

BYZANTIUM AND THE AVANT-GARDE

EXCAVATIONS AT CORINTH, 1920S–1930S

ABSTRACT

In the 1920s and 1930s, members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens engaged in a dialogue with the avant-garde through the shared discovery of Byzantium. This extraordinary experiment took place in excavations at Corinth, where American archaeologists invented the systematic discipline of medieval archaeology, facilitated an inclusive identity for the American School, and contributed to a bohemian undercurrent that would have a long afterlife. This article situates the birth of Byzantine archaeology in Greece within the general discourse of modernism and explores the mechanisms of interchange across disciplinary and national boundaries, between subjective and objective realms.

Byzantium was ubiquitous at the turn of the 20th century.¹ During the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1.4 million people visited a chapel designed in a Byzantine mode by Louis C. Tiffany (Fig. 1).² Similarly, a mass European public delighted in the first photographic display of Byzantine monuments at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris.³

1. My thanks to Tracey Cullen for inviting me to contribute to the volume celebrating *Hesperia's* 75 years of publishing. This article was completed with support from a Stanley J. Seeger Visiting Fellowship at the Program of Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, where I first presented the material as a workshop. I have benefited immensely from discussions with Jennifer Ball, Peter Brown, Florin and Lucia Curta, Dimitri Gondicas, Celina Gray, James Herbst, Edmund Keeley, Alexandros and Marica Levidis, Camilla MacKay, Maria Mavroudi, Glenn Peers, Effie Rentzou, Betsey Robinson, Guy Sanders, Jon Seydl, Kathleen Slane, Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, and Charles Williams.

I would like to single out Robert Ponder as a premier source of inspiration and support in the pursuit of unofficial histories. The editor and the anonymous reviewers of *Hesperia* also offered helpful suggestions, for which I am grateful. Finally, I thank Clemson University and my colleagues in the Department of Art for their unlimited support.

This article is dedicated to the memory of Elie Kourelis (1932–2006), who was born the same year as *Hesperia*, played in the ruins of the Athenian Agora, and ultimately achieved her American dream.

2. The chapel's visibility did not cease with the closing of the Exposition. Tiffany exhibited the chapel in

his New York showroom until 1896.

Between 1898 and 1911 it was installed in the Cathedral Church of Saint John the Divine, New York. When the original Byzantine–Romanesque cathedral was replaced by its current Gothic structure, Tiffany brought the chapel to his country estate, Laurelton Hall. In 1999, the chapel was restored and installed in the Morse Museum of American Art in Winter Park, Florida; see Long 2002; Frelinghuysen 2006, p. 73.

3. The exhibition was organized by Gabriel Millet and provided the foundations for a permanent museum containing 4,500 photographic plates, 400 plans, and 111 watercolors; see Adamantou 1901.



Figure 1. Louis Comfort Tiffany Chapel, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. The Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art, Winter Park, Florida.

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Previously absent from the highlights of the western canon, Byzantine art reached its apotheosis in 1931 during the Exposition Internationale d'Art Byzantin in Paris, the first international event of its kind.⁴ The cultural environment of the 1930s was saturated with the love of a new golden age, a Byzantium framed by the aesthetic vitality of modernism. The Exposition included in its display four plates freshly excavated at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA).⁵ Such pieces were unequivocally conflated with the aesthetics of modern art, described by a contemporary reviewer as follows:

Their archaeological interest was continued by an artistic interest which curiously enough brought them very close to the most modern work. . . . In some work of the 8th century we may recognize the same tendencies which have so strongly transformed the art of our own day. Many objects testified to this analogy: a piece of sculpture made one think of Bourdelle or Modigliani, a textile recalled Derain or Dufy, and there were several tapestries,

4. On the exclusion of Byzantium from the traditional canon of western art, see Nelson 1996.

5. Diehl, Tyler, and Ebersolt 1931, p. 166, no. 611.

the cartoons for which might have been drawn by Matisse. This relation explains in part the success of the exhibition, the present vogue for an art which in certain respects appears so remote and so completely sealed.⁶

In the following pages, I hope to show that a visitor to Corinth in 1931 could hardly dismiss the synergy with the exhibition in Paris evident in the excavation of the city's medieval ruins and in the display of its treasures in a newly fabricated Byzantine museum, which manifested the modern sensibilities of fragmentation, assemblage, and collage within its very walls. Ultimately, it was the artistic avant-garde that ushered Byzantine Greece into the cultural limelight and rehabilitated its research within American priorities. Corinth's medieval excavations of 1925–1940 were conceived under the spell of modernist aesthetics and much less under the guidance of academic inquiry.

The 20th century embraced Byzantium as a subversive precedent for modernity's historical rapture with tradition, incorporating a perceived artistic otherness, abstraction, and spirituality in its historical arsenal. This aesthetic discovery coincided with geopolitical realities that sensitized the world's intellectuals to the volatile Balkans and Turkey.⁷ In Greece, the Demoticist movement had paved the way for a historically inclusive identity for the nation-state.⁸ Moreover, a loose association of Greek writers and artists known collectively as the Thirties Generation built the future of modernism on the shoulders of Byzantine forms. The highlights of this new Hellenism were publicly celebrated in murals painted by Photis Kontoglou in 1937 for the Athens City Hall. A general American audience was introduced to this new style at the 1939 New York World's Fair, where Kontoglou's student George de Steris painted similar murals for the Greek pavilion.⁹ American archaeologists were exposed to this vision directly in Greece.

Institutionally, the ASCSA facilitated a dialogue between aesthetics and scholarship, between artistic invention and archaeological discovery. Unlike the American Academy in Rome, where interaction between artists and academics was choreographed on an annual basis, cross-pollination at the ASCSA took place at less audible frequencies, below the radar of publication and official ideology. The ASCSA's self-conscious positivism, moreover, tended to relegate subjective motivation to an underground realm

6. Lorey 1931, p. 26.

7. The Balkan Wars (1912–1913), World War I (1914–1918), and the Greek-Turkish War and Asia Minor Disaster (1919–1922) brought international attention to Greece and its Byzantine past. Marcel Proust, John Reed, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, T. S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, and other intellectuals were swept up by a new form of philhellenism; see Roessel 2002, pp. 187–230.

8. The Demoticist movement began with Konstantinos Paparrigopou-

los's *History of the Greek Nation* (1869–1874) and the literary activism congregating around *Hestia*. In the second decade of the 20th century, Greece witnessed a fundamental cultural crisis between Purism (sanctioning the priority of the classical past) and Demoticism (sanctioning a diachronic historical identity), with deep political repercussions (e.g., the *Μεγάλη Ιδέα*); see Ekdotike Athenon 1970–2000, vol. 14, pp. 399–438; Jusdanis 1991. For Byzantium's role in the formation of this new identity, see Demetrako-

poulos 1996; Ricks and Magdalino 1998; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, pp. 129–130.

9. Kontoglou's art exemplified a national modernism and a search for Greekness. His murals are located in the library at City Hall, currently the vice-mayor's office; see Zias 1991, pp. 89–101, pl. 268. After Steris's apprenticeship with Kontoglou, he emigrated to the United States and drew movie posters for Hollywood; see Whalen 1939, p. 130; Komini-Dialeti et al. 1997–2000, vol. 4, pp. 228–230.

that now requires its own archival unearthing.¹⁰ A similar story could be told about the 1960s when archaeology intersected with the avant-garde once again, reviving mechanisms set in motion by an earlier generation.¹¹

From its foundation in 1881, the ASCSA privileged classical antiquity over other historical epochs. In the early years of the School, Byzantium was largely peripheral, despite the role it played in the intellectual development of American art historical education. The ASCSA's founder, Charles Eliot Norton, prized medieval archaeology as a central component in the study of western civilization.¹² During his own lifetime, Norton protested the growing professionalization of classical studies and its growing dominance over archaeological discourse in America.¹³ The general disdain cultivated by classical archaeologists toward the Byzantine "labyrinth," "rubbish," or "filth" that overlay antiquity's prized marbles was antithetical to the intellectual tradition that Norton imported from England via John Ruskin.¹⁴ Charles H. Morgan II suggested in 1942 that the classicist of the 19th century required a fairly opaque screen to avoid the medievalist strain that had emerged within American culture:

The archaeological enthusiasts in Greece during the 19th century were so completely absorbed in the Greek and Roman periods that not even the romantic revivals in western Europe and America with their attendant pointed arches, bustling towers, and spiky furniture, nor the eloquent exhortations of that arbiter of Mediaevalism, Ruskin, penetrated the protective screen of classical researches.¹⁵

At the turn of the 20th century, America thus possessed two competing cultural paradigms pitched on the acceptance or rejection of the Middle Ages. In his celebrated essay "The Dynamo and the Virgin," Henry Adams describes this battle as a confrontation between Gibbon and Ruskin.¹⁶ For Norton, American archaeology needed to be inclusive and to incorporate, in equal measure, Near Eastern, classical, medieval, and Native American civilizations; this quadrant is reflected in his structuring of the *American Journal of Archaeology (AJA)*, which he founded in 1885.¹⁷ Accordingly, medieval archaeology featured prominently in the first issue of *AJA*, with articles on Paris, Rome, Jumièges, and Ravenna.¹⁸

10. For a refreshing historiographic study of the site of Colophon and the early years of the ASCSA, see Davis 2003, 2006.

11. The ASCSA provided underground avenues of exchange with an expatriate bohemia, including James Merrill, David Jackson, Kimon Friar, Alan Ansen, Chester Kallman, and Vassilis Vassilikos. Merrill, who donated his house in Kolonaki to the ASCSA, led the most infamous such circle. He first met Charles H. Morgan II, director of the ASCSA, at Amherst College in 1946. Merrill's newly founded literary magazine *Medusa* contained not only a film essay by Maya Deren and a short story by

Anaïs Nin, but also an essay on "Folk Songs of Modern Greece" by Janet Morgan; see Hammer 2003, p. 28; for Ansen, see Moore 1989; Zervos 2006.

12. Norton was a friend of John Ruskin, Edward Burne-Jones, and the Pre-Raphaelites. An Arts and Crafts model of medieval aesthetics was incorporated into the first American art historical curriculum established by Norton at Harvard University in 1862. Norton's own scholarly production centered on medieval architecture; his publications ranged from an essay on the Christian catacombs in Rome (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1857) to *Historical Studies of Church Building in*

the Middle Ages (1880).

13. Attempts by John Williams White (Harvard University) and Francis W. Kelsey (University of Michigan) to dominate the Archaeological Institute of America caused a crisis in 1895 and greatly displeased Norton; see Turner 1999, p. 369.

14. For the quoted terms, see de Waele 1930, p. 434; *Corinth* XI, p. 1; Swift 1958, p. 352.

15. *Corinth* XI, p. 1. On the life of Morgan, see Thompson 1984.

16. Adams 1907, p. 359.

17. Turner 1999, p. 315, n. 42.

18. Frothingham 1885a, 1885b; Perkins 1885; Müntz 1885.

Despite the enthusiasm of its founder, the ASCSA would delay its support for the study of medieval culture until the 1920s, a reluctance not shared by the other archaeological schools in Athens. A Greek Society of Christian Archaeology was founded as early as 1884, publishing its own *Deltion* in 1891.¹⁹ “Recognizing this branch of Hellenic Studies,” the British School, in turn, made its first scholarly investment in Byzantine studies in 1889 by financing a monograph on the Monastery of Hosios Loukas by Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Howard Barnsley.²⁰ Especially after the establishment of the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund in 1907, medieval archaeology flourished at the British School, influencing the wider intellectual climate of British education.²¹ Similarly, the French School first invested in the study of Byzantium in 1894 by supporting Gabriel Millet’s research at Daphni and Mistra.²²

Alfred Emerson, professor of archaeology at the ASCSA in 1897–1899, seems to have been acutely aware of the American deficiencies in Byzantine studies compared to Greek, British, and French scholarship, and he organized seminars in Byzantine archaeology as well as modern Greek literature and music.²³ In general, however, antiquity reigned supreme at the ASCSA while the imminent rise of Byzantine studies caused humanistic anxieties, prompting the following response in director Rhys Carpenter’s annual report of 1927–1928:

We should encourage Byzantine investigation, especially in connection with the Gennadius collection, and pre-Hellenic research, especially in excavation; but our ultimate reason for existence must always and necessarily be the pre-eminence of things Greek over things un-Greek, or pre-Greek, or post-Greek. It is in so far as we insist on this old faith of the Humanists in the humanities (and not in the pre-human-ities, or even the exhume-anities) that our school will have a torch to hand down to future days.²⁴

By 1930, however, the ASCSA had fully succumbed to the temptations of Byzantium, and, paradoxically, Carpenter played no small part in expanding the chronological limits of research at the School. The journal *Hesperia*, which he helped found in 1932, became instrumental in the dissemination of post-classical archaeology with a substantive article on Byzantine material appearing nearly every year between 1932 and 1945.²⁵

19. See Christianiki Archaologiki Etaireia 1891.

20. Schultz and Barnsley 1901, p. 5; William Richard Lethaby, theorist of the Arts and Craft movement, inspired the survey.

21. R. M. Dawkins, director of the British School in Athens (1906–1914), was influenced by William Morris. As first Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at Oxford (1920–1939), Dawkins educated a generation of British intellectuals, including the poet W. H. Auden; see Wace and Dawkins 1914; Mackridge 2000. Ramsay

Traquair, also influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement (his mother corresponded with Ruskin), was a fellow of the British School. In 1900, he founded McGill University’s architectural history program. His fieldwork on Frankish architecture in Greece provided a model for the multicultural tradition he encountered in the architecture of Quebec; see Traquair 1905–1906a, 1905–1906b, 1906–1907, 1923; Gour-nay 1996, p. 60; Spasoff 2002, p. 47. On the British School’s Byzantine Fund archives and recent conservation activities, see Kakissis 2006. For Fred-

erick and Margaret Hasluck’s influence on the British School, see Shankland 2004.

22. Millet became the director of the École des hautes études in Paris and published the influential *L’École grecque dans l’architecture byzantine* (1916); see Radet 1901, p. 292; Kourelis 2004, pp. 47–49; Kourelis, forthcoming.

23. Lord 1947, pp. 92–93.

24. Lord 1947, pp. 208–209.

25. E.g., Waagé 1933; Frantz 1935, 1938, 1941, 1942. For the history of *Hesperia*, see Cullen 2007; Davis 2007.



Figure 2. The Central Area at Corinth, from the west, ca. 1930.

Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations, neg. 4414

Thus, in the decade preceding World War II, Norton's medievalist inclusionism flourished in the ASCSA and a golden age of Byzantine archaeology emerged around the excavations at Corinth (Fig. 2). Here Carpenter supervised the first scientific study of a Byzantine city and the publication of its medieval fortress; he also guaranteed the publication of Greece's premier Byzantine mosaics, and he designed the first (and only) American museum of Byzantine antiquities, discussed in detail below.²⁶ Carpenter's incorporation of Byzantium within the ASCSA agenda while at the same time insisting on its inferiority created a peculiar intellectual environment, both constricting and liberating for those involved in its investigation. This ambivalence was pivotal in the genetic makeup of the ASCSA and was reflected in major generational shifts in the receptivity of the School to the study of later periods. The medieval inclusiveness of the late 1920s and 1930s, for instance, dramatically waned after World War II. America's paternalistic role in the reconstruction of Greece swung the pendulum back toward the prominence of the classical world and the marginalization of Byzantium.²⁷ In the 1980s and 1990s, medieval archaeology was again included in the School's priorities, evident in the explosion of fieldwork.²⁸ This shifting attitude toward Byzantine studies invites institutional self-reflection and the historiographic appraisal of its first generation of practitioners.

In retrospect, the ASCSA seems extraordinarily permeable to contemporary tastes, aesthetic debates, and artistic experimentation. The sudden turn to Byzantium was conditioned by a rich tapestry of influences that coalesced in excavations of the Central Area at Corinth between 1925 and

26. *Corinth* III.2, XI, XVI; Diez and Demus 1931. Little has been published on the Byzantine structure excavated in 1917 and later converted to a museum; see *Corinth* XVI, pp. 39–41.

27. On the cultural Cold War, see Saunders 1999; Menand 2005.

28. The second golden age of medieval archaeology in Greece took the form of excavation (e.g., at Athens, Corinth, Nichoria, Panakton, Samothrace) and regional survey (e.g., the East Korinthia Archaeological Survey, Morea Project, Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, and the Southern Argolid Project).

1940. The first part of this article assesses the explicit contributions of the ASCSA to Byzantine scholarship (Excavating Byzantium: The Central Area at Corinth; Displaying Byzantium: Carpenter's Folly; Reading Byzantium: The Gennadius Library). In order to articulate the underlying motivations behind the scholarship, I then draw together a narrative based on implicit and extracurricular influences (Collegiate Aestheticism; Architectural Taste; Modernist Aesthetics). Finally, I investigate the primary agents responsible for connecting the worlds of archaeology and art, namely the illustrators (Piet de Jong, George V. Peschke), academic departments (Princeton University, Bryn Mawr College), and Greek artistic circles (Thirties Generation).

EXCAVATING BYZANTIUM: THE CENTRAL AREA AT CORINTH

Unlike the Athenian Agora, for which Alison Frantz single-handedly created a field of Byzantine studies,²⁹ the excavations at Ancient Corinth lacked the expertise and direction of one individual. In fact, not a single excavator in the early years of work at Corinth had an educational background in any aspect of Byzantium—literary, historical, or archaeological. Such an informal environment precipitated a few methodological blunders, but it also created an experimental atmosphere unfettered by the pressures of a weighty tradition. Established in 1896, the excavations at Corinth were not concerned with Byzantine material, despite the city's apostolic fame disseminated by Paul's Letters to the Corinthians. In 1925, following the inactive years of World War I, a flurry of excavations commenced in the hands of a heroic generation.³⁰ By the close of the 1930s, Corinth had become "the American site *par excellence*" and the training ground for future American archaeologists in Greece.³¹

Contemporary accounts indicate that the site of Corinth in the early 1920s was marred by an embarrassing number of trenches in need of intensive clearing and publication. In order to improve the site and clarify its excavations to visitors and scholars, Carpenter published the first site guide in 1928, including a tour through the museum reorganized a year earlier by T. Leslie and Nora Shear.³² The earthquakes of April 23–30, 1928, devastated Ancient Corinth and made site maintenance even more urgent. In 1928 Carpenter discovered an Early Christian basilica near the Kenchrean Gate that he excavated with the assistance of Ferdinand J. de Waele. Speculation that this might be Corinth's famed cathedral brought attention to the city's Early Christian past.³³ In 1931 Carpenter also initiated the study of Acrocorinth's medieval citadel in collaboration with Antoine Bon, the French School's leading authority on Crusader architecture. For this project, Carpenter commissioned two Swiss engineers in a photogrammetric aerial survey. Perfected by the Air Force during World War I, aerial photography was cutting-edge technology, used now in Greece for the first time.³⁴

In the process of cleaning and clearing the Central Area of Corinth, American archaeologists confronted a daunting challenge, namely the removal of a "Byzantine labyrinth" of houses overlying the ancient agora.³⁵

29. Frantz published numerous studies: see Frantz 1935, 1938, 1941, 1942, 1952, 1961, 1965; *Agora* XX, XXIV. See also Mauzy 2006, pp. 75–89.

30. T. Leslie Shear, Bert Hodge Hill, Richard Stillwell, Benjamin D. Meritt, Oscar Broneer, Rhys Carpenter, Ferdinand J. de Waele, Robert L. Scranton, Charles H. Morgan II, Saul S. Weinberg, Gladys R. Davidson Weinberg, Mary Folse, Richard H. Howland, Carl Blegen (on Acrocorinth), Agnes Newhall Stillwell (at the Potters' Quarter), and others directed excavations throughout the city.

31. McDonald 1942, p. 38. Archaeological training for all fellows at Corinth was formalized in 1967 by Charles K. Williams II; see Meritt 1984, p. 162.

32. Carpenter 1928, p. 67.

33. Carpenter 1929; de Waele 1930, p. 442, n. 1; Corinth notebook 98 (Pease, 1928); Corinth notebook 99 (de Waele, 1928).

34. *Corinth* III.2, figs. 1, 2, map. This survey, in the amount of detail recorded, greatly surpassed the survey executed by the Greek military for Blegen in 1927; see *Corinth* III.1, pl. VIII.

35. See de Waele 1930, p. 434.

This problem was far from new. In 1875 German archaeologists had faced a similar urban cluster in Olympia. As was typical practice at that time, the German Archaeological Institute swiftly destroyed most of the Byzantine accretions with minimal documentation. The only record made of the settlement was a site plan drawn primarily to illustrate the movement of *spolia* from the ancient temples into the masonry of the later houses.³⁶ Much had changed, however, between the 1870s and the 1920s–1930s. First, archaeological methods and theories had become more sophisticated, and second, Byzantium had gained cultural authority in other artistic spheres. Rather than destroying the Byzantine settlement, the excavators at Corinth became the first American scholars to devote significant attention to Byzantine finds in an urban domestic context. Carpenter was a devout follower of a novel notion, “that to dig a site is to destroy it,” and he held the archaeologist responsible for recording (and publishing) all that was destroyed, even if it was utterly uninteresting.³⁷ The methodologies of American archaeologists were inspired by two sources, the rigor advanced by Wilhelm Dörpfeld at Olympia and the scientific principles promoted by Mortimer Wheeler.³⁸

Clearing the Central Area was a massive enterprise initiated under financial pressures and not with unanimous support of the ASCSA. It required speedy execution, employing a large number of workmen and trench supervisors. In addition to improving the intellectual coherence and aesthetic quality of the site, the excavators of Corinth needed to publish their results quickly for the sake of Corinth’s reputation. After all, director Bert Hodge Hill’s poor publication record had led to his estrangement from the ASCSA Managing Committee and to his early retirement in 1926.³⁹ Under such circumstances, one might have expected the wholesale removal of the Byzantine city without documentation, yet great care was expended in saving, collecting, and interpreting the Byzantine remains. Excavation notebooks from the late 1920s and 1930s record the campaigns of the Central Area, or Agora, with a wide range of accuracy and fastidiousness. Byzantine coins, pottery, sculpture, and metalwork were accessioned and stored in the museum. Although some of the finds found their way into the annual reports of the excavation, the Byzantine material did not see final publication until after World War II.

Given the large number of trench supervisors involved in clearing the Central Area, the accumulation of data regarding the Byzantine city lacked coordination. Artifacts were stored and the findspots were recorded in the excavation notebooks following an alphanumeric grid system. The

36. For the site plan of the Byzantine settlement, see *Olympia* II, pl. V:a, b. For a plan showing the findspots of reused sculptural blocks, see *Olympia* III, pp. 136–137.

37. Carpenter 1933, pp. 10, 103.

38. German and Austrian archaeologists were methodological innovators in the late 19th century. Alexander

Conze, for example, published the first photographs and plans drawn by professional architects in the 1873 excavations of Samothrace; see Conze, Hauser, and Niemann 1875. Wilhelm Dörpfeld refined those methods further at Olympia. Hill and Blegen introduced Dörpfeld’s methods of excavation at Corinth. By the 1930s

American excavators had developed a standardized format for excavation notebooks. Wheeler’s rigorous stratigraphic approach was embraced by the British School and eventually also by American archaeologists excavating in the United States; see Trigger 1989, pp. 196–200; Dyson 2006, pp. 112–113.

39. Lord 1947, pp. 190–192.

finds and stratigraphic layers (baskets) were not, however, directly linked to the complicated sequence of architectural masonry. Given a shortage of architects at the site, the walls were left standing (while excavation proceeded around them) and were drawn at the end of the season before they were dismantled. Piecemeal architectural state plans were drawn by resident draftsmen, such as J. M. Shelley and Wulf Schaefer, without any indication of context or building sequence.⁴⁰

Corinth's medieval architecture was not fully sorted out until 1953–1954, when Robert L. Scranton assembled all the evidence into *Corinth XVI*. Scranton was ideally suited for this task, having been present for much of the excavation between 1935 and 1938, especially in the Monastery of Saint John and the area south of the Peirene Spring. It was impossible, however, to undertake a complete survey of the Byzantine city since the great majority of the walls had been removed. Scranton compiled the fragments of information on a master plan (scale 1:200) with the assistance of S. L. Doukas, architecture instructor at the National Technical University of Athens (Fig. 3).⁴¹ Scranton's study became the standard presentation of medieval Corinth, universally celebrated by the academic community. In the words of Emerson Swift:

Because the little group of scholars who began excavations at Corinth in 1896 had slight regard for mediaeval matters, while those of us who followed during the next three decades worked unaided by modern methods of recording the mediaeval hodge-podge through which we dug, the task which faced the author of this latest work on Corinth was indeed of staggering proportions. . . . From the chaotic mass of excavation material—surviving walls and architectural fragments, coins, notebooks, reports and inventories going back through sixty years—he has sketched a fascinating picture of the mediaeval town, plucking gems from what a dyed-in-the-wool classicist once defined as “Byzantine filth.”⁴²

In the estimation of Charalambos Bouras, “Corinth has been the subject of the most methodical investigation” of any Middle Byzantine urban center in Greece.⁴³ Scranton's published map, with some amendments by Henry Robinson (west of South Stoa, 1959–1960), Charles Williams (Frankish levels southeast of Temple E, 1989–1996), and Guy Sanders (Panayia Field, 1995–2002), remains an extraordinary document of Byzantine domestic architecture and urbanism.⁴⁴

In 1931 Franklin Johnson produced a Corinth volume on all the sculptures excavated to date, which included a dozen Byzantine pieces. In addition to the architectural studies, Scranton analyzed 500 sculptural fragments and published a selection of 191.⁴⁵ In the field of numismatics, Katherine Edwards produced catalogues of material excavated in 1896–1929 and in 1930–1935.⁴⁶ A comparison of the two publications reveals a roughly ten-fold increase in the number of coins recorded in the later work, illustrating the intensity of excavation during the 1930s.⁴⁷ Interestingly, the proportion of medieval coins within the total collection remains relatively consistent (ca. 50%–60%) between the two periods of excavation. Although the early

40. I thank Charles Williams for describing the excavation process. I also thank the current Corinth architect, James Herbst, who has organized the drawing archive into a searchable database.

41. *Corinth XVI*, pp. v–vi.

42. Swift 1958, p. 352.

43. Bouras 1981, p. 617.

44. Robinson and Weinberg 1960, p. 229, fig. 2; Robinson 1962, pp. 97, 106, figs. 2, 6; Williams 2003; Sanders 1998–2002; 2005, p. 427, fig. 16.5.

45. *Corinth IX* (see also Johnson 1924); *Corinth XVI*, pp. 103–122.

46. *Corinth VI*; Edwards 1937.

47. The average number of coins recorded annually for 1930–1935 is 2,662 versus a mere 300 for 1896–1929.

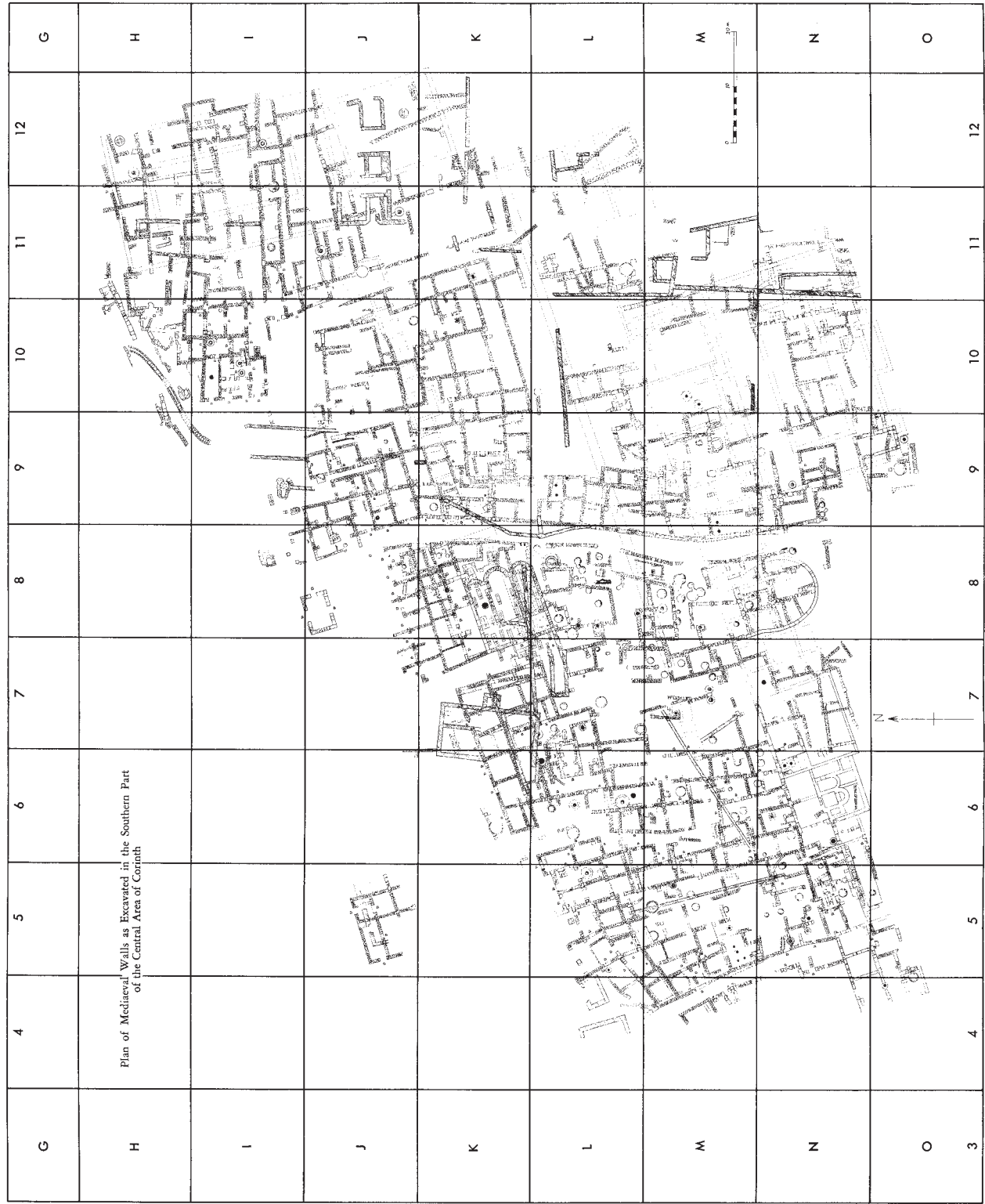


Figure 3 (*opposite*). Plan of the medieval walls in the southern part of the Central Area at Corinth. *Corinth* XVI, plan VII. Courtesy Corinth Excavations

excavators may have discarded medieval ceramics, art, and architecture, they apparently saved the coins. From a numismatic point of view, the 1930s resulted in an increase of artifacts but not a change in focus.⁴⁸

Another landmark scholarly feat arising from the medieval excavations was Morgan's publication of the Byzantine pottery.⁴⁹ Like Scranton, Morgan took part in the clearing of the Central Area without any formal training in Byzantine ceramics. The project fell into his lap when he was asked by the ASCSA Managing Committee to take over a manuscript begun by Frederick O. Waagé. The ASCSA's attitude toward Byzantine pottery can be traced by looking at the way in which medieval pottery had been published before Morgan's landmark volume. The first publication of Byzantine pottery from Corinth reveals the American lack of interest; the material excavated in 1891–1920 was simply outsourced to the Greek Society of Christian Archaeology and published by Alexandros Philadelphus in the Society's journal.⁵⁰ The original plan for Alice Walker to publish all of Corinth's pottery was complicated by internal turmoil.⁵¹ A decade later, Waagé's preliminary publication of Corinth's Proto-Majolica ware appeared in *Hesperia*, only a year after his article on the Roman and Byzantine pottery of the Athenian Agora.⁵² Waagé followed the typologies of David Talbot Rice, the Oxford scholar who developed the first chronology of Byzantine wares at the Hippodrome Excavations in Istanbul (1927–1929).⁵³

When Morgan inherited Waagé's manuscript in 1935, he rejected Talbot Rice's system, which was based on color and fabric. He found it simplistic, imprecise, and misleading. Rather than borrowing a chronology from Istanbul, Morgan proceeded to invent his own scheme derived locally from his analysis of 1,800 sherds excavated at Corinth. Morgan's training as an art historian at Harvard University is evident in his system, which emphasizes decoration, style, masters, and apprentices.⁵⁴ Half a century later, *Corinth* XI continues to be used as the basic sourcebook for Byzantine pottery, despite Sanders's chronological revisions.⁵⁵ Tracing the early publication of Byzantine pottery from Corinth, we can thus summarize three consecutive approaches: outsourcing to Greek experts in 1924, incorporating British typologies in 1934, and, finally, inventing a new Corinth-based system in 1942.

48. The percentage of Byzantine and Frankish coins recovered from the 1896–1929 excavations is 62% (6,351 of 10,246); the equivalent percentage in the 1930–1935 excavations is 50% (8,062 of 15,972).

49. *Corinth* XI.

50. Philadelphus 1924. Philadelphus was a prominent Greek archaeologist and director of the National Archaeological Museum. He thanks (p. 22) Hill, Blegen, and Alice Walker for allowing him to publish the pottery from Corinth.

51. In 1937–1939 Walker was involved in a power struggle with Mor-

gan over the pottery from Corinth that was stored in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The conflict was partially a reenactment of the factionalism dividing the ASCSA after Hill's forced retirement (see above, p. 398), with Walker on the Hill-Blegen side and Morgan on the Capps-Lord side. Walker refused to return the prehistoric pottery to Corinth, a decision that was endorsed by Philadelphus. She also threatened to publish the pottery in Germany; her volume appeared in 1948 (Kosmopoulos 1948). The National Museum controversy led to Walker's estrange-

ment from the ASCSA; the pottery remains in Athens; see Lavezzi 2004, pp. 6, 12–14.

52. Waagé 1933, 1934.

53. Waagé applied Talbot Rice's system to the pottery from Athens, Corinth, and later Antioch-on-the-Orontes; see Vroom 2003, pp. 36–40. His admiration is apparent in his review of Talbot Rice's *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (1930); Waagé 1931.

54. See, e.g., Frantz's skepticism over Morgan's "Interlace Master"; Frantz 1944, p. 59.

55. Sanders 2000.



Figure 4. Byzantine house before conversion into Carpenter's Folly, 1928. Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations, neg. 1700

DISPLAYING BYZANTIUM: CARPENTER'S FOLLY

Squeezed between the Peirene Spring and the Peribolos of Apollo, a two-room Byzantine house was excavated at Corinth in 1917 (Fig. 4). The structure, originally submerged below the ancient floor level, survived to a substantial height and displayed a double arch supported by reused Ionic columns. The house was built over Classical foundations and it utilized preexisting rooms in its layout. A 10th-century sherd, excavated under the staircase, and a 12th-century road, found above the structure, indicate a two-century horizon of occupation.⁵⁶

The building's exceptional state of preservation made it a good candidate for reuse. Carpenter recognized that a museum of Byzantine sculpture was necessary, considering the growing interest of scholars and tourists in Corinth's excavated pieces. For instance, a young Anastasios Orlandos visited the site in 1919 and made measured sketches of a Byzantine relief (AM 308) that he encountered near Peirene and the Propylaia. Giorgios

56. For the only published information about this structure, see *Corinth* XVI, pp. 39–41. I thank Betsey Robinson for providing me with scans of the early photographs from the Corinth Excavations, explaining the complicated stratigraphy, and for sharing chapters from her unpublished book manuscript; see Robinson 2001.



Figure 5. View of Carpenter's Folly (building with arches at left middle ground), from the northeast, 1930.

Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations, neg. 2624

Sotiriou published this piece in 1935, expressing his gratitude to the ASCSA.⁵⁷ The Byzantine sculpture needed a centralized space for storage and exhibition, especially in light of a new museum planned in 1930.⁵⁸ Photographs from Corinth show the Byzantine house in 1928 before renovation (Fig. 4) and completed with roof in 1930 (Fig. 5). When Lucy Shoe Meritt was clearing the floor of the structure in 1933, she formally called it “the Byzantine Museum.”⁵⁹ In order to provide shelter, an upper story was built and a new pitched roof was placed over the structure (which was originally vaulted).

Locals dismantled the roof beams for firewood during World War II, marking the building's ultimate abandonment. The roof was never restored and Carpenter's plans for a museum were forgotten. The architectural framework, however, survives as a modern ruin and as a monument to Corinth's most creative period of Byzantine archaeology. Many of the sculptures collected for display were still housed in the space during the 1950s.⁶⁰ At some undetermined time in the postwar period, Corinth's excavators began calling it a “folly,” a term that cunningly characterizes its ambiguous state. A folly is an 18th-century building type whose only

57. Gavrilis 1978, pp. 205–206, fig. 12; Sotiriou 1934–1935, pp. 233, 246, fig. 1; *Corinth* XVI, p. 121, no. 179, pl. 35.

58. Lord 1947, p. 214.

59. Corinth notebook 134 (November 13, 1933), pp. 66–83.

60. See *Corinth* XVI, pl. 3:b, for a

photograph taken in 1954. The sculptures are currently stored in the West Shops.

function is to generate wonder and conversation within a romantic park; often the term carries connotations of foolishness or madness on the part of its creator (in this case, Carpenter).⁶¹

A close analysis of the building's masonry reveals modern clues. The upper wall, for example, is thinner than the lower walls and contains concrete (Figs. 6, 7).⁶² The facades are articulated with quintuple and triple openings, framed by brick arches and marble mullions. Within the restored upper walls are marble fragments, dramatically inserted to create a collage, a veritable reconstruction of Byzantine aesthetics easily misconstrued as original.⁶³ The innocent viewer is led to think that the *spolia* were part of the Byzantine masonry, but the photographic documentation of the marble pieces illustrates that they were excavated in other parts of the site and later imaginatively reconfigured. For example, the slab with cross and tendrils (AM 299) on the west facade (Fig. 6) was originally excavated in the Kraneion Basilica, while the ornate marble slab with guilloche pattern (AM 314) on the north facade (Fig. 7) was excavated on Acrocorinth.⁶⁴ These marble *templon* screens were collected from different parts of the site and artificially immured into a picturesque representation of Byzantium.

Carpenter's Folly could be considered a forgotten precedent for the ASCSA's restorations of the Stoa of Attalos in Athens.⁶⁵ Moreover, it is related to Anastasios Orlandos's design of the archaeological museum in nearby Sikyon, where a Roman Bath provides the building's footprint and physical foundation. Orlandos also designed a neo-Byzantine structure as the bishop's residence in New Corinth.⁶⁶

Since the Byzantine museum at Corinth never opened, its significance as a register of cultural synthesis has not been fully recognized. The choice of a domestic structure as an appropriate space for display relates to particular developments in American museum practices. Private houses served as museums and some were designed precisely for this purpose. Henry C. Gibson's house in Philadelphia, for example, was designed by Frank Furness and George W. Hewitt (1871–1872) as a medieval oriental fantasy to accommodate Gibson's collection of eastern objects.⁶⁷ Better known is Fenway Court, Isabella Stewart Gardner's house museum in Boston, which opened in 1903.⁶⁸ The preservation movement of the 1920s heralded the

Figure 6 (*opposite, top*). Carpenter's Folly, west facade. Photo K. Kourelis

Figure 7 (*opposite, bottom*). Carpenter's Folly, north facade. Photo K. Kourelis

61. Since the name "Carpenter's Folly" exists only in the ASCSA's oral history, it is difficult to know whether it originally carried positive or negative connotations. For the architectural definition of a folly, see Pevsner, Fleming, and Honour 1976, p. 119. For a catalogue of follies in Great Britain, see Barton 1972.

62. Early modern concrete is distinguished by the high content of aggregate.

63. Carpenter's Folly has indeed been used to illustrate Byzantine domestic architecture; see Bouras

1982–1983, pp. 6–7, fig. 1.

64. Scranton is silent about the location of these fragments within Carpenter's Folly. His sculpture catalogue, however, shows the pieces photographed on the ground before their new architectural placement; see *Corinth* XVI, pp. 104–105, pls. 20:8, 22:13.

65. The Stoa was reconstructed in 1953–1956 with the financial assistance of John D. Rockefeller Jr. The project was supervised by New York architects W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum; see Thompson and Frantz

1959; Meritt 1984, pp. 62, 182–187. On Thompson, see Vanderpool 2004; Voltera 2004.

66. Orlandos 1936; Petronotis 1978, pp. 337–340, 365, figs. 78–83, 122–123; Lolos, forthcoming.

67. The house stood on Walnut and 16th Streets, but it is now demolished. Photographs of the interior were published in *Artistic Houses* [1883] 1971, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 149–151; see also Lewis 2001, pp. 82–83, fig. 4-1.

68. Gardner's house museum was donated to the public after her death; see Perkins 1925; Goldfarb 1995.



notion of restoring original houses and repackaging them as museums, where the general public (especially recent immigrants) could learn how to become properly American.⁶⁹ In 1924, 17 period rooms opened as the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. "It is based upon archaeological research," reported *Scribner's*, "but it is concerned essentially with warm human things."⁷⁰

John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia (1924) and Henry Ford's Greenwich Village in Dearborn, Michigan (1927), were also part of this explosion of domestic reconstructions. In 1933 the director of the American Association of Museums published the first survey of house museums, which included practical design guidelines.⁷¹ Although it is not certain whether Carpenter, or anyone else at Corinth, kept abreast of the growing technical literature on historic preservation, the Byzantine house museum reflects a distinctively American trend of representing history to the public in the "warm human" context of bourgeois domesticity.⁷² Since the house museum of the 1920s carried an explicitly didactic purpose, one cannot but wonder what audience, or historical lesson, was targeted by Carpenter's Folly.

More than any other European period, the Middle Ages were subjected to fanciful reconstructions in the earliest exhibitions of medieval antiquities in North America. During her second trip to Spain in 1906, for example, Gardner purchased architectural fragments that she installed in the Spanish Cloister of Fenway Court; the Gothic Room, Long Gallery, and Chapel also integrated medieval elements from diverse times and regions.⁷³ The grandest medieval folly was George Grey Barnard's Cloisters Museum in Washington Heights, New York, which opened its doors in 1914 (Fig. 8). Barnard had bought four French monastic cloisters in 1906–1907, shipped them to the United States, and reconstructed them inside a new brick shell. The architectural fragments were reconfigured into a composite seeking to create a dramatic mood rather than a truthful reconstruction. The architectural fantasy was complemented by candlelight, medieval chants, incense, and museum guides dressed in monastic habit. Museums in Cleveland and Detroit immediately adopted the reconstructive strategy for their medieval antiquities. Medieval portals were installed in the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1932, while the Toledo Museum of Art imported additional architecture in 1933. After buying Barnard's second collection

69. The house museums embody anxiety over the influx of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, clear from a passage in the 1925 guidebook to the Metropolitan Museum of Art: "The tremendous change in the character of our nation, and the influx of foreign ideas utterly at variance with those held by the men who gave us the Republic, threaten us and, unless checked, may shake its foundations"; cited in Kaufmann 1990, p. 46.

70. Cortisoz 1925, p. 105.

71. Coleman 1933.

72. The didactic function of house museums is best represented by the Euthenics Building (Blodgett Hall) at Vassar College, which housed a social museum. History professor Lucy Maynard Salmon conceived of a social museum in 1917, which opened in 1937 with an exhibition on the development of housing in New York. The domestic exhibition served as a pedagogical tool in the scientific training of housewives; see Van Lengen and Reilly 2004, p. 101. For the relationship between the House Beautiful movement

and aestheticism, see Gere and Hoskins 2000.

73. The Spanish Cloister framed John Singer Sargent's *El Jaleo* (1882). A 12th-century Romanesque portal from Bordeaux was surrounded by Mexican tiles. The Chapel at the end of the Long Gallery included a stained glass window from Soisson. The net effect resembled Ruskin's vision of a Venetian palazzo layered with fragments; see Goldfarb 1995, pp. 36–47, 127, 133–147.



Figure 8. Interior court of George Grey Barnard's original Cloisters Museum, ca. 1925. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

74. The above account of Barnard's activities and the history of the Cloisters is taken from Rorimer 1938; Forsyth 1992; and Smith 1996.

75. Vatalas [1926–1934] 1956–1965. The house is now under restoration.

76. The Benaki Museum was organized and maintained by Antonis Benakis until his death in 1954; see Chatzidakis 1961, pp. 7–8.

77. Stathatos donated her room to the Gennadius Library to ensure its preservation; see Meritt 1984, p. 232, pl. 4:b; Walton 1981, pp. 35–39. Stathatos's appreciation of the Gennadeion is documented in a 1947 letter to Francis Walton; see Papageorgiou 2004.

of cloisters, the Philadelphia Museum of Art also installed monumental medieval fragments in 1931. Barnard's original Cloisters were bought by Rockefeller in 1925 and installed on a grander scale at Fort Tryon Park in 1938, where they stand today as a testament to a romantic age. The notion that medieval antiquities should be fantastically reconfigured became so pervasive in American museums that it ultimately shaped the very experience of the medieval past.⁷⁴

Carpenter's Folly illustrates direct cognizance of a similar phenomenon taking place within Greece. In October 1930, the Greek banker Dionysios Loverdos opened a museum of Byzantine antiquities in time for the meeting of the Third International Byzantine Congress in Athens. The museum, Loverdos's own house on Mauromichali Street, was designed by Aristotelis Zachos; it contained 18 Byzantine-period rooms and 21 additional spaces with carved wooden ceilings, altar screens, furniture, lighting fixtures, and icons (Fig. 9).⁷⁵ During the same year, Antonis Benakis opened his own house museum that included room reconstructions, such as Helen Stathatos's gift of a complete wood-paneled room from Kozani.⁷⁶ A similar ensemble, the "Macedonian Room," was donated to the ASCSA by Stathatos and placed in the 1972 extension of the Gennadius Library, where it stands today.⁷⁷

The installations of Carpenter's Folly, the Loverdos Museum, and the original Benaki Museum have all been dismantled. The only comparable

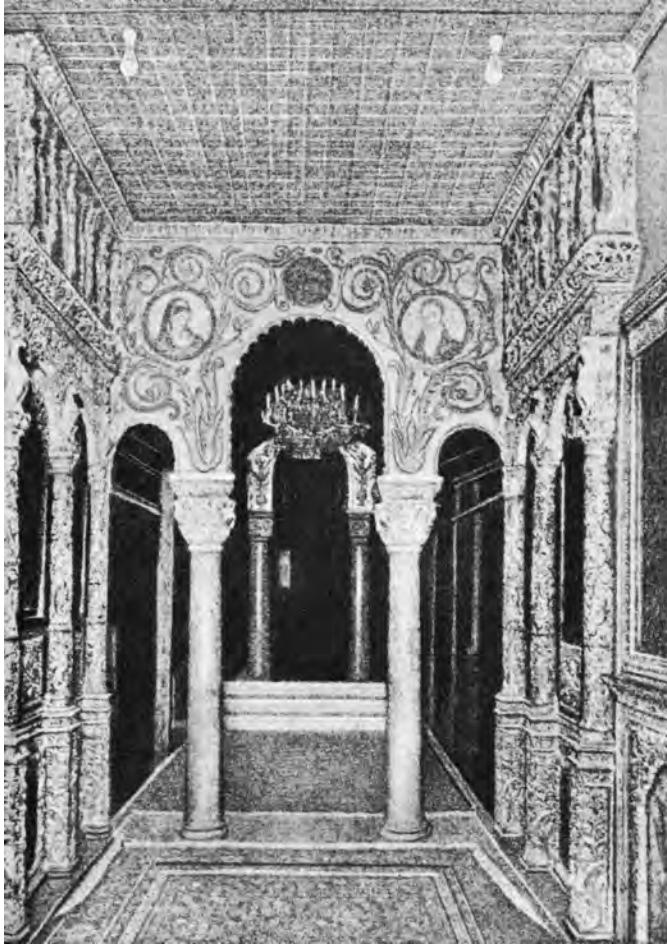


Figure 9. Aristotelis Zachos, interior drawing, Loverdos Museum, Athens, 1930. Vatalas [1926–1934] 1956–1965, p. 185

space that continues to serve its original function is the Museum of the Christian Archaeological Society, which moved to its present location in 1930, after 26 years in the Academy of Athens. Like the other museums of 1930, it contains period rooms rebuilt from disparate fragments.⁷⁸ Known as the Villa Ilissia, the building was originally designed as the home of an eccentric American and later converted to a museum, also according to Zachos's designs.⁷⁹ Although we have no direct evidence that archaeologists at Corinth knew Zachos personally, it is likely that they were familiar with his work. Carpenter's Folly and Zachos's Saint Paul Cathedral in New Corinth (Fig. 10) were contemporary, both designed in 1930. Like Carpenter's Folly, the cathedral recycled the lessons of Corinth's Byzantine archaeology into a modern, albeit more purist, fabrication.⁸⁰ The archaeology

78. Rooms A, C, and D are replicas of, respectively, an Early Christian basilica, a Byzantine church, and a post-Byzantine church; see Sotiriou 1962, pp. 7, 10, 13, figs. 1–3.

79. The Villa Ilissia was designed by Stamatis Kleanthis (a student of Karl Friedrich Schinkel) for Sophie de Mar-

bois, of Philadelphia, in 1840–1848. De Marbois was the granddaughter of William Moore, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1781; she acquired the aristocratic status of "Duchesse de Plaisance" through her husband, Charles Lebrun

(son of Napoleon's Minister of Finance), whom she divorced before moving to Greece in 1829; see Scully 1963, pp. 145–148.

80. Saint Paul Cathedral was Zachos's first fully modernist project; see Cholevas 1977, p. 62. I thank James Herbst for providing Fig. 10.



Figure 10. Aristotelis Zachos, Saint Paul Cathedral, New Corinth, 1930.
Photo J. Herbst

of Byzantine churches was more than pure scholarship; it also offered guidance in the creation of a modern Greek ecclesiastical style.⁸¹

Zachos is the earliest modern architect to foster an appreciation for Byzantine architecture and its employment in the creation of a modern Greek identity.⁸² After completing his education in Germany, Zachos became assistant to Josef Durm, the public works administrator for Baden (1900–1906). When Durm traveled through Greece to conduct research for a book on ancient Greek architecture, he was accompanied by Zachos, whose drawings were included in the volume.⁸³ Zachos remained in Greece and worked as an architect. Among his early designs is the Church of Saint Nikon in Sparta, and an essay he wrote in 1911 on vernacular architecture became the manifesto for the architecture of the 1920s.⁸⁴ Along with Dimitris Pikionis and Angeliki Chatzimichali, Zachos was the founder of a Greek modernism fostering the scientific study of Byzantium and vernacular arts.⁸⁵ In 1924–1927, Zachos designed a residence for Chatzimichali in the Plaka in Athens (currently the Center for Folk Art and Tradition).

81. In order to avoid negative associations with medieval conservatism, modern Greek architects sought Early Byzantine rather than Middle Byzantine prototypes. Since only a few Early Byzantine buildings survived (e.g., Saint Dimitrios and the Acheiropoietos in Thessaloniki), architects depended on archaeological investigations; see Sotiriou 1929.

82. Zachos was born in Macedonia and studied architecture in Munich (1889–1895) as well as Stuttgart and Karlsruhe (1895–1900). For a general account of his life and architecture, see Giakoumatos 1991; Philippidis 1984, pp. 175–178, 205–208.

83. See, e.g., Zachos's drawing of Knossos in Durm 1910, vol. 2.1, pl. III. Piet de Jong executed a similar perspec-

tive drawing in 1928–1929; see Hood 1998, p. 250.

84. Zachos 1911; Thomopoulos 1908–1909, pp. 76–77. Saint Nikon in Sparta was completed by Orlandos.

85. For a history of this movement, see Philippidis 1999, pp. 12–25; for the history of folklore in Greece, see Herzfeld 1986.



Figure 11. Aristotelis Zachos, Angeliki Chatzimichali's house, Athens, 1924–1927. Photo K. Kourelis

This neo-Byzantine domestic structure (Fig. 11) exhibits distinctive arched windows and articulated mullions—the same architectural features we find in Carpenter's idealized house museum at Corinth.

Zachos's reputation among international scholarly circles grew out of his position as restoration architect for the Basilica of Saint Dimitrios in Thessaloniki, which had burned in 1917.⁸⁶ Given the British presence in Macedonia after the Balkan Wars, strong alliances had formed among foreign architects, archaeologists, and their Greek colleagues. The excavation and restoration of Saint Dimitrios became a locus for international collaboration. In 1933, Humfry Payne, director of the British School, had arranged a Graeco-British publication of the church; the British School possessed the drawings of W. S. George that documented the mosaics before destruction.⁸⁷ Peter Megaw and Talbot Rice began research in 1935, but the book was never completed due to the deaths of Payne (1936) and Zachos (1939). The publication was taken over in 1948 by the Greek Archaeological Society and published without British contributions.⁸⁸

Although not as directly involved as the British School with Zachos's work, the ASCSA was fully cognizant of these endeavors. A book review by Richard Stillwell makes clear that by 1940 Zachos's intellectual work was recognized.⁸⁹ When American scholars traveled to Thessaloniki, they were often given personal tours of Saint Dimitrios by Zachos himself. Such a tour was given to Alison Frantz on March 24, 1930.⁹⁰

86. Zachos came into conflict with the Archaeological Service over this restoration. His use of a *cloisonné* exterior decoration made the structure seem more Byzantine, but was not supported archaeologically; see Theocharidou-Tsaprali and Mauropoulou-Tsioumi 1985, pp. 18–24.

87. George's drawings are in the Byzantine Research Fund Archive at the British School in Athens; see Cormack 1969.

88. Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1952; see pp. ζ'–η'.

89. Stillwell 1940, p. 172.

90. M. Alison Frantz, letter to Mary K. Frantz, March 24, 1930; Alison Frantz Papers (C0772), box 8, folder 3, Princeton University Libraries.

READING BYZANTIUM: THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY

Corinth's heightened productivity in Byzantine archaeology cannot be adequately explained by the academic agendas of the scholars involved, since none of the excavators had a scholarly investment in Byzantium, let alone any formal training. Until the 1920s, Byzantium was subject to a European monopoly focusing on stylistic analysis rather than an archaeological tradition. The ASCSA's growing interest in Byzantium was surely encouraged by John Gennadius's generous donation in 1922. In accepting his library, the ASCSA embraced Gennadius's wishes "that the American School in Athens may thus become a world center for the study of Greek history, literature and art, both ancient, Byzantine and modern."⁹¹ Land was expropriated from the ASCSA's Greek Orthodox neighbor, the Petraki Monastery, and a building was constructed in 1923–1926, financed by a donation from the Carnegie Corporation.⁹² The acquisition of this premier collection of books placed the ASCSA in the forefront of post-Classical studies.

It is clear, however, that the direction of research was conceived as a bibliophilic rather than an archaeological endeavor. Indeed, some of the first intellectual contributions of the Gennadeion were the publication of selected bindings (1924), the purchase of Ernst Gerland's Byzantine library (1935), the donation of Heinrich Schliemann's archives by his daughter, Andromache Schliemann Melas (1936), and the purchase of the Grimani folios, a set of 42 military maps from the Venetian period (1938).⁹³ The library established a monograph series in 1940 in which Shirley Weber's catalogue of books on early travelers was published.⁹⁴

The only archaeological contribution made by the Gennadeion was indirect, involving Kevin Andrews, the single fellow at the ASCSA in 1947. Unable to travel widely through Greece at that time, Andrews was encouraged by Weber to study the Grimani folios. While on a Fulbright scholarship, Andrews toured the Peloponnese between 1948 and 1951, collecting archaeological evidence for his *Castles of the Morea*, while also befriending participants in the Civil War.⁹⁵ Andrews's left-wing awakening led to his disenfranchisement with the ASCSA in the postwar period, and he renounced his United States citizenship in 1975. Certainly, possession of the Gennadius Library influenced the general climate of the ASCSA, but it only marginally affected the archaeological agenda. The Grimani drawings of Corinth published by Andrews, for example, appear to have been of little interest to archaeologists until recently.⁹⁶

The motivation to study Byzantium in Corinth was driven by cultural forces that had already appropriated Byzantium in response to the aesthetic challenges of modernity, independently of archaeology. Internal academic questions provided minimal inspiration compared to the impact presented by external debates on architecture, art, and aesthetics. It is therefore necessary to reconstruct the general appeal of Byzantium in contemporary society—both Greek and American—and to provide evidence from writings, letters, memoirs, and archives showing that the ASCSA members were acutely aware of these forces at a personal and social level.

91. John Gennadius, letter to Edward Capps and Mitchell Carroll, March 29, 1922, quoted in Capps's 1921–1922 annual report; see Lord 1947, p. 152.

92. Between 1883 and 1929, Andrew Carnegie financed the construction of over 2,500 libraries throughout the world; Van Slyck 1995.

93. Paton 1924; Lord 1947, pp. 153, 161, 218, 253, 255, 266.

94. Weber 1952, 1953.

95. Andrews 1953, 1959, 2006.

96. David G. Romano, director of the Corinth Computer Project, undertook the first cartographic exploration of the Venetian fortifications in 1992; <http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu> (accessed January 2007).

COLLEGIATE AESTHETICISM

Until the late 19th century, a predominantly Protestant America had little interest in the study of “Papist” medieval Europe. When Norton, the ASCSA’s founder, appropriated an Arts and Crafts educational model for Harvard University, he propagated a nascent interest in the artistic universe of the Middle Ages. Ruskin, who discovered Byzantium in the monuments of Venice, became supremely influential in the education of young American intellectuals. As was the case at Oxford and Cambridge, Anglo-Catholicism gained popularity among the aesthetes of the Ivy League by offering an avenue of rebellion from America’s Puritan and Quaker ancestry. This transgressive affection for Catholicism brought about a wave of religious conversion, most famously by T. S. Eliot, and even a revival of medieval crafts, such as Henry Chapman Mercer’s Moravian Pottery and Tile Works in Doylestown, Pennsylvania.⁹⁷

Harvard’s aesthetes of the early decades of the 20th century had effectively replicated Oscar Wilde’s Oxford of the 1890s. Malcolm Cowley, chief spokesman for the Lost Generation, described their habits as follows: “They discussed the harmonies of Pater, the rhythms of Aubrey Beardsley and, growing louder, the voluptuousness of the Church, the essential virtue of prostitution. They had crucifixes in their bedrooms, and ticket stubs from last Saturday’s burlesque show at the Old Howard.”⁹⁸ In a satirical poem, Ezra Pound included the American aesthete in a list of seven national types: “This little American went to Oxford. He rented Oscar’s late rooms. He talked about the nature of the Beautiful. He swam in the wake of Santayana. He had a great cut glass bowl full of lilies. He believed in Sin. His life was immaculate. He was the last convert to catholicism.”⁹⁹ This aesthetic milieu, moreover, gave birth to a gay subculture that was active in the halls of the Ivy League but guarded from public view. Clothed in a new architectural style, a “gay Gothic,” American homosexuality began its social synthesis in academic candlelight until its full-fledged public outing in the 1960s.¹⁰⁰

Whether straight or gay, a generation of American graduates in the 1890s–1920s was exposed to a highly poeticized version of the Middle Ages radiating from the college curriculum and undergraduate friendships.¹⁰¹

97. Reed 1987; McNelly Kearns 1994. For a general overview of the Aesthetic movement, see Lambourne 1996.

98. Cowley 1934, pp. 37–38. The term “Lost Generation” was coined by Gertrude Stein and made popular by Ernest Hemingway; it refers to a generation of Americans who came of age between World War I and the Great Depression.

99. From the poem “Stark realism (This little pig went to the market): A Search for the national type,” Pound 1918, p. 46.

100. For the history of homosexual-

ity at Harvard University and the term “gay Gothic,” see Shand-Tucci 2003, p. 108; 2005, p. xxi. For the particular affinities of Anglo-Catholicism with a gay subculture, see Hilliard 1982. Current debates over homosexual bishops in the American Episcopal Church reflect this intellectual tradition of acceptance; see Boyer 2006.

101. Harvard’s Class of 1908 alone included the circle of George Howe (modernist architect), George Biddle (painter), Van Wyck Brooks (literary historian), Edward Brewster Sheldon (playwright), John Hall Wheelock

(poet and editor), Alfred Vincent Kidder (archaeologist), and Charles Louis Seeger (musician and musicologist); see Stern 1975, p. 9. Similarly, in 1902, Ezra Pound, H(ilda) D(oolittle), and William Carlos Williams (poets) and Charles Demuth (painter) established lifelong friendships at the University of Pennsylvania, where they collectively formulated a strand of American modernism; see Crunden 1993, pp. 83–101. For the artistic and intellectual alliances among America’s “strange bedfellows” of the early avant-garde, see Watson 1991.

So, too, the ASCSA was populated by recent college graduates whose education was shaped by aestheticism. Although they pursued classics and archaeology, many kept contacts with future members of the avant-garde. George Cram Cook and Susan Glaspell, founders of the Provincetown Players in 1915, offer a noteworthy example.¹⁰² Cook and his closest friend, John Alden, received a basic aesthetic education in Norton's Fine Arts courses at Harvard. After graduation, Alden went to Athens as an ASCSA fellow (1893–1894) and narrated his experiences in letters to Cook. Alden's correspondence is infused with the language of sensual desire learned under the tutelage of Norton and Harvard's aesthetic circles: "Two months I stayed in Athens with your name often in my memory, sometimes on my lips. . . . Athens is all that you fancy make it—a glorious relic framed in the loveliest beauties." While excavating in Chania, the "quaint Venetian walled city of the Levant," Alden wrote, "I am beginning to speak and understand Greek. My life over there in America seems part of a dream past. I am become a creature of the seasons, of horseback rides and encounters with wild and dirty peasantry, of sweet tawny wine."¹⁰³

Two decades later Cook and Glaspell would experience this sensuality directly. When the Provincetown Players became too mainstream in 1922, the founders dismantled the group, left Manhattan altogether, and moved to Greece, where they cultivated a rarified pastoral existence with the shepherds on Mount Parnassos. While in Greece, the couple socialized with Greek members of the theater world and with intellectual refugees from Asia Minor. More importantly, Cook and Glaspell intersected with the ASCSA's archaeological community through their friend Lulu Geneva Eldridge, who was Hetty Goldman's assistant at the excavations at Colophon.¹⁰⁴ Alden (in 1898) and Eldridge (in 1922) thus provided repeated points of connection between the ASCSA and the theatrical avant-garde.

Cook and Glaspell were not the first American bohemians to "go native" in Greece. Two decades earlier, in 1903, Isadora Duncan and her brother Raymond had moved to Mount Hymettos. Their house at Kopanos formed the basis of an alternative community through which Raymond and his wife, Penelope Sikelianos, experimented in theater, music, and weaving. From Kopanos, for example, Isadora Duncan assembled a Byzantine vocal ensemble, her Greek Choir, which she took on tour in 1904 to Vienna, Munich, and Berlin.¹⁰⁵ Far from being reclusive expatriates, Duncan, Cook, and Glaspell represented a new kind of celebrity, whose experimental lifestyle captured the attention of the national and

102. The Provincetown Players, the earliest American experimental theater group, included luminaries such as Eugene O'Neill and Edna St. Vincent Millay; see Bigsby 1982, pp. 9–23.

103. Quoted in Glaspell 1927, p. 69. Reports from the ASCSA's Cretan Expedition appeared in the first issues of *AJA* (1897–1898). Alden died

in 1914; see Lord 1947, p. 367.

104. Eldridge was an ASCSA fellow in 1922–1923; see Glaspell 1927, p. 354; Lord 1947, pp. 142, 376; Davis 2003, p. 155, fig. 3.

105. For the alternative community created by the Duncan "Clan," see Duncan 1927, pp. 125–126; Duncan, Pratl, and Splatt 1993, pp. 53–59.

international press. Although prominent in public life, their archaeological compatriots carried out more subdued lives, seeking the social propriety and moral rectitude required by the very public opinion that granted them permits for excavation and research. Their bohemian friends capitalized on shock and notoriety, proto-hippies parading through the streets of Athens in funny clothes. The archaeologists, on the other hand, conducted their social rebellion discreetly.¹⁰⁶

ARCHITECTURAL TASTE

Through early aestheticism, the first 20th-century ASCSA fellows were inducted into the appreciation of medieval culture emerging not only from the collegiate circles of Ruskin and Norton, but also from contemporary architectural education and general taste. The Gothic Revival movement brought about an anti-classical cultural prototype that flourished through the 1920s into an outgrowth of historicist styles. When Stillwell completed his architectural education at Princeton University in 1921, for example, he did not go immediately to the ASCSA but instead joined 30 other students in the Architectural Restoration Project in France. Communally, they rebuilt monuments damaged during World War I, including a town hall near Rheims.¹⁰⁷ George H. Forsyth Jr., another Princeton student and the future director of the Mount Sinai Expedition, received his archaeological education excavating the pre-Romanesque levels of Saint Martin at Angers, where “stratigraphical techniques developed by classical archaeologists” were first applied.¹⁰⁸ A sophisticated appreciation of medieval architecture had become central in the education of architectural fellows arriving at the ASCSA, and even the students without architectural training could not remain immune to current tastes.

Byzantine and Romanesque styles had entered American church design in order to distinguish Low Church Episcopalian parishes from their High Church brethren that preferred the Gothic style.¹⁰⁹ H. H. Richardson’s Church of the Holy Trinity in Boston (1877) and other commissions throughout North America popularized the Romanesque more broadly and introduced Byzantine elements into fashion. Tiffany’s 1893 Columbian Exhibition chapel (Fig. 1, above) marks the popularity of a neo-Byzantine style that peaked in the work of architects Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram

106. Pounder’s study (2006) of the correspondence between Bert Hodge Hill, Ida Thallon Hill, Carl Blegen, and Elizabeth Pierce Blegen shows the inter-workings of alternative family structures.

107. Stillwell 1921; Shear 1983, p. 423.

108. The excavations were carried out in six summer seasons in 1929–1933 and 1936. Stratigraphic methods were introduced by William A. Camp-

bell of Wellesley College, the field director of the Princeton Antioch expeditions; see Forsyth 1953, p. v. Beginning in 1954, Forsyth also worked in the Byzantine Institute’s excavations of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul; see Ousterhout 2004, pp. 37–38, pl. 33.

109. Through most of the 19th century, Byzantine architecture was seen as synonymous with the Romanesque and the *Rundbogenstil*. One of the earliest

churches to use the “Byzantine or Early Christian style of architecture” was Leopold Eidlitz and Charles Otto Blesch’s Saint George’s Episcopal Church in New York (1846–1849), and John Notman’s Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia (1857); see Curran 2003, pp. 259–293. For a general history of the Byzantine revival in the United States, see Bullen 2003, pp. 186–225.

Goodhue.¹¹⁰ Cram and Goodhue infused Byzantium into the American urban environment in their designs for college campuses (Rice University, Houston, 1909), churches (Saint Bartholomew's, New York, 1914–1919), and government buildings (Nebraska State Capitol, Lincoln, 1920–1932). Cram's own list of America's greatest churches in 1928 included six neo-Byzantine buildings.¹¹¹ Even the first skyscraper in New York, Cass Gilbert's Woolworth Building (1914), contained a Byzantine lobby inside a neo-Gothic exterior shell.¹¹² Thus, an ordinary American citizen was increasingly surrounded by a home-grown Byzantium. Arguably, Norton's aestheticism had migrated from the college campus of the late 1890s into public society of the 1920s. Medieval aesthetic styles functioned as a "Trojan horse" within American society, a coded assault upon conservative values laden with sexual, albeit closeted, rebellion.¹¹³

Cram's "Hellenic Byzantine dream" became a reality when he traveled to Greece in 1929. In this journey, he met Thomas Whittemore, who accompanied him to Mount Athos.¹¹⁴ Whittemore, founder of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, was a vital link between Byzantium, the Parisian avant-garde, and wealthy American donors.¹¹⁵ When Cram visited Greece, Stillwell was the assistant professor of architecture at the ASCSA, accumulating greater responsibility in the Corinth excavations. Cram and Stillwell did not meet, as their circles did not directly intersect, but Cram had influenced Stillwell's life earlier. While completing his Master's of Fine Arts at Princeton University in 1925, Stillwell witnessed with great admiration the construction of Cram's chapel on the campus, designed in a High Gothic style. Half a century later, Stillwell mined those early experiences and published a monograph on the building.¹¹⁶ Even if not affected by architectural education, like Stillwell, the average American could not escape the modern excitement of medieval revivalism springing up throughout the country's urban centers, a style that in the 1920s would seamlessly mutate into Art Deco abstractions.¹¹⁷ As the Gothic Revival of the late 19th century transformed into vibrant eclecticism in the 1910s–1930s, Byzantine architecture was naturalized. When American archaeologists met the prototypes of this style in Greece, they were not likely to ignore it, even if the classicists urged them to quickly dig through it.

110. Oliver 1983.

111. Trinity College in Washington, D.C., Saint Benedict's in Detroit, Westminster Presbyterian in Sacramento, Saint Francis de Sales in Philadelphia, the Transfiguration in Philadelphia, and Saint Vincent de Paul's in Buffalo; see Cram 1929, pp. 34–40, 118–119, 131–136, 199–200.

112. Designed in collaboration with the New York decorators Paris and Wiley; see Irish 1999, pp. 118–120.

113. I borrow the term "Trojan horse" from Shand-Tucci (see n. 100,

above), who considers Cram's homosexuality central to his architectural expression.

114. Shand-Tucci 2005, pp. 264–267.

115. For Whittemore and the Byzantine Institute, see Teteriatnikov 2004.

116. Cram was the supervising architect for Princeton's campus between 1907 and 1929; see Stillwell 1971; Rhinehart 2000, pp. viii, 49–53.

117. See, e.g., Raymond Hood's American Radiator Building, New York (1924); Benton 2003, p. 249.

MODERNIST AESTHETICS

The disrespect for Byzantine art nurtured by the neoclassical tradition is precisely what made Byzantine aesthetics appealing to avant-garde iconoclasts. Neo-Byzantine architectural styles were complemented by neo-Byzantine aesthetics propagated in Post-Impressionist painting and the manifestos of modernism. Although rehabilitated by Ruskin, the Arts and Crafts movement, and Norton, Byzantine art was considered by many intellectual circles to be uninteresting, if not degenerate. From a formalist point of view, however, Byzantine art offered ammunition with which to discredit the tradition of western art, the “disease” launched by the Italian Renaissance.¹¹⁸ France discovered Byzantium through Russia, from Victor Hugo’s early flirtations with icons to Henri Matisse’s Russian trip of 1911.¹¹⁹ Germany discovered Byzantium through Wilhelm Worringer, whose theory of abstraction and empathy paved the ground for Expressionism and influenced Anglo-American aesthetics through the writings of T. E. Hulme.¹²⁰ Even the Soviet Union embraced some Byzantine principles after the revolution.¹²¹

America also discovered Byzantium through art (Cézanne, Matisse, Post-Impressionism) and, most specifically, through the endorsement of Roger Fry of the Bloomsbury Group. Fry’s influential theory, enshrined in his 1917 essay “Art and Life,” singled out Byzantium as the only historical precedent of Post-Impressionism. Accordingly, Impressionism marked the end of a long history of realistic representation, “the tendency to approximate the forms of art more and more exactly to the representation of the totality of appearance,” and Post-Impressionism furnished a clean break. Fry equated Impressionism with Roman art (a development of Classical art) and Post-Impressionism with Byzantine art, the single precedent for the modernist rupture: “the greatest revolution in art had taken place since Graeco-Roman impressionism became converted into Byzantine formalism.”¹²² The love for Byzantium among members of the Bloomsbury Group can be seen in the paintings of Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant, as well as in the writings of Clive Bell and Virginia Woolf.¹²³

Fry’s defense of Post-Impressionist art vis-à-vis Byzantium crossed the Atlantic in 1905–1906, when Fry was employed as director of paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. His influence on Isabella

118. For the vocabulary of “disease,” see Bell 1914, p. 156.

119. For an overview of France’s relationship with Byzantine art, see Spieser 1991; Cormack 1994. For Matisse’s formative journey to Moscow, see Hilton 1969–1970; Rusakov and Bowlt 1975. Matisse’s daughter married the Byzantine art historian Georges Duthuit, who propagated his father-in-law’s relationship with Byzantium to a larger audience; see Duthuit 1949; Elderfield 1992, p. 293; Lewis 2007.

120. Worringer [1908] 1953.

121. Most evident in Kazimir Malevich’s Suprematist movement; see Birnholz 1972–1973, p. 149; Guggenheim Museum et al. 1992, pls. 398–414.

122. Fry [1917] 1981, pp. 7–8; see also Foster et al. 2004, vol. 1, p. 73.

123. Vanessa Bell, *Byzantine Lady* (1912); Duncan Grant, *Bathing* (1911); Bell 1914; Woolf [1925] 1984. For the connections between Byzantinism and modernism in England and the Bloomsbury Group, see Bullen 1999.

Stewart Gardner, Matthew Pritchard (assistant director of Fenway Court), and J. P. Morgan during this period steered American patronage and taste in irreversible directions.¹²⁴ Morgan's acquisition of the Stavelot Triptych, the Fieschi Morgan True Cross Reliquary, and the Cypriot silver plates testifies to the monumental shift in tastes.¹²⁵ Appreciation of Byzantium, in this case, took an indirect route from Post-Impressionist art in France, to aesthetic theory in England, to collecting preferences in America. The journey, however, does not conclude at Fenway Court and the Metropolitan Museum, but loops back to the origins of Byzantine art, once again in the context of Corinth. The Morgan family's predilections were wholly relevant to the ASCSA, as J. P. Morgan Jr. financially supported excavations at Corinth between 1924 and 1927.¹²⁶ Morgan's archaeological interests began soon after Fry's arrival, with the funding of the Metropolitan Museum Expedition to Egypt (1906–1935) and the Princeton University Expedition to Sardis (1914–1922), directed by Howard Crosby Butler. As Helen Evans has illustrated, Morgan's attraction to the oriental Middle Ages was complex, springing from a High Episcopalian distrust of Catholicism and a sense of class superiority over those Irish and Italian immigrants who claimed a direct clerical heritage with the western Middle Ages. In Morgan's eyes, the Christian art of Egypt and Greece was primitive and oriental, hence sufficiently removed from the theological and social conflicts of contemporary America.¹²⁷

Fry, Bell, Worringer, Cézanne, and Matisse wedded Byzantium with modernism, a relationship celebrated in the 1931 Exposition Internationale d'Art Byzantin in Paris.¹²⁸ American collectors invigorated the traditional ties with Paris, through which a new taste for Byzantium and modernism was physically imported.¹²⁹ Even if her father disliked modern art, Abby Rockefeller began collecting those European works that had shocked New York at the Armory Show in 1913. "Art is one of the greatest resources of life," she wrote in 1928, and with her friend Lillie Bliss's donations of artwork by Cézanne, Seurat, Picasso, Matisse, and Modigliani, Rockefeller founded the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York.¹³⁰ MoMA held the first exhibition of Matisse in 1930, coinciding with the artist's

124. Strouse 2000, pp. 22–23, 57, 58. In 1917, Jack P. Morgan Jr. donated his father's collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

125. Fry encouraged the purchase of Byzantine artifacts even after his dismissal in 1909. Between 1905 and 1912, moreover, Morgan bought shares in the *Burlington Magazine*, which Fry and Bernard Berenson had founded in 1903. Nevertheless, Fry disliked the purchasing style of his patron and wrote a pejorative account of Morgan's 1907 Italian shopping spree, which he gave to Virginia Woolf. Woolf published it in 1940, upsetting Jack

Morgan; see Woolf 1940, pp. 134–148; Strouse 1999, pp. 570–571, 618.

126. Hill 1926, p. 44; Lord 1947, pp. 172, 184, 195.

127. Evans 2005. For Morgan's relationship to Saint George Episcopal Church in New York, including his choice of architects, see Strouse 1999, pp. 273–276.

128. Robert Byron, author of *The Byzantine Achievement*, a grand Byzantinophile, and also a friend of Piet de Jong, praised the exhibition in the *Burlington Magazine*; Byron 1929, 1931.

129. The Guelph Treasure Travel Exhibition, curated by the Cleveland

Museum of Art (1930–1931), and the Dark Ages Exhibition at the Worcester Museum (1937) paved the way for the public's appreciation of Byzantium. For a history of medieval collections in America, see Smith 1996; Effros 2005. Although many objects from American collections were displayed in the Exposition in Paris, the first American exhibition dedicated exclusively to Byzantine art took place in 1947 at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore; see Miner 1947.

130. Okrent 2003, p. 126; Lynes 1973, pp. 3–65.

visit for a mural commission by Alfred Barnes.¹³¹ Across the artistic circles of Paris, Berlin, Zurich, New York, and Philadelphia, Byzantine art was coupled with primitive, African, Mesoamerican, or American folk art as a new paradigm.

In 1934 Oscar Broneer excavated a hexagonal stone column with a sculpted head in the area between the South Stoa and the West Shops at Corinth (Fig. 12).¹³² In its severe primitivism, the piece strongly resembles modern sculpture. Although not explicitly stated in the published report in *AJA*, the stylistic resemblance to modern art could not have been missed by the educated viewer, and certainly not by Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss.¹³³ While in the Foreign Service in Paris, the Blissés discovered Byzantium by way of the artists and dealers of the avant-garde. They became fanatic collectors of Byzantine and pre-Columbian art, works that were related only by their common non-western aesthetic.¹³⁴ The donation of their antiquities to Harvard University in 1940 led to the founding of Dumbarton Oaks Museum and research centers for Byzantine and pre-Columbian studies. Although carefully disguised by a mantle of academic conservatism, Dumbarton Oaks is the child of the same subjective choices that informed the establishment of MoMA. Just as modernism severed its links with tradition (19th-century historicism), it forged alternative genealogies located in Byzantium. Modernism's deep Byzantine roots continued to inspire postwar aesthetic discourse. Clement Greenberg's essay "Byzantine Parallels" indicates that New York in the 1950s was as much invested in these roots as was Paris in the 1930s.¹³⁵ Glenn Peers has shown that Robert Smithson, Willem de Kooning, Barnett Newman, and Mark Rothko carried a Byzantine torch that was supported by patrons such as John and Dominique de Menil of Houston, Texas.¹³⁶

Byzantium aside, we must also note archaeology's inherent methodological affinities with the emergence of modernism. The growth of archaeology as a scientific discipline directly influenced modernist poetics in its attention to clarity, reason, and objectivism. The corporeal sensibilities of Ezra Pound and James Joyce were produced by a keen awareness of archaeological practices, which at the turn of the century de-romanticized the literary classical canon.¹³⁷ The anti-heroic focus on decadent periods, dumps, domestic interiors, crafts, and modes of production was instrumental in materializing an artificially idealized past and allowing Joyce's *Ulysses* to supplant the Homeric ideal with Stephen Dedalus, Buck Mulligan, and Leopold and Molly Bloom.¹³⁸ Archaeology's growing quotidian rigor assisted in sharpening the aesthetic appreciation of daily



Figure 12. Medieval sculpture (S-1772) excavated between the South Stoa and the West Shops at Corinth, 1934. Photo courtesy Corinth Excavations, neg. 3849

131. The mural is currently located at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, a suburb of Philadelphia; see Hart 1963, p. 119; Elderfield 1992, p. 296.

132. Broneer 1935, p. 70, fig. 13.

133. Consider, e.g., resemblances to Matisse's *Jeannette V* (1916).

134. For the Blissés' intriguing habits of collecting, including their

willingness to disregard antiquities laws, see Nelson 2005.

135. Greenberg [1958] 1961.

136. Duthuit's journal *Transition* directly informed American art in the late 1940s and 1950s; see Peers 2005, and n. 119, above. I thank Glenn Peers for providing me with the unpublished manuscript of his work.

137. For the influence of archaeology on Pound and Joyce, see Kenner 1971, pp. 44–49.

138. Joyce 1922. If archaeology influenced Joyce, did Joyce influence archaeology? We can verify that at least one archaeologist, Humfry Payne, was a devoted reader of Joyce; see Powell 1943, p. 10.

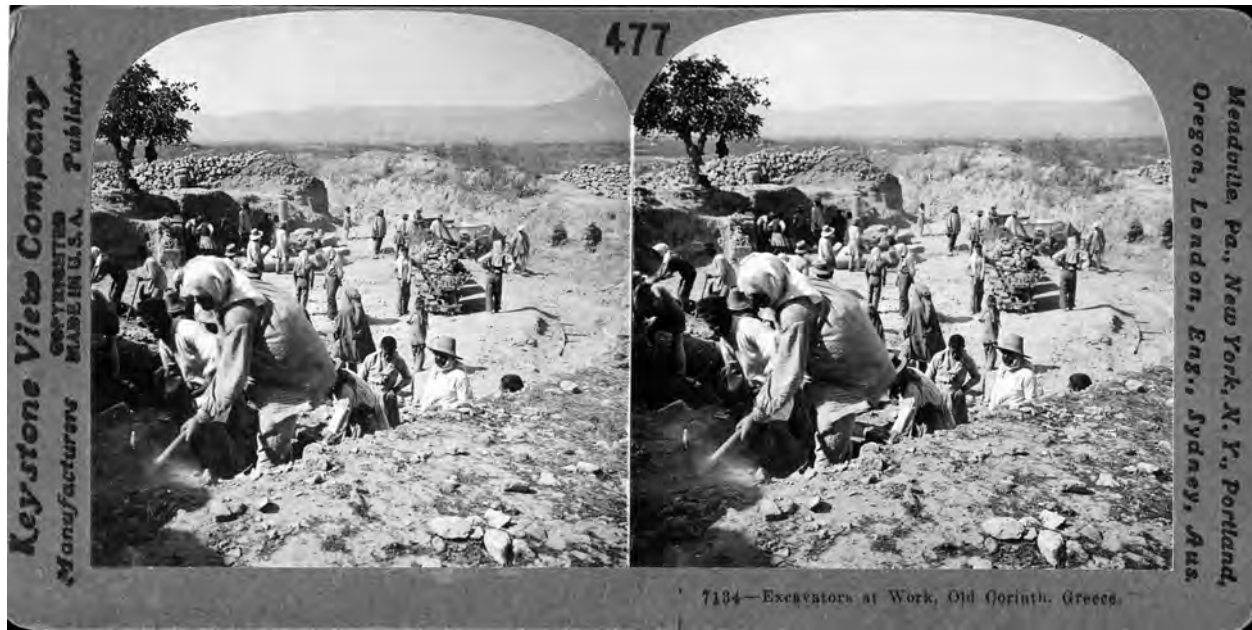


Figure 13. "Excavators at Work, Old Corinth, Greece," 1906. Keystone View Company, no. 477

life (ancient and modern) and its banalities. On occasion, this bad-boy archaeological admiration led to extreme actions, such as Picasso possessing two Archaic Iberian heads (not unlike the Corinthian head published by Broneer) that had been stolen from the Louvre.¹³⁹ The fascination with archaeological realities is also evident in visual works exploring the process of excavation, such as George Bellows's *Pennsylvania Station Excavation* (1907). Bellows was a left-wing painter from Ohio associated with the Ashcan Group and was greatly admired by Charles Morgan, who wrote his biography.¹⁴⁰

The Corinth excavations disseminated an identity of objectivist practice not only through the scholarly use of photography, as seen in autochrome and aerial cartography, but also in popular media. Between 1906 and 1935, a stereographic photograph entitled "Excavators at Work, Old Corinth, Greece" (Fig. 13) was used as a visual aid to teach American schoolchildren "the actual process of excavating an ancient site." The text on the back of the photograph goes on to say that "every ancient fragment, however unimportant seemingly, is carefully retained. Of itself it may be worthless; in connection with others it may be priceless."¹⁴¹ Keystone View Company stereographs were sanctioned by university elites and sold to primary and secondary schools; photography came to the aid of general education,

139. Géry Pieret stole the sculptures and offered them to Picasso in 1907. Picasso, who had earlier modeled the famous *Portrait of Gertrude Stein* (1906) on such antiquities, kept the stolen pieces in his studio. The theft of the *Mona Lisa* in 1911 forced the artist to return the sculptures to the Louvre; see Foster et al. 2004, vol. 1, pp. 81, 106.

On Picasso and Stein, see Giroud 2006.

140. Morgan 1965; Doezema 1992, pp. 9–65. Bellows gained popularity immediately after his premature death with a retrospective held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1925.

141. Keystone View Company, no. 477.

while enhancing its own discourse of scientific discipline.¹⁴² Thus, Corinth popularized the dusty work of excavation and the thankless procedures of a factual realism for a wide audience. The ASCSA's deployment of photography to increase public awareness continued in the 1940s. The album *This Is Greece* (1941) and the documentary film *Triumph over Time* (1947) brought archaeologists to the service of the reconstruction.¹⁴³

ARTISTIC AGENTS: PIET DE JONG AND GEORGE V. PESCHKE

The ASCSA was not a common destination for artists, architects, and literati, making it difficult to document direct threads of artistic and archaeological interaction. Morgan's biography of Bellows, mentioned above, suggests that connections existed at an intellectual level.¹⁴⁴ Carpenter's scholarship also reveals an intimate knowledge of contemporary art; in the 1933 Martin Lectures, for example, he theorized "the venerable quarrel between the scientist and the humanist" in both modern art and archaeology.¹⁴⁵ Carpenter was one of the ASCSA's most creative directors and certainly its only poet.¹⁴⁶ In the absence of famous artists-in-residence, the connection between archaeology and artistic production can be detected in the personnel that labored quietly behind the excavation scenes. Piet de Jong and George Vinko von Peschke, or the Baron von Peschke, were two such individuals; employed as project architects, surveyors, illustrators, and draftsmen, they left an indelible mark on the artistic consciousness of the ASCSA.

Piet de Jong was a British architect of Dutch descent educated in Leeds. Like Stillwell, who volunteered his services to the reconstruction of France in 1921, de Jong discovered Greece altruistically. In 1919 he joined the East Macedonian Reconstruction Service in order to rebuild towns destroyed during the Balkan Wars. De Jong and his close friend Austen St. Barbe

142. The Keystone View Company, founded in 1892, bought out its competitors (Underwood and Underwood) and by 1935 held 2 million negatives; see Darrah 1964, pp. 109–116. Bert Underwood, cofounder of Underwood and Underwood, shot some of the company's photographs of Greece, including an 1897 photograph entitled "The mountain stronghold of Davelis and his band who started the Graeco-Turkish War"; see Darrah 1977, p. 47, fig. 66. On factuality, photography, and the avant-garde, see Buchloh 1984.

143. Frantz and Talcott 1941; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2007.

144. Morgan 1965. Artists and architects from the American Academy in Rome occasionally visited Greece.

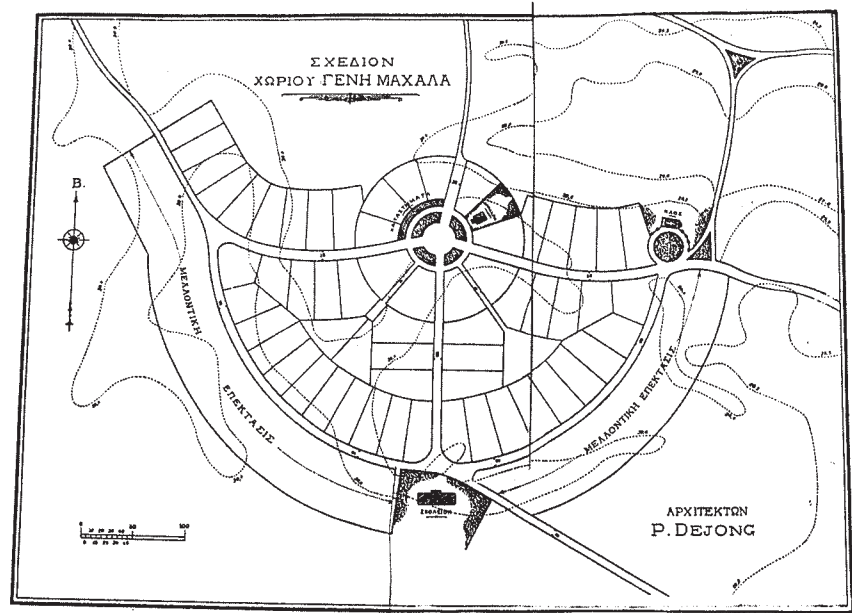
Edgar I. Williams, brother of William Carlos Williams (see n. 101, above), for example, traveled to Greece in 1908–1912 as a Rome Prize winner; his sketches were published in *Pencil Points*; see Adams 1930, p. 239. In the same journal, moreover, we find letters from Greek archaeologists addressed to America's architectural community; Philadelphus 1928.

145. Carpenter 1933, p. 129. Carpenter was generally cautious of modernist trends in painting.

146. Carpenter attended Oxford University on a Rhodes scholarship, where he began his poetic career. His poems from Oxford reveal sharp sensitivities to Greek realities. "Rhodian Swallow-Song," for example,

was based on a Greek ditty sung by children on the first day of spring, while "To a Cypress" was inspired by a visit to an Athenian cemetery; see Carpenter 1914, pp. 96–98, 104. When Alison Frantz first met Carpenter in 1929, she was delighted by his intellectual breadth, as an accomplished poet, painter, and musician; M. Alison Frantz, letter to Mary K. Frantz, September 22, 1929, Alison Frantz Papers (C0772), box 8, folder 2, Princeton University Libraries. Frederick Cooper, meeting Carpenter three decades later, indeed considered him the most well rounded individual of the ASCSA, "in a league of his own" (pers. comm.).

Figure 14. Piet de Jong, master plan for the village of Geni Machala, East Macedonian Reconstruction Service, 1919–1920. Karadimou-Gerolymou 1999, p. 243



Harrison worked under Thomas Mawson, a British landscape architect who was invited by the Greek government to assist Ernest Hébrard in the planning of Thessaloniki after the great fire of 1917.¹⁴⁷ One of eight architects and engineers in Mawson's crew, de Jong personally designed the urban layout of Kato Tzoumagia (Heraklia), Prosnik, Ormanli (Draskochori), Geni Machala (Fig. 14), and other towns.¹⁴⁸ The humanitarian endeavor was complemented with motorcycle escapades through Macedonia and visits to Mount Athos and Istanbul. In these travels, de Jong and Harrison became particularly interested in archaeology and Byzantine monuments. Harrison assisted the ephor of Byzantine antiquities in excavations around Thessaloniki and requested permission from British School director Alan Wace to conduct a survey of Hagia Sophia in Veroia. With the fall of Venizelos's government in 1920, the Reconstruction Service collapsed. The urban designs were finally executed in 1930, when Venizelos returned to power.

Harrison left Greece in 1922 to take the position of chief architect of public works in Palestine.¹⁴⁹ De Jong continued to work on commissions in Thessaloniki, but was hired at the Mycenae excavations by Wace. In 1923 he became the official architect of the British School, working at Knossos and Sparta.¹⁵⁰ De Jong's formal employment by the ASCSA began with

147. For the best biographical account of Piet and Effie de Jong, see Hood 1998, pp. 225–270.

148. Kato Tzoumagia was totally devastated during a battle between Bulgarians and Greeks in 1913, an event immortalized in the folk song “Γιαννάκης Καλάρης.” The town was rebuilt from scratch in 1930 following de Jong's plans. When Kato

Tzoumagia's residents returned, they were assigned to new houses by lottery. To the locals, de Jong's houses had a distinctively European atmosphere, different from Greek domestic architecture (Maria Mavroudi, pers. comm.). De Jong's original urban plans for Ormanli, Prosnik, and Geni Machala are reprinted in Karadimou-Gerolymou 1999, pp. 242–243.

149. Harrison continued his architectural career in Palestine, where he designed the Rockefeller Museum and Government House in Jerusalem. In the 1950s, he returned to Greece, where he retired; see Israel Museum 1995–2005.

150. For the relationship between Minoan archaeology and modernism, see Papadopoulos 2005.



Figure 15. Piet de Jong, watercolor, *Incised Plate no. 1685*. *Corinth* XI, pl. LII. Courtesy Corinth Excavations

Hetty Goldman at Halai and continued most productively in the Athenian Agora.¹⁵¹ When Frantz published her article on Late Byzantine paintings from the Agora in *Hesperia*, it was de Jong's drawings that illustrated the frescoes of Prophet Elias, Saint Charalambos, and Saint Spyridon before their demolition.¹⁵² De Jong also worked at Corinth, executing watercolors of medieval pottery for Morgan (Fig. 15).¹⁵³ De Jong's other creative project was a set of caricatures depicting the personalities of Greek archaeology.¹⁵⁴ In his portrait of Morgan (Fig. 16), de Jong inserts a visual clue referring to their collaboration at Corinth: in his right hand, Morgan holds playing cards decorated with motifs from de Jong's own watercolor of a medieval plate.¹⁵⁵ The caricatures are executed in an Art Deco style and reveal modernism's indirect influence in the work of archaeological surveyors and illustrators. While in Thessaloniki (late 1910s) and in Athens (1920s and 1930s), de Jong was undoubtedly exposed to members of modern Greek artistic and architectural circles who employed a similar visual style.¹⁵⁶

151. For de Jong's contribution in the Athenian Agora, see Papadopoulos 2007, the publication of which coincided with an exhibition on this theme at the Benaki Museum in Athens (November 15, 2006–July 1, 2007).

152. Frantz 1935; see also MacKay 2007b.

153. De Jong's original drawings of pottery from Corinth are now in the Mead Collection of Amherst College; see *Corinth* XI, pp. ii, v, pls. I, IV, V,

IX, X, XIII, XVI, XIX, XXII, XXV, XXVII, XXIX, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLVI, LII. For de Jong's drawings of similar pottery in Athens, see MacKay 2007a. After World War II, Broneer hired de Jong as architect for the South Stoa excavations; *Corinth* I.4, plans VII–XXI.

154. Hood 1998.

155. My thanks to Rachel Hood for providing Fig. 16. Proto-Majolica plate no. 789, alluded to in Morgan's

caricature, was drawn by de Jong for *Corinth* XI, pl. XXXIII.

156. De Jong's caricature style can be compared to the style of satirical drawings by Liverpool artist Edward Carter Preston; see, e.g., *Mind and Matter* (1920) in Sharples 2001, pp. 222–223, fig. 15–3; see also Compton 1999. We do not know the details of de Jong's Greek intellectual circle, but he maintained a regular presence in Greek café culture.



Figure 16. Piet de Jong, caricature of Charles H. Morgan II. Photo courtesy R. Hood, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, Oxford

Peschke, another artist who worked in American archaeological circles, was born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire ca. 1900, and served in its army during World War I. Peschke's relationship with the ASCSA began in 1931 when he worked as an illustrator for David Robinson's excavations at Olynthos, where he is best known for his drawings of the Hellenistic pebble mosaics.¹⁵⁷ In 1933 Peschke became the chief architect at Corinth, a relationship that was further formalized under Oscar Broneer in the 1940s; he was also the architect at Isthmia from 1952 until his unexpected death in March 1959.¹⁵⁸ Peschke lived a double life as an architect for archaeological projects and as an artist (not to mention flight enthusiast). Although his life has not been adequately explored, we know that he was an active member in Greek artistic circles, as well as a commanding officer in the

157. Peschke's "faithful and artistic copies" were brought to John Hopkins University; *Olynthus* V, p. vii, pls. I–VIII.

158. Peschke was Corinth architect

with Elias Skroubelos in 1946–1948; see Broneer 1951, p. 291. Leicester B. Holland, Peschke, and de Jong executed the architectural drawings of the South Stoa; see *Corinth* I.4, p. vii. For

Peschke's drawings at Isthmia, see Broneer 1953, p. 184, n. 9; 1955, p. 110, pl. 45:e; 1958, p. 1, n. 2; 1959, pp. 298, n. 1, 299, fig. 1; Wiseman 1963, pp. 248, n. 1, 251, fig. 1.



Figure 17. George V. Peschke, watercolor, *Island Scene*, 1934. Courtesy C. MacKay and M. Peschke Monaco

Greek Royal Aeroclub.¹⁵⁹ He belonged to the Society of Greek Artists and exhibited in the Society's shows (1927, 1929) and in other national exhibitions (1930s, 1940s).¹⁶⁰

Peschke executed a series of oil paintings and watercolors of Greek landscapes and folklife that stylistically resemble the work of contemporary Greek painters (Fig. 17).¹⁶¹ He thus bridged the gap between aesthetic experimentation, the Greek avant-garde, and the American archaeologists who provided an important clientele for his paintings. Even without a catalogue raisonné of Peschke's art, it is clear that ASCSA members bought his works, many of which are now in North American private collections or hang on the walls of Loring Hall and the Blegen Library at the ASCSA. Despite his Austro-Hungarian origins and American employer, Peschke portrayed himself as a Greek artist. His new identity was reinforced by marriage to a Greek from Skyros (and formerly his model). The island became his adopted home, where he lived, painted, and entertained

159. During the late 1930s, Peschke taught parachuting and air gliding on Skyros. When the Greek Royal Aero-club was established in the 1950s, he served as instructor and commanding officer; see Pikros 1999.

160. Peschke also had a few solo exhibits in Athens (1927, 1929, 1931, 1936) and Thessaloniki (1936); see Komini-Dialeti et al. 1997–2000, vol. 4, p. 27.

161. *Island Scene*, for example,

closely resembles Konstantinos Maleas's *Santorini* (1924–1925), now at the National Gallery in Athens; Mentzafou-Polyzou 2000, p. 152. I am grateful to Camilla MacKay for providing Fig. 17.



Figure 18. George V. Peschke, 1950s engraving based on a 1936 oil painting, *Shepherd from Skyros*. Syllogos Skyrion 1955[?], p. 1. Courtesy M. Peschke Monaco

ASCSA visitors. When the local Society published a folio on the art of Skyros, Peschke was one of four artists featured (Fig. 18).¹⁶²

Much research remains to be done on the life of Peschke and his role in forming the ASCSA's aesthetic tastes. A snippet from Agnes Newhall's 1931 travel diary illustrates the complex relationship that developed in Corinth between Peschke and archaeologists. She writes: "We find that Greek is our only common language and I have already heard about the nobility of his ancestors, the excellence of his paintings, the beauty of his wife (who is from Skyros), etc."¹⁶³ Two months later, Newhall, her future husband Richard Stillwell, and Dorothy Burr spent the Christmas holidays with the Peschkes on Skyros.¹⁶⁴ Thanks to the work of Chatzimichali, Skyros had become central in the dissemination of Greek vernacular culture in 1925; through the Peschkes and the Stillwells, the appeal of traditional arts (and its origins in Byzantine forms) found its place at the ASCSA. Hand-carved wooden furniture from Skyros, fashionable in Athenian interiors of the 1920s, was bought by American archaeologists.¹⁶⁵ The Stillwells

162. The other three artists were native Greek: K. Alexiou, N. Kastanakis, and K. Plakotaris; Syllogos Skyrion 1955[?], pp. 1, 4.

163. Agnes Newhall notebook entry, October 9, 1931; see Newhall 1930–1934. My thanks to Camilla MacKay for making the notebooks of Stillwell and Newhall available to me.

164. Agnes Newhall notebook entries, December 19–24, 1931; see Newhall 1930–1934.

165. The "Skyros saloni" became popular in Athenian interior design thanks to the early publication of vernacular arts; Chatzimichali 1925. The Stillwells owned furniture from Skyros (C. MacKay, pers. comm.), as did the

Blegens and Hills (N. Winter, pers. comm.). Alison Frantz bought a Skyros chair in 1929 with the money that her mother had sent for her 26th birthday; M. Alison Frantz, letter to Mary K. Frantz, December 4, 1929, Alison Frantz Papers (C0772), box 8, folder 4, Princeton University Libraries.

admired Peschke's art and bought *Island Scene* (Fig. 17) and an oil painting of a woman weaving.¹⁶⁶ Some of Peschke's work depicts Corinthian scenes, suggesting that, on some occasions, the artist and the archaeological draftsman peacefully coexisted in both subject and patronage.¹⁶⁷

ACADEMIC AGENTS: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY AND BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

The architectural and artistic avant-garde may have ushered Byzantium into the center of contemporary artistic debates, but it also highlighted a huge deficit in the historical study of this period. Byzantium's marginality in the linear narrative of the western survey required art history departments to experiment. Just as Harvard University had introduced medieval aesthetics in the late 19th century, Princeton University and Bryn Mawr College, both particularly strong in archaeology, took the lead in formalizing Byzantine art history within the curriculum during the early 20th century.

Princeton's incorporation of Byzantium followed two separate routes. Howard Crosby Butler, founder and head of the Architecture School in 1917, introduced Byzantium to the curriculum of architecture; and Charles Rufus Morey, head of the Art and Archaeology Department in 1907, incorporated Byzantium into the curriculum of art history.¹⁶⁸ Only two years after being a fellow at the ASCSA, Butler organized Princeton's archaeological expedition to Syria, which focused on Late Roman and Early Byzantine architectural remains (churches, villas, settlements) and inscriptions.¹⁶⁹ Until Butler's premature death in 1922, architectural training at Princeton incorporated the documentation of Byzantine churches and settlements, facilitating the extension of archaeology into post-Classical periods.¹⁷⁰ Princeton's Syria Expedition was innovative in utilizing undergraduates rather than local workmen in its labor force, gaining the nickname "Children's Crusade." Among Butler's students were Stillwell (who continued the Princeton tradition at Antioch), Forsyth, and Earl Baldwin Smith.¹⁷¹

166. C. MacKay, private collection.

167. Margaret Thompson owned a watercolor of Kalamaki, Corinth (1933), which was donated to the ASCSA by her sister, Miriam T. Johnson; Doreen C. Spitzer, note, May 5, 1992, ASCSA Archives. I thank Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan for this information. A magnificent large oil painting of Acrocorinth was purchased in Greece in the 1930s, and belongs to a private collector in Boston.

168. Allan Marquand offered a course on Early Christian architecture as early as 1882, but the Architecture School did not formally open until the end of World War I. For Princeton's contribution to the study of Byzantine art, see Weitzmann 1986. I thank Peter Brown for his insights on how Presby-

terianism and the Scottish Enlightenment informed Princeton's academic heritage before Norton's medievalism.

169. Butler directed three campaigns in Syria between 1899 and 1909. As first Master in Residence at Princeton's Graduate College, he was commemorated with an inscription carved in the vestibule of Procter Dining Hall (designed by Cram in 1913): "Leader in architectural education, explorer and discoverer of lost ancient cities, teacher of awakening power, comrade to all his students, a pure and noble spirit." For Butler's correspondence with students undergoing military training during World War I, see Howard Crosby Butler Correspondence 1917 (C1026), Princeton University Libraries.

170. Butler was a pioneer in study-

ing domestic architecture. Later scholarship determined that Butler's villas were not elite buildings but rural settlements. For revisions in the interpretations of settlement archaeology in Syria, from Butler (1900s) to Georges Tchalenko (1960s) to more recent views (1980s), see Foss 1995.

171. In 1932–1939, Princeton carried out an expedition to Antioch-on-the-Orontes in collaboration with the Worcester Art Museum and the Baltimore Museum of Art. Antioch's "white elephants" were its sumptuous mosaics. The Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University houses the archives of the expedition; see Brown 2001. I thank Peter Brown for sharing his notes on these archives with me.

The second force behind Byzantine studies was Morey, whose interests were far from archaeological. Morey's research focused on Early Christian art, which he divided into two grand styles, the classical neo-Attic and the painterly Alexandrine.¹⁷² In 1917, he founded the Index of Christian Art and supervised many doctoral students, including Frantz and Edward Capps Jr.¹⁷³ Thus, through the back doors of Late Antique archaeology and Early Christian art, Princeton University built an independent tradition of Byzantine studies while trickling its students into the ASCSA. During this time Princeton also amassed the greatest collection of Byzantine art in America, eclipsed only by the private collection of Dartmouth Oaks.

The archaeology program at Bryn Mawr College was founded in 1895 by Richard Norton, son of Charles Eliot Norton. Medieval studies entered Bryn Mawr's curriculum through Georgiana Goddard King, a good friend of the college's legendary first dean and second president, Martha Carey Thomas.¹⁷⁴ King taught the first class in medieval art in 1909. Thomas, who had hired Carpenter to direct the Department of Classical Archaeology, asked King to design the Department of Art History, which had newly gained its independence from Archaeology in 1913. Although King's scholarly expertise focused on medieval Spain, she actively admired modern art. She personally knew Leo and Gertrude Stein (whom she invited to Bryn Mawr in 1934) and had an early appreciation of Picasso, Matisse, Gris, Picabia, and Italian Futurism. She journeyed extensively in Europe, also taking a trip to Greece with Thomas in 1918.¹⁷⁵

As two articles on the "Little Churches in Greece" testify, Byzantine architecture was central to King's vision of art history.¹⁷⁶ Her greatest contribution to the study of Byzantine art, however, was recruiting Europe's premier art historians for Bryn Mawr's young department. Initially, King invited Josef Strzygowski, the well-known Byzantinist from Vienna. Strzygowski, who was near retirement and politically aligned with the German Nazi party, declined the invitation but recommended his student Ernst Diez, who came to Bryn Mawr in 1926. Diez (in the Department of Art History) and Carpenter (in the Department of Archaeology) became academic colleagues and collaborated in the ASCSA's publication of *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece: Hosios Lucas and Daphni*.¹⁷⁷

When Diez departed for China and India in 1930, Carpenter took over the production of the volume. *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* was an art historical landmark in both content and form, featuring an early application of stylistic analysis by Otto Demus. Demus had received his Ph.D. in 1928, under Strzygowski, and was enlisted as Diez's coauthor.¹⁷⁸ More importantly, the volume was technically innovative as the first book to use color photography for mosaics.¹⁷⁹ Art illustrations until then used black and

172. Not all students accepted Morey's schema. Edward Capps Jr., the son of the ASCSA director, did not complete his thesis with Morey because he disagreed with his Alexandrine theory; see Weitzmann 1986, p. 14.

173. Since women were not allowed to enroll at Princeton, Frantz received her Ph.D. from Columbia University.

She worked for the Index of Christian Art between 1927 and 1929. For a biographical summary, see McCredie 2000.

174. For King's contributions to the art history curriculum at Bryn Mawr, see Saunders 1981.

175. Horowitz 1994, pp. 426–428.

176. King 1924, 1926.

177. Diez and Demus 1931.

178. In 1938, Demus fled Nazi Austria and went to the Warburg Institute in London.

179. Another work of contemporary innovation in color photography was the publication of the *Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii*; see Maiuri 1931. I thank Jon Seydl for this reference.

white photographs that were later hand-painted based on artists' renderings; Diez and Demus took original color negatives. The autochrome process was introduced in 1907 by the Lumière brothers, who considered their contribution of color equal to Daguerre's contribution of form.¹⁸⁰ The use of autochromes was heralded as a turning point in art analysis, comparable to the revolution affected by Matisse's use of color. Diez writes:

There is hardly any doubt that the next phase in the study of the History of Painting will be the thorough investigation of that factor which is the most important in a picture or mosaic besides the design and composition, i.e. the *colour*. Until now, this factor had to be neglected and dismissed as largely subordinate, because satisfactory colour reproductions were not obtainable.¹⁸¹

Carpenter was equally excited about the art historical repercussions of this method, which he discussed in his lectures on humanism and archaeology.¹⁸² Byzantine color abstraction, celebrated by Fry in 1917, was therefore documented correctly for the first time in 1931.

The practical constraints in autochrome photography were considerable. A young Demus trekked through the Greek countryside with a load of glass negatives on a donkey's back.¹⁸³ Once the plates were printed, the hues had to be spot-checked against the originals by a second round of fieldwork, an enterprise undertaken by Eleanor Carpenter while residing in Greece as the ASCSA director's wife.¹⁸⁴ King had visited Daphni a few years earlier, complaining of how touristy the place was and how inattentive visitors were of its surrounding colors.¹⁸⁵ Eleanor Carpenter's attentive eyes cannot have missed the poetry of color in this legendary site. She remained true to the aesthetics of her education, and her work provides another step toward the archaeological discovery of Byzantium. Through Rhys Carpenter's patronage and Eleanor Carpenter's aesthetic labor, the ASCSA influenced the study of Byzantine art history. As a result of this volume, the mosaics at Daphni became as famous as the stained glass windows of Chartres Cathedral. A brochure from the 1939 New York World's Fair, for example, presents a stylized angel based on a figure in the Daphni mosaics.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum in Athens contains a replica of a fountain also modeled on Daphni's mosaics.¹⁸⁷

180. Color photography was championed by banker Albert Kahn, who established a project of anthropological geography in the service of world peace. Kahn's Archive of the Planet sent autochrome photographers Auguste Léon and Jean Brunhes to document the global condition; the project brought them to Greece in 1913 and 1918; see Frizot 1998, p. 423; Musée Albert Kahn 1999.

181. Diez and Demus 1931, p. vi.

182. Carpenter 1933, pp. 94–95.

183. Belting 1991, p. viii.

184. Lord 1947, p. 199. A Bryn Mawr undergraduate, Eleanor Houston

Hill may have taken King's classes before marrying Carpenter in 1918.

185. "Tourists tramp and huddle through the little courtyard without an eye for its pollards, its cypresses, and eucalyptus. . . . If they have motored down from Athens complaining of the acrid dust, they have missed all the strangeness of that world of red-and-black in which they moved; red rock and black cypress, red earth and black juniper, and sparse poppies red as those that dye the field of Marathon. . . . The wise will stay half an hour, quietly sitting on ancient marbles among the voiceless cypress trees, or in the hushed

pale-lighted narthex, or under the brooming glimmer of the dome, with its imperturbable figures about them, to wonder about the Victim, who is also the Redeemer, the Mother who has lost the child, before motoring onward to Eleusis. For as a French Academician once remarked, religions may change, but worship is the same" (King 1924, p. 24).

186. I thank Laurel Taylor for showing me this brochure, which she found in an antique store in North Carolina.

187. Sotiriou 1962, p. 3.

THE GREEK THIRTIES GENERATION

Byzantium played a paramount role in the politics, ideology, and aesthetics of Greek modernism. Archaeological attention to Byzantine monuments was inseparable from the search for Greekness (ελληνικότητα) developed by the Demoticist movement in the late 19th century and refined by the so-called Thirties Generation.¹⁸⁸ The members of this group posited Byzantine painting as the foundation for an indigenous modern art that would depose the classicism that had dominated artistic tastes and education since the foundation of the nation-state. By emulating living traditions resident in Byzantine and vernacular models, Greece could invent its own authentic modernism. The Thirties Generation appropriated Byzantium into a nationalist project, but failed to recognize how generically international its influence had become. Greeks and Americans claimed Byzantium through separate channels and agendas. Nevertheless, both groups met in Greece in the field of archaeological research.

The leading Greek modernist painters were no foreigners to archaeology, having worked in excavations and in the documentation of Byzantine art. In 1923, three years after de Jong's and Harrison's artistic pilgrimage, Photis Kontoglou and Spyros Papaloukas visited Mount Athos to study its frescoes and paint its landscapes. Kontoglou published a book on the art of the Holy Mountain, made copies for the Loverdos collection, and, along with his peers Papaloukas and Konstantinos Maleas, held exhibitions in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Mytilini.¹⁸⁹ For members of Kontoglou's circle, new and old collapsed into a unitary endeavor as they executed new paintings and restored old icons. Kontoglou was hired to work on Byzantine icons at the newly opened Byzantine Museum in Athens (1930), the Coptic Museum of Cairo (1933), and the Archaeological Museum in Corfu (1934). He restored old frescoes in Kaisariani (1932) and designed new frescoes for his home (1932) and the Zaimi Chapel in Rio (1935). Papaloukas, similarly, was commissioned to decorate the Cathedral of Amphissa (1927).¹⁹⁰ Kontoglou and Papaloukas traveled together to Paris in 1915 and met the sculptor Auguste Rodin and the poet Maurice Maeterlinck; Athos and Paris had clearly become the two reference points of Greek modernism.¹⁹¹

The gap between art and archaeology was closed by other creative collaborations. As early as 1908, archaeologist Adamantios Adamantiou employed Zachos to illustrate his research on Mistra.¹⁹² In 1931 Kontoglou worked for Adamantiou's excavations at Sparta, and in 1927 Maleas worked for Konstantinos Romaios's excavations at Thermon.¹⁹³ Maleas is also interesting because he served as chief county engineer for Thessaloniki in 1913–1917 and hence anticipated de Jong and Harrison in the East Macedonian Reconstruction Service. Thus, by the late 1920s and 1930s, working on archaeological excavations had become a standard component in the education of Greek modernists. De Jong's and Harrison's activities in Thessaloniki were in keeping with the habits of the Greek avant-garde.

From a Greek point of view, de Jong's illustrations in Frantz's first article in *Hesperia* mimicked Kontoglou's publications on similar Athenian churches, published at roughly the same time in Greek and in a French translation.¹⁹⁴ De Jong's international experiences in Macedonia must have

188. The term "Thirties Generation" initially described a literary movement; for a definition of the term, see Vitti 1977, and for a critique of the term, see Vayenas 1997. For its manifestation in the arts, see Mentzafou-Polyzou 2000, pp. 156–191.

189. Kontoglou 1932. For a comprehensive monograph on Kontoglou's life and work, see Zias 1991.

190. Lambraki-Plaka 2001, p. 674.

191. Kontoglou spent six years in Paris; see Zias 1991, pp. 16–17.

192. Adamantiou 1908–1909, pp. 132, 133, 134.

193. Adamantiou 1932, p. 96; Lambraki-Plaka 2001, p. 669.

194. Kontoglou 1932; Xyngopoulos 1933 (with illustrations by Kontoglou); Frantz 1935.

kept him abreast of the artistic repercussions surrounding his illustrations. Moreover, when de Jong and Frantz worked in the Agora churches, Kontoglou was just around the corner painting a *templon* screen at the Pantanassa in Monastiraki (1933) and icons in the Kapnikarea (1934).¹⁹⁵ Thanks to a letter that Alison Frantz wrote to her mother, we do not have to speculate whether Frantz was cognizant of Kontoglou's work.¹⁹⁶ Not only was she aware of his theories and methods, but on February 16, 1935, at 3:30 p.m., she paid a visit to the artist's house together with Lucy Talcott and a common friend, Elli Papadimitriou.¹⁹⁷

Kontoglou's house, designed in 1932 by modernist architect Kimon Laskaris, was more than a residence. The front room contained a fresco in Byzantine style, designed by Kontoglou and executed with the assistance of his disciples Nikos Engonopoulos and Yannis Tsarouchis.¹⁹⁸ Kontoglou himself was absent during the women's visit—he was working in Corfu, restoring icons for the Archaeological Museum—but the guests were received by his student. Since Tsarouchis had already severed his apprenticeship with Kontoglou, this student must have been Engonopoulos, the renown Surrealist.¹⁹⁹ Engonopoulos explained the fresco techniques in detail, to the great interest of Frantz. After the visit, Frantz and Talcott went to the movies. Considering the cartoonish and fantastic subject of Kontoglou's fresco, it is amusing to know that they watched *The Three Little Pigs* (1932), a Walt Disney production that Frantz had missed in the United States.²⁰⁰

The meeting of Greek and American intellectuals has been so inadequately documented that one may conclude that Americans were invisible. Most Greek intellectuals, like the poet George Seferis, had their gaze turned staunchly toward the European capitals of Paris, Berlin, and London, and appear to have ignored Americans altogether, despite the presence of Duncan, Cook, and Glaspell. When introduced to Henry Miller, Seferis admitted that he had never met an American intellectual before 1939.²⁰¹ Greeks and Americans befriended each other as writers and artists for the first time in the 1920s. A connection at this time seems inevitable in light of an unrelated demographic phenomenon, the mass migration of Greeks

195. Zias 1991, pp. 62–64, pls. 139–140.

196. M. Alison Frantz, letter to Mary K. Frantz, February 16, 1935, Alison Frantz Papers (C0772), box 8, folder 4, Princeton University Libraries.

197. Papadimitriou was a close personal friend of Kontoglou, as is evident from the artist's incorporating her name (among others) in the dedicatory inscription on a fresco in his house (see below). As further testament to their friendship, Kontoglou gave Papadimitriou the original manuscript of his novel *O αστρολάβος* (Kontoglou 1935); Zias 1991, pp. 57, 67, n. 1. Papadimitriou is likely to have been intro-

duced to Frantz and Talcott by Priscilla Capps, who was connected to the circle of folklorists through the American Friends of Greece fabric workshop.

198. The house was located at 16 Vizyinou Street in the Kypriadou neighborhood of Athens. During the German occupation, Kontoglou was forced to sell the house. The frescoes have been removed and are currently on display at the National Gallery in Athens; Zias 1991, pp. 19, 56–61.

199. Engonopoulos published his first poetry collection, *Do Not Speak to the Driver*, in 1938; see Beaton 1999, p. 159. His paintings resemble the work of his friend Giorgio de Chirico

and explore archaeological fantasies; see, e.g., *Delos* (1939), now at the National Gallery in Athens; Mentzafou-Polyzou 2000, p. 182.

200. Kontoglou's house fresco is replete with animals (bulls, snakes, anteaters) and motifs that he developed in 1926 while illustrating Giorgios Megas's collection of children's folk stories; see Zias 1991, p. 18. Frantz was very fond of animals and would not have missed those details. Her serene humor complemented by a great attention to detail permeates the letters to her mother.

201. Beaton 2003, pp. 174–177.

to America.²⁰² Since American archaeologists had already interacted with these immigrants on their own turf, the Greeks were not abstract classical ideals to them, but prominent businessmen (e.g., members of AHEPA), labor unionists (e.g., Louis Tikas in Ludlow, Colorado), college students (e.g., Elia Kazan at Williams College), artists (e.g., WPA muralists Ethel and Jenne Magafan), and bohemians (e.g., Jack London's friend Spiro Orfans).²⁰³ Indeed, many of these immigrants had returned to Greece and were frequently approached by American travelers. Henry Miller and Kevin Andrews, for example, befriended Greek-Americans throughout their journeys in Greece; a common language and a shared cultural experience allowed for better communication.²⁰⁴

America's earlier geopolitical involvement in World War I and its admiration of Venizelos's Republicanism led to stronger cultural ties between the two nations, the execution of which was orchestrated by the ASCSA and its faculty. The establishment of Athens College, for instance, was made possible through the leadership of Hill and especially Capps. Athens College was founded in 1925 as a high school for Greeks, modeled after Robert College, the Protestant missionary school in Istanbul.²⁰⁵ Capps enlisted the political patronage of Venizelos and the financial support of Benakis, as well as American and Greek-American endowments, for the new school.²⁰⁶ Both Capps and Hill held prominent leadership roles in the managing of the school through the 1950s. Athens College also incorporated the Greek avant-garde into its faculty. Theater pioneer Charles Coon (a graduate of Robert College) taught drama from 1929 to 1939. Through Coon's recommendation, Kontoglou was hired to teach drawing in 1933.²⁰⁷ The American presence was equally strong in Thessaloniki through Anatolia College and the American Farm School.²⁰⁸ Finally, Benakis's great admiration for the ASCSA is verified by a recent chance discovery, a set of architectural drawings from 1939 showing his designs to erect a museum and library attached to the Gennadeion; the plans never materialized.²⁰⁹

The 1920s had witnessed an escalation of familial relations that linked Greek and American society, particularly in the realm of literature and theater. The Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos, for example, married an American, Eva Palmer, while his sister Penelope was married to Isadora Duncan's brother Raymond.²¹⁰ Palmer-Sikelianos orchestrated the first

202. One in every four Greek men of working age emigrated to the United States between 1900 and 1915; Moskos 1980, p. 11.

203. The first lodge of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was founded in Atlanta in 1922 as a response to the Ku Klux Klan; see Anagnostou 2004. For Tikas, see Papanikolas 1982. For Kazan, see Schickel 2005, pp. 3–4. For the Magafan sisters, see Frangos 2005. For Orfans, see London 1988, vol. 3,

pp. 15,343–15,355.

204. Miller 1941, pp. 7, 15, 26; Andrews 1959, pp. 11–13, 37, 69.

205. After the 1922 exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, Robert College lost its predominantly Greek clientele. In 1971, Robert College became Boğaziçi University.

206. Capps directed half a million dollars from the Charles Martin Hall Estate toward the establishment of the school. Hall was a graduate and benefactor of Oberlin College; see Davis

1992, pp. 11–15.

207. Zias 1991, p. 19; Davis 1992, pp. 221–224.

208. Charles Morgan was especially active in the administration of the American Farm School; Thompson 1984, p. 440. For the history of the school, see Marder 1979.

209. The drawings by W. Stuart Thompson were discovered in 1999 during the restoration of the Gennadius Library; Kalligas 2004.

210. Beaton 1999, p. 112.



Figure 19. Delphic Festival, December 23, 1930. Photo R. Stillwell or A. Newhall, courtesy C. MacKay

artistic “happening” in Greece, the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930, celebrated by international circles and attended by the faculty and students of the ASCSA (Fig. 19).²¹¹ The Festivals included a theatrical revival of *Prometheus Bound* and the *Suppliants*, performances of Byzantine music, and the display of folk arts. The Delphic ideal expired when Palmer and Sikelianos divorced, but the family connections with the ASCSA continued through their son Glavkos Sikelianos.²¹²

Steep walls of race, class, and religion had once divided American archaeologists from the Greek population, but in 1924, those walls were slowly crumbling, as evident from the marriage between Alice Walker, an American archaeologist from Vassar College, and Giorgios Kosmopoulos, the Greek foreman at the Halai excavations. Their wedding took place in a double Orthodox-Anglican ceremony, paving the way for a long tradition of assimilated partnerships in the ASCSA.²¹³ The incorporation of Greeks such as George Mylonas and John Travlos in its faculty, moreover, shows the ASCSA’s progressive attempts to reform older colonial attitudes toward the native population. In general, the foreign schools seem to have offered a unique framework of multicultural interaction in Athens. For instance, ASCSA fellows attended Dörpfeld’s courses on architecture at the German Archaeological Institute in 1912–1916, where they socialized with Greek students such as Anastasios Orlandos. For Greek and foreign archaeologists, Athens had become an international school. “I did not have to travel to the West (εσπέρια) for an education,” Orlandos famously claimed, “since the West had already traveled to Greece.”²¹⁴

American archaeologists also brushed shoulders with marginalized artists in the neighborhood of Kolonaki, where the ASCSA is located. Although a wealthy section of Athens, Kolonaki contained a bohemian fringe on the slopes of Lykabettos Hill, where, as Edmund Keeley has noted, “writers and artists, both foreign and domestic, could find fairly

211. Lord 1947, p. 193. In her autobiography, Palmer-Sikelianos (1993, pp. 113, 125) describes the lack of interest on the part of the foreign schools for these festivals, noting that financial support for the first Delphic Festival came from Simon Flexner, director of the Rockefeller Institute (and brother of Abraham Flexner, who helped found the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton), and his wife, Helen Flexner, who was the sister of M. Carey Thomas. Palmer-Sikelianos and Helen Flexner were undergraduate friends at Bryn Mawr College.

212. Alison Frantz and other ASCSA members, for example, went sailing with Sikelianos to Andros and Mykonos in the summer of 1935. Joan Bush Vanderpool visited the Sikelianos home at Xylokastro in the Peloponnese; M. Alison Frantz, letters to Mary K. Frantz, June 6 and July 1, 1935, Alison Frantz Papers (C0772), box 8, folder 4, Princeton University Libraries.

213. Lavezzi 2004, p. 5.

214. Zakythinos 1978, p. 26 (my translation).

cheap, congenial homes in the few two- and three-story houses left over from the early days when the streets were unpaved.”²¹⁵ Academic and extracurricular activities exposed American archaeologists to contemporary Greeks, bohemian Americans, and Europeans who had pushed the boundaries of their national narratives beyond antiquity. The buzzing of Byzantium could not be silenced any more than the cicadas of a summer night in Kolonaki.

CONCLUSION

On Christmas Eve of 1939, Henry Miller stood in Ancient Corinth and imagined the site as an oriental mistress:

There is something rich, sensuous and rosy about Corinth. It is death in full bloom, death in the midst of voluptuous, seething corruption. . . . Everywhere this lush, over-grown, over-ripe quality manifests itself, heightened by a rose-colored light flush from the setting sun. We wander down to the spring, set deep in the earth like a hidden temple, a mysterious place suggesting affinities with India and Arabia.²¹⁶

Next to the Peirene Spring rose Carpenter’s house museum, another submerged mystical place re-presenting Byzantium’s radical tradition. Miller must have been one of the last Americans to witness it before its destruction. Excavated by Americans since 1896, Ancient Corinth had been physically revealed and poetically pitched toward modernity. Miller’s response to the site was charged by an aesthetic reading of Corinth, already cultivated in the poetry of Sikelianos and Odysseus Elytis.²¹⁷ Corinth was more than an archaeological site; it had grown into a fountain of modernist contemplation, a process enhanced by the outsider status of Byzantium.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the excavators of Corinth engendered a cultural synthesis with repercussions far greater than the scholarly landmarks they produced. With the help of Byzantium, the archaeological avant-garde revived aesthetic undercurrents rooted in the Arts and Crafts origins of the ASCSA, while gracefully taming the shock of the new, which prophesized a grand rupture from history. In the process, they forged alliances with circles outside the traditional confines of classics, placing American archaeology in the crucible of modernity. Corinth facilitated a rebellious gesture against antiquity, exhausted by the weight of 19th-century academism. Byzantium was legitimized as a worthwhile period of archaeological investigation, and the monopoly of classical antiquity was undermined.

The archaeological shift toward Byzantium was sudden and its origins seem both timely and radical, formulated by a handful of Americans from diverse academic backgrounds. Since they did not belong to a distinct school of thought, discipline, or movement, these scholars have escaped the appraisal that their intellectual contribution deserves. Collectively, however, they illustrate the intellectual sophistication of American archaeology in its ability to blend cultural forces emerging outside the field of traditional scholarship. Byzantium entered the ASCSA via modernism and its

215. Keeley 1999, p. 13.

216. Miller 1941, p. 212.

217. George Katsimbalis recited Sikelianos’s poetry to Miller before their visit. On the aesthetic evocation of Corinth by Sikelianos and Elytis, see Keeley 1999, pp. 100–108. Yannis Ritsos (1973, p. 396) elaborated this tradition in his poem “Excavation I.”

avant-garde vibrancy. Moreover, Byzantium assisted the ASCSA in discovering its inclusive roots, as conceived by its founder in 1881. Norton's medievalist torch had fully consumed American culture by 1930, making it impossible for classicists to ignore the tastes of students and financial patrons. Caught in the cultural maelstrom of its time, the ASCSA moved into modernism at the same time that Greek intellectuals appropriated Byzantium. In the Thirties Generation, American and Greek aestheticism overlapped. Consequently, the cross-fertilization among archaeologists, writers, painters, architects, actors, dancers, and musicians blurred boundaries between foreigners and natives.

This inclusive tradition, however, was suddenly interrupted during World War II and the Greek Civil War. Between 1945 and 1965, Byzantium makes an eerie disappearance from the pages of *Hesperia*, particularly striking in view of its prominence throughout the 1930s.²¹⁸ The Marshall Plan and the reconstruction of Greece placed the ASCSA under a different constellation of pressures and cultural priorities. Classical Greece, "the cradle of democracy," had to be reasserted over Byzantium, which was shared by the Slavic Eastern bloc. The Cold War left no room for either bohemians or secular Byzantinists.

Thus, the ASCSA of the late 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s developed an ethos of professional classicism. Norton's inclusive roots and the profound contribution made by the 1930s were intentionally undermined. Carpenter's Folly was left in ruin, while a new museum towered over the Athenian Agora in 1956. The Stoa of Attalos monumentalized America's democratic victory over both fascism and communism. Percolating quietly behind the excavations and scholarship, however, the avant-garde wing of the ASCSA resurfaced in the 1960s. Major excavation resumed in Corinth in 1959 after two decades of general inactivity. Without hesitation, Henry Robinson turned to medieval archaeology,²¹⁹ a tradition that has continued under the leadership of Charles Williams, Guy Sanders, and (at nearby Isthmia and elsewhere in the Corinthia) Timothy Gregory. Whether through traditional excavation or diachronic survey, Byzantium offers the ASCSA another opportunity for critical evaluation.

218. Articles on medieval topics become rare after 1944 and disappear entirely in the 1950s, with the exception of one article (Miles 1956) on Ottoman Athens.

219. Robinson excavated the Byzantine settlement at Corinth for seven years; Meritt 1984, p. 156.

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