

## Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to James Loeb: Two Unpublished Letters

WILLIAM MUSGRAVE CALDER III

### I. INTRODUCTION

John Williams White (1848–1917) is remembered by philologists for three books of abiding value<sup>1</sup> and by archaeologists as the imaginative and powerful first chairman (1881–1887) of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.<sup>2</sup> He deserves gratitude for another feat. His teaching<sup>3</sup> together with that of Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908)<sup>4</sup> instilled an abiding love of the classics in a Harvard undergraduate of the class of 1888, James Loeb (6 August 1867–27 May 1933).<sup>5</sup> White happily survived to see the seed he sowed bear fruit rich beyond the teacher's dreams.

American classicists have paid scant attention to their greatest benefactor. His death passed unnoticed in the classical press; his centennial was forgotten. His published biographies fill several pages.<sup>6</sup> Surviving

<sup>1</sup> *The Verse of Greek Comedy* (London, 1912); *The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston/London, 1914); and *Index Aristophaneus* (Cambridge, 1932), completed by O. J. Todd, who neglected to put White's name on the title page. Loeb had engaged White to do the Loeb Aristophanes. He died before completing it.

<sup>2</sup> See Louis E. Lord, *A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882–1942* (Cambridge, 1947), 1–48 with portrait facing p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For White as teacher see the brief note of H. W. Smyth, E. Capps, and J. C. Rolfe, *TAPA* 48 (1917) ix.

<sup>4</sup> See Kermit Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton: Apostle of Culture in a Democracy* (Cambridge, 1959). Loeb never forgot Norton's lessons in democratic liberalism and *noblesse oblige*.

<sup>5</sup> His death is falsely reported as 29 May 1933 at *Who Was Who 1929–1940* (London/New York, 1941) 822, the date of publication of the *New York Times* obituary. The error is perpetuated at Lord, 245.

<sup>6</sup> See *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 100 (New York, 1930), 73–74 with portrait; *New York Times* May 29 1933 with portrait; and *Who Was Who* (*loc. cit.*, n. 4

facts are these. James Loeb was born at 37 East 38th Street, New York City, second son of Solomon and Betty (née Gallenberg) Loeb. His father had emigrated to Cincinnati with its large German population from Worms in 1849 to work in the textile establishment of Abraham Kuhn, whose sister became his first wife. The flourishing porkpacking industry made Cincinnati, which Betty called "Porkopolis," repugnant to many Jews; and in 1865 Solomon removed to New York. In 1867, with four relatives as partners and a starting capital of \$500,000, the year of James' birth, Solomon founded the investment banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb, and Co. at 31 Nassau Street. After vigorous private tutoring, James was educated at Dr Julius Sachs' Collegiate Institute on West Fifty-ninth Street, a rigorous private school for Jewish boys, founded after the model of a German humanistic gymnasium in 1871.<sup>7</sup> Classics were the center of the curriculum; and James was well prepared to enter Harvard College in 1884, just as his brother Morris, the eccentric chemist,<sup>8</sup> had earlier done. James graduated *magna cum laude* in 1888. On the condition of graduate study in Egyptology at Paris and London, a curatorship in Egyptology at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was assured with the *venia legendi* at Harvard.<sup>9</sup> A professional career in classics was unthinkable for an American Jew of the time. Loeb became benefactor and "Privatgelehrter," living in selfimposed exile in Bavaria. Another New Yorker and Columbia graduate, Charles Waldstein (later Sir Charles Walston) (1856-1927),<sup>10</sup> emigrated to England, became a British sub-

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*supra*). For important personal details and considerable background material see Stephen Birmingham, *Our Crowd: the Great Jewish Families of New York*<sup>3</sup> (New York, 1968); henceforth cited: *Our Crowd*. (A. R. Sanborn, *Dict. Amer. Biog.* 31, New York, 1944, 503-504, has nothing of independent value.) See *infra*, n. 64.

<sup>7</sup> "Herr Doktor Sachs was a stern, Old World schoolmaster whose uniformed boys, in smart black suits and starched stand-up collars, were seldom spared the rod. He emphasized the classics, languages (including German), and Teutonic discipline." (*Our Crowd*, 160). Sachs was a man of remarkable learning if I may judge from those volumes of his library now in my own: Charles Graux, *Notices Bibliographiques et Autres Articles* (Paris, 1884) and Gottfried Kinkel and Ernst Böckel, *Arminii Koechly Opuscula Philologica*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1881-1882).

<sup>8</sup> See Theodore W. Richards, *The Scientific Work of Morris Loeb* (Cambridge, 1913) xv-xxiii for a brief life. He graduated from Harvard in 1883, took a Ph.D. in physical chemistry under August Wilhelm von Hoffmann at Berlin in 1887, was Professor of Chemistry at New York University (1891-1906). He grew increasingly eccentric (*Our Crowd*, 299-300) and retired, much like James, to his estate at Sea Bright, New Jersey.

<sup>9</sup> *Our Crowd*, 301. Cf. *infra*, n.64.

<sup>10</sup> See *Who Was Who . . . 1916-1928* (London, 1929) 1088. At age 53 Waldstein married Florence Einstein Seligman, the widow of Theodore Seligman. For his association with the American School see Lord, 415-416 *s.n.* On 4 January 1891 Waldstein

ject, and pursued a glorious career and knighthood (1912) at Cambridge on the Cam, not Charles. Milman Parry took his own life. Only the refugees of the 1930's opened tenured posts in classics to American Jews.<sup>11</sup> Munich, which granted Loeb an honorary doctorate, and Cambridge, which granted him an honorary LL.D. in 1925, must have provided a remarkable contrast to Harvard with its *numerus clausus* and required chapel. Harvard never granted him an honorary degree.

Solomon Loeb desired that his second son enter the family firm. Several months after graduation James reluctantly became a banker and in 1891 *mirabile dictu* a partner. He never found the work congenial; and his brilliant, ambitious brother-in-law, Jacob Schiff, did not seek to make it so. Exclusion of James would leave Schiff's son, Mortimer, the heir apparent. In 1901 James dutifully retired. The career of philanthropy and scholarship began, an American parallel to Englishmen like George Grote and Walter Leaf. A cellist of extraordinary virtuosity, he founded and endowed in 1904 the Institute of Musical Art in New York for the education of professional musicians, teachers, and amateurs. It was later absorbed by the Juilliard Musical Foundation in 1926 and incorporated into the Juilliard School of Music. Between 1901 and 1905 he fell in love with a Christian woman whom he wished to marry. "But the religious barrier . . . was insurmountable, and the union was considered out of the question."<sup>12</sup> A collapse ensued and in 1905 Loeb left New York for Vienna, and Professor Freud.<sup>13</sup> If so, briefly; for on 5 November 1905 Loeb is in Jena, at whose famous psychiatric clinic Nietzsche had earlier been treated. His interest in the causes of mental disease, increased by the illness of Morris and Guta Loeb Seligman, his

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delivered a Greek address at the grave of another distinguished American archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann: see Heinrich Alexander Stoll, *Abenteuer meines Lebens* (Leipzig, 1958) 373. Waldstein deserves a fullscale biography.

<sup>11</sup> See my "Die Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 11 (1966) 236, *Das Altertum* 14 (1968) 52-53, and Colin Eisler *apud* *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960*, edd. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, 1969) 621-622. Eisler's contention (622) that "Charles Waldstein's career in classics in the late nineteenth century is an exception that seems to prove Calder's 'rule'," is misleading for Waldstein was never able to hold a post within the U.S.A. For his controversial career at the School see Lord, 49-58.

<sup>12</sup> *Our Crowd*, 301. Cf. *infra*, n. 64.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, where Birmingham is following the private memoirs of Loeb's niece, Frieda Schiff Warburg. The detail that Loeb "lived in Freud's house" if true proves that Loeb visited Freud as a friend and not a patient. But Birmingham's historiography is cheerfully Suetonian and one often regrets the lack of other sources. Loeb was 53 when he married on 22 May 1921 in St Moritz, Switzerland, Marie Antonie Hambuchen née Schmidt, a Coburg banker's daughter, who predeceased him: see *Cyclopaedia*, 74.

brother and sister, led to his being "largely responsible"<sup>14</sup> for the founding and maintaining of the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie in Munich, where he soon moved. But his chief concern after retirement to his remote estate Hochried on the Staffelsee at Murnau in Bavaria, was, apart from his own collections of rare books and antiquities, to encourage scholarly and popular interest in the literature and archaeology especially of Greece and also of Rome. He was Trustee of the American School 1909 to 1930 and contributed generously to that institution.<sup>15</sup> He established the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship at Harvard for study at the School and he endowed the Charles Eliot Norton Lectureship for the Archaeological Institute of America. At his death he left half a million dollars to the Trustees of the School to be used in conducting excavations in Greece. In 1927 on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday his "archaeological friends in Germany and America" presented him with a sumptuous *Festschrift*,<sup>16</sup> devoted in part to the publication of objects in his own collection and demotic papyri purchased for the University of Munich at his cost. His American friends included George H. Chase, Harold North Fowler (an early contributor to the Loeb Library), Hetty Goldman, Stephen B. Luce (a former Norton Fellow and assistant Director of the School under Rhys Carpenter), and Gisella M. A. Richter. The first contributor was another amateur and collector, Paul Arndt. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* produced a quatrain in his honor:<sup>17</sup>

Post quinquaginta complere decem dedit annos  
 Cultori fauatrix diva Minerva suo:  
 Aetatem vegetam producat prospera promens  
 Illi, qui rebus favit adestque suis.

What of Loeb's philological interests? In course he became a member of the Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and of Roman Studies, of the Egypt Exploration Society, and of the American Philological Association. By 5 November 1905 he had completed the translation into English of the first of four French philological studies, Paul Decharme, *Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas*, ed.<sup>1</sup> (London/New York, 1906; repr. 1909). White, Loeb's "dear teacher and friend" (viii), provided an elegant introduction. In 1909 Loeb, now in Munich, translated Maurice Croiset, *Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens* (London, 1909; repr. New

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* and *Who Was Who*, 821.

<sup>15</sup> See Lord, 245-246.

<sup>16</sup> *Festschrift für James Loeb zum sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen archäologischen Freunden in Deutschland und Amerika* (München 1930).

<sup>17</sup> Published at *CR* 41 (1927) 113, with the remark: "We, too, rejoice that Mr. Loeb lives and thrives, and that his services to scholarship have found a German poet."

York, 1973), again with a magisterial introduction by White (xi-xvii), who had revised Loeb's translation and encouraged him throughout his task (v). In 1917 he published his translation of Ph. E. Legrand, *The New Greek Comedy* (London/New York, 1917) with "the delightful and scholarly Introduction" (viii) by White (ix-xvi). Loeb (viii) thanks Edward Capps (1886-1950)<sup>18</sup> for "supervising the compilation of the Index." Capps in 1914 had done detailed indexes for White's *Scholia on the Aves*. In the same year, presumably through White's suggestion to Loeb, Capps became an American editor of the Loeb Library. In 1918 he became Chairman of the Managing Committee of the School of which Loeb had been a Trustee since 1909. *Per indices ad astra*. Loeb's last translation was Auguste Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry under the First Three Ptolemies 324-222 B.C.* with a supplementary chapter by Emile Cahen (London/New York, 1931). White was long dead and Loeb's adviser was the English schoolmaster, whom he had made editor-in-chief of his Loeb Classical Library, Dr T. E. Page, who wrote an encouraging letter with a plug for the Library (viii).

In 1912 James Loeb established what his necrologer<sup>19</sup> called "probably his greatest work and the achievement for which he will be longest remembered." A brief life written during his lifetime and to a degree under his supervision describes his reasons:

Mr. Loeb has since lived abroad devoting his time, energy and means to a cause he made his own—a wider cultivation of the humanities, which are suffering neglect in the stress of modern life. His aim in seeking to revive the waning interest in the classical literature of Greece and Rome was to stimulate a new growth of idealism in men's minds in face of the inroads of commercialism that are either smothering or killing the older conceptions of culture. With this purpose he founded in 1912 the Loeb Classical Library . . .<sup>20</sup>

In his Library Loeb found an occasion to unite two passions, White's classical humanism and Norton's democratic liberalism. There is no need here to rehearse the history of the Loeb Library. The great were scornful. Gildersleeve and Housman ignored it. With a few exceptions (e.g., Sir James G. Frazer,<sup>21</sup> Sir John Sandys, H. Weir Smyth) distinguished

<sup>18</sup> See my life of Edward Capps: *Dictionary of American Biography, Supp. 4* (New York, 1974) 142-144. <sup>19</sup> *New York Times* (*supra*, n. 5).

<sup>20</sup> *National Cyclopaedia*, 73-74.

<sup>21</sup> Frazer's biographer, Robert Ackerman, kindly informs me that in a letter of 15 October 1910 to Macmillan (MS BM) Frazer reveals that Loeb has offered him the directorship of the Library at £600 per annum. Frazer would only take the post if an efficient assistant could be found and the one he wants is W. H. D. Rouse, a local schoolmaster and favorite of Lady Frazer, who indeed became a member of the editorial board.

scholars did not contribute. A. D. Nock once called it "good for the bad authors." There was emphasis on elegant rendition; and if H. R. Fairclough was typical,<sup>22</sup> candidates were carefully screened and contributors were conscientious. The Library's popularity proved its usefulness. In 1925 Cambridge granted Loeb an LL.D. because of it. By 1930 there were 230 titles. By the end of 1974 there were 465, apart from untold reprints and revisions. Profits have poured into the Harvard Classics Department and in recent years Loeb Lectures and Loeb Monographs have been supported by the sales of the Library. There are still more titles to come. The establishment of the Library entailed the investment of considerable capital. Loeb was a banker and a banker's son. One would expect that he sought advice from those most competent to provide it. Loeb lived in Munich; the greatest Hellenist in the world in Berlin.

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931) was a prodigious correspondent. For over sixty years he wrote some five letters and postcards a day. Many have already been published.<sup>23</sup> Many are still to be edited and indeed discovered. Through the kind help of Professor John P. Barron my attention was drawn to the sale of two Wilamowitz letters and a postcard in a sale at Sotheby's on 29 October 1974. The description in the catalogue read: "one (possibly all) to Professor Stenzel." The post card (see Appendix I) is to Stenzel. The addressee of the two letters is not stated. He is not an academician or Wilamowitz would have addressed him *Herr College*. The references to *my* scholarship rather than *our* scholarship in the second letter confirms this. The content of the second letter proves that the addressee is James Loeb;<sup>24</sup> especially the references to "what you have attained for scholarship through the Loeb

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But by 9 November 1910 he writes that only pecuniary difficulties would allow him seriously to consider Loeb's offer. He finally declined but throughout his life received every Loeb volume gratis. Macmillan refused to publish the Library and this was a crucial factor in Frazer's decision.

<sup>22</sup> See Henry Rushton Fairclough, *Warming Both Hands* (Stanford University/London, 1941) 253–254.

<sup>23</sup> See Hermann Dieterich and Friedrich v. Hiller, *Usener und Wilamowitz: ein Briefwechsel 1870–1905* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1934); Friedrich and Dorothea Hiller von Gaertringen, *Mommsen und Wilamowitz: Briefwechsel 1872–1903* (Berlin, 1935); William M. Calder III, "Three Unpublished Letters of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 139–166; Jürgen Dummer, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff und die Kirchenväterkommission der Berliner Akademie," *Studia Byzantina* 2 (1973) 351–387 (nineteen letters to Adolf Harnack); William M. Calder III *apud* Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *In wie weit befriedigen die Schlüsse der erhaltenen griechischen Trauerspiele?: ein ästhetischer Versuch* (Leiden, 1974) 149–158 (five Schulpforte letters).

<sup>24</sup> G. N. Knauer first saw this.

Collection" and to "your" wanting to revive Couat's book. Loeb had sent Wilamowitz a copy of his translation. That Loeb is addressee of the second letter implies that he may be of the first as well. Wilamowitz is writing a gentleman who has solicited his opinion about starting a large collection of Greek and Latin texts with facing English translations. In 1910, two years before the founding of the Library, who else but James Loeb, who like his brother Morris read and wrote German fluently, would write the great German scholar? Surely not the insular English schoolmaster, T. E. Page, a Latinist, whom Loeb had not yet chosen editor-in-chief. After Loeb's death in 1933, his stepson, Dr. J. W. Ham-buchen, was able to get his library to England.<sup>25</sup> I do not know its later fate. Loeb, like many bibliophiles, may have inserted authors' letters into his copies of their books. The letters might inadvertently have been sold with the books (I have acquired a number of scholarly letters that way) and years later found their way to the auction block.

## II. THE FIRST LETTER<sup>26</sup>

Westend-Berlin

Eichenallee 12      19 IX 10

Sehr geehrter Herr

ich muss um Entschuldigung bitten, dass ich Ihren Brief bisher nicht beantwortet habe; aber ich bin erst wenige Tage von einem Erholungsurlaub zurück und fand dringende Arbeit vor, die ich nun bei Seite lege.

Über die Bedürfnisse und die Aufnahmefähigkeit des englisch lesenden Publicums habe ich kein Urteil;<sup>27</sup> eine Anzahl Texte werden gewiss gern gelesen. Nur halte ich jede Beigabe des Originaltextes für schädlich 1) doppelter Preis 2) verdirbt es wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben den Markt, wie es die schandbaren Nachdrucke bei Migne<sup>28</sup> getan haben 3) bildet

<sup>25</sup> *Our Crowd*, 432.

<sup>26</sup> G. N. and E. R. Knauer (University of Pennsylvania) kindly transcribed the three difficult texts for me. Without their generous aid my edition would be much the poorer. I have retained the punctuation of the original. R. P. Becker has kindly controlled my translations.

<sup>27</sup> Ironic I should think; compare Wilamowitz, *Greek Historical Writing and Apollo* (Oxford, 1908) 27: "How the great public in England conceives of Apollo, I will not venture to surmise." (Translated by Gilbert Murray.)

<sup>28</sup> Jacques Paul Migne (1800-1875), a Catholic priest, who published 217 volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* (1844-1855) and 162 volumes of the *Patrologia Graeca* with Latin translation (1857-1866). The editions are uncritical and filled with printers' errors.

sich der Leser ein, er verstünde den Originaltext, obwohl er von dem nebenstehenden hypnotisiert ist.<sup>29</sup>

Aber ganz sicher bin ich, dass der Plan eine utopische Seite hat. Allein die Predigten füllen ja 10 Bücherschränke.<sup>30</sup> Und was sollen sie dem Publicum? Dazu ist ein sehr grosser Teil der erhaltenen Litteratur an sich betrachtet Schund. Wem kann man zumuten, die Declamationen von Quintilian<sup>31</sup> oder Libanios<sup>32</sup> zu lesen? (dessen Reden sehr wertvoll sind). Athenaeus<sup>33</sup> ist eine Goldgrube—aber lesen, übersetzen? Ebenso Macrobius. Ich halte auch Phot. Bibliothek übersetzt für etwas ungeheuerliches.<sup>34</sup>

Sollte nicht erst mal eine Beschränkung auf die Historiker angezeigt sein? Das ist in der Tat durchführbar und nützlich.

Aber auch da ist wissenschaftliche Arbeit nötig: man muss erfahren, was das taugt, wo das her ist, was man liest. Einleitungen, oft auch Randbemerkungen, Verweise auf die Originalautoren, Parallelen, etc. sind nötig. Es geht nun mal nicht mehr ohne Wissenschaft, und grade in England ist man in Sachen der Quellenkunde<sup>35</sup> noch sehr rückständig; da könnte das wirklich viel helfen.

Auch Plutarchs *Moralia*<sup>36</sup> sind ohne solche Beigabe nur halb so viel wert.

Ich glaube ohne sehr genaue Überlegung, Vertiefung der Anforde-

<sup>29</sup> An odd objection for Wilamowitz, who thought a translation to be an indispensable part of a commentary: see *GRBS* 11 (1970) 157–158 with n. 64. The model was Karl Otfried Müller's *Eumeniden* (Göttingen, 1833).

<sup>30</sup> Loeb's early plan included the Church Fathers.

<sup>31</sup> Wilamowitz never found Quintilian stirring reading: see *KS* 3.241. H. E. Butler edited *Inst.* for Loeb in four volumes (1921–1922). The *Declamationes* were never included in the Library (see *RE* 6, 1862.15 ff.)

<sup>32</sup> For Wilamowitz' views on Libanius' "atmosphere of dusty books, vapid clichés, and boredom" see *Kultur der Gegenwart* I.8<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912) 289. The first volume of a Loeb Libanius appeared in 1969: see *CP* 68 (1973) 74–75.

<sup>33</sup> See Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, 251: "Wenn uns die eine Handschrift seines Werkes nicht durch eine Gunst des Zufalles erhalten wäre, könnten wir eigentlich gar keine Literaturgeschichte, wenigstens der hellenistischen Zeit, unternehmen." Wilamowitz had worked closely with Georg Kaibel, who dedicated his edition of Athenaeus to him.

<sup>34</sup> Neither Macrobius nor Photius were preserved in the "Loeb Canon."

<sup>35</sup> Compare Felix Jacoby's review of Joseph Wells, *Studies in Herodotus* (Blackwell, 1923) at *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 264–268, especially (268): "Es ist traurig, dass solche Bücher geschrieben werden."

<sup>36</sup> Jacob Bernays had told Wilamowitz at Bonn: "erst wenn Sie diese Schriften [Plutarchs *Moralia*] ordentlich gelesen haben, dürfen Sie sagen: ich kann Griechisch." (*Erinnerungen*,<sup>2</sup> 88). The Loeb *Moralia*, begun by Frank Cole Babitt in 1927, is not yet complete.

rungen, Beschränkung des Umfangs kann die Unternehmung kaum realisiert werden, und sie schwerlich von nachhaltigem Nutzen sein.

Hochachtungsvoll ergebenst

U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

*Translation*

Westend, Berlin

Eichenallee 12

19 September 1910

Dear Sir:

I have to excuse myself that I have not yet answered your letter; but I am just a few days back from a restorative holiday and met with urgent work which I now am laying aside.

About the requirements and receptiveness of the English-reading public I have no opinion; a number of texts will certainly be gladly read. Only I consider any inclusion of the ancient text pernicious: 1) doubled price; 2) it ruins the market for scholarly editions, as the disgraceful Migne reprints have done; 3) the reader prides himself on understanding the ancient text, although he is hypnotized by the one across the page.

But I am quite sure that the plan has an utopian side. The sermons alone would fill some ten bookcases. And what are they to the public? Moreover, a very great part of the preserved literature considered on its own merits is trash. Whom can one expect to read the declamations of Quintilian or of Libanius? (whose speeches are very valuable). Athenaeus is a goldmine—but to read him? to translate him? Same with Macrobius. I also consider Photius' *Library* translated something monstrous.

Ought not first of all confinement to the historians be considered advisable? That in fact is practicable and useful.

But there too scholarly work is necessary: one must learn what one's reading is worth, its source. Introductions, often marginal notes too, references to the ancient authors, parallels, etc. are necessary. One can't do it anymore without scholarship, and in England particularly in the matter of sources people are still very backward; in this respect that could really help a lot.

Plutarch's *Moralia* too without such supplementary matter are only half so valuable.

I believe that without very careful reflection, stiffening of the demands, and limiting of its range, the undertaking can scarcely be realized, and can with difficulty be of permanent value.

Sincerely yours,

U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Wilamowitz' criticism must have discouraged Loeb. We do not know if he replied. No Loeb letters are preserved in the *Nachlass*. Translation, "twenty-five centuries of authors," and a minimum of scholarly apparatus were fundamental to Loeb's plan. But Wilamowitz had recently been to England (1908), visited Oxford which from Magdalen Tower he called a "Lustgarten" and thought of English scholarship much as Gildersleeve did, a hobby of well-intentioned, poorly educated amateurs. His collaboration with Gilbert Murray on the *OCT* Euripides only confirmed what prejudices he had.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, Loeb, the cultivated non-professional, evaluated the needs of his class more realistically than Wilamowitz ever could. Prophetically he foresaw a decline of classical education so disastrous that Wilamowitz could not even conceive of it. In fifty years matters were to reach the point that if Libanius were not available in English, he could not be read by many of those professionally required to read him. Loeb translations became standard texts and errors perpetuated themselves.<sup>38</sup> Modern translations came to be not new translations of the ancient text but the Loeb translation in modern dress often with errors added.<sup>39</sup>

Wilamowitz was right that text and translation increased the price. But the increase was worth it; and the series was subsidized. Surely Loeb editions cut down the purchase of Teubners by American buyers considerably, although often the Loeb text was simply a reprint of the Teubner text stripped of its *apparatus criticus*. He was surely right that the convenient translation caused a hypnotized reader to fit English into the ancient text rather than extract meaning from the Greek or Latin. The Library has contributed to the loss of linguistic expertise among its readers but it has also saved many ancient authors, even those of the calibre of Pausanias, Plutarch, and Polybius from near oblivion. A good deal of valuable lectures and articles have been based on Loeb translations and not only by archaeologists and ancient historians. Oddly recent editions (e.g., Herodian) have been much more in the Wilamowitzian manner than early ones (e.g., Herodotus and Thucydides), still directed by Loeb and his early editors. The suggestion to stress the historians at the start was to a degree followed. The under-

<sup>37</sup> He writes to Kaibel (1 July 1901): "Dabei schickt mir mein englischer Freund Murray von seinem Euripides die Woche ein Drama mindestens, das ist kein Spass. Er macht fast nur Unsinn, Schüler von Verrall . . . Ich denke, der erste Bogen wird sieben Dramen umfassen. Den Kyklopen tangire ich dabei nicht: da hat er ungemein viele Dummheiten gemacht." (MS Göttingen).

<sup>38</sup> For well-chosen examples see Mary R. Lefkowitz, "Cultural Conventions and the Persistence of Mistranslation," *CJ* 68 (1972), 31-38.

<sup>39</sup> See T. A. Suits, *CW* 57 (1963/1964) 280-281.

taking—in part because Wilamowitz' strictures were heeded—was largely realized and has become of permanent value.

### III. THE SECOND LETTER

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Charlottenburg 9

28 IV 31

Eichen Allee 12

Hochgeehrter Herr

Für eine grosse Liebenswürdigkeit habe ich persönlich zu danken, und ich benutze gern die Gelegenheit diesen Dank zu verallgemeinern<sup>40</sup> denn was Sie durch die Loeb-collection für die Wissenschaft erreicht haben, empfinde ich, wie jede Förderung meiner Wissenschaft<sup>41</sup> als etwas das mich persönlich zu Danke verpflichtet.

Couats Buch habe ich einst, als es erschien<sup>42</sup> mit Genuss an der geschickten Form und Freude an der französischen Grazie des Urteils gelesen. Positiv gefördert habe ich mich nicht<sup>43</sup> gefühlt. Da war überall in der Detailarbeit [sic] noch zu viel zu tun.<sup>44</sup> Jetzt ist von dieser nicht wenig, aber lange nicht genug getan, und die Entdeckungen auf allen Gebieten haben den ganzen Stand unseres Wissens geändert. Historisch sehen wir die Zeit sehr viel klarer, für die Dichter ist von entscheidender

<sup>40</sup> This is consistent with a view that Wilamowitz had not corresponded with Loeb since the first letter of 1910.

<sup>41</sup> "meiner Wissenschaft" is revealing. The idea is not so much "my field" as "the big business of scholarship" ("Der Grossbetrieb der Wissenschaft"): see *Geschichte der Philologie*<sup>4</sup> (Leipzig, 1959) 71 and *KS* 6.72. The whole conception of classical scholarship as an international cartel with Mommsen and Wilamowitz among its directors follows the analogy of capitalism.

<sup>42</sup> Paris, 1882.

<sup>43</sup> I have deleted a second *gefördert* after *nicht*. Wilamowitz is eighty-two years old. There are several slips.

<sup>44</sup> Compare E. A. Barber, *CR* 46 (1932) 164: "Since 1882 the papyri have vastly increased our knowledge of Alexandrian poetry. Hence many of Couat's detailed judgments require serious modification, while portions of his work—e.g., that dealing with the chronology—are antiquated, but his criticism as a whole still holds good." The view of Wilamowitz' greatest Hellenistic student, Rudolf Pfeiffer, may reflect the teacher's; see R. Pfeiffer, *Ausgewählte Schriften: Aufsätze und Vorträge zur griechischen Dichtung und zum Humanismus*, ed. Winfried Bühler (Munich, 1960) 151: "Retaining the old description 'Alexandrian', he tried hard to bring that poetry to life again, not as a dry philologist, but as he claims as *un ami des lettres anciennes*. The reward for his labours was unique; his book, which was out of date shortly after its appearance, had fifty years afterwards, in 1931, the great privilege of being translated into English by Dr. James Loeb, the ἥρωας ἐπώνυμος of the Loeb library and once an honorary member of my university [Munich]."

Bedeutung, dass Arsinoes Tod datiert ist,<sup>45</sup> ihr Kultus genau bestimmt. Kallimachos ist durch das Lied auf ihren Tod<sup>46</sup> und den Prolog<sup>47</sup> der zweiten Ausgabe der *Aitia* erst eine wirkliche Person geworden. Was kann uns jetzt eine Behandlung des Epigramms ohne die inschriftlich erhaltenen lehren?<sup>48</sup> Ganz abgesehen davon, dass nun eine Anzahl von Personen herausgearbeitet sind [*sic*], und da sich Unterschiede von Landschaften und ihren Stilen ergeben haben, ist hier wie überhaupt die einst geltende Generalisierung der 'alexandrinischen Dichtung' aufgegeben.<sup>49</sup>

Da war ich zuerst verwundert, dass Sie das Buch erneuern wollten.<sup>50</sup> Aber bei längerer Überlegung glaube ich es doch zu verstehen.<sup>51</sup> Es ist nicht zu leugnen, dass England und Amerika für diese ganze Periode der Dichtung, von der die Römer sehr stark abhängen, ausser etwa Apollonios<sup>52</sup> kein Interesse zeigt [*sic*], während die hellenistische Ge-

<sup>45</sup> To 9 July 270 B.C.: see Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* I (Berlin, 1924) 193 and R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien* (Munich, 1922) 8. R. Bagnall kindly adds *per litt.*: "The year and month come from the Mendes Stele, a hieroglyphic document of which the standard edition seems to be K. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* Abt. II, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* II (Leipzig, 1904) 40. The stele indicates that Arsinoe joined the gods in Pachons, year 15, i.e., June-July 270. The day is provided by the indication that it was the full moon; the source for this is the passage of Callimachus, *Apoth. of Arsinoe*, discussed by Wilamowitz." Cahen, *apud* Couat-Loeb, 567-568, says nothing of the date. <sup>46</sup> Frag. 228 Pf.

<sup>47</sup> Frag. 1 Pf. The chief evidence for a second edition is the revision of the *Coma* (frag. 110 Pf.) for inclusion in *Aitia IV* and frag. 112.9 Pf.

<sup>48</sup> For a comparison of Callim. Epigr. 10 with Alexandrian funerary inscriptions see Wilamowitz, *HellDich* I.176 with n. 3 and more generally *HellDich* I.123 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Compare Wilamowitz, *HellDich* I.2: "Allein es genügt nicht, drei Jahrhunderte unter dem Namen des Hellenismus zusammenzufassen, wir müssen innerhalb desselben Perioden unterscheiden."; and Pfeiffer, *Schriften*, 152: "there was no such unity in the poetical production of the age... Scholars like Wilamowitz... attacked and even ridiculed the current opinion and championed a much more realistic view showing the variety, the individualism and formalism, the modernity, and sometimes even the originality and progressiveness of the epoch."

<sup>50</sup> Now almost half a century old (1882-1931).

<sup>51</sup> Pfeiffer, *Schriften*, 152 had a different explanation for the success of Loeb's translation: "So it was not only its elegant Form [Wilamowitz' word!] which made Couat's book attractive, but still more its uniform conception which, as 'romantic', appealed to the modern mind. Nobody after Couat produced anything similar; that explains its surprising revival in our own time. Hellenistic poetry, rejected by classicism, seemed to be justified by late romanticism." More generally see H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The Romantic Movement and the Study of History," *The John Coffin Memorial Lecture 1969* (London, 1969).

<sup>52</sup> Edward Fitch, later professor at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York (d. 15 April 1946), Wilamowitz' American doctoral student, wrote his dissertation on the theme *De Argonautarum reditu quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Göttingen, 1896); cf. his able "The

schichte ganz ausgezeichnete Forscher in Ferguson,<sup>53</sup> Tarn<sup>54</sup> und anderen hat. Da kann eine geschmackvolle Darstellung, auch wenn sie von der Wissenschaft überholt ist, eine Anregung geben; der Nachtrag von Cahen zeigt wenigstens, wie viel hinzugekommen ist, allerdings nur den materiellen Zuwachs.

Da ich selbst mein Leben lang auf diesem Gebiete gearbeitet habe<sup>55</sup> und es übersehe, konnte ich dies nicht zurückhalten. Meine persönliche Dankbarkeit mindert es nicht, und ich freue mich, meiner längst gehegten Bewunderung für Ihre Förderung meiner Wissenschaft Ausdruck geben zu können.

In grösster Hochachtung  
ganz ergebenst

Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

*Translation*

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

Charlottenburg 9

Eichen Allee 12

28 April 1931

Dear Sir:

I have to thank you personally for a great kindness, and I gladly use the opportunity for general thanks; for what you have attained for scholarship

Proprieties of Epic Speech in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius," *TAPA* 33 (1902) lix–lxi and "Apollonius Rhodius and Cyzicus," *AJP* 33 (1912) 43–56. Wilamowitz cites a suggestion of his own for ApRhod 4.289 from Fitch's dissertation at *HellDich* 2.186.1. Fitch reviewed *HellDich* at *AJP* 47 (1926) 383–386 as he earlier had *Bucolici Graeci* and *Die Textgeschichte der griech. Bukoliker* at *AJP* 27 (1906) 336–341. He published a brief memoir of his other Göttingen teacher F. Leo at *CW* 8 (1914/1915) 40. Surely Fitch is in Wilamowitz' mind here: see *Erinnerungen*<sup>2</sup>, 226: "Der Amerikaner E. Fitch promovierte sogar mit einer wertvollen Dissertation und ist mir noch heute ein guter Freund, wohl der einzige drüben, der die hellenistischen Dichter wirklich kennt." Cf. *infra*, n. 64.

<sup>53</sup> William Scott Ferguson (1875–1954), McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Harvard: see S. Dow, *AJA* 58 (1954) 333–334 and *AHR* 60 (1954) 253. For his bibliography see *HSCP* 51 (1940) 1–9 with the supplement at *Gnomon* 27 (1955) 61. There is a portrait at *HSCP* 51 (1940) frontispiece. Ferguson as a young post-doctoral scholar visited Berlin (1899–1900) and "must have been both gratified and embarrassed to hear the great Wilamowitz refer in his lectures to 'Ferguson's discovery', which was presently to be known as 'Ferguson's Law'" (S. Dow, *HUGaz* 25 Dec. 1954). He possessed both Wilamowitz' *Kultur der Gegenwart* volumes. Wilamowitz here recalls Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), made known in Germany by the favorable review of W. Otto, *GGA* 176 (1914) 633–662.

<sup>54</sup> Sir William Tarn (1869–1958): see F. E. Adcock, *Gnomon* 30 (1958) 317–319 and *PBA* 44 (1958) 253–262 with portrait and bibliography.

<sup>55</sup> For Wilamowitz' work in Hellenistic poetry see the bibliography at *KS* 2.284–285 together with the ten articles republished in that volume. They extend from 1878 to 1929. Pfeiffer summarizes Wilamowitz' Hellenistic contributions, *Schriften*, 152, 273.

through the Loeb Collection, I feel, as with every encouragement of my scholarship, as something which commits me personally to thanks.

Couat's book I read once when it appeared with pleasure in its clever form and delight in its French elegance of appraisal. I never felt myself actually improved. Everywhere there was still too much to be done in the details. Now of this there is not little done but by far not enough; and discoveries in all fields have changed the entire state of our knowledge. Historically we see the period a good deal more clearly; for the poets it is of decisive importance that Arsinoe's death is dated, her cult exactly fixed. Kallimachos, only through the poem on her death and the prologue of the second edition of the *Aitia*, has become a real personality. What can a treatment of the epigram without those preserved on stone teach us now? Quite apart from the facts that now a number of individuals have been distinguished and because differences of localities and their styles have resulted, here, as everywhere, the once current generalisation of "Alexandrian poetry" has been given up.

I first wondered, therefore, that you wanted to revive the book. But with longer consideration I think I do understand it. One cannot deny that for this whole period of poetry, on which the Romans very strongly depend, England and America—except perhaps for Apollonios—show no interest, while Hellenistic History has most excellent scholars in Ferguson, Tarn, and others. Thus, a tasteful presentation, even if superseded by scholarship, can provide stimulation; the supplement by Cahen shows at least how much has been added, though only as far as the increase of material goes

Because I myself have worked my life long in this field and am familiar with the whole, I could not avoid saying this. My personal gratitude is not diminished; and I am delighted to be able to express my long cherished admiration for your encouragement of my scholarship.

With greatest esteem,

Sincerely yours,

Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff

This letter is the last of substance preserved. A brief personal letter of 7 July 1931 to A. B. Drachmann and a postcard of 20 May 1931 to F. Solmsen are the only later two known to me. Some days before 9 June 1931 Wilamowitz collapsed in the Berlin heat, and was confined, often bedridden, to his home with what he calls in his letter to Drachmann "Nierenkolik." I doubt if many letters were written after 19 June. "The stage extorts a speedy end. Life is crueler. It goes on after the fifth act."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Wilamowitz, *Platon I*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin, 1920) 653, a passage written with autobiographical intensity.

In certain cases his surviving son, Hermann, wrote for him. The last summer until his death on 25 September 1931<sup>57</sup> was devoted desperately to *Glaube der Hellenen*.<sup>58</sup> No strength could be lost for personal correspondence.

On the other hand, Wilamowitz always carefully read and acknowledged the flood of offprints and books mailed him by scholars greedy for his praise throughout the world. After 1918 he was especially sensitive to relations with foreign scholars, and felt acutely and personally the disdain with which Germans were often treated abroad. Fitch had remained loyal. The kindness of his Danish friends, especially Drachmann, was a joy of his later years. Their warm correspondence has largely survived. Gilbert Murray was not forgiven<sup>59</sup> for breaking off contact. Wilamowitz had inflamed his fellow Berliners by citing a silly play of Murray's (*Carlyon Sahib*), presented Wilamowitz in cheerier days, in speeches in the townhall at Charlottenburg.<sup>60</sup> The militant pacifist was unforgiving.

James Loeb would have been a remarkable case. An American germanophile, married to a German woman, at considerable peril to himself, had survived in Bavaria throughout the war and the revolution, reconstruction, and inflation that followed. He deserved a polite reply. But Wilamowitz was ever candid. He could be brutally so. And he despised the French; hence the truth about Couat. Yet Wilamowitz is able to evaluate the book in terms of the readers for which it is intended and compliments Loeb for his decision to revive it. He tactfully chooses two scholars for mention. Tarn, like Loeb, is a wealthy gentleman-scholar, of Loeb's age, working on his estate with a great private library and unattached to a university. Ferguson is professor at Loeb's beloved *alma mater*. Gratitude twice expressed for the Loeb Library is a kind of apology for the negative reply of 1910. Wilamowitz had not been altogether right. There was something more. With their different origins and careers the two old men were profoundly alike. Wilamowitz, embittered and lonely, who signed his letters *depontanus*, had become an anachronism, an expatriate in a country no longer his. He wrote<sup>61</sup> that he lived in a Platonic kingdom of eternal forms which he served with his scholarship.

<sup>57</sup> Not 25 April 1931, as Giorgio Pasquali, *Pagine stravaganti*, ed. G. P. Carratelli, I (Florence, 1968) 65 n.

<sup>58</sup> See Günther Klaffenbach, *apud* Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I<sup>2</sup> (Basel, 1956) iii-vi and Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *apud* *Trauerspiele* (*supra* n. 23) 162-163, where the detail that he saw no proofs is not accurate. <sup>59</sup> *Erinnerungen*<sup>2</sup>, 228.

<sup>60</sup> See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden aus der Kriegszeit* (Berlin, 1915) 33-34. In Murray's play an English governor in the Himalayas poisons a tribe's water supply to provoke a revolt and then crush them. Wilamowitz cites the passage to illustrate English official morality. <sup>61</sup> *Platon* I<sup>2</sup>. vi. For *depontanus* see *GRBS* 16 (1975) 455.

"Into its pure ether the spectres of putrefaction do not penetrate. Hate and Envy are said too to remain outside its divine pale." Hochried was Loeb's Platonic kingdom with its books and terracottas, its doctors, nurses, and depressions. Its prisoner was neither banker nor scholar, a childless recluse and widower, exiled from his country and family, to some a traitor. In two years he would die and be buried in Bavaria. Wilamowitz did not merely write to thank him.

#### APPENDIX I

Included with the two Loeb letters was a postcard dated by its cancellation Berlin-Charlottenburg, 3 April 1927, and addressed to Herrn Professor Dr. Stenzel, Kiel, Feldstr. 80. The card acknowledges Stenzel's *Wissenschaft und Standesgesinnung bei Platon* (Kiel, 1927), pp. 16; see A. E. Taylor, *CR* 41 (1927) 182-184. The text follows.

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Mit freudig klopfendem Herzen habe ich Ihre schöne Rede gelesen: was Sie der unwissenschaftlichen Wissenschaft der Gegenwart aus dem 7. Briefe vorhalten, ist ein Spiegel, der sie zur Besinnung führen sollte; aber sie werden nicht hineinsehen.

Über Sokrates vertragen wir uns nicht. Wer Xenophon, diesen hohlen Kopf,<sup>62</sup> in Memorab. IV als Zeugen heranzieht, ist gehalten, es auch mit der Teleologie I 4 zu tun. Und Entstehung auch nur einer Schrift (ausser *πρὸς Πολυκράτην* Mem. I 1-3) vor 370 soll erst bewiesen werden.<sup>63</sup>

Wie immer in herzlichster Dankbarkeit

Ihr ganz ergebener

UvWilamowitz

The Platonist Julius Stenzel (9 February 1883-26 November 1935) took a Homeric doctorate at Breslau in 1908 under Wendland and Jacoby. He taught at the famous Johannes Gymnasium there and soon became Dozent at the university. He was professor for philosophy at Kiel (1925-1933) and at Halle (1933-1935). He died at age 53 at the height of his powers. His son, Professor Joachim Stenzel of San José State University in California kindly informs me *per litt.* (11 March 1975):

<sup>62</sup> The transcription in the Sotheby catalogue "diesen kohlen Kopf" is wrong. For Wilamowitz' negative view of Xenophon see especially *Platon* I<sup>2</sup>.94: "Xenophon war ein redlicher, aber herzlich beschränkter Mensch." and "Die griechische Literatur des Altertums," *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* I.8<sup>3</sup> (Leipzig/Berlin, 1912) 131-133.

<sup>63</sup> See *Platon* I<sup>2</sup>.94: "In der Masse seiner übrigen sokratischen Schriften, die Xenophon erst ganz spät (nach 370, zum Teil noch viel später) verfasst hat . . ." and *KS* III.181.

"He had been a professor at Kiel from 1925 until April 1933 when he was one of eight (ultimately twenty-one) professors, including inter alios Felix Jacoby, who were placed in emeritus status. My father's restoration to a professorship in October 1933, though not at his own university, was the result of petitions of protest to the Prussian Kultusministerium by students and a few colleagues—the latter mostly from outside Germany."

Concerning Stenzel and Wilamowitz Professor Joachim Stenzel remarks:

My father's relationship to Wilamowitz was as close as that of many others who looked upon Wilamowitz as the exemplar of classical scholarship. I have some books from my father's library, and they include most of Wilamowitz' major works from *Herakles* to *Glaube der Hellenen* . . . He was in correspondence with Wilamowitz for many years, beginning in 1913 when he began to publish and to exchange offprints with prominent colleagues. He made it a point to call on Professor Wilamowitz whenever he passed through Berlin.

For a thoughtful summary of Stenzel's scholarly achievement by a competent judge see Werner Jaeger at *Gnomon* 12 (1936) 108–112. It is sobering to observe that the same page that carries the end of this memoir announces the "release from duties" of Paul Friedländer, Ernst Hoffmann, and Richard Laqueur beside the promotions of Albin Lesky and Erich Burck.<sup>64</sup>

#### *University of Colorado, Boulder*

<sup>64</sup> I am grateful for several *addenda*. F. K. Lorenz, Reference Librarian of Hamilton and Kirkland Colleges, has discovered that the Wilamowitz-Fitch letters are no longer traceable. Fitch (see n. 52 *supra*) was born 27 May 1864 at Walton, New York, where he died. There is a brief necrology at *Hamilton Alumni Record* 11.4 (1946) 179–180. At *Hamilton Literary Monthly* 29 (1894) 106 we learn that Fitch "went fully equipped with German, but alas! to enter the classical seminary he has to write and speak Latin. So he spent most of his summer vacation with a German friend of his who talks Latin 'like a book,' and prepared himself for this seminary. German students seem to harbor the extraordinary idea that it is a privilege to be admitted to such a circle, which means nothing but 'grind' and midnight oil." I owe both references to Mr Lorenz.

After my enquiry Mr Thomas E. Dewey of Kuhn-Loeb has discovered a forgotten and important autobiographical document: James Loeb, *Our Father* (Hochried, 1929) pp. 27 with portrait. James printed this work privately to honor his Father's 100th birthday. I draw attention to the following. Solomon (7) made his Cincinnati fortune of over \$600,000 by filling "government orders for uniforms and blankets" during our Civil War. James' maternal grandfather, Simon Gallenberg, was first violinist at the Mannheim Opera (7). In 1877 Solomon took his family to Italy (16). The fourteen month trip surely encouraged James' classical interests. Solomon gave James, while a student at Harvard College, "an unlimited credit at Kuhn Loeb & Co's" (21). The most revealing passage is at p. 20: ". . . his son James, while still at Harvard, had received a tempting

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offer, through the good offices of his teacher and friend Charles Eliot Norton—an offer which meant a number of years of study in Egyptology in Paris and London, opportunity to excavate in Egypt itself, with a fair assurance of a curatorship at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and a teacher's post at Harvard. Though it is natural to suppose that father had a secret hope that his second son would ultimately enter the firm he had founded, he by no word or sign placed an obstacle in the way of his choosing the career for which he had a decided preference. When after a long inward struggle the decision to become a banker was finally reached, father silently smiled his approval." Dr A. R. L. Dewey has obtained for me a copy of Frieda Schiff Warburg, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (New York, 1956) 19-20, the source of most of Birmingham on James (see n. 13 *supra*). She writes (19): "Of all my grandparents' children, my Uncle Jim was the most vivid, brilliant personality. As handsome as a Greek god, he charmed everyone, was an excellent scholar, a fine musician and an esthete in the best sense of the word. . . . At Harvard, he made many friends—among whom were Lloyd Garrison, the son of the Abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, and Professor Charles Eliot Norton. . . . Jim felt it was his duty to enter the family firm and become a partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, where he served for fifteen years. During this period, he took part in political reform, collected early Greek figures, played his favorite cello as well as the piano and organ—and had several love affairs. . . . But life in New York began to press in on him, and he went abroad to consult a noted neurologist, and settled in Munich." She mentions neither a Christian *inamorata* nor Dr Freud. I should like at the end to thank for help Professors Sterling Dow and Zeph Stewart of Harvard and Professor T. A. Suits of the University of Connecticut. An earlier version of this paper was read at Harvard University on 4 August 1975.