"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?

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

archeology.com

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 became 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. 1922-

(© 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 (Merrit), 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 instutions, 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, SCSA)

Carl W. Blegen was born in 1887. He received his B.A. from the University of Minnesoata 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 Izmar) 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 is securing funds (Carnegie Corporation, \$275,000) for the creation of the Gennadeion Libray 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 <u>part</u> 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 guite 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 Cappsian 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 lightening. 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 where 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 weeklong 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. Blegn'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.