomb of 460 BC or thereabouts. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. MA 863 (*IG* i³ 1147). Photo courtesy of H. R. Goette. [11]
- 1.3 Tombs in the *dēmosion sēma* ('public cemetery') in the Ceramicus. Photography courtesy of H. R. Goette. [19]
- 1.4 The meeting place of the Athenian assembly on the hill of the Pnyx. Photograph courtesy of H. R. Goette. [36]
- 1.5 The theatre of Dionysus on the southern slope of the Acropolis where the state's dramatic *agōnes* ('contests') took place. Photograph courtesy of H. R. Goette. [40]
- 1.6 The entrance to the original Faculty of the Arts in the oldest surviving building at the University of Queensland. The inscription above the door comes from Pericles' funeral oration (Thuc. 2.40.1): φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας ('for we are both thrifty lovers of beauty and lovers of wisdom without softness' – tr. D. M. Pritchard). Brisbane, the University of Queensland, archive no. UQA S178 b292. Photograph courtesy of the University of Queensland Archives. [51]
- 4.1 A woman visits graves, likely public graves because of the shape of the monuments and the number of fillets wrapped around the *stēlai* ('stelae'). Attic white-ground *lēkuthos*, c. 460–450 BC, attributed to the Vouni Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 35.11.5 (anonymous gift). [90]

- 4.2 An Amazonomachy with vivid scenes of Greek death and defeat. Drawings and reconstructions of western metopes III and XI on the Parthenon by Camillo Praschniker (1954). Other metopes also preserve defeated Greeks. Originals, 447–438 BC. Photograph: John Blazejewski (Visual Resources/Princeton University). [96]
- 4.3 An Amazonomachy, with Greek and Amazon casualties. Reconstruction of the shield of Athena Parthenos by Evelyn Harrison (1981: 297, figure 4). Original dedicated 438 BC. Drawing courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of America and the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Photograph: David Connelly (Visual Resources/Princeton University). [97]
- 4.4 A private equestrian grave monument in front of a funeral *stēlē* ('stela'). Attic red-figure *loutrophoros*, c. 410 BC, in the manner of the Talos Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. V.I.3209, with fragments in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 26821. Photograph: Johannes Laurentius (Art Resource). [100]
- 4.5 Rollout of the main register of Figure 4.4, showing the family visiting the tomb and the presence of the dead at his own tomb. Photograph: Johannes Laurentius (Art Resource). [101]
- 4.6 An old man (father?) sees the dead (son?) appear at a grave. Attic white-ground *lēkuthos*, c. 450–445 BC, attributed to the Achilles Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1983.1. Photograph: Johannes Laurentius (Art Resource). [106]
- 7.1 Columns 12–13 of the papyrus-roll of Hyperides' *Funeral Oration* (P. Lit. Lond. 133), describing Leosthenes' reception in the underworld (Hyp. 6.34–40). London, British Library, papyrus no. 98. Photograph: Copyright of the British Library Board. [159]
- 15.1 An artist's reconstruction of the west end of the *stoa poikilē* ('painted colonnade') showing its four painted murals. Athens, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA), Agora image no. 2008.20.0086. Drawing Courtesy of the ASCSA: Agora Excavations. [327]
- 18.1 A hoplite looks for portents about his departure in organs of a sacrificed animal, while his father, his wife and a Scythian archer look on. Attic red-figure amphora, c. 500 BC,

- attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. G46. © RMN–Grand Palais (Louvre Museum). Photograph: Hervé Lewandowski. [379]
- 18.2 A horsemen attacks two hoplites in the rout at the end of a battle. The relief sculpture of the casualty list for the war dead of 394/3 BC. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2744. Photograph courtesy of H. R. Goette. [391]
- 18.3 Top-bench rowers and the three levels of rowing benches on a trireme are depicted on fragments of a victory monument for the warship race at the Great Panathenaea. Attic marble relief, c. 410–400. Athens, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 1339. Photograph courtesy of H. R. Goette. [396]
- 18.4 The deceased Demokleides is depicted as a hoplite *epibatēs* (‘marine’) on the prow of a trireme. Attic marble tombstone, c. 400–380 BC. Athens, National Archaeology Museum, inv. no. 752. Photograph courtesy of H. R. Goette. [401]
- 18.5 In the arms of Triton, Theseus farewells Poseidon and two Nereids, while Amphitrite readies to pour a libation. Attic red-figure kylix, c. 480 BC, attributed to the Briseis Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 53.11.4. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Art Resource). [409]

Tables

- 11.1 A catalogue of Athenian achievements in Isocrates [page 246]
- 15.1 The mythical events in classical Athenian *Tatenkataloge* [326]
- 15.2 References in fourth-century literary *Tatenkataloge* to Eumolpus’ war against Erechtheus [335]

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Foreword

It is a great honour and privilege for me to have been invited to provide the foreword to this remarkable volume, organised and edited by David Pritchard, which arises from – but is by no means entirely foreshadowed by – a conference held in Strasbourg in July 2018 and a study day in Lyon in February 2020.

I have a keen sense from personal experience of what organising such a two-part project, that is, a conference followed by a publication, involves. More than three decades ago, in 1992, I organised a conference entitled ‘The Greek Revolution: Democracy and Citizenship’, together with (now Professor Sir) Geoffrey Lloyd. Our co-organised event was held at Darwin College, Cambridge, of which Geoffrey was then the Master, in succession to Sir Moses Finley. But try as we might, we could not see our way to producing a published volume that would do proper justice to the brilliance of the speakers. Among the star performers were Diego Lanza, Jacques Brunschwig and – inevitably, incomparably – the sadly late Nicole Loraux (1943–2003). At our Cambridge conference, Nicole reflected brilliantly – and, it can be added, provocatively – on, *inter alia*, ancient Greek democracy’s entanglements with gender.

Nicole was a large presence in more ways than one: once you met her, you would never forget her. I wish that I had been lucky enough to meet her more often, though familiarity with her writings, including reviewing her groundbreaking *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes* (1993), was some small compensation. Nicole was an absolutely central figure in what has come to be termed the Paris school. This Paris-based circle of ancient historians, who, from the 1960s, pioneered a new socio-cultural and political interpretation of ancient Greece, was headed, of course, by Jean-Pierre (Jipé) Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. This present edited volume seems to me to be not only entirely in the spirit of the Paris school but also a fitting tribute to its continuing international influence.

Professor Pritchard has included in the titles of the Strasbourg conference and this edited volume ‘after Nicole Loraux’. I believe that the French

expression *d'après* connotes more obviously and insistently than the English 'after' both temporal sequence and intentional consequence. This causal relation is now sometimes summed up in English with the compendious term 'reception'. If any scholar ever deserved to have a vigorous and constantly self-renewing reception, it is Nicole Loraux, and the first of her eight or so volumes to have been accorded the tribute of an English translation is surely also one of her best, if not the best: *The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*.

As this volume's editor nicely puts it in Chapter 1, that monumental work 'put beyond doubt the genre's vital importance in maintaining Athenian self-identity'. To which I would only add – as his international cast of contributors have between them admirably shown – that the (changing) genre of the funeral oration was crucially important in forging and maintaining not a generic *imaginaire* ('imaginary') of a political community but a specifically *democratic* self-identity in a world in which democracy was something so new and fragile that a brand-new word had to be created to represent it.

Professor Pritchard in both his Preface and in the first of his two subsequent chapters is rightly at pains to point out that, though *The Athenian Funeral Oration: After Nicole Loraux* is a tribute volume, it is no mere hagiography. Nicole got some things wrong, whether by omission or by commission, and Pritchard's extraordinary international team of scholars has struggled might and main to add the nuances, fill in the gaps and bring the scholarship bang up to date.

The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City transformed our understanding of how Athenian men perceived of themselves. It showed how important the funeral oration was in reminding this male community who they were. In the many books that were to follow, Nicole, of course, also transformed how scholars understand Greek women and the myriad of ways in which gender operated in classical Athenian democracy and culture more generally. Indeed, she was a truly remarkable, pioneering, feminist scholar, as her distinguished mentee, Giulia Sissa, well captured in an article published a decade or so ago. There Sissa (2011: 95) memorably writes: 'In a society deeply marked by war, gender is paramount, so much so that it provides the basis for citizenship. To see Athens with Nicole is immediately to home in on this foundational exclusion.'

'To see Athens with Nicole': with this phrase Sissa was referring to Nicole Loraux, the ancient historian, who was such a pioneering researcher of ancient Athenian democratic culture. But Nicole was also a determined political activist. In 1992, when I asked her what research and publication

projects she had in hand or in mind, she replied without hesitation that she proposed to dedicate the rest of her life to combating the poison of *l'Action française*. That fascist and anti-Semitic movement has changed its name several times since the 1940s, but not its colours, and resisting it and its congeners in France and in other countries remains a paramount necessity. As Nicole's personal political commitment demonstrated, against fascism *la lutte continue* ('the struggle goes on'). Memorials should not be merely passive receptacles, and, like ancient democratic Athens' original funeral oration, they should aim to look forward as well as back. The present volume perfectly and actively fulfils those aims.

Paul Cartledge

Preface

Nicole Loraux undisputedly transformed our understanding of democratic Athens. She was the first to identify the complex phenomenon of Athenian self-identity. Her *The Invention of Athens* demonstrated the vitally important role that the Athenian funeral oration played in the maintenance of this shared civic ideology. In spite of its immense impact, this celebrated first book of Loraux was far from a complete study. The principal aim of our collection is to complete as methodically as possible *The Invention of Athens*. This edited volume seeks to answer the important questions about the extant funeral speeches that Loraux decided to leave unanswered. It furnishes the sustained intertextual analysis of the epitaphic genre that was simply missing in *The Invention of Athens*. In doing so, this collection re-assesses many of Loraux's bold arguments and claims. It also provides a rich analysis of war's general place in Athenian culture.

Two fellowships that I had in France made this edited volume possible. In 2018, I was again a fellow at l'Institut d'études avancées de l'université de Strasbourg (USIAS). I remain deeply indebted to Laurent Pernot for sponsoring my application for this fellowship. It was a pleasure to be part of the research team that he co-directed: le Centre d'analyse des rhétoriques religieuses de l'Antiquité (CARRA). In the 1970s when she was writing *The Invention of Athens*, Loraux was an *assistante* ('associate lecturer') in Greek History at l'Université de Strasbourg. Therefore, it was quite fitting that the conference that initially brought together this volume's living contributors took place in Strasbourg. The major financial sponsors of this event, which was held in July 2018, were USIAS, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Germany) and the Nicholas Anthony Aroney Trust (Australia). For their financial support I also thank the University of Queensland (Australia), the Friends of Antiquity (Australia), the Australasian Society for Classical Studies and the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens. The two keynote speakers in Strasbourg were Peter Hunt and Dominique Lenfant. Special thanks go to the senior ancient historians who, despite not giving papers, chaired sessions: Christophe Pébarthe, the late Kurt A. Raaflaub, Violaine Sebillotte Cuchet and Claudia Tiersch. For their extraordinary help in organising the Strasbourg conference, I thank

wholeheartedly USIAS's two staff, Rhona Heywood-Roos and Rifka Weehuizen, as well as Cécilia Landau, who was a doctoral student.

In 2019–20, I had a fellowship at le Collegium de Lyon, which is l'Institut d'études avancées de l'université de Lyon. I thank very much Stéphane Gioanni for sponsoring my application for it as well as for making me feel so welcome in the research team that he continues to direct: Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques (HiSoMA). In February 2020, three weeks before the first French *confinement* ('lockdown') of the coronavirus pandemic, I co-convened a study day in Lyon. My co-convenor was Stavroula Kefallonitis, to whom I remain most grateful for her always sound advice. The support that Stavroula gave me in the lead up to the study day and during the difficult months for all in France that followed was critical. The financial sponsors of this study day were HiSoMA, USIAS and le Collegium de Lyon. At this second event, three colleagues who had participated in the Strasbourg conference gave new or revised papers. Pascale Brillet-Dubois, the late François Lissarrague and Christophe Pébarthe also offered short papers about Loraux's relationship to 'the Paris school'. While theirs are not included here, these short papers greatly helped me and other contributors to situate Loraux as carefully as possible in her intellectual milieu. For chairing sessions at this study day, I thank warmly three senior Hellenists in Lyon: Richard Bouchon, Christophe Cusset and Madalina Dana. I cannot write highly enough of the four French doctoral students who were superb respondents: Pierre Balmond, Halima Benchikh-Lehocine, Antoine Chabod and Marie Durnerin. For the study day's smooth organisation special thanks go to the institute's director, Hervé Joly, and his two staff, Lisalou Martone and Marie Verleure.

I am no less indebted to others. Loraux dedicated *The Invention of Athens* to her husband. Patrice Loraux contacted me on the eve of the study day in Lyon. He commended us for returning to the Athenian funeral oration. His blessing of this collective reappraisal of his wife's first book continues to mean a great deal to all who were part of the funeral-oration project. I also thank Hans R. Goette, who generously supplied six of the volume's nineteen figures, and Michael Sharp, from Cambridge University Press, who backed the pitch for this edited volume two years before the Strasbourg conference. As USIAS fellows in 2015–16, Edith Foster and I worked closely together in Strasbourg, where she had reason to use her excellent spoken German. I cannot thank Edith enough for her work as the principal translator of chapters 6 and 16. Sincere thanks go to Rachel Dowe, who showed herself once again to be a model research assistant. Paul Cartledge long championed the research of Loraux. Few have done as

much as Paul to introduce Anglophone readers to French historiography of ancient Greece. I thank him most sincerely for his championing of the funeral-oration project. My greatest debt is to the volume's living contributors. Each of them made an enormous contribution to this project. Spending time with them in Strasbourg and Lyon was an absolute pleasure. They completed the numerous rounds of detailed revisions in a timely fashion and with consistent good humour.

In 508 BC, the Athenian people rose up for the sake of democracy. Straightaway they had to defend their new popular government against hostile neighbours. For those who fell in their first democratic wars the Athenians introduced a public burial. This funeral became more elaborate as their emerging democracy engaged constantly in ever larger wars. The last honour that the Athenian people introduced for their fallen was the funeral oration. From 1918, new European democracies grappled with how to honour vast numbers of war dead. Some did so by copying elements of the democratic Athenian burial and even quoting the famous funeral speech of Pericles. After two catastrophic world wars, Europeans believed, until recently, that they would never have to perform such a grim task again. This collection was completed in January 2023. It is shocking that as I write an emerging democracy in Europe is fighting again for its very existence. After this war, the Ukrainian people will also have to work out how to honour their many war dead democratically. It is possible that they too will draw on the model of commemoration that Athenian democracy perfected.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations of the names of ancient writers and their works in this volume are those of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. The abbreviations of journal titles are those of *L'Année philologique*.

BNJ	I. Worthington, ed., <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> . Leiden, 2006–.
Buchheim	T. Buchheim, ed., <i>Gorgias von Leontinoi: Reden, Fragmente und Testimonien</i> , second ed. Hamburg, 2012.
Carey	C. Carey, ed., <i>Lysiae Orationes cum Fragmentis</i> . Oxford, 2007.
Collard, Cropp and Lee	C. Collard, M. Cropp, and K. H. Lee, eds., and trans., <i>Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays, Volume 1</i> . Warminster, 1995.
Diehl	E. Diehl, ed., <i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i> , third ed., 3 vols. Leipzig, 1949–52.
Diels and Kranz	H. Diels and W. Kranz, eds., <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , sixth ed., Berlin, 1951–2.
Dilts	M. R. Dilts, ed., <i>Scholia in Aeschinem</i> . Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1992.
DNP	H. Cancik, M. Landfester and H. Schneider, eds., <i>Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> . Stuttgart, 1996–.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed. and comm., <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin, 1923–58.
Herrman	J. Herrman, ed., <i>Athenian Funeral Orations: Translation, Introduction and Notes</i> . Newburyport, 2004.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–.
Kassel and Austin	R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds., <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin, 1983–2001.
Kennedy	G. A. Kennedy, ed., <i>Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose and Rhetoric</i> . Leiden, 2003.

Laks and Most	A. Laks and G. W. Most, eds., <i>Early Greek Philosophy: Sophists</i> , 2 vols. Cambridge, 2016.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zurich and Munich, 1981–.
ML	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, eds., and comm., <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century</i> . Oxford, 1969.
OR	R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, eds., comm. and trans., <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC</i> . Oxford, 2017.
PA	J. Kirchner, ed., <i>Prosopographia Attica</i> , 2 vols. Berlin, 1901–3.
PAA	J. S. Traill, ed., <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> , 23 vols. Toronto, 1994–2021.
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , 1898–.
PSI	<i>Papiri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca Dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto</i> . Florence 1912–.
Prato	C. Prato, ed., <i>Tyrtaeus</i> . Rome, 1968.
Rabe	H. Rabe, ed., <i>Prolegomenon Sylloge: Accedit Maximi Libellus de Obiectionibus Insolubilibus</i> . Leipzig, 1931.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Witte, K. Mattelhaus and K. Ziegler, eds. <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung</i> . Stuttgart, 1894–1980.
RO	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, eds., comm. and trans., <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford, 2003.
Rose	V. Rose, ed., <i>Aristotelis Qui Ferebantur Librorum Fragmenta</i> . Leipzig, 1886.
Ruschenbusch	E. Ruschenbusch, ed., <i>Σόλωνος νόμοι: Die Fragmente des Solonischen Gesetzeswerkes mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte</i> . Wiesbaden, 1966.
Russell	D. A. Russell, ed., <i>Longinus: On the Sublime</i> . Oxford, 1964.

xxiv *List of Abbreviations*

Snell, Kannicht and Radt	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, eds., <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. Göttingen, 1971–2004.
Snell and Maehler	B. Snell and H. Maehler, eds., <i>Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis</i> , revised ed., 2 vols. Leipzig, 1987–9.
Spengel	L. Spengel, ed., <i>Rhetores Graeci</i> , 3 vols. Leipzig, 1856–85.
Usener	S. Usener, ed., <i>Isokrates, Platon und ihr Publikum: Hörer und Leser von Literatur im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.</i> Tübingen, 1994.
Vitelli	G. Vitelli, ed., <i>Papiri Greci e Latini XI</i> . Florence, 1935.
Walz	C. Walz, ed., <i>Rhetores Graeci, Volume 5</i> , Stuttgart, 1833.
West	M. L. West, ed., <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> , 2 vols. Oxford, 1989 and 1992.
Westerink	L. G. Westerink, ed., <i>Olympiodori in Platonis Gorgiam Commentaria</i> . Leipzig, 1970.