

Exile
From
Olynthus

Women in Archeology.com

**Mentoring and Networking
Greece, 1927-1928**

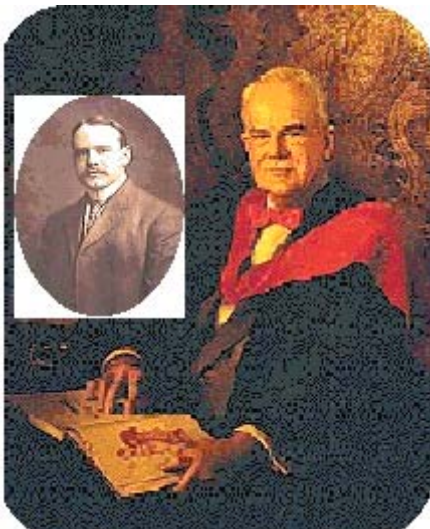
Raymond Dessy
Virginia Tech



Wilhelmina van Ingen
"Willy"

Ethel Bell van Ingen

*Based upon letters to "my little Mother"
from Willy, and her diary entries*



Prof. David (Davy) Robinson

PREFACE

Some books are written. Others create themselves. This book grew from a feminine strand of mitochondrial DNA that was stumbled upon in a Classical History course taught by a charismatic Professor, Glen Bugh of Virginia Tech. Dr. Bugh, an Hellenic epigrapher, often lectures aboard the Smithsonian's sailing ship in the Mediterranean, educating and entertaining its passengers with the world that was around them 2500 years ago. During one lecture at Virginia Tech he mentioned briefly the papers of Wilhelmina van Ingen, a young girl, 22 years of age, who had attended the 1927-1928 American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA). She had participated in the first years dig at Olynthus in the Spring of 1928, working with Prof. David Robinson. Those papers were found in 15 boxes, totaling ~ 30 cubic feet of space in the Storage area for the Special Collections Division of Newman Library at Virginia Tech. Her husband Herschel Elarth donated the boxes to the University after Dr. van Ingen's death in 1969. Only half of the collection was then inventoried, but the Control Folder of that material was intriguing. There were personal five-year diaries covering the period from 1927-1968, some personal letters she wrote to her Mother, shoeboxes full of postcards from travels she and her husband made around the world during their marriage, and a hodge-podge of personal papers and mementoes. Months of reading eventually unfolded the portrait of a young woman with an incisive, logical mind exploring the real world of study-abroad and archeological field-work. She was just beginning studies toward a Ph.D. in art and archeology at Johns Hopkins. Ms van Ingen was, fortunately, a former student and friend of Mrs. (Dr.) and Dr. Bert Hodge Hill. The latter, the pioneer of excavations at Corinth, had been just recently deposed as director of the ASCSA. Mrs. Hill provided introductions to Mrs. (Dr.) and Dr. Carl Blegen. He became the internationally known archeologist of Troy and many other locations. His wife became a professional and social doyenne in Athens. Ms van Ingen, "Willy", soon became a star pupil at ASCSA, and was asked to join with her mentor from Johns Hopkins, Dr. David Robinson, "Davy", who was beginning excavations at Olynthus, a Chalcidic Grecian city ravaged and destroyed in 348 B.C. by Philip II of Macedonia, the father of Alexander.

In the period from January to early May 1928 the student/mentor relationship between Davy and Ms van Ingen eroded, crumbled and exploded. The then bright lights of archeology— Hill, Blegen, Bonner, Carpenter, and the soon-to-be famous Mylonas— were all entangled in the tattered tale. Ms van Ingen left as an Exile from Olynthus, and pursued her Ph.D. degree at Harvard/Radcliffe under continuing Carnegie Corporation support.

It is possible to piece together most of the real story. It is a classic case of an egoistical, domineering and status-seeking mentor developing insensitivity to the needs of the student. Archeology had become archeology.com, and external image, notoriety, publications and position became a circular set of forces that let the student drop out of the equation. The political and fiscal intrigues within ASCSA that had led to Bert Hodge Hill's forced removal, Carpenter's temporary directorship, and the scission from ASCSA of Carl Blegen— Hill's close professional and personal colleague—added to the flames.

As a chemist who has trained over 100 Ph.D. level students over a 40 year career, and as a scientist who built a career in the halcyon years between the late 1950's (Sputnik) and the late 1980's (Relevant Research), the poignant plight of the student in 1928 Athens and Olynthus was familiar. The university has become the university.com, and students' needs are increasingly forgotten in the "greed for the green". It was natural to let Ms van Ingen's letters and words flow to paper, trapping the mind of the student, and the mood and mania of the professor as an example of a critical lapsed responsibility. Mentoring was important in 1927-28; it is more important now. Those pre-Depression, pre-WWII students faced a future fraught with uncertainty. Today's students face a world of globalization, mergers, divestiture of non-core assets, more "creative accounting", and a lessened emphasis on the importance of basic research. Human nature has not changed, but the above worldly factors create tense surroundings in which a lack of trust and truth in people and governments is even more tragic.

Robinson's Olynthus dig did enlarge his reputation, but time has increased the professional stains on his work— strains in his performance that originally started the tears in his student/mentor relationship with Ms van Ingen. Ms van Ingen's 1928 analyses were correct— but she was just a student then, and few listened— then. Perhaps this document will give her mind a new voice.

Having been involved in many mentor defections in the 'graves' of academe, and having to often help extract the students from the Laocoon tangles of ineffective Graduate Committees and Graduate Schools, helped channel the initial quest into avenues that examined the political and fiscal environment within ASCSA in 1922-1928. Using the 1927-1928 ASCSA class cohort one can examine the strength of that well-constructed environment which, despite problems, produced such people as Virginia Grace, Wilhelmina van Ingen, and Herbert Couch, and began the short, but brilliant career of Frederick Grace. It was a strong, select group that helped change their scientific field.

The author finally recognized that during the Olynthus dig Ms van Ingen lived in an area that had become a refugee camp during the mass migration of ~1.5 million people between Turkey and Greece. This migration resulted from a poorly constructed, careless, Western-oriented peace treaty at Lausanne that supposedly ended the Greco-Turkish war— a war that was fanned, if indeed not lit, by Western interests in Near-East Oil. The Western powers did not understand, and did not care, about the ethnic issues that were stirred by their tacit support of a Greek incursion into deep Turkey— an incursion that was cut off bloodily by Kamil Ataturk. The West stood by while Smyrna burned. Greece was badly hurt, in spirit and development, like Willy.

But Olynthus was also besieged and leveled, like Carthage, by Philip II for reasons of political hegemony. He was viewed by Demosthenes, who never met him, as the Axis of Evil. Demosthenes' speeches, the "Philipics" are eloquent presages of what became disinformation strategies or justified calls-to-arms, depending upon your viewpoint. These paralleled to some extent the propaganda distributed by ASCSA in justifying Bert Hodge Hill's expulsion.

The similar paths trod by professors, politicians, and inhabitants of professional-ponds suggest a commonality- tanks of fish that are not cleaned out often enough. And that analogy suggests a comparative examination with the habits, hubris, horrors and hostilities of Homer's heroes in the Iliad and Odyssey. The clan and tribal nature of man may be more generic and general than supposed. It is such an easy path to becoming an Exile from Olynthus.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: Research in the humanities is quite different from that in experimental science. In the latter, if the data do not quite agree or fit the hypothesis, experiments can be repeated or new ones devised. In the humanities the experiments, the events, the evidence and the time-line cannot be re-experienced or repeated. The record is what it is— fragmented, incomplete, unreadable, misplaced, or lost. The Internet helps a great deal, but ultimately one requires the assistance of reference librarians, archivists, and living colleagues who will share the needed connecting information and links.

Prof. Glen Bugh of Virginia Tech (VT) deserves special thanks for creating the spark that flamed the van Ingen trail. The gracious and professional assistance of the following individuals was essential to a scientist swimming in the humanities- Gail McMillan, Director of the Digital Library and Archives and Special Collection at Virginia Tech, and D. Jane Wills, John M. Jackson, Tamara Kennelly, and Jennifer Meehan of Special Collections. Jan Carlton and Marney Andrews also provided encouragement and direction in the first month of the year 2000 when this quest began. Heather Ball, Librarian at the Art and Architecture Library at VT, was instrumental in locating the lost text-books used by Ms van Ingen. Archivists were vital to pursuing the career of Frederick R. Grace— at the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, Abigail G. Smith; at the American School for Classical Studies at Athens, Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan. Prof. Brunilde S. Ridgway, Rhys Carpenter Professor at Bryn Mawr, provided valuable insight into Carpenter's unique mind and character, and Eileen Markson, Director of the Rhys Carpenter Library at Bryn Mawr provided the leads to biographical information concerning him. Jeffrey A. Cohen of Bryn Mawr located the trail-heads needed for exploring the American School for Classical Studies at Athens. Ione Mylonas Shear, daughter of Prof. George Mylonas shared some personal remembrances of her Father, who played such an important part in the Olynthus story, and subsequently in American archeology. She also shared warm, intimate revelations that suggest how small and close the archeology community was in the first half of the 20th Century. Her husband served as the third director of the Agora excavations; his father was the first. Ione met her husband at a dig at Eleusis.

Special thanks to those who permitted use of quotations from their Web sites, cited in the text: Nick Cahill, Martha Joukowsky, Alan Kaiser, David Rhees, Susan Rotroff, Stephen Tracy, and Jan Trembly. Maps are by David Greenspan.

John Baird and his Digital Imaging, Learning Technologies Group, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, in conjunction with D. Jane Wills, scanned the Van Ingen portrait photographs from the Van Ingen-Elarth collection. These portraits are also available at ImageBase (<http://imagebase.lib.vt.edu/>), housed and operated by the Digital Library and Archives, VT University Libraries. Other images of the Greek scene were scanned using the services of the New Media Center at VT. The latter photographs, originally taken by Ms van Ingen, are used through the courtesy of Eunice Burr Couch. The portrayed coins came from Dr. van Ingen-Elarth, who left them with the author in 1968 to be cleaned. Her premature death buried them temporarily. Willy's pottery examples are held within VT's Special Collections.

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NOTES FOR THE DOWNLOADER

The **text** is divided into four sections:

Orientation and excerpts from the letters and diaries	~40%
Criticisms and defenses of Willy's actions and abilities	~20%
A political analysis of ASCSA and archeology in the 1920's	~20%
Mentorship and networking in archeology.com and science.com	~20%

Total 1 Mbyte

The **photographs** are contained in seventeen sections of ~ 1 Mbyte each.
All but one of the sections present previously unpublished materials.

PRELUDE

The American School for Classical Studies at Athens has provided the mentoring and maturing environment for young archeologists for over a Century. It has provided Summer Programs and Academic Year Programs for a carefully selected group of men and women who are poised to become the future professionals in archeology, classical art and architecture, Hellenic and Hellenistic history, epigraphy, evolution and revolution in ancient religions, and the translators of a cultural inheritance that has cyclically built and rebuilt the politics, societies, and physical shapes in most Western countries.

(with permission, from the ASCSA Web site, by Stephen Tracy, <http://www.ascsa.edu.gr/>)

Under the leadership of Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University, scholars from nine American colleges assisted by a small group of influential business men established the American School in 1881. Their intention was to create a school [in Norton's words] "where young scholars might carry on the study of Greek thought and life to the best advantage, and where those who were proposing to become teachers of Greek might gain such acquaintance with the land and such knowledge of its ancient monuments as should give a quality to their teaching unattainable without this experience." They formed a Managing Committee to provide academic leadership; it decided to open the School at once and, while endowment was being raised, to solicit contributions from the cooperating colleges to operate. The ASCSA remains, as its founders envisioned, a privately funded, non-profit educational institution.

From humble and uncertain beginnings, the ASCSA has grown into one of the leading research centers in Greece. It serves the students and faculty of 155 affiliated colleges and universities in North America. Guided in academic matters by a Managing Committee composed of faculty representatives from these member institutions, the School continues true to its original mission: to teach the archaeology, art, history, language and literature of Greece from earliest times to the present, to survey and excavate archaeological sites in Greek lands, and to publish the results of its excavations and research. Some 350 students and scholars from North America avail themselves of the School's facilities each year.

The School's main building was constructed in 1887 on land donated by the Greek government on the southern slope of Mount Lycabettus, in an area that was then outside of the city. This is now the district known as Kolonaki, one of the most fashionable areas in the center of the modern city. The original building was enlarged in 1913 to 1916 by the addition of a wing to the east. In 1958 to 1959, the Arthur Vining Davis Wing, named for the donor, was built to the north and a further extension was added to the south in 1992. The main building and its extensions house the Blegen Library, the Wiener Laboratory, administrative offices, archives, computing facilities, and the Director's residence.

Across the street from the main building stands the Gennadius Library. Built in 1926 and completely renovated in 1999, this historic neoclassical structure is flanked by staff residences. A long needed School auditorium, Cotsen

Hall, named for the donor and Board President (1996-1999) Lloyd Cotsen, is now under construction as an extension of the east wing of the Gennadeion and should be completed in 2004. Nearby Loring Hall dates from 1930; with its annex and attached house, it provides living quarters, common rooms, and dining hall for some thirty students, visiting scholars, and staff.

Offices, library, research facilities, and living quarters are also located in ancient Corinth, site of the School's longest continuing excavation which began in 1896. The main house, named for Bert Hodge Hill, Director of the School (1906-1926), stands adjacent to student and staff bungalows. In addition, offices, library and research facilities are to be found in the School's excavation in the ancient agora in Athens at the Stoa of Attalos.

The School has a long and distinguished history of scholarly work in Greece and Crete. Among many outstanding field archaeologists, one may cite, for example, Carl Blegen, Oscar Broneer, John Caskey, Harriet Boyd-Hawes, Bert Hodge Hill, Richard Seager, Homer Thompson, and Eugene Vanderpool to name just a few.

The resident staff at ASCSA provides a continuing support infrastructure to the libraries, teaching units, historical and active archeological-site visitations, and liaison with other classical study organizations from various countries. ASCSA has a complex bureaucratic governance body derived from academic institution personnel that has evolved through the growth of ASCSA and the temporal pressures of the 20th Century.

In the late 1920's this governance structure consisted of the Chairman of the Managing Committee, the Managing Committee itself, an Executive Committee of the Managing Committee, and the Director and Assistant Director of The School. The teaching staff often consisted of luminaries in the various areas, and was usually constituted by quite competent individuals. Visiting lecturers invited for their renown or for their political connections augmented the courses the students were offered.

The 1920's were a period of growth, strife, tension and both revolution and resolution for ASCSA. The vicissitudes of WWI that resulted in the death of millions, and the diphtheria pandemic that caused even a higher death toll, gave way to an effervescent period in the United States and much of Western Europe termed the "Roaring Twenties". Bubbles of euphoria tingled the thoughts and mores of society— and the celebrations of the new economy that ballooned after the calamity and contagion of the previous years changed the nature of life, night-life, music, dance, art, and even science. Automobiles made people more mobile, education and an ascending wave of modest affluence molded new minds, and a swinging society of young men and women sang out for new freedoms and for change.

These militant melodies often collided in dissonant counter-point with the traditional chorus. Neither side envisaged the coming financial Depression that

would muffle the new sounds, nor the related rise of Fascisms and Imperial mandates that excoriatingly and excruciatingly marred the '30s with repression, occupations, capitulations, and concessions. This tinder then lit the flames of WWII. Students who attended ASCSA in 1927-1928 were to become the leading edge of what has been termed "The Greatest Generation".

The professional arena that was their coliseum also faced changes from a demanding society and exploding economy in the 1920's. Something happened to archeology in that period that had its roots one-hundred years earlier, as the famous Hellenic statue of Venus from the island of Melos was first unearthed, then dragged through the labyrinth of politics, ego, and Nationalism to the Louvre in Paris. When the mental dust, repair plaster, and squeaks of rubbing ballooned-egos settled, the Venus de Milo finally rested in conjoined pieces, but in peace. Archeology, in contrast, was changed from the province of the aristocratic wealthy and impecunious academics to a brutal contact sport. Nationalism demanded that France have a symbol of Hellenic majesty that supported the supremacy of a country that aspired to return to its preeminence in culture and learning after demeaning defeats to England, Germany and Russia. After Napoleon's escape from Elba and his subsequent defeat at Waterloo, an armed squadron from the victor nations descended on the Louvre and seized the Apollo Belvedere that the French had previously plundered from Italy. The Apollo migrated to the Vatican. This humiliating loss, and the residence of the "Elgin" Marbles in London, ripped bloodily from the Athena Parthenon by the interests of Lord Elgin and his wife's drive and competence, was to be balanced by the Venus, slyly slipped away from the wily Turks who then ruled Melos. France needed such a classical "momento" to rebalance national pride and provide inspiration to France's future artists. The tortuous trip of the Venus de Milo from the hands of Greek peasants and patriarchs, Turkish pashas, and all sorts of pirates to its home in the Louvre is almost unbelievable. Even more tortuous are the political intrigues among art and archeology pundits and curators on matter of the dating of the statue—was it Hellenic or Hellenistic. What were her missing arms doing or holding—embracing Poseidon, Mars, or a warrior, resting on a pedestal, or holding an apple (melos = apple, and the symbol of Venus' victory over Juno and Minerva with respect to Paris). How were the hermes originally found nearby (Hermes or Hercules) related? Pessimistic forensic archeologists sometimes hint that pieces of the ensemble were deliberately lost or altered to support one interpretation or another. A lucid account of the Holmesian affair may be enjoyed in *Disarmed- The Story of the Venus de Milo* (Gregory Curtis, Alfred Knopf, 2003). Various curators of the Louvre, with a thirst for power, and dusty archeologists with aspirations of fame, argued and pondered and published. Archeologists lit a flame with their hype that attracted the interest, zeal, fantasy and fanaticism of the public. That flame burnt, with varying intensity, through the following decades. It leaped across the firebreaks of common sense in a crown-fire that spread from the Valley of the Kings in Egypt to Anatolia and Troy and on to Greece. The fuels of Nationalism, ego, fame, and academic laurels were thrown onto the roaring flames.

Archeology had morphed into archeology.com. Money spawned digs, and digs led to publications, and papers led to some type of eminence, and that attracted money.

What results when science and their University become science.com and University.com will be the subject of a subsequent section. The changes are traumatic to the discipline and sometimes fatal to students and young faculty, as the following play-in-reality reveals.

In Greece, at ASCSA, in the 1922-26 period, the close personal and professional coupling of the well recognized archeologists, Carl Blegen and Burt Hodge Hill, was tested by a Managing Committee that had been stirred, like hornets on a chilly morning, by accusations that Hill's long term digs at Corinth needed to be published immediately to attract more financial support for further archeological digs in Greece. Hill, a careful cautious archeologist, resisted the pressures. As Director of the School he posed to many of the Managing Committee, and particularly its Executive Committee, an obstacle to the progress that was demanded by archeology, its American societal support, political relationships with the Greek Government that controlled digging rights, and as defense against competition from other Country's archeological teams. Hill must go! His friend, Carl Blegen, was the archeologist who corrected Schliemann's mistaken identity of the site of Troy, where Helen's abduction or acquiescence launched a thousand ships, led to the mythical or real deaths of hordes of heroes whose blood became the ink of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Blegen, then Assistant Director of the School, assumed a temporary Directorship for the School for one year, 1926-1927. At the end of that time he chose his own path. Rhys Carpenter, a shy, but academically formidable member of the Executive Committee of the Managing Committee, formally became Director of The School in 1927. George Mylonas, Bursar at The School and a Greek citizen who grew to become a respected archeologist in America, resigned in 1928. The *eminence gris* of the affair was undoubtedly Edward Capps, Chairman of the Managing Committee from 1918-1939.

Fidgeting in the wings was David Moore Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University. Although well-published and -reputed, he was not entangled in the incestuous relationships of the Managing Committee and its Executive Committee. He had served briefly on both prior to WWI. Robinson was convinced that the site of Olynthus (Olynthos), a city besieged and then annihilated in 348 BC by Philip II of Macedonia, was located on the banks of a Chalcidic river a short walk from the town of Myriophyto. The small town had been enlarged as a consequence of the forced migration in 1923 of hundreds-of-thousands of Anatolian Greeks back to the Greek mainland. His shovel was ready to explore the ridges and ravine defined by two small hills near Saloniki. The refugees could provide a ready source of labor. The British archeological team was familiar with the area, but had their shovels full at other digs.

What Robinson needed was approval from the Greek Government, and that required the approval of the ASCSA. The political environment was turbulent. The Greek Government's troubles were vexing. Resurrecting the glory of classical Greece was essential to reconstructing the pride of a country that had been tattered by the recent war with Turkey, a war encouraged by the Bismarckian and Machiavellian intrigues of France, Italy and England, with some assistance from the United States. The Western powers, intent on creating some hegemony of influence over the Near Eastern oil fields, had encouraged Greece to thrust its troops from the Western shores of Turkey to the outskirts of Ankara. Foreign diplomats and politicians smoothly transmitted an implied support for their cause. When the Greek supply lines were overextended, Kamil Atatürk struck, and slaughtered the Greek Army as it retreated to Smyrna, which was put to the torch by one side or the other. The Treaty of Lausanne that followed had the same sensitivity as the Treaty of Versailles. Imposed by Western interests, with a lack of knowledge, it led to an enforced exchange of ~ 1.5 million Anatolian "Greeks" and Macedonian "Turks" to their supposed "homelands". In most cases, the refugee's religion was the deciding factor.

But, the impact of absorbing the refugees, and the imposed indemnities, had crippled the Greek economy. As foreign powers sought to excavate the Agora of Athens, rebuild Boeotian temples, uncover Corinth, and dig up Delphi, it seemed reasonable for the Greeks to seek a fiscal return. The foreign countries felt differently. The official history of the ASCSA reveals the following:

(with permission, *A History of the American School for Classical Studies at Athens, 1882-1942*, Louis Lord, Harvard University Press, 1947]

The political conditions (1927-1928) were peculiarly unfavorable, the Ministry of Mr. Kaphandaris, which was then in power, being a coalition government composed of discordant, and, under the surface, hostile political elements. ... the entire "archeological area" to the north, east and south of the Acropolis had been thoroughly organized, ostensibly to resist the granting of any concession to excavators, but in reality, as one often had reason to suspect, to extract unreasonable indemnifications from the Americans. At any rate, the group of protestants were numerous enough to exercise strong political pressure, and they were supported by the majority of the press. (pp 200-201)

... It had been the practice hallowed by time that excavations in Greek territory by Americans should be under the auspices of The School. This was a tradition of gradual growth. ... It seemed an appropriate time, therefore, to clarify this situation and lay down rules which might apply to enterprises ... in the future. The matter was brought to a head by a new decree issued by the Greek Government allowing foreigners who were not connected with any of the archeological schools certain privileges of excavation. The Managing Committee sent to Carpenter for presentation to the Government a request that the operation of this decree be suspended. This protest was at once presented by Carpenter to Mr. Kourouniotis, Chief of the Archeological Division of the Ministry of Education. After an interview in which the Minister radiated a considerable

amount of heat (private letter of Carpenter), the School's protest was successfully sustained by Carpenter, and Mr. Koiourouniotis wrote to Capps a letter ... in which he gave assurances "that no permission would be granted to an American Archeologist to excavate in Greece in conjunction with a Greek, independent of the American School at Athens. (pp 204-205)

Whatever went on behind the scenes, the outcome was a rapprochement that allowed Robinson to proceed in the early Spring of 1928 with an exploratory dig at Olynthus, provided he had three students of the ASCSA with him. One of them, Wilhelmina van Ingen, a first-year graduate student then studying with Robinson at Johns Hopkins, wrote a almost one hundred letters to her Mother during the period of September 1927 through July 1928, covering the first several months of the initial digs at Olynthus. Robinson had probed a bit in February 1928, but work proceeded apace in March of that year. Wilhelmina also kept a personal set of 5-year diaries that began in 1927 and cover all of her active years until her death in 1968. Her writings offer an archeologist of history— whether real or fictional— opportunities to sieve through the clay of days-in-the-field, and find some shards-of-the-mind that provoke interpretations of the past and prognostications of the future in science and education.

The ASCSA normally provided an ideal mentoring environment for its students. They were exposed to didactic materials, stimulating courses, astounding seminars, field-trips to the sites that are the laboratory of archeology, and personal and professional mentoring that could allow them to develop into the future of the discipline. Many fulfilled the hopes and efforts of their mentors. Some of the students failed in their quest, but some of the mentors failed in their responsibilities. The hot, wet Summer of 1928 saw a Greek tragedy, and an Academic comedy on the hills of Olynthus that sends lessons to today.

THE PLAYERS

Students and Affiliates, American School for Classical Studies Athens, 1927-28

[last entry, if given, is position reported at time ASCSA History was last compiled, (~1942-1945),

"A History of the American School for Classical Studies at Athens, 1882-1942, Louis Lord, Harvard University Press, 1947]

Couch, Herbert Newell

1928 (not listed in ASCSA History)

A.B. Victoria College, University of Toronto, 1924; A.M. Johns Hopkins, 1927; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins, 1927; A.M. *au eundem* Brown University, 1945. Immigrated to U.S.A. in 1924, naturalized 1937. Assoc. in Classics and Curator Classical Museum, Univ. of Illinois, 1928-1930; Asst. Prof. Classics Brown Univ., 1930-1938; Assoc. Prof., 1938-1945; Prof., 1945- . (see Stebbins, Eunice Burr, married May 1928)

Grace, Frederick R.

1928 (not listed in ASCSA History)

B.A. Harvard University, 1930; Ph.D. Harvard University, 1938. Assistant to the Directors of The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Grace, Virginia Fitz Randolph

1927-1928 1930-1931 (periods of attendance)

Agora Fellow, 1936. A.B. Bryn Mawr College, 1922; A.M. Bryn Mawr College 1929; Ph.D. Bryn Mawr College, 1934. Member, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, NJ

Hansen, Hazel Dorothy

1927-1928 1936-1937

Fellow of the Archeological Institute of America, 1923-1924. A.B. Stanford University, 1920; A.M. Stanford University, 1921; Ph.D. Stanford University, 1926; Professor of Classics, Stanford University.

Hopkins, Clark (and Mrs. Hopkins)

1927-1928

A.B. Yale University, 1917; A.B. and A.M. Balliol College, Oxford University, 1921; Ph.D. University of Wisconsin, 1924. Prof. Of Latin and Greek, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Sullivan-Hopkins, Susan Mary

1927-1928

A.B. University of Wisconsin, 1923; A.M. University of Wisconsin, 1925.

Johnson, Jotham

1926-1928

Fellow of The Archeological Institute of America, 1927-1928; A.B. Princeton University, 1926; Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania, 1931; Assistant Professor of Classics, New York University, NY.

Kahn, Margaret Gisela

1927-1928

Charles Elliot Norton Fellow, 1927-1928. A.B. Radcliffe College, 1927; A.M. Columbia University, 1932.

Newhall, Agnes Ellen

1927-1932

Fellow of the School of Archeology, 1928-1929; Special Fellow in Archeology, 1929-1932; A.B. Bryn Mawr College, 1927.

Pease, Mary Zelia

1927-1929 1932-1934 1935-1937

Fellow of the Archeological Institute of America, 1928-1929; Special Fellow in Archeology, 1932-1933. A.B. Bryn Mawr College, 1927; Ph.D. Bryn Mawr College, 1933.

Schaeffer, Frederick William

1927-1928

A.B. Williams College, 1927. (died 1936, London Ontario, Canada)

Stebbins, Eunice Burr

1927-1928

Fellow of The School of Archeology, 1927-1928. A.B. Smith College, 1916; A.M. Johns Hopkins University, 1926; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University, 1927.

Van Ingen, Wilhelmina

1927-1928

A.B. Vassar College, 1926; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1929; Ph.D. Radcliffe College, 1932.
Assistant Professor, Wheaton College., Norton, Massachusetts.

Wallace, Sherman LeRoy
1927-1928

Fellow in the School in the Greek Language, Literature and History, 1927-1928. A.B. University of Wisconsin, 1924; A.M. University of Wisconsin, 1925; A.M. Princeton University, 1926; Ph.D. Princeton University, 1933. U.S. Government.

Westbrook, Howard Theodoric
1927-1928

A.B. Hamilton College, 1922; A.M. Wesleyan University, 1923; Associate Prof. Of History and Literature, Scripps College, Claremont, CA.

ASCSA Staff

Blegen, Carl William (and Mrs. Blegen)

1910-1913

Fellow of The School in Archeology. A.B. University of Minnesota, 1907; A.B. Yale University, 1908; Ph.D. Yale University, 1920. Prof. Of Classical Archeology, University of Cincinnati.
Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1920-1927.
Assistant Director of The School, 1920-1926.
Acting Director of The School, 1926-1927.

Pierce-Blegen, Elizabeth Denny

1922-1923

A.B. Vassar College, 1910; A.M. Vassar College, 1912; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1922.

Bonner, Campbell

Visiting Professor ASCSA 1927-1928

University of Michigan

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1913-

Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of The School, 1918-1920; 1928-1931.

Broneer, Oscar Theodore

1924-1928

Fellow of The Archeological Institute of America, 1925-1926; Fellow of The School in Archeology, 1926-1927; Special Fellow in Archeology, 1927-1928. A.B. Augustana College, 1922; A.M. Univ. of California, 1923; Ph.D. University of California, 1931. Prof. Of Archeology, ASCSA, Athens, Greece.

Capps, Edward

1893-1894

A.B. Illinois College, 1887; Ph.D. Yale University, 1891; LL.D. Illinois College, 1911; Litt.D. Oberlin College, 1923; L.H.D. Harvard University, 1924; Litt.D. University of Michigan, 1931; LL.D. University of Athens, 1937; Litt.D. Oxford University, 1946. Prof. Of Classics, Emeritus, Princeton University.

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1908-

Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of The School, 1938-1943

Chairman of The Managing Committee of The School, 1918-1939

Director of The School, 1935-1936

Carpenter, Rhys

1912-1913

A.B. Columbia University, 1908; A.B. Baliol College, Oxford University, 1911; A.M. Oxford University, 1914; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1916; Litt. D. Rutgers University, 1941. Professor of Classical Art and Archeology, Bryn Mawr College.

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1920-

Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of The School, 1925-1926

Director of The School, 1927-1932

Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of The School, 1932-1935

Hill, Burt Hodge (and Mrs. Hill)

1900-1903

Fellow of The Archeological Institute of America, 1901-1903. A.B. University of Vermont, 1895; A.M. Columbia University, 1900; L.H.D. University of Vermont, 1920. Director of the University of Pennsylvania Excavations in Cyprus.

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1906-1926.

Director of The School, 1906-1926.

Thallon-Hill, Ida Carleton

1899-1901

A.B. Vassar College, 1897; A.M. Vassar College, 1901; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1905.

Mylonas, George E.

B.A. International College, Smyrna, 1918; Ph.D. University of Athens, 1927; Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University, 1929; Immigrated to U.S.A 1928, naturalized 1937. Professor and Department Head, Washington University, St. Louis. (assistant at Olynthus 1928; assistant director Olynthus 1931; field director Olynthus, 1938)

Meritt, Benjamin Dean

1920-1922

Fellow of The Archeological Institute of America, 1921-1922. A.M. Hamilton College, 1923; A.M. Princeton University, 1923; Ph.D. Princeton University, 1924; D. Litt. Oxford University, 1936; LL.D. Hamilton College, 1937. Prof., Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1926-

Assistant Director of The School, 1926-1928.

Robinson, David Moore (and Mrs. Robinson)

1901-1903

Fellow of the School in Archeology, 1902-1903. A.B. University of Chicago, 1898; Ph.D. University of Chicago, 1904; LL.D. Jamestown College, 1915; L.H.D. Trinity College, 1925; Litt.D. Syracuse University, 1933. W.H. Collins Vickers Prof. Of Archeology and Epigraphy; Lecturer on Greek Literature, Johns Hopkins University.

Member of Managing Committee of ASCSA 1908-

Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of The School, 1912-1914

THE STAGE

(from *American Journal of Archeology*, Vol. 33, No 1, 1929, 53-76)

A Preliminary Report on the Excavation of Olynthos
David M. Robinson
American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Excavations at Olynthos¹ were begun on February 17, 1928, and continued with more than 200 workmen, most of whom were refugees, with Decauville track and cars and other proper equipment until June 2. The campaign was under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with a permit granted by the Greek Government on February 9.

The staff consisted of Dr. and Mrs. George Mylonas, Dr. and Mr. Clark Hopkins, Dr. Herbert Couch, Miss Eunice B. Stebbins, Miss Wilhelmina van Ingen, Miss Hazel Hansen, Prof. Charles W. Peppler of Duke University, Miss Lillian Wilson, Miss Jeannie Loomis, Mrs. David Robinson, Prof. Mary McGhee of Vassar College, Mr. R.S. Darbshire, Mr. Euripides Melanides, Mr. Kostas Nicolaides, Mr. Youry de Fomine, and Mr. Alexander Schmidt.

(the professional titles of Dr. Mrs. Clark Hopkins and Dr. Miss Hazel Hansen were omitted)

- 1 In 1902 I visited Myriophyto, which belonged to Turkey, and since then I have always had the idea that the two long flat hills on the opposite, east bank of the River Retsinikia, the ancient Sandanos represented the site of Olynthos. But no one had ever tested the hills by systematic excavation ... In B.S.A, XXI, 1914-1916, p 11, Mr. Wace said that it was hoped that the British School at Athens would before long be able to begin excavations, but Mr. George Macmillan, Chairman of the British Committee, was kind enough to call a meeting of his committee at which it appeared that no application had been made to the Greek authorities though the question had come up a good many times. Mr. Macmillan wrote "It hardly was a case of withdrawing an actual claim. The British School does not hold any rights in the matter, so that it is quite open to you or any American organization to approach the Greek authorities. ... It would be impossible for us, in any case, to tackle the site at the present time."

THE PLAY

A play in four acts, and an itinerary covering Europe and Greece, 1927-1928

ACT 1

Miss Wilhelmina van Ingen

Left USA	(05) August, 1927
London	15 August-25 August
Paris	25 August-03 September
Florence	04 September-10 September
Rome	10 September- 21 September
Naples	22 September- 25 September
Taranto-Brindisi	25 September- 28 September
Athens	30 September-

ACT II

Miss van Ingen, and others

Athens

Northern School Trip

Chalcis, Delphi, Livada 05-14 October

Peloponnesus School Trip 14-22 November

Crete/Knossos School Trip 02- 11 March

Athens

ACT III

Miss van Ingen, Miss Eunice Stebbins, Mr. Herbert Couch and Mr. Ted Grace,
With cameo appearances by Mrs. Carl Blegen, Mrs. Burt Hodge Hill, and Dr. and
Mrs. David Robinson

Olynthus Dig and Myriophyto 16 March 1927- 05 May 1928

ACT IV

Miss van Ingen, Mr. Ted Grace, and others

Return to Athens

Two Cyclades Trips (personal, with Ted Grace, and various others) June 1928

Return to USA 04-23 July 1928

Exile from Olynthus

Fay ce que voudras



Prologue

In the late Summer of 1927 the society pages of local Rochester, New York newspapers announced that Wilhelmina van Ingen, a recent (1926) Vassar art-history graduate, would be spending the late Summer traveling in England, France, Italy and Greece. Ms van Ingen had spent the previous months as a teaching assistant to Prof. D. Robinson of Johns Hopkins Univ. who was also a summer lecturer at Notre Dame (Baltimore). In October 1927 she would join the American School for Classical Studies in Athens, continuing her graduate studies toward a degree in archeology at Johns Hopkins University with Prof. Robinson. Her Mother, Ethel Bell van Ingen—the daughter-in-law of a well recognized painter, Henry Van Ingen, Vassar Professor of Art from 1865 to 1898—was quite socially prominent in local scenes. The premature death of her husband, the architect Hendrik van Ingen, had left the Family very close knit.

Ms van Ingen would join the American School at a critical time. Greece was in disarray due to the recent (1923) Greek defeat in Turkey. The Greek and Armenian massacres during the burning of Smyrna, and the economic conditions created by the influx of nearly one million refugees due to the forced ethnic migrations to/from Anatolia and the Piraeus/Thessaloniki-Macedonian areas imposed by the Treaty of Lausanne changed Greek landscape, politics and fiscal stability. Greek archeological studies were in the hands of organizations from Europe and the United States. Strong personalities, driven by ambition and egos, lusted after new digs. Luminaries such as Blegen, Capps, Carpenter, Hill and Robinson variously flitted and soared over the overturned earth. Ms van Ingen studied at the American School from mid-October 1927 thru March 1928, doing lecture, lab and field studies. From mid-March thru mid-May 1928 she worked on the famous, or possibly infamous, 1928 Olynthus dig site with Prof. Robinson. In early July she sailed back to the United States.

Her experiences, verbalized and analyzed from a personal perspective, are described vividly in personal five-year diary formatted entries, and in frequent, long, nearly biweekly letters written to her Mother. Some 90 letters, handwritten communications averaging ~4 page-faces each, survive. These emotion-filled writings are one interpretation of what is typical of the Laocoon entanglements common in academic circles, but which seldom are revealed to the lay public. What really happened in that singular spring, as classical history and current events collided? Fugacious historical beliefs and miasmal scientific truths are created and consumed by fire-storms in human minds.

Let's look at some of the pivotal diary entries and sections of her letters to touch the threads of the fabric of that fateful year. Wilhelmina (Willy) was just 22 years old, her mother was 56.

August 1927

Background: Willy van Ingen sailing on the S.S. Minnesota to England. Eppie (Einice Burr Stebbins), her friend and fellow student, sails on the 12th of August. Eppie and Willy would cross paths in Europe, and often travel together, as they made their way to Athens, and the American School of Classical Studies (ASCSA). In the following extracts from the communications from Willy to Mrs. Van Ingen, Eppie morphs to "Nike", the Greek nickname for her given name "Eunice" (Pronounced "Neekee"). Eppie already knew Herbert Couch, a Canadian-American who appears later in the experiences, as well as his Family. The Father, Dr. Couch, was a FRCS in Edinburgh, and Herbert was affiliated with the ASCSA. Ted Grace, an American co-student also appears in the cast of characters. Other colleagues, teachers, and minor players (but major minds) have been introduced previously.

**LETTERS (letters to my “little Mother” written by Ms van Ingen),
followed by pertinent DIARY ENTRIES written by Ms van Ingen.**

06 August 1927, (aboard ship, enroute to Europe) **A glorious day. ... I would rather stand in the bow and watch the water swirl back than dance with a lot of men whom I don't know and will never meet again.**

August-September, Traveling in England and Europe

20 August London

I had a note from Mrs. Hill the other day. She is in Scotland ... and (I) will just miss (her), and will miss Mrs. Hill in Rome too, and she's not getting to Athens till November 1st, which is just my luck. (at Vassar, the Hill/van Ingen families had been friends for three generations)

24 August Paris

A youth came and sat by me, and ordered dinner in a masterful way, with admirable French, but he had an English novel with him. He caught my eye, grinned, and made some remark about not knowing French very well. We fell to chatting ... he had been to Princeton for a couple of years, and has been in Paris for three, studying literature at the Sorbonne, but not vary diligently apparently. He dashes off to Vienna, Nice, Munich and Florence when the spirit moves him. He could talk most interestingly about most anything, and listening to my chatter about Athens without seeming bored. He knows Richard Halliburton, ... and says he is a great poser. He (I don't know his name) said “Aren't you going to have a liqueur?. The Benedictine here is very good”. To which my puritanical soul replied ‘Willy, you've had a glass and a half of wine already’. And up popped my little Devil and said ‘go on- it won't hurt you, and it's your first night in Paris’. So I said yes. It is the most intriguing stuff, very bitter, yet very sweet too.

Then he said “If you really want to see Paris you should go to the Café de la Rotonde for a cup of coffee after dinner. Won't you come with me now?” He looked and talked like a perfectly decent sort of chap, and I thought ‘hang it all, why not’, and did ... He saw me back to my hotel at the decent hour of nine-thirty. Probably I'll never see him again, but I shall always have a warm spot in my heart for him. ... Why didn't you bring me up to think that wine and nudes were a sin?!

You can meet everyone from Vassar in Paris. Met Mary Westcott and learned that Athens hasn't its new water supply yet, and they turn the water off for part of the day so there isn't even any in the ASCSA Annex (where we'll be staying). (She says)- “The School itself is above where they turn the water off so it's more

civilized. But any unpleasantness is overbalanced by the thrills of all the ancient things around you. Any other museum seems like a junk pile after you've seen the ones in Athens."

11 September Rome

The Hotel Girardet is the real hangout for the Vassar faculty when they are in Rome ... Mrs. Hill (is due in later.)

23 September Naples

Slept in most of the morning, and the afternoon I've done nothing more than write Dr. Robinson to report progress.

29-30 September 1927, Sailed through the Corinth Canal to Piraeus, Greece

ATHENS BASED

04 October **1927** Athens

The first couple of days here I was quite miserable and unhappy most of the time- partly because I was still weak from my siege in Taranto, partly because it was all so different from what I had looked forward to it being, with Mrs. Hill not at the School. I realized the whole awful situation so much more than I ever had before. I quote from her note "I shall hope to see a great deal of you, I still feel it is the irony of fate to hand over a ewe lamb for the wolves to devour, but what is there to do about it? You will get a lot out of the year, and there are many extras you can work in." We have had one formal meeting of the School, and Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Meritt explained about the trip (to Chalcis, Livadia and Delphi). ... Mr. and Mrs. Mylonas; he is the school bursar...are so cordial and kind, and such fun. He has a Ph.D. from the U. of Athens.

Eppie says that Mr. Meritt has already made one or two slurring remarks about Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen, but Mr. Mylonas is a perfect gentleman. He speaks of Mr. Blegen's knowledge of prehistory with great respect and asked if I had known Mrs. Hill at Vassar ... you wouldn't guess from his manner that the situation was strained at all.

10 October Livadia

... On the 7th we had a ghastly day ... and the Fall rain set in with a thud. The dried lakes (in the wetland country) were almost lakes again, and we had quite a time getting out through the soupy roads. The sleeping bags were essential, since there were more live creatures in the hotel's bedrooms than just us. We had lunch in a little Greek inn ... and drank ouzo to warm us- (it is) a Greek liqueur which is distilled from the lees of wine and smells like anise, and resinated wine.

15 October Athens

The second evening in Delphi, Eppie and I went out after dinner to enjoy the moonlight. We sat on the corner of the foundation of the Treasury of the Potideans and watched the full moon rise above the bank of clouds and light up

the excavations, and gleam in the gray limestone crags of Mt. Parnassus far above our heads.

20 October Athens

After tea in the Zappeion Gardens we watched the sun set behind the Olympieion and the Acropolis- the sky all purple and gold, and Hymeltus behind us was violet. The Southern trip will be very interesting- Bassae, the Langada Pass, Sparta, Mistra with its monastery, Mycenae, Corinth ...

23 October-06 November (no letters)

Extended School trip beginning with a four car caravan to archeological sites south of Athens, including Corinth, Messene, Bassae, Megalopolis, Sparta, Mistra, Mantinea, Argos, Mycenae ...

07 November Athens

Your advice about keeping my mouth shut came just in time. We were at Corinth, where Mr. Hill has excavated for years, and Mr. Broneer (then Director of the 1927-28 Summer Session and future lecturer in archeology at The School) had been trying to explain the nine different building periods of the Fountain of Priene, and couldn't distinguish them. He ended by saying that Mr. Hill was the only person who could do it. We had been scrubbing around prehistoric mounds looking for shards, and when we'd ask Mr. Broneer to classify the ones we'd found he'd make a feeble guess, and say that Mr. Blegen was the only one who could tell for sure. I wanted to howl "well, you have killed the goose that laid the golden egg, haven't you". Everybody's nerves were getting raw from being tired and everybody was criticizing Mr. Broneer for the way he managed things. Your letter came just in time, and I held my tongue and said what I could in favor of Broneer who really tried awfully hard. But he just lacks the personality and the knowledge to make a success of it as Mr. Meritt did.

...Mr. Mylonas cheers my soul greatly. He ... admires Mr. Blegen tremendously, and tells how they sometimes blindfold him and he can tell a *middle* from a *late* Helladic sherd just by the feel. Some innocent soul asked "where's Mr. H. now?" and Mr. M. said "in Athens, getting his Corinth material ready for publishing" and went on about how he'd been over the manuscript and how beautifully accurate it was. Then somebody else said one might think they'd let Mr. H. go on excavating it, and Mr. M. said "well, it's all too bad, and I don't like to talk about it", and shut up. I could have hugged him.

Mr. M. is suggesting all sorts of delightful trips for ... us to take in the Spring, poking around and having as much time as we want to spend at interesting places, walking or going on mules. And during the winter we want to be off on one-day trips at least once a week. Hazel of course knows the country very well, and Eppie and I like the idea of going around with her because we're all more or less seriously inclined, while some of the others sort of go "just for the ride". That sounds priggish, but I think you can see what I mean. ... [Hazel is Hazel Dorothy Hanson, Stanford University, an ASCSA student]

I like the Greeks a lot, particularly the people in the country and small towns. They are cordial and hospitable, and one feels perfectly safe with them.

I can't go into detail about this last trip (to Corinth)- there's too much- it will have to wait till I can talk and show the pictures. Corinth was lovely. We climbed Acrocorinth and got to the top in time to see the sunset over a wonderful view – to the north the Gulf of Corinth with Mount Parnassus, Helicon and Cithaeron beyond. And to the south the mountains of Argos and Arcadia. We came down by moonlight.

November 14th we go by railroad to Olympia- a 16-hour ride- and stay there for two days, and return stopping over one day at the interesting convent of Megaspilion. Mr. Carpenter will conduct that trip.

As soon as we get back from that trip the real work will begin— and since I want to take almost all the courses that are offered I shall be fearfully busy. But it's the chance of a lifetime.

10 November Athens

Tuesday night Eppie and Hazel and I went to the Zappeion for tea. There was a very pale sunset, and afterwards the Acropolis was a violet mass of lovely outlines against a greenish sky. Hymettus was violet too.

Last night ... we went up to the Acropolis with Mr. And Mrs. Mylonas and the Wallaces and the Hopkins. It was a full moon, and thrillingly lovely. We walked under the south side of the Acropolis with the heavy bastions of the fortifications towering above us, with just one corner of the Parthenon peeking out over the edge; then around to the west side and up the steps through the Propylaea, and out on to the bastion of the Nike Temple. We stayed there for some time looking out to the Hymettus and the sea. Then we prowled around the Parthenon and viewed part of the Propylaea framed between the two columns of the Parthenon, and Lycabettus framed in columns with the outline of Hymettus behind. The Porch of the Maidens was exquisite. Looking through the north Porch the front columns were clear and bright in the moonlight, and the columns behind them black so that they looked like shadows of the front ones against the sky. The buildings didn't look coldly white, but one could see something of the warm brown that makes them seem so much a part of the rock on which they stand.

12 November Athens

Mr. Mylonas told me at dinner last night that Mrs. Hill had arrived in Athens yesterday morning, and that he had seen her and she asked all about me. So we went (to meet her), ... first Mrs. Blegen appeared and welcomed me cordially, and then Mrs. Hill came in- and it seemed so beautifully natural- and her eyes are just as blue as ever, and she was wearing blue to match them, just as always... and I'm happier than I've been in ages!

21 November Athens

Last Monday we took the six o'clock train for Olympia, a fifteen hour ride. We followed the coast line around to Corinth ... all the way to Patras. We spent two days going over the ruins and museum at Olympia. Elis is so different from the rest of Greece- a flat plain with lots of oak trees in it. The precinct at Olympia is full of pine trees ... so that you have the soft sound of the wind in the branches continuously. There were little pink-and-white and yellow daisies everywhere.

Mr. Carpenter's talks on the sculptors in the museum were really thrilling- his course in sculpture ought to be great.

Thursday we left Olympia by starlight in the early morning by train, and then took the cog railway up to the monastery of Megaspilaion. We went up through a beautiful gorge with a mountain torrent rushing below us, and high cliffs towering above our heads. We then walked about forty-five minutes up a winding path, and finally arrived at the monastery and the hotel connected with it, which clung to the side of the cliff just under its very top. There was a magnificent view back down the valley, with dark green pine trees everywhere, except just along the stream where the plane trees made a ribbon of autumn colors. We got up the next morning by starlight and went to the six o'clock service in the little Byzantine church, which is underground, or rather back in the "big cave", from which the place gets its name. It was rather lovely- the flickering candles and the black-robed priests with their gray beards and pigtailed chanting the service. ... Then back down the gorge again, and on the train to Athens. It was a lovely afternoon, and the gulf a deep blue that sometimes flicked to green and purple, and the mountains across were a dreamy pink with blue shadows.

{Saturday}

In the afternoon came the "thrillingest" thing so far— Dorpfeld's first lecture. He is a German Archeologist, the acknowledged authority on all problems of Athenian topography, and for years has lectured on the spot every Saturday afternoon to all who will come. He held forth in the theatre of Dionyseus last time about the stage buildings and stage ... He spoke in German, but a very clear German, so that even I could follow him and got most of his points. He's a hale and hearty, ruddy and silky haired old man with brilliant eyes that gleam as he follows along his argument, and seems to be looking at you alone. He is such a convincing speaker that it isn't until you've come away that it even occurs to you to doubt any of his theories. The members of our School are expected to attend all of his lectures, and it will be a pleasure as well as a privilege- also good for my German.

This morning Mr. Carpenter announced the program for the winter. Short school trips to places near at hand ... sometimes extending over Sunday and Monday. On Wednesday and Saturday mornings through December Mr. Mylonas will lecture on prehistory in the museum, and after December one or more mornings will be taken by Mr. Carpenter's lectures on sculpture ... by Mr. Meritt's lectures on topography. Thursday morning Mr. Meritt will lecture in the epigraphic

museum on inscriptions. Wednesday afternoon Professor Bonner gives his course on problems in Greek religion, and Friday afternoon one on Theocritus and the Bucolic poets. I am going to start out taking all of the courses.

When I returned from Olympia I found a letter from Mrs. Hill saying that she and Mrs. Blegen are going to be at home to-morrow afternoon, and wanted me to come and help. ... Isn't that nice?

This morning I had a nice letter from Davy— I had written him for advice about next year. I'll quote a paragraph just to show how he looks after his students: "Mr. Mylonas wrote me (Davy) that he had definitely decided to come to Hopkins and I think I ought to give him the Vogeler fellowship, and any other help I can. I hope to get him some teaching. The Harcum fellowship ought to be available for women, and perhaps that will help you a little. In any case I want you to take your Ph.D. next year and get it out of the way. See all you can this year and take Showerman's course in Rome (next July). I'll see you through somehow if I have to lend you the money. But let us try for reappointment to a Carnegie Fellowship. Put in your application and tell me when and where I must write" Now, isn't he a dear? ...

It does warm my heart and make me eager to try- and if he is set on having me get my degree next year I must do it if possible- for there's no telling what's in his mind or what he may know about future situations and things that I can't foresee. He ... is coming to Athens about Jan. 15th. He wants me to talk to Carpenter about starting my dissertation. Let's pray that the Carnegie people still love me.

Later-

Mr. Mylonas likes our idea of talking Greek at table. He is such a peach, and always so cheerful and full of fun even when he is dead tired. Of course this year he's the only one of the old regime left over and Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Meritt come to him with all sorts of things that they're not sure about. He must be in his early thirties, but he acts like a perfect boy most of the time, which is all the more amazing after the dreadful experiences he is said to have had at the time of the Smyrna disaster.

24 November Athens

I had an awfully nice tea at Mrs. Hill's last Tuesday. Mrs. Mylonas poured, and Mr. Mylonas and I passed around tea and cakes and made ourselves generally useful.... I met Mr. Hill again, but of course didn't have much opportunity to talk to him. Mr. Blegen is at the U. of Cincinnati lecturing this Fall, but returns to Greece in February.

Eppie and I dashed around and left cards at the American Legation and the German and English Schools- Athens is very proper about card leaving- and at the Carpenters, Meritts, and Bonners.

Next morning

The Thanksgiving dinner at the school was great. ... All the men wore tux, and the girls wore evening dresses, so it was very gay. ... We finished at 11.30 (!) and then danced for a bit, some played bridge, and a half dozen of us had an exciting game of rummy. We reached The Annex about 2 A.M. I had an interesting conversation with a Mr. LaLarge who is in Greece for a short while and staying at The Annex. He is an architect. He knows Claude Bragdon, and we had a lovely time discussing sketching, scene-painting, architectural polychrome and what not.

Sunday morning I went to the opening of the Athens Symphony orchestra with Mr. Westbrook. ... he insisted on taking us to Conti's, a rather nice restaurant, where we had a pleasant meal and a glass of port wine apiece- he claiming it would be good for his misbehaving tummy ...and I claimed it would be good for my cold. ... I hope my occasional indulgences in the foul fiend alcohol aren't disturbing you- I am really very discreet.

Sunday afternoon the whole school was invited to the Scoggins' for tea- he is the librarian of the Gennadeion. We had charades afterwards, and it was great fun.

08 December Athens

(Monday) during dinner a note arrived from Mrs. Hill saying that they had an extra ticket for the Arthur Rubinstein recital, and would I like to go with them. They (Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen) called for me a little before ten-nothing begins until ten in the evening, for the Greeks don't dine until 8:30 or nine- and brought me home again afterwards. Mrs. Blegen has a nice closed car and a chauffeur to drive it. I enjoyed myself, of course, being with them- though he is only a fair pianist and the program was rather poorly chosen.

Tuesday was a red letter day. I went to the Hill's again for tea, got there a little early, and found Mrs. Blegen pouring. After I had my tea she made me pour, and this was my first experience at "doing the honors" at any real tea. ... But to come back to the tea- pretty soon I glanced up and saw that Dr. Dorpfeld was there in one corner having a hot session with two of the Greek archeologists. I was thoroughly enjoying myself ... when Mrs. Hill came over to me and asked if I wouldn't like to meet him. ... She introduced me as one of her old students, and then he said she had been a student of his once! and then he sat down and talked with me ... I am still walking on air.

Latest Princeton dirt. I discovered (name deleted) took one of his exams (for the ASCSA) in modern Greek instead of in Ancient Greek Prose Composition— that used to be allowed, but is no more. He claimed to have misunderstood and so it was allowed to pass and he got his fellowship. ... We promptly passed the news on to Davy, and hope he is spreading it. ... He told Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen, and they were highly amused. We wonder if the

mistake would have been allowed to pass if (name deleted) had been at any other place than Princeton.

We anti-Capps people think it is a beautiful joke that everybody is taking the course in pre-history (Blegen's area)- Capps objected strenuously to them, and therefore to Mr. Blegen. Meritt's course in inscription bids fair to be most fascinating- but we shall slave over it I can see.

16 December Athens

Davy says to try for a Vassar fellowship again (!). That Miss Haight (whom I saw in Rome) said to. I must admit I'd feel a bit cheeky to do so- but I may end up trying. But I feel as if I owe so much to Vassar already.

02 January **1928** Athens

...it was the first chance I'd had to talk to Mrs. Hill without lots of other people around. So I spilled some of my distress at not getting more work done and not getting a course in topography. And Prof. Bonner's course in religion not turning out to be as worth while as I had expected, and Dr. Carpenter's unconcern over the work of any of us, and how I was longing for Davy to arrive and straighten me out. (*emphasis added*) The mere process of telling it all (to Mrs. Blegen) cheered me up some, and she gave me some good advice and strengthened my half-formed resolve to kick over the traces and do as I thought best- i.e., quit doing any work for Bonner's courses and start work on my school paper by myself, and exploring Athens and the surrounding country by myself. Blessings on the dear woman for that, for I had been feeling utterly miserable and discouraged for a week.

I am beginning to discover that some of the others aren't entirely satisfied with the way things are going- some of them have no graduate work at all, and yet no one seems ready to give them any help or suggestions.

06 January Athens

I have spent some (\$8) of your Christmas money for a dress- or rather the material for it— hand woven material, silk and cotton, thin and slightly crêpey, and very gleaming in a lovely shade of pink, with loom embroidery in slightly darker pink in a geometrical design, a wide band for the bottom of the skirt and narrower band for the sleeves. It will be a summer afternoon dress to take the place of my class day dress which is pretty faded. I need a pattern. I think the dress would probably be prettiest if made up like the Russe dresses. ... I wonder if you could get a Vogue pattern for me and mail it? ... I want something with big raglan sleeves that are gathered with a little tight cuff. ... The skirt will have to be plain for the material isn't wide enough for kick pleats.

12 January Athens

(Tuesday) night we had a dinner party in honor of Virginia Grace's (student of the School) birthday- Dr. and Mrs. Carpenter, Eppie, Hazel Hanson, and Fred Schaeffer (student of The School) were invited down from The School. It was very gay, and we danced afterwards- that is, some of us- while the rest played bridge. I'm beginning to adore dancing. I wore my black evening dress with the grey embroidery, and everybody admired it and said that the skirt looked so pretty as I danced.

Mr. Couch is arriving tomorrow ...

Davy is arriving on the 20th. Mr. Mylonas saw him in Egypt and Davy wrote Eppie that he (Mr. M.) was very pleased with Hopkins' methods as exemplified by us- and Davy is as proud as can be of us, calling us his "two star aces". Guess we work all the harder. The more I see of other profs and colleges and methods the gladder I am that I landed at Vassar and at Johns Hopkins.

20 January Athens

Mrs. Hill said that she thought she might persuade Mr. Hill to go up on the Acropolis with us sometime and explain some of the things that have puzzled us! She is such a dear- and so is Mrs. Blegen- and they all take the awful situation so beautifully, with never a dig at the opposite faction, though there have been plenty of opportunities to make remarks- and the Capps-Carpenter faction never hesitates to make digs. Mrs. Hill even asked if Eppie- as fellow of the School- would want to be seen up on the Acropolis with Mr. Hill, fearing that the people at the school might make it unpleasant for her. To which Eppie remarked that it was none of their business. I can't help feeling that if the Hills and Blegens just sit tight for a few years the whole thing will settle itself- people in America will begin to realize that they've killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, Capps will be overruled, and the Agora dug by someone who knows how to dig.

The Robinsons arrive to-morrow morning- we're going down to the Piraeus to meet them- and how glad we will be to see Davy!

26 January Athens

The most important (thing) being the arrival of the Robinsons.

Sunday we had a fine excursion (with the Robinsons). We were conveyed from the Piraeus to the naval station in one of the government boats, going through the straits of Salamis over the site of the battle. The Robinsons, Eppie and I had to make a hasty change into evening dress, for we were invited to the Hills for dinner, where we had a lovely time as usual. ...

by the way, Eppie has become "Nike"- the Greek nickname for her name, Eunice.

Saturday morning Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen took us down to the Piraeus in their car, and we poked about the antiquities there. ... Incidentally, we learned

all the latest scandal about the Capps, and it is apparent that he's getting himself in wrong with the Greek authorities over his plan to make the Agora dig "a training school for young archaeologists."- that is, having a lot of inexperienced youngsters with no competent director messing around and ruining everything. Mrs. Hill remarked that if he was given enough rope he would probably hang himself sooner or later. I hope it will be sooner!

Tomorrow afternoon they are taking us out to Marathon- aren't they good to us? We were talking about not caring to go to the School excavations at Corinth, and Mrs. Hill said to me that Mr. Blegen might like to have me go to his excavations of the Mycenaean tombs at the Argive, and told me not to commit myself about going to Corinth... Obviously I should prefer being at his excavations to one conducted by people who don't know so well how to dig- ... please keep your mouth shut about it and anything I might write about the Capps-Hill affair.

Davy plans to excavate at Olynthus up in Chalcidice in Northern Greece and wants to take Eppie, Mr. Couch, and I along, and to begin quite soon. He is going to try to get a house for us to stay in, though we may have to rough it in tents. Mrs. Robinson will go along of course. However, he hasn't his permission from the Greek Gov't yet, so he's not sure of being able to do it- so don't mention that to anyone either until I confirm it.

03 February Athens

Well, I guess I'm in for two months exile in Olynthus. Dr. Robinson has permission from the School and the Greek government to excavate there. He is going up with Mr. Mylonas in a couple of weeks to get workman, and Mrs. Robinson is going along to see about living quarters, cooks, mosquito netting and the like. Nike, Herbert Couch and I are going up immediately after the Cretan trip (about March 15th) and stay until May 15th.

Before I go on I had better tell you something about Olynthus (pronounced O-lin-thus). It is in Chalcidice- that is way up in Macedonia in the North(eastern) part of Greece. Three little fingers stick down ...



We go to Saloniki by train and out to Olynthus by bus. Of course, he's not absolutely sure of finding anything. This particular mound of earth is thought to be the site of Olynthus, but when he starts digging it may turn out to be a prehistoric mound, in which case he will have to abandon the dig, since the British have first rights to all prehistoric sites in Macedonia. ... It may prove to be an exciting dig- the city was destroyed by Philip of Macedonia in 348 BC, so there will be no boring Roman stuff- anything we find will be of the best classical period.

Nike and I are a bit sad at having to spend two months there- we had been planning all sorts of pleasant trips for the Spring... But Dr. Robinson was given permission to dig on the provision that three members of the American School would be at the dig all the time- and Nike, Herbert and I seem to be the three. You see, it all goes back to that ogre Capps- he wants to keep all American Excavations in Greece in the hands of the School. He tried to prevent Mr. Blegen's digging at Heraeum this Spring until he found that the University of Cincinnati and Mrs. Hoppin would give their money to Mr. Blegen alone, and not to the School, now that he is no longer connected with it, and so he (Capps) jumped over the fence and is now all graciousness and willingness to allow Mr. Blegen to dig. I got all this from Mr. Blegen's letters which Mrs. Blegen read to Nike and me the other day. Similarly, Capps was trying to block Dr. Robinson's plans, and Mr. Carpenter had express orders from him not to get him a permit- but now for some reason he has changed his mind, and the American School's sponsoring the dig and insisting on having three of its members there all the time to see that things are run properly! As Mrs. Hill remarked yesterday "You think babes who have never held a shovel will go along to see that Mr. Robinson doesn't make any mistakes"?

It's all very silly, but none of us feel that we can revolt and refuse to go entirely, and of course it is a rare opportunity, and ought to count for something in the future- just the fact of having helped excavate Olynthus, I mean.

The three of us had a row with Davy a few days ago. He had asked Jo Johnson to go along- or rather Mr. Carpenter had suggested that he take him. Jo is one of the (ASCSA) fellows and the most objectionable, rude, crude, mean and unpleasant ass and oaf I've ever known. They can't take him to the excavations at Corinth because he can't get along with any of the others; and we knew that he was simply being unloaded on Davy. We told him so, and that we didn't want to go if he was going. Davy got mad and was as mean as he can be, and we decided it was policy (sic) to eat dirt and apologize, and Nike and I wept on each other's shoulders a bit and vowed eternal loyalty to one another, and altogether things were a bit messy for a day or two. It's all passed over now- Davy must realize that we were right, for Mrs. Hill and Mr. Mylonas had told him the same things we discovered later. Of course we three will be very useful to him- so I doubt if Jo goes.

The biggest blow to me is that I won't be able to go to the Argive with Mr. Blegen. That rather hurts. I was telling my woes to Mrs. Hill yesterday, and she said that the only thing for me to do was to get my PhD. next year so that I could be free, and then come back ... as soon as possible. "and, of course there will never be a year in which Mr. Hill or Mr. Blegen won't be digging". Well, life is a funny mess, but of course I'm young, and there will be other years.

06 February Athens

Davy will pay all our living expenses up there (Olynthus), so that my only outlay will be fare up and back...there won't be the ways to spend money up there that there are in Athens either- so I ought to be about \$100 to the good.

Sunday we gave a tea to the School people- students and faculty. About two dozen came to the first, and three dozen to the second. Of course we had to separate the School from the Hills- the sheep from the goats- and I leave you to infer which is which.

15 February Athens

Dr. Robinson insists that I must file an income tax return. He says that he thinks the fellowships count as regular income. ... The thing for you to do is to inquire if I have to pay it, and if I do get them [the bank] to fill it out (before Mar. 15th) and deduct the amount from my balance... The chief difficulty is that the fellowship years does not coincide with the income tax year...I will note down the amounts received, and the bank will doubtless know how to arrange it.

Income from 1926-27

Vassar College Fellowship \$	800
Phi Beta Kappa Prize	50
For teaching Dr. Robinson's	90

Greek classes at Notre Dame in November	
Assistant for Dr. Robinson	125
Vogeler Fellowship (J.H.U.)	225
Income 1927-28	
Carnegie Fellowship	2000
Vassar Fellowship	700
Income Jan 1 '27- Jan 1, '28	
Second Installment Vassar Fell.	400
2nd and 3rd installments for assisting Dr. Robinson	83.33
Carnegie Fellowship	2000
1st installment Vassar Fellowship	350

PS: Had a lovely trip to Corinth yesterday. ... On the way back we stopped at Karak(os), the prehistory town which Mr. Blegen dug and from which he got his Helladic chronology. I found some nice potsherds on Thursday.

24 February Athens

Mr. Mylonas is back from Olynthus and Nike and I had a long confab with him about it all. They have comfortable living quarters in the second floor of a house in the refugee village and have started digging. Please don't say to people in general any more than that I am going to be at Dr. Robinson's excavations at Olynthus— particularly after I go up there and write about what I am doing and finding...such things aren't supposed to be generally known until they are published. Also there are all sorts of intrigues and difficulties and confusions which I don't want to take the time to write about now.... The two months in Olynthus may not be unalloyed pleasure— Davy is exceedingly difficult to get along with and not always entirely to be commended in his actions- but enough of that.

02 March Athens

... never quote anything from my letters to the paper ... for there are so many intrigues and situations ...if anything got into the papers it might reflect on me or on the others. ...

You can say that Professor David M. Robinson of the Johns Hopkins University is excavating at Olynthus in Macedonia, and that he is taking me and two others of his students as assistants. The excavation is under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

Herbert got back from Olynthus yesterday, and judging from his reports we will be living quite comfortably there. We have five rooms on the second floor of the house of the village president of Myriophyto, about 15 minutes walk from the dig. [We'll] probably go up to Olynthus on the 13th.

Last Saturday night I had a gay time- went to a dance with Ted (Grace) and Theo and Miss Papademetriou, a tremendously interesting Greek girl who is on the refugee settlement commission and goes all over Greece giving out land to the refugees. ... It was also the second night of carnival and so very gay, with much throwing of confetti and flowers. Also we had champagne- my first- and don't I like it!

02 March to 11 March, School trip to Crete

transfer to the Chalcidic dig OLYNTHUS/MYRIOPHYTO

16 March Myriophyto (Olynthus dig)

Reached Saloniki on Wednesday. It was raining when we reached Saloniki. They had sent out the car for us. We piled ourselves and what baggage we could into it, sending the rest of the baggage around by boat, and bumped and jolted over forty miles out to Myriophyto where we are living. We went out to the dig that afternoon, and again the next morning, but it was cold and windy. Davy sent Nike and me back to the house, she to clean and catalogue coins, and I to make drawings of the fragments of vases that they have been finding- which we have been doing these two days.

Myriophyto is a tiny village with a larger refugee settlement attached. The hill which is Olynthus is near- about ten minutes walk. We have the top floor of the house of the President of the village- a big dining-living room, a bedroom for the Robinsons, one for Nike and me, another for Herbert (Nike and Herbert engaged to be married at Saloniki at end of seasons dig), and a room where we store the finds and the Campbell's soup. There is a stove or fireplace in every room- and believe you me we need them, for it's bitterly cold. But it's comfortable for a dig, and the food copious and good.

So far they haven't found much that's exciting- lots of private houses, terracotta, vase fragments, coins, etc., but no public buildings or inscriptions. ... I'm glad for the practice in drawing. It all will help in something that really matters- and I can see that Mrs. Hill has ideas in her head for future years. ... I'm rather passive about excavating- it's not such an exciting dig, so far, and one can't approve of all of Davy's methods- and it's cold and misting. And now I'm cold, and missing the Annex.

18 March Olynthus

In the late afternoon arrived some friends of the Robinsons, Mr. and Mrs. Seltman. He is professor of classics at Cambridge University, England, and a perfectly delightful person, as is she. She is quite a numismatist, and we spent the evening looking over the coins that we have found to date. She could identify most of them immediately Of course it helped Nike a lot with her cataloguing.

... She thinks he has discovered a spot for the location of a temple, and is going to start a trench there tomorrow morning. I wish something like that would materialize, for the dig hasn't been very rich so far- of course house walls are interesting and enlightening, but some public buildings would be a joy.

21 March Olynthus

I wouldn't make too big a splurge about my going to Olynthus. Things are not developing as rosily as they might, and it is possible that the time will come when I will not care to add my presence at this dig to my list of credentials.... Don't be too definite about my plans for next year. ... Don't worry - I'm perfectly sane and all right and the mess will clear up eventually- but I just wanted to warn you.

I don't mean to tell you to suppress the fact that I'm here-say that I am, and any generalities gleaned from my letters can be given to interested friends- but be discreet. Also don't be definite about my plans for next year. All this may sound very puzzling to you I know, but I can't take the time to write the books which would be necessary to explain myself in full. Lots can happen in two months, and life some time's rather hellish.

27 March 1928 Olynthus

It may be difficult to get away from here (the prospect of a 20 day trip to the islands)- Davy seems to think I'll stay on indefinitely. ...Two months at this excavation is plenty.

Raining torrents and blowing hard enough to remove your eyelashes, so the dig was called off ...

(At home) presently we detected faint sounds above the wooden ceiling of our room. We were only mildly interested, and attributed them to rats. They continued, interspersed with occasional thumps of increasing loudness. We thought it might be lumps of plaster or mud from the tile roof, loosened by the continued rain, and sent Herbert out to investigate. He reported no hole in the roof. ... Presently Nike detected a bulge in the wooden planks ... Nike announce "I can see daylight through it". "Oh, no" said Herbert, with commendable calmness "It's fire". There was a general rush for water ... from the well outside ... and the carpenter from downstairs, Herbert, and Mr. Mylonas passed up buckets to a hole that had been made by removing tiles. It was all over in just a few minutes. We had previously noted that there was no chimney directly above our fireplace, but assumed that the flue turned beneath the roof and joined the one from the kitchen stove. Instead the smoke and heat simply poured into the space between the wooden ceiling and the tile roof.

02 April Olynthus

Last Saturday was a glorious sunshiny day with promise of Sunday's being fair too- so since it was to be Herbert's last Sunday here (he goes to join the people

from the American Academy in Rome, and will travel with them). He and Nike wanted to spend it together- which of course meant my presence as chaperone. ... We engaged three horses and a man to look after them, put up a lunch, slung our cameras over our shoulders, mounted our not-to-noble steeds, and set off at a leisurely walk towards Portes, the site of the ancient city of Potidaea. ... It was a warm sunny day, but misty, so that we could not see the more distant mountains to the east- we saw Mt. Olympus for a while to the west, like a white cloud low in the sky, but it faded presently. The sea was very blue, the country through which we passed fairly flat, covered with fields, and marshy by the sea. There were lots of farmers ploughing with ox teams, and flocks of sheep and goats tended by cunning raggedy little boys. ... We arrived at Portes at about one, and proceeded to scour the village for coins- the refugees find many digging the cellars for their houses. Pretty soon we were surrounded by a crowd of men and small boys each with his hoard of coins- we picked them over and chose the ones that looked like interesting ancient Greek ones, and bargained for them with much laughter and motion. I came away with fifteen coins- two silver and the rest bronze-

It was a blissful day removed from the Robinsonian atmosphere, and soothing to our edgy nerves. I hope that Davy let's us go out some more [to the dig]-certainly we are needed, for there are so many workmen and trenches that it is impossible to keep close enough watch over things. ... Less than six weeks more of this place. I'm glad of that, for it is not proving very profitable, much less enjoyable.

I've been hinting around to you in my recent letters about changes in plans...it is only fair for me to tell you what's up in a general way. We will have to entitle the sad tale "One More of Life's Disillusionments"; or "Fooled Once More"., and proceed to say that since Davy's arrival in Athens two short months ago, circumstances have forced me to change my opinion of Davy entirely- said circumstances being Davy's own actions. In brief he is a poor scholar, ungentlemanly, and not always honest. The unscientific way in which these excavations are being conducted is a scandal. That is already being aired in Athens. Nike and Herbert intend to drop all connections with him as soon as they are married and leave the dig. If I don't get my Carnegie Fellowship I shall not take my Ph.D. from Hopkins. If I do get it, I suppose it would be folly for one of my poverty to refuse it, so I shall have to go back to Hopkins and take my degree with a man I'll always be ashamed of. I may be goaded to the extent of refusing it if I do get it. Nike, Herbert, and I are utterly miserable here- except for the consolation we find in each other's company.

04 April Olynthus

Don't make a fool of yourself by praising Davy ...and, don't say too much about my connection with the Olynthus dig, for in years to come I may not care to boast of it. Herbert plans to go to some German University for a year's study as soon as he can to wipe out the stain of his Hopkins' Ph.D.

Be ready for anything- such as swearing you need me at home next Winter.

...Of course Davy doesn't realize how disgusted we are with him- and barges blissfully and egotistically on ... At first I thought I wouldn't say anything about it until I got home, but then it seemed better to prepare you for what might be coming.

I was up at the dig all day today- doing what I could to keep one trench with fifty workmen in order, and keep some sort of a record of the finds.

11 April Olynthus

Davy is more or less on his good behavior [in the presence of the Hopkins], though he's always sticking sly little digs into the conversation that Nike and I know are meant for us. Also, there is a constant nervous strain trying to keep one's temper and not get wrought up over things, and seeing the dig carried on in such a careless way, and not being able to do anything about it. I shall continue at Hopkins- after all there are so few places where one can get graduate work in archeology. And in after years I suppose that I would be thought of as having a Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University, and not from David. M. Robinson. The only thing for me to do is to possess my soul in patience and await developments

Today Miss Lillian Wilson arrived to join our forces. She is about sixty, and took her Ph.D. with Davy- has money, and contributed to the fund for this dig. She seems very pleasant.

Nike and I went up to the dig to watch trenches today- a great relief after having been cooped up in the house constantly doing close work. I hope Davy lets us go out more.-certainly we are needed for there are so many workman and trenches that it is impossible to keep close enough watch over things. The river is still quite full of water, so we wade across, and come back pig-a-back on some of the workmen.

... I have been watching one trench- there were 131 workmen in it today, in an area of about thirty square yards (sic), and it is impossible to keep an adequate record of what is found- and as soon as I get some little orderly plan worked out, Davy comes along and changes everything, so it's all rather futile.

The chief value of this experience to me will be that I shall have formed some ideas of what NOT to do, and shall have had some opportunity to observe the various sorts of objects which are turned up- if I can remember them until sometime when they can be explained AND dated by someone who knows some archeology.

We've been finding some walls of good building stones, and some isolated blocks, with rubble walls wandering here and there between them- we had hopes at first that it would be a temple, but it is proving to be something else, though goodness knows what. Also, along one of these walls, eleven deep stone lined wells that produce quantities of potsherds- so many that I can't keep an adequate or accurate account of them. Of course it's rather fun in a way- finding things always is- but it's also quite sickening.

We had a great deal of excitement last Saturday. After noon dinner one of the workmen- just a young boy- came down to the house simply streaming in blood from a wound on his head- he had been bending over to pick up a coin, and another man had thrown a shovelful of earth and stones over his shoulder and one of the stones had hit the boy. We did what we could for him ... but his skull might have been fractured, so Nicholas, the cook, got a donkey and took him the nine miles to the American Woman's Hospital. Nike and I went over the next day and found him doing finely. We went on horse back, and walked all the way back.- it was a glorious day.

15 April Olynthus

At 4:40 PM a hoard of thirty-five silver coins turned up in the trench we were watching. It was very exciting- the overseer called me over with an announcement that they had also found four silver coins, and I went bounding over with eagerness since most of coins are bronze. By the time I arrived several more had come to light, and we sifted in the earth in that region and found several more.

... (a writing interlude during which I kill six bed-bugs) ...

(Monday) Mr. Carpenter is coming up here soon. We are wondering what will happen then.

Ted Grace blew in last Thursday. The men went to Athos, the Eastern most peninsula of the Chalcidice. No female thing is allowed on the peninsula- hence the reason for our being left behind. (On his return) Ted cheered my soul considerably by telling me all about Sir Arthur Evans' recent lecture in Athens. (Ted) had copious notes on the lecture, which was all about the palace at Knossos which we had puzzled over one day when we were there.

(Ted) said that it looks as if the island trip that Mr. Mylonas was planning will fall through. ... Two months of this place is decidedly enough. ... I've never been more miserable in all my life- (I) hope my sweet disposition isn't permanently ruined.

17 April Olynthus

I never supposed that I'd live to regret the news that I had a Carnegie Fellowship... When the telegram came saying "yes", I shed a few tears. Before he (Herbert) left we had fixed up a code by which he was to let us know the feelings in Athens about the way the dig is being conducted. The telegram today, besides the "yes" for me, let us know that there is general dissatisfaction and disapproval. I sometimes wonder what people will think of me for going back to Hopkins if the scandal becomes known in archeological circles. On the other hand, it may not spread far beyond Athens.

The island trip ...would help in taking the bad taste of Olynthus out of my mouth.

19 April Olynthus

Last night Davy picked a quarrel with Nike and me and made a perfect fool of himself. Fortunately the Hopkins' door was open and Mrs. Wilson's too, so they can't have helped hearing his storming and us answering him perfectly calmly. He accused us of being aloof, of having refused to let Alice Robinson (daughter) share our room, of having insulted Mrs. Robinson, and of a lot more things that were absolutely untrue. Finally, Nike said she thought we'd better go back to Athens if that was his attitude towards us. Of course he didn't fall for that suggestion- he knows darn well that he can't get anyone else to do his coins and drawings for him. Then we remarked that we were glad that Dr. Carpenter was coming up, and he flew off the handle at that and read me a long lecture about how I was responsible to him alone under the terms of my Carnegie Fellowship, that the School had jurisdiction over me, and (conc)'luded with a few remarks about how I was trying to work him for money, and wasn't to be trusted with it, with the implication that I was to eat out of his hand like a little trained dog.

Various letters in the Virginia Tech archives fill in this situation

- The 10 March 1927 advisory letter to Ms van Ingen, covering her first year of Carnegie Corporation sponsorship, states "These grants are designed to aid perspective teachers of the arts to study under the direction of some American institution of their own choosing, either at home or abroad, depending upon their maturity and previous preparation. On or before July 1st of the year of incumbency. The stipends will be paid directly to these institutions, which in turn will confer upon the recipient's appropriate academic recognition."
- A 23 March 1927 confirming letter to her from the Carnegie Foundation states "The Corporation yesterday voted the following appropriation: John Hopkins University, Wilhelmina van Ingen, Amount \$2,000. This amount will be paid to the institution on or before July 1, 1927. Payments to you can be arranged with the University under the direction of your faculty supervisor."
- A 26 March 1927 to her from The Johns Hopkins University President states (in part), "The letter to me from the Corporation states that a grant is made to the Johns Hopkins University and ... I will have your name formally passed upon by the authorities of the University and would like to know what arrangements you desire for the payment of the stipend by the Treasurer of the University."
- A 28 May 1927 letter addressed "To Whom It May Concern" from Prof. David M. Robinson (Davy) reads (in part), "The holder of this letter, Miss Wilhelmina Van Ingen, is a fellow in fine arts of the Carnegie Corporation, and a fellow in archeology and art of the Johns Hopkins University. She is holder of one of the most prestigious fellowships from the Johns Hopkins University [The Vogeler Fellowship]. She is doing research in the field of art and archeology and any kindness that you can show her in connection with her work in museums and otherwise will be appreciated by both the Carnegie Corporation and by the Johns Hopkins University."

My "dutch" was up at that, but I didn't say much, and when he stopped raving we didn't close our door or make any comments until he had left the house. Then I did weep a bit on Nike's very comforting shoulder-both of us thoroughly mad and

disgusted, for he had been so absolutely insulting. During the night I reached the decision that I would leave here at the time of the wedding, refuse the Carnegie Fellowship for the next year on the grounds that I did not care to take my degree under Dr. Robertson, and if he made any fuss about not carrying out my obligations, refund to the Carnegie Corporation the balance of the \$2000, and consider the \$700 Vassar fellowship unspent as a nucleus for next year, and either get a job, or try to go to Harvard.

I can see that he is down on me now that even if I do go back and eat out of his hand he will say untrue things about (me) to people on occasion. I would rather be the one to make the break. We thought that one reason for the outburst was that he was thoroughly scared about Dr. Carpenter coming up here, and had to take it out on somebody. All this mess is harder on Nike and Herbert than it is on me- for they have already taken their degrees with Davy, while I have had warning and can clear out if necessary.

Dr. Carpenter arrived this noon, ... so we asked him if it was possible for us to be released from the dig, still keeping a clean record with the School. We said that we wanted to go on record as having asked to be released- as a protection to ourselves, you see, to show that we wanted to have no connection with the dig. He was marvelously decent about it, and said that he would release us immediately if the situation were too bad. We decided to try to stick it out until May 10th. I spoke of my responsibility to Dr. Robinson under the Carnegie Fellowship... Dr. Carpenter just laughed and said "Pooh, Pooh, responsibility doesn't extend that far. I know those Carnegie people too. You are a student at the School and under my jurisdiction, and can come back to Athens and finish out your year and everything will be all right". So my conscience is calmed and Davy's proved an ass, and life is looking better.

24 April Olynthus

[copy of offering of Carnegie Fellowship for 1928-1929 had arrived]
Before Dr. Carpenter left here I had another talk with him, and asked if he thought it likely that the Carnegie Corporation would consider transferring my fellowship to another institution. He thought it quite likely, if "I stated the reasons why I wanted to go to the new place, rather than the reasons why I was leaving the old".

I have not received the *official* (emphasis added) communication from the C.C. yet so am sparring for time, hoping to hear Mrs. Hill's reaction soon. I think that I shall write them asking for transfer. It has become more and more impossible to think of taking my degree with Davy. It would probably mean publishing some of the Olynthus stuff under his supervision, and that would mean starting my career with a piece of unscholarly work to apologize for. You may not understand at all. I know you were enthusiastic about Davy when you met him- though I will say now that I was already beginning to have my suspicions when you were in Baltimore last Spring. It is awful to have to take such an important step without

talking it over with you, but since I can't, I shall have to go ahead with what I think is right, and trust that when you know all you will approve. Remember this- that if I get a degree at J.H.U. I shall have to publish my dissertation at a cost of about \$500. If I go to Harvard I won't have to publish it.

It's awful- the whole thing- I've lost my appetite and am dog-tired all along from the strain- I don't know what to do or where to turn. But I think if you could have heard the little scene Davy made the other night, plus some of the things he said to Nike since, you would not want me to return. I long for you- but please trust me to do the best I can, and keep your mouth tight shut for the present. I'm sorry it had to be- maybe I shouldn't have mentioned it to you.

29 April Olynthus

Mrs. Robinson came back last Thursday and things have been a little more decent on the surface since then. I think Davy may be suffering a few pangs of remorse, and feeling that he has gone too far. Nike and I are perfectly polite but make no advances.

I think that he opened and read the cable you sent me before he handed it over- it had been opened before I received it, and after it entered this house. In that case he knows I have the Carnegie Fellowship- (I had wanted to spar for time and wait until Herbert brought the official communication)- and (Davy) is bursting with curiosity as to why I haven't said anything about it and (I) can't say anything without admitting that he has been tampering with my mail. Well- let him fuss, it will serve him right.

It has taken all this unpleasantness and the exposition of Davy's character as a man, to wake me up to the realization of how poor a scholar he is at bottom despite his wide spread reputation and many publications. If I felt that I would gain much knowledge at Hopkins I would return despite the disgusting way he has behaved. But I now see that all the archeology I learned at Hopkins last year was what I studied on by myself without any help from him. What has served as a basis for understanding what I have seen and heard this year was learned at Vassar. All my talk about how graduate students shouldn't expect help from their professors etc., etc., was just apologizing for myself and others. ... What I want to teach, and can teach best, is a combination of archeology with (the) history of art. It seems as if I should go to Harvard, and I am pretty sure that I can get my fellowship transferred. After all, it was awarded to me, and not to J.H.U. or to Davy! But I can't take any definite steps 'til I have talked with Mrs. Hill, Dr. Carpenter, and maybe others- so you'll have to remain in suspense for a while yet.

I wrote to Mrs. Hill about the mess, asking for her advice. The news utterly stunned her- for she had heard no report in Athens about how poorly the dig was being managed, and of course Davy had always praised the three of us to her. And the whole thing has come to a head since we have been up here. She advises me to stick it out to the end, and says she can't give any advice about next year until she talks it over with me. (She) will be in Saloniki at the time of the wedding. Then she says that I must return to Athens on the Saturday night

train with her and Mrs. Blegen- they will get my reservations and then "if any remarks are made you can say we did it."

This afternoon Susan and Clark Hopkins and I walked out to the ruined Turkish tower. The fields are lovely- the wheat and barley are getting high, and there are scarlet poppies everywhere, and all sorts of purple and yellow and white flowers.

(Willy reports Earthquake in Corinth, <http://www.greeknet.co.uk/greekcities/corinth.htm>, 30 dead)

03 May Olynthus

(Dear Little Mother) I know my dear that one cannot always do what one wants to in this life-- but one should not be connected with dishonesty and general rottenness, either. I also know that one is disillusioned with regard to people- but that had taken place last year and the early part of this- and I was willing to swallow that, and the ridicule of people for whom I had a good deal of respect, and was willing to go on. But things are altered now.

I am going to write the CC, practically accepting the fellowship, but asking if they would consider transferring it to another institution. Told Davy that we are all going to Saloniki on Wed. the 9th and I announced that I was not returning to the dig after the wedding [Nike and Herbert]. He replied with a lot of bluff that we know was for the best part lies. What happens in the next few days I don't know, nor do I much care.

ADDENDUM 04 May

I have discovered that the best way to deal with him is to have one plans all made, and then announce the facts to him, and set tight while he explodes.

I am beginning to see that being a product of David M. Robinson may be a decided disadvantage- he is thoroughly disliked and discredited by many good scholars and his books, and those produced by some of his students under his direction, have been reviewed most unfavorably. So you see I have reasons to consider my future carefully.

ADDENDUM 05 May The break which we tried so hard to avoid came this morning. I had been sick all night with nervous indigestion, brought on by the tenseness of the situation. Nike was thoroughly aroused. (She) went to the breakfast table announcing that I had been ill all night- that she had seen it coming on, but had hoped it wouldn't happen until we got to Saloniki. Mrs. Robinson took this as a personal insult. Davy came storming in to make her (Nike) apologize)- Nike went into the Robinson's room and remained for half an hour while Herbert and I got "curiouser and curiouser" as to what was happening. Both of them said to her a lot of things about all of us which were absolutely untrue. It ended by their sending for a car to take us in to Saloniki- we packed and were off within an hour and a half. ... We are sending a wire to Dr. Carpenter explaining what has taken place- and great will be the rejoicing at the School, I imagine, for Davy hasn't a friend there.

I'm quite sure the Carnegie people will transfer the fellowship.

SALONIKI

09 May 1928 Saloniki

I must admit that the letters I have been receiving from you lately are small comfort- your repeated reiterations of “a Ph.D. at any price” are beginning to make me froth at the mouth a bit. I guess you don’t understand the situation, for I can’t see how a person of your decency and honor could let your daughter study under a man like Davy- working in a ten cent store would be infinitely preferable.

... The silly charges he has made against us...I’ll tell you someday.

Mrs. Chapman is advising us to forget it all, and we are trying to - except that Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen are going to know the whole story. Mrs. Chapman says she thinks it too bad that any of us should have had to know a man of Davy’s caliber so early in life- that, from a woman of sixty, may shed some light on the situation. ...

Davy told Nike that he had procured the School Scholarship for her-...- and she is going to take the matter up with Dr. Carpenter, and if there is any suspicion of dirty dealing, refund the \$1000.

ADDENDUM 10 May Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen arrived this morning, simply bursting with curiosity to know what it was all about. By the time I had told them a few things they were so thoroughly aroused that they didn’t even want to see the dig- but finally decided they had better since the Robinson’s were expecting them. ... Mrs. Hill did say that she thought I had better go to Harvard. I cautioned her not to know (sic) anything about my plans to Dr. R., and she said “Oh, don’t worry, I’m just going out there to listen”, but there was fire in her eyes.

I had a fat letter from Mr. Holland the other day. He begins “Your report is magnificent, it is everything that a report should be, and consequently you have let yourself in for the penalty attached to a job well done. I come back for more! I certainly wish that you were going to be in Athens for a couple more years. I would turn out a much better work on the Erechtheion than I have any hope of doing without the aid of my Athenian ‘eyes’” ... balm to my hurt soul just now- apparently not so worse after all!

ADDENDUM 12 May Saloniki

Haven’t had much chance to talk to Mrs. Hill or Mrs. Blegen since they came from the dig- except that he (Davy) adopted the injured martyr attitude to them. Although he had been all this time {accusing me} of having led Nike and Herbert astray, he told them that while I was all right at bottom, I had been corrupted by Nike. As Mrs. Blegen remarked, he didn’t dare criticize me too much to Mrs. Hill, who has known my family for three generations. Herbert had a letter from him (Davy) yesterday— full of untrue things about his (Herbert’s) work and general

attitude. Herbert said it rambled on in such an inane way and was all crossed out and written over. Sometimes we are inclined to think he's not quite in his right senses.

Mrs. Blegen very evidently thinks I can't go back to Hopkins. Mrs. Hill does not commit herself as yet— merely asks questions and makes a few comments— her usual good sense and judgment in the fore. ... The wedding is all over ... I go to Athens tonight, to the Lyceum Club dances in the Stadium to morrow afternoon, and to dinner with the Hills in the evening.

Dearest Mother,

Your cable saying "Do as you think best" arrived yesterday, and made me much happier, for in the morning I had received your letters of Apr. 21, 23rd, and 25th advising me to go back to Hopkins, and I hated to be so set against it when you were urging it so strongly. ... Thanks so much dearest Mother for sending the cable. It relieves my mind more than you know.

Willy

ATHENS

18 May 1928 Athens

I am being careful about saying too much to people- indeed I have not told some things to Mrs. Hill, for they are severe indictments- and anyway it is rather an accumulation of little things which don't sound so bad in the telling, but taken all together, with the way in which they were said, showed up the character of the man for what it was. ... but the result of not telling all the things is that Mrs. Hill thinks we have been a bit hysterical and made mountains out of mole hills- which is not so.

However I shall not say much, whether or not I stay at Hopkins- if I transfer it was to get "more history of art". I think that a dignified silence on my part is best- let Davy do the raving. I have given only the "more fine arts" but all of them guess the real reason. Davy is thoroughly disliked by everyone here.

Clark and Susan Hopkins, who were at the dig for a month, raised their eyebrows with a look of what seemed like pleasure, and Susan said she thought I could "work to much better advantage" at Harvard. The Bonners were most sympathetic in attitude, and Mr. Bonner said that if I wrote Mr. Keppel that I wished to change for personal reasons, the transfer would be granted. I'm perfectly sure that Mr. Bonner would be only too glad to write Mr. Keppel himself ... he (Mr. B.) has no use at all for Davy, on account of the dishonest way he bought a papyrus when he was in Egypt this Xmas.

I had a most satisfactory talk with Dr. Carpenter. He said that since the C. C. fellowship was awarded for study at the American School I must satisfy the requirements of the School, and the C.C. people have that understanding (*vide*

supra). Dr. Rs' attitude that I must kow-tow to him alone is entirely wrong. Davy had written him (Carpenter) that he would like me back for a couple of months more, and Dr. C. has written him that I was assigned to the dig for the two months and no more, and that I had to stay in Athens to finish my School paper. Which settles the question. He seems to think that there is hope for the transfer. I discussed the various places with him, and came to the conclusion that Harvard is the best place, with Bryn Mawr as a second choice.

Now that it is all over I can laugh at many of the things that happened- though I cannot pardon them.

Mrs. Chapman has been very comforting. ... She says that we, being young, are more idealistic and demand more of people than we will when we are older...

23 May Athens

... I am trying to decide how much Davy will say to ruin my reputation if I do, or do not, return to him. I think he is a little afraid of me, knowing that I could say things about the dig and his actions that would help to ruin his already failing reputation. He will probably judge me by his own standards and assume that I will say them, when as a matter of fact, I intend not to discuss him at all.

25 May Athens

Just a note to tell you that the long-dreamed of island trip seems to be about to materialize. We leave at nine tonight for Mykonos, stopping at Syra on the way- get to Mykonos sometime tomorrow and find a sail boat to take us to Delos. ... We will take another boat (upon our return to Athens) to Rautorini, stopping at Naxos and Paros on the way. There's still another trip to Samos and Clios which we hope to work in. That will keep us going until about the middle of June, leaving two weeks for finishing up my School paper. I ought to have a reply from the Carnegie people when I get back to Athens in (early) June. The island trip ought to be the best thing yet.

It is so warm, and there is a new moon, and the days are long.

01 June Athens

There has just arrived a cable from Mr. Keppel of the Carnegie Corporation saying "approve either Radcliffe or Bryn Mawr, see my letter of the 21st", which letter would have been in reply to my first one asking if they would consider a transfer and naming Radcliffe as a possibility. The cable was an answer to my second letter definitely naming Radcliffe as first choice and Bryn Mawr as second.

It came as a great relief for I had spent an hour this morning with Mrs. Hill listening to a letter Davy had written about us, and her answer, and hashing things over. His letter was full of the most amazing lies and threats, utterly ridiculous, yet terrible indictments of me, if they were true. One part Mrs. Blegen had interpreted to mean that he would write to the C.C. and offer definite

resistance to my having it changed, even to the extent of having the grant withdrawn. Mrs. Hill had not interpreted it in that way, however, and neither did I, for I did not think that he would have the courage to do it. ... I shall not make a definite decision until I've talked with the Bonners again, and Mr. Carpenter, and Mrs. Hill.

Davy is full of indictments and definite resistance to C.C. changing the status of my grant. Davy claimed that the money belonged to him, but the recent cable from the C.C. asking "approve either Radcliffe or Bryn Mawr" definitely seemed to disprove this. I will have nothing to do with a man as unprincipled as Davy.

04 June Athens

Am sending a cable to Mr. Keppel accepting transfer to Radcliffe.

A nice luncheon with the Hills- Mrs. Hill sees our side now that we've told her everything- and she wrote Davy a beautiful letter in reply to his wild missive to her--

11 May (*erratum*: really June)

I found a letter from Mr. Keppel waiting for me— "we shall be glad to make any transfer of funds necessary to enable you to get suitable direction of your studies in the United States." What could be more simpler than that? And how ridiculous it makes all of Davy's ravings seem! You may tell anyone that I have had my Fellowship transferred to Radcliffe and will be there next year. Here's to the future!

15 June

Mrs. Hill had a second letter from Davy full of untrue accusations of all of us, and trying to get me to go up to Saloniki to do some more drawing. Were I dealing with anyone else I should go up there for ten days, since I had left the dig on May 5th instead of May 15th as had been the original agreement. But considering that I was sent away (which he now denies) it seems to me useless and unwise for me to try to hold to the letter of the law. It would be a concession- and the best way to treat him is not to concede. I shall write him presently, merely stating that I have had my fellowship changed and am going to Radcliffe- no apologies or excuses. Mrs. Hill said that both Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen said that his letter sounded and looked as if it had been written by a madman. And we (Nike, Herbert, and I) are beginning to think he is a "little off".

A letter in the Virginia Tech archives helps interpret ASCSA's view of the situation

- A 15 June 1928 certification letter from Prof. Rhys Carpenter, Director of The ASCSA reads: "It gives me pleasure to certify that Miss Wilhelmina Van Ingen has been a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the year 1927-28, and that she has fulfilled all the requirements and completed all the travel and study expected of the members of the School. I wish also to record my complete satisfaction with Miss Van Ingen's work during the year."

25 June 1928 Athens

Had a wild letter from Davy today- it crossed one I had just written him stating that I had changed to Radcliffe. I'm rather glad to have the letter from him, and shall preserve it- it's a museum piece. Among many threats, he said that he thought of writing to you about my actions, since you might have more influence over me. I doubt if he will- still there's no telling how he will react to the news that I have left him, which he apparently hasn't suspected. If he should, don't let anything he says alarm or worry you, and disregard the letter until you have talked with me. I must insist on that, and please do as I say no matter what may seem right to you or what he may say or threaten. I know the situation better than you do. I am very well, and exceedingly happy. Much, much, much love.

29 June Athens

Things are getting messy again with Davy. I wrote him the other day, merely stating that I had had my fellowship transferred to Radcliffe, and that if he wished a report of what I had been doing since I left Olynthus to send to the Carnegie, I would be glad to send it to him. That crossed his letter that I told you about ... So I answered it by sending the report. That same day came another letter from him, written before he had received either of mine, ordering me to cancel any other arrangements and come up to Saloniki to finish the drawings, or he would hold me guilty of misappropriation of funds and compel me to return "part, if not all" of the \$2000. I have not answered that letter, nor have I as yet had any reply from him to my two letters.

I doubt if I will have to return any, certainly only what was unspent on May 5th when he sent me away from the dig- and that would not be more than a couple of hundred dollars, if I chose to consider the whole year taken from the Carnegie. And I will have enough left of my Vassar fellowship to meet it when I get home. However, I doubt that the C.C. people would make me do it, if they heard the tales which I haven't wanted to tell them, but now may have to. I will wait until just before I leave Athens to see whether he writes me again. Then I shall write to Prof. Bonner and ask him to write me the letter which he said he would, and write to the Carnegie, telling them something of the situation and saying that if they want to see me in person I shall be glad to stop off in New York when I land.

Don't let anything worry you!

Documents in the Virginia Tech archives help interpret Bonner's position

- No correspondence from Prof. Bonner has been found, but an appointment form, Number 15790 dated 11 August 1930 from the University of Michigan, does exist, appointing Ms van Ingen as Research Assistant in Archeology, Advanced Humanities Fund, for the period of ten months beginning September 1, 1930, for compensation at a rate of \$2,000 for the period, does exist. This form was sent to Ms van Ingen c/o Professor Campbell Bonner who was responsible for the appointment. Appointment form Number 24964 dated 03 December 1934 continued her appointment to June 30, 1935 as Research Associate with increased compensation.

05 July, Sailed from Piraeus on the *Edison*

07-10 July 1928, aboard the U.S.S. EDISON

Somewhat low in mind and pensive....In a sudden onslaught of reason I laughed at myself...but I can't seem to go on laughing- only the thinking.

PERTINENT DIARY ENTRIES, 1928

These selected entries begin with the Crete/Knossos School trip, March 1928, which was left uncovered in the letters to Willy's Mother because the transfer to the Olynthus dig site occurred immediately upon Willy's return to Athens. They also explicitly introduce "Ted" Grace into the flow. "Ted" Grace, or Frederick R. Grace, was the brother of the ASCSA student, Virginia Grace. Ted Grace was, at that time, an undergraduate at Harvard University, and was touring Europe.

These diary entries provide a good view of life at the Olynthus dig. These also cover the Cyclades trips mentioned above, but not detailed in any existing letters. This period reveals a fascinating closure to the Exile from Olynthus.

20 January **1928** Athens

Davy arrives tomorrow. How glad we will be to see Davy!

(many brief three line entries about studies, and the social life in Athens)

18 February Athens

Ted Grace took me to the Skyros House to tea (!) {note emphasis}

[this is the first reference found to Ted Grace's presence in Greece. A later letter to her Mother dated 11 March 1928, says "Ted is an amazing youth- he's only eighteen, and has had one year at Harvard- knew no Greek or archeology when he came out here with his sister, Virginia- he is just out for a year abroad. But he got interested in the stuff and has done a lot of reading and knows more than some of the rest of us."]

19 February Athens

Sewed with Virginia and Susan (Hopkins) in the evening.

02 March, **School Trip to Crete**

Packed wildly, off on the "Elera M" which proved most clean- had a good dinner- smooth sea, but a stuffy night for we had to keep the port-holes closed.

03 March

Got up to see the mountains of Crete snow covered

04 March

... went in cars to Knossos where Mr. Mylonas explained the palace and royal villa. Then we went to the tomb at Giopata. A look at the sea, and snowy tea with Ted and Herbert

05 March

Museum, ... walk in the moonlight with Ted

06 March

Off for palace at Phiatos got stuck in a snow drift on the way. Saw the Roman Baths, Odeum and the "Law Code" (Gortyn). Then to Voroi, exhilarating wine and a walk in the full moon with Ted

07 March

Another perfect day- walked to Hagia Triada (Phiatos)- a lovely view of the sea, and glorious anemones, iris, oxalis, poppies, and daisies. Dinner and dancing at the Dorio Hotel

09 March

Went out to Knossos with Ted, and saw the Well House, Little Palace and other sights on the Minoan Road. Walked back to Caudia with Ted. After dinner, Mr. M. and Herbert told me the great news about Nike and Herbert.

10 March

To the museum and tried to identify vases, and pick out the characteristic ones for each period. Ordered replicas. Sailed on the "Elena M" along the coast to Canea where Virginia, Fred, Ted and I went ashore and prowled for awhile in the moonlight.

11 March **ATHENS**

Reached Piraeus at 4:20 in time for baths and doing a large washing. Feeling civilized in a chiffon dress and actually dancing a bit before dinner

13 March, enroute to Olynthus

Left for Saloniki with Nike and Herbert on the 6:20 train, thereby missing (Sir Arthur) Evan's lecture (on Knossos)

15-16 March 1928 Transfer to Olynthus Dig, Myriophyto

17 March 1928 Olynthus

Arrival of Mr. And Mrs. Seltman, he is a professor at Cambridge. We spent the evening over the coins, which he knows beautifully, and it was a joy to hear him discuss them.

18 March Olynthus

Davy showed the Seltmans the Amphipolis decadrachm

19 March Olynthus

The Seltmans departed after lunch, mourned by all of us.

21 March Olynthus

I am in a stew about my present and more distant future.

27 March Olynthus

Heard a roaring in the distance, went to investigate the river, and found it a raging torrent that cut through the bridge after dinner.

28 March Olynthus

Sunny at intervals. Went to investigate the river and saw a Ford mired trying to ford it. News from Davy that he can't get back till Thurs. or Fri.. Great rejoicing. Tea, bridge dinner, bridge with much finessing, much discussion of our futures.

29 March Olynthus

Walked to ... see Heartley's trial pit- a real dig.

31 March Olynthus

After tea, walked to the Heartley mound with Herbert to find the place where they found the tiles with the complete vases showing the transition between black and red.

01 April Olynthus

Nike, Herbert, and I took our lunch and went off on horseback to Portes and (ancient Potidaea) where we bought coins, looked at the walls and sea, and ate lunch by a well outside the town. Jogged back for tea—a glorious beautiful day— (good) for our edgy nerves.

02 April Olynthus

Nike and I went up to the dig in P.M., wading over and pick-a-backing back across the river. Hung over Trench X sec 10 watching for painted stucco molding.

03 April Olynthus

Up at the dig all day watching over trench X where many fragments of painted stucco came to light. River higher from last nights' rain— pick-a-backed across. Silly argument at dinner with the Davy over citizenship.

04 April Olynthus

Up at the dig all day. More stucco fragments and "temple" walls

05 April Olynthus

Up at the dig all day with Susan Hopkins to help watch Trench X. An exciting apothiki with fragments making nearly complete vases. Some cross walls. Part of a Panathenaic amphora.

06 April Olynthus

Warm and sunny. Much (too much) activity in Trench X— more walls, stucco fragments, jumbled stones, etc... Pieced together vases. Seething, on the verge of revolt again. I've got to leave this place on the 10th (of May for wedding of Nike and Herbert in Saloniki on the 12th).

07 April Olynthus

Trench X extended hectically in all directions. More fragments of the Panathenaic amphora, fewer stucco fragments.

09 April Olynthus

Another frantic day in trench ten, one apothiki producing many fragments of a rather fine vase with chariot. Nike and I spent the time between tea and dinner flitting bed-bugs.

10 April Olynthus

More walls in Trench X, more apothikis cleared, a mosaic floor ...

- **NB:** The upper block sections of the five-year diary are missing for the key period 11 April-18 April, 1928. These sections were not used in the rest of the diary. Four (4) two-sided blocks have been neatly cut out, and thin translucent paper glued in. Either emotional pressures led to entries in the wrong place, which were transcribed to the proper locations immediately below and the old duplicates cut-out and blank paper added; or material originally written there was deemed inappropriate/unwise, and it was replaced with less volatile material inserted below the questioned entries, and then these former sections excised and patched.

11 April Olynthus

125 workmen, 6 epistates; 11 apothikes, and all sorts of odd walls in Trench X. Arrival of Miss Wilson, with a heavenly green dress for me from Mrs. Blegen.

12 April Olynthus

A hectic but eventful day in Trench X, until at 4:50 a hoard of 35 silver coins turned up, and we sifted earth until 3:30 (sic). Arrival of Ted Grace who cheered my soul by calling Nike a "lousy deceiver" and telling all about Evans' lecture, and about the well house at Knossos.

18 April Olynthus

After dinner Davy picked a quarrel with Nike and me and made a fool of himself. I didn't sleep much for (continued over to next date entry point)

19 April Olynthus

hashing it over- and his "hic incipit vita nova"- tough and in the Dantesque sense. Dr. Carpenter arrived ... Nike and I asked to be released from the dig. He was beautiful and we agreed to stay it out if possible. He settled my question of "responsibility".

20 April Olynthus

Another very satisfactory talk with Dr. Carpenter, re Harvard, going in on the 9th, transferring fellowship. Nike and I much soothed, but weary from reactions.

24 April Olynthus

Considerably flabbergasted at cable from Mother saying "you have fellowship. Use it". ... Tried to label stuff from Trench X.

26 April Olynthus

Letter from Mrs. Hill, calming, counseling waiting. She and Mrs. Blegen are abducting me off to Athens the night after the wedding (of Nike and Herbert).

27 April Olynthus

Drew the Panathenaic vase. Sewed. Made unpleasant by the bickering (with) Davy.

28 April Olynthus

Walked up to the dig to see all the new apothikis in Tr. X, and found out what a room with a raised edge is.

29 April Olynthus

Arrival of Seltmans. Much pow-wowing over coins.

30 April Olynthus

nasty cracks (from Davy) about Seltman who "didn't identify new types". Also the coins are ours to take to America until published!

01 May Olynthus

cleaned my coins.

03 May Olynthus

Herbert told Davy that the consular's wedding had to be on Thurs, and they were going in Wed.. I broke the news that I was going in then too, and not returning, which prompted an outburst about insubordination and the news that Nike and I had been "very unpopular at School- answered by Nikes displaying the Bonner ring.

05 May Saloniki

I stayed in bed. Nike announced I was ill, probably from overwork. Mrs. R. took it as a personal insult. Davy demanded an apology. There was a scene in which

Nike expounded a few plain truths, ending in Mrs. R's sending Nicholas to get us a car. We packed and left (for Saloniki). Found Mrs. Chapman at the Mediterranean Palace- had tea, told her the tale, composed a wire to Dr. Carpenter, I sent my letter to the Carnegie Corp. asking for transfer. Had dinner and went to bed.

07 May Saloniki

Breakfast in bed, discussed wedding plans, luncheon at a nice restaurant, moved to our new suite with private bath overlooking bay, tea, dinner, bed.

10 May Saloniki

Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen arrived— told them the latest dirt. They said nothing to do but to go to Harvard. Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen went to the dig and came back with word that Nike "had corrupted me".

12 May Saloniki

The wedding— with the wedding march, a fox trot ... and me abducted back to Athens by Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen.

May 13, enroute to Athens

Awake at dawn to see Thermopylae, Parnassus, Livadia, the Chaeronea lion- [night train], breakfast with Mrs. H and (Mrs.) B, more jawing about Davy and Capps.

21 May Athens

lunch with Ted, dinner with (Ted) at Russian place with nice music.

17 May Athens

Wrote letters. Got police permit. Lunch with Mrs. Schaefer at Tea Room, nap, photos, with Sue Grundy for parasols, chests, brocade bracelets, dinner with Mrs. Chapman, met Mr. And Mrs. Coustaous, drinks with them.

18 May Athens

Read on Delos, lunch with Mrs. S. and Mrs. Chapman, lemonade with the latter afterwards, and a nice talk— nap letters, tea in the Hopkins room met with Mrs. Schuman and Dr. Wack.

19 May Athens

Good talk with Dr. Carpenter.

20 May Athens

Studied, slept, cut out green dress, took pictures for the Bonners, had tea with T. and looked at Mr. B's coins, dinner at the Scoggins, back home to find Virginia, Ted, and Fred back, looked at Cretan pictures with Ted.

22 May Athens
photographing many things ... for Ted

23 May Athens
Tea at Bonners and heard Mrs. Bonner talk about Davy in Egypt

24 May Athens
Went with Ted to get Delos permission from French, then the School to look up boat-trip planned. Dinner with (Ted) and exhibition of Thessalian sherds afterwards.

25 May Cyclades
Nike and Herbert back in time to join us on "Triton", decked in the cold night wind.

Much of the period between 25 May and Ms van Ingen's departure for America a month later were spent in island trips with Ted. Ms van Ingen's five-year diary entries indicate she and Ted met often for lunch and dinner in 1929 when she was at Radcliffe.

26 May Cyclades
Syra Harbor ... breakfast ...caique to Delos... look at houses, lunch, siesta, swim and sunset from Mt. Cynthus.

27 May Cyclades
Birthplace of Apollo before breakfast. Explored the stadium ... in P.M. with Ted. Sketched cave. Sunset over Kithnos, with Mykonos, Tinos, Thirassa, Amorgos, Naxos, Paros, AntiParos, Siphnos & Seriphos visible. The cave and lions by moonlight.

28 May Cyclades
Left Delos after lunch, greenish crossing to Mykonos, and buying food for the morrow. The quay by moonlight— a night on board.

29 May Samos
By boat to Samos past lovely coastlines and rivers. Arrived in late afternoon.

30 May Samos
Car to Tigani, look at castle, ancient walls, Ephpalinio tunnel and Theatre. Struggling walk along beach ... Swim. Climbed to tower with Ted for moonrise.

31 May Cyclades
... a long day of geography back to Syra, a heavenly moonlight night on deck.

MEMO

**"May well be free next year as like as not;
Oh ay, but then we shall be twenty-four."**

01 June Athens

Arrive at Piraeus, taxi to Athens. ... to School to hear Mr. Bonner's tale of threats, to see Mrs. Hill and hear about the letter- cable from Mr. Keppel. Dinner at Acropolis with Ted.

02 June Athens

Read on Thera, Melos, etc.. lunch with Ted. To Lucium for the night- and a cold one, in the temple and with the full moon, which was good from the cave below the temple- and much talk of violet eyebrows ...

04-05 June Cyclades

Off again, a stiff wind and an unpleasant roll so that we lay low most of the time- past Syra to Thera. (Took) donkeys up to the hotel, a good dinner, and moonrise with Ted from a stone wall.

06 June Cyclades

Started out for Mt. Elios- a hot climb. Saw the monastery. ... On to Perissa (a ghastly descent) for the church and a swim- home by way of St. Nicholas.

07 June Cyclades

Rowed to Therasia where we didn't find prehistories, lunch at Kaimene, and a look at the volcano. ... Early dinner and on board ... for a cold night despite the heat of the day.

08 June Cyclades

Arrived at Naxos about eight AM. Saw the town, castle and church and the Temple of Dionysus. Back to the ship, finally decided to get off at Paros with the band playing "Three O'clock In the Morning". Syra at four-thirty— a wash, Ted and I climbed to the church.

09 June Athens

Arrived at Piraeus at 4:00 A.M. to the Annex for a nap and a bath, to the School, anything to enable me to study under suitable direction. Ted off to Melos and missed the boat.

11 June Athens

Shampoo. Read "Antigone". Dinner with Hopkins and Ted, & walk with Ted.

13 June Athens

Today goodbye to Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen, and to hear the dirt about us in the latest letter from Davy.

15-25 June 1928 Athens and Ted

- Movies with Ted.
- Did geometric vases in Museum with Ted.

- Dinner with Ted. A set of questions afterwards in which he won the prehistories and I the topography.
- Vases in museum in morning with Ted.
- Lunch with Ted at tea room.
- Erechtheum where I was greatly deterred from concentrated work by Ted's argumentationing.
- Ted back from Orchomenos with many sherds to show, and I sort of wish I'd gone.

26 June Athens

Lunch with Ted, A mad letter from Davy. Solitary dinner, but cherries with Ted after.

27 June Athens

Bad letter from Davy- still lower (in spirit).

28 June Athens

Dinner with the Mylonases. Less frantic in mind.

29 June Athens

Packed and pressed all morning. Ted came in to pass the time of day and told me how he liked my clothes when I was still too "intellectual", while I pressed his ties

05 July 1928

Sailed from Piraeus on board the SS Edison)

23 July 1928

Arrived in USA

12 March 1929 Cambridge, MA after transferring to Radcliffe/Harvard ... came home and found a letter from Mr. Keppel saying that I got my Carnegie fellowship for next year!

30 April **1929** Cambridge, Massachusetts

... dinner with Ted

03 May Cambridge

In the mail a reprint of Davy's AIA (American Institute of Archeology) Olynthus article (American Journal of Arhitecture, 33, #1, pp. 53-76) with the author's "kind regards"

08 May Cambridge

... tried to translate German for Ted

17 May Cambridge

... dinner with Kay and Ted (and was) walked home from the Fogg by the latter.

22 May Cambridge

... to the Fogg in the evening where Leila and Tom Howe, and Ted and I sat out on the back steps and made merry

24 May Cambridge

... dinner with Ted at the Georgian

27 May Cambridge

... an interlude of cigarettes on the Fogg steps with Leila, Tom, Ted, and Ted's room-mate, Phil ...

13 May 1930 Cambridge

... explained Pompeian wall painting to Ted whose oral is tomorrow



AND THEN ...

Wilhelmina van Ingen submitted her Ph.D. dissertation to Radcliffe University on 16 September 1931, and it was accepted on 19 September 1931.

Radcliffe meta data: Wilhelmina van Ingen, "A Study of the Foundry Painter and the Alkimachos Painter." Thesis (sic) , 2 vols (the second composed entirely of photographed illustrations), Ph.D., Radcliffe College, 1932. Committee members: George H. Chase and Chandler R. Post.

No abstract is available; the volume contains a handwritten note to the effect that the summary had been "sent out for printing in 1934 (sic)." Apparently it was never printed. The work's shelf-mark at Harvard is: "Harvard Archives: Rad T. V258 Harvard Depository," meaning that it is kept off-campus and available for examination only in the Special Collections Reading Room in the new Pusey Library next to Widener.

Master's theses at Radcliffe were generally not kept until the 1950s, so while the Harvard-Radcliffe alumni/ae directories all confirm her receipt of the M.A. in 1929, no other information seems to be available.

Her work at the University of Michigan's Institute of Archeology was published in two scholarly volumes: the U.S. Fascicule 3 of *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Harvard University Press (1933), one of an international group of publications on ancient vases; and *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, (Iraq), University of Michigan Press (1939).

She also published "The Kylix by the Foundry Painter in the Fogg Museum", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 46, (1935)

Ted Grace's short, but meteoric career will be covered later. While Ms van Ingen made several professional moves in the decade after taking her degree at Radcliffe/Harvard, Ted Grace continued at Harvard. Their personal and professional careers diverged.

THE CRITICS

Evaluating history is an exercise in archeology. The original incidents are immutable, but they quickly become imbedded in a matrix of debris that springs from the human mind. The original facts are distorted by emotion, imagination, desire, venality, disrespect, perspective, and malice. History is rewritten before it ever touches paper, and each replay distorts the melodic truth a bit more. The Olynthus play-script is one individual's view of the first summer of that Macedonian dig. Various critics of the play and its heroine's feelings and actions might respond as follows—followed by strong rebuttals by a defender.

A Psychologist: Willy's view of the world and its inhabitants seems centric. To her, actions are black or white. Compromise is a weakness. Politics are abhorrent. Transgressions against friends are not forgotten. Personal value judgments are always the best. Mistakes by others are unforgivable.

For example, the performance of Rubenstein's music is strongly criticized, as is the program selection. Capps' actions with respect to Hill are deemed unprofessional. The implications regarding the Princeton student who used Modern Greek, rather than classical Greek, in his exams are severe. Possibly her criticism of Robinson did not take into account the political problems he faced, the need to show some progress in order to acquire further funding, wobbly institutional support and the changing weather— all of which might have conspired to harm his quest and cancel his attack.

Her Weltanschauung is derived from Henry van Ingen (1833-1899), her grandfather, who had some fame as a painter and as an academician at Vassar. But his paintings are not exceptionally notable. Only one museum has a holding. Hendrik van Ingen, her father, was an architect who also taught at the Mechanics Institute in Rochester. He designed many homes in the area, and published a small book "The Home: a little dissertation upon the houses we live in or desire". Her Mother returned to teaching "middle school" when the Father died. But the van Ingen name was held proudly, and perhaps a bit too proudly.

A Sociologist: Willy's world seems to be a mixture of the feminist freedom of the '20s, coupled with a certain sense of snobbery associated with those who feel that breeding and social position are all important. The repeated warnings to her Mother concerning reports of Willy's activities that might appear in the social columns of the local newspaper are an example. The importance of afternoon teas, and who served as "Mother", or the vital nature of leaving visiting cards are others.

A Defender: Although Henry van Ingen does not appear in the Desmond-Fish venue—the library with the largest collection of Hudson River Valley artists — his legacy is solid. At Vassar the renovated collegiate-gothic building, Taylor-Van Ingen Hall, is home of the art department and library. The city of Rochester's history is replete with references to van Ingens, and to Henry van Ingen.

Selye's painting (1858) may have been the first example of European art to reach Rochester, but the same year brought young Henry van Ingen from The Hague to open a studio in the Arcade. The Arcade's hospitality boded well for art. Their busy concourse, visited by most citizens once a day in quest for their mail, not only housed the Athenaeum library for many years but generally sheltered under its skylight two or more artists' studios. ... Henry van Ingen returned after a study trip abroad and received generous praise for his work. ... Some of the divisions troubling the art centers of Europe began to reach Rochester in the late eighties. ... Indeed in 1883, at the opening of the Art Club's third exhibit, a reporter, who discovered only five of its regular members present, learned that nine were pursuing their studies either in Europe or New York. The Reverend James Dennis, president at this time, had been a student of van Ingen, formerly resident in Rochester. *Rochester History Vol. XVII*, April, 1955 No. 2

And with respect to leaving visiting cards, one must not confuse working American environs with European cultural centers in the 1920's.

"To the unrefined and underbred, the visiting card is but a trifling bit of paper; but to the cultured disciple of social law, it conveys a subtle and unmistakable intelligence. Its texture, style of engraving, and even the hour of its leaving combine to place the stranger, whose name it bears, in a pleasant or a disagreeable attitude..."

Our Deportment, 1881

An historical ripple through visiting cards traditions, and calling cards customs can be found in various places on the WWW.

<http://www.lahacal.org/gentleman/cards.html>

<http://www.daysofelegance.com/callingcards.html>

<http://www.oldhouseweb.com/stories/Detailed/10484.shtml>

Although the Victorians championed the tradition of "card-leaving", it is thought that the practice originated in 18th century France. In those early times calling, or visiting, cards mostly took the form of a playing card signed on the reverse. Ladies left hearts, while gentlemen favored diamonds or spades.

By 1802 the etiquette of leaving cards had become a complex social maneuver, although the practice became truly serious only in the 1820s. Not only were personal cards printed with the individual's details, but different rules and tactics were employed to suit changing fashions of card delivery. For example, by 1894, it was deemed old fashioned for husbands and wives to have their names printed on the same card. Therefore, when a lady called on a residence she left not only her own card but two of her husband's – one each for the husband and wife she was visiting. Daughters were not permitted their own cards. The caller would either have the name of her daughter printed underneath her own or would turn down the right hand corner as an indication to the recipient that she had a daughter.

After a period of great ostentation in cards, the pendulum seems to have swung back to the other extreme. Visiting cards, or calling cards, were an essential accessory to any 19th Century middle class lady or gentleman. They served as tangible evidence of meeting social obligations, as well as a streamlined letter of introduction. They also served as an aid to memories. These cards were left at each person's home the individual went to visit, whether they were home or not. The person visiting would leave their card in a specific

"card receiver" which was set on an entry table or parlor center table. Sometimes the visitor would leave the card with a servant so that the homeowner would know they stopped by. The stack of cards in the card tray in the hall was a handy catalog of exactly who had called and whose calls might need to be returned. One book of the day, *Polite Society*, written by Annie Randall White and published in 1901, devotes no less than 20 pages to the topic of calling and calling cards. A card, Ms. White notes, "is but a bit of pasteboard, and would seem of no consequence, and yet it is a silent messenger which vouches for the cultivation and familiarity with good usages of its owner." One might note the practice of "cards" has survived to this present day among professionals and businessmen. People who meet and greet exchange cards. Even correspondents on the WWW exchange cards, and there is a special format, scanner support, and mode of saving available. Not only are authentic cards popular collector items, but also a whole online industry of calling cards have sprung up around them. Dozens of Web sites invite readers to deposit electronic images in Victoria motifs on online bulletin boards and to copy images to use as e-mail signatures.

And to generations tickled and pickled with cocktail hours, mixers, and social hours, the concept of "taking tea" has much in its favor. For the students at ASCSA it was a way to meet their colleagues, instructors, and visiting scientists in an atmosphere that encouraged long, serious exchanges, and not short, frenetic chatter. Afternoon tea was invented by Anna, the seventh Duchess of Bedford (1783-1857), one of Queen Victoria's ladies-in-waiting. In her day, the upper crust ate a huge breakfast, little lunch, and a very late dinner. Every afternoon, the duchess experienced a "sinking feeling." One afternoon she instructed her servants to serve tea and little cakes in her boudoir. The experience was so delightful that Anna repeated it every afternoon thereafter. Soon others followed the Duchess' lead, and in just a few decades the custom of "taking tea" in the afternoon had become well established. At first the practice was limited to the upper classes, but it eventually became so popular that tea-shops and tea-rooms began opening for the enjoyment of the general public.

In 1819 the Tea Dance became popular, and continued through World War II. Friends and acquaintances gathered between 5:00 and 6:30 pm, and table and chairs would be set up around a dance floor. Tea and snacks were served at the tables while others danced. It was perhaps the Tea Dance, and not the Duchess of Bedford's afternoon snacks, that were the strongest precursor to the tradition of our more modern afternoon tea, although the Duchess may have been one of the first to hold afternoon teas.

When tea was served "at home" the hostess sat at one end of the table and supervised its pouring for her guests. The eldest daughter of the household or a close friend of the hostess served coffee or chocolate, if they were desired. There was a social hierarchy between the royal tea, and the more plebian coffee and chocolate. The hostess also added the sugar and milk or lemon to the tea for the guest. These substances were common and inexpensive enough to serve

often and for many guests. However, the cultural legacy from when both tea and sugar were rare and expensive luxury goods created a situation in which the hostess desired, or was expected, to be in control of the amount consumed.

The tea tradition did not drain away in the 1900's. Those who have rejoiced in the fun of the Jeeves and Wooster TV series, or the puzzle's in the Hercule Poirot sequence, have seen afternoon teas in the '20s, complete with music of the decade. In American university sororities and women's dormitories during the late 1940's weekly teas were still fashionable, and at each "tea" one of the young women was chosen to be responsible. Thus, it is not surprising that in Athens, and within ASCSA, "tea" was still strong in the late 1920's.

Cf. http://www.butlersguild.com/guests/table_settings/afternoon_tea.html

http://www.panix.com/~kendra/tea/afternoon_tea.html

Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.

Smith, Michael. *The Afternoon Tea Book*. New York: Atheneum, 1966.

Ukers, William K., All About Tea, *The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal*, 1935.

A Liberal: Willy name drops, and dotes on relationships with Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen- all a bit precious.

A Defender: Willy, at age 22, read ancient Greek, French, and German; she understood spoken Hochdeutsch in carefully controlled contexts. Her breadth of reading interests in prose and poetry was large; she drew well, and learned quickly. She respected academic rigor, and sought people who could mentor her.

It must not be forgotten that both Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Blegen had M.A. degrees from Vassar, and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia. Since Mrs. Hill had Willy as a student at Vassar, their relationship would certainly be an important one only if there were mutual respect—that relationship was, indeed, strong. Bert Hodge Hill had married Ida Carleton Thallon in 1924, an important period in Willy's Vassar career, which spanned 1922-1926. Mrs. Dr. Hill had published in professional archeology journals prior to 1924. Willy had reason to respect Mrs. Blegen for reasons beyond her husband. [*Archaeological News and Discussions*](#) in the *American Journal of Archaeology* appeared under the name of (Mrs. Dr.) Elizabeth Pierce Blegen (often with others) for an extended period, 1932-1952. Thallon-Hill and Pierce-Blegen were excellent mentors and role models. Does our Free-Thinker's criticism of Willy's conduct come from functionally deprived male chauvanism?

A Reactionary: It is obvious that the discontent begins when Willy leaves the comfortable academic climate of Athens, with access to art, music, museums, and ASCSA lecture series, and joins the real world at Olynthus/Myriophyto. Students always find such a transition from the womb of education to the work place a bit challenging. Robinson's reputation suggests he could provide the mentoring she still needed. Yet Willy went from "looking forward to Davy's arrival" in January, to "glad he is delayed" in April.

A Defender: Living conditions in Myriophyto were Spartan. Possibly not as stringent as the life in the City State of that name-

In Sparta, girls went to school at age 6 or 7. They lived, slept and trained in their sisterhood's barracks. No one knows if their school was as cruel or as rugged as the boys' school, but the girls were taught wrestling, gymnastics and combat skills. Some historians believe the two schools were very similar, and that an attempt was made to train the girls as thoroughly as they trained the boys. At age 18, if a Sparta girl passed her skills and fitness test, she would be assigned a husband and allowed to return home. If she failed, she would lose her rights as a citizen, and became a perioikos—middle class.

<http://www.crystalinks.com/greekeducation.html>

Myriophyto was wet, and cold, and had bug-ridden accommodations. However, Willy was accustomed to a life of making her own clothes, mending and washing them, and making her own way. Her diary often becomes repetitive reading as the phrases "mend..wash..cut patterns..sew" repeat, framing a litany that looms in most lives. Willy was not afraid of work.

It is also important to note that Willy attended ASCSA on a Carnegie Corporation Fellowship that did not require her to go to Olynthus. As a graduate student of Robinson, there was, no doubt, considerable pressure. The life of a graduate student is not played on a level field, and sometimes involves unequal adversarial relationships. Willy did go to Olynthus. Robinson was extremely stressed during that period. His professional reputation was at stake. The political game with the Greek Government and the ASCSA Committee had been won, but he was under the auspices of ASCSA, the scrutiny of his colleagues, and feeling the expectations of the Government. If one reads some of Robinson's early publications on Olynthus, the footnotes reveal a personality that delights in demeaning phrases. Mentors with this addiction in print commonly show the needle-tracks in everyday discourse.

Typical examples found in articles published in the American Journal of Archeology reporting the first three Olynthus digs:

- Footnote 2, *AJA* 36, 16-24 (1932) Surely Dr. Shear also errs in dating the interesting mosaics which he publishes so well in a luxurious volume, *The Roman Villa*, as Hellenistic, before 146 B.C.; they are undoubtedly Roman ... and can hardly date earlier than the first century A.D.
- Footnote 8, *ibid.*, Strangely enough, so great a scholar as Professor Picard believes this relief to be Byzantine.
- Footnote 2, *op. cit.*, 36, 118-138 (1932) Cf. the inadequate article of Professor Couch, publishing one in the University of Illinois, *A.J.A.* XXXIV, 1930, pp. 344-352.
- Footnote 4, *ibid.*, How can anyone believe, as Professor Merlin does, after studying the coins, that we have excavated a Hellenistic site and not the Olynthos destroyed in 348 B.C. ... shows to what extent some great scholars can carry their skepticism.

- (article body, *ibid.*) Because of their poor style, Regling, probably inspired by Gaebler has declared these (coin) pieces modern forgeries, which some counterfeiter "um seinen Machwerken Legitimation zu verleiben, in die Grabung geschmuggelt haben musste" Prof. Gaebler was kind enough to show me the proof sheets of his book, *Die antiken Munzen Nord-Griechenlands, III, 2, pp. 85, 208* in which he calls these and all coins with Dikaios modern forgeries. ... numismatists who have seen the coins in Athens, however agree with me that they are genuine. It is, of course, impossible that they should be otherwise. [followed by ten lines stating "(they) were dug up by my own hands", "it is impossible that the six Dikaios pieces could have introduced among the others beneath or eyes, and impossible that they could have been introduced at some time previous to their discovery", and "all the coins when found were alike covered with horn-silver, a patina which cannot be artificially reproduced by any known process, and which is, accordingly, unquestionably genuine".

David Robinson was acerbic in print, dogmatic in analyses, and often abrasive.

Strong-willed students begin to dissect the personality that has hidden behind the façade of scholarly words and image. Other solvents begin to weaken the bonds. Reports of Robinson's questionable artifact purchasing in Egypt further erode trust. Hasty, over-eager excavating that loses forever the stratigraphic evidence and capriciously discards broken pieces of artifacts finally dissolve faith. And sharp words and illogical actions break the tie.

Perhaps a better perspective can be obtained by examining how recent archeologists view the Olynthus dig. The most comprehensive report agrees with Willy- some sixty years after her exile from Olynthus.

An Archeologist: A recent book by a well-known archeologist, now at the University of Wisconsin, has addressed the matter of the "quality" demonstrated by Robinson's "dig" at Olynthus. Nicholas Cahill has the requisite training- B.A., University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, 1981; M.A., University of California-Berkeley, 1984; Ph.D., University of California-Berkeley, 1991. The book is *Household and City Organization at Olynthus* (Yale University Press, 2002). (see also an e-version at <http://www.stoa.org/>) The following extracts suggest that van Ingen's criticisms of the 1928 Olynthus dig were very sound, and that even subsequent digs (e.g., 1931) suffered from a predilection toward inaccuracy.

From Nicholas Cahill: *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*
(**bold** emphasis added)

I. Robinson's Excavation

Olynthus holds a special place in the history of Classical archaeology. The director of the excavation, David M. Robinson, was a professor of archaeology, epigraphy and literature at Johns Hopkins University for many years, training generations of American classicists. The excavation staff lists read like a Who's Who of American and Greek archaeologists. Among the many distinguished scholars who got their early training there are Walter Graham, John Travlos, George Mylonas, Saul and Gladys Weinberg, Paul Clement, Lawrence Angel, William A. McDonald; the list goes on and on. The excavation of the city was rapid by modern standards. In 1928, Robinson employed a team of more than 200 workmen; in his last season, Robinson estimated that they were removing about sixty tons of earth a day. In four seasons of excavation between 1928 and 1938, Robinson's team excavated more than five hectares of the city and a portion of nearby Micyberna. They uncovered more than one hundred houses, public buildings, streets, trial trenches, and more than six hundred graves--an achievement unrivaled at any other site in the Greek world. **Such a pace of work would have been disastrous at most sites, and certainly Olynthus was not excavated with the care with which it would be today.** But two things saved the site and make its excavation a unique achievement in the history of Classical archaeology: the relatively simple stratigraphy, which meant that the loss of exact stratigraphic context was generally not as great as it would have been at most sites, and the careful recording system set up by J. Walter Graham, which ensured that sufficient information was recorded to make it possible to reconstruct the assemblages and, to some extent, the stratigraphy. **The workmen excavated by removing passes of earth over a large area, up to one or two houses in extent at a time. This made close stratigraphic control impossible and made it difficult to distinguish pits or other intrusions.** Luckily, the stratigraphy of the North Hill and Villa Section was generally quite simple. A layer of topsoil, which was fairly sterile, usually rested directly on the final destruction level. A dense stratum of collapsed rooftiles was encountered in most rooms, and most of the artifacts were found beneath this. In some rooms the rooftiles were concentrated in one corner where they had slid when the roof collapsed. Cement, cobble, and mosaic floors were obviously easy to distinguish in excavation. Earth floors were sometimes noted specifically by their texture, and artifacts were often described as resting directly on the earth floor. Artifacts found directly on the floors should belong with the final assemblages of the house. In other cases, however, **earth floors were not specifically noted, and the stratigraphic positions of artifacts were simply recorded as absolute depths below surface. It is not always clear in these cases whether an artifact was on the floor or in some other context.** Some objects whose exact contexts were not recorded very probably belonged with the final floor deposit. Large, complete, breakable objects such as vases are not likely to have been trampled into the earth floors or washed in with upper fills. But sherds, fragmentary artifacts, and small and less breakable objects, such as coins and loom-weights, could have been trampled into the earth floor, washed in with later deposits above the floor, or brought in with earlier fills. Whether objects resting on the final floors were in a primary use context is harder to say.

The objects may have been stored here for use elsewhere; the room may have been used to store refuse rather than as a working or living space; or the house could have been abandoned before the destruction of the city and used as a dumping ground for refuse from other houses. Some houses were excavated to well beneath floor level, and these fills produced a few objects as well. But since the North Hill and Villa Section were occupied for a relatively short period of time there were fewer early floors and other stratigraphic complexities than at longer-lived sites. Recent excavations at the site have noted such early floors. The South Hill, in contrast, was stratigraphically much more complex, with a series of earlier levels predating the fourth-century phase. It is difficult to sort out the stratigraphy of many areas, and to distinguish objects coming from the mid-fourth century destruction level from those found in earlier fills. Moreover, excavation here uncovered only a few complete or recognizable houses. For these reasons I have generally omitted the South Hill from the discussion of the houses, although it would be very interesting to compare the organization of the older and newer quarters of Olynthus. **In the first year of excavation, 1928, only the trench in which an object was found was recorded; more specific information was only sporadically noted, for instance in the case of large stone objects and coins. Because each trench encompassed a number of houses, most of the finds from this season cannot be assigned to a particular house or room.**

During the second season in 1931, however, J. Walter Graham instituted a new recording system, which documented the house, room, depth below surface, and sometimes the one-meter square where each artifact was found. More specific contexts were often noted as well: whether an object came from an upper fill, from the layer of roof-tiles found in most rooms, from the floor level itself, or from such other contexts as pits or burned deposits. These records in the field-books and publications make it possible to reconstruct the room assemblages in many houses. **Not all objects were recorded, saved, or published.** The fourteen volumes of the Olynthus series published the vast majority of the whole vases, lamps, coins, terracotta figurines, recognizable metal objects, and other artifacts from the site. However, **loom-weights, grindstones, storage amphoras, coarse vases, pithoi, nails, bits of wire or metal, unidentifiable lumps of lead, and other household objects were found in great quantities but not systematically included in the final publications.** They were, however, recorded in the field-books, and their distribution can be reconstructed in part from these records. **Coarse and unpainted pottery vessels suffered the most. Field notes occasionally mention that there were “many coarse vases and sherds” in a room, but few were collected or mended.** Indeed, to collect, sort, and mend the quantities of coarse pottery the excavations must have produced would have been the work of squadrons of conservators for many lifetimes. **We therefore lack much information about cooking pots, coarse storage vessels, and the like. The incomplete collection and recording of artifacts introduced systematic biases into the records. For instance, the publications and field notes record a much greater number of small vases than large. This probably does not reflect the actual numbers of vases in use in ancient houses, because small pots like lekythoi and saucers would have**

either remained intact in the destruction, or broken into relatively few fragments and so been more recognizable in the field. But larger vases such as kraters, basins, hydrias, and the like would have been reduced to a mass of sherds which would have required significant effort to restore. If not painted with figural decoration and saved for that reason, therefore, these shapes are probably under-represented in the publications. In these early excavations, sieving, flotation, faunal analysis, and other more modern and sophisticated methods of retrieval were not generally employed. **The fact that only recognizably complete vases and figured sherds were saved in excavation, and that the microstratigraphy of the houses was not explored or recorded, means that we can reconstruct the stratigraphy of the houses in only the most general way. It also means that most of the pottery from strata other than the destruction level was discarded, since this would have consisted primarily of sherd material. This is regrettable ... It does ... make it difficult to compare domestic assemblages from Olynthus to assemblages from other sites. Scholars have noted, for instance, that relatively few ceramics were recovered from the excavations at Olynthus compared to some other Greek domestic sites, such as Halieis, where the recovery and recording of artifacts was more complete and systematic. The largest number of pottery vessels found in any single house at Olynthus is 106 (from the House of Many Colors). By contrast, the house in Area 7 at Halieis yielded “nearly 4,200 ceramic objects ... strewn across and embedded in the latest living surfaces,” representing a minimum of 497 vessels. Some scholars have therefore suggested that the data from Olynthus are too incomplete to draw significant conclusions.** However, the comparison between the assemblages from Olynthus and those of other sites is not entirely fair. Only 8 of the 4,200 objects from the Halieis house represent complete vessels; the rest consist of “primary refuse,” discarded broken sherds which were simply not saved or noted at Olynthus. Halieis, like most sites, was peacefully abandoned, and usable household equipment carried away, whereas Philip’s violent destruction of Olynthus left many implements in situ on the household floors. Many of the artifacts from Olynthus, therefore, belong to the destruction level and are probably close to their primary contexts (although cf. below, “Domestic Assemblages and the Pompeii Premise”). Although analysis of refuse may reveal a great deal about household organization, such secondary deposits are a palimpsest of materials from different periods, modified by a variety of cultural and noncultural processes, and are far more complicated to interpret than material from primary contexts. A smaller, even incomplete, selection of artifacts from primary contexts is arguably more informative about the use of household space than the large quantity of sherds from mixed and redeposited contexts. Olynthus, despite the deficiencies in excavation and recording, is almost unique in the Classical Greek world in its large assemblages of domestic material from primary, rather than secondary, contexts. Because even the clearest household contexts, namely, destruction deposits, are rare and therefore rather poorly understood in the Greek world, we have few models or comparanda to which to compare the Olynthian assemblages. How much order was there in most Greek houses? How much refuse was strewn

through different rooms, how many broken or unused artifacts lying around, some waiting to be mended or reused for some other purpose, others waiting to be discarded? Many rooms at Olynthus contained only a few scattered artifacts whose use or significance is difficult to evaluate. Are these the paltry remains of more complete groups of objects, or do they represent litter and debris in rooms which were, for practical purposes, empty of artifacts (or at least imperishable artifacts)? Some houses were probably more cluttered and disordered than others, but without very careful excavation with these kinds of questions in mind, it is very difficult to evaluate this and related issues. **More recently, Greek archaeologists have returned to Olynthus. House B vii 1 was excavated in 1987, and further work is planned. We can hope that more careful and scientific excavation will answer some of the questions left by Robinson's work fifty years ago.**

II. Reanalysis of Robinson's Discoveries Although rapid and somewhat crude by today's standards, Robinson's excavations were far more extensive than would be possible now; and we may capitalize on the sheer quantity of information he recovered to begin to make up for the lack of detail. The excavation of Olynthus produced huge masses of artifacts, a treasure trove of information about household assemblages, the kinds of work that went on in Greek dwellings, and about the organization of houses and of the city. For the most part, the artifacts were numerous but mundane: aside from a few stone and metal sculptures, the only objects of any artistic or intrinsic worth were mass-produced red-figured vases, terracotta figurines, and the like. **The sheer mass of artifacts and other information from the site made it difficult for Robinson and his crew to analyze their results thoroughly. The publications, though admirably complete, are organized in a very traditional manner: volumes on architecture, on vases, lamps, coins and other materials. Robinson and Graham's volume *The Hellenic House (Olynthus 8)* presents general conclusions about the layout and organization of the houses. It discusses some of the larger equipment found in them, such as pithoi, mortars, presses, and the like; but lists relatively few of the smaller artifacts. The first and third volumes on the architecture (*Olynthus 2* and *12*) present lists of finds, but without general synthesis. Concordances following many of the volumes are of only limited use to the reader, and many mundane types of artifacts, such as loom-weights or storage vessels, were not systematically published. Robinson had intended to complete the series with a fifteenth volume summarizing the results of the excavations, but this was never written.** This book is a reanalysis of Robinson's results, working from the publications and unpublished field-books. The only way to deal with this mass of information was with a computer. My first task was to go through the publications and field notes to create a comprehensive database of all the artifacts-- both published and unpublished-- rooms, installations, houses, graves and other results of the excavation. The goal was not to capture detailed information about each artifact, but simply to record a general description, context, and references to

the field notes and publication (if any). Descriptions of objects were standardized to conform to current usage. This allowed me to reconstruct the artifact assemblages for each room, to plot where different types of artifacts were found, and to investigate questions which would be impossibly time-consuming if one had to answer them from the printed records alone. After entering all the data from the publications, I went through all the field-books, checking the published records against the original notes and adding to the database information which had not been published. This process of checking the final publications added a great deal of information. **Many objects recorded in the field-books were never published, such as coarse and plain pottery, loom-weights, grindstones, storage amphoras, hardware, architectural fragments, and terracottas--a total of more than 8,132 artifacts. Additional contextual information for published objects was often recorded in the field-books. There were also typographic and other, more systematic errors which crept in between excavation and publication. The field-books and other notes also preserved unpublished information about house architecture and the city plan: sketches, dimensions, and unpublished plans whose results were not included in the site surveys.** Published and unpublished plans and dimensions formed the basis of a new CAD plan of the site, from which the drawings presented here were created. This digital plan was then linked to the database through a Geographical Information System, so that the distributions of different sorts of artifacts, room types and the like could be analyzed and plotted. The database and plans will be made available on the Internet.

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A Cynic: The Baker's Dozen of students at ASCSA in 1927-28 were blessed with the opportunity of taking a "grand tour" of Europe, many under scholarship support. Their study schedule was not rigorous. A poor beginning for the real life that must followed. And Willy's letters and diary entries suggest a narrow shallow exposure to the real interactions that comprise life's experiences. The students did not know how good they had it.

A Defense of Four Players: Willy's performance at ASCSA merited a letter of recommendation from the School's Director, Prof. Rhys Carpenter (quoted earlier). Her performance in Greece, and her work at Radcliffe, prompted Professor Bonner, one of the Visiting Professors at ASCSA in 1927-1928, to offer her a position at the Institute of Archeological Research at the University of Michigan which lasted from 1930-1934. One can easily track the professional maturation of the other students of the 1927-1928 cohort year at ASCSA. All together, they published some 50 refereed papers and about 20 learned books. About 2/3rds joined the faculties of Universities or Colleges. It is revealing to examine four of the central players in more depth:

Wilhelmina van Ingen (1905-1969)

Willy's real world performance is detailed in a brief biography at the end of this material. At the beginning of WWII (1942) she took a brief leave from her teaching at Wheaton College to be married to Herschel Elarth. In this interim she did drafting at an aircraft company, rolled bandages, took first-aid courses, and offered to translate foreign language broadcasts and documents for the Government. When her husband was transferred to active duty she was offered another appointment at Wheaton College, at her choosing, for the duration (of the war) plus six months. The Head of the Department at Wheaton writes the President of the College on 06 September, 1943 as follows:

“Even though Mrs. Elarth could not return for more than a duration and six months thereafter it is my opinion that ... it would be better to have her than try a new person. It has been my experience that older more experienced teachers tend to be more willing to try new things and adapt themselves to changing conditions like those of the present than do fine young scholars from graduate school. It is hardly necessary to remind you that Mrs. Elarth was an exceptionally successful teacher with both her freshman and seniors. She has had vital experience in cooperative projects like American Civilization. I should find it a very great help if I did not have to teach the ancient fields this first Semester. Mrs. Elarth has taught Art 12b and 28, and she could do Art 30a. As you know it has been the policy of the Art Department to have the survey courses taught by experienced people since these courses are both the most difficult to teach and most important for any department. ... My address in New York will be the Biltmore, and any communications may be addressed to me there.”

Mrs. Dr. van Ingen-Elarth met those responsibilities until she and her husband could be rejoined, and join the faculty at the University of Manitoba. Her responses to life's vicissitudes proved mature.

Frederick Randolph Grace (1909-1942)

Frederick Randolph Grace, who was brother of the 1927-28 ASCSA student Virginia Randolph Grace, graduated from Harvard in 1930. After three years of staff work at National City Bank in New York, he returned to Harvard for graduate work receiving his Ph.D. in 1938 on *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*. He was immediately appointed Instructor and Tutor. In 1941 he was appointed Faculty Instructor, and served as Assistant to the Directors of the Fogg Museum of Art. The Fogg management was grooming him for the future because of his combined abilities in the classic arts and finance. In April 1942 he was granted a leave of absence to enter the armed services as a Lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve. He was killed in an airplane accident in November 1942. In that year he had also published "Observations on Seventh-Century Sculpture", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 46, No. 3. (Jul.-Sep. 1942), pp. 341-359. He was the first member of the Harvard faculty to lose his life in the

war. From 04-29 May 1943 the Fogg Museum of Art held an exhibition entitled "Masters of the Four Arts: Wright, Maillol, Picasso, Strawinsky".

Access to this portion of the Frederick Grace material was provided by Abbigail Smith, Archivist of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University. The material is from the Harvard University Art Museum's Archives, and the Harvard University Gazette.

In Dr. Grace's memory these four masters presented lectures and/or concerts; their works were exhibited for the entire period. During the time Grace was Assistant to the Directors of the Fogg Museum he was chiefly responsible for the program and the arrangement of exhibitions. To quote from his memoriam—"Grace had the quality often sought but rarely found in the academic world, a truly independent mind. In all artistic realms he sought to cut to the core of knowledge, impatient of mere technicalities of research or artificial segmentation of the humanities. He was never caught in the mesh of tradition; and this taste for intellectual adventure, enhanced by abounding vitality, resulted in a deep and fresh understanding of humanistic scholarship." Combining masters of different origin and different oeuvre- American, French, Spanish, Russian; architecture, sculpture, painting, music- was a fitting memorial to the man and his mind.

Dr. Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, Archivist at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, in going through Virginia R. Grace's papers found a letter from "Ted" addressed to his sister, written in July 28, 1942. He writes— "My last professional activity was to get off an article to Miss Swindler (AJA) on Seventh Century Sculpture in Assyria, Egypt, and Greece. It ought to be out in the next number or the following one. I wonder how long it will be before I get to see it. I gave some of it as a paper at the meetings in Hartford this winter ... There isn't much to say about the Navy yet. For a while I lived on the station in barracks with a large crowd of others, but for the duration of this school they have been happily allowing us to have our families and live "ashore."

Four months later Lt. Grace was killed in the aviation accident while on duty.

It is of interest that both Willy and Ted had a very broad range of interests, and intensely pursued acquainting others with the melding of art, architecture and archeology. That passion drew them together in Greece, and Ted's presence there certainly assisted Willy in continuing her life-long pursuits. With an element of poignant synchronicity, Willy's marriage and Ted's death occurred in the same year. Her diary shows no evidence of that loss.

Incidentally, Ted's sister, Virginia Randolph Grace, a student at ASCSA in 1927-1928, became a well-published, well-renowned archeologist based at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. Her books and articles on amphora and amphora handles became the seminal works in the area.

Herbert Newell Couch (1899-1959)

Eunice Burr Stebbins-Couch

Although the couple published refereed articles in archeology, books that appeared under his name from Brown University best recall them. Various well-received editions of *Greece*, *Greek Civilization*, and *Classical Civilization* appeared from 1936-1951. Like van Ingen and Grace, other areas received their attention- *Cicero on the Art of Growing Old* (a translation of Cato The Elder's *On Old Age*), *Beauty and Parting* (fiction), and *The Syracusan Women of Theocrites* (an acting version of the 15th idyll).

The 1927-1928 cohort obviously succeeded, particularly given the damping, dampening sequence of The Depression and WWII. The ASCSA mentoring process functioned as intended, despite difficulties exhibited by one mentor.

As to the accusations that Willy's life may have been a barren excavation, her success in teaching and as a contributor to her husband's career and to the AAUP organization speak for themselves. But if you search deeper in the available archives there is another tantalizing aspect that remains an enigma, but reveals another facet of Willy's life..

MYSTERIOUS POETRY

The Special Collections at The Newman Library of Virginia Tech has a group of books that belonged variously to Ethel Bell van Ingen, Hendrik van Ingen, and Wilhelmina van Ingen. Many of the latter books date to her undergraduate years at Vassar. Stuffed in the back of one of these are to be found a collection of scraps of paper, variously sized pieces of stationery, and backs of torn letters that contain written and typewritten poetic verses. Many are dated, spanning 1926-1929. Only one piece is in Wilhelmina's hand. Another person composed and sent all the rest of the handwritten pieces to her. The same typewriter produced the typed pieces, which have a style similar to the handwritten pieces. The following came from that foreign mind. No identity can be assigned, but the mood speaks for itself. One torn scrap does indicate the source as "from the editors desk", but the vital company or address segments are missing. A handwritten note on that scrap, done by the enigmatic hand, indicates that the writer was then living in Greenwich Village, New York. The repository book was, appropriately, *The New Poetry- an anthology*, Harriet Monroe and Alice Henderson, Macmillan Co., New York, 1922. That location was not an accident.

DATE

PERIOD

23 August 1926

Willy's transition period from Vassar to Johns Hopkins

Ultimately will I too

Go to meet the sea like you-

Emerald green and sapphire blue,

Shot with purple through and through

Beautiful to view.

In some wild and lovely place
Where the crested billows trace
Patterns on the sea like lace
I will hide my weeping face
In its salt embrace.

14 July 1928 A few days before Willy's return from Greece

Underneath this cypress tree
Corydon[†] whom all have known [†]shepherd's name in the poems of Theocritus and Virgil
Lies, who never lie alone
Until death took him for her own.
Clean of limb and sweet was he.
The village streets are filled with sighs
For Corydon each maiden cries
Who loved them all in turn and lies
Alone beneath this Cypress tree.

May 1929 The end of Willy's first year at Radcliffe-Harvard

Shed not your leaves too soon, O my green garlands,
But stay thus, where I hang you, by his door
For you have drunk the tears of my sad eyes
That weep forever more.

Hang thus until he comes, O leafy garlands,
When the door opens and he sees you there
Shake down my tears, the rainy tears of lovers
Upon his golden hair.

That same foreign hand wrote the following undated poems.

undated

Some strange congenial magic of the moon
Fashioned a girl of silver where once grew
Only a smooth-barked oak— a girl who shook
Her naked limbs free from her leafy hair
And ran with moss-shod feet along the path
To where tall trees stood darkly waiting her,
No longer trees.

Singing, O Love
In the Wilderness,

Pity my passion
And heal my distress!
(signed with the caricature of a rabbit)

He is as secret as the rabbits are,
Running alone,
And living in a hidden burrow
All his own,
Dug with vigorous paws and velvet nose,
Safe and unknown ...

A small soft creature perilously living
In a world beset with snares,
Ever alert and ready for the coursing
Hounds that run in pairs,
Ever aware of the secret craft of foxes
Hidden in lairs

Here by the brown brook
My only love lies
With a strand of bright hair
Bound around her closed eyes.
Whiter than moonflowers
Her baked limbs gleam,
Artless and lovely
And lost in a dream.
Eels in the brown brook
Swim wavily by,
Larks on their brown wings
Aspire to the sky.
A brown spider swings
In a ladder unseen,
A green worm sits eating
The leaf's newest green.
Unheeded, unheeding
And drowned in her dream
My only love lies
By the edge of the stream.

The reader is left on this enigmatic note to evaluate the tensions that led to the Exile from Olynthus and its aftermath. This work will ultimately present brief dips into the political streams during the 1920's in ASCSA which provide a background to a politics-in-science Olynthus odyssey. The connecting threads will become obvious. But it is important to finish this part of the fabric by discussing Willy's professional qualifications and passions, illustrate how

archeologists now approach vexing problems, and revisit David Robinson's reputation as a careful worker.

ANNOTATED *Guide du Musee*

Guide du Musee national, marbres, bronzes et vases
Ethnikon Archaikologikon Mouseion (Greece)
Rallis Cie, Athens, 1927 N2420 A8 A7 1927

A copy of the above book was discovered in the collection of the Art and Architecture Library at Virginia Tech. It had Wilhelmina van Ingen's signature on the frontispiece, and the date 1927. Dr. van Ingen's handwritten lecture notes for a course presented by Prof. Rhys Carpenter at the ASCSA in 1928 were tipped-in. That course dealt with dating techniques using examples from the National Archeological Museum in Athens. The ASCSA courses were often taught on site, making the exhibits visually available. The construction of the National Archeological Museum was begun in 1866, and completed in 1889. The Art and Architecture Library has graciously granted permission to transcribe some of these notes for illustrative purposes. The notes below are recorded as written. These notes clearly demonstrate Willy's passion and depth.

(handwritten note tipped-in at p. 17)

Drapery Style

Dr. Carpenter
1-9-'28

Mimesis and Noesis in Greek Sculpture

Two general trends in Greek sculpture- the mimetic and the noetic (originating in intellect). Mimesis, ... realistic dominant form in Greek sculpture, though this is not true of the art of all nationalities. The distinctive form of a good period is often the mimetic trend, i.e., the tendency to accuracy. The noetic trend comes from the inside man; is what appeals to the artist as an artistic form as it tends to complexity, and goes beyond the comprehension of the average man. (Music the great example of this- cf. tendency in time of Brahms when the ordinary public couldn't understand the forms.) In noetic art there is always a logical undertone- its failure in modern art is due to the fact that the forms aren't generally intelligible.

(The following give the Exhibit number, and Willy's handwritten notes of analysis)

No. 29 Funereal stele by Aristocles, from Attica, 6th century. Reliance on line as in vases. Theory of "memory image" noetic equivalent of correct mimetic form. Schemata for drapery, beard, etc..

Nos 24-26 Three female statuettes, found at Eleusis, end of archaic. Though in round still very dependent on line. Greek sculpture always thinks first in line. (Renaissance sculpture thinks much more quickly in the mass for other reasons) The mimetic thing to work with is mass, but early sculpture can't think in mass- applies line

form to simple form- then develop through surface treatment to mass treatment. This is true test in later period of archaic and archaistic works. But as sculptor develops line he fails more and more in mimesis. So in time of Olympia pediments we see an attempt to create sculpture without line, by the use of plain surfaces. Line comes into its own in Parthenon period for the 2nd time. Then it goes on till the -

Epidaurus Sculptures (c. 375 BC) where we see a surface streaming with line, but the artist is still careful to put the lines on in only one way. "Modeling line"- a curve of original form, which reverses itself, suggesting that the surface on which it lies is not flat but rounded. This modeling line is used from the time of the Parthenon sculptures well on into the IVth century. ... This use of line has in time to be suppressed for it becomes bravura and very noetic- it has a later revival in neo-Attic reliefs and in the Augustan age. In the Epidaurus sculptures we see line beginning to run riot in its last use- it goes out c. 350 BC. If we prize the late archaic style and the fluttering drapery style it shows that we don't believe that mimesis is the chief end of art- maybe the Greeks didn't believe it.

(tipped-in at p. 91)

No 244 Statue of a young man, Eretria. Pedestal surely belongs with statue and curious profile helps in dating- appears at Olympia in late IInd cent. BC. Open drapery in broad panel style, very clear. In IInd cent. there was a reaction against line. In wool cloth not much line anyway. Slow merging of planes. But at r. side there are strange lines giving a cubistic effect which doesn't represent anything, but are free and play over the surface. During the IInd cent. these lines are developed, they become baroque and are comparable to the use of line in the archaic period and in the Epidaurus pediments, but here they are more subdued for realism has the upper hand; comparable to the cubist period of the early XXth cent. geometry of free line. Pose (is) not Polyclietan- more vigorous straddle and dislocation- not a weight-leg but full of motion- echo of Lysippean adjustments (*c.f. infra*). Pose with one arm in sling and other concealed invented in early III century (300-280 BC) and appears in portrait studies, orators, etc., where artist gives character of man before realism came in. Hair is close curls, face ideal, small features- typical IVth cent. head often called Lysippean. So statue is to be dated in latter part of IInd century when the eclectic style is coming in- this dating agrees with the form of molding of pedestal. Only contribution of artist is spider-webby lines on drapery.

(tipped-in at p. 87)

No 235 Poseidon of Melos. Contemporary with Venus of Melos in Louvre. Bravura in pose, impressive. Shaggy hair, reminiscent of Zeus from Aigina- locks in large lumps separated by coarse and vigorous drill work- locks over forehead reminiscent of Gaul's head in Cairo Museum. Torso simple in musculature- grooves, a central one, with "spear head" at sternum, under pectoral muscles and at hips. This grooving is ... the first step out of archaism, where grooves are substituted for lines. Grooves used to bound muscles which rise fairly sharply from them, and then are fairly flat. This type of torso treatment middle Vth cent. ... Drapery not Vth. Faint distinguishing of free hanging end, fold about body, catenaries. But not consistent. Agorachitan gutter- two ridges uniting to form jig-saw characteristic and parallel spider web- first appears on Pergamene altar where shrunken chevron is mannerism, lasts through IInd cent. Hanging "V" below

girdle char. of Vth cent.. Attempt to model body by cutting deep into groove. Folds at girdle badly done- logic of old forms gone, sculptor not interested in it. Wants “kick”- indication of a baroque period. Agorachitan memory in drapery but here is broken down by baroque. Some of these tricks show in the Aphrodite which is c.125. This statue last of IIInd cent., revival of Vth cent style.

(tipped-in at p. 221)

Portraiture

Dr. Carpenter

1-16-28

No 14612 Portrait of dead man, Delos Tendency to date any find from Delos between destruction of Corinth in 146 BC (sic) and the destruction of Delos in 69 BC- good as starter but not always true. This head broken from rest of body. Cast from wax. Doesn't give original effect for hasn't original color- eyes wouldn't seem so staring originally for the red copper was full of high light. After cast from wax model ... worked over with engraving tools- most of lines in hair done in wax- may have something to do with date though we don't know much about technique. This almost far more developed than Metrodorios but not so much as Cotys. Fleshy, full formed, as on coins of later IIIrd to 1st half of IIInd cent. BC in Phileterus; cf. coins of Hellenistic rulers, 250-150 BC. Can't be placed any closer. Carpenter thinks c. 200. Good example of way in which large generic portrait finds no way into intricate style char. Of IIInd cent.. Tear duct distinguished by colored stone, as well as pupil and iris- set in socket in which lashes are clipped. This fastened inside- callote (sliced head piece put back on- hair not done from model-schematic.

(tipped-in at p. 194)

No 6394 (sic, actually 6439), **Head of Pugilist , Olympia** Hard to handle stylistically. Carpenter thinks wrongly dated. First called Sysippean from hair. Is brutal realism, and also good work. At the time it was excavated people thought nothing good could come after Sysippus. A certain conventional formalism in locks of hair- almost a mannerism rather than Vth cent. formalism. ... Note herringbone on eyebrows- usually found in Ist cent BC and late Ist cent. AD- trick of late bronze casters. ... Has extremely high polish on cheeks, beard not entirely wax cast (wax shows pushing aside and yielding, work in bronze itself gives burr)- this worked up later to give contrast. So Ist cent. BC, c. 50 BC.

(tipped-in at p. 114)

1/23/28

No 419 Head of a barbarian man, also called “Christ”; found at Athens Being dated later and later. Surface highly polished. Not a copy from bronze but an attempt to treat marble like bronze- cf. use of engraver's tool for beard. Same thing where cheek is highly polished and chisel makes transition to rougher beard. Chiseling along locks of hair looks like cutting into wax- transference of bronze technique into marble. So have to get dating in some other way. Have to be careful in dating by eye-pupil a U-groove. Antonine apt to drill two circles overlapping- effect of light in eye like Italian painter's triangle. Carpenter thinks this from time of Commodus, cf., head of this emperor in Conservatoru- c. 200 AD. Traces of Aurelider drill in hair.

(tipped in at p. 66)

No 3377 Large head of Jupiter, from Aegira in Peloponese Head found in 1914 gave rise to discussion as to whether IVth or IInd cent.. Obviously acrolithic head hollowed out behind to be mask-like (acrolith refers to very large statue with head of stone, but body of wood, metal sheet, etc., to reduce weight). Is this Hellenistic technique or common sense? ... Probably work of Eucleides. Beard parted in middle, drill work crude, both running and stationary drill used, surface crude, chiseling calculated for height, smooth cheeks, worked over. Hair crude, eyes set-in. Careful of transition from lower lids to cheeks. Not much modeling in forehead. Great large style just after Phidias- nothing Scopaic about it. Looks like a pseudo-Phidian style. Attachment drill holes.

No 1736 Head of Anytos To be seen from height. Beard crude, chiseling and drill. Different from Aegira head- great knobs, wild eyes, transition not careful- deep shelf above them. This head dated by Mrs. Hill- definitely settled as IInd cent. BC. Baroque restlessness ... Baroque absent in Aegira head- of course difference in character between giant and god. Could Aegira Zeus be neo-Phidian of Ist cent. BC instead of IVth cent?

Van Ingen's forte was Greek vases. Many of the other tipped -in sheets deal with the Greek vase collections. These translucent hand-drawn sheets are done in pencil, not ink; and they are undated, and not attributed to a lecture. The presumption is that these efforts are hers alone. The tipped-in vase-notes deal with both the shapes of vases from various periods, and the decorative patterns employed. Her later professional publications all deal with vases, and in a letter to her Mother dated 07 November 1927 she remarks "Thanks for the clippings. The Stephen B. Luce who lectured before the Archeological Society is the man who set the vase [inserted word, 'Athenic]) exam last year {presumably at Johns Hopkins} and (he) said that I did so much better than Eppie- and made Davy so mad". In another letter to her Mother dated 11 March 1928, in the brief interlude between her School trip to Crete, and the departure to Olynthus, she writes- "We had about three days in the Candia (Crete) Museum. We had time to wander around and to try to learn how to date the vases rightly. Mrs. Hill always said that I'd go quite mad with joy when I was "turned lose" in the museum- and she was right." [there are a dozen more sections, tipped-in, dealing with bronzes and vases]

The sketches on these tipped-in sheets are reminiscent of the drafting skills shown in the sketch-books of her Grandfather, and the available documents of her Father, that are included in the van Ingen-Elarth collection.

Ms van Ingen became interested in the works of the "Foundry Painter" from a suggestion made by Dean George H. Chase of Harvard. She chose the topic as her Radcliffe doctoral dissertation subject. There are over twenty vases or fragments attributed to this artist. She describes The "Foundry Painter" kylix (cup) to be found in the Fogg Museum in the Harvard Studies in *Classical Philology*, Vol. XLVI, 1935. The Attic piece, No. 27.149, has a height, 9.7 cm; diameter of bowl, 23.3 cm; diameter including handles, 30.2 cm. It is unchipped, and without breakage. Excerpts from her dissertation and publication follow:

The shape is almost identical with that of several other cups decorated by the Foundry Painter, and to be found in Brussels (R 322); Musée Scheurleer (1850); and Munich (2640). The medallion on the interior of the bowl is encircled by a band of stopped meanders. In it is a bearded, long-haired warrior who stands in frontal position with his right leg bent and his weight on his left leg; he leans on the spear in his right hand, and with his left steadies the shield which stands on edge in front of him, hiding his legs completely. He wears a peculiar brief skirt or loin-cloth, patterned three tiered, and belted, and a dotted, bordered chlamys which is folded and draped scarf-fashion over his arms and back. The top of a greave can be seen projecting beyond the edge of the shield, and his head is protected by a crested Athenian helmet with raised cheek-pieces; the shield-device is a scorpion.

On the exterior, there is an arming scene on the obverse, and the scene of combat on the reverse. At the left of the obverse is a youth who stands in a pose like that of the man on the interior, except that the right hand, which holds the spear, is outstretched. ... The shield device is a snake. The young warrior, ready and waiting, looks over his shoulder at the youth in the center of the picture, who has all but finished arming and is stooping to lift his spear from the ground. ... His legs are protected by greaves, and his body is entirely obscured by the shield on his left arm. The shield is decorated with a kantharos and provided with a flap, vandyked on the lower edge and fastened to the rim by studs or nails. The third figure in the scene turns his back on the others. ... The shield has for its device an irregularly shaped spot between two circles. The youth is nude; his short hair is bound by a fillet, and a sword in its scabbard is suspended at his left side.

A possible sequel to the arming scene is presented on the reverse. Relief lines outline the figures and accessories. Thinned glaze is used for inner anatomical markings, garment patterns, and hatched strokes model the shield convexity and indicate body hair. The sketch lines are very clear. Even the hidden legs were drawn in before the shields covering them were circumscribed with a compass. Places where alterations were made in foot or leg are detectable. Some details are apparently forgotten, such as the needed baldrics for supporting the swords on some figures. On this reverse side, greave padding is incomplete, and one greave is missing. Van Ingen concludes that the painter was deliberately careless, forced to hurry, or an apprentice filled in the background. Examination of the central figure on the obverse shows a drop of glaze that runs from the background across the face and onto the shield. Similar "mistakes" or inconsistencies typify many other works attributed to the Foundry Painter. Other authors have suggested coarsening and lack of control with this artist, compared with the Brygos Painter. The Foundry Painter had trouble with curved lines, his figures are less subtly modeled, and he seems to have employed a system that he uses without complete understanding. But compared to the ordinary work of the same period, the Foundry Painter has created compositions with vigorous action, a sense of realism, and occasional points of humor. The combat scene on the reverse of this cup has an attacker surprising two wandering warriors.

The “point” warrior recoils in surprise from the unexpected spear thrust of his enemy, and jams the butt of his spear into the body of his companion. One can almost hear the grunt this elicits, much like a ballooned cartoon caption.

Van Ingen discusses the strange case of the loin-cloths on the warrior in the bowl, and by the left most youths on obverse and reverse. The loin-cloths are characterized by a skirt-like cut, multiple tiers, and vandyked, scalloped, or fringed edges. She suggests that these may involve leather or felt edging, which would afford added protection for a light-armed warrior. Blanket aprons were often worn over a thin chiton. She concludes in a humorous vein:

The fully armed warriors on the Harvard cup must wear beneath their corselets either complete tunics with two-tiered skirts made of leather or felt ... or else such loin-cloths over thin chitons. Naturally this assumption holds true only if the painter was literally recording garments he had observed, rather than fancifully creating a fashion of his own. It is not impossible that he became so enamored of tiers and scallops that he continued to use them for fully-armed warriors, without thought of what would actually be worn beneath the thorax, for we have already seen that he was not always capable of consistent thinking. But however the loin-cloths and skirts are to be interpreted, their novelty combines with the humor in the skirmish described above to give the Foundry Painter’s characteristic touch of the unusual to an everyday scene.

Willy’s strong focus on “pots” in general, and the “Foundry Painter” in particular, should not be glossed over. Her letters, her diary entries, and some references in the quoted *Classical Philology* journal article merit more attention, and the development of a basic vocabulary. Archeology and history both begin with the reality of the field. Digs are clean, perhaps not environmentally, but certainly logically. Original digs and temporal occurrences are factual. But they are altered immediately by human interpretation. But Willy was a connoisseur. A brief excursion into her dissertation topic will convey the professionalism and authority that typified her approach. This foundation will assist the reader as we descend into the politics of ASCSA in the late 1920’s when archeology became archeology.com. In the background of the Olynthus dig there were dark strata in which Hill, Blegen, Carpenter, Robinson and an *eminence grise* named Capps collided.

GREEK POTTERY- *Rouge et Noire*:

Some feel that the early members of the human race were formed from clay. There is no doubt that the vessels used by subsequent generations were made from clay. Greek pottery is one foundation of archeological study, and Ms van Ingen was fascinated by its complexity. Some of our critics have focused upon her possible youth and naïveté, so this section follows the colorful trail of Greek pottery to demonstrate the intricate nature of the subject which she mastered. It also juxtaposes the anti-hero’s conundrum in Stendahl’s *Red and the Black*,

which reemphasizes the frictions in the human condition— the conflicting choices in the quest for success and the search for correctness—with the red and black of Greek pottery glazes. Incisively and with subtlety, Stendahl's novel also examines careerism, political opportunism, the climate of fear and materialistic values—the red and the black canvases that Robinson faced.

Clay beds are mined by open extraction, and the raw material is slurried, or levigated, with water to permit large particulate matter and impurities to be removed. The clay slurry is then dried and cut into squares that are left to weather for some months. The potter forms the vessels freehand, or with the aid of a wheel, using paddles, and a companion wooden 'anvil', aided by deft hands and fingers. Knives, scrapers of metal or bone, calipers, plus sponge and string complement the imagination of the potter. The unfinished vessel is then set aside to dry until they are leather-hard. Burnishing may improve the surface texture. Feet, and ears (handles) may be added. In Greek Hellenic and Hellenistic pottery a painter used very uniform levigated clay, comprised of very small particles, to prepare a "slip". This was brushed or poured onto the vessels surface. When fired it led to a hard, smooth, lustrous and durable finish. Some areas such as the bottom of the foot were not treated in this way, and appeared coarser after firing. These areas came to be called "reserved" by modern ceramicists. The composition of clay differs from region to region. Those from Corinth often fire to a greenish yellow. Those from near Athens often fire to a strong red color due to an abundance of ferric oxide (Fe_2O_3). Sometimes painters used a thin ocher wash containing iron oxide to help accentuate the usual reddish color.

In the period from 900 B.C. to ~ 700 B.C. the clay vessels were decorated with geometric patterns, such as the Greek meander, or key, swastikas, loops or circles. About 700 B.C. pottery painters at Corinth began to paint humanistic figures on the vessels. They had discovered empirically that iron oxide could be fired to either a lustrous black or a yellow/orange or red/orange color depending upon the temperature of the kiln and whether its atmosphere was reducing or oxidizing. A chemist today would think in terms of a combustion environment that was either deficient in oxygen or one that had a sufficient supply of oxygen. The former would tend to produce one, or both, of the iron oxides that contain iron in a “ferrous” (Fe^{2+}) state- either FeO or Fe_3O_4 ($\text{FeO} + \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$). These materials would yield a lustrous black. The latter atmosphere (oxidizing) would produce surfaces high in Fe_2O_3 , which is red.

The Corinthian pottery painters provided decorated ware that the potter could fire in a three step process- first an oxidizing atmosphere at ~ 800 degrees centigrade, then a reducing atmosphere at ~ 950 degrees, and finally another oxidizing atmosphere at 900 degrees. It was simple to produce the second reducing stage- just throw in some wet leaves or wood, and close the air vent of the kiln. The kiln did not need to be unloaded or cooled down during these steps. But control of time, temperature and the combustion mixture was an art. Since the gloss was never sticky before or during firing, there was no need for rings or saggars to separate the pieces. It was possible to just stack the pots in on top of one another.

The products were originally black figure against the reserved background, and are referred to by archeologists as black-figure vessels. Why doesn't the last oxidizing step turn the black figures red? The fine clay of the slip, the small particle size, and often the unique shape of these particles produced an intermediate layer during the very hot reduction process that was lustrous and impermeable. The reserved area at this stage was of a muddy color, coarse and permeable in structure. This was subsumed in the final oxidation step producing the reddish colored background. Although incising and other techniques could give some features to the anatomy and clothing of the figures, the technique was essentially linear in nature. Artists at this stage of representation development have always faced a common frustration and/or inability— their world is two-dimensional, and often monochromatic. The real world is three dimensional. Egyptian wall paintings had profile faces with almond-shaped eyes that faced the viewer. Engravers of early Greek coin dies showed Athena with a similar 'eye' profile. Even Goya, 2500 years later, found the engravings for some of his etching series originally incapable of presenting proper shading- *Los caprichos*, *Los desastres*, and *Los disparates*. They required stark presentation of the areas of darkness so necessary to his scenes of human deviance, devastation and distortion. He eventually turned to aquatint techniques, using a multitude of hatched lines and a different printing style, to give color depth to his works. As potter and painter worked together to create new artistic techniques, Goya and etcher/printers such as Rafael Esteve y Vilella collaborated to create new moods.

In Greece, the black-figure techniques, originally Corinthian, drifted to Athens with traders about 600 B.C.. And near 500 B.C. the Athenian painters, in collaboration with their potters, produced red-figure vessels. In these products the figures were in the reddish tones of the reserve area, and the background was the lustrous black described above. Thin black lines within the figures could reveal musculature, bony prominences, and facial characteristics. Three-quarter profiles were within reach, and the pottery figures came alive. Red-figured pottery continued to be made until about 300 B.C.

The Foundry Painter decorated pottery in Athens during the early fifth century B.C. using the red-figure technique. His real name is unknown, and his work has been identified by certain stylistic traits, as van Ingen suggests. He received his current name because one of his vases, now in Berlin, shows a foundry in which bronze workers are making statues. It shows a boy working the bellows behind a furnace, while a man stokes it. Votive plaques and masks hang from goat horns above. At the center a youth leans on a hammer. To the right a man prepares the neck of a bronze statue to receive its waiting head. On the opposite side two men flank the entrance to a shed, apparently master sculptors watching the finishing of a bronze statue of a warrior. Strigils are being used to scrape down the thighs of the statue. Oil flasks, and metal working tools hang down on either side of the shop scene. The master sculptors are fashionably attired, with hairbands, soft shoes, and walking sticks. The central figure- the statue- has muscles, eyes and hair carefully outlined. His shield has a 3D aspect. On both side A and B there are names accompanied by the predicative adjective 'kalos' = ' (is) handsome' (c.f. *vide infra*). The Foundry Painter probably learned his craft in the workshop of the Brygos Painter, and at some point in his career he worked with at least two potters- Brygos and Euphronios. What led to these conclusions, and how certain might they be? How is WHO and WHEN determined?

Ms van Ingen learned and worked during a period when Greek vase studies were maturing. The word 'connoisseurship' is applied to expertise in attributing works to individual artists or schools. Willy was a connoisseur. Attribution begins with observations on shapes, styles, subjects, and skill.

Inscriptions, signatures, and 'kalos' names may assist dating and attribution. As the Greek letterforms altered fairly rapidly over the years, approximate dates and location may be assigned. "Kalos' names may be identified with prominent citizens, historical characters, patrons, or a handsome youth. But repetition of family names (often alternating with each generation), and the long period of this popular conceit (550-450 B.C.), makes room for argument about assignment. A signature of the maker or painter may make dating a bit more firm. Signatures may take the form of 'X' *egrapsen*- X drew me; or 'X' *epoisen*- X made me. But some argue that confusion may result from blurring of active involvement versus workshop ownership. Names might also be borrowed, or licensed.

However, a rather powerful tool came from the lead of Giovanni Morelli who, in the nineteenth century A.D., practiced attribution by attending to the way painters of the early Italian and Renaissance treated detail in their works. He

urged examination of unique ways individual artists portrayed certain anatomical features or dress. Botticelli, Bellini and Mantegna each handled human ears differently in their paintings. The charismatic, influential, trend-setting and Classical evangelist Adolf Furtwangler, practiced the method on sculpture. Then, an Oxford scholar, John Beazley, published a paper in 1910 focusing this technique on Athenian vase attribution. Beazley argued that where a vast majority of 'detail' criteria coincide between works, and are not shared by others, an individual hand could be assigned. Ears, noses, elbows, ankles, and kneecaps struck his eye, and became focal points for generations of Greek archeologists. Beazley coined the sobriquet 'Kleophrades Painter' in his first paper, and a tradition was born. But what about dating? For those who think archeology is just "dig, clean, and put in a museum", the following side-track may be eye-opening. Dates can drift as discrepancies appear.

Fixed Points: Identifying a potter or painter may provide some bounds for dating pottery, but the error bars tend to be a bit broad. What archeologists would like are unique, and often catastrophic or delimiting events, which define fixed points in time that may be termed *terminus ante quem* or *terminus post quem*— points (in time) before which, or points after which, artifacts must be attributed. The approach is akin to dating a collection of music recordings discovered during excavation of a ruined building, stumbling across a sealed box in an attic, or thumbing down a dusty stack in an antique store. Records found in a collapsed room under the World Trade Centers can probably be said to antedate 9/11. That date "fixes" a *terminus ante quem*. If the sealed box has a date written on it we might be able to assign dates of creation to materials within, but it is always possible that more recent artifacts were shoved in the box by subsequent actions. And thumbing through an open stack may shed light on sequence, but is a chancy conclusion as various users shuffle the stack. Treading this dating path will bring us back into contact with Willy, Virginia Grace, David Robinson, and Nicholas Cahill.

Willy's lecture notes cite some such absolute *terminus ante quem*. Thucydides' history describes the purification of sanctuary locations on Delos, with subsequent removal of pottery items to pits on the island of Rheneia. Pottery in that pit must predate 426 B.C. Another linchpin might involve the large collection of pottery found at Olynthos, destroyed by Philip II in 348. But, to quote from the coherent and logical dissection provided by Susan Rotroff's illuminating lecture entitled "Four Centuries of Athenian Pottery"

The presence of later 4th century coins on the site (Olynthos), and the fact that , according to Diodoros Sikulos, much of the population of the new (population) foundation at Cassandreia ('New Olynthus') in 316 was drawn from Olynthians has prompted many scholars to challenge 348 as a reliable *terminus ante quem* for pottery found at the original Olynthus site, and to suggest that the mass of ceramics should be dated well down in the 4th century, rather than in its second quarter. It is certainly true that (the) city was not completely deserted after 348, but Nick Cahill's recent analysis of the distribution of the post-348 coins suggest that most of the rehabilitation was in the northwestern section of the North Hill.

(But), in this part of the excavation, Robinson contented himself for the most part with tracing walls; few floors were excavated, and almost none of the published pottery comes from this part of the site. ... (And), just how much of the pottery is Attic remains open to question. David Robinson thought that most of the black and plain wares and lamps were of local manufacture, while Peter Corbett and Lucy Talcott felt confident that much of the fine pottery was Attic. The issue remains unsolved. www.pontos.dk/Kronologiseminar/Papers/rotroff.pdf

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At the other end of a desired time line there are three possible fixed points. One involves the period of a Ptolemaic encampment on the headland of Koroni on the east coast of Attica. The next possible fixed point is the destruction of Corinth by Roman soldiers. The final fixed point might be the destruction of Delos in 96 B.C., or the sack of Athens by the Roman general Sulla. These might give fixed time points near 265, 145, and 96/85 B.C— but do they?

- The Koroni excavation, done during a brief three-week season in 1960 resulted in an archeological bombshell. Coins date its occupation to the reign of Ptolemy II and associate it with the presence of his troops in Attica during the Chremonidean War- between 267-262/1 B.C. This led to a far-reaching conclusion about associated pottery- that the pottery chronology outlined by Homer Thompson for the first 60 years of the Hellenistic period was too high by about a generation. Thompson's 1934 *Hesperia* article ("Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery") was the seminal work to this point. After a series of initial challenges to the Koroni shrapnel, the dating of the site has achieved widespread acceptance. And in 1974, Virginia Grace revised downward her chronology of Rhodian amphora on the basis of evidence unrelated to Koroni, lending support to the Koroni concepts.

Recall that Virginia Grace, "Ted" Grace's sister, was a co-student with Willy during the 1927-28 year at ASCSA. Dr. Grace grew to be arguably the stellar product of that cohort. She assumed a position at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, and published about a dozen books on Greek-related amphora, and their dating. Amphora handles, and their associated stamps, are strong grips in the game of sequential, relative dating of artifacts.

- Squatter activity (c.f., Olynthus, *vide supra*) at Corinth during the 100 years between its destruction and the establishment of the Roman colony cloud the time-line. Stamped amphora handles and fine mold-made Ionian bowls— all from a later date— litter the destruction debris. Imagine

- trying to date a stack of Blues records, many by Blind Lemon Jefferson, if you also find some blaring forth with the deep base of Chicago Blues!
- The destruction of Athens and Corinth both left destruction debris that was subsequently cleared away when the areas were rebuilt or renovated. Hence, most of these deposits contain some identifiably later material—coins, amphora handles—and the unalterable conclusion that some other material is not identifiably later, but may be later nonetheless.

“Closed Deposits”: Homer Thompson’s approach in 1934, the year his path-breaking article was published, used a secondary series of “fixed” points taken from closed deposits, like the sealed box of records mentioned above. Well bottoms, sterile mud layers, and bed-rock might qualify. But more recent debris does fall into filled wells or cisterns, overlaying artifacts do fall down into even well conducted archeological excavations, temporal contamination definitely occurs in poorly conducted excavations, besieged people dig holes in floors to hide valuables whether it be Olynthus, Corinth or Tara. Archeological pranksters or deceivers, suggestive of Piltdown Man bones or the coins David Robertson fulminated about at Olynthus, do exist.

The digging dilemma is best displayed in a sequence of quotes from the lecture by Susan Rotroff on the Hellenistic Komos Cistern which was originally excavated by Eugene Vanderpool in 1947.

- Vanderpool, 1948- “Because of the way we were forced to dig the cistern, no stratification can be recorded. There probably is none.”
- Roger Edwards writing to Dorothy Thompson, 1956- “there is a wide range of material- the whole of the 3rd century- but nothing could be identified after 200.”
- Thompson to Edwards- “I believe some of the terracottas are later.” This suggestion had the advantage of accounting for numismatic evidence of 10 Athenian bronze coins possibly from the 3rd century, and eight silver coins from Histiaia dating between 196 and 146. Seven were in a concentrated clump, suggesting a hoard or lost purse. No stratigraphic data was reported for these artifacts. An eighth coin was reported near the top of the deposit, and could be assigned to a supplemental fill.
- Edwards to Thompson, 1961- “If some of your material is a bit later than 200, I would settle for ascribing it to a supplementary fill it wasn’t possible to distinguish in digging.”
- Thompson, *Hesperia*, 1963- “A supplementary filling presumably occurred before the middle of the 2nd century.”
- Edwards, typescript subsequently shared with Rotroff- “It is not unreasonable to suppose, since the associated house apparently continued in use after the filling [of the cistern] occurred, that the hoard (of later coins) was deposited beneath the floor level for safekeeping by one of the inhabitants at a much later date and was actually intrusive in the filling.”

So now the coins have become a hoard that was buried under the surface of a floor or in a courtyard, by chance within the area of the cistern collapse.

Prof. Rotroff pixishly proposes a "dating" recipe—Post-Koroni revisions of Rhodian amphora (to 186) and chronological revisions of Athenian coinage reported by John Kroll in *Agora XXVI*, cyclically coupled to the new amphora chronology (to 200-180), are then elided with Gerald Finkielsztein's revision of amphora chronology at Koroni where wine amphora were secondarily used subsequently for water storage, and everything finally merged with the postulate that coin wear and corrosion were minimized— and concludes that all of the speculative scenarios could be discarded— lost purse and all— and the deposits looked upon as the result of a single ancient event— just as Vanderpool originally thought. Prof. Rotroff's logic is concise, cutting and cunning. Her sense of humor and analysis is refreshing.

And finally, we are at a point where we can rejoin Willy, Robinson and ASCSA-

Stratigraphic Dating: Well, that is a deep subject. And when it is done Olynthus-style, it demands Nicholas Cahill's computer approach to attempt to recover what has been lost by expediency.

David Robinson's ego demanded that Olynthus be a *terminus post quem non*. Robinson argued that certain types of artifacts which had long been considered Hellenistic were in fact made earlier, in the Classical period, since Olynthus was a fixed, "closed", un-intruded, uncontaminated site. He wrote in *Olynthus 2, xi; 7, vi-vii*- "We can now also date before 348 B.C. many works of art which have been put in the Hellenistic age. ... Even the Hellenistic types of caricature and realism, such as satyrs and negroes, were begun in Hellenic times at Olynthus and I have found no reason for changing my belief that all our terra-cottas date before August, 348 B.C. No evidence of later occupation of the hills has yet come to light. Those scholars who are still unbelievers would do well to study carefully the volumes (of our work) on Coins and Vases. If the Olynthian hills had been inhabited in Hellenistic times, we ought to find Alexander coins and Hellenistic vases."

By 1935 other archeologists already doubted this definite dogma. Yet the Olynthus "team" held firm- "Out of a total of nearly seventy reviewers of the Olynthus material only two have definitely rejected (our) *terminus post quem non* (position)." They also argued using a "lies, damn lies and statistics" approach, citing that because 3,528 of the excavated coins date before 348 B.C., and only 60 coins date between 348 and 316, that there is a 98.3 percent chance that any coin from Olynthus dates from before 348 B.C.. Such conclusions do not work in successful gambling, and are repulsive in scientific research. The revised dating from the Koroni dig, suggesting that pottery traditionally dated to the last quarter of the fourth century must date to about a generation later (270-260 B.C.) added to this seeping sore.

It remained for Cahill to resolve these issues, using a careful computerized analysis coupled with an incisive logic. That established that the Northwest sections of Olynthus, merely scrapped over by Robinson, exhibited

clear signs of rehabilitation until 316 B.C., when Cassander founded the new town of Cassadreaia, merging with Potidaea, the traditional seaport for Olynthus.

“A DIG” AT ASCSA, 1927-1928

The history of institutional events suffers and benefits from this same type of tortuous recording, emotional maneuvering, logical analyses and reinterpretation. With this in mind let's re-dig some of the events at ASCSA prior to Willy's Exile from Olynthus.

The brief glimpses in our Museum journey revealed how Willy approached her lectures, her learning, and her own research. These project to us a competence, intensity and passion that are satisfying. These observations on her character and the conduct of professionals, professional institutions and governments hidden under the *nacht und nebel* of self preservation and diplomacy lead by to a set of related questions -

- what was the political environment within ASCSA that led to the Capps-Hill collision?
- what actions might have led to the Robinson temper tantrum and lapses in professional conduct?
- what relationships did these lofty atmospheric turbulences, as viewed by archeologists, have with the more “mundane” international matters that forced the migration of some 1.5 million people between Greece and Anatolia?

If there is a common thread, then Goya's sketches collectively titled *Los caprichos*, *Los desastres*, and *Los disparates* may have a temporal and geographic universality. The chapters that follow explore such tangled threads.

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In 1908, James Wheeler, then Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Managing Committee of the American School for Classical Studies in Athens, stated “the representative of a single institution should not, on general principles, hold the chairmanship for a longer time than is necessary to secure proper continuity of administration”. He served from 1901-1918 (deceased). His successor, Edward Capps served from 1918-1939, twenty-one years. Louis Lord, of Oberlin College, then assumed this leadership, and eventually authored the definitive “*History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*” 1882-1942”, published by Harvard University Press in 1947.

The Directors of the ASCSA in the time frame relevant to this examination, and Willy’s career, were Bert Hodge Hill (1906-1926), Carl Blegen (acting, 1926-27), Rhys Carpenter (1927-1932), Richard Stillwell (1932-1935), and Edward Capps (1935-1936).

During this period two sciences dominated the attention of the public. An essay by David J. Rhees, dated May 23, 1977, entitled *Public Images of Science In America: Science News-Letter, 1922 – 1929*, quoted Edwin E. Slosson, former editor of that publication as follows, “ the two most popular sciences in 1928 were astronomy and archeology, with the more practical science regrettably low in the public's esteem”. Archeology reigned supreme.

One might imagine the situation as developing like the Green River, drifting in a broad band through Brown Park, slowly watering a lush pasturage. Some turbulence appears, then calmness returns. But suddenly the walls close in, soaring a quarter of a mile vertically, folding inwards. You have reached the Gates of Lodore, and there is no turning back. There are only three exits. Turning back, reversing times arrow, is impossible. Turning to either side or defeating hydrodynamics is equally unlikely. The only way out is to run the rapids. You are in the “Green Suck”- all the upstream water molecules suddenly accelerating as they try to thrust through the narrowing passage, and the water in the center running fastest, unhindered by the boundary layer drags of the shore. Men in science, women competing in their world, and Society itself are propelled by forces foreign to an unbiased search for knowledge and scientific fact. Fatalities and deliberate or unconscious delusion often divert or overturn the fragile craft. History is rewritten by those that control power, and reality is forgotten.

The First World War resulted in the death of ~10 million people by War. The post-war flue epidemic killed ~25 million. The events destroyed the gene pool of many European countries like restriction enzymes cut DNA. The events diluted the financial institutions of many European countries into recessions. The events shifted the World’s power base further West, and America was eager to become a world leader.

The brightest star in the sky over this turbulent river run was Carter's discovery of King Tut's Tomb in 1922. Carter and Lord Carnarvon found the tomb concealed beneath the mud brick houses of the workmen who cut the tomb of Ramesses VI. Most likely this tomb was not carved for a king, but for a high official. But due to the fact that King Tut died at an early age, the rooms were hastily converted. Items for the afterlife were seemingly thrown into the various rooms. What made this particular find important is that the contents were untouched by robbers. Other stars blinking in the public's eyes were finds that included sacrificial "death pits" in the ancient Mayan cities of Mexico, prehistoric Indian mounds in the United States, priceless art treasures in the buried city of Pompeii, and excavations in Carthage, Greece, and Babylonia. Schliemann had proffered his proof of the truth of the Iliad and Odyssey at Troy.

The repression caused by wartime conditions, and the depression due to deaths in the plague that followed, were released explosively in many Western countries, disappearing in a stock-market surge that opened up the world to an increasingly wealthy middle-class, created a market for vicarious adventures printed in a new news media, and made virtual adventures a possibility for readers and patrons of arts and science. The Green River run became, for science in general and archeology in particular, a greed for the Green (money), fame, and even notoriety— notability was not enough. The various media, the scientists, and the students they were training entered a world where hype, heat, and attention became ingrained traits for those who wanted what they defined as success.

“In 1920 wealthy newspaper publisher E. W. Scripps met with distinguished members of three national science academies to found an institution for the popularization of science, called Science News Service. Later this was shortened to Science Service. The function of this non-profit organization, generously endowed by Scripps, was the preparation of news stories on science to be distributed to American newspapers. Under the editorship of Edwin E. Slosson, Science Service began in 1921. In 1922 Science Service fostered the publication of a weekly popular science journal, *SCIENCE NEWS-LETTER* (SNL), composed mainly of articles culled from the Science Service. Slosson guided both efforts until 1929, when his death, and a world-wide depression, intervened. Although SNL itself had a fairly limited circulation, the newspaper features of Science Service enjoyed by 1928 a daily readership of nearly four million readers, or approximately one-fifth of all newspaper readers in America.”

(© David J. Rhees, *May 23, 1977, Public Images of Science in America, 1922-1929*)

The Capps' Years

As the stream of societal pressures towed the two sciences, astronomy and archeology, into the mainstream, the concept of “mentoring” young professionals often underwent a mutation— and this was particularly true at ASCSA.

An ASCSA cohort (1927-1928) that contained Virginia Grace, and a year later the famed Lucy Shoe (Meritt), obviously had students and mentors that created the next generations of archeologists, but Willy was served badly. The concept of a mentor comes appropriately from a character in the epic poems— Mentor was a friend, counselor and wise advisor to both Odysseus and Telemachus. That mentoring service, which began in Greek fable, faltered in Athens and Olynthus. Money and reputation intruded.

Edward Capps played a seminal role in the changes that occurred within ASCSA in the 1920's, and initiated the steps that led to the resignation in 1926 of Bert Hodge Hill as Director of the School, a position Hill had held since 1906. Hill's friend, Carl Blegen served as Assistant Director for the period 1920-1926. Blegen served as Acting Director of the School for the 1926-1927 academic year, and Benjamin Meritt (the husband-to-be of Lucy Shoe) served as Assistant Director of the School for the 1926-1928 period. In 1927 Rhys Carpenter assumed the Directorship, a position he held until 1932. David Robinson began his Olynthus digs in 1928, and Willy found his mentoring a constant mauling in the muddy confusion of a hasty first year dig to achieve for Davy the position and prominence so necessary to future funding. George Mylonas was a Greek archeologist who participated as School Bursor, and later as a dig director. He was Willy's informal mentor and a source of good cheer.

Brief biographies of these players are important to an understanding of how the pursuit of money and top-rank-rating eroded both science and mentoring. They are also a key to understanding the roles that Mrs Hill and Mrs. Blegen played in assisting Willy during the Athens and Olynthus periods. There were close similarities in the three women's personalities and interests, and the Vassar networking was crucial. As we develop the subject of mentoring, it is obvious that the wives of Blegen and Hill were superb mentors, and substituted for the deficiencies exhibited by Robinson.

Edward Capps (1866-1950) was a noted champion of Greek-American friendship. Capps became interested in the classics at Illinois College in his native Jacksonville. He received his A.B. there in 1887, took his Ph.D. at Yale in 1891, and later studied in Greece and Germany. He taught at Illinois College, at Yale, and at the University of Chicago, where he was the founder and editor of *Classical Philology*, before being called to Princeton by Woodrow Wilson in 1907. He was Professor of Classics at Princeton from 1907 to 1935. Capps's Princeton colleagues were soon impressed by his abundant energy and his loyalty to his beliefs and friends. As a member of the faculty committee on the graduate school, he sided with Wilson in the Wilson-West controversy over the

location of the graduate college, taking a vigorous part in debate at faculty meetings and supporting Wilson to the end. One of the founders of the American Association of University Professors, he was a leader during its first fight for academic freedom and served for a time as its president. He was also president of the American Philological Association. Capps was the first American editor of the Loeb Classical Library, the series of texts of classical authors with English translations, regarded in the profession as a notable achievement of American scholarship. Capps was closely identified with Greece most of his life. "With Lord Byron removed from the field," the Alumni Weekly once said, "Professor Capps would win any contest for 'best-known foreigner in Greece.'" He first went there in the fall of 1893 as a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the following Spring took part in the School's excavation of the theater at ancient Eretria. He returned to Athens for further study in 1903, this time deciphering and collating a series of tablets about the theater, which also contained important data on that city's military and political history. At the end of the First World War, Capps spent two years in Greece as American Red Cross Commissioner and another year as United States Minister to Greece, on appointment of President Wilson. During this period, he played a leading role in the founding of Athens College, which later named a building in his honor, citing him as an "inspiring teacher of Greek life and letters . . . and for nearly half a century a champion of friendship between Greece and America." Capps was chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies (ASCSA) at Athens for twenty years. In this capacity he organized the most spectacular of all American archaeological ventures, the excavation of the Agora of ancient Athens, securing the Greek government's necessary cooperation, John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s financial support, and Professor T. Leslie Shear's expert services as director. He was influential in obtaining the gift of the Gennadius Library, which made the School an international center of Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic studies. Following his retirement from Princeton University in 1935, he served as acting director of the American School in Athens for a year, and was then visiting professor at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study for five years. Thereafter he continued to work on the Loeb Classical Library and to read his favorite Greek authors with students who met with him at his home on Mercer Street. Shortly before his eightieth birthday he went to Oxford to accept a Doctor of Letters' degree *honoris causa*; he had previously been honored by Illinois College, Oberlin, Harvard, Michigan, and Athens. At the centennial of his first alma mater, Illinois College, his family and friends founded there the Edward Capps Chair of Greek and Latin."

From Alexander Leitch, *A Princeton Companion*, copyright Princeton University Press (1978).

David Robinson was born at Auburn, N.Y. on September 21, 1880. He received his A.B. degree in 1898 and his Ph.D. in 1904, both at the University of Chicago. He studied at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1901 to 1903, at Halle in 1902, at Berlin in 1903-4 and at Bonn in 1909. He taught at Illinois College in 1904-5 after which he moved to Johns Hopkins University

where he was Associate in Archaeology from 1905 to 1908, Associate Professor from 1908 to 1912, Professor of Greek Archaeology and Epigraphy from 1912 to 1913, Professor of Classical Archaeology and Epigraphy from 1913 to 1920, W. H. Collins Vickers Professor of Archaeology and Epigraphy from 1920 to 1947 and was Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology from 1913 to 1947. He also served as Chairman of the Department of Latin from 1944 to 1945. Robinson often held concurrent or visiting appointments at other colleges or universities. From 1921 to 1935 he was Professor of Greek at Notre Dame College in Baltimore. During the 1909-10 academic year, he was acting director and Professor of Greek at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens where he was Professor of Greek and Archaeology for a second time in 1946-47. He was lecturer at Bryn Mawr College in 1911-12, Professor of Classical Philology in the summer sessions at Columbia University (1919) and the University of California at Berkeley (1927). He taught Sociology and Anthropology at the University of California at Los Angeles in the summer of 1941. He was visiting Professor of Art at the University of Chicago in 1930, Professor of Latin at Syracuse University in the summers of 1929, 1931-33, and at the College of William and Mary in the summer of 1941. He was the C. L. Moore lecturer at Trinity College in 1935, the McBride lecturer at Western Reserve University in 1930, Lecturer in Fine Arts at New York University in 1926-1931 and Larwill lecturer at Kenyon College in 1932. He was a very frequent lecturer for the Archaeological Institute of America and was its Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer in 1924, 1925, 1928 and 1929. Archaeological excavations played an important role in his career. He began as a member of the staff at Corinth in 1902 and 1903 and at Sardis in 1910. In 1924 he directed the excavation of Antioch in Pisidia and Sizma (Turkey) for the University of Michigan. His greatest achievement was the discovery, excavation and publication of Olynthus on the Chalcidic peninsula in northern Greece. This important city which was destroyed by Philip of Macedon in 348 B.C. was explored during four campaigns between 1928 and 1938. He authored scores of books and articles which take 22 pages to list at the beginning of the monumental *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* edited by his student George Mylonas of Washington University in St. Louis (1951) vol. I, pp. xxii-xliii. His most important publications are the 14 volumes of Excavations at Olynthus published by Johns Hopkins University Press from 1930 to 1952 under Robinson's editorship. Other important works by Robinson include *Ancient Sinope* (1906), *Sappho and her Influence* (1924), *The Deeds of Augustus as recorded on the Monumentum Antiochenum* (1926), *A Catalogue of Greek Vases* in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto (1930), the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, *The Robinson Collection*, vols. 1-3, (1934-1938) and *Baalbec and Palmyra* (1946). He also served as Associate Editor of the Classical Weekly from 1913 to 1936, and of the American Journal of Philology from 1920 to 1952. He was founder and first Editor-in-Chief of Art Bulletin from 1919 to 1921 and was Editor of News, Discussions and Bibliography of the American Journal of Archaeology from 1932 to 1938. He was Editor of the Johns Hopkins *Studies in Archaeology*, a series of 38 volumes and was co-editor of *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, a 45-volume series. He was a

member of the Publications Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1931 to 1938. Robinson's service to scholarly societies was prodigious. He was General Secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America from 1921 to 1923, Vice-President from 1921 to 1930 and First Vice-President from 1930 to 1935. He was twice a member of the Executive Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. He was President of the College Art Association from 1919 to 1923 and a Director from 1923 to 1943. He was also President of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States (1920-21), Chairman of the Advisory Council of the American Academy in Rome (1920-1921) and Vice-President of the American Classical League (1945-1950). In 1947 Professor Robinson retired from Johns Hopkins University as Professor Emeritus of Art and Archaeology and accepted an invitation from the University of Mississippi to be Professor of Classical Archaeology in the Department of Classics. He brought with him his vast collection of classical antiquities and continued to teach and publish there until his death in January, 1958.

(From the Robinson Collection Home Page, University of Mississippi)

Bert Hodge Hill was born on March 7, 1874, in Bristol, Vermont. He received his A. B. from the University of Vermont in 1895 and his M. A. from Columbia University in 1900. His association with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens started when he attended the ASCSA as a Drisler Fellow of Columbia University in 1901. He remained at the ASCSA as a Fellow of the Archaeological Institute of America for the two following years (1902-1903). After a brief interval, during which he was Assistant Curator of Classical Antiquities at the Museum of Fine Arts and Lecturer in Greek Sculpture at Wellesley College, he returned to the ASCSA and served as its director for twenty years (1906-1926). Hill remained an active participant in the ASCSA's affairs even after his official retirement from the directorship. He also served as a director for the University of Pennsylvania Archaeological Expeditions in Cyprus, at the excavations of Lapithos and Kourion in 1932 and from 1934 to 1952. In 1936-1937 he traveled widely in the U. S. as a Charles Eliot Norton Lecturer of the Archaeological Institute of America.

His academic interests were broad and diverse. As a director of the ASCSA he was in charge of the Corinth excavations for twenty years, where he concentrated on the study of the springs of Peirene, Glauke and the Sacred Spring. He was also closely involved with the study of the monuments of the Akropolis, especially the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, as well as with the study of various issues related to the topography of Athens. Except for architecture, sculpture, and topography, he was engaged in studies of epigraphy and worked on many inscriptions.

Regarding the archaeology of Greece, in particular of Athens, Hill was a mine of information, and was consulted by everybody who was publishing on these issues. For example, his contribution to the publication of the Erechtheum is widely acknowledged. He received many honorary degrees and memberships by various institutions, such as the University of Vermont, the University of

Thessaloniki, the Archaeological Society of Athens, the German Archaeological Institute, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and others. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the American Philological Association and of the Archaeological Institute of America.

Hill married Ida Carleton Thallon in 1924. He lived in Athens almost continuously from 1900 to his death in 1958, and was always an active participant in the intellectual and social life of the city, offering his services to many humanitarian and educational agencies. Hill served with the Red Cross during World Wars I and II and as an official of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission under the League of the Nations in the 1920s. Moreover, he was a member of the Board of Trustees of Athens College since its foundation in 1925 and, as an executive officer of the United States Educational Foundation in Greece helped promote the Fulbright program in Greece. Bert Hodge Hill died on December 2, 1958. (From the Hill Home Page, ASCSA)

Ida Carleton Thallon-Hill was born August 11, 1875 in Brooklyn, a daughter of John and Grace Green Thallon. She came from Packer Collegiate Institute to Vassar College, where she received her A.B. degree in 1897 and her M.A. in 1901. In 1899-1901 she was a student in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. From 1903-1905 she studied at Columbia University, which conferred the degree of Ph.D. upon her in 1905. Her teaching experience was all at Vassar, but, remarkably, in three subjects: Greek, 1901-1903; Latin, 1906-1907; History, 1907-1924. Her subsequent marriage to the distinguished archaeologist, Dr. Bert Hodge Hill, and her departure to Athens terminated her teaching career at Vassar. Her first publication came from her student days in Athens. While there, Ida and her friend Lida Shaw King, with two men students of the American School, excavated a cave sacred to Pan and the Nymphs at Vari, and the marble reliefs found in it were published by Ida Thallon in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1903). Next, in 1906, came her doctoral dissertation on sculpture, *The Date of Damophon of Messene*. While Associate Professor of History at Vassar she produced a source book for student use, *Readings in Greek History* (1914); *Rome of the Kings* (1925); and made a notable contribution to the volume *Vassar Medieval Studies* (1923) with her essay "A Medieval Humanist: Michael Akominatos." After her return to Athens, she published in collaboration with Lida Shaw King a volume in the *Corinth Series of the American School* (IV, I, 1929) "Decorated Architectural Terracottas." Just before her death, her book *The Ancient City of Athens* (1953) was published. (From the Hill Home Page, SCSCA)

Carl W. Blegen was born in 1887. He received his B.A. from the University of Minnesota in 1904, a B.A. from Yale in 1907. He was a student at the ASCCSA in 1910 (Yale fellowship), and was a Fellow of the School from 1911-1913. He excavated Locris (1911) and Corinth (1911-1914), and travelled with Emerson Swift from 1912-1915. Blegen was Secretary of ASCSA from 1913-1920. From 1915-1916 he excavated at Korakou (published 1921). From 1918-1919 he did World War Relief work in Macedonia and Bulgaria. His Ph.D. degree was from

Yale in 1920. Blegen was Assistant Director of ASCSA from 1920-1926. His excavations at Zygouries (1921-1922) were published in 1927; and those at Hymettos (1923-1924) were published in 1924.

In 1924 he married Elizabeth Denny Pierce at Lake Placid, NY. He was acting Director of ASCSA in 1926-1927 (sic). His excavations at Prosymna (1926-1928) were published in 1937. In 1927 he joined the faculty of the University of Cincinnati as Prof. Of Classical Archeology and Fellow of the Graduate School. His famous excavations at Troy occurred in 1932-1938, while those at Pylos and Nestor's Palace were in 1939. He taught from 1939-1942 at the University of Cincinnati. During the War years (1942-1946) he served with the Office of Strategic Services in Washington, and the U.S. State Department in Athens. He returned to Cincinnati from 1946-1948, and then returned as Director of the ASCSA in 1948-1949. He served a Head of the Department of Classics at Cincinnati from 1950-1957, at which point he became Professor Emeritus. He held Honorary degrees from The Universities of Oslo, Thessalonika, Oxford, and Cincinnati, Cambridge, Athens, and Hebrew Union. Carl W. Blegen died August 24, 1971, bequeathing to the American School a large collection of documents, photographs, and memorabilia which had belonged to the inhabitants of 9 Plutarch St., namely, Blegen and his wife Elizabeth, and Bert Hodge Hill and Ida Thallon Hill. Elizabeth Blegen had bought the house in 1931.

Blegen's excavations at Troy; shards and shreds - (the site) where warfare, earthquakes and sediment from the passage of the centuries covered up nine successive settlements built atop one another ... convinced Blegen that he had found the level of the magnificent walled city that existed at the time of the Greeks' siege. Blegen's findings, published in a landmark 11-volume work, revised the findings of German Heinrich Schliemann, a businessman and amateur archaeologist who in the 1870s found demolished houses that he theorized resulted from the Greeks' decade-long siege of Troy.

In his research, Blegen concluded that the level that he unearthed, where the city's walls still stood, was the Troy of Homer. Storage jars, skeletons and ash piles - the latter seen by Blegen as evidence of the city's fiery destruction - reinforced his conviction that he had located the so-called seventh Troy, the one that had intrigued historians and archaeologists through the ages. The damage detected by Schliemann on the sixth level, Blegen felt, had been caused by an earthquake. Findings decades later, though, would suggest that perhaps Blegen was wrong, because pottery shards from his digs came from a period after the Trojan War. From the Blegen Home Page, ASCSA

Elizabeth Pierce-Blegen (1888-1966) American Classical archaeologist
Elizabeth Denny Pierce was born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania on June 26, 1888. She attended Vassar College from 1906-1910, where she developed a love for the Classical world and continued through 1912 to receive an M A in Latin. A number of women at Vassar served as role models for her interest in the Classics and encouraged her to pursue this line of study. The most important of these women was to become her lifelong companion, Ida Thallon (Hill), who was credited by Elizabeth with introducing her to Greek archaeology and to many of

the classicists and archaeologists who formed part of this community. From 1912 to 1915 Elizabeth Pierce did further graduate work at Columbia University, possibly because Ida Thallon had done so, obtaining her Ph.D. in 1922. While there, she taught at her alma mater, Vassar College, from 1915 to 1922 in the field of Art History and also served as assistant curator in the school's Art Gallery for seven years. In 1922, she was encouraged to come to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The encouragement to come to Athens was probably spurred in part by Ida Thallon (Hill) who had come there in 1899, as well as by a trip to Greece that the two had taken together in the summer of 1921.

Elizabeth participated fully in the trips taken by the American School, acknowledging in her letters how important they were. The instructors included Carl Blegen in prehistory and general topography; and Bert H. Hill, director of the School. Her class work clearly nucleated an idea that formed the basis of "Newsletter from Athens," which she would write for the *American Journal of Archaeology* from 1925 until 1952. Her reports were "the results of close, careful, understanding first-hand observation and discussion with the excavators whom she grew to know well and who admired her and trusted her with their latest discoveries and thoughts about them [the excavations]. The years 1922-24 were transitional ones for Elizabeth. Although Ida Thallon (Hill) worked hard to have her continue at Vassar with a promotion, Vassar did not have a permanent place for Elizabeth. She married, in the summer of 1924, Carl Blegen and returned to Greece. During Elizabeth's first year back in Athens she lectured on sculpture to the first year students. Ida Thallon joined her a little later and soon married Bert Hodge Hill. The four friends eventually took up residence together at 9 Ploutarchou Street in Athens. "...the house at 9 Ploutarchou Street...became...the center of archaeological information and discussion. Scholars and students of all nationalities gathered there for tea or dinner as friends to share the latest archaeological news and lively thought." Once married, Elizabeth participated fully in her husband's work. With Ida Thallon Hill as trench partner, she participated at all his excavations in the digging as well as in cataloguing the material from the excavations, so that it was available for study by specialists. It is clear that the two women usually traveled together. This meant that Elizabeth was companion, critic, and helper to Ida's scholarship as well. Her help was not restricted to those scholars already established in the field, but was also given to first-year students, as recalled by Lucy Shoe Meritt.

Source: by Elizabeth Langridge-Noti,

http://www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/bios/Blegen_Elizabeth%20Pierce.pdf

George Mylonas was born in 1898 in Smyrna (now Izmir) Turkey, when it was the commercial and cultural capital of Greek Ionia. While in Athens studying Classics at the University he joined the Greek Army to fight against the Turks, who had allied themselves with the Germans during World War I. He was taken prisoner, but managed to bribe his way to freedom, arriving in Greece in 1923 at the same time the some 2,000,000 (sic) Anatolian Greeks displaced by the forced immigrations of the Lausanne Treaty found their way to refugee camps in the Piraeus and Salonika areas. Mylonas found employment at the ASCSA, as

interpreter and assistant to Stuart Thompson, the architect.. He managed to write a Ph.D. thesis for the University of Athens on *The Neolithic Period in Greece*. He was appointed Bursar of the ASCSA for 1925-1928, and a part-time assistant in the Gennadeion Library. He received a second Ph.D. degree at John Hopkins University with Prof. Robinson in 1928, and became a naturalized U.S. citizen. He taught for almost 40 years at the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, and finally at Washington University in St. Louis, where he took residency in 1933. He eventually became founding chair of the Department of Art History and Archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis. During the WWII years he worked for The Greek War Relief Organization, and wrote an *Introduction to the Balkan States*. In 1968 he returned to Greece as the Secretary General of the Archeological Society, a post he held until his death in 1988. He participated in the digs at Corinth with Hill, at Nemea with Blegen, at Olynthus with Robinson, and at Eleusis. He considered excavation without publication as a waste of time, effort, money and a loss of information. For 30 years Professor George E. Mylonas directed excavations at Mycenae for the University and the Greek Archaeological Society of Athens. In 1951 and 1952, Professor Mylonas led the excavation of Grave Circle B and demonstrated that it pre-dates Grave Circle A discovered by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876. Professor Mylonas directed excavations both inside the citadel and outside in the years following 1957. He published 1966 *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*(1966), and *Grave Circle B of Mycenae* (1972) and *Mycenae Rich in Gold* (1983

Spyros Iakovidis, *American Journal of Archeology* 93, 235-7, 1989

Rhys Carpenter was Director during Willy's sojourn to Olynthus. His mentoring left future generations to carry on in classical art and archeology, and these pages will return to his skills in this area.

The Roaring Twenties— Edward Capps first report to the Trustees for the year ending August 1920 had the tingling taste of a *gespritzer* after a fare of tepid stale water during the war and flu epidemic. Income from various sources was slowly rising, providing hope for the efforts involving Corinth, the Erechtheum, and the Propylaea. But it generated a burp with its emphasis on the phrases “the time has come when no other task or preoccupation should be allowed to interfere with the prompt appearance, one after the other, of the books on the Erechtheum, the Propylaea and Corinth. Corinth should, in fact, come first. It is therefore urgently recommended that every effort be made, by all officers and committees concerned, to bring the three volumes mentioned to immediate completion. And the work already done at Corinth should be adequately reported in the preliminary publications before further excavations are undertaken, or funds solicited for them.”

(The Propylaea is the columned entrance to the Acropolis area. The Erechtheum is a temple of Athena Polias and of Poseidon Erechtheum, with its Caryatid balcony).

Capps wanted crescendos of completion; Hill was focused on care and completeness. Both were a bit obsessive in their approaches, and both were strong-willed. This disharmony in the 1920's between the base clef lines of archeological administrations and the treble clef of basic science has been repeated more recently in the disciplines of physics and chemistry. Both sides talk, neither listens, and students are pressed in the middle. Capps clearly recognized the issues when he wrote in his report “(observers) of academic administration are invited to study the record of the Athenian School, which has passed beyond the period of experiment. A wise distribution of function has resulted, on the one hand, in keeping the School a part of the educational systems of the institutions which support it, and, on the other hand, in concentrating in the hands of educational experts the full responsibility for the educational administration. There has been efficiency combined with democracy; and the clashing of authority, so commonly witnessed where the position of the faculty is ill defined or too narrowly limited to teaching and discipline, has been conspicuously absent.”

Did Capps mean behavioral discipline or subject discipline? The answer to that question is immaterial since his future actions speak for themselves. Capps' first campaign for endowment money began. His motto (says Louis Lord) seems to have been “Today, Providence permitting; Tomorrow, whether or no.” On 01 June 1920 Capps applied to the Carnegie Corporation and the General Education Board (a U.S. foundation) asking each for an endowment fund of \$100,000 on condition that the Trustees and Managing Committee of ASCSA raise a matching \$100,000. The yearly budget of the School at the time was ~\$20,000, which was \$6,000 more than the then current income. It is easy for administrators to announce sound-bite goals. But egocentric pressures to meet

those goals tend to warp other structures, and administrative allusions, elusions and delusions shift the direction of the science.

Although Oppenheimer meant something quite different when he uttered “physicists have known sin” after the Trinity test-site explosion of the first atomic weapon, his group had taken the first step towards physics.com. Big science, big bucks, big groups, team-research, multi-disciplinary efforts, relevant-work, cross-cutting initiatives, cluster-hires, and institutes/centers were just a step away. Chemistry followed, and then the bio-area exploded with the same fulminating infectious fervor. But the etiology of all these infections was a lethal combination of administrators, foundations and some scientists. Many of the latter learned to like the new environment that could be created— publication, fame, travel, and new toys. And this arena, in the mid-1920’s, contained Capps, Hill and Robinson, each wanting something different.

In July 1921 the Carnegie Corporation made a conditional offer that would grant the School’s request for a \$100,000 endowment IF the School would raise \$150,000 before January 1, 1925. As a preliminary to the endowment campaign the Endowment Committee felt that more publicity of a “dignified character” was necessary. By August 1922 a total of \$89,500 had been raised. In June 1922 John D. Rockefeller had informed Capps that he would give the School, preferably for permanent endowment, \$100,000 provided the School was successful in its efforts to raise the \$150,000. By May 1923 the School had raised \$167,000. That race was won.

Capps achieved another victory in securing funds (Carnegie Corporation, \$275,000) for the creation of the Gennadeion Library in Athens to receive the library of Dr. Gennadius, who for many years was the representative of the Greek Government at the Court of St. James. His collection of some 50,000 items, unsurpassed in completeness for the illustration of the Hellenic civilization, built a foundation for Greek scholarship at ASCSA, but added an inescapable lever to Capps’ publicity and political goals.

Hill would publish on Corinth, or go! And, Hill was to flog the writers of the reports on the Erechtheum and the Propylaea

As this skirmish in the graves of academe pustulated, the Greek Army met disaster in Turkey at the swords, spears, bayonets and guns of Ataturk. The Greeks had been encouraged in their incursion into the interior of Turkey by Britain and France, with a small subtle strip-tease of gunboat diplomacy by the United States. The lubricants were a desire for subtle control of the Near-East Oil fields. At the termination of the conflict, the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, attended largely by the West and the victors, resulted in the exchange of Greek Orthodox citizens in Anatolia back to Greece, and Muslims in Greece back to Turkey. An estimated 1.3 million people played musical chairs to a chorus of vowel-swallowing Brits, tweeting Frogs, and guttural new-age Turks.

Myriophytos, where Willy lived at Olynthus in 1928, was a site of one of the refugee camps. Mr. Mylonas had been detained by the Turks. The great cultural changes this mass exchange brought to the flowing stream of Helladic, Hellenic, Hellenistic culture was profound.

But, it was the great cultural changes brought on by the Capps/Hill controversy that greeted Willy when she first arrived in Athens. This controversy had begun to nucleate during the regime of James Wheeler as Chairman (1901-1918). The negative attitudes that colonized the minds of some members of the Committee in the 1920's are best examined from sections taken from Lord's *History of the ASCSA* and extracts from ASCSA's *Annual Reports*. These brushy lines left swathes of greenish stains over the Corinth dig's stones like the slime of the cyanin dyes produced by *Pseudomonas aureginosa*. This organism is common in and on man, and is an opportunistic infector. The following lines of Lord and others heralded the time when the fulminating infectious abscess burst under Capps' treatment.

- “The last published “preliminary report” (on Corinth) was for the year 1905. There had appeared in the American Journal of Archeology a considerable number of excellent articles written by the staff and students, describing details of the excavation and the finds, but a well coordinated plan to “publish Corinth” there was not. ... The activities at Corinth seem inchoate and irrational. There was evident at Athens a tendency, almost fatal, to abandon one project, half complete, to engage on another investigation that needed attention of the staff. Corinth needed excavation and publication; it was the first duty of the School.”
- “In accordance with the desire of the Committee, in which Dr. Hill fully shares, no considerable new excavations, or even continuation of the excavation of Old Corinth, should be undertaken until the officers of the School should have time to catch up with arrears in the matter of publication, and no programme for future excavations by the School itself has been proposed or considered.” (quoted from (*Fortieth Annual Report (1920-1921)*))

In an Orwellian vein, Lord's *History* then proceeds to suggest that “circumstances seemed (sic) to make relaxation of this ‘substance of doctrine’ advisable.” He points out that Hill and Blegen, while traveling stopped halfway between Corinth and Mycenae for a casual examination of a mound, Zygouries, which revealed attractive pre-historic cultural traces. Finding their own financial sources, they made this excavation, conducted at the relatively small cost of \$1,000, one of the most successful undertaken by the School.

- At the 1921 meeting Capps reported encouraging news about reports on the Erechtheum and somewhat less sanguine prospects concerning the Propylaea. “No such hope was expressed regarding Hill's Bulletin on Corinth.”

- The Managing Committee took steps at its meeting in 1922 to secure closer relations with the staff of the School. ... These regulations provided that the Director (then Hill) should each year before May 1 provide the Chairman of the Managing Committee (then Capps) with a list and description of the courses to be offered during the next year, a list of the proposed trips, and of the excavations to be made. ... The general tones of these resolutions, unanimously recommended by the Executive Committee, suggest growing tension between the Managing Committee and the staff. {so much for Capps previous sound-bite “there has been efficiency combined with democracy; and the clashing of authority, so commonly witnessed where the position of the faculty is ill defined or too narrowly limited to teaching and discipline, has been conspicuously absent.”}
- “Hill’s Bulletin on Corinth showed no progress”. The book on the Propylaea was pronounced “to be as nearly complete as it could be made till the author could revisit Athens; and the publication on the Erechtheum made it seem possible that part of the material would reach the printer in 1923.” (The *History*)

It is interesting to also note that in the same year (1922) Capps acknowledged, with respect to the building of the Gennadeion “The School is under the greatest obligations to Director Hill for his inexhaustible patience and resourcefulness in the conduct of this business, which he followed through changes of government, political and social disturbances, and legal complications until the land was wholly ours to build the Gennadeion upon.” During the next School year Director Hill solved the need for an annex that could be used to accommodate women, and “resourceful as ever, Hill at once produced a suitable dwelling, the palace of Prince George on Academy Street.” But the innuendos continued, as we follow Lord’s words:

- “The notes of irritation engendered by hope long deferred are evident in such statements in 1922-23 as ‘Under his [Capps’] urgings Mr. Hill has begun to send final notes (on the Erechtheum).’ The following year (1923-1924) ‘the Erectheum book is steadily approaching completion, but with disappointing slowness.’ A year later the book was still ‘steadily, if too slowly’ progressing toward completion.” Chase (Harvard) rashly prophesized that the publication might confidently be expected during 1926. But in 1926 the long-continued process of gestation was still going on. The volume ‘should be published, at the latest, in the Spring of 1927.’ This was, by a narrow margin, correct.”

Dinsmoor (Columbia), the propellant for the Propylaea report, had been working half-time on the effort in the United States since 1919. He returned to Athens in 1924 under a special arrangement, and it was reported that “steady progress was made, and that the book should be ready for printing next year”. Lord again back-handedly comments “but Hill did discover at Nemea the sunken

adyton which Blegen had suggested.” Unfortunately, Dinsmoor’s five year appointment to the staff of the School was soon to end. Conducting exploratory excavations on the Western slope of the Acropolis, Dinsmoor found new architectural clues and epigraphy that made necessary a revision of Athenian chronology before the Christian era. In view of the importance of this work he felt it necessary to put aside his architectural studies on the Propylaea. Lord comments that this was “a serious, almost tragic, change of plan. ... Time and facilities had been granted to him for the completion of his (Propylaea) task. That other interests should have prevented its completion was not such a loss for Dinsmoor, but for the School it was a tragedy.” The conflicts between academic curiosity and fiscal cupidity, the divisions between scholars and administrators, and the fission of the “two cultures” were to fracture the facades of the School’s establishment.

- (In 1924) “Capps felt, and the Committee shared his opinion, ‘that the School has so far failed in its obligation to the Greek Government ... and to the scientific world that justly looks to us for a publication of our discoveries.’ It was quite clear that so long a time had elapsed since the Bulletin was planned that its publication, even if a manuscript could be secured from the director, would be inadequate to meet the situation. In the twenty years that had elapsed many of the buildings had been completely excavated and were ready for publication. It was therefore decided that the pursuit of the (Corinth) Bulletin ... should at last be abandoned. The responsibility for the final publication was transferred from the Director (Hill) to the Publications Committee, and Professor Harold Fowler was appointed annual professor for 1924-1925 and was made editor-in-chief of the Corinth publications. In place of the Bulletin, Hill was asked to write a guide to Corinth. .. This was to be ... but a pamphlet of 95-100 pages based on the account already published in Art and Archeology . To quote Capps **‘It would not be a heavy task. Its main object would be to help us raise money.’**”

But in April 1924 Hill cabled Capps that generous gifts made it possible to conduct excavations on a large scale at Corinth in 1925. In addition, funds from friends of Blegen were available for excavations at Nemea/Phlius. The later site was extensive— an acropolis more than half a mile from east to west, and a lower town of greater extent. Should one dig or write?

By 1925 Fowler had made progress on material for the Corinth publication, but it was now seen to be a very extensive effort. And new dirt became evident. The Greek government, faced with supporting, supplying, and sustaining the “repatriated” refugees from the ill-worded Lausanne Treaty were juggling the need for funds, the wish to excavate their Hellenic culture, and yet expand Athens into the area under which lay the classical *agora*. The legislature defeated a bill in 1924 authorizing Greek expropriation and excavation of the area. The pressure from the people owning land and buildings in the area was very high. It was then intimated to Hill that the authorities would be glad to be

informed of any interest that the American School might have in such a project. Capps and Hill obviously recognized the importance of this opportunity, and in January 1925 the Greek Minister of Public Instruction informed Hill that permission would be given to ASCSA “to conduct excavations in the ancient Agora of Athens to whatever extent desired, provided only that the School obtains sufficient funds to pay for the expropriation of the private houses occupying the land in question.” That proposal was accepted in May 1925. But the project would require funds and bodies.

In 1925 the work at Corinth had been shifted to excavations in succession, rather than concurrently. We’ll see that Lord’s *History* claims lack of workers— Hill’s publication focuses on lack of funds. Theatres, villas, mosaics, temples—some covered by previous dump mounds, some by soils deposited by a decade of floods—emerged as Hill and his colleagues dug further into the Corinth earth. In 1926 frescoes, sculptures, friezes, and the theatre’s orchestra provided proof that Corinth was still only partially excavated. As for the writings of Fowler, pushed by Capps, only one of the ten volumes proposed reached the printer before 1930. Hill may have only published a few papers in the Roaring Twenties, but he had dug dirt. His archeological finds had inundated even full-time writers, and the Corinth Volumes would only be essentially completed by 1941. Hill’s name did not appear on their title pages.

Hill resigned his Directorship at the close of 1926, after twenty years of service. The friction was of long duration. Capps *had been instructed* in 1925 to express the definite dissatisfaction of the Managing Committee. Hill’s retirement was the cause of “not a little bad feeling”, and several of Hill’s colleagues who had been interested in the School’s affairs retired from the management and withdrew their support. Blegen served as a necessary Acting Director for one year, before the “shy but scholarly” Rhys Carpenter assumed the position. Hill continued to work in Greece, and he and his wife shared a home with the Blegens at 9 Plutarch Street.

Lord does paint one stage-view of the Capps/Hill affair with an elegant English biased brush. His definitive *History of ASCSA* takes a ver negative Cappian view of Hill until the latter’s last few moments on stage. Then a fountain flows forth, almost a eulogy:

“Hill was a great and inspiring teacher. It was he who taught Blegen and Dinsmoor and Holland, Thompson, Stilwell, Shear and Meritt and Broneer. To him these men owed their conception of what an archeological investigation should be and what scientific thoroughness and accuracy mean(s). It was perhaps this very thoroughness, this perfectionism, that made his retirement from the Directorate inevitable. He was never satisfied with incomplete or imperfect results. So he was continuously searching for new data to make his presentation of an excavation complete. ... In Hill’s case, as so often happens, there was conflict between the immediate executive emergency and the less insistent scholarly necessity. When it was a question of action—the negotiations for ground for the Gennadeion is a case in point—he was magnificent. His charming

personality, his knowledge of the puzzling currents of Greek diplomacy and intrigue, his cordial and intimate relations with the King, ministers, and people, his untiring kindness and unfailing geniality, his amazing resourcefulness, all combined to make him, in these respects, an ideal Director. His skill as an excavator tempted him to continue digging when publication was imperative. Excavation, like gold mining, is exciting. ... But to write the account of an excavation is a tedious and toilsome task. This part of his duty ... became an almost insurmountable inhibition.”

Exposing the bare stone of the buried Capps/Hill structure requires some excavation.

Excavations of Acrocappseion

When the gods warred on top of Olympus the earth shook and the clouds flickered with sheets of lightning. Mortals transformed their transgressions into myths and fables. As time passes the legends become confused, commingled, and corrupted. Folk-tales are repeated and distorted. What were the roots of the Capps-Hill collision?

(Edward Capps should not be confused with Edward Capps Jr. The latter, like Louis Lord, was from Oberlin College, and Capps Jr. helped Hill dig at Corinth in 1926 and was a Visiting Professor at ASCSA in 1937-38. Edward Capps was Director of the School in 1935-36. Louis Lord became Chairman in 1939. ASCSA contained a small close, circle.)

Paul Connert, in his superb book, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.2), argues that “we experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present. And we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect that present.” Someone exploring and excavating the Capps-Hill mound must recognize that our primary sources suffer from this syndrome, and we are twice removed from reality. Our vision of that affair is akin to a remembrance of what an exhibit at the Basle Kunst Museum offered in the 1990’s—a pitch black room criss-crossed with strings from which were appended by cloths-pins numerous photos and small memorabilia of a Jewish family that partially survived the 1930-1940 encounters with the Germans, the Russians, and the Poles—a low ceilinged room that was viewed by a dim hand-held flashlight.

Despina Lalaki has written a thoughtful essay entitled *Archeology and Symbolic Violence in Modern Greece* that appears periodically on the Web. She argues that archeology has passed through a phase in which the philosophies and practices from the more exact natural sciences led archeologists to believe in the

scientific objectivity of their subject. But, a science and its external political environment and internal political struggles are intrinsically related.

As we have seen, American archeology joined rather belatedly the European schools in foreign expeditions. The ASCSA was formed in 1882, and this was followed by an equivalent establishment in Rome in 1895. The Archeological Institute of America and ASCSA found itself in competition with foreign governments in Greece and there was strong impetus to obtain a concession that would lead to glory. The German Institute had secured the excavation at Olympia, while the French School managed to secure Delphi. The first suitable site was found at Corinth, one of the most important cities of the classical world.

Such International competition in archeology is, of course, not entirely new. The strange case of the puzzling and peripatetic Venus de Milo has already been explored at length. However, the amount of energy and money involved in the new academic Olympics in Greece had escalated. And, it was now America that felt the threat of being viewed as a third-rate competitor; an America that had emerged from WWI as a potential world power contender.

In this type of competitive vein the American School started excavations in Corinth during the Spring of 1896, and pursued them until the interference due to WWI in 1916. After the hostilities excavations were resumed. The successive Chairmen of the Managing Committee of ASCSA, Wheeler and Capps, viewed Corinth as important to the projected image of ASCSA, an importance to be largely removed by the success of the School in the Agora area in the late 1920's. John D. Rockefeller's anonymous (at the time) 1927 gift of \$250,000 made it possible for ASCSA to gain the Agora. Added to the grandiose coup of the Gennadeion Library, ASCSA had attained peer acceptance. In 1928 the AIA officially recognized that ASCSA was the main institution involved in Greek archeology and should be entirely responsible for the Agora. That same year the Greek government passed regulations that required foreigners to have approval from their school in Athens to excavate, and ASCSA completed its monopoly by forbidding American/Greek collaborations without ASCSA's permission. This led to David Robinson's need to have three ASCSA students accompany him to Olynthus. Willy's political interpretations of Davy's actions in her letters and diary were on target. So were her feelings about the passions and paranoia that accompanied what she called the Capps/Hill controversy.

The Agora excavation became the pearl in ASCSA's diadem. By 1939 it had employed \$1,000,000 dollars of Rockefeller monies to remove 250,000 tons of earth and 365 buildings from the 16 acres of the Agora. Agora was the needed big-dig. To quote Lalaki "The Agora excavations developed an operating sociology that represented a complex blend of American corporate efficiency, European hierarchy, and Mediterranean clientship. The (chairmanship), an office of tremendous power rather like the CEO of a major American corporation, became a career appointment. Between 1928 and 1992 there have been only three directors of the Agora, two of them father and son."

The parallel's between the Agora political pattern and ASCSA's development in the 1920's under Edward Capps are obvious. Capps was a consummate politician, tinged by the rigidity of Wilsonian academic and political thought and motivation. Capps' goals collided with Hill's ethos, and both egos were strong. The often incestuous and Laocoon architecture of the Managing Committee and its Executive Committee made it possible for Capps to manipulate sentiment and draft regulations that he felt necessary to achieve nationalistic positioning of American archeology. The Twenties were Roaring, and by planting many "funding" spades simultaneously Capps had the conviction that some would yield green-\$ fruit. He was correct, and succeeded in his mission.

Early on, in his first years, with the Agora and the Gannadeion yet to nucleate, Capps became obsessed with the need to publish and disseminate scientific and popular material on the excavations at Corinth, and the work that had been done on the Erechtheum and the Propylaea. Lord's *History* points out that from the beginning in 1896, "no excavation of a large Greek City had hitherto been undertaken. Olympia, Delphi and Delos were shrines, nor was any other site as Corinth available, for the other prominent Greek cities were covered by modern buildings. James Wheeler (Chairman-1901-1918) appealed to the American public to do for the American School what the French and German governments had done for theirs." As earlier stated, his successor, Capps, wanted nationalistic completion; Hill wanted completeness. The clash of wills escalated, and by the time the plums of the Agora and Gannadeion were ripe, the bitter fruit of five years of confrontation over splashy publication led to Hill's forced resignation. Blegen was a superb selection as Acting Director, but Blegen "walked" at the end of the necessary "healing" year. Blegen and Hill were too close due to their mentoring relationship, professional collaboration, and a personal closeness that led to the combined domicile at 9 Plutarch Street. Others followed his steps.

As Paul Connert pointed out "we experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects". By digging through available records and biographies, recognizing the shapes implied by fractured sherds, restoring faded lines in frescoes of actions, and feeling the shape and intent of words, it is possible to reconstruct the experiences and habits which formed Capps management style. He was "called to Princeton by Woodrow Wilson in 1907. Capps's Princeton colleagues were soon impressed by his abundant energy and his loyalty to his beliefs and friends. As a member of the faculty committee on the graduate school, he sided with Wilson in the Wilson-West controversy over the location of the graduate college, taking a vigorous part in debate at faculty meetings and supporting Wilson to the end." This quote, taken from his Princeton biographical sketch, fails to indicate that both he and Wilson lost that battle. How the issue was lost reveals a great deal about Wilson, and what mind-sets contaminated Capps' management style in Athenian matters at a later date. Wilson wanted the Graduate School to be located among the main undergraduate physical plant. Andrew West, the Graduate Dean wished to

have his students isolated from the noisy undergraduates in its own sylvan atmosphere. As usual, when faced with an opposing view, Wilson sought to enlarge the size of the decision making body, hoping that his possible public charisma could affect the flow. The battle ranged rancorously until a rich patron left purported millions to the West plan, and Wilson had to recognize defeat.

Wilson also held long termed animosities against opposition. The record suggests that Capps likewise manipulated first the Executive Committee, and then the larger Managing Committee to obtain the results he felt necessary. Many of his goals were laudable, and the program and endowments of ASCSA increased remarkably during his tenure. But the Capps/Hill affair seems akin to Wilson and the League of Nations/Versailles Peace Treaty after the hostilities of WWI. Wilson envisaged the Peace Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations as being inexorably entwined. However, Article 10 of the Covenant mandated that the United States should take part in any action that the member nations should decree against an aggressor. Warned that the Senate might not approve the entwined bodies, Wilson exclaimed “Anyone who opposes me...I’ll crush.” In a play called *In Time to Come*, written by Howard Koch, an imaginary dialogue between Wilson and his strongest opponent in this matter, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, has the latter remark “You have the world saddled with a Treaty you despise for the sake of a Covenant nobody else really wants”. Capps and Hill collided, Capps connived a solution, and there was only one dénouement possible—Hill must capitulate or go. Wilson lost the League of Nations and the Versailles Treaty sowed the seeds of WWII. Hill stood firm, and was forced out. The tearful fact is that by the time this occurred, 1926, the Gennadeion Library and the Agora Project had provided the big-dig that was Capps’ personal and nationalistic obsession. If one examines the ASCSA Web site today, it offers a large palette of small booklets that focus on items popular with supporters, tourists, and students. Two of these address minor aspects of Corinth, the remaining 90% are focused on Athens and The Agora. From a public relations point of view, and from a funding standpoint, Corinth was not the big-dig. Hill was sacrificed on the alter of archeology.com.

If one examines the publication record of Capps, it suggests that he was a consummate administrator, but not a persistent academician. There is one paper on excavations in an Eretrian Theatre during two weeks in 1894, work done while he was a student at the ASCSA. It is replete with smoky phrases—“prompts the suggestion”, lends further probability”, “it may have belonged”, “I can only suggest”, and “but the presumption amounts to a certainty”. It does contain a convoluted fascinating fidgety section on a “tunnel” in the Theatre. Louis Ford is a related matter. Ford published three papers on excavations done in the Argolis from 1937-1939, just before he became Capps' successor. Mr. And Mrs. Erich, the latter having received her BA from Oberlin College, did some of the week-long 1937 excavations for him. Dr. Robert Scanton, a Fellow at ASCSA, did the remainder. Only a little dirt and brush needed to be removed. Lord used their careful notes, often quoting extensively from them. The week-long 1939 excavations were done by Dr. Mary Frantz and Mr. Carl Roebuck, Fellows at

ASCSA. Again, fortunately, the cover was mainly brush and scrub. It is obvious from the publication record that the real interests of Capps and Lord lie in epigraphy, classical languages and Greek theatre. Incidentally, these four papers had Capps or Lord shown as the single author.

Capps was not a field archeologist. His publication record is very weak, with a single true field excavation. Lord's quotation from the Capps documents reveal both his lacks and his intents regarding the Corinth Pamphlet urged upon Hill—"It would not be a heavy task. Its main object would be to help us raise money." When Lord wrote his *History* he painted a picture of an undisciplined Hill who did not respond to the regulations that were carefully nurtured through the Byzantine meanders of the Managing Committee as Capps consolidated his power. Lord himself was not a field archeologist. His three publications on the Argolid sites cite about 10 days of field work, mostly done by others. Lord's *History* boldly, baldly and badly states that the Corinth digs were never handicapped by lack of funds. It cites lack of labor, a surprising innuendo considering that David Robinson realized that excavations at Olynthus would be possible at reduced costs because of the availability of refugee laborers, forced to Greece after 1923, who wanted work. Hill's publications on the 1925 and 1926 digs, when excavation was resumed after a decade of inactivity, clearly conflict with Lord's statements.

- (1925) Excavations by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens were resumed at Corinth after an interval of nearly ten years. The suspension of work had been due not to want of interest, but, at least after the close of the Great War, wholly to lack of funds. In 1925 through the generosity of two donors, Mr. J. P. Morgan and Dr. T. Leslie Shear (Princeton, member of the Managing Committee) it became possible not only to resume operations but to carry them out on a more extensive scale than in the past.

Excavations at Corinth 1925, *American Journal of Archeology*, 30, (1), 44-49.

Hill reported on the two principal areas chosen, the Theatre, and the Agora/Temple of Apollo. Dr. Shear conducted the operations at the former, and published on the work in the preceding volume of the Journal. Hill reviewed his own work on the Temple of Apollo, and then introduced a following paper by Oscar Broneer, a Fellow of the School, whom Hill was mentoring. Hill, and some other archeologists, encouraged their mentees to publish independently. Capps and Hill followed a different path, as we have seen. Broneer's article has a footnote that reads: "I am greatly indebted to Dr. B. H. Hill, the Director of ASCSA for the privilege of superintending the work of this excavation and for his advice and assistance in preparing this report." Hill opens his 1926 report—

- (1926) The nineteenth season of excavation at Corinth ... began March 8 and extended with brief interruptions until the end of July, 1926. The work was divided into four principal sections: The Theatre, Acrocorinth, the area north of

the old Temple of Apollo, and the Lechaion Road with the Peribolos of Appolo. Excavation in the first of these areas, under the charge of Dr. Shear, ... has been reported in these pages by Dr. Shear. The work on the Acocorinth was conducted by Dr. C.W. Blegen. ... A full account of these excavations has been prepared under Mr. Blegen's direction.

Hill notes carefully "The cost of the work in the first section was borne by Dr. T.L. Shear; that in the others (except as noted) was met by gifts from Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Morgan, Mrs. W.H. Moore and an anonymous donor. ... Professor Dorpfeld placed at our disposal a fund which he had received from a friend in America for the special purpose of making investigations on Acocorinth, and he himself paid the excavation a very welcome visit of inspection and counsel". From the record, it is evident that Hill and Blegen often did what Dr. West did at Princeton in the matter of the Graduate School affair—they solicited their own funds. How that enraged Wilson, and it must have disturbed Capps greatly.

Hill writes superbly, and with clarity and authority. Lord's *History* appears to have been variously misinformed, misinterpreted the history, or mauled the facts.

When Capps' designs were concluded, Hill's administrative strengths for ASCSA forced Lord's *History* to squeeze out an elegant, praising eulogy, already quoted. That paragraph chimes like Anthony's speech on Caesar. Lord's overall treatment of Hill is equally confusing and contradictory. The closing phrase of the eulogy reads "This part of his duty (the publications)... became an almost insurmountable inhibition" suggests, not so subtly, a pathological condition. Why? Some readers may feel it best to let Lord enjoy his just deserts, just as Anthony received his in Shakespeare's sequel, *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

Hill was a field archeologist. He wanted completion. His error was to live into the period when archeology became archeology.com, and big-dig goals became the norm. Administration of science became the province of administrators. It is interesting to compare Capps with another scientific entrepreneur of the period. Alfred Loomis was a Wall Street entrepreneur who consolidated power distribution in the South-Eastern United States in the 1920's. Unlike Enron, he legally sold-off his holdings prior to the Depression and took his wealth to Tuxedo Park, where he built a home and laboratory. Without an advanced degree he brought to his research interests people such as Tesla, the high voltage genius, and Wood, the optical physicist who was Professor at Johns Hopkins. Einstein and Fermi lectured at his laboratory. He became active in the microwave and nuclear projects initiated during WWII, and he was instrumental in obtaining the funds needed for the large telescopes and cyclotrons that were opening up new horizons in those halcyon years. And, Loomis was appointed a member of the National Academy of Science. Business life, administrative skills, and scientific capabilities can be combined. A few of these individuals have the people-skills that can weld teams together. Sadly, we have more Salks than Sabins.

Did Willy recognize the depth of political and personal intrigue involved in the Capps/Hill chasm, or was she reflecting only the carefully controlled emotions expressed by Mrs. Dr. Thallon Hill? The van Ingen correspondence seems silent on this question. But, there does exist in one of the boxes comprising Dr. Herschel Elarth's material, as yet un-indexed, a post-card photograph of the Corinth dig area featuring on its obverse side the entrance to the *temenos* (*sacred site*). Willy's handwriting fills both sections of the reverse, covering the message and address portions. There is no date and no evidence that the card was ever sent. The message ending indicates that it was more than just a personal-reminder note. Scrawled on a margin is the name "Capps". Which Capps? What was the intent? Veiled sarcasm was not Willy's style, but ...

"Mr. Meritt is in charge of the excavations at Corinth now in progress and he showed me over the whole works. The most interesting thing was a small Greek temple in the agora which contained an oracle. In front of the temple is a decorative balustrade with a triglyph metope decoration. One metope slipped out and made an entrance to a passage under the temple where a person entering there pretended to be the oracle. To avoid anyone seeing the person entering, the small square in front of the temple was pronounced sacred with a fine of 8 drachmae for anyone violating it by entering! ... Corinth has a fine situation with Acrocorinth rising sharply up behind and the mountains on either side of the Gulf showing snow at this time of year, Parnassus among them. ... Mycenae offers no unfamiliar views in postcards."

The postcard and Old Corinth had a mystery then, as it still has today. From an archeological perspective it is worth noting what the ASCSA Home Page contains regarding the status of Old Corinth. It is still being dug, and has replaced the Agora as a training ground for future archeologists.

Ancient Corinth is located in the northeast corner of the Peloponnese at the head of the Gulf of Corinth. Guarding as it did the narrow land bridge that connects the Peloponnese with the Mainland, and having access to both the Gulf of Corinth to the north and the Saronic Gulf on the east, it clearly justified its title as one of the fetters of Greece. Excavations began in 1896 and have continued with little interruption until today. Restricted by the modern village of Old Corinth, which directly overlies the ancient city, the excavations concentrated on the area surrounding the mid-6th B.C. century temple to Apollo, which was visible at all times. They have revealed parts of the city extending from the Early Neolithic period (7000-6000 B.C.) until today. Under the auspices of Corinth Excavations work has also been done outside the immediate area of the village center including excavations on the summit and slopes of Acrocorinth, at the Potters' Quarter, the Asklepieion, the Kenchreian Gate Basilica, Korakou, Kenchreai and Isthmia. Records and material deriving from these excavations, excepting Kenchreai and Isthmia, which are housed in Isthmia Museum, both artifacts including coins, ceramics, minor objects and environmental materials, are stored in the facilities of Corinth Museum. The results have been published extensively

in the thirty-four volumes dedicated to the site, in the Corinth series, and in articles principally to be found in *Hesperia* and the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

The excavations at Corinth serve as a field laboratory and training ground for the American School of Classical Studies. Participation is limited to Regular and Associate Members of the American School. Digging takes place in the spring of each year from April through June. The season is divided into two unequal parts. Two short training sessions, each three weeks long, serve as an introduction to those who wish exposure to field techniques and general principles of excavation.

The collections of the excavation are stored in the various facilities of the Corinth Museum where the published material is available for study by visiting scholars. Interested individuals will have to apply to the Greek Archaeological Service through the American School of Classical Studies or the institution in Athens serving their national interests. Details should include the inventory numbers and references to where the material was published. Because the process can sometimes be protracted, scholars should apply well in advance of their projected study tour. After receipt of the study permit from the Greek Archaeological Service, scholars should contact the excavations' curator to make an appointment. SITE CONSERVATION: About 90% of the mosaics of the North Market, originally excavated in the 1920's, have now been cleaned and consolidated. A poster on the work to date was presented at ICCM conference at Arles in France in September 1999. Cleaning and consolidation of the springhouse in the South Stoa started in November 1999. (emphasis added)

75 years—and still counting. Was Capps correct in commenting on the Corinth pamphlet he asked Hill to write- “It would not be a heavy task. Its main object would be to help us raise money.”?

It is both revealing that few today recognize Capps' name. However, archeology students do recognize the name Bert Hodge Hill. And it is telling that ASCSA's own Home Page features Hill, Blegen, and Carpenter among their stars, but David Robinson's name is dark.

A CARPENTER BUILDS

For some light on the dimness of Robinson's light at ASCSA, and the brightness of Carpenter's, there is merit in looking at comments from the mentees of Rhys Carpenter, who Willy first encountered in his first year as Director of the ASCSA in 1927-1928. First, some background:

The Archeological Institute of America presents its Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Archaeological Achievement. For one 25-year time period our survey has already introduced many of these recipients, and will shortly present several others that are pertinent: to the subject of mentorship:

Year	AIA Award for Distinguished Archeological Achievement
1989	Virginia R. Grace
1988	Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway
1977	Lucy Shoe Meritt
1970	George E. Mylonas
1969	Oscar Theodore Broneer, Rhys Carpenter, and W.B.Dinsmoor
1965	Carl W. Blegen

During the course of history the word 'mentor' became synonymous with trusted adviser, friend, teacher, wise person. The Oxford Dictionary definition of mentor is: "experienced and trusted adviser". Mentoring has long been accepted as a way of developing individuals to reach their potential. Mentoring is often associated with a senior 'expert' person within a profession adopting a protégé to develop their potential and to support their career development. For many people, however, mentoring often takes place informally and is characterized by the mentor helping the learner to discover things about themselves and their capabilities. A good mentor is like a good carpenter.

Rhys Carpenter was a mentor for many generations of archeology and art students. We have already seen that he gave great moral and professional support to Willy as she struggled with her decisions in Athens and Olynthus. Let us look at his biography and some comments from one of his outstanding students, who contributed greatly to her area.

Carpenter, Rhys Born: 1889; died: 1980

Carpenter's father, William Henry Carpenter, was a provost at Columbia University, which the younger Carpenter attended, graduating at age 19. He received a Rhodes scholarship at Oxford, studying at Balliol College. At Oxford he published poetry and took both a second B.A. (1911) and an M.A. (1914). He had spent the year 1912-13 at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, which ignited a passion for classical studies. Learning of his preciosity, Bryn

Mawr president Martha Carey Thomas (1857-1935) asked Carpenter to establish a department of classical archaeology there. Carpenter did, continuing PhD coursework at Columbia. He graduated from Columbia in 1916, his dissertation topic *The Ethics of Euripides*. By 1918 he was already full professor. Ever fascinated by the larger archaeological world, Carpenter journeyed over a thousand miles in Guatemala, the account of his trip published in 1920 as *The Land beyond Mexico*. In 1921 he published perhaps his most widely read book, *The Aesthetic Basis of Greek Art*. An introduction to Greek art, Carpenter attempted to place the production of Greek art (mostly sculpture and architecture) in terms of “artistic behavior”. The starting point of analyzing Greek art, Carpenter contended, was the practice of artistic production. His *The Greeks in Spain*, 1925, was the result of archaeological excavations in that country. In 1926 Carpenter was appointed an annual professor at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, merging those duties with that of Director (1927-32). During that time he founded the school's journal, *Hesperia* (1932-). The beginning of the American excavations in the Agora in Athens were also under his tenure. Carpenter returned to teaching full-time at Bryn Mawr in 1932. His 1946 *Folk Tale: Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics*, the result of the Sather Classical Lectures given at the University of California at Berkeley, suggested that the folk tales of Europe deeply influenced the Homeric writings, still a controversial theory. He retired from Bryn Mawr in 1955. His theory that catastrophes and migrations in ancient history were because of climate changes manifested itself in the volume, *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization*, 1966. The last of his books, *The Architects of the Parthenon*, was published in 1970, when he was 81. Carpenter was an unconventional scholar whose contributions, both as a teacher and as a scholar, were extensive. (Bryn Mawr archives, personal communication Prof. Ridgway)

Professor Brunilde Ridgway— Rhys Carpenter Chair at Bryn Mawr— shared the following memories and views of Rhys Carpenter with me via e-mail in 2002.

"I am delighted that you are interested in Rhys Carpenter. I knew him only during his last few years of teaching, and at that time I was still very "Italian"--that is, for me, a professor was somewhat of a distant being with whom I did not hope to develop a friendship. Yet I got to know “my” version of Rhys Carpenter quite well, since we shared a common love for Greek sculpture and he seemed to be amused by my impetuous and enthusiastic Italian ways. I first met him when I arrived at Bryn Mawr from Italy (where I had received my laurea) in the Fall 1953. I already had a great interest in Greek sculpture, and took a supervised unit with Carpenter, with the intention of writing an M.A. thesis under his supervision. He had a wonderful teaching method, entirely Socratic. He asked so many questions and pointed me so subtly in a certain direction that I was bound to come up with conclusions that seemed to me original and exciting--until, on second thought, I could see that he had been leading me. He emphasized, first of all, honesty to the monument, and power of observation. He was not too interested in reading what others had said (you will note that Carpenter's own

writings have very few footnotes), but insisted that all his students "look with their own eyes" without being prejudiced by what others thought. He made me write my M.A. thesis (on the chronological development of Archaic Greek sculpture) primarily on the basis of my own observations, without excessive consultation of bibliography. (His) habit of focusing on the sculptures first, without preconceived notions, had allowed Carpenter himself to promote some revolutionary theories that changed traditional thinking. This originality and independence in thinking gave Carpenter a reputation for "pulling hares out of hats" (as one distinguished British Archaeologist put it in a review), almost as if he meant to be a "scholarly maverick" to startle others. Although he may (perhaps?) have enjoyed being unorthodox, I know he was not doing it for the sake of originality or other practical purposes, but simply because he "saw" style much better than many. Even now, when I have come to disagree with some of his conclusions, I always find that Carpenter had "seen" well. The problem was that he was somewhat of a prophet, and the archaeological world was not ready to accept some of his advanced thinking. You had asked to know the reason why Carpenter's fame endures despite the "relatively" small number of publications. I suspect it is because of this exceptional quality that made him notice what others had not seen. He was a wonderful writer and speaker--the "Bryn Mawr Nightingale," as he was called--and I found myself taking notes (at his undergraduate course!) not simply on what he said but on how he said it. At almost 50 years distance, I can still hear his words in my mind whenever I look at a specific statue. Carpenter also had a great sense of humor; he knew fluently many foreign languages--he was a true polyglot; he had a great love of Greece and Italy and enjoyed working with an Italian, as he said, probably because my very Italian ways amused him. He was a most generous teacher, with me, even lending me some of the books from his personal library to consult, so that I could read the marginalia he had added. He urged me not to leave the field--and I hope I have kept my promise to him not to give up archaeology."

Lucy Shoe Merritt—And Bryn Mawr

published the following charming interview concerning Lucy Shoe Merritt and the origin of her success. The occasion was a reception in her honor at Bryn Mawr, where she received her undergraduate and graduate training. She was a student at ASCSA in 1929, when Rhys Carpenter was Director.



Lucy Shoe Merritt and Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, Ph.D. '58, Rhys Carpenter Professor Emerita of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology.

Dr. Merritt's profound knowledge of classical architecture, combined with a sensitive feeling for the subject and a passion for unearthing the truth, led her to an extraordinary discovery. It seems an absurdly simple observation, yet she insists it was possible only because of her Bryn Mawr training. Taught that profiles of Greek mouldings do not differ, but also taught to "see what you look at" and "ask what is the significance," she noticed on her

first trip to Greece in 1929, as a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, that they differed, wildly. (Mouldings in classical architecture can be simple curves, flat surfaces or combinations of both; they are used to decorate the "order" or style of a building, which is composed of a column and the horizontal parts at its base and top.) For a year, she kept quiet, too shy to tell the formidable Rhys Carpenter, Director of the School, and mentioned her findings only to another Fellow, Homer Thompson, who would also become a preeminent archaeologist. Finally, she approached a younger architect and archaeologist, Prentice Duell, who was to serve for Carpenter for a interim year. Duell told Carpenter, who summoned Shoe to his office and thundered, "Why haven't you been telling me what you've been looking at all year?" [see Bryn Mawr article sidebar below] Duell offered to finance her investigations, and the School renewed her fellowship so that she could continue her work. "What's that phrase everybody uses, 'The rest is history,' " Meritt says. Her exhaustive documentation and analysis, published in 1936 as *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, showed that they change over time according to a predictable pattern, and provided a chronological tool for dating ancient buildings and for eliciting the personalities of individual architects.

She was subsequently awarded a Fellowship in the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome as one of the few women Fellows before World War II. There, she was again startled by the ancient Italian mouldings she saw: "These weren't Greek! They had nothing to do with Greece whatsoever! And yet I had been taught that Etruscan architecture was based on the Greek, and the Roman based on the Etruscan ... Something must be wrong somewhere." Her research in Italy showed that there are fundamental differences between the principles of Etruscan and Greek architecture. The main Etruscan profile, called the "round," is a single convex curve, a bold form well adapted to the soft stone, often local volcanic tufa, from which the mouldings were carved. Unlike Greek mouldings, the Etruscan round does not show chronological development, differing instead by city or region. Although Rome had finally adopted Greek orders by the 1st c. B.C., the Etruscan native forms persisted in old Etruria proper, as "the extraordinary expressions of a people with a tradition of their own." Meritt writes: "Only in the Empire with the final disappearance of any Etruscan entity does the Etruscan round, after some six centuries of power, go underground to emerge again from Tuscan soil in the days of the Renaissance to keep company with her old rivals, the Greek profiles, also renewed." (*Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings*, 1965) Thanks to the support of many scholars and institutions, Meritt has for the last five years been working on a reissue of *Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings* that will include full-scale drawings of profiles. Now Professor of Classical Archaeology and Visiting Scholar of the Department of Classics at the University of Texas at Austin, Meritt has conducted active research for more than 70 years. (Her husband, Benjamin D. Meritt, who died in 1989, was a distinguished scholar of Greek epigraph, internationally recognized for his contributions to the understanding of Greek history.) Revered as an editor, beloved as a teacher, she was honored at Bryn Mawr on September 29 in conjunction with a traveling exhibit that documents the important results of

her work as a scholar and teacher. She says she "can't think of anything happier to spend her life on" than her work.



Center: several types of mouldings; right and left: variations on Roman Ionic mouldings from *Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings*, 1965.

SIDEBAR: ‘ Build your life on truth and good.’

After the September 29 lecture and receptions in her honor, Meritt warmly thanked the crowd circling her in Rhys Carpenter Library, then began impishly: "You're all a little bit confused... What you are really doing this afternoon is to commemorate the 75th anniversary of something very important that happened on the first day of classes in 1925, in the back corner lecture room on the second floor of Taylor Hall, where a few students were gathered, sitting upright in their chairs, waiting anxiously for the appearance of Rhys Carpenter, the man who was known as the most exciting lecturer on the campus. "He entered, put something down on the table, looked at us, and said 'Good morning. Now I'm going to bore you.' We all sat up a little straighter. 'Yes,' he said, 'You might just as well be a plumber and go to work without your bag of tools as come to discuss architecture with anybody without the tools of the proper terminology, so you know what you are talking about, how each element of the building connects with the other, and so what the meaning of it all is. All right?' And with that, he descended underground, built up for us from the lowest foundations, course by course, structural element by structural element, telling us what it did, what its Greek name was, what the connections were until he got us up to the heavens. And then he said, the hour being pretty close to the end, 'Now before I go any further, I want you to be sure you have all this in hand, so we can talk about it. Go and learn these in the proper order with the relation to each other, so that if I woke you up in the middle of the night and asked you, you could build it up from the ground to the cyma (projecting moulding) or the other way round. Thank you. Good morning.' With that he left. Do you think any of us in the room that day ever was the same again? We rushed over to the library and found plenty of books but none that explained it the way we'd had it explained to us. Well, we were rocking back from that, I particularly because it was the architecture that I knew I cared about most of the things we were going to do. "The next morning Mary Hamilton Swindler [Ph.D '12] came. And Mary introduced us to the topography of Rome. ... "Mary sat, with that door of hers always open, at the end of the corridor under the guarding arm of Athena. Her door and her heart were always open for everyone, to see that we did what was right for each of us. "It was Rhys who said, 'See what you look at.' And then showed us *how* to see it, but Mary who said, "Yes, but what is the *significance?*' No wonder.... we feel the way we do about what they have given us, not just for those years we were here as undergraduates, but for the rest of our lives. With that

kind of force behind us, you couldn't not do it. You looked and looked, and what you saw all over the Greek countryside and in the excavations was not what you'd seen in the books in Bryn Mawr. You saw that difference because of the way they taught you. ... "That's the story of why I'm here with you today, thanks to what happened in that room 75 years ago. (From Bryn Mawr Alumnae Magazine, 2001)

Both Ridgway and Merrit focus on Carpenter's emphasis on "See what you look at". His guidance and mentorship formed an infrastructure for their later successes.

Willy's mentor defected into archeology.com. David Robinson had an opportunity to excavate at Olynthus in 1928, provided he had students from ASCSA accompany him. This was part of the monopoly agreement that had been arranged between Capps' ASCSA and the Greek government. Robinson knew that he could get manual labor inexpensively because of the refugee situation after the Greco-Turkish War and the Treaty of Lausanne. Little did he know that November of 1929 would soon curtail more extensive undertakings for a few years. Robinson's gamble succeeded however, and augmented his career. Willy's aspiration to combine art and archeology prospered for a while as she obtained her Ph.D. degree at Radcliffe, and continued archeological work with Bonner at Michigan. WWII perturbed her life, and she met Herschel Elarth, and the marriage was satisfying. But Willy never forgot her first passions for art, architecture and archeology—she wove them into her new life. One wonders what might have happened professionally if her mentor had had the faithfulness of *Mentor* as portrayed in the *Odyssey*.

MENTOR-4

The Cappsian changes at ASCSA in the 1920's, coupled with the changing conditions in archeological funding, certainly affected the mentoring of students. The parallels within natural sciences' mentoring during the last decade are striking.

Mentoring is a popular subject today in most professional areas. It is tangled with networking, intermingled with diversity, and popular with administrators. *Mentor_4*, the character in the Homeric saga of Odysseus, was a friend and councilor to both the hero and his son, Telemachus. Athena could speak to them through this medium. When Odysseus had been absent for twenty years, and Penelope was being urged to marry one of the insolent and unruly suitors who infested their home, Athene prompted the hesitant and diffident Telemachus to stand up to the suitors and order them to leave. His order did little good, but with Athene's help, he sailed to Pylos and then to Lacedaemon, to inquire after his father's fate. By the time Telemachus got back to Ithaca, he was a much more self-confident and assertive young man. He got to prove his newly acquired maturity when he joined Odysseus in slaughtering the suitors in the final scene of the *Odyssey*.

In general, the Greeks listened when the gods spoke, or they remained deaf and a tragedy developed. Current apparent emphasis in mentoring is on the source end of the relationship, and most administrators usually neglect the development of interest and abilities in the receiver. The following focus will concern the multiple trends widening the mentoring-gap due to deficiencies in talking and listening.

Having been trained by a decade of experiences that led to a Ph.D., and having been involved in the maturation of ~100 doctoral and post-doctoral colleagues in halcyon years, a close view of the mentoring process has emerged. Fifty years of teaching, conducting research, and helping inculcate familial and professional patterns in young colleagues has led to an evolved view that has been subjected to the stresses of a scientific environment that has migrated from the basic research arena of pre-Sputnik individual science to the group-, institute- and center- focused university.com milieu.

The concepts of good mentoring have not been structurally warped by recent changes in the science professions, but most mentors and “mentees” have been affected by the social, political and educational changes that have occurred.

Today, the good students are better than they were 50 years ago. Their personal maturity and breadth of experiences are better because of the exposures they have had in a faster, more open community. At any collegiate level they are a delight to work with. My own experiences with undergraduate University Honors Colloquia, which deal with small tutorial level groups where the students are derived from the top few percent of the cohort, support that statement. Such courses are more difficult to teach, since in any class period I know where we will begin, but I have less control over where we may wander. Discussions and debates may be guided, but not rigorously channeled. The maturity of expressed opinions and the level of shared technology are impressive. When dealing with Colloquium subjects such as “Internet Impact— the fiscal, social, political and educational impacts of the WWW”— groups of students from three colleges and 10 different departments are common. Their interactions are at a high level and most rewarding. Tracking the students after graduation is encouraging.

Typical examples might include an engineer who began the Semester a bit shy orally, and somewhat deficient in logical articulation. By the end of the Semester his self-confidence had been improved by out-of-class mentoring. His post baccalaureate plans included law school, with the aim of engaging in environmental impact issues that might benefit both people and their surroundings. His game plan was to move to a state where there was a good law school, obtain residency status by working with their state highway-planning group, and then apply to several law schools. He hired a consulting firm that helped him draft his applications, and who assisted me in properly wording a letter of recommendation. By the time he had to choose which school to attend he was already the spokes-person for the highway planning group’s community

involvement program. He knew that he wanted to hone his skills toward a position as a legal arbiter in the increasing number of environmental cases that chose to use this route to solutions rather than the historical court adversarial confrontation.

Another student, a young lady with a communications/business education background, was already focused on an IMF career. She chose to join a multinational industrial finance group that eventually sent her to Mexico City so that she could develop bilingual language skills. Her e-mail over the next three years chimed with the enthusiasm she was experiencing in her work, but more importantly in her evenings with a small NGO group that lent small amounts to individual entrepreneurs who wanted to start or expand their efforts. All over Central and South America these loans had a better payback rate than the loans made by her daytime company's activities.

Finally, an aeronautical engineer who was obtaining a BS/MS at the same graduation ceremony, a common five-year avenue for the better students, chose as his semester project the exploration of the impact of the Internet of Teilhard de Chardin's noosphere concept—an Earth encapsulated by a mantle of cooperating, synergistic thinking minds. The student, upon graduation, chose to join a small Wall Street group that was writing software that would advise on trends in the stock market using artificial intelligence approaches.

A common theme among these better students is a delayed, but carefully and logically planned, game plan regarding career development. They have accepted that society and their chosen profession are changing more rapidly than in the past, and that they must evolve at a similar rate, so that their careers can remain on the cutting edge, making the most of their first few critical years in the real-world market-place. The drift may trouble their parents, but it is a positive survival characteristic. All of these students want a curriculum that gives them closer, more intimate contact with a live instructor.

Unfortunately, such temporal wanderings also occur in students who are not as motivated and as self-aware. They arrive at the University unprepared in academic background for the traditional experiences of a true University where the ideal goal is to obtain an education that is the infra-structure to the rest of their life. Their math and language skills are poorly honed, their logic abilities and work-ethic diluted. University administrators may tout that the student qualification levels are increasing, but instructors in the beginning courses know that a different situation exists. "Recruit and Retain" is the mantra from the Registrar's Office. Teachers of the beginning courses typically find that often less than 50% of the enrolled students attend class. Administrations promote electronic-based education via CDs or Web-based interactive media. Unfortunately most of these efforts do not listen to the preferences of the better students, and pander to the short attention spans so typical of MTV, sit-coms, and communication media. Bite size chunks may be what surveys support, but

the approach does not build a solid infrastructure of integrated knowledge and problem solving abilities. Rigorous instructors are usually rated “poor” by their classes, and watered-down courses often receive praise. Often the solution to a high student failure rate in courses, and a potential professorial failure at tenure time, is to match the course to the interests and abilities of the class—a poor way to build for the future—ours and theirs.

In the university.com environment it is common to hire new faculty, and give them a first year teaching load of zero. The intended goal is to let them have time and energy to develop their research program, begin to publish, and to write proposals to funding agencies. The message it sends is that teaching is not an important criterion. The increasing difficulty second-tier institutions face in recruiting research faculty who are potentially good teaching material, or who can communicate effectively in English, strengthen this subliminal message. The goal is to acquire research scientists who can write proposals that produce overhead dollars. Capps faced this issue in the 1920’s, when external funding required visibility— and the theme of popular visibility led Capps to feel that the Corinth pamphlet was an absolute necessity.

But a trend is obvious- faculty spend more time on grant producing efforts, and less time on conducting their own research. Undergraduates, graduate students, and post-doctoral fellows man the benches and trenches. The faculty teaches fewer courses, seldom laboratory courses, and they have shorter office-hour schedules. The mentor contact that the best students desire becomes very tenuous. The mentoring-gap widens. And if language and cultural barriers intrude, the mentoring-gap may become infinite.

Few beginning teachers realize that their concerns about a student-body’s abilities can project itself across the voice medium that a live lecture hall offers. And electronic communications offer similar traps for the unwary. Hyped, glitzy offerings eventually pale. Unanswered e-mail, or “canned” answers disconnect the pathway. Administrations look to the new media to provide the efficiency needed by university.com. Unfortunately these administrators do not understand the classroom or the students. E-mail is no substitute for a one-on-one discussion in the office. And during Honors Colloquia with just 15 students, an e-mail in-box can accumulate over 500 messages a Semester, and answering e-mail fully, completely, and articulately often requires 25% of each work day.

Proper career development is becoming more difficult as science explodes into nano-fragments, society more rapidly evolves, and job tenures become shorter in the private sector. The mentoring-gap should be narrow, but it is widening in many areas. If a mentor doesn’t produce an individual about every five years who is better than him/her-self, then there is something amiss with the training program, or with the stream of students being molded. The process begins with recognition of the best and brightest, and continues to reassess the candidates’ needs as hidden talents blossom. The ASCSA has had a superb record with its

training program. It has long provided a laboratory training ground and a research atmosphere for its students at a variety of levels. The record speaks for itself. David Robinson detected the capabilities of Willy in her first year, encouraged her academic progress, nurtured her, and supported her applications for the Carnegie Fellowship and the ASCSA. The good mentor needs to morph and mold the approach for each outstanding student. Each young personality has needs and flaws that require individualization. David Robinson had, at times, the ability to be a good mentor. A *Festschrift* publication in his honor contains numerous contributions from his former students, and many of them showed great success in the academic environment.

David Goldstein of CalTech, who teaches a course on research ethics, has commented that abnormal science occurs when three conditions are present: (1) professional pressure, (2) a feeling of being “right”, and (3) reproducibility of the work is not precise. The personal pressures on Davy during the first Olynthus dig in 1928 were extreme. Robinson felt his location for Olynthus was correct, as indeed it turned out to be. And archeology has a unique characteristic—it is almost impossible to repeat the experiment, although Cahill’s computer-based Olynthus has opened up a new avenue for resurrecting lost data.

Willy was experiencing real field work for the first time. Tensions grew, tempers frayed, Davy’s professional façade cracked, words were uttered, and the forming vessel broke away. Professional training, particularly at the advanced degree level, is a very labor and time intensive effort. Showing someone and talking to them are important pathways, but listening is just as important. Many view the latter as a passive process, but it is an active effort that takes emotional energy, time, and imagination. Robinson failed at Olynthus. Many of his students grew into quite respectable academic positions; but possibly none matched Robinson's archeological achievements, with the exception of George Mylonis. And Mylonis already had a degree from Athens before he came to Johns Hopkins. He was of an older mold, tempered in the Anatolian struggle, and already versed in the art of academic politics. Robinson had a strong, pointed ego. It appears in the footnotes of articles he wrote, and in the portrait painting that adorns his collection, with self-satisfaction flowing from his somber black academic robe ribbed with bright colored stripes of status and rank. Although possibly *de rigueur* for the times, it is reminiscent of military portraits with rows of cabalistic ribbons. Mentoring requires suppression of that ego for some moments, and descent into reality. Academic environments have always tended to nurture illusions of self-importance. The closed-society incestuousness of the modern university.com has encouraged the feeling. Internal and external publicity publication pressures waters the seed-of-self, and the internal reward system fertilizes it. The mentoring-gap widens.

My first scientific publication occurred when I was an undergraduate sophomore, with a chemistry professor as my mentor. It lit the flame that has been hopefully carried for him. I learned to write scientific papers from a curmudgeon who told me “you should write my exam answers in two Blue-Books, and throw the first

one away". I learned to give better talks from a former post-doctoral mentor who periodically called from some airport where he was trapped and who said "heard your last lecture and it was great, BUT ... ". I learned scientific ethics from a father-figure department-head mentor who corrected me, then consoled and encouraged me at the first stumble. I was guided up the post-doctoral and first-position chain by an ancestral tree of mentors.

Archeology in the decades when it was one of the top two disciplines in the public eye was also close-knit group. Bonner, who met Willy in Athens and recognized her talents, folded her into his research group at Michigan as she began recovering from her Exile from Olynthus and was finishing her dissertation at Radcliffe. That superb professional experience bridged her sojourn into academic life, and obviously sustained her throughout WWII and her later personal successes in art and architecture as the wife of Herschel Elarth. But what might Willy have done if that Spring-season at Olynthus had been different?

Looking at these things that a mentor can and should do, the slide of a discipline into a .com situation with changing attitudes and values easily broadens the mentoring-gap. The science's population grows bigger, but more fragmented. Competition for funds becomes more time consuming. Publication, self-promotion, and professional participation drain more energy. Listening becomes harder, finding the right employment position for students more problematic. In some sciences the narrowness of discipline areas in academia makes it almost impossible to find a match of interests with private sector efforts. Advanced degrees that create technicians for a relevant real-world work environment are inappropriate, but advanced degrees where there is little opportunity to use the knowledge in a related area are a poor legacy to leave a student.

More devastating has been a cyclic feedback interaction among the ____ion factors of academic life—the professional/scientific institution, the funding organization, and personal intention. The changes within ASCSA in the 1920's have been described, and now become pertinent in a larger sphere. The university and professional-society have assumed a management structure where the top positions are normally filled with individuals beyond their technical peak, and often individuals who never had a successful research career. "Professional" administrators are the norm. Pressured by the need for increased funding to support their institution's goal of increased recognition, and their own goal of personal exalted image, these leaders often succumb to emphasis on research areas that receive popular attention, are attractive to patrons, and which generate large amounts of overhead dollars. In academia, research institutes spawn a drift to non-tenured, easily replaceable research faculty, and seduce the administrators into pursuit of a diffuse power structure that promotes trendy cross-cutting initiatives. The university.com morphs into a research institute with thematic contents that match that of many evolving funding sources. These sources currently focus on group efforts directed towards relevant needs. If this part of the equation was planned logically and executed correctly the approach

might be effective. But one is reminded of a conversation with an engineer on an Aeroflot flight from Moscow in the 1960's. He had been visiting the Soviet Union to examine their ability to make concrete blocks. The engineer observed that the USSR could make superb cement, knew how to make fly ash, and wash sand. They just couldn't make sturdy cement blocks. Or to quote a Batelle director from the same era "interdisciplinary research is like creating a baby- it is easy to conceive, but hard to deliver". And if delivered, the results are often not appropriate. In the highly centralized control of the Soviet system of the sixties, their instrumentation establishment had to choose between two ways of controlling microwave power to spectrometer cavities—an opening/closing iris, or something called the "magic-T". They chose the former, and that area of their science died. In America, competition tried all of the approaches, and the magic-T proved to be superior. Inefficiency does have some advantages. Evolution does not always lead to success. Scientific directions whose compass needle is determined by the press, politicians, and propaganda are not always correct, even if they are profitable to a few who count overhead dollars.

Two groups are potentially damaged by the politicization of science—the individual scientific entrepreneur and the students who are in training. Bert Hodge Hill was caught in this vise, and Willy was coerced into activities unrelated to her strengths and interests. Recall for a moment the setting. ASCSA needed recognition and funds. The Corinth pamphlet had become a shibboleth. Capps was a consummate entrepreneur who had no feel for fieldwork. ASCSA had created a monopoly on American participation in Greek fieldwork, and their auspices and accompanying students were a requirement. Old Corinth was complex. Its history easily spanned three millennia. And its end, although rather climactic, was not "closed" in the archeological sense. In 146 B.C. Rome had decided on removing once-and-for-all two arenas that had vexed the Republic, Carthage and Corinth. Carthage's destruction was needed because it posed a potential military and trade threat, and Hannibal's Italian campaign which ate eight Roman Legions lingered in retribution's memory. Corinth's destruction was necessary to demonstrate that a tattered group of would-be city-states in Southern Greece could not disturb the balance of power Rome had established in the area. Since Corinth was celebrated for two things in particular—her decadence and dissolution, and her art—the opportunities for "rape, pillage and plunder" were enthusiastically embraced by the Roman Legions. Bert Hodge Hill's long effort to dig through the remains, which had been repeatedly built upon, required patience and interpretive care, traits that Capps did not appreciate. Hill succumbed to archeology.com and to an untutored professional administrator. Willy was a political pawn in archeology.com's new game, and new to fieldwork; Robinson was pressured to produce. Today, in many science areas the individual entrepreneur pursuing a personal crusade toward understanding is disappearing. Centers, groups and institutes proliferate. They seldom fade away, since to do so would admit a mistake in planning had occurred, and men fear the loss of position and power. And all these efforts require students to staff the work. They often don't know where the funds come

from. Some do not care. Many are only after the degree, not the learning. The tragedy is compounded as the leaders of these .com ephemera encourage faculty to create their own spin-off businesses near campuses. Normal business men usually do have some ethical boundaries, despite our focus on the Enrons. Those conceived, hatched, and fed in the University often lack these simplistic bounds, and graduate students often become schizoid members of a University/Startup consortium where labor and ideas often subtly or flagrantly mix.

The third member of the triad, the traditional research worker, begins to feel the pressures from the funding sources and local administrations to conform. Monies, space and attention begin to funnel through choke-points, and the trickle-down environment that supported much of our previous basic research becomes a perverse dampness. Some workers leave— others succumb to the pressure and become remolded to the new norm, or worse, just stagnate.

This scenario has a sound of the Sibyl's curse—the fabled three prophetic scrolls sold to King Tarquin of Rome by an old woman. She had originally proffered nine scrolls at a price Tarquin refused to pay. When she returned with just six at the same price he began to think. And when she finally returned with just three, he paid that price. The Romans used the enigmatic remains to auger the future. We have some scrolls for our own future if we but read them. The fable best remembered is the physicist who, alone and unaided, calculated the orbits of minor planets. Rejected and rebuffed by his colleagues he persisted. Who was interested in minor planets? Until the Soviet Union launched one—Sputnik. The physicist's work provided a platform for our own exploration. This suggests that there is great benefit in the individual efforts of mentors who can prepare the next generation in both professional and personal practices. The knowledge needed will then be in place. Universities-as-research-institutes is a mad morph.

This excursion has been a prelude for our future, and a replay of the events leading to the siege and destruction of Olynthus. The past is always present, since we are affected by it. Willy became an Exile from Olynthus. We are, in many different ways, all exiles from an Olynthus.

CODA

Willy brought many thoughts back to the United States from her experiences in Greece. She also brought many photos and artifacts with her. These were carefully organized during the years she spent in Blacksburg, while her husband taught at Virginia Tech. Most of these items were deposited by her husband in the Newman Library's Special Collections at the University. Some of that collection has been carefully archived. Control Folders do not exist for many of the boxes listed under her husband's name. This large collection contains many hidden gems of a life that was not lost in living.

Some of Willy's photographs of the ASCSA period were shared with Eunice Couch, and these have been included in this document. There are related photos in the Special Collections archives. That collection also includes pottery items from Greece, spanning the Archaic through the Hellenistic eras. These are illustrative of her passion and intensity. Willy did not seek to take Greece's artistic heritage home. Photographs of some of the items have been included in this document. She also acquired some representative coins from the pre- and post-Olynthus period—most from that enchanting afternoon she spent at Olynthus' port city. These were left with the author for cleaning the year before she died. Most were severely damaged by bronze "disease". A few photos of this small collection have been included in this document.

The material within the Special Collections includes paintings and sketches of her Father and Grandfather, family photos, extensive travel photos, and memorabilia. It is a superb time-capsule of a remarkable woman.

Wilhelmina Van Ingen's Olynthus Coins

In 1928, when Wilhelmina van Ingen made her day trip to Potidaea, the seaport for Olynthus, her letters and diary suggest that she bought 15 coins from the young men of the village, mostly bronze. Writing of her work on the trenches at the Olynthus dig, she indicates that at that dig hoards of bronze and silver coins were found by the workers. She and her co-workers, along with Prof. Seltman, sketched these finds, and attempted to identify the coins. Her communications suggest that she was to keep these coins until publication occurred. In 1968, when we both were living in Blacksburg, VA she asked for assistance in cleaning 18 coins in her possession- 3 silver, and 15 bronze. A year later she died. The coins were eventually cleaned, and the identities of those that were not obscured and defaced by "bronze disease" and/or corrosion, are reported below. [One of the very badly corroded pieces was an archaic fractional bronze (9.5 cm, 1 gm) with only faint punch marks visible]

1. Silver tetradrachm, 20 mm, 17 gm, a transitional Athenian Owl, 393-300 BC. Reverse- Owl standing right, head facing, with large AØ E letters; Obverse- Athena right eye profile with crested olive leaves, floral.
www.forumancientcoins.com
2. Silver drachm, 17 mm, 3.75 gm, 336-319 BC, Macedonia. Reverse- Zeus sitting on throne, right leg drawn back, holding an eagle and scepter, ALEXANDROY right, monogram left, obscure Greek letter under throne; Obverse-Hercules, lionskin. *Ibid.*
3. Bronze drachm, 17 mm, 5.34 gm, Phillip II 359-336 BC. Reverse- nude youth horseman saluting with right hand; Obverse-Zeus. *Greek Coins*, Ian Carradice, Univ. of Texas Press, 1995, p 57.
4. Bronze hemidrachm, 18 mm, 2.9 gm, Imperial Times. Reverse- Dionysus with panther at his feet, holding kantharos drinking cup, resting on his thyrsus staff. *Greek Coin Types*, Richard Plant, Seaby Publications, London, 1979, p 30.
5. Bronze hemidrachm, 17 mm, 3.25 gm, 277-239 BC. Reverse- Pan, ithyphallic and tailed, erecting a trophy; obverse- Athena. *Ibid.*, p 18.
6. Bronze hemidrachm, 15 mm, 3 gm, 395-344 BC, Larissa. Reverse- horse grazing or beginning to roll; Obverse- head of a nymph. *Ibid.*, p 76.
7. Bronze hemidrachm, 14 mm, (corroded badly), after 311 BC. Reverse- Macedonian helmet; Obverse- Macedonian Shield with six peripheral ring symbols and central thunderbolt surrounded by circle. *Ibid.*, p 121.
8. Bronze hemidrachm, 15 mm, (corroded badly), ~350 BC. Reverse- bee; Obverse- head indistinct. *Ibid.*, p 97.
9. Bronze hemidrachm, 14-17 mm (oblong), (corroded badly), ~ 380 BC. Reverse- Tripod; Obverse Apollo. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Univ. California Press, Berkeley, 1976, p 138.

Wilhelmina van Ingen-Elarth—A Brief Biography

The portrait photographs present Dr. Wilhelmina van Ingen-Elarth and her mother, Ethel Bell van Ingen. The excerpts from the letters and the diary entries were written when Wilhelmina was 22-23, and her Mother was ~56 years old.

Wilhelmina van Ingen-Elarth was born in 1905, in Rochester, N.Y., the daughter of Hendrick van Ingen, a recognized architect. † Her grandfather was Henry van Ingen, a painter of the Hudson River School, who came from the Netherlands in 1860 to found the art department at Vassar College and for whom the art gallery there is named. He was Head of the art department from 1865-1898. ‡

Graduating from Vassar in 1926, Ms Van Ingen received the Master's degree in the History of Art and Classical Archeology from Radcliffe in 1929, and was awarded a Ph.D. in 1932 from Radcliffe-Harvard with a dissertation entitled "A Study of the Foundry Painter and the Alkimachos Painter." She held Carnegie fellowships, one at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (1927-28), and two others (1928-1930) allowing her to complete her Radcliffe Ph.D..

From 1930-1934 she held research assistant and associate appointments at the Institute of Archeological Research at the University of Michigan. Her work there was published in two scholarly volumes: the U.S. Fascicule 3 of *Corpus vasorum antiquorum* by the Harvard University Press, 1933, part of an international group of publications on ancient vases; and *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, part of the humanistic series of the University of Michigan Press (1939). She also published "The Kylix by the Foundry Painter in the Fogg Museum", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 46, (1935) §

Ms van Ingen taught History and Art at Wheaton College (Mass.) from 1935-1947. She advanced from instructor, through assistant professor, to associate professorship rank. During this time she married (1942) Herschel A. Elarth, then Professor of Architecture at the University of Oklahoma. The records suggest that she took leave in the 1942-43 WWII years to marry, and that her husband, 1st Lt. Elarth, became a member of the 826 ENG AVN BAT and had an APO New York address. A security pass dated 1943 exists that was granted to Mrs. van Ingen-Elarth for access to the Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis. MO. She also worked at Curtis-Wright in St. Louis where she did draughting. From 1947-54, the couple was at the University of Manitoba, where she taught History of Art. Dr. van Ingen-Elarth and her husband, Prof. Herschel A. Elarth, were residents of Blacksburg, VA from 1954 until Mrs. Elarth's death in 1969. He was a Professor in the Architecture Department.

Mrs. Elarth was for eight years secretary of the Blacksburg Unitarian Fellowship which she helped to found. She served as President of the Blacksburg branch of American Association of University Women (1964-66), and as an advisor to the Blacksburg Regional Art Association. She was director of the Auxiliary Fund Association of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and a

member of the Archeological Institute of America, the College Art Association, and Phi Beta Kappa.

During her teaching career and later, Willy shared her knowledge and interest through lectures on many aspects of art to lay audiences. She and her husband continued their mutual interest in art, encouraging many young artists. Mrs. Elarth had a great concern for the importance of developing a wider understanding of contemporary art, and worked (in her own words) "to create an informed and interested public which, it is hoped, will encourage the artist."

† *The Home : a little dissertation upon the houses we live in or desire*,
Hendrik van Ingen
Rochester, N.Y. : [s.n., 1915?]
Virginia Tech Art and Architecture Library, NA735 R6 V35 1915

‡ 1833 - 1899, genre, landscape, farm animal
cf. Austin, Robert Michael, *Artists of the Litchfield Hills*;
for museum holdings see:
New York Historical Society, 2 West 77th Street, New York, NY 10024

Special Collections, Virginia Tech
Corpus vasorum antiquorum : United States of, Harvard University, 1933
NK4640 C6 U5 fasc.3

§ a reprint of "The Kylix by the Foundry Painter in the Fogg Museum", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 46, (1935) may be found in the Special Collections archives of her husband, Herschel Elarth. That collection is not yet indexed, and the items are not yet listed in the control folder.

Primary Text and Photographic Sources

PAPERS

The Wilhelmina van Ingen-Elarth Collection at Virginia Tech includes photographs of three generations of the van Ingen family, correspondence, personal daily diaries, academic and publicity announcements, and photographs/postcards from travels and studies in Europe. It also includes a small group of Aegean and Mexican pre-Columbian artifacts and sherds.

Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Tech
CALL NO Ms69-004
Elarth, Wilhelmina Van Ingen, 1905-1969.
Papers, 1880-1971

PORTRAIT PHOTOGRAPHS

The portrait photographs are part of the van Ingen-Elarth Special Collections holding at Newman Library, Virginia Tech, and are also available on-line in the Digital Library of Special Collections at Virginia Tech.

PHOTOGRAPHS IN GREECE, 1927-1928

The photographs of scenes within Athens, mainland Greece, the Olynthus environs and the Cyclades are used by courtesy of Eunice Burr Couch. The photos were taken by Wilhelmina van Ingen. The scanned images are in the author's collection.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF POTTERY AND CLAY ARTIFACTS

Personal digital photographs taken of items in the Special Collections

PHOTOGRAPHS OF COINS

Personal digital photographs taken of coins left by Dr. (Mrs.) van Ingen Elarth with author.