

A  
Symposium in memory of  
**HETTY GOLDMAN**  
1881-1972

The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

In memory of  
HETTY GOLDMAN



HETTY GOLDMAN on the City Wall of Halae

A  
Symposium in memory of  
**HETTY GOLDMAN**  
1881-1972

*held at*

The Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

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April 5, 1955



## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

**W**E ARE GATHERED TODAY to honor the memory of one who left us just 12 months ago. To some members of this audience Miss Goldman was a kinswoman, to others she was a colleague, to all of us she was a dear friend. Hers was a rich personality, and she cultivated many interests; but she regarded herself first and foremost as an archaeologist. Today, therefore, we shall think of her primarily in that capacity. But all of her scholarship was redolent of her own personality; and any exposition of her scholarly achievements will inevitably bring out many facets of her character.

Since much of Miss Goldman's active career belongs to a time that is beginning to seem remote to some of us, I have thought to preface our symposium with a very brief review of her scholarly life. Born in 1881, Miss Goldman graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1903. Those were memorable days in the history of the college. Classes had been going for only some 12 years when she entered. The redoubtable Miss Thomas was in the fifth year of her presidency. The building that we now know as the Thomas Library was still under construction. But already the faculty included a distinguished classical archaeologist in the person of Joseph Charles Hoppin. Professor Hoppin had recently taken an active part in one of the earliest American excavations in Greek lands, that of the Argive Heraeum. At this very time various American scholars were at work in Crete, among them Miss Harriet Boyd who was busily excavating Gournia with the support of the American Exploration Society of Philadelphia. Field archaeology was very much in the air in 1903. A predisposition in this direction was already in the young graduate's blood. An uncle, Julius Sachs, had a lively interest in the subject, and had built up a remarkably good library on classical archaeology. His books were inherited by Miss Goldman and they were eventually donated by her to the library of the



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Institute for Advanced Study where they form the core of our archaeological section. You will find the original book plate of Julius Sachs in many a stately folio volume in another room of this building.

Bryn Mawr was followed by two years of graduate study at Columbia University (1903/04, 1906/07). At this time she gave some thought to a career as a writer, and also served for a spell as a manuscript reader with the Macmillan Company. But, as she confessed later, though she enjoyed writing she had as yet nothing to say. So, back to the study. In 1910 came an M.A. degree from Radcliffe, and in 1916 a Ph.D. from the same college.

The years 1910-12 found Miss Goldman in Greece as a member of the American School of Classical Studies and the holder of a Harvard fellowship. It was her experiences in these years that must have determined once and for all the direction of her archaeological career. Already, to be sure, she had published a couple of articles on Greek vases with mythological scenes, but now came an opportunity for field-work. Once having put her hand to the spade she was to find the smell of new-turned earth irresistible for the rest of her active life.

As one reviews Miss Goldman's career as an excavator it takes on a striking symmetry: two excavations on the mainland of Greece of which one was of the archaic and classical periods the other of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages; two excavations in Anatolia of which one was chiefly classical, the other predominantly preclassical. Yet I doubt if such symmetry was planned or foreseen; archaeology is too subject to chance for this to have happened. In fact I have been told that the choice of her first site, Halae, was largely determined by the desire of the Director of the American School of Classical Studies to have her and her female colleague from Vassar occupied on a site as far as possible from Athens! I have this from a usually reliable source, namely Miss Goldman herself; but I find it improbable.

Since later speakers will be telling us in more detail about

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Miss Goldman's various excavations, let me simply list them in chronological sequence: Halae on the east coast of central Greece 1911-14, 1921, 1923 and 1931; Colophon in Asia Minor 1922, 1925; Eutresis in central Greece 1924-27; Tarsus in Cilicia 1934-39, 1947-49.

These four excavations differed greatly from one another in many ways; but they also had much in common. All four sites were carefully selected. The plan of attack was always well considered. In each instance the exploration was carried far enough to yield a reliable sampling of the site, yet some of the area was always left untouched to permit checking at a later date. Above all, each site received a fitting publication. In some cases the final reports were delayed for years by circumstances beyond the control of the excavator, but written they eventually were either by Miss Goldman herself, by some well chosen associate, or jointly. Two of the publications: Eutresis in one volume, Tarsus in three double volumes, are models of their kind. All are marked by an orderly arrangement, a lucid and readable style. They have in fact a literary quality, a natural ease and freshness that are all too rare in this branch of writing. It is these publications, as you may imagine, that best reveal Miss Goldman's view of the role of the field archaeologist. She was not interested primarily in finding beautiful objects, nor yet in accumulating masses of archaeological data for their own sake. Her purpose was to learn all that the soil could be made to tell about the history of an ancient settlement, of how its inhabitants lived, and of what they thought and felt.

In 1936, i.e. midway in her scholarly career, Miss Goldman was appointed to a professorship in the Institute for Advanced Study. Hers was the 14th professorial appointment in the Institute, and it is as yet the only one to be held by a woman. In her years of active membership she made the fullest possible use of the Institute's resources for the support of her program of research and publication.

But before coming to the Institute Miss Goldman had long enjoyed the backing of other learned institutions. Bryn Mawr

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provided her with most of her assistants: a series of able and attractive young ladies who were, however, all too vulnerable to matrimony and so needed constant replacement. The Fogg Museum of Harvard University contributed money and technical facilities. The American School of Classical Studies lent its auspices and its library in connection with her work in Greece. The Archaeological Institute of America opened the pages of its journal to a number of her preliminary excavation reports, and in December of 1966 the Institute bestowed on her its gold medal for distinguished archaeological achievement. The citation on that occasion concluded with these words: "the Archaeological Institute of America pays tribute to a perceptive and witty student of human relations, a renowned Anatolian specialist and the dean of Classical and Near Eastern archaeology in this country."

One of Miss Goldman's great gifts was her ability to choose and then to retain able and devoted associates. Many of those associates are with us today. It would be pleasant to hear from them all, but time is finite, even for the archaeologist. The four speakers whose names appear on the program nicely represent the various institutions with which Miss Goldman was associated. All four have worked with her on one or more of her excavations, specializing in one or other of the periods that have been illuminated by her research. They have undertaken to give us some personal impressions of life with Miss Goldman in the field and in the study. They will also, in retrospect, assess the importance of her work in its various aspects.

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**T**ODAY'S PROGRAM resembles an excavator's sequence. The four of us who have the privilege of speaking will move backward in time, as though digging through successive accumulations of a site, from late to early. It is an appropriate parallel to the progression of Hetty Goldman's interests. As did most of her generation, Miss Goldman came to Mediterranean archaeology through the Classics and her first published investigations were on subjects in which Greek vases provided the link to a sister discipline. In 1910 "The Oresteia of Aeschylus as illustrated in Greek Vase Painting" appeared in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. In 1911 *The American Journal of Archaeology* printed "Two Unpublished Oedipus Vases in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts." It was the former which was the springboard to Greece, for it won her the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship for the *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. By the time the second article had appeared—such being the pace of publication—Miss Goldman had not only shifted from the banks of the Charles River to those of the Ilissos, but had gone on to the shores of the Gulf of Atalante. It was there that she and Miss Leslie Walker began to excavate the little seaport town of Halae under the sponsorship of the Fogg Art Museum and the American School of Classical Studies.

At this juncture let us remind "Womens' Libbers" not only that they stand on their elder sisters' shoulders, but also that women really did things when this century was young. Edith Hall and Harriet Boyd were excavating in Crete. Dorothy Cox was earning an architectural degree at Columbia University and polishing her fine line that made lucid many a ground plan. I will surely be reproached later in the day for not mentioning others, but this is a digression. Miss Goldman, so far as I recall, made no great matter of what might be considered unusual circumstances for a woman. Any problems and difficulties that loomed large were the ones inherent

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in any excavation: equipment, commissary, personnel (probably mentioned in ascending order of worry). Both ladies of Halae knew the simplicities and complexities of outdoor life. Childhood summers in Keene Valley had been a joy to Hetty Goldman, and her reunions with the Adirondack Mountains continued to her very last years. From one of my own relatives I know that camping on the West Coast was a delight for Leslie Walker. Living conditions on an excavation in the Greek provinces surely held no great terrors for either; animal and insect life differed from that of the Adirondacks and Sierras, but were to be dealt with, as were dust and heat, rain and cold. The attractions were multiple and compensatory. One can imagine that the ladies embarked upon their project with almost as much anticipation for the out-of-doors as for the archaeology.

Let us begin their exploration with the convention of maps and point out the approximate locations not only of Halae, but of Colophon, Eutresis, and Tarsus. We will then be oriented for the morning.

The site of Halae, on a little promontory, was one of modest, encompassable size with promise of information about a small, provincial town on the Boeotian-Locrian border during the classical period. Well dressed masonry walls, with round and square towers at intervals, were built in the sixth century and renewed early in the fourth to protect the settlement. Buildings lined the narrow streets one of which led to a gate on the inland side. Remains of a small sanctuary of Athena, houses, the lost and discarded objects of daily life reconstruct a town that lived off the sea that washed the south side and the land that stretched out to the north. It was, however, from the abode of the dead that Halae made a special archaeological contribution. Nearly three hundred graves were explored. Some had been rifled; some had meagre offerings; many, however, ranging from the late sixth into the third century B.C., contained groups of pottery and terracotta figurines which had been placed in and around the burials.

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The pottery, of documented types, was datable and could supply the terracottas with a chronology for their stylistic development from late archaic severity to the elaboration of the Hellenistic age. Certain types had been associated for decades with Boeotia—many undoubtedly coming from clandestine incursions into Halae's necropolis, just as hundreds upon hundreds of illicitly dug figurines emerged from Tanagra to enchant nineteenth century collectors. Here at last, in the stone graves of Halae, were the means to follow the evolution of the youth with cock, the draped female figure, and other regional favorites.

The work which began in 1911 was brought to a standstill by the Balkan Wars and the imminent threat of World War I. Pick and shovel were no longer swung at Halae, no more earth was dumped and no potsherds were washed by the edge of the sea. Realizing that their project would be interrupted for an uncertain period of time, the two excavators altered their plans and published a general report on their excavations in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1915. In the same issue was Miss Goldman's article on Greek inscriptions from the site, one of them laying to rest any earlier question of the identification of the place with the Halae known from passing mention in ancient authors. In 1921, 1923 and 1931 Miss Goldman was able to return for a few extra weeks of work. The opportunity to prepare two final reports was provided at this Institute by the archaeological moratorium imposed by World War II. These reports appeared in *Hesperia*, the journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, whose editorial offices have been offered hospitality by the Institute for many years. The account of the acropolis appeared in 1940 and that of the necropolis in 1942, the latter being an updating of Miss Goldman's doctoral dissertation that had been on deposit at Harvard since her return from early campaigns at Halae.

Political events and the inability of the world to remain at peace dogged Miss Goldman's investigations. After World

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War I and her work with the Red Cross, she turned her attention to Colophon in Asia Minor, but she and Professor Carl Blegen of Cincinnati managed only one campaign in the spring of 1922 before hostilities in Anatolia precluded excavation in the region of Smyrna. A brief notice in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1923 summarized that exploratory campaign. The two months spent at the site with a stalwart work force were fruitful. They confirmed the identity of the town as Colophon and produced evidence of habitation from Mycenaean into Hellenistic times. It further became clear that the fortified area in which work was concentrated was a fourth century relocation of the community which included within the walls houses, a stoa, a sanctuary of Cybele, a bathing establishment.

Departure from Colophon in the summer of 1922 was hasty. The coins which had proved the identity of the town reached asylum in Istanbul, but other finds, left at the site, were lost. In 1925 Miss Goldman made a short visit to Colophon for further study and at the same time Miss Cox made surveys and measurements, but the original intention of full excavation was never realized. Almost two decades later, Leicester B. Holland, who had been the architect in 1922, came to the Institute for Advanced Study as a member to go over the old records and prepare the information for publication in an issue of *Hesperia* of 1944. Somewhat earlier the inscriptions from Colophon had been published in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1935 by Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, a member of the 1922 staff.

Turning back to Greece, Miss Goldman transferred the sponsorship of the Fogg Art Museum and the American School of Classical Studies from Colophon to a site in Boeotia. Eutresis fared better than its predecessors and, to the author's great satisfaction, resulted in a volume put out by the Harvard University Press in 1931. It was—and is—a model report, one which I remember wishing in my student days had more counterparts.

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With the selection of Eutresis, Miss Goldman's interest made a decisive shift to preclassical ages. The quantity of sherds on the surface of a low mound influenced her choice and promised rewarding investigation. Four campaigns, from 1924 through 1927, uncovered architectural remains and pottery about which you will hear from other speakers. Among the members of the staff during those years were two Dorothys: Dorothy Cox, the architect who later worked at Tarsus, and Dorothy Burr—Mrs. Homer Thompson—who generously pulled out photographs the other week so I could show you glimpses of the *modus vivendi*: the excavation house, simple and well proportioned; the excitement of unpacking; one of the rooms; the cook and his kitchen; the noontime shelter on the mound with George Deleas the foreman, long associated with this and other American excavations.

Eutresis is mentioned in classical texts, and the excavator, although aware of the fact that the Hellenic town lay to the north of the mound, expected to encounter more than she did of the Greek period. But the one thing an excavator can expect is the unexpected. Certainly the paucity of later remains made it easier to focus upon the earlier periods. Most productive was a fill for a terrace wall containing quantities of pottery and terracotta figurines; these indicated the former presence of a shrine in the vicinity, but no trace of it was found. The figurines, chiefly of fifth and fourth century date, were in many instances Boeotian types familiar from Halae; others suggest that worshippers brought their dedications with them from other regions. Miniature vases, which could have served no practical, everyday purpose, were found in dozens, along with clay lamps and bells. On the edge of the Greek cemetery which, for lack of promise, was not pursued, was uncovered an isolated villa of the Graeco-Roman period. Five inscriptions, one of them lettered in a style of about 500 B.C., the others belonging to the fourth century, were incorporated in the walls. All were originally gravestones and one can only suppose that the builders found the proximity of



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the cemetery convenient. One of these, battered and its three hexameter lines worn, can best be described in Miss Goldman's own words:

"The inscription may be freely translated as follows:

Here I, Rhodios, lie, my jesting by silence  
o'ertaken.

Through the length and the breadth of the land  
I cease the destruction of moles.

Would you gainsay me? swoop down, and here in  
person gainsay me.

It is pleasant, after the opening formula which we are accustomed to recognize as the herald of so many lugubrious references to early death, unkind fate, and farewell to the light of day, to find our deceased in such truculent humor. Perhaps he was a colleague of the Boeotian who in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes comes to Athens to peddle his heterogeneous assortment of wares: 'I bring geese, hares, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, weasels, brocks, martens, otters—Copaic eels.'"

In the courtyard of the villa were two pieces of late archaic sculpture: the lower part of a seated draped female figure and a statue of a youth, full size. Their positions imply that they were antiques appreciated by the owners, and again one wonders about the cemetery and whether it supplied ornament as well as building material.

With Eutresis off the press, Miss Goldman made two reconnaissance trips, one to Yugoslavia in 1932, one to Cilicia in southern Turkey in 1934. The latter resulted in an excavation at Tarsus, sponsored by Bryn Mawr College, Harvard University, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Institute for Advanced Study. From 1935 until the gathering of war clouds in 1939, Miss Goldman worked on a mound at the edge of the modern city. Her interest in prehistory had taken an eastward outlook and she was curious about cross currents in the Bronze Age. The geographical location of the mound—south of the pass through the Taurus

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Mountains to which traffic converged from many quarters—promised reflections of cultural interchange. The project was Miss Goldman's largest and longest, for, as you will hear from others, work was resumed in the late 1940's.

So extensive a project as the exploration of the mound of Gözlü Kule involved a considerable staff and one which changed over the years. Of the members, Ann and Robert Ehrich should be singled out for special mention; they represented two right arms for Miss Goldman during the pre-war campaigns. Mr. Ehrich served as Assistant Director, as well as excavator, and, amidst multiple chores, dealt weekly with great sheets for the withholding taxes which we Americans in our innocence thought a strange invention. Mrs. Ehrich was a versatile juggler who could supervise a trench, photograph, draw, and run the household. By the time I joined the staff, the excavation was a well organized outfit, living simply but comfortably in a house at the base of the hill. Although the very mention of Tarsus conjures up visions of St. Paul's "no mean city," the mound had little to do with the metropolis of the Classical period. From the prehistorian's point of view it was covered by a gratifyingly thin skin of Greek, Roman, and Islamic remains. Of further assistance for quick descent to the Iron and Bronze Ages was a deep trench dug along the south flank in the aftermath of the First World War for surveillance of the Cilician plain. The earth with which it was later filled could be removed with little formality (save for the occasional flurries of excitement when discovery of an unexploded grenade brought in the local constabulary). The south side was the only one available for the dump, since buildings lay on the others, and the only one which lent itself to photography. You see here the terraces built up from the stones of the excavation to hold the detritus. (In the foreground perhaps you can make out the rows of squash plants which suffered when an occasional oversized stone was carried by gravity beyond bounds; the back pages of several notebooks are peppered with receipts for indemnity paid to irate owners.)

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The period of occupation of the mound in Greek times began late in the fourth century—there is a hiatus of almost two centuries preceding the appearance of coins and artifacts of that date. It continued as a sequence of modest buildings until early Roman times; after that the remains of the late Roman habitation were scant and churned up by the activities of subsequent centuries. In spite of the unpromising thinness of deposit and multiple intrusions, the conscientious peeling of layers produced useful information, what we would call nowadays “spin-off” in the search for earlier data. Coins, lamps, and amphora handles provide a chronological framework for the pottery and terracotta figurines. The pottery, too fragmentary to be photogenic, nevertheless was informative about the development of ceramic taste and style at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Where Greece showed a preference in the Hellenistic period for black-glazed ware, Tarsus (and Antioch in North Syria where Princeton University was excavating in the 1930s) enjoyed having both black and red, with a rather casual regard for quality. A change to red-glazed pottery of a different style could be dated around the middle of the second century B.C.: the first time the ware referred to unsatisfactorily as “Hellenistic Pergamene” could be given a fairly definite place in time. Another change could be noted toward the end of the first century B.C. when the influence of expanding Italian production made itself felt. There was conclusive evidence of manufacture at Tarsus of a luxury ware coated with lead glaze in emerald green, mustard yellow, and brown; the technique for this seems to have been conveyed along caravan routes to Han Dynasty China and to have been driven from the Mediterranean market by the discovery of glass blowing that made it possible to provide, at less cost, containers of comparable novelty and fascination. That Tarsians drank their share of Knidian and especially Rhodian wines was apparent from the many fragments of the amphoras that contained them in transit. They lighted their homes with lamps which followed the prevailing Mediterranean styles, some-

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times importing, sometimes manufacturing their own. For terracotta figurines, they depended much on their home industry, producing a variety of types of good quality and distinctive style. Among the favorites were presentations of Herakles and Dionysos, Eros and Harpokrates. Other terracottas, while hardly outstanding in quality, were unique or unusual representations which provided challenges for interpretation. Among the many grotesque figures for which the first century A.D. had a fondness at Tarsus and other places, is one of a mime dancer which led Miss Goldman to a detailed study of the mimes. A winged female figure carrying a box-like object elicited more than routine investigation; Miss Goldman saw it as the symbolic figure of the Daimon of Initiation of a mystery cult holding the sacred winnowing-fan (*liknon*). A suitable piece with which to conclude the illustrations is the head of a city goddess, crowned by turreted walls; it leaves the throng of mass-produced figurines for sculpture of individual touch.

Miss Goldman accelerated her schedule for work in the field at Tarsus and planned a campaign in the autumn of 1938 rather than the spring of 1939. This was to allow her a year in Princeton to coordinate the results of five seasons and also to see whether the ominous political atmosphere of Europe would clear or erupt. She herself had to leave suddenly in November, when notified of her father's last illness. We literally pushed her on board the Orient Express—the bottom step of the train was almost waist high from the platform of the provincial station—and later marvelled at modern transportation which, with fortunate synchronization of the schedule of the *Queen Mary*, got her to New York in nine days. It was characteristic of her that, during her stop-over in Istanbul, she took time to arrange for a box of delicacies to be sent to Tarsus for the embellishment of Thanksgiving dinner. In the early part of 1939 the rest of us disbanded and all the records were brought to this country.

Needless to say, we could not go back to Tarsus in the spring of 1940. Since it was my good fortune to continue

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with Miss Goldman as her assistant at the Institute for Advanced Study, we settled down to preparing the Hellenistic and Roman finds for publication, for if return ever was possible, it was the earlier material that would be expanded. Fuld Hall was under construction and the Institute lived a scattered existence which was the despair, I remember, of Railway Express which never seemed to know whether a package was for humanistic studies at 69 Alexander Street, administrative offices at 20 Nassau Street, or mathematicians at Fine Hall on the University's Campus. It was a pleasantly informal life which we transplanted to the west wing of Fuld Hall along with the pink dogwood that had blossomed on Alexander Street. By the time Volume I of *The Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* was printed by the Princeton University Press, Miss Goldman had been able to set in motion further work on the mound and to map the program for other volumes.

Before I cede the lectern to those who will carry the narrative back in archaeological time, I do wish to mention what a pleasure and privilege it was to work with Miss Goldman and how much I enjoyed the years of friendship that continued after our Tarsian project. If asked the journalistic question of the particular qualities which made her a special person, I would choose her generosity, her integrity, and her resilience, all of them spiced with wit and wisdom. The extent of her material generosity I doubt that anyone, even the family to which she was devoted, really knows. She was generous in her hospitality, in her time, and in her interest in other people. Her insistence that my name be added to hers in the revision of her thesis on the terracotta figurines from Halae and on the chapter on the Greek and Roman lamps from the excavation at Tarsus, although I was doing the work in my capacity as her assistant, was a facet of this quality. She was forthright, but considerate, in dealing with people and meticulous in her scholarship. When she was tying up Halae's loose ends a quarter of a century after they were created, she was careful not to trespass on her colleague's original assign-

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ment even though it seemed certain that personal circumstances would always be obstacles to the latter's publishing the pottery from the site. Her resilience made it possible for her to weather personal and professional setbacks that would have had other temperaments fretting and looking backward rather than forward. At one point, when the embargo on building materials in World War II made her the owner of a cellar hole on the mountainside above her family's big house at Keene Valley, she remarked that if in the end she got five summers' use of the cottage, she would feel the effort worthwhile. A kindly fate granted her many more than those five, much to the enjoyment of those who were guests within the hospitable walls. And we all thank the kindly daimon that granted her more than the Biblical allotment of years for the pleasure of her friends and the profit of archaeology.

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A YEAR IS A LONG TIME after which to evoke the immediate presence of a person gone from us; a year is too short a time to appraise in an objective way the scope, the meaning and the effects of a scholarly life. Much more time and work is needed to describe and to analyze an achievement as original and sustained as that of Hetty Goldman; and many more witnesses ought to testify.

I first met Hetty, I think, in the late thirties in the elevator of a New York hotel at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America where she gave one of her masterly Tarsus reports. I remember being very envious of Ann Hoskin for her privilege of reporting on one of the Tarsus buildings. This is perhaps the place to echo the tribute paid by Franny Jones to the very important part that Bob Ehrich and Ann Hoskin Ehrich had played in the middle phase of Hetty's career generally, and in the Tarsus excavations in particular; they must have many vivid memories of the life at Tarsus from 1934 to 1939. It was only when Hetty learned that Bob Ehrich could not go out to Tarsus right after the Second World War, that she appeared in my office at the Fogg Museum and, as usual, came straight to the point: would I publish the Iron Age pottery of Tarsus?

With Theresa Goell as Acting Director and Machteld Melink as colleague, Mrs. Hanfmann and I went to Tarsus in the winter of 1947 and stayed through the spring of 1948; but I never had the privilege of serving under Hetty in the field. The joint aim of our association was described later by Hetty in one of her striking phrases: "I cannot wait until this volume—namely the publication of the Tarsus Iron Age—smiles at me from the shelf." I regret to say that it took me fifteen years to produce my part of that smile—*Tarsus III* did finally appear in 1963. In the meantime, I learned to respect Hetty's efficiency as administrator—she never wasted time or words. I learned to love and admire the unexpected facets

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and remarkable talents of this sturdy, seemingly imperturbable woman—her fine sense of literature and writing, her interest and taste in the arts, her impish humor, her marked romantic vein, and her capacity for warm-hearted affection, especially for young people.

I have taken time out for these personal remarks because I feel that we should not lose Hetty as a person. Fortunately, this symposium has prompted Mrs. (Dr.) Agnes Sanborn, Hetty's sister, to search out a charming address given by Hetty at Bryn Mawr in 1955—a speech which delightfully describes what archaeology meant to Hetty in human terms—and most engagingly reveals her own personality. (Printed below as an Appendix. I want to thank Mrs. Sanborn for making a copy available to me before this Symposium, and for permitting me to consult certain interesting letters written by Hetty to her.) You will understand that my angle on Hetty's *bios* was somewhat limited. I never had the pleasure of that close daily communication at an excavation—which led to a wonderfully philosophic Goldman Gem: "Many a successful excavation was run by people ready to murder each other."

In the initial invitation to the Symposium it was suggested that we should use as *Leitmotif* Hetty's contribution to the relations between the Aegean and the Near East. I intend to make a few unsystematic observations within the scope of the Iron Age—which, for my convenience, I define as anything between 1100 and 400 B.C.

As you have heard, Hetty started with Greece. Her training at Bryn Mawr, Columbia, and Radcliffe had been thoroughly classical, and her first articles on subjects of Greek tragedy were in the tradition of Hellenic classicism as then taught at Bryn Mawr and Harvard. Among Hetty's professors at Harvard were: George Henry Chase in Classical Archaeology, Herbert Weir Smyth in Greek tragedy, Clifford H. Moore, the well-known student of ancient religion, and the famous German ancient historian, Eduard Meyer.

With her excavation at Halae, she acquired a firm grasp of



field archaeology. In her Bryn Mawr speech, Hetty referred, to be sure, to "the almost unlimited inexperience of the excavators of Halae"—and the excavation eventually spread over the years—but the final report—when it appeared in 1940—reflected both her youthful enthusiasm and her innate mastery of archaeological method. (You have heard about the site and the archaic and classical finds from Franny Jones; we shall hear about its important prehistoric phase from Jack Caskey.) I should only like to observe that Halae has now begun to exert its impact upon the study of Greek urbanism.

Halae, in Hetty's own words—"A remote huddle of fishermen's houses by the waters of a blue and tranquil bay" was keenly characterized by her as a human community: "The acropolis enclosed within its fortified walls what the little city had in the way of temples, altars, monuments, and official inscriptions . . . Outside the sanctuary enclosure was a regular network of one-room shops, or possible official and priestly dwellings of rectangular plan, which had the long and continuous layout of Stoas. As the best harbor in the immediate neighborhood of the capital city of Opous, it may well have been used to store the proceeds of the dubious enterprises of Locrian pirate merchants." (*Halae*, p. 382)

One tends to think of Hetty as having had solid, rather than splendid finds, yet Halae rewarded her with one of the earliest signed votive inscriptions on a fine Doric poros column, and with some beautiful terracottas.

Hetty carefully investigated two defensive systems—the archaic and the late classical Hellenistic, which she eloquently described as "unusually impressive even in their ruined state because of the careful cutting of the individual blocks and the peculiar charm of the rather crumbly golden limestone . . ." (p. 453). These walls have become very important for our comprehension of the development of defenses in early Greek cities. Thus in Frederick E. Winter's fine recent study, *Greek Fortifications* (1971), the archaic wall system of Halae, which Hetty dated around 600 B.C., is repeatedly cited as a Greek example of early indented trace, and as an

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early example of curved towers, and of major gateways of overlap type.

In 1920 Hetty Goldman was appointed Fellow of the Fogg Museum for Research in Greek Lands. There followed some adventurous explorations in the company of Bert Hodge Hill, then Director of the American School of Classical Studies—at one point they had a near encounter with some murderous bandits—but finally Hetty's choice fell upon Colophon.

The fame of lovely Colophon in early Greek poetry would be enough to draw any archaeologist toward it. Did not Mimnermus say that this was the place to which his ancestors came directly from Pylos when they went by ship to lovely Asia? And did not Colophon's greatest native son, Xenophanes, paint an irresistible picture of a thousand Colophonians going to the Agora in purple robes worth their weight in silver and drenched in perfumes . . . ? Here, if anywhere, it should be possible to see whether it was already the Mycenaean Greeks of the Bronze Age who came first to Ionia, and what archaic Ionian *tryphe* was like.

Colophon is still lovely with its wooded pine-scented hills. A lot was done here by Hetty and Carl Blegen as excavators, and by Leicester B. Holland as surveyor in ten weeks in 1922; and there was a brief follow-up by Hetty and Dorothy Cox in September 1925. A part of the classical town was found as well as three cemeteries. Perhaps no other paragraph written by Hetty was as frequently quoted or as desperately debated as a paragraph in her brief report of the paper she gave on December 29, 1922 at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America: "Investigation of the cemeteries," wrote Hetty, "revealed a tholos tomb, robbed but with fragments of Mycenaean pottery; burned burials with a quantity of Geometric pottery; and unburned interments of the fourth century . . ." Unfortunately, with the exception of coins taken to Istanbul, the minor objects left at the police station at Colophon were lost—as Hetty humorously wrote: "all that could be found in 1925 of the Colophonian

treasure was an iron bedstead of the expedition on which the local chief of police was accustomed to take his noonday siesta . . ."

Although Pelion of theory was piled on Ossa of speculation, Hetty hesitated to commit herself too definitely either on the Mycenaean tholos or on the Geometric pottery—but you will hear about the happy ending of this "Tholos Mystery" from Machteld Mellink.

In the meantime, the work at Colophon of Hetty and her colleagues, Carl Blegen and Leicester Holland, made a lasting contribution to classical and early Hellenistic urbanism. Already Holland in his first publication described Colophon as "a prosperous settlement of the fourth century, with residences, public buildings of various kinds such as shops, inns, and baths . . . one large public square and at least one prominent sanctuary . . . that of the great mother goddess here called Mother Antaia . . . The whole complex came into being during the fourth century and was abandoned after one or two generations . . ."

Recognizing its great interest for Greek urbanism, Roland Martin has given a masterly analysis of this *cité campagnarde et agricole* (*L'urbanisme dans le Grèce antique*, 1956) emphasizing its interesting treatment of the irregular site and the special character of the Colophonian houses with their curiously isolated and raised *pyrgos* (or *andron*) units. The urbanistic fame of Colophon has been immensely heightened by an inscription found in the Metroon in 1922, which is one of the most revealing documents of classical Greek city planning. Commented upon by a galaxy of illustrious scholars—B. D. Meritt, L. Robert, L. B. Holland, and R. Martin, it tells how "the people of Colophon (since King Alexander and Antigonos bestowed freedom upon them) resolved in the name of Good Fortune . . . that the ancient city . . . which they received from the gods . . . be enclosed within a common system of walls with the present city . . ." The inscription proceeds to tell how "a sacrifice to all gods and heroes who occupy our city and country" was to be made and a procession

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vowed; how a Committee of Ten for Urban Planning is to be elected for all construction; how they are to appoint an architect, to study the layout and leasing of streets and lots, to reserve land for sacred and public complexes, and to raise funds by subscription in order to build the city walls.

From 1924 through 1927, again on behalf of the Fogg Museum, Hetty dug at Eutresis in Boeotia. It was her prehistoric phase, and shortly thereafter she came in contact with the methods and aims of anthropological archaeology at the Peabody Museum. According to R. Ehrich, this came about when Hetty was asked to represent the Fogg Museum on the excavation at *Starčevo* proposed by the Peabody. She certainly came to know well the enthusiastic Prehistorian, Vladimir Fewkes, with whom she excavated in Yugoslavia. She came in contact with Ernest Hooton and the brilliant group of young anthropologists and archaeologists he had assembled around him—R. Ehrich, L. J. Angel, Bruce Howe, Jim Gaul, H. Movius, and others. Henceforth, while her basic attitude remained that of an Aegean archaeologist with keen interest in classical tradition, she was more inclined to take an interest in both anthropological and early prehistoric methods and aims.

Franny Jones has introduced you to Tarsus, and Machteld Mellink will tell you how Emil Forrer's Akkyawa theories led Hetty to that site. I need only say that the romantic vision of the French traveller in a nineteenth century engraving is what Tarsus should have been, but was not. Again, as you have heard from Franny Jones, in "Section A," Hetty almost immediately lit into the Hittites—according to R. Naumann, a palace; but in "Section B," there was the slow descent, from the Late Roman down to Early Hellenistic; and it was here that the Iron Age caught up with Hetty. Her view of the Iron Age Tarsians appears in her summation in *Tarsus* III: (p. 14) "As one looks back at the building levels . . . of the Iron Age . . . a period of some 600 years . . . it becomes evident that except for the unique occurrence of the great apsidal structure 'U'—at the very beginning of the Iron

Age—the general character of the houses and the layout of the streets underwent remarkably little change. We are evidently dealing with a conservative and rather isolated people.”

Yet within this sober overview Hetty perceived clearly the dramatic meeting of East and West at Tarsus. Her extraordinary objectivity made her report the evidence and follow up the implications, partly by herself, partly through collaborators. It is on this total image of Iron Age Tarsus which has thus emerged, and on its impact that I would like to make a few comments.

The Iron Age sector excavated at Tarsus consists of three streets and, at most, half a dozen houses—less than a quarter of an acre, but densely built up. With the possible exception of one shop they all seem to be dwellings. There are no public buildings, no temples, no palaces—and, of writing, only one unstratified Aramaic graffito (*Tarsus* III, no. 1643: 2 seals—a quantity measure). Yet precisely this ordinariness is valuable. It shows how the ordinary Cilician town dwellers lived. Such an urban quarter is a most desirable supplement and contrast to the other great Cilician site—to the many-towered castle and summer residence of King Asitawata at Kara Tepe in the mountains with its profusion of royal and religious reliefs and its bilingual Luvian-Phoenician inscriptions.

Sociologically no less than historically, we have still much to learn about such a conservative Cilician—East Mediterranean community as Tarsus, which yet was changing its language from Anatolian to Semitic, and which saw comings and goings from many quarters in one of the most trafficky corners of the ancient world. Traversed by the transcontinental road to Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Inner Asia which was passing through the defiles first of the Cilician, and then of the Syrian Gates, the road here approached the busy ports of the Levantine coast. Tarsus was a place where Hittites, Luvians, Cypriotes, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Aramaeans, and Greeks converged.

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I shall try to show, with a few slides, how far this kaleidoscopic world between the Aegean and the Near East was reflected in Hetty's finds at Tarsus.

The apsidal building, a great rarity in Asia Minor, lay over the floor of an earlier building with Mycenaean and Hittite pottery. Its powerful construction, quite different from the traditional Cilician way of building, suggests that a group of migrants may have briefly dwelt at Tarsus. It is in this dark period that legendary heroes like Mopsus and Amphilochoos may have roamed Cilicia.

The earliest pottery of this phase shows affinity to late Mycenaean and emergent Cypro-Geometric of Cyprus; and even a few links to Greek Protogeometric. The fortunate find of pottery kilns proved that Middle Iron pottery of Cypriote type was being made locally at Tarsus. Reaching from the 11th into the 5th century B.C., the ceramic continuum of Tarsus is a reliable illustration of the survival of retarded Aegean geometric styles in the eastern Mediterranean.

As Hetty was quick to see, her discovery of Protocorinthian and Rhodian pottery antedating the Assyrian destruction of Tarsus in 696 B.C. presented a pivotal point for a revision of Greek ceramic chronology. My conclusion from her data was that the Protocorinthian chronology of Payne should be raised. This acted like a red flag on John Boardman who, in 1965, wrote a characteristically parochial article on "Tarsus, Al Mina, and Greek Chronology"—parochial because it is an article of faith in England that only Al Mina was important in the relations of Greece with the Near East—though Henri Seyrig has shown that it is preposterous to compare Al Mina with major ports like Sidon and Tyre. The issue is still unresolved, and Tarsus remains a key place for Greek chronology.

If local pottery is sturdily continuous and Cypriote-like, the seals tell a different story: Assyrian, Assyrianizing, and Urartian; Palestinian and North Syrian; Egyptianizing and Egyptian are all represented. Particularly interesting is the "Lyre Player Group" of Egyptianizing scaraboids which

Edith Porada would make Rhodian, but Boardman, Cilician, and which have been found in numbers in the 8th century B.C. Greek colony of Pithekoussai on Ischia in the Gulf of Naples. Another stylistic ambient is represented by some terracotta figurines with strange headgears. They were imported from places where Hittite traditions had been modified by Assyrian techniques. Thus the head of an ointment jar of unusually fine white clay is paralleled by an ointment flask found at Sencirili.

These hints must suffice as indications of the complexity of the web which Hetty has given us, woven as it is of threads from the Aegean, Cyprus and the Near East woven by Iron Age Tarsus.

In her 1955 address at Bryn Mawr, Hetty had argued eloquently that "the field archaeologist must have the courage to collect material, but also to *interpret* wisely and boldly . . ." If in her excavation reports she sometimes seemed determinedly factual—like her friend Carl Blegen—her imaginative side found its greatest expression in her studies on myth and religion. The best known examples of this are undoubtedly her two studies of the Cilician god, Sandon, based on a close and careful interpretation of Hellenistic terracotta plaques and coins of Tarsus of the mid-second century B.C. which, as Hetty rightly argued, perpetuated an Anatolian, indeed, a Hittite art type.

With her usual classical learning she cited the passage of Dio Chrysostomus (*Tarsica* I, Oratio 33, 408 M) on the festival of the pyre at which the god was probably burned in effigy as was the Phoenician Melkart; yet she saw here the representation of a permanent monument—perhaps originating in the 8th century B.C. She interpreted the god's image as a stele in the manner of the stele of Amrit. She considered the horned lion with folded wings a creature of the first millennium and saw in the steep pitch of the monument an Anatolian feature paralleled at Termessus and in Phrygia.

With fine intuition and learning, adducing Hittite and Minoan as well as Isaurian parallels of Hellenistic date, she

interpreted the shield and the sword, not as divinities, but as symbols "embodying or attracting power." In the end, her conclusion was that, while Sandon was a native god going back possibly to Luvian elements, his identification with the Greek Herakles at Tarsus was late. For her the interest of the monument lay in the persistence of religious traditions.

To illustrate her powers as a student of religious iconography, I can cite only in passing her brilliant wartime article on "The Origin of the Greek Herm." Its tenet is that the herm of classical form was not a product of a long evolution . . . "It was the adaption to stone sculpture of a type which had long dotted the countryside and was related to the scarecrow . . . A wooden shaft, brackets, mask, garment, and possibly a phallus . . . the type was originally created for Dionysos and only then transferred to the herms in the time of Hipparchos." Written with easy mastery of both arts and letters, the study ends with a new proposal for the meaning of the word "herma" ("upright," "post").

On the face of it, one might see these studies as brilliant examples of "archaeology of religion," the study of visual evidence produced by archaeology to illustrate the history of religion. Yet Hetty was a true student of religion in a larger sense; it was not the outward manifestation, but the underlying attitude to which her sensitive understanding was attuned.

In her Bryn Mawr address, Hetty described eloquently how she learned about antiquity from living with Greek peasantry; how she attended a wedding feast at which a sudden outbreak of grief occurred at a certain stage of the ceremony: "very close in spirit to the famous Sapphic fragment beginning 'Parthenia, Parthenia' . . . an exhibition not of personal feeling . . . but of powerful, quasi-ritual emotion." "Of this," wrote Hetty, "more sophisticated people are no longer capable, because the compelling force of the necessity and rightness of accompanying the certain events with certain correct emotions—is no longer operative . . ."

This is the language of one who has pondered deeply the



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mainsprings of religion. Hetty's involvement with human condition went beyond cerebral learning. As a worker for the Red Cross and Joint Relief during and after the First World War, Hetty Goldman had seen privation, famine, disease, and oppression. She could feel sympathetically the complexities of a world in transition—and thus she later wrote about the late Hellenistic times: "The Age was not without compassion or charity . . . The contrast between rich and poor, slave and free was more striking than in earlier, simpler days, when pessimism, freely expressed by poet and sage, was philosophic and embodied in aphorisms of general application. The world stood upon the threshold of Christianity—and in the Eastern Mediterranean, where it was born—there was an immense awareness of the sufferings and the tragic fate not only of MAN (generally) but of *individual men* . . ." (*Tarsus* I, p. 30).

It is such depth of human understanding that gave a very special quality to Hetty Goldman as a person and as a scholar.

## HETTY GOLDMAN: EXCAVATIONS OF PRECLASSICAL SITES IN GREECE

MISS GOLDMAN was in Greece in the spring of 1951. She wanted to make a nostalgic visit to Halae, and invited three of us to go with her on a day's excursion. It was a fine day. We went by car from Athens, over good roads and some that were not so good, to Boeotia and through parts of Locris, to the site of Halae beside the bright waters of the Euboic gulf. The place, though untended, was in tolerably good condition. Miss Goldman easily found the familiar landmarks and told us about them and the early days of the excavation, adding anecdotes in that manner of hers which most—probably all—of you remember: frequently they caught you unawares; ascetic and dry, economical of words, warm and kind, and exceedingly funny.

On another Boeotian excursion with her a few years later I proposed that we run over from Thebes to Eutresis. She hesitated; she told me afterwards that she had not wanted to go there, fearing a disappointment of some sort. But she said yes, all right, and we went, and it was good, and she liked it very much. These were the two sites where she had done her chief excavating in Greece. Let me speak briefly about them.

### HALAE

In 1910, when Hetty Goldman and Alice Leslie Walker were at the American School in Athens, the School was turning its interest to Opuntian Locris: the site of Opus, where investigations were conducted (in the library there is a typewritten School Paper by Carl Blegen), and Larymna and Anthedon. The two young women undertook to examine Halae. They were not the first American women to take part in excavations, but they were the first to lead an expedition on the Greek mainland. Work began in the spring of 1911, and there were successive annual campaigns in the next three

years, as described in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1915. After the war Miss Goldman alone gave three more seasons, 1921, 1923, 1931, to further investigation and study.

Acknowledgements in the first published report remind us of the era: B. H. Hill was the young Director of the American School; among others mentioned are Eleftherios Venizelos, Balanos, Stais, the Ephor Papadakis, Keramopoulos, Dawkins of the British School, Homolle of the French; and the foreman George Kosmopoulos, whom Miss Walker was later to marry.

Classical Halae comprised, as we have heard from Professor Hanfmann, a fortified acropolis with many buildings, and an extensive town and cemetery. Looting of the tombs had begun as early as 1860; in 1881 Paul Girard wrote in a doctoral thesis at Paris "Hic quotidie indigenae terram fodiunt, antiqua monumenta quaerentes." And yet there was enough left for the two Americans to discover 280 graves, of which many were intact.

Most of the remains encountered on the acropolis were of archaic and classical Greek times, but some of the soundings went deeper and penetrated the stratified debris of much earlier habitation. That first report mentions them: (in 1911) "Below the classical stratum there came to light a deposit of prehistoric pottery, corresponding, except for some possibly local variations, to the earlier pottery from the prehistoric sites of Thessaly"; and again "Everywhere, abundantly in the deeper portion of the hill, and sparsely in the shallower, there was found evidence of a prehistoric settlement, below the classical and Byzantine strata. Some of the specimens of pottery were interesting." There the tantalizing statement breaks off.

We can discern why. In her excellent publication of the acropolis of Halae (*Hesperia*, 1940) Miss Goldman wrote, tersely, "A neolithic settlement underlay the Greek one. This is not included (here), as Mrs. A. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos has undertaken the publication." That was the division agreed upon. Mrs. Kosmopoulos, we know, was passionately

interested in the Neolithic. She brooded lovingly and jealously over the earliest pots from Corinth. She was a careful scholar, but not quick. And, unhappily, she did not live to finish the account of that most ancient material at Halae. More's the pity, for it is an excellent collection (now in the National Museum in Athens).

Before the First World War very little was known about the Neolithic Age in Greece. Tsountas had done great original work with his excavations in Thessaly; then the two young Englishmen, Alan Wace and Maurice Thompson, had made soundings at other sites in Thessaly and central Greece and brought preliminary order into the study with their book in 1912. A fine young German scholar, Diedrich Fimmen, did another valuable survey; but he died in battle and his book was not published till later. Bavarians had dug at Orchomenos, but studies lagged there and the material was not to be made known till a generation later.

This has been the fate of all too many excavations. By contrast, Hetty Goldman's record is brilliant in this, as in other, respects. She did the spadework well; the program was organized; she felt the responsibility of sharing new knowledge with all others who sought it; and, thanks to her own qualities and those of her colleagues and, in no small measure, to this Institute for Advanced Study, she met all her major obligations. The list of her publications is eloquent testimony.

The Neolithic remains at Halae were not an obligation of that sort for her, but after the death of Mrs. Kosmopoulos she did take the subject very seriously. We talked about it, she and I, several times. Other duties, her age and health, *made it impossible for her to do the study alone; this especially in the face of the old, voluminous, notes which Mrs. Kosmopoulos had left, kept always in what may well be the most elaborate and arcane system that any archaeologist has ever devised.*

The records of that excavation are now with Miss Goldman's other papers at Bryn Mawr, in the keeping of Miss Mellink. Much can be salvaged by diligent attention, and

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a concise report will still be valuable—in a way, more valuable than ever, since knowledge of the Neolithic period has advanced enormously in recent years and the significance of the objects from Halae can now be properly recognized.

### EUTRESIS

Contrast the results of the excavations conducted in 1924-1927 at Eutresis, a site on an eminence above the plain of Leuctra in Boeotia, that plain where Epaminondas left the Greek world aghast in 371 B.C. by defeating the Spartans in equal combat.

Miss Goldman was in sole charge of work in the field—a form of organization which often proves most effective—but she had good colleagues and companions: Dorothy Burr, Hazel Hansen, Piet de Jong, Dorothy Cox, Barbara McCarthy.

The excavation was sponsored by the Fogg Museum in cooperation with the American School at Athens. In 1927 Miss Goldman published a substantial, well illustrated, preliminary report in a 90-page booklet, and in 1931, only four years later, her admirably clear and full account appeared in a handsome volume from the Harvard Press. All the essential information was thus made available quickly, and it has formed a basic building-block in all subsequent studies of the Bronze Age in Greece. The book is factual and direct. It is so well known that we need not describe it here.

Eutresis is very briefly mentioned by Homer, but it was not a famous place. Why the excavation there? Dozens of other sites awaited investigation.

Remember, the time was 1924. The pre-Mycenaean Bronze Age had been discerned long before. Wace had opened some view of it. Blegen at Korakou near Corinth had brought order into the history of the main periods, in 1915; and again in 1921 at Zygouries. Meanwhile others (including Wace at Mycenae itself) were revealing more facts in the Argolid and northeastern Peloponnese in general. But the picture in central Greece was still very dim. Miss Goldman, with her flair

for seeing the right thing at the right time, chose well. Nobody can say precisely why or how a scientist reaches a choice of this kind. Happily, some do.

At Eutresis remains of the Mycenaean settlement were near the top, much disturbed. The underlying strata, representing the Middle and Early Bronze Ages, were relatively well preserved and could be excavated extensively.

In the course of the work, later things were found too: classical and Hellenistic Greek pottery and figurines, part of a cemetery, the torso of an excellent marble statue of a youth and the lower part of a seated female figure, both of late Archaic style. Miss Goldman gives a thoroughly sound description of them.

Apropos of this: she once remarked, "In those days, it did not occur to us to call in specialists to write about objects outside our own fields; when we found such things we sat down and studied them ourselves." (Note that she herself was exceptionally well qualified in temperament, knowledge, and discipline, to make such studies.)

Only one part of the prehistoric mound was not investigated to her satisfaction, the very earliest deposits at the bottom of the heap. "We were wrong," she once said to me; "too timid about destroying anything." One must destroy, in a stratified site, if one is to find what lies below. Again in *Tarsus II* she wrote of ". . . difficulties which finally defeat in varying degree the efforts of all who work at a site which has seen long and continuous occupation: too many habitation levels, too great an accumulation of earth. . . ." At the bottom "ground water surges up in the trenches, which are finally reduced to pits from whose muddy depth the last evidence is painstakingly dredged." (At Tarsus, to be sure, she was speaking of a depth of 32 metres—appallingly greater than that of the deposits at Eutresis or most other sites in the dry land of Greece.)

On the day of the fine excursion in 1958 she spoke again of this problem, and proposed that one ought to do some supplementary digging in the deepest layers at Eutresis, and

destroy where necessary. She asked me to do it. We picked out a suitable area, and she volunteered to provide for the cost.

The work was done in 16 days of September. Elizabeth Caskey and I supervised the digging, in which a trench 4 metres wide by 11 metres long was carried down to bedrock. We had with us experienced workmen from Corinth and Lerna, who lived in tents on the site, and some good men from nearby Boeotian villages, chiefly Parapoungia, a few being sons of those who had worked for Miss Goldman. We were lucky; the strata were clear, and the sequence through the Early Bronze Age and down to some undisturbed Neolithic remains was easily distinguishable. Two years later this Institute gave me the opportunity to follow Miss Goldman's inspiration and example, to sit down here and write a report, which was promptly published in *Hesperia*. She was pleased with it, and the chance to add something to the history of that site of hers was one of my happiest experiences.

I've said we were lucky; but the Boeotian gods did warn us of the dangers of *hubris*. Miss Goldman (preliminary report, p. 3) wrote: "... the fall of 1924, when unusually early and torrential rains cut short the work in the beginning of November." Early, indeed? Our torrents and floods came before the middle of September. Howling winds on the hilltop ripped one tent after another, till all the Peloponnesian workmen had to huddle together in the last remaining single shelter (a small one). It is a bit humiliating to admit, but the archaeologists, luxuriously equipped with a car, were established comfortably in a hotel at Thebes. Just as well, as it turned out; for we had come to know the restaurateur and were able to procure some cooked victuals for our friends at Eutresis. Nay, I remember shopping for woollen underclothing. It was bitterly cold; and we had come to Boeotia in the balmy days which are to be expected at that season.

Another of Miss Goldman's remarks (*Eutresis*, p. xviii): "... Miss von Wagenen," (a photographer) "who joined the excavators for some weeks in 1926, made the panoramic view

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(Pl. XXI). Only those who have attempted to photograph out-of-doors in Greece in the face of violent winds and flying dust can appreciate the difficulties against which her patience and persistence had to contend."

It was characteristic of Hetty Goldman to give acknowledgements and praise where they were due, and in specific rather than general terms. It was also characteristic that she recognized and emphasized two qualities, patience and persistence, which, along with others, are indispensable to the scientist and archaeologist. We remember too that these were qualities which she herself possessed in large measure.



## HETTY GOLDMAN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE ORIENT

**I**N THIS FINAL PAPER I should like to emphasize Hetty Goldman's contributions to the study of the Orient, not just what her discoveries did for the knowledge of the classical world and of the Mycenaeans. Through Tarsus she had much to offer to her colleagues who were Orientalists.

When Hetty Goldman went to Cilicia on the Turkish coast in 1934, she continued her search for the Oriental neighbors of the Greeks that had started in 1922 in Colophon. The new exploratory expedition was made in the spring of 1934 in the company of Emil Forrer, the author of early controversial articles about the identification of pre-Homeric Greeks in Hittite texts from Boğazköy. Forrer was partly right and partly wrong in his sensational identifications of Hittite names for Troy and Alexander, Miletus and Achaeans. He seems to have been wrong quite often in his stratigraphic observations during the first trial excavations in Cilicia in 1934, when, according to his field director Hetty Goldman, he kept complaining of finding Islamic sherds in Iron Age levels, and was firmly lectured on the subject of cleaning out intrusions before proceeding in depth. These admonitions to a philologist by Hetty Goldman must have been a remarkable and stern lesson in the principles of field archaeology. This was one contribution to Oriental studies.

Relations with the Turkish authorities were excellent. Hetty Goldman wrote in the *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXIX, 1935, p. 526: "It is with the greatest pleasure that I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation of the ready help accorded us by the Turkish authorities and of the intelligent understanding with which Dr. Hâmit Zübeyr Koşay, Director-general of the Museums of Turkey, followed and supported our work from the beginning. There were no misunderstandings and there were no delays. Thirty-six hours after we had left Ankara we were able to begin our

reconnaissance . . ." This was the beginning of a long friendship. Hetty Goldman used to tell how, upon her first visit to the Director-general's office, Hâmit Bey rose from behind his desk as he greeted her in French and sat down with her in comfortable chairs elsewhere in the room, because, as he said immediately, "je n'aime pas le bureau, je ne suis pas bureaucratel" Hâmit Bey still hates bureaucracy, and he never failed to send his special good wishes to his friend and colleague Hetty Goldman, from year to year, along with inscribed volumes of his publications of Hittite digging and philological research.

The Achaeans, Greeks and Mycenaean did come to light in Tarsus quite soon in the course of the digging, in the trenches supervised by the series of field assistants who knew how to clean out Islamic, Roman, Hellenistic and any intrusions: the Ehrichs, J. Franklin Daniel, and others. Even before the Mycenaean material came to light, other discoveries showed the historical importance of the site of Tarsus. In the first year of actual digging, 1935, Hittite history and Hittite art were essentially enriched. This was the year when the bilingual bulla with the seal impression of Ishputahshu was found, "the great king, the son of Pariyawatru" in cuneiform and Hittite hieroglyphs, a king who a year before had become known from the archives at Boğazköy as a ruler of Kizzuwatna who concluded a treaty with the Hittite King Telepinu about 1500 B.C. The finding of this seal proved that the land of Tarsus was the land of Kizzuwatna; that Ishputahshu was a great king in his own right. The treaty was written in two languages, Hittite and Akkadian; the seal was in an early form of Hittite hieroglyphs. The Ishputahshu bulla, published as the first of the Hittite hieroglyphic seals in *Tarsus II*, pp. 246-47, still remains strong evidence for the early date of Hittite hieroglyphic writing in Cilicia. Its importance was recognized by Professors Gelb and Goetze. Albrecht Goetze's book, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (1940) presented the geographical conclusions which were corroborated by the evidence from Tarsus.

In the second year of digging (1936) an equally momentous discovery was made. This was the bulla with a seal impression of Queen Puduhepa, No. 15 in Gelb's publication in *Tarsus II*, the seal with the cuneiform reading of the name of this famous priestess from Kizzuwatna who became queen of the Hittites when she married Hattushili III. Hetty Goldman used to say of the seal and of the Tarsus hieroglyphic bullae that their major contribution to Hittite learning was the correct value of the syllabic sign for *PU* in Hittite hieroglyphs. She knew well that the famous queen and Tawananna were given a home by the Tarsus excavations, and that Puduhepa, who looked after the interests of her country also when she resided in the Hittite capital, and who married her daughter (or step-daughter) off to the king of Egypt as recorded at Abu Simbel, was the best known queen of the Hittites, a great historical figure who was born in Tarsus by the beginning of the 13th century B.C.

No wonder the original sponsors of the expedition to Cilicia were pleased. Mary Hamilton Swindler, who at Bryn Mawr College—in the words of Hetty Goldman—had initiated and supported the fieldwork at Tarsus “with vision and unflagging enthusiasm,” wrote in the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin* (1938, March issue, pp. 3f.): “The seal of no more interesting historical figure could have been unearthed for feminist Bryn Mawr than Puduhepa. . . . In this seal Bryn Mawr finds itself involved in a most exciting moment of history.”

At Tarsus Hetty Goldman and her team in their annual seasons until 1939 systematically dug down through the imperial Hittite levels of Puduhepa and the early Hittite levels of Ishputahshu to the stages where history began to give out and a firm stratigraphic framework of prehistory had to be established. While at neighboring Mersin Professor John Garstang was exploring the stages of Chalcolithic and Neolithic settlement in Cilicia, the Tarsus excavations succeeded in making the prehistoric sequence of the early second and of the third millennia B.C., the Middle and Early Bronze Ages,

one of the best explored and most readily understandable in Anatolia. Connections with North Mesopotamia and North Syria became clear for the Middle Bronze Age, and consultations with the excavators of Ugarit-Ras Shamra were frequent. For the third millennium, indications of contact with the West were very strong for the period of Troy II, the great citadel which Schliemann and Doerpfeld had explored and made famous, and which Carl Blegen's team was re-investigating in the 1930's. Tarsus suddenly revealed the substantial connections which the coastal fortress of Troy II had maintained with coastal towns as far away as Tarsus in Cilicia, and in an unprecedented prehistoric sweep of interconnections linked the Aegean with the Near East for the later third millennium B.C. As the digging went deeper, Tarsus turned out to be a well built, fortified town at the time of Troy I, and perhaps even earlier. It certainly was an urban community before 3000 B.C., when North Mesopotamian connections also had been strong, and when towns like Tarsus and Mersin, as well as many unexplored mounds in the plain of Cilicia were extensively engaged in trade and international contacts. All these vistas were opened up before World War II as the excavations at Tarsus reached the lower levels of the mound, and confirmed in 1947-48, when final deep soundings were made.

(This is when I first participated in the excavations at Tarsus. I came in after the excavations had been re-opened and when Theresa Goell was temporarily in charge. Hetty Goldman had been unable to come out in the fall of 1947 due to what she described as a minor health problem. When she came to Turkey in September of 1948, we travelled to Tarsus from Istanbul with stopovers in Izmir and Afyon. At Izmir she had a contretemps when, in the evening, a boy snatched her purse as she was strolling along the waterfront. When she entered the hotel, I suspected somewhat upset, and reported the event, I called for someone to quickly give her a drink of water, but Hetty said: "Who says water! Give me a drink of raki!" We proceeded to Afyon to visit the museum

and several Phrygian monuments in the area, and, after official visits, were treated in the evening to a spectacle in the local theater, where Hetty Goldman and I were the only women among the spectators, safely ensconced in a box in the rear. During intermission, Hetty Goldman was honored to meet the principal actress, a belly dancer who had been to the United States in her days of glory. The encounter was carried off with great aplomb.)

In 1948 the final digging at Tarsus reached the Neolithic levels below the water table. The trenches were muddy and wet; at one stage we borrowed the pump from the local fire brigade to try and drain the excavation; all the firemen achieved when finally the pump worked was to squirt streams of mud over the workmen's jackets on the edge of the trench. But somehow we managed to establish some stratification, and some early evidence was added to the solid series of prehistoric stages explored at Tarsus in previous years. When Hetty Goldman gave her paper on the chronology of Anatolia at the Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1952, Tarsus was the mainstay of her chapter; it remained so in the later edition of *The Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* edited by Robert Ehrich in 1965. It is also the guide, nowadays, for the excavators in the Keban region who try to link their prehistoric sites in the upper Euphrates valley with the West, or those who are rescuing mounds in the Syrian Euphrates basin and trying to establish linkages along the Cilician coast to Anatolia.

The validity and authority of the prehistoric Tarsus sequence is established and respected. The results were presented, as Hetty Goldman declared in accepting the gold medal of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1966, "after inevitable drudgery; but to me it was like working my way through a dark tunnel with a light glimmering at the end, and gradually finding my way, by organization and comparative study, into the full light of a final arrangement that seemed to me valid."

Rather than trying to give you samples of the prehistoric

sequence, exciting though its discovery and elucidation have been, I should want to return to the Hittites and Achaeans, who were the original reason why Hetty Goldman and Mary Swindler were so interested in a Cilician expedition.

The results were not just stratigraphy, frameworks, syllables, and relative chronologies. There were samples of great architecture such as a Hittite temple or palace in Section A, and a miniature sculpture which still counts as among the best in Hittite art. It is perhaps particularly appropriate to show you the rock-crystal figurine of a Hittite god here and today, because Hetty Goldman wrote it up as her contribution for the *Studies in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, with whom she discussed the statuette at the Institute for Advanced Study. The piece is only 6 cm. high, and I describe it in Hetty Goldman's words: "A male figure in long-sleeved simple garment . . . the cone above the head undoubtedly supported a pointed hat made of gold or some other precious material . . . The statuette must have been fixed in a pedestal . . . an animal . . . of wood . . . or of some precious metal . . ." This crystal statuette, a minor work of art, is yet a fine replica of a Hittite type known from the iconography of monuments of the Hittite capital, and Hetty Goldman quoted the gods standing on animals in the rockcut sanctuary of Yazilikaya as well as the descriptions of Hittite cult statues in texts translated by Professor Güterbock. As Hetty Goldman concluded her article for the Herzfeld Memorial volume, she wrote words which are characteristic of her courage and humorous prudence as a scholar: "The writer is well aware how much of what has been written is speculative, but if it brings out the great gaps in our knowledge of Anatolia and stimulates archaeologists not yet retired to seek to fill them by excavation, it will have served its purpose."

I should like to conclude with the Mycenaean, and archaeologists not yet retired. At Tarsus, the Mycenaean evidence came forth in bulk. Quantities of Mycenaean pottery, made in Cilicia, were found in the Late Bronze IIB level, and meant the arrival of "conquerors from the West" (*Tarsus II*, p.

350), people who "sought to establish new homes" at the time of the raids of the Sea Peoples. The detailed history of this period is still being analyzed, and the leading specialists in Mycenaean studies have come to Tarsus to study the evidence. Arne Furumark came in 1947, other scholars from Ugarit and Cyprus have followed, and most recently Mrs. Elizabeth Wace French has been particularly interested in the material from the Late Bronze IIB levels from Gözlü Kule, migrating as a modern Argive Mycenaean to the Cilician coast for illumination.

These studies are very much alive. At Bryn Mawr College, a sample collection of the pottery from Tarsus is a great tool for further study and analysis. The archives of the Tarsus excavations, as well as the earlier excavations of Hetty Goldman, are preserved at Bryn Mawr. One of the present projects in the graduate school is a study of Mycenaean tholoi, by Robert A. Bridges, Jr. His dissertation research led him to the study of the records of the Colophon excavations, and the old notebooks of Hetty Goldman and Leicester B. Holland who worked in the area of the reputed Mycenaean tholos tomb at Colophon in 1922. The archives were searched by Bridges and found to contain precious information: the tholos was indeed recorded. (*Excavation Notebook*, June 3, 1922.) Hetty Goldman's notebook of 1922 describes the finding of the tomb, and Leicester Holland made a plan and section. The complete evidence will be presented by Bridges in *Hesperia* very soon; he and Mustafa Uz, another graduate student of Bryn Mawr, have gone to Colophon and identified the site of the tomb.

As Mycenaean sites in Anatolia, Tarsus and Colophon have been joined by Miletus, Ephesus and Iasos, to mention the most prominent discoveries. Much work is in progress, and that is how Hetty would have liked it. Perhaps I may conclude with a visit to the site of Gözlü Kule which I made years after the digging. I climbed the old mound, went up to the benchmark over Section A, so well known to some of you, and thought about the past. There was much meditation

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about the good and amusing and thoroughly exciting and enjoyable slice of archaeology taken out of Gözlü Kule, and suddenly there was a swish in the air. The storks were migrating over the mound, circling by the hundreds, as they must have done in 1934 when the first trenches were cut and in 1935 when the rock-crystal statuette came out; as they must have done also in the days when Puduhepa left her city to become queen at the great Hittite court.



## Appendix A

### THE YUGOSLAVIAN INTERLUDE

*The following statement by Professor Robert W. Ehrich will fill a gap in the sequence of Miss Goldman's archaeological career as recorded by the four speakers at the Symposium.*

PEOPLE have often asked me how Miss Goldman became involved in her brief excursion into Yugoslavian archaeology, and, perhaps somewhat less flatteringly, in her association with Vladimir Fewkes and myself. To the best of my recollection, the story is pretty much as follows.

Fewkes and I had met as students in the 1928 summer session of MacCurdy's American School of Prehistoric Research, had joined forces and studied independently in Prague in 1928. From 1929 through 1931 we had run soundings in Czechoslovakia, conducted a large-scale excavation at Homolka, and travelled widely in southeastern Europe for the sake of comparative studies. Furthermore, in 1931 we had run some brief soundings in Yugoslavia.

Up to this point our work had been jointly sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, the University Museum in Philadelphia, and, to some extent, by the American School of Prehistoric Research. Because of financial stringencies due to the depression, as well as because of other commitments, the University Museum withdrew from our developing program, and the Peabody Museum began looking for a substitute sponsor. Paul Sachs was at that time Director of the Fogg Museum and, when approached, naturally thought of his cousin, Hetty Goldman.

It is important to remember that at this time the archaeological information from that part of the world was extremely sketchy, based for the most part on collections, small soundings, and usually on what were poorly excavated sites. No solid chronological or geographical patterns had yet developed, and even the highly stratified site of Vinča was in-

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adequately published and known primarily from Gordon Childe's discussion in his *Danube in Prehistory* (1929).

During the summer of 1931 Fewkes and Grbić had made a brief sounding at Starčevo, then undergoing severe damage at the hands of brickmakers, and had assembled some painted pottery not only analogous to that purportedly found in the deepest levels of Vinča but also showing some striking similarities to the Dimini wares of Thessaly. This material was simply too much for any prehistoric archaeologist to resist. Miss Goldman was intrigued, and the Fogg Museum became a sponsor.

The work of the 1932 season fell into two parts, separated by an interval during which Fewkes conducted the students of the American School of Prehistoric Research through a good part of East Central and Central Europe.

The first phase of 47 days, May 6 to June 19, consisted of a reconnaissance by car through major portions of Yugoslavia, seeing local museums and visiting or recording some 144 sites. The party included the late Vladimir J. Fewkes as director, Miss Goldman, who was especially interested in Greek connections of all periods as well as those sites which were clearly Greek or Roman, the late Dr. Miodrag Grbić of the National Museum in Beograd, myself as general staff member, and the late Branimir Bugarčić, then general factotum of the National Museum, who served as driver and technician. The five of us were packed into a Model A Ford day after day, together with occasional assorted passengers who acted as guides of one sort or another. Since neither Fewkes nor I was of dainty construction, we were sometimes quite crowded.

One extra passenger who particularly comes to mind was an elderly, hawk-faced, drunken schoolteacher or local museum director from Kosovska Mitrovica, who took us to see some natural outcrops which, he was convinced, were Megalithic structures. His conversation with Miss Goldman in a deep, raki-cracked voice was as follows:

Drunken old man: Gospoditza, sprechen Sie Deutsch?

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Aunt Hetty, quite sprightly, relieved to hear an intelligible language and hoping for conversation: Ja wohl.

D.O.M.: Steta. Ja sam zaborovia. (A pity. I have forgotten.)

It was a rough trip, but Miss Goldman took it in good part and was a valued, respected, functioning member of the party, particularly after an early down-to-earth session in which she strongly objected to being inadequately consulted and generally not given sufficient consideration. She rapidly and affectionately became "Aunt Hetty" and remained so to us for the rest of her life.

Among other things she became the guarantor of our rather dubious respectability. It was only on the strength of her presence that the villagers of a remote and isolated Macedonian hamlet allowed us to take their very charming and educated young Belgrade school teacher to the neighboring town for dinner and conversation. They were out in force to make sure she was unharmed when we brought her back at 10:00 P.M., long past their normal bedtime.

She maintained her equanimity even when we went down the Lovčen serpentine with a broken front spring, and was ever an excellent trouper, ignoring the discomforts of the back country to which she had already become inured in Greece and in the Balkans during her Red Cross experience in World War I.

After an interlude of nearly four weeks, which she spent in Paris, work resumed with the relatively large-scale excavations at Starčevo. With a couple of untrained and inexperienced students Aunt Hetty took over the careful excavation of what looked like a promising development. Day after day she sat patiently over a crew of unreliable and incompetent workmen and supervised the students as they scraped and mapped change after change in soil composition and textures. Finally the bottom of our developing "prehistoric fortification" yielded bars of decomposing wood which overlaid a fairly recent cow bell. In the history of the site this became known as "the Goldman trench."

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More generally she was a roving supervisor and an overall consultant, particularly on the painted pottery. She also lectured to the members of the School on Aegean archaeology.

In the middle of the excavating season Fewkes with Aunt Hetty and the members of the School took off for a ten-day trip down the Danube, to visit sites and museums in eastern Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania, while I remained on the site with the rest of the professional staff and continued the work. Upon their return she received a cable that her mother was seriously ill, and she had to leave. She had become an integral member of a functioning excavation family, and we were all sorry to see her go. Although she always said that her signature on our two reports was only window dressing, this is considerably less than the truth. She did participate in the basic work, she did read the drafts of the articles, and she did make very valuable comments, most specifically with regard to the sites with classical materials and with regard to routes of cultural contact and transmission.

As an aside, it was on the basis of her acquaintance with my rather mindless tenacity and my previous familiarity with unbaked-brick excavations that she invited me to join her in the Cilician reconnaissance of 1934, which developed into the excavations at Tarsus.

Although she did not join us in the summer of 1933, and although the Peabody Museum, for various reasons, dropped out of the picture in its turn, the Fogg Museum supported a second reconnaissance trip on the part of Fewkes and myself. Fewkes published his report in 1934, by which time Miss Goldman's Cilician venture had begun.

Here and there I have deliberately gone a bit beyond the limits of Miss Goldman's actual participation in order to give a better perspective and, since lives and careers tend to be intertwined, I have for the same reason expatiated a little on some of the involvements of Fewkes and myself. Since many of Miss Goldman's Aegean-oriented colleagues considered—and some still do consider—her excursus into Balkan archaeology to have been something of a temporary

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and inexplicable aberration, perhaps this account will help to fill some gaps in the record. In any event, she found it interesting, and she certainly seemed to enjoy it.

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## Appendix B

### BY-PRODUCTS OF SCHOLARSHIP

*The text of this address, delivered by Miss Goldman at Bryn Mawr College on April 5th, 1955, is included here because it permits the reader to compare the foregoing accounts by her associates with her own memories. The constituents are the same, the flavor differs. A typescript of the address was kindly made available by Mrs. Ashton Sanborn.*

PRESIDENT MCBRIDE, Faculty and Students of Bryn Mawr. I confess that I find it exciting to stand here, where I would not have stood the more than fifty years ago when I graduated from the college. Then it would have been the chapel of Taylor Hall. It would not have held the numbers who are assembled here and so it symbolizes to me the impressive growth of the college both in numbers and scope of scholarly undertaking. To speak only of my own profession of archaeology, even in the early years of the twentieth century Bryn Mawr had a distinguished archaeologist in the person of Joseph Charles Hoppin on its faculty and it is no exaggeration to say that since then Bryn Mawr has achieved a unique position in this field of study. I have only one serious fault to find. Bryn Mawr has always been the source from which I drew my assistants, but as their personal charm had kept even pace with their acquisition of learning, they almost invariably left me for the wider field of matrimony, after little more than a passing acquaintance.

But I have not come here to recall my Bryn Mawr days but, in a sense by official invitation, to take a backward glance over the years of my scholarly activity and see what it may hold of interest for these Bryn Mawr scholars either at the beginning of their careers or in the early days of scholarly pursuits. I am, as perhaps you know, not only an archaeologist but one of that happy band of excavators whose work takes them to many different lands, usually very different in background

and cultural pattern from our own. It has been this interplay of contrasting patterns, this attempt on the part of the excavator and stranger to learn and understand what others live by and what to them is basically important and morally significant which constitutes the intensely fascinating by-product of archaeological excavation. To understand one must avoid the easy pitfall of the merely picturesque, that is picturesque and amusing because it is different from our ways. For the archaeologist this by-product has another and important value which gives life and often content to his work. This is particularly true of the field of prehistory in which much, though by no means all, of my work has been done. The remote past for which there are no written records presents us with an empty shell, or shall we say empty pots, usually in broken condition, some bronze tools, and, if we are fortunate, an occasional bit of sculpture. As an Englishman has wittily said: "We have the tub, but where is Diogenes?" or a Frenchman, more philosophically, "*L'histoire se vide en passant*" which may be paraphrased: "History loses its content as it recedes into the past." And by this loss of content the subtler divisions which once existed are lost and periods are artificially and no doubt often quite wrongly combined and thought of as one, as the dividing lines vanish in the mists of the past. The excavator and archaeologist is caught between two dilemmas: oversimplification of the past in his search for the pattern, the introduction of a too rigid logic into events which may well have been influenced by chance and unpredictable catastrophes—natural or man made—of which no record has been left. Our lack of all knowledge of intervening stages itself produces a kind of false pattern. The other horn of the dilemma is for the excavator to throw up his hands and thinking the search for a pattern a vain pursuit to present his gathered data merely as so much material for others to deal with. But who wants to be like a worker in the beehive toiling to collect honey so that others may live and some day take flight in the wake of a magnificent queen bee into the blue empyraean? No, the field archaeologist must

have the courage both to collect and to interpret wisely and boldly; better a theory if the data at all allow, which may eventually be proven inadequate or false, for it will stimulate the imagination and awaken speculation in others who may well reach more acceptable results. A challenge indeed but one worthy of his mettle and not confined alone to the archaeological field I am sure; for wise interpretation after careful research among the facts either by study or by experiment is the common goal of all scholarship, whether we are dealing with the humanities or with the sciences.

It is just in this business of interpretation that the contact with the simple life of the modern peasant may be helpful. You find, for instance, as we did at Tarsus in Turkey a room full of a strange assortment of built-in bins, platforms and containers and after one glance the peasant workman will tell you, "Why yes, that is the kind of thing in which we store our wood; that is the fireplace, here we would place our vessels and cooking utensils" and in a trice the past comes to life and one sees the ancient household going about its domestic affairs, in the light of the little changed present. There are other experiences less immediate and simple in their application but no less relevant in a wider sense.

Let us go back to Greece for a moment to a remote huddle of fishermen's houses by the waters of a blue and tranquil bay in the year 1911. This was Halae of Locris, a site of diminutive size which was commensurate in inverse ratio to the almost unlimited inexperience of its excavators—myself and another woman from Vassar, who, be it said as an aside, made history in Greece by marrying the foreman and taking up her residence in Arcadia and the highest village of Greece. Halae archaeologically speaking turned out to be quite unexpectedly interesting, presenting a vivid picture of the evolution of a small Greek *polis*, and it provided some unforgettable human contacts.

The first flashback to a year before the First World War, to speak of what is deeply rooted in antiquity in terms of the modern world, is to a day of festival, religious festival of



course, because they knew no other. One danced in honor of the saints as in ancient days one danced in honor of the gods. The splendid tall men of our nearest village mingled with our wiry but less stalwart workmen who had come to us from Delphi. Whether this difference could be accounted racial I cannot say. Be that as it may, the Delphiotes were Greeks, by tradition if not always actually by blood, and the villagers were Albanians. The dancing in starched fustanella, the small ballet-like skirts of the native costume, with the women in embroidered gowns and chains of peasant jewellery at the end of the line was in full vigor to the tune of pipe and bagpipe. The men taking turns at the head of the line vied with each other in leaps and figures.\* Carried away by enthusiasm for the skill of one performer, I expressed my admiration to my Delphiote workman neighbor and this was his self-complacent and slightly sententious answer: "Madam, one must despise a race (meaning the Albanians) which has neither an alphabet nor a literature." The fact that he himself could not read or write, for it was before the days of compulsory education, did not change matters. He knew there had been a Homer and he proudly identified himself with the past and with the literate Greek tradition. An Albanian, however, standing near by and wishing to show his race in a more favorable light, averred that the Albanians had once had an alphabet of their own, but that it had been written on leaves and when tied on the back of a donkey for transport had unfortunately fallen victim to the appetite of its bearer.

Another interesting and rather moving link with the remote past I witnessed some fifteen years later when Greece had passed locally through the Balkan wars and the world through the agonies of the First World War. It was in a village rather near Thebes and not too far from Athens, but made nearly inaccessible in summer by poor roads and completely so in winter by the swampy nature of the ground. There I witnessed at a wedding feast, the second day of a three-day celebration dedicated especially to the bride, some-

thing very close, if obviously not in poetic quality yet in spirit, to the famous Sapphic fragment beginning "Parthenia, Parthenia": a lament for the maidenhood or virginity of the bride soon to be lost. At a given moment the bride rose from the table and then seated herself upon a small stool, a cloth was draped over her head and her girl friends circled about her and sang an appropriate song of farewell to maidenhood. At the same moment the bride and her parents burst into tears which literally streamed down their faces. It was an extraordinary exhibition, certainly not of personal feeling, for all were delighted that the marriage was taking place and were restored to tranquility and even merriment as soon as the song was over, but of a kind of powerful and quasi-ritual emotion which could be evoked at will. Of this more sophisticated people are no longer capable because the compelling force of the necessity and rightness of accompanying certain events with certain correct emotions is no longer operative. I hasten to add that I can vouch for it: there was no use of onions. One could witness, and doubtless can still, the same kind of powerful ritual emotion at almost any village funeral.

Perhaps another aspect of this wedding feast will interest you. While all this was going on a guest stood guard at the door to see that a bandit, who was known to be lurking about, should not get in. It was customary in this village for the wedding guests on entering to slip a few coins among the piled up mattresses and sheets of the bride's dowry; of course her own handiwork accumulated over many years. The bride and groom were anxious not to have the bandit get ahead of them in garnering in these tokens of good will. These bandits were of course not bandits in the accepted sense at all. They might be called "Conscientious Objectors on the Side of Violence." They were usually young men who did not agree with the politics of the party in power and were avoiding military service, although this rebellion against the law usually ended tragically, for unless fed and supported by some village, they lived by robbing travellers, and murder in self defense was the final outcome. It was the time when Greece was debating

the return of King Constantine and feeling ran high. The neighborhood of Thebes was largely royalist and as one man put it to me with irrefutable logic: "Is it not unjust when the bees can have a queen that we should not be allowed to have a king?"

But perhaps I have said enough of Greece and how my contacts with the peasantry enriched my feeling for the past. Before turning to Turkey which was my other and later field of work, I should like to pay one more tribute to the Greeks I knew as foremen, head workmen and in other positions of responsibility. The best of them had a kind of loyalty to their employer which was absolute, and at the same time quite free from any subservience. As one man said to me when I raised his salary because he had stood by loyally in a difficult situation: "I thank you, but for the kind of service I give there is no pay because I do whatever is necessary." This was not boastful and certainly not a rude rebuff, but a beautifully clear and perspicacious statement of the truth. I remember them all, over the years, with affection and respect; for they had qualities of fineness that belonged to a simpler age and to people undisturbed by class or social conflicts.

The first site undertaken in Turkey was the old Ionian city of Colophon situated close to but not on the coast between Smyrna and Ephesus: one of those Greek cities on the western coast of Anatolia which so often in ancient days had felt the tragic interplay of Greek and eastern forces as they came alternately under Persian power or joined their fellow Greeks in alliance or confederacy. Our expedition, a joint undertaking of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, was in the fateful year of 1921 when the Turks under their great leader Kemal drove the Greeks out of Asia Minor and the city of Smyrna was burned to the ground. Once more Greece clashed with an eastern power and this time was rolled back. But when we got there all this was still in the future and Colophon presented a charming and tranquil picture of a

narrow fertile valley through which flowed a stream and a terraced wooded hillside under which the city of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. lay buried.

I can never forget my first visit to the police station to call upon the local authorities and finding upon the walls as practically the only announcement a large poster with a diagrammatic picture of a bicycle cap and a text explaining how it could be made by those too thrifty or too poor to purchase one. It was just the moment when the Turk was forbidden under legal penalty to wear the fez. This may seem to have a slight touch of the ludicrous, but was in reality sound psychology as Peter the Great had discovered long ago when he forcibly clipped the beards and changed the dress of his boyars. The young men took to the change readily enough but the older and more pious were indeed troubled in their souls for they identified the fez with their religion, little knowing it was Greek in origin and had won the fancy of a former sultan who introduced it into the homeland. One old man, very strict in the observance of the hours of prayer, beckoned me into a tent and showed me how he wore a fez and turban securely hidden under the impious cap in order not to offend God and Allah. All of this is of the past and today any villager would join in a laugh at the old fellow.

It was here in Colophon that I encountered for the first and only time in my excavating career a firm belief in dreams as a form of prophetic revelation. They believed no less firmly than the Homeric Agamemnon, and I do not know whether it should be attributed to the Greek or the Ottoman element in the population; probably to the latter for it was they who proved most troublesome to the excavators in their well meant endeavors to help along the work. The dreams were considered by all as revelatory and a heaven-sent source of immediate knowledge. The workmen would arrive in the morning and one would detach himself from the group to announce that he had dreamed of a spot at which we would be sure to find treasure. It was always, of course, a treasure of gold sometimes even accompanied by the figure of an

ancient king—his substance remained somewhat nebulous—who sat guard over his wealth. The workman could be ignored—not so, however, a figure of such importance as the local mayor, who arrived one day with quite a retinue to announce that he, too, had dreamed and his dream was that the treasure lay on the very top of the mountain. Nothing would satisfy the mayor but that we should take a couple of workmen and flounder through the wooded ascent. Fortunately a few paltry stone walls were uncovered which was taken as an indication that the dream had not spoken falsely. The lunch hour sounded and all departed satisfied and I could say that I was putting off the final revelation until adequate preparations had been made for the care of valuable objects. But the soil had been fertilized by the mayor's apparent success and the most unlikely spots were suggested for immediate excavation. The dreams became an absolute nuisance. We were looking for Mycenaean tombs at the moment and an elderly workman informed me, gazing intently at a particularly barren bit of hardpan or virgin soil that here was the place we must dig for Allah had told him so in a dream. So we encouraged him to dig as we agreed that Allah could not have made a false revelation. Of course with the first stroke the pick flew back from the recalcitrant ground and after fifteen minutes of this gruelling work our old fellow suggested that there might have been a mistake somewhere. But no, we could not consent, seeing that he had had this dream sent by Allah. However, after a half hour's back-breaking and exhausting work the episode was forgotten and the Colophonian expedition was no longer troubled by dreams.

There were other sides of Colophon pleasant to remember, especially the physical vigor and exuberance of these young workmen. Far from being worn out by digging they organized in their rest periods contests in hazardous leaps across open trenches and all kinds of tests in strength and wrestling. When a large marble inscription was found a dispute invariably arose between workmen who wanted to seize upon

it and rush down the hill carrying the formidable weight of marble on his shoulders unassisted to prove his strength. They could not be discouraged even after a workman was hospitalized with rather serious injuries, having stumbled as he raced down hill. Perhaps Homer would have looked kindly upon this form of *aretē*.

But early in August ominous rumors were heard, and although the inevitable man "with information from the highest sources" turned up to tell us that he knew positively that the Greeks would never leave Smyrna, we thought it best to close down the work for the time being as we supposed; we little dreamed of the tragedy which was so close at hand. We had received much kindness and hospitality from the owners of the large farm estates in the neighborhood, and it was sad to learn that all had lost their land and some their lives in the disorders which ensued. Some of the landowners were Greeks who had known no other home; others were Europeans like the Dutch family of the Van Lenneps who had been in Turkey for over 200 years. However, this eruption of hostility on the part of the peasants in whom it had smouldered so long could well be understood. For much of the land of these large estates had been taken from them in the payment of debts. And one must add that the interest on a loan was considered moderate when it was not more than 20 percent, and was more when it was a short-term loan.

The antiquities of the expedition which had been stored in the police station, except for the inscriptions which we had had the foresight to re-bury, perished in the local fracas and when we returned for a brief campaign in the fall of 1925 all that could be found of the Colophonian treasure was one iron bedstead of the expedition on which the local chief of police was accustomed to take his noon-day siesta.

These returns to Turkey at intervals were extremely interesting for they showed an old disintegrating empire transforming itself into a modern state under the harsh discipline of a dictator with vision. This, of course, did not proceed

smoothly or without some difficulties which to the observer often had a slightly humorous character. But as one looks back one cannot but admire the essential smoothness of the transformation and its great success in all essentials. This was indeed triumphantly demonstrated in 1950 when after so many years of the single rule of one party, the opposition came in and without any disturbance and with an understanding of parliamentary procedure, which older and more experienced republics could well have envied, the old party retired.

It was almost ten years before I again headed an expedition to Turkey. This time it was for the purpose of finding a site in the still unexplored region of Cilicia which would give us the earliest history of that region and throw some light upon possible contacts with the Bronze Age of Greece; for finds of Mycenaean pottery, whose importance as it turned out were grossly exaggerated, had been found by a party making a preliminary reconnaissance in this region the year before. It was the good fortune of our enterprise that Bryn Mawr, under the leadership of Professor Swindler, became interested in the problem of Mycenaean expansion in this region for there was some reason to suppose that, in view of the important colonies established in Cyprus and Syria, Anatolia, too, geographically so close to both regions, should have had similar settlements. The expedition which started in 1934 as a reconnaissance for an available site settled down for four fruitful excavation seasons between 1935 and 1938 and was only forced to leave again by another world catastrophe—the Second World War.

I am happy to say that many Bryn Mawr students were my companions during these years and that I only hope that they found the association both as pleasant and as fruitful as I did. As contributions to our work I need only mention the chapter on Roman and Hellenistic pottery which Frances Follin Jones wrote for the first published volume of our work, and a thesis written and published by Ann Hoskin Ehrich on the Early Pottery of the Jebel Region in Syria.

## BY-PRODUCTS OF SCHOLARSHIP

This was based on material gathered on a subsidiary undertaking of our first year's exploration on the part of a member of the expedition.

But let me return once more to the changes and developments noted in Turkey during these excavation years. The situation most annoying to the excavators, though thoroughly harmless in itself, was the enormous amount of red tape that had been developed in establishing what at the time they considered necessary police protection. All who entered a town, even for a single night, had to register with the police not only their names, their destination, their port of entry, their place of origin, but the intricacies of their personal family relations. As all this was solemnly registered by a policeman who did not understand what was being said, a delightful confusion of genealogies ensued, and grandfathers and grandmothers were gaily exchanged and painstakingly noted down. It really became a nuisance, however, during a temporary period, happily short, when it was suddenly announced that even a stay of a few hours in a neighboring town would mean a similar visit to the police. Fortunately the local officials were few and I dare say they were soon so buried in paper work and records that some protest on their part must have ended this extreme form of bureaucracy. It is indeed very characteristic of the advances made in Turkey that when in 1946 they had decided that this had become unnecessary, the whole apparatus was swept out of existence and, as far as foreigners in Turkey were concerned, their acquaintance with police stations came to a happy end. During the growing pains of the Turkish administration some curious episodes took place. For example, when the weather grew hot we naturally wished to go down to the coast to a spot some half an hour away for a little refreshing sea bathing. This, it turned out, would be impossible without special permission from Ankara, and when I drew this to the attention of a visiting official from that seat of government he said, eager to be helpful, this was very simple. All you have to do is send us two sketch maps of the exact spot where you wish



to bathe and permission would be immediately sent. One may imagine what refreshment there would have been in a bath so long delayed and so difficult of attainment.

After about a year's work at Tarsus certain difficulties arose of a different nature. While our understanding with the central Department of Antiquities of Ankara had always been of the most cordial nature and they had shown their eagerness to support our work, the townspeople were entirely bewildered by our activities. It was the year 1935 when Turkey was full of Germans of every description. Some were refugees from Nazi persecution who had found a welcome at Turkish universities. But by far the greater number were Nazi agents and representatives of the government or experts there by invitation who swarmed into the towns, into Tarsus no less than elsewhere. Due to their insinuations and false reports of what was actually taking place in our laborious search for broken pottery, the Tarsians were finally persuaded that we were carrying off, as usual, untold treasures. In thinking over how this situation could best be met, I fell upon the device, not alien to an American mind, of throwing a party and introducing into the mysterious house of villainous foreigners the officials and representatives of our local government. We staged a two-fold feast. Our house was a large and picturesque example of the old type of Turkish residence built around an inner court with the living quarters on an upper gallery which ran around two sides of the court. Below were work-rooms; on one side the room in which the pottery was mended, on the other a small museum with shelves on which we placed our finds. On the upper floor was our living room. This we embellished with what we could find, peasant rugs grouped on a kind of divan, and here we planned to serve our drinks, the local rakı, and when this had been enjoyed and a mellow spirit of good fellowship established, we planned to take our guests downstairs and explain just what we were doing. With the help of our Turkish inspector, an excellent man of good will from the Adana Museum, we drew up a list of important citizens (to have wives at this point in the

developing independence of Turkish women was not yet feasible). A certain number of press representatives was added to the list and to our great satisfaction the larger number responded to our invitation. Things went smoothly although conversation was limited by their lack of knowledge of our language and our less than basic knowledge of theirs. Fortunately for the interest of the museum an early jar burial had recently been discovered and this, with a skeleton laid out in its original position and surrounded by pots, was our "*pièce de resistance*." After a visit to the workroom and a showing of the antiquities I made the first speech and almost the last of my Turkish career when I announced that all these fine antiquities which they saw on the shelves were destined for their own museums when room would be provided. There was unbounded enthusiasm and for a while a good deal of talk of establishing a local Tarsian museum, but the less ambitious project of adding a special room to the already existing Adana Museum took its place, and within a year this was carried out. Now was the time for the head of the Adana Museum to act as host. The excavators of Tarsus were invited, and the local governor, or Vali, to represent Turkish authority; when he was asked to cut the satin ribbon which was stretched across the door of this room to inaugurate it, he graciously handed me the scissors saying that as I had provided the antiquities I should also be the heroine of this ceremony. It was all extremely kindly and completely successful for after this exchange of courtesies we never had any more difficulties with the local authorities or those of neighboring towns. There is nothing more effective in trying to scotch a malicious rumor than dispelling a mystery and proving that it never existed.

A very interesting phase of Turkish modernization was the development in school life and the impact of Attaturk's admonition to youth to be proud of being Turkish. It was indeed profoundly disturbing to the adolescent minds of the Turkish school boys. They took any reprimand from a school teacher as an insult to their Turkish blood and sometimes

responded by either attempts at suicide or attempts upon the lives of their teachers, or both. In one year there were three tragic incidents in the schools of Mersin, Tarsus and Adana, two of which were directed against native teachers and one against our good friend and neighbor, the American head of Tarsus College. The teachers all escaped although some were wounded, but the determination of the boys to do away with themselves was such that one who was hospitalized after an unsuccessful attempt, had a knife smuggled into the hospital and completed his heroic but misguided suicide. All this, too, was straightened out as more healthy ideas of pride were developed and pride in their blood was transferred to pride in their scholastic record. As far as I could observe it, improvement in schools was one of the most successful features of the modernization of Turkey. It has, of course, gone a long way since, for these recollections of school life all date back to the years between 1935 and 1938. Not only did the schools improve, but there was a tremendous awakening among the people to the merit, for instance, of such work as we were doing. This had already started, though only in a small degree just before the outbreak of World War II. But when I returned in 1947 for a brief campaign, we were regularly visited by local historical societies from neighboring towns who came equipped with their own interpreter, and ready to listen to guidance which sometimes lasted over an hour. In the same way, many old superstitions were dispelled by better education and the ability of youth to read newspapers. During an eclipse in 1938 when we called a short halt in the work and provided smoked glass to view the phenomenon, sons of our younger workmen had read about it in the paper and showed a healthy interest in a natural phenomenon. Not so, however, our older Kurdish foreman. When I offered him a bit of smoked glass he looked at the ground and said: "I do not wish to see it. I do not know whether it is good or bad, but I believe it is bad." For him it was an omen.

Near the end of our pre-war stay in Turkey I must recall a great and missed opportunity of my life. In 1938 Attaturk suddenly announced a trip to the Cilician region. Our particular corner of the Turkish republic had not enjoyed great popularity with the new powers because of the very mixed nature of the population, among whom Kurds, a very conservative group, and Arabs formed an extremely large element. So that this visit was a kind of sign of approval which the native authorities were extremely anxious to cultivate. They came to me and asked whether as a part of the program for the reception of Attaturk I would stage a brief lecture on the hill to be given in French. I must say that I was greatly thrilled by this prospect. We made great preparations. The dig was thoroughly cleaned and garnished, the Turkish and American flags were raised; but, alas, Attaturk never left the train. He was in the last stages of the illness which soon carried him off—so I missed the opportunity of meeting one of the really great men of the era and never knew how my French would have stood up in the dual excitement of speaking a foreign language to a foreign ruler.

Although only a fraction of Tarsus was excavated, the project had to be abandoned, chiefly because of the great rise in costs. Perhaps in some future day other excavators, even other excavators from Bryn Mawr, may continue the fruitful work which is now in its final stages of publication.



A list of Miss GOLDMAN's writings through 1956  
may be found in

*The Aegean and the Near East*

(Studies presented to Hetty Goldman on the occasion  
of her seventy-fifth birthday.) Saul S. Weinberg, Editor.  
J. J. Augustin, Locust Valley, New York, 1956, pp. xiii-xvi.









