

Alice Leslie Walker (1885-1954) by John C. Lavezzi

Her life was drama: both comedy and tragedy. She was the "High-priestess of Science" who underwent a near damnatio memoriae. Stately and fine, she was struck down by disease but, Job-like, persevered; though her life's work remained famously incomplete. Greece was her second home, and she is remembered for her love for the country; in return she was beloved by many in the country. Her husband was Arkadian, "Kyr Yorgi." oruy>sp was her signature to many telegrams in Greece.

Alice Leslie Walker (26 June 1885- 25 June 1954) was the daughter of James Greig Walker and Josephine Kinney Walker of San Francisco, California, a family of means. She had a sister Josephine (Mrs. Josephine E. Walker Mitchell, of San Francisco), and a brother James (Mr. James Greig Walker, Sea View, WA). In due course having been sent East, she was graduated from Vassar College in 1906 with an A.B. with honors, Phi Beta Kappa, and she received her A.M. degree there also, in 1908. She then enrolled in and was subsequently to receive her Ph.D. from the University of California (-Berkeley), in 1917, with her dissertation on "The Pottery of the Necropolis of Locrian Halae." With her father's death in 1914 her financial future became secure (her mother lived a good many more years--at least through mid-1924 but not past 1940).

The doctorate, though, came after the transforming moment in her life: in 1909 Walker was appointed Fellow in Archaeology of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the academic year 1909-1910. She remained officially a student of the School from 1909 to 1914. Her Grecian focus could remain evermore. In 1910, she was assigned the task of publication of all the pottery (up to Byzantine) found in the excavations of the ASCSA at Corinth, which had begun in 1896, and in the Annual Report of the School for 1910-1911, one reads, "Miss Walker has given the greatest part

of her time to the thorough study begun last year of the vases and vase-fragments from Corinth, and has now nearly concluded the work." This last clause sounds the ominous leitmotiv of her subsequent ill-fated struggle to complete the assignment, or ever her chosen special portion, "the prehistorics." Like many scholars, she found it hard to draw a line beyond which, for the sake of completing a publication, she would not further prosecute her research. And already in 1911 she had been seduced by the lure of fieldwork--get a little more evidence here, clarify a point or two there--and dug "a small pit" in the area of the Roman forum of Corinth (in bygone days called the "agora" as if of the ancient Greek city) south of the Sacred Spring temenos.

In 1911 also, Walker began her collaboration with Hetty Goldman, likewise a woman of means. "At Halae (Theologou, near Malesina) Miss Walker and Miss Goldman worked at their own expense for several weeks, with promising results..." in the spring. These two were the first American women to lead an excavation under the auspices of the School, indeed simply the first women to lead an excavation, in mainland Greece (Harriet Boyd [Hawes] and Edith Hall had excavated earlier on Crete with Richard Seager, but not under School auspices). They had managed with some difficulty to get School Director Bert Lodge Hill to support their permit application despite his misgivings, and although the Greek authorities were wary, too, of the novel concept of an excavation out in the country being directed by women, they had succeeded in obtaining the required permits. Goldman is reputed to have claimed later that the site Halai was selected for excavation because the Director of the ASCSA, Hill, wanted her and Walker as far from Athens as possible; no doubt in jest. The excavation at Halai continued in 1912. The Balkan Wars limited excavation in 1913, but the two worked on their finds, and Walker discussed them at the School's open meeting of 18 April 1913, though she was ill part of the year. In 1914 they also both dug and worked at the School in connection with the excavation, and Walker indeed spent much of the academic year 1914-1915 working in Greece. In 1915 an article on Halai co-authored by the two

collaborators appeared in the AJA: Walker's first publication, and for too long the only full fledged one credited to her. She was, after some purely bureaucratic delay, awarded her Ph.D. by the University of California in 1917, but the dissertation was never officially published. And, as her name is not at the head of the article, her carefully attributed contribution (some two pages worth) to the second round of the then-sizzling debate in the pages of the AJA between Walter Leaf and Carl Blegen over "Corinth in Prehistoric Times" tends to be overlooked (AJA 27 [1923], pp. 151-163; A.L.W., pp. 161-162).

Meanwhile, back in Corinth, her fieldwork increased. Trenches dug on Temple Hill in 1914 were rewarding, especially her trench C, south of the temple. Here she found the largest and probably still the most significant deposit of Early Neolithic pottery from Corinth. World War I halted all archaeological work for a time; and the interruption at Corinth was prolonged by problems of publication deficiency (the Managing Committee of the School wanted earlier results published before undertaking new fieldwork) and funding insufficiency. Walker was able to fund some digging sua pecunia, however, and in 1920 sank trenches in three areas (Temple Hill, Forum West, and South of Museum, as they might be called today). And while her fieldwork burgeoned, Walker also maintained a keen concern for the affairs of the School, particularly as they pertained to providing facilities for women students, and kept up a steady stream of communication with Bert Hodge Hill, whom like so many other students of that great teacher she came to respect and admire (one suspects he must at times have found her unending stream of requests exasperating nonetheless). She pressed even further. "In a letter to the Chairman [of the Managing Committee, F. Capps] written from Old Corinth on April 8, 1921, Miss Walker outlines in a most interesting manner the problems of Prehistoric Greece on which she is engaged, and takes occasion to acknowledge the unfailing courtesy and generosity with which her studies have always been furthered by the Director [Hill] and she also formulates some excellent general recommendations, which will in due time be submitted to the Committee." Her campaign

for better access to school facilities for women students (who though admitted to the School from the start--the first women regular member had attended in 1885-1886, and in 1899-1900 women students outnumbered men eight to seven--customarily were not accommodated in the school's own building, partly as a matter of propriety and partly because of real inadequacies, especially of bathroom facilities) was hastened to fruition when the flood of refugees into Athens after the fall of Smyrna in September 1922 prompted the school to allow rooms to its women-students. Walker herself was among the first, occupying an east room for a part of the winter of 1922-1923.

Alice Leslie Walker was, it seems, well respected in the small community of Aegean prehistorians and was particularly a close friend to Wilhelm Dorpfeld, once an acute observer, skilled excavator, and great lecturer and teacher himself; he had assisted in her 1920 excavations at Corinth by surveying and drawing the plan later published (with some additions by Richard Stillwell in 1935) in The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth. Indeed, he turned over to her full rights to publication or republication of his prehistoric finds from the Choirospelaion on Leukas, even urging her to carry out further investigations in the cave. She also got along well, once a misunderstanding in 1920 had been patched up through Hill's skilled diplomacy and tact, with Carl W. Blegen, Secretary of the School and Assistant Director in the years 1913-1926 under Hill, and Acting Director 1926-1927, member of the Corinth staff, excavator of Korakou, Zygouries, and other sites (later, Troy and Pylos). Her contribution to his side of the controversy with Leaf has already been mentioned, and they would confer on numerous occasions, she with her specialization in the Neolithic of southern Greece, virtually unique at that time, complementing his broad knowledge of the Bronze Age. An entry in one of Blegen's Zygouries excavation notebooks laconically characterizes those heady times. On Monday 9 May 1921, rain interrupted fieldwork at Zygouries: "In P.M. Miss Walker + Dr. Dorpfeld came over by car from Corinth. We went over to Zygouries [from the nearby metochi where he was quartered] + showed them dig. Afterward took them to house for tea + to see pots."

In 1921, Walker's plan for a supplementary campaign at Halal in the autumn had to be cancelled due to her illness. This was the recurrent severe malaria that had or contributed to deleterious consequences in Walker's middle age (she apparently had some kind of intolerance for quinine and was unable to take it, leaving her, as she says, "defenceless": taking heavy doses of quinine in 1920 for malaria had left her temporarily completely deaf). In the later years of her association with the school up to the late 1930's, she was very obese, and moreover had been very hard-of-hearing from the outset, though the malarial fevers may have exacerbated this also, as assuredly did the dampness and coldness of her 1919-1920 winter quarters at "Dr. Mary's" (Dr Mary Kalopouthakis,

whose husband was Theodore Sterioglidou, on whose residential property Walker held a mortgage). These unfortunate attributes have taken on near-mythic proportions in the oral tradition passed down about her. Around this time, nonetheless, having retreated from the malarial pestilence of Corinth to dwell in the refreshing uplands at Magouliana in Arkadia, she accomplished a good deal of travel and observation in the Peloponnesos. This reconnaissance led to the report by Capps (Annual Report, 1921-1922, p. 16) that Walker had announced intentions to excavate two of the more promising prehistoric sites she had noticed. One was a Bronze Age site in the valley of Lake Stymphalos, the other a possible blocked-up cave with pientious potsherds about its putative entrance, near Mathydriion in Arkadia; this latter she believed might be the Cave of Rhea mentioned in Pausanias (viii.36) . The proposed excavations never took place, however, and indeed it appears that neither site has ever again been mentioned in publications (so far as I can determine) up to the present. In the sane Annual Report, p. 21, Blegan had argued for a program of excavating by the School of a series or small prehistoric sites in the Peloponnesos, like Zygouries, at a rate of one per season, claiming that “[f]or the moderate expenditure of \$500 to \$1000, each one of these can be properly and adequately investigated...” With better health, and a less full agenda, she could, then, with her means have easily conducted such an excavation. But the pressure from Capps and the Managing Committee to get her publication out, and the endless frustrations in Corinth in her attempts to accomplish this (lack for years of the services of a potmendor, then an unsatisfactory one briefly, followed by the vigilant struggle to retain for a sufficient time the highly satisfactory services of the potmender Georgios Kontogeorgis; the neverending problem of securing adequate space to strew, study, and store the abundance of prehistoric pottery and artifacts of other kinds, for a long-enough time), together with her exacerbated deafness and chronic malarial fevers, which required her retreats in the warm-weather months from Corinth rich in mosquitoes to the cooler and more salubrious forested uplands of Magouliana (sunstroke at Halai had left her unable to tolerate heat), effectively ruled out any such parerga.

Through these tribulations and more she grew increasingly to rely on the devoted ministrations of her "Kyr Yoryi," Georgios A. Kosmopoulos. Like his father, Angelis Kosmopoulos, he had been foreman at Halai for some period of the excavations by Walker and Goldman, and also was for a time foreman at Corinth. Much more than this, however, it was he who made his home village, Magouliana, her retreat and second home in Greece, so reminiscent of the wooded highlands of Oregon and California, in which she had camped as a girl. Very often he served as her chaffeur, first in the Chevrolet bought in 1920, later in the Dodge that replaced it after some years, and frequently he ran various business errands for her between Magouliana and Tripolis or Corinth, or between [Ancient] Corinth and New Corinth, or between Corinth and the School in Athens or the house in Old Phaleron that was her third home in Greece. In retrospect, the outcome of such propinquity, reliance, and trust may seem almost inevitable. Walter and Kyr Yoryi married on 22 June 1924 in a Greek Orthodox service in Old Phaleron, with an Anglican service the following day in Athens. He would stand by her side through all that would follow, for the rest of her life. Yoryi's family became hers now—his two sisters (Eleni was one), his uncle, Colonel Kosmopoulos, and his cousins (the colonel's daughter and her husband, who used to house-sit her house in Old Phaleron), Angelis his father, and others. What Josephine Walker thought of her daughter's marriage is not recorded, though a flurry of telegrams in August 1923 urging that Alice go quickly from Lucerne to New York may relate to more than health concerns. In January 1924 the engaged couple

were back in Corinth, but Walker naturally was not able to spend much of the season there. This in part has to do with the inadequacy of workspace in Corinth: on the one hand, she purchased the house in Corinth that she had hitherto held on lease; on the other hand, some of the pottery from the Corinth excavations was brought to the National Museum in Athens "for her convenience," since she was not much in Corinth. In 1924-1925, however, she was back in Corinth, working on the prehistoric pottery during most of the winter. About now (10 June 1925, when she was just two weeks shy of forty), her son was Thorn (described by her in August as "a small baby"). He was named Elias--possibly after the toponymous Prophetis Elias of Magoulia, the patrilineal patron sometimes cited in the headings of her letters. Tragically, Elias James Walker did not live a full life, though at age five, she wrote to Hill, he wore eight-year old's garments, spent hours daily building kastra and mandras for donkeys, and corrected her Greek (oral tradition says he suffered a severe congenital defect). He died in young adulthood, in 1947.

Mrs. Kosmopoulos, though perhaps at times a vexation to Hill, had been one of his students at the School, and in spite of occasional misunderstandings and disagreements had remained a faithful friend to the School, and diligent in her work on School material. Indeed, her benefactions to the school were neither few nor insignificant, though most often anonymous, and her generous donations more than once aided the School at a crux. The Annual Report for 1922-1923 tells, for instance, that the school's endowment campaign, in part seeking to secure Carnegie Corporation and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., matching funds at a substantial level, reached its goal thanks to several large subscriptions (not only those Louis Lord mentions in his history of the school, p. 147), among them that of Miss Alice Leslie Walker. But now change was afoot, change that would not be auspicious for Walker Kosmopoulos. The 1925-1926 school year was to be the last under the direction of Bert Hodge Hill. While Hill was acknowledged a master-teacher, and had guided the School with integrity and skill through tumultuous times, he was in his scholarly undertakings exceedingly cautious, desirous of a high level of precision and of certitude prior to publication. The result was that he had not produced during his tenure a publication record in regard to Corinth

that was satisfactory to the Managing Committee headed by Edward Capps, Jr.; and this led to urgings, then virtual ultimata, and at last ouster. There were some bitter feelings at the time, as the School divided into Hill-Blegen and Capps-Lord factions; although Blegen had served under Hill as Secretary of the School and then as Assistant Director, he agreed to the interim position of Acting Director for 1926-1927, with Benjamin Dean Meritt as his Assistant Director. Capps was Chairman, and Lord a member, of the Managing Committee (and Lord would later succeed Capps, also authoring the School's history from founding in 1881 up to World War II, parti pris). The clear, new goal was prompt publication. Harold North Fowler, Annual Professor for 1924-25, was named

editor-in-chief of Corinth publications and proceeded to formulate a program of publication.

Mrs. Kosmopoulos came to an arrangement with Fowler for her publication of the prehistoric material, verbally; ominously, the terms of this agreement apparently were not recorded in written form. Already in fall 1925, owing to a lease problem, the school in Corinth had to move the pottery she had spread out in one storage/workroom annex of the museum from it to another, while she was in Magouliana. Under Hill's direction, Oscar Broneer supervised the transfer with care. The following academic year, when Blegen was Acting Director, she was allowed full use of the northeast room of the Pietri excavation house at Corinth as a workroom to continue her study of the pottery, occupying it with her material from early January until the house was needed for the resumption of the regular excavations, 3 April 1927. The task of evicting her and her pottery fell to Meritt. Her sherds were spread out in systematic fashion on tables all over. Lucy Shoe Meritt recalls how Ben (not yet then her husband) instructed Walker Kosmopoulos to move it out to make the house available to the returning men (Blegen, at al.). Tier telegraphic response reportedly was “

An $\nu\tilde{\nu}$," adynaton akineton, "impossible immovable " which if not in the event acceptable nonetheless struck a note of bemusement, for by this time she herself "moved like a mountain, slowly." (The preserved records of this event do not include those actual words.) Her work on the prehistoric pottery went on, nonetheless, albeit at a comparably ponderous pace. To help accelerate the process, her initial official assignment, to publish all of the pottery from Corinth up to the Byzantine, had been reduced by an agreement worked out the previous spring (1926) among her, Dean George H. Chase of Harvard, and Dr. Stephen Bleeker Luce of Boston. Fowler, the Corinth editor, had sounded Luce out about publishing the classical pottery from Corinth, while Chase had had an interest for some time in the Roman pottery. The three conferred, first in Corinth, in the museum and storerooms, then continuing at Kosmopoulos's house in old Phaleron. After some contention about where and how to draw the line of demarcation between their respective assignments, she and Luce agreed that her task would go through the Corinthian period and that his would start with the mid-sixth century B.C., as Chase resigned it to him, Luce's assignment would continue down through the Roman (no provision had yet been made for the Byzantine pottery). Kosmopoulos "declared that her [manuscript] of prehistoric pottery was nearly ready to

submit..." But she could not draw a line and say "this is where my task terminates."

Working after the end of March 1927 in workspace provided in the National Museum, Athens, in "the quiet friendly Room of the Minotaur" (so-called because of the statue it had once housed; it had windows on the south side of the museum), thanks to successive museum directors G. Oikonomos and her friend A. Philadelphus, she would continue not without some controversy to add new material to her study through 1935. Philadelphus had been given a small amount of the Byzantine pottery from Corinth, from the school's excavations, by her courtesy (with Hill's consent), in 1920. In 1923 he had published this (most likely to have been excavated by Walker Kosmopoulos on the south side of Temple Hill in 1914 and 1920) in the Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society of Athens; included was a remarkable footnote, with the following passage (in translation). "These pots were mended by the very distinguished and experienced mending technician Mr. Koncogeorgis, at the expense of the American archaeologist Miss Alice Walker, who in many ways has benefitted the Corinth Museum, having erected among the others in it two large and elegant display-cases. To this noble young lady of the great American people, truly a priestess of Science and devoted admirer of our Fatherland, I express here the boundless gratitude not only of myself but indeed of all Greeks." The article is datelined Athens, 20 September 1923.

Her ability to work in space provided in the National Museum was in part the return, prompted by gratitude and honor, of her own generosity. Though she now had adequate and practical space, however, work proceeded even more slowly, as the museum's hours were limited, to her run. There comes a crushing iteration. In the 1929-1930 Annual Report: "Mrs. Kosmopoulos has promised a part, at least, of her volume on Prehistoric Vases this summer." 1930-1931: "There is some prospect that copy for part of Volume VII, The Vases, by Mrs. Kosmopoulos, . . . will be received in the near future." 1931-1932: "Progress is reported on the volume devoted to vases by Mrs. Kosmopoulos."

1932-1933: "Professor Fowler reports considerable progress in the volume devoted to the vases, which is being written by Mrs. Kosmopoulos. 1933-1934: "It is reported that Mrs. Kosmopoulos expects to submit a part, at least, of her manuscript on the vases in the near future." Then, with the 1936-1937 Annual Report, a pall falls: "No further volumes in the Corinth Series have been published and little progress is reported on projected volumes." Besides, however, Walker Kosmopoulos had conducted further excavations at Corinth in 1930 and 1935, had subsumed into her study materials from other Corinth excavators' work in 1926, 1931, and 1932, and had found time to conclude a long-outstanding obligation by excavating at Halai again, in 1935. So long as Hill, Blegen, Carpenter, and Stillwell had been Directors of the School (1906-1935), the work of Walker Kosmopoulos and her progress toward publication had been accepted, whatever the difficulties from time to time. With the Acting Directorship in 1935-1936 of Edward Capps, a nemesis of old to Walker Kosmopoulos, her fortunes with the School began to decline, and the years 1936-1938 saw increasing acrimony.

Capp's conviction that prompt publication was vital to the welfare of the School and its reputation had been a key factor on his decision to play a leadership-role in bringing down Hill's directorship, it seems, and over the years from the 1920's onward he had repeatedly prodded Walker Kosmopoulos to a sense of urgency about her work. She knew and understood this, and yet the great bulk of Corinthian prehistoric material in her hands was still mostly unpublished. The status quo was no longer tolerable. When Charles H. Morgan, II, ascended to his directorship (1936-1938), his bold, active management style had scant patience for the prehistorian steeped in the mores of an earlier era and perhaps too possessive, too confident in the security of her assignment. Mrs. Kosmopoulos had had a meeting with Capps, as Chairman of the Managing Committee, on 20 April 1936 that went badly. His memorandum of the interview says that she demanded reimbursement for certain expenditures incurred in her work, such as payment for photographs by Wagner and for watercolors by de Jong, and for assistance

from anthropologists and chemists, to a total around the then-not inconsiderable sum of \$1000.00; and that she had rehashed old grievances spanning a quarter-century. He, on the other hand, had pointed to the depletion of the Revolving Publication Fund. A bitter exchange of letters followed, laden with acrimony. Then, in a letter from old phaleron to Morgan, 27 January 1937, she mentioned in a seemingly off-handed fashion that "it has been arranged" that there should be an exhibit of Corinth prehistoric materials in the National Museum in Athens. She had in fact in 1936 secured permission from the director of the National Museum, her friend Philadelphus, to establish there a display of materials from Corinth and her comparative sites, Halai and the Choirospelaion of Leukas. Responding a few days later, the Director of the School expressed his surprise at this announcement and said he felt that rather there should be an exhibit of Corinth prehistoric finds in the Corinth Museum. He further indicated that he was disturbed to hear that she was still (on her own) removing material from the Corinth Museum to Athens--this was finds from the 1931 excavations for the new museum at Corinth--and said that such "loans" should be returned as soon as possible and that in any case he, as Director, should be consulted first; again, he urged exhibition at Corinth, specifically offering "the south case on the east wall" of the vase room in the Corinth Museum. Months later, he still awaited a response, and in April asked for one. She fudged; he demanded. They had a frank discussion. His letter of 24 April tells her that he wishes to see her book finished and published through the Publications Committee in the Corinth series; however, "I am planning to dig some prehistoric pottery this spring and have it studied." But, he goes on, it won't be published unless she finds it impossible to complete her manuscript before his departure for America on 21 June; and, he assures her, the publications Committee will find money to publish it. In early May, she responds, finding his letter "incredible," asserting her manuscript is hers alone and that she will choose its conveyor to America, and refusing his assurances about publication, saying the publications Committee must first re-open the matter with her. Morgan replied in a letter

12 May, receipt of which she refused, that he had referred her wishes to the Publications Committee, but now felt free to publish the prehistoric finds of the season; and that as there was still no exhibit in Corinth she must withdraw the Corinth pottery from the Athens exhibit "at once" or he'd call for the return of all the Corinth prehistorics from the National Museum in Athens to the Corinth Museum.

Morgan had charged School Fellow Saul S. Weinberg in 1937 with the mission of digging some trenches on Temple Hill for prehistorics, and now he was told to go ahead and publish his results. This he did promptly, producing a classic article that is still regularly cited two generations later, although to be sure it is unique among Hesperia articles in having been published with a prominent disclaimer to the effect that this work was done at the express orders of the Director of the School (this was to exculpate the young Weinberg from involvement in the matter). Meanwhile, the situation deteriorated rapidly. Morgan on 14 May 1937 wrote to Georg Karo on Munich seeking clarification of rumors from Dorfeld that she planned to publish her book in Germany and have Karo edit it. "All of the Corinth material has been excavated under the auspices of the School," he notes, "and it is the School which must determine the place and means of its publication" [this is in fact in accord with the School's By-laws]; she has, he says, convinced herself the school won't publish it, which is false. By fall of 1937 the official process had been set in motion to have the Corinth prehistoric material in the National Museum, Athens, returned to the Corinth Museum. Even the Ministry of Education (which in those days housed the Department of Archaeology) was very patient and granted her an extension of the deadline for the move; but at last the Director of the Archaeological Service, G. Oikonomos, and the Minister of Education himself, K. Georgakopoulos, were explicit and firm in ordering the return of all the Corinth prehistoric material from Athens to the Corinth Museum—"all," because of strange machinations that took place in early 1938, when at last set about seemingly to comply. In February 1938, fifteen cases, which by her signed statement contained all the

prehistorics in question, were shipped to Corinth. But when a few weeks later the cases were opened for transference of the pottery into museum boxes in the presence of the Ephor of the Argolidokorinthia, Pitides, it was immediately clear they did not contain the more important materials she was known to have had in Athens. Another recovery order was cut. Her explanation was that one small wooden box had been held aside by Philadelphus and was for whatever reason overlooked--true, as far as it goes, as Morgan acknowledged in May, still seeking resolution. For, in a letter dated 12 April 1938, Morgan had tersely presented his case and, though expressing his regrets, coolly informed Walker Kosmopoulos that her connections with the School were ended. But she would not be moved, and there was no resolution.

It transpires that she had had a large amount of the most important Corinth material crated up with her finds from Halai, and had had the whole case labelled "Halai." Morgan became aware of this ploy, and in June of 1938 wrote to the ministry indicating that the school wished to divide the Corinth from the Halai finds and return the Corinth prehistorics to the Corinth Museum (the Halai material, at Jetty Goldman's suggestion, was eventually to have been transferred to the Thebes Museum, considered its proper home). This, however, did not take place. Apparently, the war precluded execution of these plans. What is clear is that a very large quantity of pottery was not returned to Corinth and instead remains in the National Museum's storerooms at this moment. Further, there is a small display of material--unpublished--from Corinth, Halai, and probably Choirespelaion in Case 47 of the pre-Mycenaean Gallery of the National Museum. The bulk of the material in the Athens storerooms came to light again in the mid-1950's when a crate labelled "Halai" was re-opened in connection with the project of Dr. Robert A. Bridges, Jr., to undertake publication of the prehistoric finds from the old excavations at Halai by Goldman and Walker Kosmopoulos.

Thus, the inglorious climax of her more than a quarter-century's stormy yet devoted relationship with the American School of Classical Studies, with the advantage

of retrospection after a long span, one may conclude that, while the situation certainly demanded action by the School and Morgan, the long-term strategic harm to effective study and publication of the prehistory of the School's important site at Corinth, its longest-running excavation, shows that early on a more tactful and precise diplomacy would have been preferable. Her immediate response to Morgan's order is hinted at in her remark that Philadelphus, among other kindnesses for which she expresses her gratitude, "also did all in his power to protect my work when its destruction was threatened." In any case, though now cut off from long-awaited publication in the School's Corinth series (she attributes her turning to publication elsewhere to depletion in the revolving fund for the Corinth series: disingenuous, as we have seen, for at most such right have delayed publication without preventing acceptance of a manuscript) , with indeed the help of Georg Karo of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens she arranged for independent publication through the Bruckmann Verlag in Munich, and was ready to go to press in 1939. World war II halted that plan.

The war and its tense Cold War aftermath also nearly prevented the troubled publication from ever reaching attainment (as Walker Kosmopoulos explains in the "Afterword: 1948," and especially in the "Postscript" loosely inserted at the last minute, perhaps now missing in consequence from some of the 500 copies printed). But finally, in 1948, the renamed "Munchner Verlag bisher F. Bruckmann" issued The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth, vol- I. This is the introductory volume only (and short) of the projected three, the second was to be the detailed presentation of the material from Corinth, and volume three the comparative study of the materials from Halai and the Choiospelajon, but they never appeared. Walker Kosmopoulos and Kyr Yoryi were now in Santa Barbara, California, and, with peace in Greece delayed until 1950 by civil war, it may be (evidence is deficient) that she never was able to return to her beloved Greece. We know that in 1951 she wrote to Blegen from her home in California (temporarily she was then in Santa Cruz, but her permanent home had become Santa Barbara), thanking

him for his review of her book, but, still smarting, noting what she calls his stand against "gang" elements in the school's council, and mentioning that she had had "virus x" during the epidemic of 1951. She published only one further scholarly article dealing with prehistoric Corinth, which appeared in 1953 in a Festschrift for her old friend and early teacher in Greece, David Moore Robinson. This was an ingenious but at first glance perhaps somewhat eccentric-seeming exploration of the possible influence of birchbark basketry techniques on the styles of some of the prehistoric pottery of Greece. Thereafter, except for reviews and references to her publications, the only direct acknowledgement of Walker Kosmopoulos in the archaeological literature for some years is the passing reference in a footnote in Mary Campbell Roebuck's 1955 Hesperia report on her 1954 excavation on Temple Hill, Corinth, to "the late Mrs. Kosmopoulos." Her book had been very widely reviewed after its appearance in 1948, but less than seven years later her death went all but unnoticed.

She had in fact undergone near damnatio memoriae (or its modern equivalent, being declared a non-person). Lord's highly sanitized (pace his protestations to the contrary, p. ix) 1947 chronicle makes no mention of her severance from the School in 1938, and only slight mention of the events leading up to and following from it (p. 139). Indeed, her long and eventful relationship with the School is in general minimized in that account. Likewise, the Annual Reports make no direct reference to what had transpired; instead one reads only, in the 1939-1940 report of the Publications Committee (submitted by Benjamin Dean Meritt) , that "[y]our Committee is also studying the problem of the assignment of prehistoric pottery [for the Corinth publications]..." In 1940-1941, the Publications Committee projected a volume "18. prehistoric Pottery" in the Corinth series, though without a named author. Thereafter, only the lonely note in 1962-1963's report by the Corinth Director, Henry S. Robinson, is relevant, as he makes mention of some 300 fragments of Penteskouphi plaques that had been excavated in 1905 and "which have just this past winter been re-excavated from the ruinous house in Old

Corinth which had once been occupied by Mrs- Kosmopoulos." This was after a severe earthquake in August 1962 had damaged many of the older buildings in the village. It was part of this salvage operation, too, that brought into the old museum of Corinth the numerous tins of both prehistoric and later pottery that had languished in her house, as it seems, since the late 1930's. These were subsequently vetted and recorded. Likewise, the contents of the fifteen crates returned from the National Museum in 1938: these had been re-loaded into 133 cardboard boxes of the kind then commonly used at Corinth for pottery-storage (boxes approximately of shoebox size and shape), labelled "K..." plus a number from one to fifteen, and stored on a high shelf accessible only by a tall ladder. By the late 1960's the identification of these boxes and their contents had passed into Corinth staff lore as "Potters' Quarter context pottery" [i.e., "K..." for Kerameikos]. But by the summer of 1972 curiosity led me to investigate and recognize this pottery for what it is, thus initiating my long dance with "Mopsie's" ghost.

Oral tradition at Corinth preserves a number of anecdotes about Walker Kosmopoulos, not all of which are recorded here. A few recollections, however, should be set forth. The better part of these are owed to the first-hand memories of Lucy Shoe Meritt, who so graciously shared them, to the improvement of this account. Alice Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos came to Greece a tall, stately woman, whose impaired hearing was worsened by difficult living and working conditions in Greece, who was stricken by malaria severe to near the point of death (callously trivialized by one of the villains in her school life) , with typhoid-like symptoms in 1920, who in later years became very heavy as a result, moving deliberately, slowly; and yet never lost her love for Greece and her commitment to her research (--in this as in all matters, the preface of her book will repay a very close and attentive reading that takes note of what is not said as well as of what is: she was a very careful and precise, if somewhat old-fashioned, writer of English). She had done a great deal of travelling about the Greek countryside and topographical research, and was a bird-lover and in general a nature-lover. In the 1930's, she was a

frequent presence at "school teas" on Mondays; with the "big black box," her hearing-aid into which one had to speak for her, an imposing presence, and perhaps terrifying to some, but Lucy Shoe did not shy from speaking into the black box. Lucy thus knows that "Mopsie" (as she was even then, as now, known to those familiar with her) was a great story-teller, who told great tales appreciatively. She could tell one, for example, how to get places, and was very kind, for all her difficulties, especially to students. To Lucy Shoe, she was very friendly and caring, and encouraging; Lucy represents the next stage after her of a woman, working on her own, and Walker Kosmopoulos was an exemplar of a woman who worked things out for herself in a difficult era. Two little tales should be taken with awareness of the sense of humor, even self-deprecating humor, that Mopsie could show.

In the 1930's Lucy Shoe was working in Corinth, when Richard Stillwell was Director (1932-1935). Upon a certain occasion, Mr. and Mrs. Kosmopoulos were present at the excavation house in Corinth for tea; Dick Stillwell, always very gallant, had greeted her and Kyr Yoryi, and likewise, when they left Dick saw them to the gate. Then, having looked back to see that the Kosmopoulos's were indeed gone, on his return to the house, he spoke, or tried to. He laughed; he roared. Snatching up a piece of paper, he quickly produced a sketch: a tree, and on a limb an enormous figure seated holding a big black box; below, a tiny pixie of a Corinthian sherd. "She said," while leaving, he explained, "a tiny sherd had me quite up a tree. " On another occasion, at the School in Athens, at a time when most of the students were elsewhere, Lucy Shoe came into the library and upon entering the stacks found Mopsie perched high [again] on a stool reaching for a book on one of the notoriously high top shelves. Turning toward Lucy, Walker Kosmopoulos said, "now how do I get down?" So Lucy helped her down, with great difficulty. Mrs. Kosmopoulos graciously thanked her, showing her appreciation and sense of humor both--she was, after all, Lucy says, five times Lucy's then-size. A last, poignant tea-time note: William "Rob" Loomis, a fellow-student of mine at the School

and now one of its trustees, said in 1989 that as a youth in Santa Barbara, California, he and his family were next-door neighbors of Mr. and Mrs. Kosmopoulos. Walker Kosmopoulos, though elderly (so Loomis, but she could not have been above her late sixties), would come over sometimes for tea in the early 1950's, though Kyr Yoryi did not, being content to tend field out back on the ca. one acre they owned. He reportedly survived her by some few years at least.

Alice Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos, with all her trials and problems, "represents," as Lucy Shoe Meritt observed, "something in our field worth remembering-- a real dedication to the work she was doing." Alas, perhaps an over-dedication.

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