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Abstract: 2011 marks the centenary of the Loeb Classical Library. Founded in 1911 by James Loeb, the series has been served by seven editors and two publishers. More than 500 volumes have appeared and remain in print. The paper offers an assessment of the series' achievement, and notes both innovations it introduced as well as shifts in emphasis over time. Its influence on a number of other publishing enterprises also receives mention.

For Janet and Rod West, ad multos annos!

1. Introduction

To coincide with Harvard University's 375th anniversary on Friday 14 October 2011, a celebratory dinner was held at the University in Loeb House to mark the centenary of the Loeb Classical Library (LCL; Figure 1). Present were the three Trustees of the LCL, the current General Editor of the series, Faculty members of The Classics, staff of the Harvard University Press (HUP) and of the typesetting company, a score of the contributors (one-third of those still living), and others. The speakers were Richard Thomas (the Classics member of the Board of Trustees; Figure 2), Glen Bowersock (himself a contributor to the LCL series), and Mark Schiefsky (Chair of the Dept of The Classics). The evening made clear that there was something of substance to celebrate.

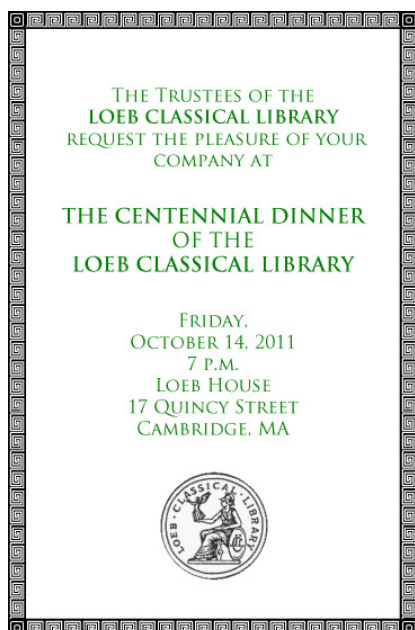


Figure 1: *The Centenary Dinner Invitation.*

Founded by James Loeb (Figure 3) in 1911, the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) has had a standard presence for a century on the bookshelves of university and seminary libraries, as well as on those of many tertiary teachers and students of ancient world studies, at least in the English-speaking world. By 1973 the series was in dire straits, at risk of being closed by HUP. The appointment



Figure 2: *Photo of Richard Thomas, Classics member of the LCL Board of Trustees since 2005. Photo: taken about 2001, courtesy of Professor Thomas.*



Figure 3: *Photo of James Loeb (1867-1933), founder of the Loeb Classical Library, when he was in his 30s. Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).*

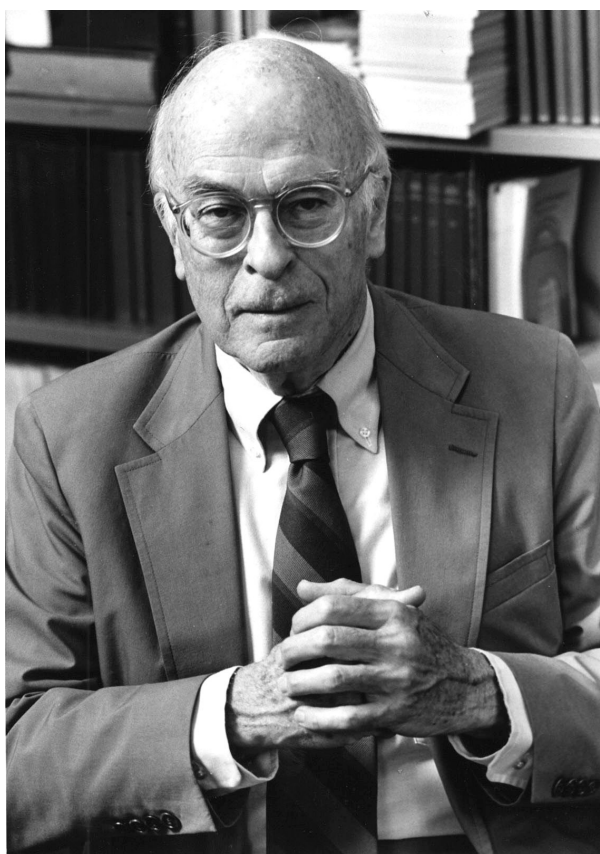


Figure 4: Zeph Stewart (1921-2007), Professor of Classics, Harvard University, Sole Trustee of the LCL 1973-2004.

Photo: reproduced from Memorial Minute about him submitted to the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences on 18 Nov. 2008, reproduced in the Harvard Gazette 11 Dec. 2008, available at <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2008/12/zeph-stewart/>

in that year of Professor Zeph Stewart (1921-2007; Figure 4) in succession to Professor Herbert Bloch (Figure 5), as Executive Trustee (a post he held until 2004) led to so considerable a turnaround in the fortunes of the series that he has rightly been called the ‘second founder’ of the LCL.¹ As of late 2011, of the 519 different volumes currently listed on the LCL website 516 have appeared, in a Greek : Latin proportion of almost 2:1 (by my count about 340:173).² However, once we take into account revised and replacement editions the total output of the series is actually considerably greater than even that relatively impressive tally suggests.

The first 25 volumes (Figure 6) in the numbered series were as follows, and those published in the first year, at least, carried a Preface from the founder (see below).

- 1 - *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica* (1912), R.C. Seaton
- 2-5 - *Appian, Roman History* (1912-13), H. White
- 6 - *Catullus; Tibullus; Pervigilium Veneris* (1913), F.W. Cornish, J.P. Postgate, J.W. Mackail; 2nd edn

(1988), G.P. Goold (includes material previously bowdlerised)

- 7-8 - *Cicero, ad Atticum* (1912-13), E.O. Winstedt, followed by no. 97 vol. 3 (1918); superseded in 4 vols.—vol. 4, no. 491 (1999)—by D.R. Shackleton Bailey
- 9-12 - *Euripides* (1913), A.S. Way; these volumes, widely regarded as poor, were replaced in 6 vols (1994-2002) by D. Kovacs, whose vols. 1, 3, 4, 5 equated to Way’s 4 vols., Kovacs’ vols. 2 and 6 being nos. 484, 495, respectively. This is apparently the sole new edition of early volumes in the series to contain no mention of the first editor/translator, though this is not necessarily to be construed as a *damnatio*, since Kovacs provided his own text. In addition to these volumes, C. Collard and M. Cropp have provided two more containing the fragments (vols. 7 and 8; nos. 504, 506, both 2008).
- 13 - *Julian* (1913), W.C. Wright; vols. 2 and 3 followed as nos. 29 and 157 (1913, 1923)
- 14 - *Lucian* vol. 1 (1913), A.M. Harmon; the set completed with vol. 8 (no. 432, 1967) by C.W. Macleod
- 15 - *Petronius; Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (1913), M. Heseltine (for the former), W.H.D. Rouse (for the latter); revised E.H. Warmington (1969), translating what had been left untranslated and bowdlerised portions (Figure 6)



Figure 5: Herbert Bloch (1911-2006), Trustee of the LCL 1955(?)–72. Photo: from Jones (2008).

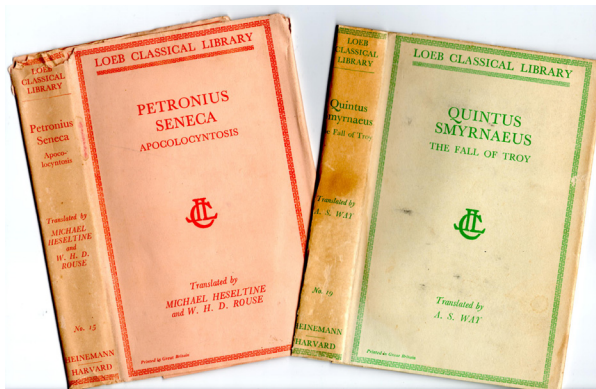


Figure 6: Two early LCL volumes: Petronius, and Seneca, Apocolocyntosis (no. 15, 1913), and Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy (no. 19, 1913).

- 16-17 *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (both vols. 1912), F.C. Conybeare; replaced by C.P. Jones (2005), who added a 3rd volume (no. 458, 2006) containing letters of Apollonius and Eusebius' *Reply to Hierocles* (both originally in Conybeare vol. 2) plus *testimonia*
- 18 - *Propertius* (1912), H.E. Butler; re-ed. G.P. Goold (1990)
- 19 - *Quintus Smyrnaeus, The Fall of Troy* (1913), A.S. Way (Figure 6)
- 20-21 *Sophocles* (1912-13), F.A. Storr; replaced by H. Lloyd-Jones (1994), who added vol. 3 *Fragments* (no. 483, 1996)
- 22-23 *Terence* (both 1912), J. Sargeant; replaced by J. Barsby (both 2001)
- 24-25 *Apostolic Fathers* (1912-13), K. Lake; replaced by B. Ehrman (2003)

A few others appeared in the first year, but fall outside this first 25: W. Watts produced the *Confessions* of Augustine in 2 vols. (no. 26, 27), and J.M. Edmonds contributed *Greek Bucolic Poetry* (no. 28).

For a 'Classical' Library, these first 25 volumes show a surprisingly catholic diversity, a characteristic which has been a mark of the LCL throughout its hundred years' life. The intention of this article is to reflect on some aspects of the series and how it developed as it did.

2. The founder: James Loeb

James Loeb³ (6.8.1867-27.5.1933) was born into a Jewish-American family in New York. Entering Harvard College in 1884 (Figure 7), he studied Classical languages before joining his father in business following his graduation in 1888 once he was told by a sympathetic Professor (Charles Norton 1827-1908) that his being Jewish would be an impediment to a career in archaeology. Deteriorating health exacerbated by the family resistance he encountered when he wanted to marry a Christian woman (Calder 1977: 317) led to his withdrawal from business life and from New York soon after the start of the new century. In 1905 he moved to Germany, where

he stayed (except for the later part of World War I when America entered the conflict) until his death in 1933. His philanthropy towards Classical Studies and the Arts (e.g. support in 1904 for the Institute of Musical Art which later became the Julliard School of Music in New York) began while he was still working, and continued throughout his life. The permanent move to Germany did not mean forgetting America. It is remarkable that he founded the LCL while living in Germany, an initiative which would benefit primarily Anglophone N. America and Britain. From 1909-30 he was a Trustee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and was one of its major benefactors both during his lifetime and by bequest (Calder 1977: 318). The Loeb Classical Library was thus only one of the indicators of his deep interest in making the Classical world, its literature and its *realia*, accessible to more than the specialist. However, it was unique among his philanthropic interests since it was the one he founded and to which he lent his name. His move to Munich in late 1905 led to generous support for a Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie there; and he donated roughly 800 antiquities to the city's Staatliche Antikensammlungen and Glyptothek (Wünsche and Steinhart 2009), as well as material to other institutions such as Harvard.

Loeb was slow to recover from another breakdown in 1917, but in 1921 he married the widowed nurse who had cared for him for four years (Figure 8). Loeb then moved permanently to his country estate at Murnau-Hochried, near Oberammergau, and died there in May



Figure 7: Portrait photo of James Loeb as a young man, perhaps during his student days at Harvard College. Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).

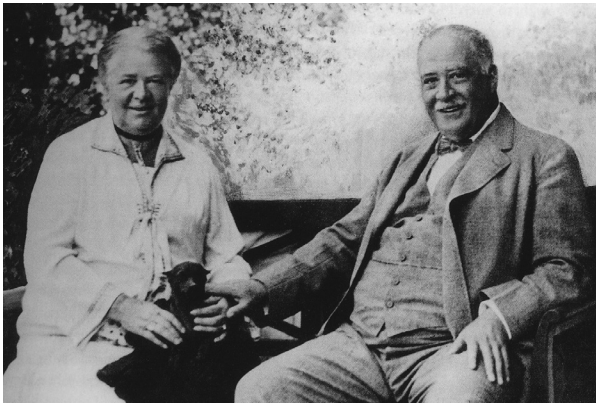


Figure 8: James Loeb (in his early 60s?) and his wife Marie Antonie at their estate in Murnau-Hochried near Oberammergau.

Photo: from *Wünsche and Steinhart* (2009).

1933. Cambridge and Munich both bestowed honorary doctorates in the 1920s; but although Harvard did not, at his death Loeb bequeathed the LCL and \$300,000 to his *alma mater*. The fund was to be called ‘The Loeb Classical Library Foundation’ and to be used to complete the Loeb Classical Library and to support research in the Classics. His wife having predeceased him by a few months in January 1933, Loeb named in his will one of his stepsons, J.W. Hambucher, as a Trustee of the Loeb Foundation. The Foundation has since been substantially increased, particularly during Stewart’s tenure as Trustee.

3. Loeb’s vision for the series

To explain his vision for the series, and its genesis, Loeb included the following Preface—extracts only are quoted here (italics mine, as are a few annotations in the appended footnotes); the full text is available on the HUP/LCL website—in the earliest volumes of the LCL which began appearing from the northern Autumn of 1912. He had consulted numerous people (including U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, arguably the most famous living Classicist worldwide: Calder 1977: 321-25, letter to Loeb Sept. 1910) and publishers about the idea over the course of more than two years before it became reality.

The idea of arranging for the issue of this Library was suggested to me by my friend Mr. Salomon Reinach, the French savant. It appealed to me at once, and my imagination was deeply stirred by the thought that here might be found a practical and attractive way to revive the lagging interest in ancient literature which has for more than a generation been a matter of so much concern to educators. ...

To make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature, a thing to be read for the pure joy of

it, and not dull transcripts of ideas that suggest in every line the existence of a finer original from which the average reader is shut out, *and to place side by side with these translations the best critical texts of the original works, is the task I have set myself.*

In France more than in any country the need has been felt of supplying readers who are not in a technical sense ‘scholars’ with editions of the classics, giving text and translation, either in Latin⁴ or French, on opposite pages. Almost all the Latin authors and many Greek authors have been published in this way ... In Germany only a handful of Greek authors were issued in this form during the first half of the nineteenth century. No collection of this kind exists in English-speaking countries.⁵

The following eminent scholars, representing Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France, kindly consented to serve on the Advisory Board:

Edward Capps, Ph.D., of Princeton University.

Maurice Croiset, Member of the Institut de France.

Otto Crusius, Ph.D., Litt.D., of the University of Munich, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science.

Hermann Diels, Ph.D., of the University of Berlin, Secretary of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin.

J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., of Cambridge University.

A. D. Godley, M.A., Public Orator of the University of Oxford.

William G. Hale, Ph.D., of Chicago University.

Salomon Reinach, Member of the Institut de France.

Sir J. E. Sandys, Litt.D., Public Orator of Cambridge University.

John Williams White, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus of Harvard University.

I was also fortunate in securing as Editors Mr. T. E. Page, M.A., until recently a Master at the Charterhouse School, and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D., Head Master of the Perse Grammar School, in Cambridge, England.

Wherever modern translations of marked excellence were already in existence efforts were made to secure them for the Library,⁶ but in a number of instances copyright could not be obtained. I mention this because I anticipate that we may be criticised for issuing new translations in certain cases where they might perhaps not seem to be required. But as *the Series is to include all that*

is of value and of interest in Greek and Latin literature, from the time of Homer to the Fall of Constantinople, no other course was possible. On the other hand, many readers will be glad to see that we have included several of those stately and inimitable translations made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which are counted among the classics of the English language. Most of the translations will, however, be wholly new, and many of the best scholars in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada have already promised their assistance and are now engaged upon the work. As a general rule, the best available critical texts will be used, but in quite a number of cases the texts will be especially prepared for this Library. ...

The final sentence in this extract discloses that a new critical edition of the original text was not the priority. The primary goal was to provide a translation of a large percentage of Greek and Latin literature covering more than 2000 years, using whatever good quality original text was available wherever possible. The goal was ambitious, and Loeb had the contacts, drive and funds to realise his vision.

The significance of the parallel text format needs to be underscored, since it is so characteristic of the LCL series that it can be taken for granted today. To translate Greek texts into Latin had long-established precedent; and translations alone were also common well before the Loeb series began. But to provide the original text and a translation into the vernacular had hitherto only been done in a concerted manner by the French. In his 1910 letter to Loeb Wilamowitz opposed the parallel text plan: ‘... er [der Leser] von dem nebenstehenden [sc. Übersetzung] hypnotisiert ist’ (Calder 1977: 322-23). While Calder concurs that this had its risks, he acknowledges (324) that ‘... it has also saved many ancient authors ... from near oblivion.’ In any case, Wilamowitz changed his attitude as his praise of the initiative in a further letter to Loeb in 1931 shows (Calder 1977: 325-28).

Loeb underwrote the startup costs, appointed the General Editors and the Advisory Board, and then appears to have let them proceed without interference. He had given them their ‘riding instructions’ and, apart from the major bequest to Harvard after his death to guarantee the continuing life of the series, left them to get on with it. Loeb may have had some initial involvement in the selection of contributors. According to Calder (1977: 315 n. 1), he ‘engaged’ J.W. White (1848-1917), another of his influential teachers at Harvard and whom he included on the Advisory Board, to undertake *Aristophanes* for the series. But White died with the project incomplete, and it passed to B.B. Rogers. As far as can be ascertained, James Loeb was a model as a heavily committed but disinterested philanthropist. Passionate about propagating a continuing interest in the ancient Hellenes and Romans, he nevertheless trusted those to whom he had allocated

tasks to undertake them conscientiously and professionally. After all, he was by then based in Germany, the two initial editors were in England and the soon-to-be-added third editor (Capps) in the USA.

As Loeb conceived it, the LCL would draw attention to Anglophone Classical scholarship on either side of the Atlantic. He struck a similar balance editorially in the appointment of the first editors, since in 1914 Capps was also made an Editor: the *duumviri* now worked as a triumvirate, and must have managed to sort out their separate *provinciae* harmoniously as we may infer from the length of tenure each enjoyed. Yet it is also a sign of his awareness of scholarship in the field and of his catholicity of judgement that his Advisory Board also included French and German colleagues of high standing internationally. Far from being a mere sentimental enthusiast about Graeco-Roman antiquity, James Loeb put his money at the disposal of several humanistic, long-term projects, found the initial people to develop and implement them, and then stepped back to allow those to whom he had delegated the work to effect it as they judged best.

4. Publishers: Heinemann, and Harvard University Press

At first Loeb had trouble finding a publisher. The first he tried turned him down: this was Macmillan, publishers of the ‘Red Macmillans,’ a series of editions of Classical texts and also of major commentaries on the Greek text of Biblical and other early Christian works—such as J.B. Lightfoot’s five-volume *Apostolic Fathers* (1885-90), still in print today after more than a century. He then secured the support of William Heinemann, a relatively new publisher in London. The books were typeset and printed in London, and published simultaneously and marketed actively in North America, initially by Macmillan (despite the London headquarters’ rejection of Loeb’s initial approach that they be the publisher), and subsequently by Putnams. Harvard University Press’ (HUP, founded in 1914) association with the LCL came later via a joint enterprise with Heinemann. The balance between the two publishers then shifted increasingly towards HUP. Following Loeb’s death in 1933 and his bequest to Harvard to maintain the LCL, HUP took over effective control, even though the volumes were still printed in England under Heinemann’s supervision. The latter’s name remained on the title page though second to Harvard’s for the next half-century until Heinemann withdrew from the arrangement in 1989 when the company was taken over and its focus shifted. HUP, which had already taken over the copyright in 1967, now became sole publisher, and had full responsibility for the series devolved on to it.

To fulfil Loeb’s vision that the LCL be accessible, the volumes had to be very affordably priced. This has remained the case, with no difference between large volumes and smaller ones. Loeb’s bequest may have effectively subsidised the less well known authors, though

‘evergreen’ texts certainly provided a balance. The nine ancient authors whose books in the LCL sell best are (alphabetically): Aristotle, Cicero, Hesiod, Horace, Homer, Lucretius, Ovid, Plato, Virgil. Naturally, Lucretius in one volume is not being compared to Cicero in 29, Aristotle in 23, or Plato in 12; rather, one volume (at least) by each of these writers is among the most popular in sales terms for the series. Of the multi-volume authors, these are: Aristotle vol. 23 *Poetics* etc., (no. 199, 1927; re-ed. 1995), Cicero vol. 1, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (no. 403, 1954), and also vol. 21 *de officiis* (no. 30, 1913), Ovid vol. 3, *Metamorphoses* 1-8 (no. 42, 1916; re-ed. 1977), Plato vol. 1, *Euthyphro*, etc. (no. 36, 1914). Though outside the top nine, Caesar vol. 1, *Gallie War* (no. 72, 1917) has also been a very high seller. If we consider the Ovid volume as an example, F.J. Miller’s translation underwent 14 printings from 1916 to 1971 (the 1921 reprint included no changes but was termed the ‘2nd edition’; the 1960 reprint reset the text, but was otherwise unchanged; and the 1971 reprint included some bibliographic updating). Goold’s 3rd edition of 1977 was reprinted at least four times in less than 30 years.

Of these nine authors, five are Latin, four Greek; and poetry (notably epic, for which this volume of Ovid should not be overlooked) dominates prose. Philosophy has a marked presence, but surprisingly history and drama are missing. It would be intriguing to discover whether there were shifts in the popularity over the decades, which might coincide with changes in educational and social *mores*. For example, it has been observed that the Vietnam War and a perception of American imperialism caused students studying the ancient world in the USA to turn away from Roman History (and Latin?) in the 1960s and 1970s and towards Greek history (and Greek language?). The list of volumes in the series, included at the back of every volume until recent years, was arranged by Latin authors followed by Greek ones. This order reflects an earlier generation’s recognition (whether overt or subliminal) that many more readers interested in the Loeb series would have some Latin, and that those with Greek would be highly likely to have good command of Latin as well.

5. Editors

Loeb initially approached J.G. Frazer to be the sole General Editor of the series, offering him £600 p.a. He declined when Macmillan decided against taking on publication. However, he had already proposed that he would need an assistant editor if he agreed to take on the role, and suggested W.H.D. Rouse (Calder 1977: 319 n. 21; Stray 1992: 43). In consequence, Rouse was the first-appointed General Editor (*pace* Rudd 1981: 29); but he in turn wanted a yokefellow, and suggested his friend T.E. Page. The latter had just retired from 35 years’ schoolmastering at Charterhouse (1875-1910), and was much more in a position to devote himself to the task than Rouse who was headmaster of the Perse School at Cambridge, editor of the *Classical Review*, and engrossed in promot-

ing the Direct Method of teaching Classical languages (Stray 1992: 43). So, contrary to the actual situation, the impression was gained by readers of the series that Page was the first General Editor, an inference easily drawn by the ordering of the previous editors’ names on the page preceding the title page of every volume until that page was redesigned a few years ago. In reality, it scarcely matters which of the two men was approached first: they were good friends, and clearly worked harmoniously together for many years on the LCL.

The first three editors of the Loeb Classical Library were appointed by Loeb: Rouse and Page first in 1910, then Capps (already a member of the Advisory Board from its inception) in 1914; and all were still serving in this role at the time of his death in 1933. Capps’ appointment made tangible the Anglo-American partnership in Classical scholarship which the series was intended to make visible.

W.H.D. Rouse (1863-1950; Figure 9), Editor 1911-47, contributed *Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (no. 15, 1913), *Lucretius* (no. 181, 1924; rev. by M.F. Smith 1975, who also provided a rev. 2nd edn 1982); and *Nonnus* in 3 volumes (nos. 344, 354, 356, all 1940). On Rouse see Stray (1992); a full biography by D. Jones is in preparation.



Figure 9: W.H.D. Rouse (1863-1950), Editor 1911-47. Photo: dated 1908, used with permission of D. Jones, Perse School Archives, Cambridge.

T.E. Page (1850-1936; Figure 10), Editor 1911-35, paid £800 p.a. (presumably the same amount was paid to the other two early editors); while teaching had already published editions of Virgil (3 vols., 1894-1900), Horace (1883; revised and augmented 1895), and *Acta Apostolorum* (1895) with Macmillan. He is said to have been asked in a letter from Richard Jebb to consider the Chair of Latin at Cambridge in the 1890s, but declined for personal reasons (Rudd 1981: 26, but see 65 n. 26). He edited no volumes in the series. On Page see Rudd (1981: esp. 29-33 on his work for the LCL), and Rudd (2004).



Figure 10: T.E. Page (1850-1936), Editor 1911-35. Undated portrait photo perhaps taken in the first half of the 1890s; held in the Charterhouse Archives. Photo: reproduced with the permission of the Headmaster and Governors of Charterhouse.



Figure 11: E. Capps (1866-1950), member of the Advisory Board at the LCL's inception, and Editor 1914-39. Photo: taken 1936(?), reproduced from Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps on his seventieth birthday (Princeton, 1936), frontispiece, p. iv.

E. Capps (1866-1950; Figure 11), Professor of Classics at Princeton (1907-35), member of the Advisory Board at the LCL's inception, and General Editor 1914-1939: the only person to hold both responsibilities. He edited no volumes in the series. He was also closely involved for many years with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as chairman of the Managing Committee; this may have been the context where Loeb (who was philanthropically supportive of it as well) met him and realised the contribution he could also make to the LCL. On Capps see Calder (1974).

L.A. Post (1889-1971; Figure 12), Professor of Greek at Haverford College PA for 41 years (1917-58); succeeded Capps as LCL Editor from 1940-67. He edited no volumes in the series. If we take his editorial role as an example, he was involved as General Editor with several volumes of such works as *Augustine, City of God, Babrius and Phaedrus, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, Lucian, Plotinus, and Plutarch, Moralia*. The first of these (nos. 411-417, 1957-72) spread across seven volumes, and meant he was negotiating with and responding to several different translators. This was not atypical: the volumes of Diodorus and Plutarch were similarly allocated to a number of translators. To achieve editorial and qualitative consistency between them must have been no mean feat.



Figure 12: L.A. Post (1889-1971), Editor 1940-67. Photo: taken 1955 by Clarence Myers and used with the permission of Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA, (Special Collections, College Archives, HCHC Photos, Faculty Individuals, Box IIIC), and the help of D.F. Peterson.



Figure 13: E.H. Warmington (1898–1987), Editor 1937-74.

Photo: taken about 1950, courtesy of B.H. Warmington.

E.H. Warmington (1898–1987; Figure 13), Professor of Classics at Birkbeck College, London (1935-65). Editor 1937-74, and after Capps' and then Post's retirement in 1939 and 1967, respectively, was the first sole General Editor. His *Remains of Old Latin* (4 vols.; nos. 294, 314, 329, 359, 1935-40), is a notable addition to the series, the fourth volume containing Archaic inscriptions. It was likely to have been Rouse who commissioned these volumes, as Warmington had been known to him since his school years at the Perse School. So it is also not unlikely that the approach to Warmington to become a General Editor may reflect (if not directly, then obliquely) the link with Rouse: already before 1937 he was apparently being groomed for the role by his regular attendance at the weekly meetings at the publisher's office in London (Rudd 1981: 30). His unsurpassed 38-year tenure of the General Editorship just exceeded that of his former headmaster. Professor Bowersock singled him out at the centenary dinner for his 'selfless service' to the series. B.H. Warmington recalls (per litt. 9/1/12) that, at his father's death, Bowersock and Stewart arranged an *ex gratia* subvention for his widow in recognition of his father's outstanding editorial contribution to the LCL through a difficult period. The LCL increased by 130 new volumes during his editorship (Warmington 2004); and it was on his watch that the first steps were taken in re-editing earlier volumes.

G.P. Goold (1922-2001; Figure 14), held Chairs successively at University College London (1973-78), then finally at Yale as William Lampson Professor in Latin Classics (1978-92) during his tenure as Editor of the LCL (1974-99; Editor Emeritus 2000-01), to which he was appointed (from 1974) by Stewart in his capacity as sole Trustee at the point where Goold was about to leave his Harvard Chair to return to UCL. Under Goold's editorship the LCL grew in professional standing and international recognition. To him has sometimes been attributed the LCL's 'rescue' from the doldrums; but this may not be altogether fair to the memory of Post and Warmington, his predecessors as Editors, for revisions and new editions of some early or unsatisfactory volumes began appearing from the late 1960s: eg, Warmington's own revision of *Petronius and Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (no. 15, 1913) in 1969. The decisive factor under Goold, however, was that a concerted plan for revivifying the LCL was put in place, including decisions about a more moderate, but financially achievable pace of publication, and one which balanced the differing pressures and expectations of producing new volumes as against revised or replacement editions. He was the editor at the time when HUP assumed full responsibility for the series. As General Editor he was firmly committed to Loeb's vision that the volumes be accessible to the interested non-specialist, while continuing to lead by example in professionalising the quality of the edited Latin or Greek text. Apart from his role as General Editor of the series, he contributed



Figure 14: G.P. Goold (1922-2001), Editor 1974-99; Editor Emeritus 2000-01.

Photo: provided courtesy of J. Henderson.

almost a dozen volumes for the LCL, either *ab initio* or replacement editions: *Manilius* (no. 469, 1977), the five vols of *Ovid* (nos. 41, 1914 [2nd edn 1977]; 42, 1916 [3rd edn 1977]; 43, 1916 [2nd edn 1984], 232, 1929 [2nd edn 1979]; 253, 1931 [2nd edn 1989]), *Catullus* et al. (no. 6, 1913 [2nd edn 1988]), and *Virgil* (nos. 63, 1916; 64, 1918; ‘new and revised edition’ 1935, 1934 [*sic*]; ‘revised edition with new introduction’ by Goold, 1999, 2000), plus *Propertius* (no. 18, 1912; re-ed. 1990, ‘an entirely new volume’) and *Chariton* (no. 481, 1995)—this last an addition to the series, and his only foray into Greek.



Figure 15: J. Henderson (1946-), Editor since 1999.
Photo: courtesy the Henderson family 2011.

Jeffrey Henderson (1946-; Figure 15), William Goodwin Aurelio Professor of Greek Language and Literature, Boston University; like Goold whom he succeeded, appointed by Stewart as General Editor of the LCL in 1999 (both men had been his teachers at Harvard, 1968-72). Henderson thoroughly replaced Rogers’ *Aristophanes*, and also *Longus, Daphnis and Chloe* (no. 69, 2009), adding *Xenophon of Ephesus* to it in place of the original volume’s *Parthenius*: the latter now appears newly edited in J.L. Lightfoot’s anthology: *Hellenistic Collection* (no. 508, 2009). That original volume provides an early instance of Loeb’s decision, indicated in his programmatic Series Preface included in the 1912 volumes, that translations from earlier centuries—in this instance G. Thornley’s XVIIth century translation of Longus, somewhat updated by J.M. Edmonds for the first edition (1916)—would be included where their literary quality was deemed appropriate by the editors.

It is notable that all these Editors drank from the same fountain of longevity: leaving aside the still-serving Editor, Rouse (37 years), Page (25 years), Capps (26 years), Post (28 years), Warmington (38 years), Goold

(26 years). This suggests that the earlier editors derived considerable satisfaction from giving the series shape and substance, and seeing it grow apace, while the later ones rose to the fresh challenge of reviving the fortunes of the series and reinvigorating it partly by taking it to a new level professionally via revised or replacement editions. In turn, long service guaranteed editorial stability for the series. It cannot have been a sinecure: Page alone had no other major academic responsibilities concurrently.

For the series to begin in 1912, volumes had to be commissioned well in advance. Few refer to their inception. W.H.S Jones is one who does so in the Preface to his *Hippocrates* vol. 1 (no. 147, 1923) where he mentions (viii) that he began on it in 1910. This shows that the two General Editors were already at work commissioning volumes late that year (*pace* Stray 1992: 43). Jones was one of the Classics teachers at the Perse School where Rouse was headmaster (Stray 1992: 24); so there are no prizes for guessing who proposed his involvement. Sometimes, at least, prospective contributors were invited to submit a sample portion of translation before the General Editors decided that the publisher should issue a contract (Rudd 1981: 30). It is very rare in the earlier volumes for the contributor to acknowledge the series Editor(s) in his Preface; the consistency of this silence looks like a policy.

6. Contributors

Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the contributors have been from the UK and the USA, though there has been a fair representation from Canada. A scatter of volumes has been provided by people based in Ghana, New Zealand, South Africa, a couple of European countries (Germany and Belgium) and (most recently of all) Australia. This sometimes conceals the national origins of some who began their Classical training in the country of their birth before settling elsewhere. For example, L.H.G. Greenwood may be the sole new Zealand-born contributor, though his two volumes of Cicero’s *Verrines* give no hint of that, being produced while he held his post at Cambridge (nos. 221, 1928; 293, 1935). The Englishman J. Barsby had long been domiciled in New Zealand when he provided the new 2 vol. edition of *Terence* (nos. 22-23, 2001). A.S. Way (1847-1930) was born, educated and died in England, but spent a little over a decade as a headmaster in Melbourne (Gellie 1976). While he devised translations of various ancient Classical texts during his time in Australia, his Loeb volumes were done once he returned to England. His *Euripides* volumes (nos. 9-12, all 1913) are still often seen as the ‘low water mark’ of the LCL’s volumes. Yet not all have dismissed his work so quickly. Like the *Euripides*, Way chose to render his *Quintus Smyrnaeus* (no. 19, 1913)—the first-ever translation into English—into blank verse; archaising language dates the translation, and perhaps he is to be faulted for the Greek text he used. Yet his general competence is not in doubt; and some, at least, who have looked closely at his *Quintus* volume have felt repaid (James 2004: xxxii-iii).

Few have produced more than one or two volumes, or the set for one ancient writer. One of the most prolific contributors was Goold who ‘led from the front’ as General Editor primarily by enhancing the quality of volumes for a variety of authors in the series via revised or 2nd editions, as already mentioned. Goold’s range and number of volumes was matched by J.C. Rolfe, who between 1914-46 contributed 12 volumes for six writers: Ammianus Marcellinus, Aulus Gellius, Cornelius Nepos, Quintus Curtius Rufus, Sallust, and Suetonius. Over an even longer span of years E. Cary provided 16 Loeb: all nine for Dio Cassius between 1914-27, and then after a hiatus seven more for Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1937-50). These were not the only prolific contributors: to instance merely one more, H. Rackham added 14 volumes to the series, four each for Aristotle and Cicero, and six for Pliny the Elder. Yet D.R. Shackleton Bailey takes the palm for sheer numbers: 11 volumes of Cicero (mostly letters), three for Statius, two for Valerius Maximus, and finally another two for Quintilian’s *Lesser Declamations* (nos. 500, 501, both appearing posthumously in 2006).

In his 1910 letter to Loeb, Wilamowitz singled out this work of Quintilian along with Macrobius and Libanius as ‘garbage’ (‘Schund’): lacking literary merit, they were not worth inclusion in the series (Calder, 1977: 321-23). His pronouncement, albeit in a private letter, appears to have had longstanding influence: Libanius did not begin to be added to the LCL until 1969 (4 vols, nos. 451, 452, 478, 479, 1969-1992), Macrobius only in 2011 (all three volumes in that year, nos. 510-512). As for Valerius Maximus, Shackleton Bailey’s translation was the first in English since 1678, and this alone made it welcome despite offputting archaic English features in his translation which seem to run counter to the approach of Goold and Henderson to ensure direct and clear renderings (Wardle 2001).

A very meagre total of nine women have been invited to contribute or offered a volume. The trailblazer was Wilmer C. Wright (who dropped her birth name, Emily, at her marriage),⁷ with two of her three *Julian* volumes (nos. 13, 1913; 29, 1913; 157, 1923) contributed virtually at the LCL’s inception. In the decade between vols. 2 and 3 she also completed *Philostratus* vol. 4 (no. 134, 1921) containing his *Lives of the Philosophers* and the similar work by Eunapius. M. McElwain (with C.E. Bennett) followed soon after, translating *Frontinus* (no. 174, 1925). Another forty years went by until the next: E.M. Sanford (with W.M. Green, who contributed three of the other six *Civ. Dei* volumes solo) produced *Augustine, City of God* vol. 5 (no. 415, 1965), which was soon followed by B. Radice for *Pliny, Letters* (2 vols; nos. 55, 59, both 1969, replacing the earlier set, and drawing closely on her own translation in the Penguin Classics series). M. Henderson edited *Cicero* vol. 28, the *Commentariolum Petitionis* (no. 462, 1972); this was re-ed. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey in 2002, and accordingly her name is no longer visible on the LCL website. Like Radice, the others mostly provided

replacement or revision volumes: S.M. Braund for *Juvenal and Persius* (no. 91, 2004) replaced the older vol. in the series, reversing the order in which the two poets were presented though retaining the original title. D. Innes made a revision of *Demetrius, On style* (included with Aristotle vol. 23: no. 199, 1995). G. Manuwald co-edited with J.T. Ramsey *Cicero, Philippics* (Cicero vols. 15A and 15B, nos. 189, 507, both 2009), generously placing Shackleton Bailey’s name first on the title page (and his alone on the spine), since his bilingual edition and translation published elsewhere a generation earlier was the basis of their own revision for the Loeb, a revision made in the light of their own work on those speeches (Ramsey 2003; Manuwald 2007). Shackleton Bailey (1986: vii) implicitly regarded as inadequate the existing single volume Loeb translation by W.C.A. Ker (no. 189, 1926). In the same year as Ramsey and Manuwald’s edition, J.L. Lightfoot contributed a new volume containing an anthology: *Hellenistic Collection* (no. 508, 2009).

Classicists overwhelmingly comprise the contributors of the volumes, but exceptions occur. Medicine proves instructive here. The sole volume devoted to Galen (no. 71, 1916) comprises his *On the natural faculties*; it was completed and published while its translator, A.J. Brock, was engaged in war service as a doctor. With his FRCS (Eng.) under his belt, W.G. Spencer produced the three volumes of *Celsus, de medicina* (nos. 292, 304, 336, 1935-38). The *Hippocrates* volumes reflect variety in the contributors’ background: the nine volumes were translated by two classicists (W.H.S. Jones x3, W.D. Smith x1), one surgeon (E.T. Withington x1), and a specialist in the History of Medicine (P. Potter x4). In his introduction to vol. 4 (no. 150, 1931), Jones states baldly (vii), ‘This volume completes the Loeb translation of Hippocrates’—and as an ‘extra’ to fill up that volume it included Heracleitus’ *On the universe*. P. Potter drew attention to this odd statement in his Preface to vol. 5; and from the long hiatus between vols. 4 and 5 (the latter in 1988) we may perhaps infer an early editorial decision to include only certain works from the Hippocratic corpus. This impression receives some confirmation when we consider together vols. 1 and 7: the former includes 2 books (1 and 3) of the *Epidemics*, the latter provides the remaining ones (2, 4-7). Furthermore, the first four volumes are nos. 147-150, though unsurprisingly were not all published in one-after-the-other order (1923, 1923, 1928, 1931). Few doctors today might feel they were sufficiently trained in Classical languages to take on such a task, though I. Johnston is one exception (cf. already Johnston, 2005), being one of the two contributors to the most recent entirely new addition to the Loeb series, Galen’s *Method of Medicine* (3 vols; nos. 516, 517, 518, all 2011).

Some contributors provided all volumes of a particular author (e.g. J. Henderson’s recent *Aristophanes*, D. Kovacs’ new *Euripides*, each replacing multi-volume sets by one person (B.B. Rogers and A.S. Way, respectively). Others ranged widely in what they produced: e.g. J.M. Edmonds

provided *Greek Elegy and Iambus* in two volumes (nos. 258, 259, both 1929; now replaced with editions by D. Gerber, both 1999), *Greek Bucolic poets* (no. 28, 1912), and *Theophrastus, Characters* (no. 225, 1929). This last also included *Herodes (sic)* and *Greek Choliambic poets*, both translated by A.D. Knox. That volume was eventually replaced with a new edition and translation in 1993 of the first two texts by J. Rusten and I.C. Cunningham, respectively, with Knox's Choliambic poets dropped in favour of *Sophron* and other fragments of mime texts. Not only did W.H.S. Jones submit his Hippocratic volumes, but also four of the five for Pausanias (nos. 93, 1923; 188, 1926 [with H.A. Ormerod]; 272, 1933; 297, 1935).⁸ The 5th, a companion volume to the Pausanias text, is unique to the LCL series: printed on gloss paper, it contains 85 high quality plates (including foldout maps) with comment on each by R.E. Wycherley (no. 298, 1935; rev. edn, 1955), to illustrate certain sections of Pausanias' discussion.

Although there had been a few Classicists of international profile who contributed volumes in the early years—eg J.G. Frazer for *Apollodorus* (nos. 121, 122, both 1921) and *Ovid, Fasti* (no. 253, 1931, rev. by Goold 1989), J. E. Sandys for Pindar (no. 56, 1915; replaced in two vols. By W.H. Race, nos. 56 and 485, both 1997), H.W. Smyth for *Aeschylus* (no. 145, 1922; 146, 1926; H. Lloyd-Jones' appendix of major fragments added to vol. 2 in 1957; replaced in 2008 with three vols. by A.H. Sommerstein, nos. 145, 146, 505), D. Magie (perhaps not so well known at the time of his *Historia Augusta* volumes, nos. 139, 1921; 140, 1924; 263, 1932)—under Goold an increasing number of internationally highly regarded classicists provided volumes: we may instance merely D.R. Shackleton Bailey, and H. Lloyd-Jones for *Sophocles*. Swiftly identified as a landmark in this respect, and in others (textual and historical thoroughness; a highly readable, clear translation), was P.A. Brunt's revised text and translation of *Arrian*, commissioned during Warmington's tenure as Editor and appearing during Goold's, replacing in 1976 and 1983 the translation of E.I. Robson (nos. 236, 1929; 269, 1933). Brunt's almost 80-page Introduction superseded Robson's 10 pages; as well, he included many Appendixes in both volumes. There had already been precedent for the latter feature. Post as General Editor agreed to L.H. Feldman including 19 Appendixes in the original vol. 9 of Josephus in 1965. Although the trend was developing already, then, under Goold's Editorship a new professionalism was more explicitly expected from contributors, though he was determined not to abandon the principle of accessibility for the wide readership for whom Loeb had envisaged the series: those with a good education, but not necessarily in Classics, and with an interest in Western Literature from its earliest centuries.

Teamwork has been a marked rarity, reflecting the longstanding approach in the Humanities for people to research and publish solo. A few volumes have two (rarely more) names on them where shorter texts edited by different individuals have been placed together. D.C. Mirhady

contributed *Aristotle, Rhetoric to Alexander* in vol. 2 of the 2-vol. *Aristotle, Problems* redone by R. Mayhew (nos. 316, 317, both 2011); this reflected the same split of tasks in the first edition (1936, 1937) between W.S. Hett and H. Rackham. *Pietas* towards a deceased teacher has occasionally been a factor in another's involvement; thus, F.H. Fobes undertook the completion of A.R. Benner's volume on Letters of *Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus* (no. 383, 1949; see Prefatory note). Rouse's publication of the 3 vol. *Nonnus* in 1940 (nos. 34, 354, 356) was presumably intended to be a solo retirement project which built on his collation of the MSS during his six-year Fellowship at Christ's College Cambridge (1888-94). However, he happened to be underway with the translation (the first-ever rendering of this author into English) when L.R. Lind in America wrote offering to do *Nonnus* for the LCL series; so the two formed a Transatlantic team in achieving the task (Stray 1992: 60). Though Rouse is rightly perceived as the author, the names of Lind and H.J. Rose are also included on the title page for their contributions with a clarification of the division of labour.⁹ *Theophrastus, de causis plantarum* was edited and translated by B. Einarson and G.K.K. Link (3 vols; nos. 471, 474, 475, 1976 [vol. 1], 1990 [vols 2-3]). In Einarson's Introduction (vol. 1, lxvi-vii) he speaks of the 'partnership' he enjoyed with Link as a *sine qua non* for achieving the undertaking. The recent *Galen, Method of Medicine* (nos. 516-518, 2011), is another rare instance of teamwork. The standout example of teamwork for the LCL, however, is the contribution by 'The Illinois Greek Club' of *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, and Onasander* (no. 156, 1923). Seventeen members of the Club contributed to the translation of Aeneas Tacticus, a much smaller group to the other two writers. The linchpin for all three was W.A. Oldfather.

7. Translations or editions?

Whereas the early contributors to the series were always designated simply as the translator, after several decades a shift became visible and they came to be described variously on the title page by wording reflecting their task as editor and translator of their volume. These designations were presumably determined by the General Editors regardless of the varied nature (and quality) of each contribution. Some contributors were quite content to be self-effacing. Thus, L.H.G. Greenwood's Preface to *Cicero, The Verrine Orations* (vol. 1, no. 221, 1928) says (p. v) that, 'This edition of the Verrine Orations is not intended as a serious contribution to the improvement of the text,' though he actually made numerous alterations to certain earlier editions, and included some of his own conjectures. The change in the title page byline at a later stage was evidently felt justified by the increasing amount of MS variants provided in the apparatus of the volumes, even though the amount of this continues to be markedly (and rightly, given the wide range of readership to be embraced) reined in. A few of the early volumes prove an exception to this, and include quite an amount

of MS evidence, e.g. *Hippocrates* vol. 2 (no. 148, 1923) xlviii-lxvi. *Alciphron*, appearing in a volume with letters of Philostratus and Aelian (no. 383, 1949) also continues to stand up well for its quality as an edition. Another contribution which has become virtually the *de facto* standard edition is C.R. Whittaker's 2-volume *Herodian* (nos. 454, 1969; 455, 1970), which includes a lengthy introduction and notes on historical and other matters on nearly every page.¹⁰ It may be felt too broad a generalisation that the 'Loeb translations became standard texts ...' (Calder 1977: 324); only in some cases or for some readers did this occur. Even so, it is inevitable that occasional errors in translation do occur in the Loeb—what published book is without flaw?—becoming accepted and transmitted to other contexts (Lefkowitz 1972). Whether Lefkowitz's comments in this article were influential in decisions to revise some LCL volumes is doubtful, however, as this process was already under way at least in the 1960s under Warmington's Editorship, even if it became much more a planned strategy in Goold's time.

There is an implicit tension here for the series between the aspiration of the contributor to provide a professionally respectable Greek or Latin text (even if not a full edition as such), and the increasingly visible recognition that users of the series nowadays cannot be presumed to have much—or even any—control of the two Classical languages. Not that all early contributors followed this line. For example, H. Rackham provides some textual evidence on nearly every page of his 1934 revised edition (also called the 'second'; no. 73, first pub. 1926) of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and was explicit (Preface, xi-xii) that his translation was

designed to serve as an assistance to readers of the Greek; it is therefore as interpretative as I was able to make it without its becoming a mere paraphrase. Had I been working for those desirous of studying Aristotle without reading Greek, my method would have been very different: I should have aimed at an entirely non-committal version, reproducing the Greek as closely as possible, keeping the abbreviations, omissions, ambiguities and obscurities that seem to be observable in some of its sentences, and so providing an English text to accompany the study of the valuable commentaries on the treatise that are available.

Anyone translating a text would normally give considerable reflection to such questions as the anticipated readership, the balance between literalness and idiomatic rendering, etc. Not always do they make their thinking explicit for their readers; and the Loeb volumes are no exception to this. So comments such as S.M. Braund provides in her new edition of *Juvenal and Persius* (no. 91, 2004, replacing that by G.G. Ramsay, 1918) are useful for the reader. She says, in part (Preface, vii):

Ramsay's 1918 Loeb translation has lasted remarkably well, but it is clearly time to update it

and to incorporate advances in scholarship since then. One central difficulty in preparing a translation which is designed for a long shelf life is that of contemporary idiom. ... The intrinsic problem of the Loeb Classical Library is that of turning poetry into prose. ...

The new *Galen, Method of Medicine* has made clear the primary readership in view (vol. 1, Intro. xxx).

From the start, there was an expectation (spelled out in writing by Loeb to Page as an editorial policy, and then included in contracts) that no material would be translated explicitly where there was concern that it may offend. Obscene passages were handled in various ways: sometimes they were simply omitted (eg Juvenal 6.514, 1st edn: p. 125; contrast new edn: p. 283; Persius 4.35-41, 1st edn: p. 361; contrast new edn: pp. 91-93), or translated into another language. Greek was usually translated into Latin on the facing-page English text; and in the first edition of Martial putatively offensive Latin was translated into Italian (eg 7.70, vol. 1: p. 471; contrast new edn vol. 2: p. 135), whereas in the case of Petronius the Latin was simply repeated on the right-hand page (eg §§92, 134, pp. 185, 301, respectively; contrast pp. 219, 355 in Warmington's revised edn). Leaving aside their inconsistency, such avoidance strategies were not very successful. The longstanding practice of translating Greek texts into Latin as an aid to the semi-Greekless *may* have suggested to the editors a device to deal with these passages whose explicit rendering was felt to be too confronting to contemporary social *mores*.

This was not simply a matter of personal scruple by Loeb and the early editors, several of whom were either active Christian adherents (Page, Post presumably), or had been brought up in that tradition (Rouse). Heinemann as the publisher would have raised the red flag, aware of the risk of flouting the laws about obscenity in both Britain and America, which were not relaxed until 1959 and 1969, respectively. Once these sanctions were removed, the LCL began to address the matter, with Warmington's revised *Petronius* appearing in 1969.

Questionable strategies of other kinds were also applied. In no. 225 (1929), the *Mimes* of Herodes (ie Herodas) were translated not into English, but into Scottish dialect in an attempt to suggest the Greek dialect in the original. Though different in motivation, this was of a piece with the expectation that Greek epic merited 'biblical' language for its high style to be conveyed with due dignity. As a consequence, some translations quickly looked dated—a feature reinforced by Loeb's misconceived desire to include some translations from earlier centuries because of their literary merit, regardless of the archaic English. Greater sensitivity to what may constitute an appropriate translation for the expected readership of the series has encouraged change, as has recognition of the external pressure of changing social attitudes; and from the time of Goold's editorship, in particular, unambiguous trans-

lation has been expected, however direct. The previous approach of drawing a veil over sexually explicit texts did not altogether matter at a time when Classicists could read the original text for themselves, and the interested lay reader was mostly not distracted by minutiae of translation. Today, however, perhaps the majority of Loeb readers (Ancient History students comprise one large cohort in Australia, at least) have rather less Classical language training, and so are much more dependent on a translation which reliably conveys the actual meaning without literary flourish, or paraphrase.

Over time, the ancient authors represented in the LCL have meant that the series now spans about fourteen centuries (Homer to Bede) and every genre. In date range, this is very impressive, even if somewhat more limited than Loeb's original, expansive projection ('Homer to the Fall of Constantinople'). Although not all periods and genres are represented equally or in a balanced way, nevertheless the achievement of this undertaking should be emphasised. Loeb could rightly feel that his vision had been amply fulfilled by the energy and acumen of the series of editors and of the contributors from whom they in turn commissioned volumes.

The Loeb series continues not to aim at full editions of the Latin or Greek text, and consistently abjures the provision of much information (let alone interpretative commentary) for readers. There are Oxford Classical Texts or the Teubner series available for the former, and detailed commentaries on many of the texts for the latter. The French Budé series stands out quite exceptionally in this respect, for in more recent years the amount of explanatory notation has increased to match the generally high quality of the original text and facing translation. As merely two rather different examples from 2007, the recent volumes devoted to Galen by V. Boudon-Millot (notably vol. 1) and J. Sheid's edition of the *Res Gestae* illustrate this development clearly. However, in the more recent Loeb's contributors have been permitted considerably more space for their Introduction: what was typically a very few pages of general introduction to the work and a statement about MSS consulted has often become 50+ (even 150+) pages. This is a recognition of a changed expectation, and especially so for those authors who may be considered less well known rather than the 'canonical' writers of Greek tragedy and philosophy, Roman oratory and history, etc. Some early exceptions to the fairly perfunctory introductions occur, eg W.H.S. Jones includes nearly 60 pages (ix-lxvi) in his *Hippocrates* vol. 2 (no. 148, 1923).

But a shift became visible in the 1990s when Harvard was in complete charge of the LCL. A renewal plan for the series—devised in the earlier 1970s by Stewart in conjunction with Goold, with advice from a small committee—took as its premise a more modest goal than that originally conceived, to publish four or five new volumes a year. This plan includes titles new to the LCL (such as *Chariton*, no. 481, 1995), completely new editions

and translations (such as *Euripides*, nos. 9-12, 484, 485, 1994-2002), and thoroughly revised editions (such as *Hesiod*, no. 57, 1914, replaced by nos. 57 and 503, 2006 and 2007, respectively).

Yet is there an Achilles heel, at least potentially so, in this very professionalising of the series? James Loeb consciously chose schoolmasters as two of his first three editors. Highly proficient in both Classical languages Page and Rouse undoubtedly were (each could certainly have held a Chair); but they were also able to communicate the subject with distinctive passion that was recognised by others—as did the later General Editor L.A. Post, who apparently by choice spent his entire career at a College rather than at a University. These men were no second-rate Classicists; what they also brought to the task was long experience of imparting the languages and their literature to tyros and students without sufficient experience to read the original text without some aids. In the earlier years of the LCL these editors had no compunction about commissioning volumes from some they knew who were teaching in schools (though perhaps more so in Britain than in America, given Capps' position at Princeton): contributions to the Loeb series was not the monopoly of university staff, even though the latter constituted the large majority. Today, it is almost inconceivable that anyone not in the tertiary sector would be approached to undertake such a task—the sole exception being the rare 'private scholar.' There is an irony here which should not pass unnoticed. There is nowadays a small but gradually increasing cohort of secondary teachers of Classics and Ancient History who possess a doctorate, but who have missed out on a university post, if that had been the ambition; and this phenomenon is not confined to Australia. It is as if there has been a return to the period a century ago in Britain where well trained Classicists taught the next generation of school students, and sometimes by choice. As well, universities now look for different characteristics in the staff they employ. Furthermore, for Anglophone undergraduate students of Ancient History, Classical Civilisation, Ancient Philosophy and Studies in Religion, many of whom have minimal control of the two languages (as do the majority of high school teachers of that broad discipline area), the greater commitment made by Loeb contributors to editing the Greek or Latin text may be subliminally (if not overtly) offputting. It is never possible to be sure in detail who comprises the readership of such a series, to differentiate those seriously committed to reading and digesting every page as against the occasional browser. For this reason, the LCL is right not to aim for the lowest common denominator, for textual notes which may be somewhat confronting on the page to those with little understanding of textual transmission may be a stimulus to others' curiosity.

In addition, since James Loeb's day there has been a flourishing publishing and excellent marketing of cheap translations—in the Anglophone world notably the Penguin Classics which began with E.V. Rieu's *Odyssey* after WWII following the success of Penguin Books from

its inception in 1935—and these are normally regarded as ‘good enough’ by those capable only of reading a translation. If the LCL provides a half-way house between a fully edited, critical text and a clear, idiomatic translation, perhaps in turn the Aris and Phillips venture has devised a distinctive niche for itself in the Anglophone world over more than a generation now in providing facing-page text and translation with a commentary on the English. This latter feature appears to imply A&P’s perception of their readership as more likely to be those with at best only some control of the original language.

8. Pace of publication, and order of appearance

I mentioned earlier that after Loeb appointed his Advisory Board and Editors he left them to get on with their task of building a distinctive series of portable and accessible volumes with facing-page text and translations and a minimum of accompanying critical comment. And ‘get on with it’ they certainly did, apparently without interference from himself.

The first twenty volumes (not identical with the allocated nos. 1-20) were published in the later part of 1912. The LCL had been underway for only two years when the First World War broke out. Despite that, between 1914 and 1918 54 new volumes saw the light, including ‘evergreen’ authors like Virgil and Ovid—though in their case perhaps we should say ‘everre(a)d’—and less frequently encountered writers such as Marcus Aurelius and Galen. The first 100 volumes appeared within less than a decade (no. 112 in 1919), the second hundred just as swiftly (230 titles by 1930). By the time of Loeb’s death in 1933, the tally had reached nearly 300, a good number of them going to several reprints, such was their popularity. (Indeed, it would be useful to tot up for each volume the sheer number of reprints, and to gain a sense of the size of the print runs.) The tally by that stage deserves to be underlined. More than half the total number of new volumes (*Athenaeus*, *Deipnosophists* vol. 8, no. 519 the latest in 2011, covering book 15 which had been in no. 345 when it first appeared in 1941, plus an index to the entire 8 vols.) was produced in the first twenty years of the life of the series—and this despite the outbreak of WWI soon after the LCL began, plus the Depression before the series’ second decade was completed. Loeb’s vision had certainly struck a chord in the Anglophone world; and the speed of production in the first twenty years cemented the profile of the series. That speed redounds to the credit of the three General Editors (and presumably also of the Advisory Board whose ‘hands on’ role is less clear). It was an impressive achievement by Page, Rouse and Capps the first Editors, and *a fortiori* despite the years of the Great War. Some volumes were clearly delayed by the Conflagration: Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* did not appear until 1926, but its Loeb series no. (73) places it close to *Galen*, *Natural Faculties* (no. 71) which appeared in 1916; one other Aristotle volume (vol. 22) also appeared in 1926, but its allocated Loeb no. is 193.

When we look back to the LCL’s earlier years, it is remarkable that these massive international dislocations did not slow the pace—let alone cause the series to stall entirely—though WWII and subsequent conflicts and economic pressures (and no doubt also changing social, educational and political perspectives and expectations) took their toll. The pace slowed somewhat in the decade after Loeb’s death: 38 new volumes were published from 1939 to 1945, with only 10 of these appearing in the last three years of the War (considerably fewer than the approximately 10 p.a. average in the early and mid-1930s). In 1944 for the first time no new volumes appeared. While the series had averaged over 10 new titles a year since 1912, output waned further in the 1950s. By the end of 1974 465 titles had appeared in the series; in the almost 40 years since then just over 50 new volumes have been published—though a good number of these are an expanded re-editions of an earlier volume (thus, *Hesiod* no. 57 plus now 503), or reflect the decision to include fragments of a playwright (thus, nos. 504 and 506 for Euripides). Today, partly in response to the difficult times the series experienced in the 1970s—even though it came through that serious threat to its very survival thanks particularly to the acumen of Stewart and the drive, experience and editorial judgement of the two successive editors he appointed—in addition to straightforward reprints four or five entirely new or re-edited volumes are published annually. That there has been such a massive dropoff in the number of new volumes added to the LCL should not be given a defeatist interpretation. The importance of updating texts and translations was recognised at least in Warmington’s time as sole General Editor, and this aspect of the LCL’s output increased markedly under Goold and then Henderson.

The tallies given in this last paragraph have been arrived at from statements on the LCL website, and we must take them as having been reliably determined. However, my tallies may be a little ‘rubbery’: to attempt to make some checks against the site’s list of published volumes is not easy since older volumes which have been replaced or revised are sometimes represented in differing ways. Details of the previous translator may no longer be signalled. Sometimes the date of the original volume is no longer provided. Nor are there simply instances where an original single volume for an author has expanded to become two, or a two-volume set has become three, due to the discovery of additional texts, or the decision to include fragments of an author. Sometimes, texts originally paired together in a volume are re-edited and placed with a new partner text or group of works (Parthenius offers one recent instance). There can be a fine line between a new volume and a re-edited one.

When an early volume was revised or replaced at some much later date, the original number was normally allocated to it. Thus C.P. Jones’ replacement of F.C. Conybeare’s 90 year-old, 2-vol. *Philostratus, Life of Apollonius* in 2005 has the original numbers, 16 and 17. However,

the addition of a third volume by Jones meant that a new number had to be allocated; and while no. 458 (2006) looks oddly far removed from the other two volumes, this approach to volumes in the series which expand on earlier ones makes pragmatically consistent sense. There are now numerous authors, and texts grouped by genre—eg D. Campbell’s *Lyric Poetry*, now five volumes in place of the previous three (nos. 142, 143, 144; plus 461, 476, 1982-93)—for which this principle has been applied, including the Greek dramatists: Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Menander, and Sophocles. Papyrus finds and other identifications of fragments of drama make it churlish today to say these are mere scraps. Their inclusion is a further sign, however, of the push to professionalise the series in various directions. Once more, the question arises whether the intended reader is nowadays different from the person Loeb envisaged a century ago—and if so, whether it matters.

Goold had clearly reflected on this issue, judging from an anecdote recalled by Stewart in 2002 (at a memorial gathering for Goold?). ‘Goold once explained to an editor why the Loeb would include only a selection of certain fragments, not the complete corpus. He compared the Library to the public exhibition area of a great museum. In the storerooms there are indeed many more artifacts for specialists to study and enjoy, but in the public areas are placed only the most important and most meaningful pieces.’ This fine analogy (conveyed to me by J. Henderson, email 2/1/2012) encapsulates the LCL perfectly today: what is to be included should be presented professionally (up to date text, etc.) and accessibly (accurate translation, informative Introduction, etc.)—and not forgetting attractively—for the range of readers who may avail themselves of the volume, but should resist the pressure to write for Classicists alone (or even primarily) and seek to say the last word on every aspect of the work. An exception to this last point, however, may be allowed: since the LCL has become a *de facto* preserver of sometimes quite esoteric texts with English translation, the less obviously popular appeal of some works may justify a more detailed or technical approach. The *Herodian* volumes serve as an appropriate bell-wether.

It should be no surprise that volumes did not always appear in the order of the allocated LCL no.: thus nos. 13, 14 and 29 (*Julian*, vol. 2) were all published in 1913, whereas nos. 18, 20 and 24 all in 1912. However, for those authors for whom many volumes were required a traditional order of works in his corpus was maintained; but other considerations determined the priorities for commissioning those volumes. Aristotle provides a case in point: of the 23 LCL volumes bearing his name the first to be published was vol. 19 *Nicomachean Ethics* (no. 73, 1926), and in the same year vol. 22 *Art of Rhetoric* (no. 193, 1926), followed a year later by vol. 23 *Poetics* (together with *Longinus, On the sublime* and *Demetrius, On style*; no. 199, 1927; these three texts re-ed. 1995).

9. Differing character of some volumes

Once the series became well established, some volumes were included which have a very different character. For example:

i. *Select Papyri* in 3 vols. constitute a useful anthology: non-literary texts in vols 1 and 2 edd. A.S. Hunt/C.G. Edgar (nos. 266, 282; 1932, 1934), and literary ones in vol. 3 ed. D.L. Page (no. 360, 1941). A generation later, plans which had been accepted under Warmington for a further volume of Christian papyri were cancelled by HUP in the mid-1970s—a reflection of the stringencies under which the series laboured during that period. If there had been any plan for a volume of Jewish papyri, perhaps this was given up with the appearance of the *Corpus of Jewish Papyri* (3 vols; HUP, 1957-64). If the small page format of the series made inclusion of papyri difficult, it may have been a decisive consideration against the inclusion of similar volumes of inscriptions, had this possibility ever been raised—though Warmington’s *Archaic Latin* vol. 4 (no. 359) already showed the way in 1940. That inscriptions can be included successfully in a small format volume by means of printing ‘landscape’ instead of always ‘portrait’, the recent edition by J. Scheid (2007) of the *Res Gestae* (both Greek and Latin texts) has demonstrated in the similarly-sized Budé series. Contrast the minute point size (not typical for other volumes in the series) of these same inscriptions edited by E. Weber (1999⁶) in the equivalent German series *Sammlung Tusculum* (founded in 1923), giving Greek and Latin text on the same page opposite the German translation.¹¹ Yet there is another factor to consider, which might be felt to justify the inclusion of papyri but not inscriptions. Like the equivalent Italian series *Classici Greci e Latini*, the LCL focuses primarily on ‘literature’, or at least on literary texts. Plenty of papyri fall into this category, whereas such texts are rare in epigraphy. Yet before this factor is given a sage nod too quickly, it should be recalled that the first two volumes of papyri published in the LCL were documentary texts; the volume of literary texts was added only some years later. What may have overridden the ‘literary texts’ focus of the LCL here is the exotic nature and provenance of these new finds, which had begun being published in considerable numbers only during little more than the previous generation. The much later number allocated to D.L. Page’s third volume here belies the suggestion that the onset of the War was the cause for the gap of several years after Hunt and Edgar’s two volumes.

ii. The final volume of Plutarch’s *Moralia* (vol. 16, no. 499, 2004), by E.N. O’Neil, comprises an index to the entire 15 preceding volumes of that multi-faceted collection of essays. It had already been prepared a generation earlier, but was another victim of the 1970s cuts, and so was finally published only after O’Neil’s death. Similarly, half of *Josephus* vol. 10 (no. 456, 1965) constitutes an index by L.H. Feldman to the entire 10 vols. On that basis, Plato (12 vols.) and Aristotle (23 vols.) each

awaits his deserved index, as does Cicero (29 vols.); but these are unlikely to appear given the existence of indexes and concordances to these authors published elsewhere. These latter presuppose users conversant in the original language, however, whereas the Loeb series consciously allows for the reader with little or no training in Greek and Latin, and so normally provides an English-language index of terms/subjects/names.

iii. B.E. Perry's *Babrius and Phaedrus* (no. 436, 1965) contains, in addition to a 90 page introduction, a massive c. 200 page, appendix; undoubtedly very useful to specialists, but pertinent for the broader readership which Loeb had envisaged as well?

iv. To the existing 10 volumes on Philo two supplementary volumes were added by R. Marcus (nos. 380, 401, both 1953). These volumes appear to be almost unique in the LCL in that they translate the Armenian version of the original Greek text of Philo's *Questions and answers on Genesis and on Exodus*. Accordingly, the parallel text format is dispensed with in favour of translation *tout court*, though Appendix 1 in vol. 2 includes the surviving Greek fragments. The only approximate parallel I have noted is on an altogether different scale: in *Josephus* vol. 3 (containing when first published in 1928 *Jewish War* books 4-7) H.St.J. Thackeray included in a short Appendix his translation of a German rendering of the Slavonic additions to the Greek text of the writer.

v. The name Philostratus appears on several volumes in the LCL, and this gives rise to more than one entanglement. The two-volume *Vita Apollonii* (*VA*) is not at issue; but C.P. Jones' recent new third volume (no. 458, 2006) which supplements it includes—as did F.C. Conybeare in the original volume 2 (no. 17, 1912)—a work probably by Eusebius (*Reply to Hierocles*) the relevance of which a reader intent on Philostratus or Apollonius would readily perceive,¹² whereas a reader looking generally for works by Eusebius or specifically for the *Reply to Hierocles* might not think of searching in a volume whose focus is Philostratus. This is not the only volume under the name Philostratus to include others' work: his *Vitae Sophistarum* (*VS*) is paired with Eunapius' similar work (no. 134, 1921). It seems a pragmatically sensible decision to yoke together two short works by different writers dealing with a similar subject or connected by genre: thus Longus and Parthenius have been replaced in the new edition by Longus and Xenophon of Ephesus (no. 69, 2009). Yet a longer bow is drawn with no. 383 (1949), for although there is the common element of letters, we now have letters of three different writers: Philostratus, Alciphron and Aelian. Another kind of potential for confusion exists in no. 256 (1931), which comprises the *Imagines* of both Philostratus the Elder and his younger namesake, together with a work which shows knowledge of them both, Callistratus' *Descriptions*. Neither of these last two Philostrati is to be identified with the author of the *VA*. The complexity of distinguishing the authorship of works by these homonymous men is teased out in

Benner and Fobes' introduction to the *Epistolae eroticae* in no. 383, pp. 387-91. The level of familiarity expected with such complex matters as authorship is arguably beyond James Loeb's envisaged original remit. It is to the credit of Benner and Fobes that they did not avoid dealing with the problem; but it is a sign of the incipient professionalization of the series which Classicists in universities today may take for granted and applaud, but which may not really have been what Loeb himself was seeking. That said, we should ask whether to remain unwaveringly true to Loeb's vision after a hundred years is a *sine qua non* for the series as a whole. The captivating vision could become a captivity.

10. New, and new for old

The mere fact that, particularly from Goold's time as General Editor onwards (though the process began under Warmington), a considerable number of volumes have been revised or even completely replaced reflects a recognition that some of the previous ones were felt to be deficient in certain respects for a series whose great 'selling point' was its ambition to keep every volume permanently in print—while also allowing for scholarly advances. Certain volumes were uneven in quality: outmoded as translations into current English or in their lack of direct (non-bowdlerised) phraseology. Excluding simple reprints, by my count (and not claiming absolute exactitude), as at 2011 about 130 (c. 25%) volumes have been replaced or updated to a substantive degree, whether described as 'revised,' '2nd edition,' etc. It has been a dramatic change that over the last two decades the balance is now about equal between producing new volumes and redoing earlier ones, whether complete replacements or something less ambitious (Figure 16). Perhaps this also reflects a recognition that the corpus of Classical literature is finite, and that a principle of diminishing returns has become relevant in the consideration of other texts to be



Figure 16: Two recent LCL volumes, a new edition of one first published in the series in 1924, and one entirely new: Plautus vol. 3, ed. and transl. by W. de Melo (no. 163, 2011); Galen, Method of Medicine vol. 3, ed. and transl. by I. Johnston et al. (no. 518, 2011).¹³

included: some works which have survived are not of sufficient quality as literature to warrant inclusion (a point made by Wilamowitz in his 1910 letter to Loeb: Calder 1977), or may even be felt pragmatically to be unlikely to generate sufficient sales to justify inclusion.

Goold showed discrimination in revision. Whereas his *Propertius* (no. 18, 1912; re-ed. 1990) was ‘an entirely new volume,’ with his publication in 1977 of a 3rd edition of *Ovid* vol. 3, *Metamorphoses 1-8* (no. 42, 1916) he chose to intervene only lightly since he was aware that new critical texts of the Latin were in preparation with other publishers. ‘I have everywhere sought to present the best Latin text and accommodated the English translation to it, but I have otherwise disturbed the original edition as little as possible’ (Preface, vii).

Yet however completely superseded its predecessor in the series was, as mentioned earlier the latter’s number has been retained with the new volume, whether this is a revision or a completely *de novo* book. H.G. Evelyn-White’s *Hesiod, Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (no. 57, 1914) provides a striking instance of this decision. That material is now spread across—and notably supplemented by—M.L. West’s *Homeric Hymns, Homeric apocrypha, and Vitae of Homer*, and his *Greek epic fragments* (no. 496 and 497, both 2003), combined with G.W. Most’s 2-vol. *Hesiod* (nos. 57, 503, 2006 and 2007, respectively). Three titles, West’s two and Most’s one in two volumes, constitute an expansive and welcome replacement of Evelyn-White’s single book, useful as it once was. The benefit for the series of the ‘century of papyri’ is well illustrated by the complete replacement of F.G. Allinson’s single-volume *Menander* (no. 132, 1921) with W.G. Arnott’s masterly 3-vol. set (nos. 132, 1979; 459, 1996; 460, 2000).

Let us revert to the first 25 volumes listed at the beginning of this essay. From the outset of the series previous editors had a twofold aim in their commissioning of contributions: to provide the original texts and readable translations of works that were less well known to their intended readership, and to balance this with the inclusion of ‘evergreen’ works which would guarantee sales for the series as a whole. In the latter category, of Latin authors we see Catullus + Tibullus, some Cicero, and Propertius among the first two dozen, matched on the Greek side by Euripides and Sophocles and soon followed in the 1920s by Aeschylus (nos. 145, 146) and Aristophanes (nos. 178-180), and some Aristotle for the Greek. More noteworthy is the first category, however: texts not so familiar to many readers. Hellenistic epic and Roman history by a Greek writer inaugurated the series. Second Sophistic writers have a marked presence, constituting one-third of the first two dozen volumes: Julian, Philostratus and Lucian in addition to Appian.

Perhaps it was the first editors’ own idea to include the *Apostolic Fathers* very early in the series, unless they took a leaf out of the book of the Egypt Exploration

Society which from vol. 1 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1898) included some Christian texts both because of their importance *per se* and also in recognition that those interested in Bible and the development of the Church would be eager readers and subscribers to the series no less than Classicists. The 2-vol. *Apostolic Fathers* were followed immediately after the War by G. Butterworth’s *Clement of Alexandria* (no. 92, 1919); and *Eusebius’ HE* followed a few years later in 1926 (nos. 153, 265). One brief Eusebian text had already been included in 1912 as a supplement in *Philostratus, Vita Apolloni* vol. 2. As for texts of Christian Late Antiquity and the early Medieval period, Augustine’s *Confessions* appeared in the very first year of the LCL’s existence (nos. 26-27, both 1912); and Bede was also up high in the list, appearing before the series’ second decade was over (nos. 246, 248, both 1930). However, the need for more than a few representative Christian texts may be felt to be less urgent today (and even at the outset of the LCL a century ago), in view of the appearance of fine series in Europe covering this zone from AD II onwards, such as *Sources chrétiennes* (SC) and *Griechische christliche Schriftsteller* (GCS), to say nothing of specially focused series such as the *Gregorii Nysseni opera* (GNO). The first of these began in 1942 as an initiative by French Jesuits and comprises over 500 volumes in bilingual editions. Its success provided the model for a similar German series, *Fontes Christianae*. The GCS was established in 1891 by two formidable scholars at Berlin, the pre-eminent German Church historian A. von Harnack and the Roman jurist and historian T. Mommsen, two decades before the LCL began. Another Classical Philologist, W. Jaeger (who completed his career at Harvard), initiated the GNO in 1921.

Boethius on the Latin side (no. 74, 1918; new edition 1973) and *Procopius* on the Greek (7 vols; vol. 1 no. 48, 1914; vol. 7 no. 348, 1940) show that the writers of the Byzantine period were also on the editors’ radar from very early in the LCL’s life. Yet the series pulled back from its original remit to cover Greek and Latin literature right through to the fall of Constantinople as envisaged by Loeb. The General Editors must quite early have adjudged it unrealistic, since if any specific contributions of such late date were ever considered they never reached publication in the series. Although pared back, this still-extensive program clearly conceived from the outset is impressive given the intention of the series to provide good quality, readable translations and serviceable original texts. On the new HUP initiative to produce medieval texts in a format modelled on the LCL, see §§11.ii, and 12.ii below.

11. Gaps?

Anyone may have a personal wish-list of works to be added to a series such as the LCL; but that needs to be tempered by balancing it against the aim of the series, and other factors such as overlap with other enterprises. Nevertheless, some areas of ancient Greek and Latin

writing are curious for their neglect by the LCL. It seems to me that in some zones at least the LCL has not yet quarried all that is worth extracting from available Greek and Latin texts—though there may be good reasons why this is so.

i. Medicine may be felt to be a case in point. Celsus and Hippocrates both feature, but until late 2011 only one volume had appeared in the LCL to represent the super-prolific Galen. A.J. Brock's translation of the *Natural Faculties* (no. 71, 1916) remains a fine piece of work after almost a century, but was a foundation never built upon in the series. Lack of medical expertise by most Classicists, and conversely the lack of training in Classical languages by most doctors today, accounts for this in part, at least. The Budé series, however, is well under way with high quality volumes devoted to his medical *oeuvre*, just as it has done for Hippocrates. Cambridge University Press has announced plans to publish translations of the entire Galenic corpus under the general editorship of P. van der Eijk, and with financial undergirding from the Wellcome Institute. Yet there is certainly room for more of Galen's treatises in the LCL. Some of his less directly medical works would have a much wider readership, among them the *peri alupias* (*On not grieving*), its Greek text rediscovered at a monastery in Thessalonike during the last decade and already the object of intense scholarly discussion (most recently, and with considerable bibliography, Nicholls 2011). And given that Galen *philosophicus* rather than *medicus* has become the focus of the renaissance of interest in him over the last two decades (Barnes and Jouanna 2003; Hankinson 2008), at least some of those works might be considered. Yet the great works which formed his so-called medical 'canon' should not be lost to sight, as risks becoming the case today—the Loeb series has a distinctive role to play in this regard: saving significantly influential ancient works from oblivion in an age where there is not the same interest in them currently as formerly, perhaps because they are not primarily 'high' literature. Yet it would be right to ask: how much Galen? For the first near-century of the LCL's existence one work was felt sufficient. The centenary year has been marked by the appearance of another of Galen's most influential works, the *Method of Medicine*. Over 60 Loeb volumes would be needed to cover all of his treatises which survive in Greek, for it has been estimated that these works comprise c. 12% of all Greek literature (excluding the Fathers) down to AD II (Boudon-Millot 2007: xcii, ccxxxi).

ii. The LCL does not provide a great deal of Jewish texts: Philo and Josephus are the core. One welcome item would be Ezekiel's *Exagoge*, the only surviving (but fragmentary) tragedy from the Hellenistic period. Its very survival is due to Eusebius quoting it. Since Jacobson's fine edition (1993) is out of print, this would be a short text to include together with other fragmentary material, whether literary Hellenistica, or Judaica, or fragments of tragedy by others than the 'famous three.'

Selections from the Septuagint (or why not the whole of it?), the world's first great translation, also recommends itself for several reasons. The texts which make it up are varied in genre, the translation was made during a period of pivotal linguistic change in the Greek language, illustrating such phenomena as bilingual interference between languages in contact with one another, are interesting historically and for their influence on later writers, both Jewish and Christian. The argument for it to be included is strengthened by the fact that HUP's new series inaugurated in 2010, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (DOML)*, has included Jerome's Vulgate amongst its very first volumes; and the Septuagint was equally significant, though in different respects. The only complete translation available in English appears to be Bagster's version from the 19th century. The Göttingen editions provide a generally excellent critical text, though there is also Rahlfs' text, produced by a single mind.

iii. Mention of Eusebius makes it pertinent to consider as well some more of his writings than the *Church History* and the tract replying to Hierocles appropriately included in *Philostratus* vol. 3. Similarly, just as some early Christian writers (Tertullian, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Apostolic Fathers, Basil) are represented, so if the series is looking to expand its net in this zone, maybe Hippolytus, Irenaeus and Justin Martyr are candidates. It remains to be seen whether, for the later period of chronological overlap between the LCL and *DOML*, the two series will devise an accommodation such that the latter focuses on Christian texts, the former on non-Christian ones.

iv. At the very outset of the LCL's history, the *Apostolic Fathers* volumes were an intriguing choice to include. Yet no one would have thought of including the New Testament then in view of the number of translations available, and the Westcott and Hort critical text—to say nothing of Nestlé. Some might say that that situation is even more true now. Yet it is an oddity that these texts remain excluded from the LCL. On linguistic and historical grounds, the variety in genre they exhibit, resonances with the contemporary cultures of Rome and of Judaism, and sheer influence on Western literature, the case for inclusion is hard to deny. Perhaps it is time to get a Classicist to contribute a volume devoted to this set of texts in a manner which reflects the cross-fertilising benefits of the 'Antike und Christentum' approach exemplified long ago in the early 20th-century studies of F.J. Dölger and others after him such as T. Klauser and W. Speyer—not that this has been a narrowly German phenomenon. In its enlarged range, the approach taken by *Der Neue Pauly* reflects, even in its title modified to contrast with the old Pauly-Wissowa, a change in Classical Studies which continues to gather momentum: a change to greater openness to notions of reception, and of contact (and rejection of contact). It would be a fascinating challenge for someone to translate the New Testament in a specifically context-related manner rather

than on behalf of a ‘cause.’ Those who knew Stewart might imagine him to have been very open to such an undertaking.

v. Aesop (including the *Life*) is a rather different kind of text that would not be easy for everyone to locate, even though discussion of him lies at the heart of Perry’s *Babrius and Phaedrus* (no. 436, 1965); and renewed interest in the Greek novel for more than a generation now means that the LCL could catch that wave with further volumes in that zone (Heliodorus is underway) to supplement Longus, Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton, to the benefit of its readers.

vi. More non-literary texts would undoubtedly be of value in maintaining a wideranging list for the LCL. May this be felt to militate against the original vision to make literature available? Well, yes; but shifts of other kinds offer a precedent; and, after all, by far most of the new Greek and Latin texts that are found nowadays are inscriptions and papyri.

vii. Works devoted to some other areas have not found much place in the series hitherto: music provides one example. Plutarch *Moralia* vol. 14 (no. 428, 1967f) includes an essay ‘On music.’ It would be appropriate to have several of the texts of Philodemus included, such as *de musica* (Neubecker 1986, with Delattre 1989) and *de pietate* (Obbink 1998).

viii. A volume with a selection of material from ancient grammarians might be felt useful provided it has a clear focus, eg, on the debate about Atticism, or dialects.

ix. A volume sampling commentaries on and *scholia* to certain well known authors and texts (epic, drama) would be useful, and of interest not only to those concerned with literary and historical matters, but also to those for whom the burgeoning area of reception studies appeals. Servius on Virgil is a case in point; and Professor Henderson tells me (email 2/1/12) that Asconius on Cicero is spoken for. It is true that such volumes will never be best sellers, but that was never the *raison d’être* for decisions about what to include. To make texts such as these available to those with catholic interests in antiquity and not solely in ‘canonical’ literature is an important service which the series has long provided. The best sellers will continue to subsidise the others.

12. Innovations, and influence

i. The LCL is going digital from 2011, though it is not abandoning the print version. Indeed, it was suggested by one speaker at the centenary dinner that the printed book still remains the best way to ensure the survival of texts. Digital copies mean that typographical errors can be easily corrected and then applied to a reprint of the book copy. This serves as a continuing guarantee of quality, without opening the door to wholesale rewriting by the contributor.

ii. The impact of the series has stretched beyond Classics. The bilingual, portable and accessible format has been

recognised as a model for other projects, either underway (Sanskrit, Renaissance and Medieval texts) or in prospect (Arabic and Chinese texts). The Clay Sanskrit Library was established by a philanthropist who had studied both Classics and Sanskrit. He consciously took the LCL as his model, and delegated to others the task of producing in five years (2005-09, though there was a lead-time of several years before the publication of the first book) about 50 volumes spanning two millennia of Classical Sanskrit literature—drama, poetry, satire, novel, epic. The Sanskrit text was transliterated in preference to printing the Devanagari script, standing opposite the English translation. That Project has now ceased, but is being replaced by a new enterprise, thanks again to individual philanthropy. The Murty Classical Library of India is to be published by HUP, and the first volumes are scheduled to appear in 2014, the centenary year of HUP. Apart from this Sanskrit project, the *I Tatti* Renaissance series has been underway for a decade, since 2001; and most recently the *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (DOML)* started in 2010 with 15 volumes already published or announced. The latter enterprise consciously aims to ‘plug the chronological gap’ between the LCL and *I Tatti*. That being the case, LCL still has room for Christian works (cf. §11.iii above) since it already includes material as late as Bede. The influence of the LCL format and ambition is patent in these series all published by HUP. That being the case, Stewart and Goold’s resuscitation of the LCL in the mid-1970s can be seen to have been all the more significant: had the LCL died then, perhaps its ‘offspring’ series would never have seen the light.

iii. In an attempt to reach a broader readership again, a volume has appeared in recent years which provides an anthology of ‘purple passages.’ *A Loeb Classical Library Reader* appeared in 2006, with facing-page parallel texts as usual, but here comprising selections from both Greek and Latin writers ranging across many centuries (Homer to Jerome) and numerous genres. In other ways, too, it strikes out in different directions from the typical LCL volume: paperback, not hardcover, many fewer pages than ‘normal’, much cheaper than the standard (and very moderate) price for the LCL series, and a great cover offering a Classical world impression (Colosseum, Greek temple façade, etc.) which resonates with Bruegel’s famous ‘Tower of Babel’ painting. Such ‘tasters’ are well worth pursuing if they can be marketed to a wider range of shops than those which traditionally stock the LCL, and ‘trail the coat’ to draw readers on to discover entire texts in the series.

iv. Some volumes include marginal summaries to the text, but this innovation—though it was urged by Wilamowitz in his letter of 1910 to Loeb (Calder 1977: 322), it is unlikely that he was the inspiration for it as this feature appears in too few volumes—was not widely employed, nor always retained in a re-edition. One example is provided by a very early volume in the series, [*St John Damascene*], *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (no. 34, 1914)

contributed by G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, with a new introduction by D.M. Lang (1967). This feature was retained in the 2nd edition of *Lucretius*, and is found also in *Josephus*. B. Ehrman's replacement of K. Lake's 2 vol. *Apostolic Fathers* dispenses with the marginal summaries of the first edition.

v. *Josephus* vol. 9 was originally designated on each title page of that author's set to be the final one, but this made the volume 'for a series based on the principle of uniformity, disproportionately large' (G.P. Goold, Foreword to vol. 10). So vol. 10 comprised material separated from a reprinted vol. 9 (1981) into a new volume, which had initially (1965) contained over 800 pages, including L.H. Feldman's General Index of over 200 pages. In fact, there were consequences for the entire *Josephus* set. For example, H. St. J. Thackeray's *Josephus* vol. 2 (no. 203, 1927) originally contained *Jewish War* books 1-3, but under the replanning of the set now comprises books 1-2 only. Vol. 3 was also published in 1927 and contained *JW* books 4-7; but the reallocation means it now contains only bks 3-4. The new LCL number (487) for this volume reflects the 'intercalation' of an additional four volumes under the replanning of the set: the originally conceived nine volumes became thirteen. With such major rejigging of an entire set of volumes, it is not surprising that some 'glitches' slipped by for a time. What is clearly vol. 9 (see Foreword to vol. 10) remained for a while printed as vol. XII on the page preceding the title page, the spine and the dust jacket. Though there seems to be no other instance of such large-scale redevising of an ancient writer's multi-volume set, this is not the sole instance of volume-splitting due to a perception of unwieldy size. *Minor Latin Poets* (no. 284, 1934, repr. 1935) also had over 800 pages, but was separated into two volumes in the late 1970s, as vol. 2's LCL number 434 shows. Despite the largely (though not entirely) damning strictures of at least one reviewer (Housman 1936), the contents of this work remained unmodified at the time of division into two volumes; perhaps this should be put down to the financial stringencies at the time. Yet several volumes with a little more than 700 pages published much earlier continue to be reprinted unchanged: eg *Oppian, Colluthus and Tryphiodorus* (no. 219, 1928), and *Cicero* vol. 7 (no. 293, 1935). For Goold the 'disproportionately large' determinant must have been somewhere between 700 and 800 pages.

vi. Goold added a laconic list of the stories contained in each book of *Ovid, Metamorphoses* (no. 42; 3rd edn 1977): brief but judicious as an aid to the Loeb reader who may feel overwhelmed by the sheer range of the *Met*.

13. Projects and experimental features abandoned

i. Mention has already been made of the cancellation by HUP of the contract for a volume of Christian papyri in the LCL. That this was not the only instance is no surprise if the goal was to regain financial viability and stability

for the series. In fact, as Professor Henderson informs me (email 4/12/2011), Stewart and Goold cancelled all contracts to make a fresh start with the series. Three further instances must suffice.

a. Well before Shackleton Bailey produced *Valerius Maximus* in 2000 (2 vols., nos. 492, 493), the earlier, publicly announced plan by C.J. Carter to produce it came to nothing (Wardle 2001); and we may infer it was another victim of the 1970s belt-tightening. Once the revived series was flourishing, however, the *Valerius* project went ahead; but by that time a generation had passed, Carter had apparently moved on, and the task was allocated to another.

b. C.A. Behr's *Aristides* (no. 458, 1973) is also a telling example. This book's title page is specified as vol. 1, its title is 'Aristides in four volumes,' and it contains Aelius Aristides' first two speeches. Yet no subsequent volumes appeared, although it is quite clear that Behr expected they would (Introduction xviii; cf. Behr 1986: vii).

Because of lack of space, I shall ... detail only the factors upon which I have based the text of ors. [= orations] i and ii. In the ensuing volumes, I shall supply the [MSS] information pertinent to the writings contained therein.

Instead, within a decade Behr was publishing with Brill most of the rest of what was obviously intended for the Loeb series.¹⁴ The orphan *Aristides* LCL volume is not traceable on the HUP website for the LCL, and may be the exception which proves the rule, that all LCL volumes are to be kept in print. The subsequent publication with Brill may have been felt to obviate the need to retain the Loeb volume. The no. 458 was reassigned to C.P. Jones' new, third vol. for *Apollonius of Tyana* (2006).

c. Similarly, A.H. Sommerstein was under way with preparing replacement volumes for Rogers' *Aristophanes*; but the difficult period in the 1970s meant this was put on hold, and consequently he published his editions with Aris and Phillips (Sommerstein 2006). Once HUP was in a position to reconsider the replacement of *Aristophanes* for the LCL, Sommerstein was thus no longer available, and J. Henderson undertook the task. Sommerstein later re-edited the LCL *Aeschylus* (nos. 145, 146, 505, all 2008), contributed originally by H. Weir Smyth in the 1920s.

The *Aristophanes* and *Valerius Maximus* projects show that the LCL still wanted these volumes to be done; but in the mid 1970s it was a case of the stars not being in alignment.

ii. Loeb had originally hoped to include the *Church Fathers*, but only a small scatter of volumes reflects that ambition (Calder 1977: 323 n. 30). He may have been influenced to rein in this area by Wilamowitz' negative reaction to that prospect in his letter of 1910 to Loeb (Calder 1977: 322).

Once financial stability was achieved, positive longer-term planning could begin. Professor Henderson informs me (email 2/1/12) that, ‘In 1990/91 Stewart and Goold commissioned a group of some 30 scholars to evaluate and grade each volume of the Library, and their assessments still guide our priorities for replacement and revision ...’

14. Inconsistencies

Under Henderson’s editorial hand, there has been a strong and effective move to achieve consistency in layout (e.g. fonts, the many changes over the years to the page preceding the title page, containing the previous editors, the LCL number), orthography (now American), removal of the list of back titles at the end of the volume, etc. This has become an imperative since the decision was taken to digitise the series. All this, and more, is very welcome. The lack of overall consistency was due to several factors: General Editors (and a plurality of them at times) on two continents where different orthographic and idiomatic conventions applied; the sheer multitude of contributors each understandably wanting their volume’s idiosyncratic features (photos, maps, drawings) handled well; the change of publisher; financial constraints affecting paperweight, density of text on the page, space for notes, etc. With the death of Goold in 2001, however, all editors’ names other than the current one were from 2003 removed from the page preceding the title page. This cleans up the page, certainly, but is nevertheless a matter for some regret, on historical grounds alone. Many a Classics journal provides the precedent for retention by continuing to name its founding editor well after his decease. Apart from this small demur, Henderson’s achievement in this overarching editorial area should not go unnoticed or unappreciated. It is a particular plus that the pages now have more ‘air,’ and especially those carrying the original text.

i. Titles of volumes sometimes vary between Latin and English for the works they contain, e.g. the Lucretius volume (no. 181, 1924; revised 1975; 2nd edn 1982) has *On the Nature of Things* on the dust jacket, but *de rerum natura* on the title page of the 2nd edition. The volume containing W.D. Hooper and H. B. Ash’s *Cato and Varro* (no. 283, 1934) reverses the inconsistency: *de re rustica* on the dust jacket, but *On Agriculture* on the title page. Some other volumes have a similar characteristic, eg *Macrobius*, *Saturnalia* and *Manilius, Astronomica*. A slip, or a deliberate device to aid the reader not proficient in the original language? Were it the latter, we should have expected more instances.

ii. At least once, authorship of an ancient text is handled inconsistently. [*St John Damascene*], *Barlaam and Ioasaph* stands on the title page of the 1967 reprint (no. 34, 1914), but the dust jacket and spine continue to imply by their lack of brackets the attribution of this work to John of Damascus.

iii. While not an inconsistency, I list here a confusing oddity in the series numbering. J.C. Rolfe’s *Cornelius Nepos* appeared in 1929, yet has the series number 467, which ought to place it several decades later. This is to be accounted for by the fact that this work was originally paired in one volume with E.S. Forster’s *Florus*. Goold must have decided on the split, as it occurred in 1984 and necessitated the allocation of a new number for the ‘new’ *Nepos* volume which was otherwise unaltered from the original. Nor is this the sole instance, as we have already seen above with J. Wight Duff and A.M. Duff’s *Minor Latin Poets*. The difference between these splits should be noted. For the latter the size of the volume was at issue. This was not relevant for *Florus* and *Nepos*, so I infer that the decision to make this split was driven by a concern that *Nepos* not be invisible, hidden away in a volume with another writer.

15. Conclusion

The Loeb Classical Library has been integral to well-educated Anglophone culture for many decades now. Its popularity has been due in no small part to the provision of the facing-page bilingual text and translation in a portable and unfussy format. Price makes the volumes attractive for individuals to buy when longstanding Classics publishers (Brill, CUP, de Gruyter, OUP, etc.) are now too expensive for individuals, and sometimes privately acknowledge that they price their books for the library market. In an increasingly competitive publishing world, where Penguin Books (as merely one widely known instance) provides a large range of translations as well, the LCL undertaking to keep all its titles in print is particularly valuable. Even though less and less students and interested readers have real control of the ancient languages, the provision of the Latin and Greek texts remain inextricable from the entire distinctive and ambitious enterprise conceived by James Loeb.

In a beguilingly written review of W.R. Paton’s *Greek Anthology* vol. 2 (no. 68, 1917) Virginia Woolf discusses the effect of Greek on us—even when available solely in translation—because of this language’s peculiar ability to speak with deep sentiment yet without sentimentality. In praising the LCL series, she observes that ‘... The existence of the amateur was recognised by the publication of this Library, and to a great extent made respectable ...’ (Woolf, 1917). When she wrote the period of the ‘amateur Classicist’ was fast coming to an end in Britain, where perhaps alone even in Anglophone countries this had been a distinctive feature to mark the social class divide. Yet we should not infer that James Loeb’s goal was to embed that attitude. Rather he recognised the difficulty of two languages whose literature was so masterfully surprising and remained so influential that it should be made available to any and all who wanted access, with whatever level of help they wanted: entirely in translation, limping through the original with the aid of sideways glances across to the translation, or reasonably (even completely) independent of the right hand page. The Loebes were not

intended for those whose proficiency in Greek and Latin was such that they could sneer at those who needed (or simply wanted) to use them. From the hundred-years' vantage point, James Loeb unwittingly provided a social benefit no less than a cultural one for Anglophone readers everywhere who had the self-educative impulse.

Before the 20th century was out, the Loeb Classical Library could rightly be regarded as one of the most influential projects for Classics worldwide. (Another has been the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, which also came to birth thanks to American private philanthropy.) This is above all because Loeb's vision had not been abandoned, to make Greek and Latin texts available to the non-specialist in a reliable translation, but with the original language on the facing page for those who wished or needed to consult it. In this regard, the LCL had a vision which differed fundamentally from another great Classics enterprise in 20th century Anglophone publishing, Penguin Classics. What made the difference was the financial undergirding which Loeb's philanthropy guaranteed for the long-term future (Figure 17). The LCL does not sit uneasily between the Oxford Classical Texts and the Penguin Classics: let no one accuse it of being neither fish nor fowl! Its own distinctive character—both scholarly *and* accessible—and the massive number and range of works it embraces have ensured it a long continuing life. The sheer number of volumes, and their variety, justifies the choice of the word 'Library' in the series title devised a century ago. Let the name James Loeb continue to be remembered as *löblich!* *Floreat ad multos annos Bibliotheca Classica Loebiensis!*

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Figure 17: James Loeb late in life.
Photo: from Wünsche and Steinhart (2009).

of Archaeology. Some information in this article has been gleaned from the Harvard University Press website for the Loeb Classical Library, but most of the analysis rests on my own examination and reflection on the various volumes in the LCL series. Permission to quote from the LCL website—some of whose information appears to be derived from Calder (1977)—was granted by Professor Richard Thomas, George Martin Lane Professor of Classics, Harvard University and the Classics member of the Board of Trustees (whose other members are Lloyd Weinreb and Michael Cronin). He and the General Editor, Jeffrey Henderson, kindly agreed to read a penultimate draft to address any errors of fact, but are of course not responsible for the interpretative comments advanced here. Alyson Lynch in her administrative role with the Dept of the Classics and with the LCL Foundation was particularly helpful in answering a number of queries, and sending photos of James Loeb and others. Appreciation is also expressed to her yokefellow in those roles, Teresa Wu.

Pictures of James Loeb included here (Figures 3, 7, 8, 17) are reproduced from R. Wünsche and M. Steinhart eds. (2009). Acknowledgement of the sources of other photos of individuals is made in the caption to the relevant Figure. Other colleagues generously gave me information on points of detail: G. Bailey, W. Briggs, K. Coleman, A.W. James, E.A. Judge, S. Lawrence, E. Minchin, C. Smith, G.R. Stanton, C.A. Stray, T. Taylor, B.H. Warmington, A. Weiss.

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Endnotes

- 1 Stewart did much to safeguard other endeavours from collapse. In particular, as the Director (1985-92) of the (Harvard) Center for Hellenic Studies based in Washington he ensured its survival when it ran into financial problems. An enduring collegial legacy was his editing of A.D. Nock's papers: *Essays on Religion in the Ancient World* (2 vols; Oxford, 1972). On Bloch, Professor of Latin at Harvard, see Jones (2008).
- 2 My tally of 513 has a small discrepancy from the LCL website which can only be accounted for in part: one number (458) is allocated to two volumes, and when the first ceased to be reprinted by LCL the number was reassigned to a new volume: see below, §13.i.b, *fin*.
- 3 Is it conceivable that the family name was originally Lob ('Praise'), later anglicised with an 'e' in America perhaps to avoid the English pronunciation of it as 'lob', though cf. the adjective löblich ('praiseworthy')?
- 4 Since the Renaissance there was plenty of precedent for parallel texts of Greek works with a Latin translation, eg K.G. Kühn's 20-vol. *Galenii omnia opera* (Leipzig, 1821-33).
- 5 The only widely available English translations (without original texts, except for a volume of Latin and Greek quotations) were provided by the 19th century Bohn Classical Library, which ran from 1848-1913, one of five discipline-based series published by H.G. Bohn (1796-1884), born in England of German descent. While frequently treated with mockery today, the Classics section was innovatory in its own right: one volume was an atlas, poets were often translated both literally and in a metrical version, indexes were included for a few multi-volume authors. The Greek : Latin ratio of the 116 volumes in the Classics series was almost 1:1 (not including the atlas, index volumes, or the *Dictionary of Latin quotations* which also contained Greek ones). It is worth contemplation whether Bohn's series title was the inspiration for James Loeb's LCL. Just before the LCL was conceived by him, the Everyman series began in 1906, and included some Classical texts in translation.
- 6 An instance of this is vol. 2 of Eusebius' *Church History*, which by this strategy could be published in the same year (1926) as vol. 1, despite a much later series number having been allocated to it in the expectation that it would appear a few years later (nos. 153, 265).
- 7 Since Wilmer is so rare and gender-unidentifiable in that spelling, the only giveaway to her gender is provided on the title page of her *Julian*: at Cambridge she had been in Girton College.
- 8 In Jones' preface (vii) to vol. 2 he states that Ormerod, at Leeds, 'was compelled to give up collaboration owing to the pressure of University teaching.' Plus ça change ...
- 9 As an aside on Rouse's *Nonnus*, his very specific date at the end of his vol. 1 Introduction alludes obliquely to the outbreak of the War a month earlier; and his preface to vol. 3 refers more directly to 'the tyrants of the world.' Such glances at contemporary events are extremely rare in the LCL. At the end of his vol. 1 Introduction, Rouse also mentions 'the Reader', presumably a reference to one of the other General Editors who ensured that another, disinterested eye looked over his contribution. Such acknowledgements of the 'behind the scenes' work of the General Editors remained uncommon until much later, during Goold's tenure.
- 10 Recognition of the quality of Whittaker's work came not only at the time, eg Downey (1971-2: 182-84). A generation later Nixon (1991: 322-33) took it as axiomatic that Whittaker's Loeb remained the benchmark.
- 11 The larger format edition by Cooley (2009) retains the portrait format, matching Latin and Greek sections (and their respective English translations below each) on facing pages (58-101). The spate of re-editions of the *Res Gestae* (three in half a decade) is striking: the next one is imminent in Mitchell and French (2012).
- 12 There are various links to be discerned between the letters of Apollonius, the *testimonia* about him, and Eusebius' tract. For instance, Apollonius' letters to Euphrates are unfriendly, if not hostile. Eusebius, who expresses positive views about Euphrates (*Reply*, 33.4), mentions that in Vespasian's time Apollonius had 'not yet' fallen out with him (33.1-3), and a little earlier (30.2) offers a reason *en passant* for the enmity between them.
- 13 Note the changed logo from the early volumes (compare Figure 6): the LCL initials are now emblazoned on Athene's shield (see Figure 1). The original logo was still being used in the early 1960s. The Athene logo began to be used by the start of the 1970s, in a smaller, less distinct form; it has also appeared from the later 1970s on the title page in place of the Heinemann logo. The logo has been slightly enlarged and sharpened up effectively in more recent years.
- 14 These publications have a complex arrangement. Behr provided a lengthy preface and some Greek texts (*Orations* 2-4), and saw into print the late F.W. Lenz's edition of the Greek texts of *Or.* 1, 5-16 (Lenz and Behr 1976-80), followed by a translation of these (Behr 1986). Already he had published a translation of *Or.* 17-53 (Behr 1981), in which he foreshadowed the appearance of the Greek text in the series already underway (1976-). Yet no Greek text of these orations has appeared, though he did provide as an appendix to the 1986 book (447-70) a list of textual changes from B. Keil's 1898 edition which are reflected in his translation. For the *scholia* to Aristides recourse must still be had to W. Dindorf's edition of 1829. For the *Sacred Tales*, Behr's translation (1968: 205-92) is based on Keil's Greek text.