

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 Department, 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 become 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.