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# THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY [1] IN THE SOVIET UNION

BY

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*An Offprint from*

THE AMERICAN REVIEW ON THE SOVIET UNION, Vol. VI, No. 2 (February, 1945)

Quarterly Publication of the American Russian Institute

58 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.



## THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE SOVIET UNION

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ON the night of December 28, 1941, Sergei Aleksandrovich Zhebelev, distinguished scholar in ancient history and member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., died in his native city of Leningrad, which was then under siege by the Nazis. The seventy-three year old scholar, whose half-century of scientific activity was divided nearly equally between the pre-Revolutionary and Soviet regimes, was part of the living tradition of Russian intellectual achievement, for which the October Revolution represented not so much the end of an era as the opening of a vastly extended field of activity and development. Under the new regime, Zhebelev continued to turn out new scientific work and new, Soviet scholars. The record of Soviet achievement in the field of ancient history is partly the record of Zhebelev and his contemporaries, partly that of their many students, the new, Soviet generation.

It is this record that the present article will attempt to survey. The term "ancient history" is here taken as including the histories of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and neighboring lands on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, Anatolia, Greece, and Rome. There is very little in English on Soviet studies in this field, nothing of a generally descriptive nature. The recently published anniversary volume, *Twenty-five Years of Historical Studies in the U.S.S.R.*, provides a useful summary of the subject in Russian in the article by M. A. Korostovtsev, "25 Years of Studies in Ancient History."<sup>1</sup> The same volume contains three articles summarizing Soviet studies in the prehistoric archaeology of the territory of the U.S.S.R.,<sup>2</sup> which lies outside the scope of our survey. Aside from Korostovtsev's article, which has a rather rich supply of bibliographical references, there were available to the author several issues of Soviet journals and a number of books, monographs, and other publications. Although coverage is by no means complete, it is hoped that

<sup>1</sup> "Izucheniye istorii drevnevo mira za 25 let," *Dvadtsat pyat let istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, pp. 189-208. This volume, published in 1942 by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and edited by V. P. Volgin, E. V. Tarlé, and A. M. Pankratova, contains eighteen articles summarizing the different fields and subfields of Soviet historical studies. The article on ancient history is, with one exception, the longest of the eighteen.

<sup>2</sup> S. V. Kiselev, "25 let sovetskoi arkheologii" (25 Years of Soviet Archaeology), pp. 41-53; V. I. Avdiyev, "Istoriko-arkheologicheskoye izucheniye drevnevo Kavkaza" (Historical-Archaeological Studies of the Ancient Caucasus), pp. 54-65; *idem*, "Istoriko-arkheologicheskoye izucheniye srednei Azii" (Historical-Archaeological Studies of Central Asia), pp. 65-77. For an English summary of the article by Kiselev, see *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1 (January-March 1944), pp. 101-104.



where formerly there may have been only a few disconnected fragments of information, there will now be for the interested American student a more coherent picture of Soviet scholarly production in the field as a whole.

Before taking up the work of Soviet scholars on the various phases of the history of the ancient world, something should be said about the philosophic approach to historical studies in the Soviet Union. The approach is, of course, a Marxist one, that is, it is based on dialectical and historical materialism.<sup>3</sup> For the historian this means that the particular segment of human history which engages his attention is considered, not as an isolated, static phenomenon, derivative from and conforming to certain intellectual or ethical patterns, but as a part of a continuous social process, the direction of whose development and the character of whose cultural institutions are determined ultimately by the changing nature of the conditions of material life.

For the Marxist historian the material base forms the point of departure for the analysis of all social structures in their historical development. For him the slave societies of the ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome represent a definable stage in human history; and the origin, development, decay, and final disappearance of these societies reflect, ultimately, changes in the mode of production—i.e., changes in the tools and techniques with which men produced their material livelihood, and the consequent changes in men's relationships to these tools.

Although socio-economic history thus must occupy a central position in the Soviet approach to history, it by no means occupies the whole canvas. According to Marxist historical theory, ideas and political and cultural institutions are derived from material conditions, but they also act upon and influence them, and so play a role in social development. Friedrich Engels, one of the founders of this theory, wrote in a letter to a friend: "Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic base. . . . It is not, as people try here and there conveniently to imagine, that the economic position produces an automatic effect. Men make their history themselves, only in given surroundings which condition it and on the basis of actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other political and ideological ones, are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the red

<sup>3</sup> For the best brief statement of the essence of this philosophic approach and its application to social science, see Joseph Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, New York (International Publishers), 1940.

thread which runs through them and alone leads to understanding."<sup>4</sup>

As in all other phases of Soviet life, the element of collective planning for the achievement of certain long- and short-term goals enters into the field of historical studies. In ancient history the long-term goal of Soviet scholarship is nothing less than the reworking of the whole subject on the basis of a thorough study of the vast material already accumulated in their own country and abroad and of the new discoveries of Soviet scholars. This project is already taking concrete shape in the plan of the Academy of Sciences to publish a *History of the World* in many volumes. In 1938 the journal *Marxist Historian* carried a proposed outline for this work,<sup>5</sup> five volumes (II-VI) of which are to be devoted to the ancient world: Volume II to the orient, III to Greece up to the death of Alexander, IV to the Hellenistic period, V and VI to Rome. In the same year a large section of one issue of the *Review of Ancient History* (1938, No. 3) was taken up by a discussion of this preliminary outline. The discussion included an analysis of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*, and the relevant parts of the *Histoire générale* edited by G. Glotz, as well as proposals for the treatment of the various subfields by different Soviet historians. Volume II, edited by V. V. Struve, A. Ranovich, V. I. Avdiyev, and M. A. Korostovtsev, and part of the volumes devoted to Greece and Rome, under the editorship of Zhebelev, A. Mishulin, and Mashkin, were finished just before the outbreak of the war in 1941.

A more immediately pressing task for Soviet ancient historians was presented by the need of new teachers and textbooks for the rapidly growing school and university population. By the 1938-39 school year the number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools was 31,517,375—four times greater than in 1914-15; in institutions of higher learning the 1938-39 enrollment was over 600,000—six times larger than in 1914.<sup>6</sup> This meant that whole armies of new teachers had to be trained and new, Soviet textbooks written on many different subjects, including history texts on the ancient orient, Greece, and Rome.

Much of what was produced in the twenties and early thirties, however, under the influence of the historical school of M. N. Pokrovski, had to be done over again, or at least extensively revised. The followers

<sup>4</sup> Engels to Starkenburg, January 25, 1894, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence, 1846-1895*, A Selection, New York (International Publishers), 1936, pp. 517-518. The Soviet scholar A. Mishulin writes in an editorial article in the *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Review of Ancient History) that "problems of the history of culture, of the role of ideas in social development" should be mastered by cultural workers in the U.S.S.R. as part of their "cultural inheritance from the past." *VDI* for 1938, No. 3(4), p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoriik-Marksist*, 1938, No. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Eugene Medynsky, "Schools and Education in the U.S.S.R.," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (June 1944), pp. 288, 289.



of Pokrovski earned the title of "liquidators of historical science" by their adherence to the following two-fold theory of history. In the first place, they held that individuals, their personalities and their actions, were of no importance: only schematized mass movements and tendencies had any place in history. Hence in their hands history was transformed into "empty sociologizing."<sup>7</sup> In the second place, they tended to judge phenomena of the past only from the point of view of their value in the present. For example, they would hold that because the institution of slavery would be altogether reactionary and nonsensical in modern industrial society, therefore, any social formation in the past that rested on slavery was in all respects and at all stages of development reactionary and nonsensical. "From the point of view of the 'school' of Pokrovski . . . nothing would be left of history except 'nonsense,' i.e., this would mean the complete liquidation of historical science."<sup>8</sup> With the removal of this nihilistic influence in historical studies, specialists in the various fields set to work to repair the damage. By the end of the thirties a whole new crop of texts had appeared, including several in ancient history, for different school levels.

#### THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The institutional framework within which all this work is planned and carried out was also basically reorganized in the late thirties. Today the main centers of research in ancient history are to be found in or connected with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.: the Institute of History, which has a special division of ancient history; the Institute of Oriental Studies, with a seminar on the ancient orient; the Institute of the History of Material Culture (formerly the G.A.I.M.K., or State Academy of the History of Material Culture), under whose auspices much of the archaeological field work is conducted; the Institute of Language and Thought; and the Academies of the Union Republics.

Outside of the Academy there are the museums and universities, chief among which are the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad and the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and the historical faculties of Moscow and Leningrad State Universities. Aside from the reports, bulletins, proceedings, etc., published by the various institutions already named, there is one journal covering the field as a whole, the

<sup>7</sup> A. M. Pankratova, "Sovetskaya istoricheskaya nauka za 25 let i zadachi istorikov v usloviyakh velikoi otechestvennoi voyny" (25 Years of Soviet Historical Science and the Tasks of Historians in Conditions of the Great Patriotic War), *Dvadtsat pyat let istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> A. Mishulin, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

*Review of Ancient History*, a quarterly which started publication in 1937.<sup>9</sup>

Some idea of the coverage of this journal may be obtained by a glance at the contents of an issue taken at random. Issue No. 4 (5) for 1938 contains articles, reviews, and archaeological notes dealing with a wide range of subjects, from the agricultural communes of ancient Mesopotamia (by N. M. Nikolski) to Byzantine history and research at home and abroad. In the section entitled "Reviews and Bibliography" there is a critical review of Allan Chester Johnson's *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (by A. Ranovich) and a six-page-long listing of articles from French, British, and American journals published during 1937. With regard to subjects treated the emphasis varies from issue to issue, but the range is consistently wide, and the interest in material published abroad is evidently lively.

Although Soviet studies in ancient history have touched on all major phases of that subject, some areas have been more intensively cultivated than others. This unevenness is partly due to political and geographical stringencies, and partly to the weight of inheritance from the past. Russian ancient historians of the pre-Revolutionary period and Soviet ancient historians since 1917 have to a large extent concentrated their attention on the study of the ancient cultures in the Black Sea area and the Near East.

Several of the scholars who worked in these two fields before 1917 are highly regarded in the Soviet Union today. One may mention here a few names that will be known in the United States also. For the Black Sea area there are Latyshev, Stern, and Farmakovski;<sup>10</sup> for the ancient orient, M. V. Nikolski, Marr, Shileiko, and Turayev. In recent years ancient oriental studies in the U.S.S.R. have expanded to such an extent that shortly before the Nazi invasion the founding of a new journal that would be devoted entirely to this field was being seriously considered.<sup>11</sup> Our survey will begin with the ancient orient, proceeding

<sup>9</sup> For the Russian title, see p. 4 above. The author of the present article has not seen any issues of this journal later than 1940, but references in Korostovtsev's article (cited above) indicate that it continued to be published during the early and most difficult part of the war. It may interest American scholars, whose reading public is relatively narrow, to learn that the number of copies printed in 1939 (No. 1) was 20,300, a 4,300 increase over the preceding issue (1938, No. 4).

<sup>10</sup> In discussing the contributions of the late Academician S. A. Zhebelev to Russian studies of the ancient cultures in the Black Sea area, Professor Mishulin remarks that Russian scholars have for a long time held front-rank positions in this field: "Without the work of Russian scholars, especially of Latyshev . . . and Rostovtzeff, even today it would be impossible to approach the study of such cultural formations as Olbia . . . Chersonesus . . . the kingdom of the Bosphorus." "S. A. Zhebelev v russkoi nauke po drevnei istorii" (S. A. Zhebelev in the Russian Science of Ancient History), *Istoricheski zhurnal*, 1944, No. 1, p. 75. For Soviet appreciation of the work of earlier Russian scholars in ancient history, see Mishulin's article on the "Legacy of Russian Science in Ancient History," *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4), pp. 25-35.

<sup>11</sup> Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 193. For a summary of Soviet studies on the ancient orient up to 1937, see V. V. Struve, "Izucheniye istorii drevnevo Vostoka v SSSR za period 1917-1937 gg." *VDI*, 1938, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.

Journal  
of  
Oriental  
Studies  
on  
Struve  
p. 47



geographically south from the Caucasus, through Anatolia and Mesopotamia to Egypt.

In ancient oriental studies, as in the study of ancient society as a whole, a subject of primary interest to Soviet students is that of the socio-economic substructure. In contrast to the opinion held by some scholars in western Europe and America, the prevailing opinion among Soviet scholars is that the social structures of the ancient states in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, like those of Greece and Rome, were based on the institution of slavery, and not on feudal or semi-feudal social relationships. Beyond this area of general agreement there is considerable difference of opinion among Soviet scholars as to the specific character of slavery in the ancient orient, as distinct from slavery in Greece and Rome. The fundamental position on this question was largely worked out by the leading Soviet orientalist, V. V. Struve;<sup>12</sup> contributions to the discussion have also been made by N. M. Nikolski,<sup>13</sup> I. M. Lurye,<sup>14</sup> V. I. Avdiyev,<sup>15</sup> M. A. Korostovtsev,<sup>16</sup> and several others.

#### CAUCASUS AND URARTU

The Caucasus region has been subject to archaeological and linguistic investigation by Russian scholars since well before the Revolution, and work in this area has been developed further under the Soviet regime. It has been known for some time that the population of this region had at an early date considerable intercourse with neighboring peoples in Asia, and part of the territory occupied today by Soviet Armenia and Georgia was in the eighth century B.C. included in the kingdom of Urartu (or Khaldia), whose capital was near the present-day Lake Van in Turkish Armenia. In recent years the Soviet archaeologist Kuftin has found in Georgia remains of a culture that antedates the Urartu period and may go back to the second millennium or even earlier.<sup>17</sup> In the study of the Khaldian language (the language of Urartu) and cul-

<sup>12</sup> See his: "Ocherki sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi istorii drevnevo Vostoka" (Studies in the Socio-Economic History of the Ancient Orient), *Bulletin of the State Academy of the History of Material Culture* (G.A.I.M.K.), 1934, issue no. 97; "Problema zarozhdeniya, razvitiya i upadka rabovladelcheskikh obshchestv drevnevo Vostoka" (The Problem of the Origin, Development and Decline of the Slave Societies of the Ancient Orient), *Bulletin of the G.A.I.M.K.*, 1934, issue no. 77; "Khettskoye obshchestvo kak tip voyennovo rabovladelcheskovo obshchestva" (Hittite Society as a Type of Military Slave Society), *Bulletin of the G.A.I.M.K.*, 1934, issue no. 97.

<sup>13</sup> "Rabstvo v drevnem Dvurechye" (Slavery in Ancient Mesopotamia), *VDI*, 1941, No. 1.

<sup>14</sup> "K probleme domashnevo rabstva v drevnem Yegipte" (On the Problem of Domestic Slavery in Ancient Egypt), *VDI*, 1941, No. 1. See also his article on "The Value of a Slave in Ancient Egypt" in *VDI* for 1938, No. 4 (5).

<sup>15</sup> "Rabovladieniye na drevnem Vostoke" (Slave Ownership in the Ancient Orient), *Istoriya v srednei shkole*, 1934, No. 2; "Selskaya obshchina i iskusstvennoye orosheniye na drevnem Vostoke" (The Agricultural Commune and Artificial Irrigation in the Ancient Orient), *Istoriya-Marksis*, 1934, No. 6.

<sup>16</sup> "Rabstvo v drevnem Yegipte v epokhu XVIII dinastii" (Slavery in Ancient Egypt in the Period of the Eighteenth Dynasty), a dissertation still unpublished in 1942.

<sup>17</sup> Kuftin's finds were reported in *Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh*, Institute of the History of Material Culture, Moscow, 1940, Vol. VIII. See also the summary by V. I. Avdiyev of archaeological investigations in the Caucasus cited in n. 2 above.

tural remains Soviet scholars are continuing the work of distinguished predecessors. Prominent in this field before 1917 were the Assyriologist M. V. Nikolski and the philologist N. Y. Marr. The latter specialized in the study of the Khaldian language as related to the Japhetic language group, direct descendants of which he found among languages still spoken in the Caucasus. His work has been continued by his student N. Meshchaninov. An outstanding student of the Khaldian language, writing, and antiquities is B. Piotrovski, who has written the chapter on Urartu for Volume II of the *History of the World*.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE JAPHETIC THEORY

The linguistic theory developed by the late Academician N. Marr is held in high esteem in the U.S.S.R., where it has influenced the work of historians and linguists beyond the field in which Marr himself was chiefly active.<sup>19</sup> The Japhetic theory has received scant attention outside the Soviet Union and practically none in academic circles in the United States. A detailed account of its linguistic techniques and conclusions lies outside the scope of this article, but some of its more general aspects and influences may be noted here.

Marr's special field of study was the languages, ancient and modern, of the Caucasus region. From his investigations of these languages he concluded that, together with certain geographically scattered but linguistically related languages in western Europe and Central Asia, they formed a distinct group, called "Japhetic" on the analogy of the Semitic and Hamitic groups. To explain the peculiar geographic distribution of these related languages, some of which are today found in isolated "islands" in the Pyrenees and Pamir regions, Marr at first assumed an ethnic dispersion from the neighborhood of Mount Ararat, the remains of which were for the most part obliterated by new tribal migrations of Indo-Europeans and Semites. Later, however, he rejected the racial assumption at the basis of this hypothesis and adopted an altogether different approach to the problem.

In broad terms, the new approach rested on a theory of linguistic development that was essentially an application of the general philosophic approach to history already described, i.e., historical materialism. Two main principles were involved: (1) that individual groups of

<sup>18</sup> See also his article, "Urartskoye gosudarstvo vo vtoroi polovine VIII v. do n. e." (Urartu in the Second Half of the Eighth Century B.C.), *VDI*, 1939, No. 1.

<sup>19</sup> For a general description of Marr's theory and research activities, see *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (Large Soviet Encyclopedia), Vol. XXXVIII (1938), s.v. "Marr," pp. 261-264 and Vol. LXV (1931), s.v. "Yafeticheskaya teoriya," pp. 809-827. Both articles contain bibliographical references. For a recent appraisal of Marr's theory as opposed to those of the "Indo-European school" of linguistics, see pp. 21-22 of the article by S. P. Obnorski, "Razrabotka russkogo yazyka za 25 let" (Russian Languages Studies for 25 Years) in *Izvestia Akademii nauk SSSR, Otdeleniye literatury i yazyka*, Vol. III (1944), issue No. 1.



related languages should not be considered as insulated "families" whose members evolved from a single parent, or *Ursprache*, but rather that they should be regarded as systems of languages whose kinship resulted from the socio-economic and cultural interrelationships of the people who spoke them; (2) that the process of linguistic change is primarily not one of the sprouting of branches from a single parent stem according to phonetic laws quite unconnected with external circumstances, but rather that linguistic change and development take place largely as a result of socio-economic intercourse, and languages pass through stages of development which can be classified and related to socio-economic stages of development. The study of the various stages of growth of a developed language he called linguistic "paleontology." Thus Marr came to the conclusion that the Japhetic language group, or "system," represents an early stage of development, corresponding to a certain socio-economic stage of development of the population in the Mediterranean area. That in some parts of Europe and the Near East this stage was not "outgrown" could be explained by the isolation and consequent backwardness of the peoples involved.

It can be seen that the application of Marr's theory required the coordinated study of archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological factors, since all these factors were, according to the theory, involved in the process of linguistic change. Furthermore, the Japhetic theory, as it came to be called, has a bearing on questions other than linguistic. For example, it tends to minimize the role of migrations and conquests, which have figured large in both ancient and modern mythology as agents of cultural fertilization. Although Soviet historians do not deny the historical reality of tribal migrations and the importance of their influence on the communities with which they came in contact, they do not consider these movements to be the factor mainly responsible for social change.<sup>20</sup>

#### MESOPOTAMIA AND ANATOLIA

In the study of ancient Mesopotamia—Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria—besides M. Nikolski and Marr, V. Shileiko did important work on languages and inscriptions, both before and after 1917. His student, A. Riftin, translated and published the Babylonian juridical and administrative documents in Soviet collections.<sup>21</sup> I. Dyakonov, lecturer on Assyrian language in the Leningrad State University, wrote the chapter

<sup>20</sup> For brief discussions of this point see V. V. Struve and I. L. Snegirev in their preface to Turayev's *Istoriya drevnevo Vostoka* (History of the Ancient Orient), Vol. I, pp. xi-xiii; and V. Sergeev, *Istoriya drevnei Gretsii* (History of Ancient Greece) (Moscow, 1939), p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Starovavilonskiye yuridicheskiye i administrativnyye dokumenty v sobraniyakh SSSR*, 1937. This work was reviewed by I. Dyakonov in *VDI*, 1940, No. 3-4.

on Assyrian history for Volume II of the *History of the World*. N. M. Nikolski has followed in his father's footsteps as a student of ancient Mesopotamia, with socio-economic problems of that area as his special field. He is the author of the chapter on Babylonian religion and culture in Volume II of the world history, and of the article "Babylonia" in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*.

In Hittite studies Shileiko again ranks high for his work on inscriptions, and Marr for his study of the Hittite language. Borozdin, N. Nikolski, and Struve have published studies on the Hittite legal code, and Korostovtsev wrote the chapter on the history of the Hittites for the *History of the World*, as well as the chapter on the Hittites for Struve's new university text on the history of the ancient orient. Persian studies are represented by A. Freiman and M. Dyakonov; the latter wrote the chapter on Persia under the Achaemenids for Volume II of the world history. Struve was in 1942 working on a study of the Persian social system in the Achaemenid period.<sup>22</sup>

Soviet studies in early Jewish history have laid considerable emphasis on the Jewish religion and have, in the work of N. Nikolski, taken the form of Biblical criticism, in which religious themes are studied in relation to the socio-economic foundations of ancient Jewish society.<sup>23</sup> Other scholars in this field are Frank-Kamenetski and Ranovich, whose history of the ancient Jewish religion was published in 1937. For the stress laid on Marxist Biblical criticism, Korostovtsev gives this reason: "Biblical history has always served as a refuge for the idealist interpretation of many questions in the history of the ancient orient, primarily, of course, in the ancient history of the Jewish people."<sup>24</sup> In the field of Semitics, Borisov, Shileiko, and Krachkovski have published a series of Aramaic, South Arabic, and Punic inscriptions in Soviet collections.<sup>25</sup>

#### SOVIET EGYPTOLOGISTS

Since the death of B. Turayev in 1920, the "dean" of Egyptologists in the Soviet Union has been V. V. Struve, whose name, already mentioned several times in this survey, is well known abroad for his publication of the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus.<sup>26</sup> Struve's general erudition, his ability to work with primary sources in several ancient languages, and his

<sup>22</sup> Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>23</sup> For a list of Nikolski's numerous studies of the early history and religion of the Jewish people, see *VDI*, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 263; see also his article, "Problemy kritiki biblii v sovetskoi nauke" (Problems of Biblical Criticism in Soviet Science), *VDI*, 1938, No. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>25</sup> *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture*, 1921, and *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.*, 1932-36.

<sup>26</sup> *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der Schoenen Kuenste in Moskau* (Quellen u. Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik; Abtheilung A: Quellen, Band 1). Berlin, 1930. Reviewed by T. Eric Peet in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XVII, pp. 154-160.



wide range of interests have made him active and productive in more than one branch of oriental studies. In Egyptology, aside from his work on the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus, he translated into Russian and wrote a commentary on the Leyden Papyrus containing the so-called prophecy or "admonitions" of Ipuwer. This document, according to Struve, describes conditions of revolt that could only have obtained at the end of the Middle Kingdom, before the coming of the Hyksos, and not in the so-called "Dark Ages" at the end of the Old Kingdom, as some scholars have thought.<sup>27</sup> Also by Struve is a study on the Egyptian historian of the Ptolemaic period, Manetho;<sup>28</sup> in recent years he has been working on the demotic texts in Soviet collections.

Aside from his own extensive researches on special subjects, Struve has, like Zhebelev and others of the older generation of scholars, personally trained or influenced many young Soviet Egyptologists. He has also taken part in the collective effort to provide the schools, the universities, and the large reading public outside these institutions in the U.S.S.R. with textbooks and general reading matter on the ancient world. He is the author of a university text on the history of the ancient orient (including China and India).<sup>29</sup> In 1935 Struve, together with I. Snegirev, published a new edition of Turayev's *History of the Ancient Orient*.<sup>30</sup> Struve has also made important contributions to Volume II of the world history, of which he is one of the editors.

In his summary article Korostovtsev gives special mention to approximately twenty Soviet scholars working in the field of Egyptology, only a few of whom can be noticed here. In Egyptian history, besides Struve, N. Sholpo and Perepelkin have contributed chapters to Volume II of the world history. Sholpo's special concentration has been problems of Egyptian chronology.<sup>31</sup> V. Avdiyev, besides publishing a course of lectures on the history of the ancient orient, has specialized in the history of Egyptian military policy.<sup>32</sup> Snegirev and Y. Frantsov wrote a history of Egypt designed for the general public.<sup>33</sup> In the field of religion and mythology, Frantsov wrote the chapter on Egyptian religion and culture

<sup>27</sup> *Recheniya Ipuvera*, 1935. See, e.g., J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, New York, 1905, pp. 204-205.

<sup>28</sup> "Manefon i evo vremya" (Manetho and His Time), *Zametki Kollegii vostokovedov*, Vol. III, 1928; Vol. IV, 1930.

<sup>29</sup> This work, published in 1941, is a revised and enlarged version of Struve's history of the ancient orient published in 1936 as Volume I of the *History of the Ancient World*, which was being issued under the auspices of the G.A.I.M.K.

<sup>30</sup> B. A. Turayev, *Istoriya drevnego Vostoka*, edited by V. V. Struve and I. L. Snegirev, 2 vols. This work was first published in 1913, and was revised by Turayev in 1917. The editors of the 1935 edition brought the bibliographical references up to date and added a critical preface.

<sup>31</sup> See his article on "The Date of the Introduction of the Calendar in Ancient Egypt" in *VDI*, 1939, No. 1.

<sup>32</sup> See his articles on Egyptian military policy in the archaic period and under the Old Kingdom (*VDI*, 1938, No. 1) and under the Middle Kingdom (*VDI*, 1939, No. 1).

<sup>33</sup> I. L. Snegirev and Y. Frantsov, *Drevniy Yegipet*, Leningrad, 1938. See the detailed and sharply critical review by I. Lurye in *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4), pp. 220-223.

for Volume II of the world history, and the article on Egyptian religion in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*. M. Matye has also specialized in this field, and in 1940 published a volume on *The Myths of Ancient Egypt*. In Egyptian art N. Flittner, V. Pavlov, and Matye have done considerable work, and Avdiyev published a volume on archaic pottery.<sup>34</sup>

A number of Soviet scholars have made special studies of the Egyptian language and script in the light of Marr's linguistic theory. Among them, I. Livshits has produced a big work on "determinatives in Egyptian writing."<sup>35</sup> The outstanding Coptologist in the U.S.S.R. is P. V. Yernshtedt. His name is known abroad for his publication of documents of the Coptic period in Soviet collections.<sup>36</sup>

#### BLACK SEA AREA

Although Soviet ancient historians have been very active in the field of Egyptology, their contact with new material on the subject has necessarily been for the most part<sup>37</sup> at second hand, through foreign publications, as has been the case with respect to other areas beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. Along the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea, on the other hand, Soviet investigators have had direct contact with the sites of ancient Greek and Roman settlements for most of the last twenty-five years. As a result, publication of new material has come in a fairly steady stream, recently interrupted by the brief but destructive fascist occupation in 1941-1943.

This area was a part of the Greek and Roman world for more than a thousand years. Its cities, mostly Greek foundations, were busy "frontier" trading stations, which handled at times a large commercial traffic between the cattle and grain-raising peoples of the hinterland steppes and the cities of the Mediterranean. Thus rich deposits of objects of material culture were to be expected and have in fact been found here by antiquarians and archaeologists since the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

Under the Soviet regime excavations have been conducted on the sites of the Greek colonies of Olbia on the Bug River in the Ukraine

<sup>34</sup> V. I. Avdiyev, *Geometric Ornament on Archaic Pottery*, London, 1935.

<sup>35</sup> For reference to this and other works on Egyptian language and writing, see Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 199, n. 7.

<sup>36</sup> *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*, herausgegeben von Gregor Zereteli, IV, *Die Kome-Aphrodito-Papyri der Sammlung Lichacov*, bearbeitet von Peter Jernstedt, Tiflis, 1927. Reviewed by H. I. Bell in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. XIII, 1927, p. 269.

<sup>37</sup> Some Egyptian objects have been found on Soviet territory and Soviet scholars have continued the work of Turayev in publishing descriptions and studies of them. One such work appeared in English: V. I. Avdiyev, "Egypt and Caucasus," *Ancient Egypt and the East*, 1933, Parts I, II (March, June), pp. 29-35. See Korostovtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 198, n. 5 for a list of other publications on this.

<sup>38</sup> For the history of Russian archaeology, see S. A. Zhebelev, *Vvedeniye v arkhologiiyu: Istoriya arkhologicheskogo znaniya* (Introduction to Archaeology: History of Archaeological Knowledge), Petrograd, 1923, part 2; A. Mishulin's article in *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4) referred to above, n. 10. For a brief summary in English, see the introduction to M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.



(by the G.A.I.M.K. and the Academy of Sciences), Chersonesus in the Crimea, near Sevastopol (by the Chersonesus Museum, since 1926), in the area of the Bosporan kingdom on the Kerch peninsula (beginning in 1932, by the G.A.I.M.K.) and at Phanagoria (by the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts), and on Roman sites in western Georgia and near Yalta in the Crimea. Archaeological conferences were held at Kerch in 1926 and at Khersones in 1927. In 1939 a special conference was called by the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to summarize the results of the work so far.<sup>39</sup>

In Greek epigraphy Latyshev, Nikitski, Zhebelev, and Novosadski all began their work before 1917 and continued it under the Soviet regime. In the *Review of Ancient History* for 1938, No. 4 (5), Professor Novosadski reviews the first twenty years' work of Soviet epigraphists; of the score of names mentioned here, nearly all are cited for publication of new finds or new readings or interpretations of inscriptions previously found in the Black Sea area. Latyshev continued to publish new material, not included in his fundamental work on Greek and Latin inscriptions,<sup>40</sup> in the bulletins of the Archaeological Commission and of the G.A.I.M.K.<sup>41</sup> Novosadski has trained a number of students who are now active in the field. One of these, to whose work Novosadski gives considerable prominence in his review, is B. N. Grakov, whose special field is stamped amphora handles, necks, and tiles. Using the inventory of these objects in the Hermitage Museum published by Pridik in 1917, Grakov made an analytical study of one group, vase handles with stamps bearing the names of magistrates, a type that is frequently found on the north shore of the Black Sea.<sup>42</sup> On the basis of the letter form, emblems, and other data appearing on the stamps, Grakov was able to classify the handles chronologically within this one group, an achievement that added greatly to the historical value of these objects, which hitherto "were not taken from the excavations at all and not described, or were dumped in museums," where no one worked on them.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> This conference was reported by L. M. Slavin in *VDI*, 1940, No. 1.

<sup>40</sup> V. V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, Vol. I and II, St. Petersburg, 1885-91.

<sup>41</sup> *Izvestiya Arkheologicheskoi komissii*, 1918, issue no. 65, pp. 9-26; *Izvestiya G.A.I.M.K.*, Vol. I, 1921, pp. 17-28, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 84-104. The last article cited was published after Latyshev's death in 1921.

<sup>42</sup> *Drevnegrecheskiye keramicheskiye kleima s imenami astinomov*, Moscow, 1929.

<sup>43</sup> N. Novosadski, "Antichnaya epigrafika v SSSR za 20 let (1917-1937)" *VDI*, 1938, No. 4(5), pp. 201, 212. Also by Grakov, "Epigraficheskiye dokumenty tsarskovo cherepichnovo zavoda v Pantikapeye" (Epigraphical Documents of the Royal Tile Factory in Panticapaeum), *Izvestiya G.A.I.M.K.*, issue no. 104, pp. 202-210. Also in the field of ceramic inscriptions: V. F. Gaidukevich, "Stroitelnye keramicheskiye materialy Bospora" (Structural Ceramic Materials of the Bosporus), *Izvestiya G.A.I.M.K.*, issue no. 104, pp. 211-315 (including a catalogue of the stamps in the Kerch Museum); an article by T. N. Knipovich in the same bulletin contains a list of stamps on amphora fragments found near Elisavetinskaya Station in 1928 (pp. 199-201).

The contributions of S. A. Zhebelev to Greek epigraphy of the Black Sea area were largely in new readings or new interpretations of material discovered and published by others. The value of his work in this respect is appraised by Novosadski in the following tribute: "In the clarification of inscriptions already published Academician S. A. Zhebelev has made a particularly great contribution. He often finds in them new facts, new features not observed by other scholars. After his revision an inscription published long ago often appears to us as if for the first time."<sup>44</sup> These new studies of old source material have often been used by Zhebelev as the basis for historical essays, a few of which may be mentioned here.

In his article on "Miletus and Olbia"<sup>45</sup> Zhebelev discusses the mutual relations of Miletus and her colony and gives in full the text of a treaty of isopolity between the two cities, which he assigns to the year 331 B.C. when Alexander's general Zopyrion was laying siege to Olbia. In the "Rise of the Tauric Chersonese"<sup>46</sup> Zhebelev, after a restudy of the source material, attributes the founding of Chersonesus (as a Tean trading station) to the sixth century B.C. In a study of the inscription containing the "Chersonesian oath,"<sup>47</sup> Zhebelev made a new translation of the document and in his commentary showed that this was not, as Latyshev had supposed, the usual oath administered to citizens upon their reaching maturity, but was connected with the special circumstances of a recent unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the democratic government of Chersonesus.

Zhebelev wrote a number of articles on the history of the kingdom of the Bosporus,<sup>48</sup> which he considered particularly important for its evidence of the close economic and cultural ties between the Greeks and the native populations (Scythians and Sarmatians). This mutual interpenetration was so great that "one should speak of the Bosporus not as a Greek state, but as a Scytho-Greek or Sarmato-Greek state."<sup>49</sup> His best known work on the Bosporan kingdom was based on a new translation and interpretation of an inscription found in Chersonesus in 1878 containing a decree in honor of Diophantus, officer of Mithridates Eupator of Pontus, who put down a revolt of Scythians in the second century

<sup>44</sup> Novosadski, *op. cit.*, p. 212. On Zhebelev's contributions to the study of the Black Sea area in antiquity, see the article by his pupil D. P. Kalistov in *VDI*, 1940, No. 1.

<sup>45</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR*, for 1929, Vol. XII, ser. 6, pp. 427-435. The inscription here discussed by Zhebelev was found at Miletus and first published by A. Rehm in *Milet III. Das Delphinion in Milet*, Berlin, 1914, 289 (165), No. 136.

<sup>46</sup> *Doklady Akademii nauk SSSR*, issue no. 9, pp. 157-162.

<sup>47</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR*, No. 10 for 1935, pp. 913-939.

<sup>48</sup> "Osnovnyie linii ekonomicheskovo razvitiya Bosporskovo gosudarstva" (Basic Lines of Economic Development of the Bosporan State), *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR*, No. 8 for 1934, p. 589; No. 9, pp. 661 ff.; "Bosporskiye etyudy" (Bosporan Studies), *Izvestiya Akademii istorii materialnoi kul'tury*, issue no. 104, 1935.

<sup>49</sup> A. Mishulin's article on Zhebelev, cited above, n. 10, p. 76.



B.C.<sup>50</sup> A study of the sources touching on the background of this event and of the inscription itself led Zhebelev to the conclusion that Saumakos, the leader of the revolt, was a Scythian slave, as were his followers, and that the event referred to in the inscription was a slave revolt.<sup>51</sup> "This revolt of Scythian slaves in the Bosphorus . . . was one of the links in that long chain of slave revolts that flared up, and were sometimes of a very threatening nature, in the last third of the second century." But the revolt in the Bosphorus, according to Zhebelev, differed from the slave revolts in Chios, Sicily, Capua, Asia Minor, Delos, and Attica in that in the Bosporan revolt were combined "the open manifestation of sharp class struggle and the elements of a national-ethnic movement."<sup>52</sup>

In his review Novosadski lists epigraphical studies of the Black Sea area by Y. Y. Marti, N. V. Mallitski, A. I. Amiranashvili, and others, including, of course, several reports and papers by himself. Of special value to epigraphists working in this area is the study by A. S. Kotsevalov on the syntax of Greek inscriptions from the north shore of the Black Sea, which includes all inscriptions—on ceramic articles (e.g., on the handles of Rhodian, Thasian, and other jars), as well as on stone—that were found in South Russia up to 1935.<sup>53</sup>

Excavation of the Greek colony of Olbia, begun in 1901 by B. Farmakovski, was continued under his direction until his death in 1928,<sup>54</sup> and by others after that date. In 1938 L. M. Slavin, one of the excavation directors, published a short, popular work on the history and culture of ancient Olbia, written in the Ukrainian language.<sup>55</sup> Academician A. I. Tyumenev has written on the history of Chersonesus. D. P. Kalistov and V. N. Dyakov have published several articles on the Black Sea area in Roman times.<sup>56</sup> A. I. Boltunova (Amiranashvili) has specialized in the history of the Caucasus in antiquity.

On the whole the record of Soviet historical investigations in the Black Sea region so far seems to be mainly one of discovery and publication of

<sup>50</sup> "Posledni Perisad i Skifskoye vosstaniye na Bospore" (The Last Paerisades and the Scythian Revolt in the Bosphorus), *Izvestiya Akademii istorii materialnoi kulturey*, issue no. 70, 1933. This article was published in French as "L'abdication de Pairesades et la revolution scythe dans le royaume du Bosphore," *Revue des études grecques*, Vol. XLIX, 1936, pp. 17 ff., and republished in Russian in *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4), pp. 49 ff.

<sup>51</sup> In his defense of this thesis Zhebelev undertakes to refute theories held by Niese, Minns, Rostovtzeff, and others. For Rostovtzeff's comment see his *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), Vol. III (Notes and Indexes), nn. 24 and 35 to Ch. VI.

<sup>52</sup> *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4), pp. 69-71.

<sup>53</sup> A. Cocevalow, *Syntaxis inscriptionum antiquarum coloniarum graecarum orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, Leopoli, 1935, *Eos* suppl. Vol. XII.

<sup>54</sup> For a brief sketch in English of the early history of the excavation of this site and of the work of Farmakovski, see M. I. Rostovtzeff's review of B. Farmakovskiy, *Olbia-Ausgrabungen d. J. 1926*, Odessa, 1929, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXXV, 1931, pp. 111-113.

<sup>55</sup> Reviewed by T. Knipovich in *VDI*, 1938, No. 3(4), pp. 224-225.

<sup>56</sup> Kalistov in *VDI*, 1938, No. 4(5) and 1940, No. 2. Dyakov in *VDI*, 1939, No. 3; 1940, No. 3-4; 1941, No. 1.

primary source material. Although there have been many articles in the *Review of Ancient History* and the *Bulletins and Reports* of the Academy and the G.A.I.M.K. devoted to individual historical problems, such as those by Zhebelev, and a few short historical surveys, such as Slavin's work on Olbia, no comprehensive treatment of the whole region has so far appeared. For this we shall probably have to wait until Volumes III and IV of the Academy's world history are completed.

#### GREECE AND ROME

The study of Greek and Roman sites on the shores of the Black Sea cannot, of course, be pursued apart from the study of Greece and Rome proper; furthermore, the history of Greece and Rome is in itself a most important stage in the historical development of Europe, and hence of the U.S.S.R. Consequently, Soviet historians have done and are doing a good deal of work in this field. Although much of this work has necessarily been concerned with material collected and published abroad, in this case, as to some extent in the oriental field, Soviet scholars have found a wealth of unpublished Greek and Roman art objects, inscriptions, and papyri in the museum storerooms as well as in the private collections confiscated at the time of the Revolution and added to the museum collections.<sup>57</sup>

A particularly rich store of Greek and Roman papyri was found in Soviet collections. In Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, a large group of these documents, dating from the second century B.C. to the eighth century A.D., has been issued in several volumes, including texts and detailed commentary. In 1936 M. Shangin published fifty Greek astrological manuscripts from Soviet collections as Volume XII of the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* edited by F. Cumont in Paris. In his own description of this work for the *Review of Ancient History*, Shangin begins by reassuring his vigilantly materialist Soviet readers "in order to avoid any misunderstandings, that scholars have studied this subject not because they believe in astrology, not because it in itself is dear to them; it is not the contents of the astrological texts, essentially wrong or insignificant, but the history of culture which is illustrated to a large extent by these monuments—that is what interests the learned editors of the *Catalogue*."<sup>58</sup>

In the field of epigraphy Zhebelev was again a major contributor, with

<sup>57</sup> For occasional notices of the publication of these "rediscovered" objects, see "Archaeological News" items in the *American Journal of Archaeology* during the twenties. An almost wistful note may be detected in one notice (Vol. XXVI, 1922, p. 111) which reports that the Hermitage in Petrograd has not only suffered no losses in the preceding five years, but has made considerable gains in the way of confiscated private collections.

<sup>58</sup> *VDI*, 1939, No. 1, p. 178.



new readings, interpretations, and historical commentaries on Greek inscriptions published abroad. Novosadski mentions a half-dozen of these in his review of epigraphical studies in the U.S.S.R., already cited. S. Lurye has also published several historical and philological commentaries on Greek inscriptions.<sup>59</sup>

The role of slavery, and especially of slave revolts, in Greek and Roman society has received special attention. Soviet students of the social structure of antiquity contend not only that the institution of slavery was the social foundation of Greek and Roman civilization, but also that it was the factor mainly responsible for the decline and final destruction of ancient society as a whole. In 1936 A. V. Mishulin published a book on the Spartacus revolt in Italy in the first century B.C., to which he appended eighty-three pages of documentary material from ancient sources on the Roman agrarian movement and slave revolts from the sixth to the first century B.C.<sup>60</sup> Zhebelev and Kovalev wrote on Roman slave revolts in the second and first centuries B.C., and there have been several other studies of this subject.

B. L. Bogayevski has made a special study of Greece in the Minoan-Mycenaean period.<sup>61</sup> His conclusion, that the Cretan-Mycenaean culture was one of a primitive society before the formation of socio-economic classes, is rejected by most Soviet scholars, who consider it to be the product of a slave society at an early stage of development, resembling in structure the societies of the ancient orient. In March 1940 the Academy of Sciences held a debate on this subject, an account of which was published in the *Review of Ancient History* for 1940, No. 2.

The ancient history of Spain, the story of its colonization by Phoenicians and Greeks, its conquest by Carthaginians and Romans, and the effect of all these on the composition of the Spanish population has interested Soviet scholars. Peters has written several articles on the complicated problems of ethnogenesis, and Mishulin was in 1942 in the process of writing a big monograph on Spain during the period of Roman domination. In the *Review of Ancient History* for 1939, No. 2, a whole section of the journal was devoted to the history of Iberia (ancient Spain).

At the eastern end of the Roman dominions lay the Armenian district,

<sup>59</sup> For example, his two articles in *VDI*: 1938, No. 3, "Novoye papirusnoye svidetelstvo o borbe za Sigei" (New Papyrological Evidence of the Struggle for Sigeum); 1939, No. 1, "Noviye epigraficheskiye nakhodki v Afinaakh" (New Epigraphical Finds in Athens), a critical review of epigraphical material published in *Hesperia*; also by Lurye, *Drevneishiye atticheskiye nadpisi* (Early Attic Inscriptions) in *Sbornik vspomogatelnykh distsiplin Instituta istorii AN SSSR*, 1937.

<sup>60</sup> *Spartakovskoye vosstaniye*. See also his article, "K izucheniyu vosstaniy rabov v drevnei Gretsii" (The Study of Slave Revolts in Ancient Greece) in *VDI*, 1939, No. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Two of his published works on this subject are: *Krit i Mikeny* (Crete and Mycenae), 1924; "Krito-Mykenskaya epokha" (The Cretan-Mycenaean Epoch), Ch. III of *Istoriya drevnevo mira* (History of the Ancient World), Vol. II, Part I: *Drevnyaya Gretsiya*.

part of whose territory today forms the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1943 the Armenian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. published a book by Academician Y. A. Manandyan on the wars between Lucullus and Pompey and the Armenian king Tigranes II in the first century B.C. (*Tigran Vtoroi i Rim*). Manandyan had previously published several studies on the economic and historical geography of ancient Armenia.

Along with research on particular historical and social problems,<sup>62</sup> translations from the works of Greek and Latin authors have been made by S. P. Kondratyev, Zhebelev, S. Lurye, and others. University texts have recently appeared on the history of Greek literature (by Professor S. I. Radtsig, 1940) and Roman literature (by Academician M. M. Pokrovski, 1942). In 1940 a book on the history of Greek and Roman education, by G. Y. Zhurakovski, was published in Moscow. The writings of the Greek philosophers have been the subject of special studies by G. Aleksandrov, S. Lurye, and others.<sup>63</sup> The history of ancient philosophy (including Greek and Roman) is covered in Volume I of the new seven-volume *History of Philosophy*, the first three volumes of which have recently been issued by the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences. A. Ranovich has published several articles on the early history of Christianity and its role in the development of ancient society,<sup>64</sup> a subject that has always interested Soviet historians.

General works on the history of Greece and Rome have been written or directed by Tyumenev, V. Sergeyev, S. Kovalev, S. Lurye, Mashkin. In 1936-37 a two-volume history of Greece was produced under the editorship of Kovalev. The eighteen chapters, taking Greece down to the death of Alexander, were distributed among Kovalev, Zhebelev, Bogayevski, Tyumenev, R. V. Schmidt, K. M. Kolobova, and Y. G. Kagarov. This big collective enterprise (containing more than 600 pages of text in all) was part of a projected *History of the Ancient World*, published by the G.A.I.M.K., which has apparently been superseded by the new project of the Academy of Sciences, the *History of the World*.

<sup>62</sup> For example, V. Sergeyev, "Printsepy dinastii Klaydiiyev" (Principles of the Claudian Dynasty), *Istoricheski zhurnal*, 1938, No. 6; S. Lurye, "O fashistskoi idealizatsii drevnei Sparty" (On the Fascist Idealization of Ancient Sparta), *VDI*, 1939, No. 1; *idem*, "Klisen i Pisistratidy" (Cleisthenes and the Peisistratids), *ibid.*, 1939, No. 3; S. Zhebelev, "O 'tiranii tridtsati' v Afinaakh" (On the "Tyranny of the Thirty" in Athens), *VDI*, 1940, No. 1; Y. Ivanov, "Zagovor Katiliny i evo sotsialnaya baza" (The Catilinian Conspiracy and Its Social Base), *VDI*, 1940, No. 1.

<sup>63</sup> G. Aleksandrov, *Aristotel*, 1940. S. Kechevyan, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskiye vozzreniya Aristotelya* (The Social-Political Views of Aristotle). This latter work is not yet in print, but an extract of it was published, under the same title, in *Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo*, 1940, No. 10-11. S. Lurye, *Istoriya antichnoi obshchestvennoi mysli* (History of Ancient Social Thought), 1929. Lurye has also made a special study of the "anarchism of Antiphon" and of the history of mathematics in antiquity.

<sup>64</sup> See his article, "Pervonachalnoye khrisianstvo i evo istoricheskaya rol" (Primitive Christianity and Its Historical Role), *VDI*, 1939, No. 2.



Academician Tyumenev has written several books on Greek history, one intended for the general reading public on the history of ancient slave societies (covering Greece, the Hellenistic East, and Rome).<sup>65</sup> The first volume of a history of Greece by S. Lurye appeared in 1940. On the history of Rome V. Sergeyev published a two-volume work in 1938, which is considered to be the first full-length Marxist treatment of this subject. The second volume, dealing with the empire, is of particular significance in its approach to the whole problem of the reasons for the decline and final end of the "ancient world." This part of Sergeyev's work is discussed at some length in the review by Ranovich in the *Review of Ancient History* for 1938, No. 4.<sup>66</sup> Sergeyev has also written a university text on Greek history, published in 1939 by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences.

Before leaving our survey of Soviet historical studies on the ancient world, mention should be made of another product of the Academy's Institute of History. At the opposite end of the scale from the mammoth world history is the middle-school textbook (for thirteen-year-olds) edited by Mishulin, *The History of the Ancient World*. The second edition of this profusely illustrated little book was printed in 1941 in 1,500,000 copies. Following the Soviet theory that India and China should not be separated from the Near East in the study of the ancient orient, the history of these countries is included here.

The peacetime American tourist making a rapid swing around the Mediterranean with the aid of his Baedeker or *Guide bleu* was in a position to bring home a more detailed picture of the ground he covered than the American student of ancient history will receive from the short survey given here. It is true that very little justice can be done to individuals when the work of more than fifty people is included in such small compass, but it seemed important to try to cover the entire field, however sketchily. Furthermore a really comprehensive and critical treatment of the work of any one of the scholars mentioned here, or of any one phase of the subject, would have required access to many more Soviet publications than the present writer was able to obtain. Anyone familiar with the bibliographical problems facing American students of any aspect of the Soviet Union will appreciate the difficulty here.

What was an annoying impediment for the author of this survey be-

<sup>65</sup> See also his *Ocherki sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi istorii drevnei Gretsii* (Outline of the Socio-Economic History of Ancient Greece), 3 vols., 1920-23, and *Sushchestvoval li kapitalizm v drevnei Gretsii?* (Did Capitalism Exist in Ancient Greece?), 1923.

<sup>66</sup> Also by Sergeyev, "Ocherki po istorii pozdnerimskoi imperii" (Studies in the History of the Late Roman Empire), *Istorič-Marksist*, 1938, Nos. 3 and 5, in which the author discusses the crisis of ancient slave society and the beginnings of the feudal order inside the Roman Empire.

comes a real obstacle for those of its readers who do not read Russian. For if the present article succeeds in its minimum objective—to give the American student of ancient history some idea of the large and rapidly expanding production of his colleagues in the U.S.S.R.—what can such a reader do to learn more about this work? The most complete set of references to Soviet publications will not help him to get at these publications, if they are not in American libraries, or to read them, if perchance they are, without the knowledge of Russian.

This situation poses a problem whose solution is long overdue. As one American scholar, Eugene Golomshtok of the University Museum in Philadelphia, put it in 1933: "Because of the double barrier of language and political isolation the progress of scientific investigation in Russia has remained virtually undisclosed to European and American specialists since the end of the war."<sup>67</sup> Golomshtok, an anthropologist whose interest seems to lie chiefly in the Stone Age, initiated at least a partial solution of this problem for the field of prehistoric archaeology. In 1931, under the auspices of the University Museum and with the cooperation of the Peabody and Fogg museums in Cambridge, Mass., Golomshtok made an exploratory trip to the "proverbial 'terra incognita,' Russia," the results of which he reported in the article just cited. He returned with "600 photographs, 300 volumes of books, some 20 original manuscripts to be placed in American journals," other ethnographical material, and a list of suggestions. These included, among other things, the compiling of a comprehensive bibliography of Soviet works in the field, translation of the major works, and the founding of a special journal to cover Soviet anthropological and archaeological activities.<sup>68</sup>

So far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, none of these excellent suggestions has been realized yet, but Golomshtok's efforts did have some results besides the material he brought home. Arrangements were made for the exchange of publications and general information between the University Museum (and later the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago) and several Soviet institutions; in the summer of 1933 the University Museum, jointly with the G.A.I.M.K., sponsored an expedition to the Crimea to investigate a Gothic site; and at least one of the articles Golomshtok brought home from his first trip was published in an American Journal.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> "Anthropological Activities in Soviet Russia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXV (new series), p. 301.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

<sup>69</sup> M. P. Giaznov, "The Pazirik Burial of Altai," *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXXVII, 1933, pp. 31-44. On the 1933 expedition, see *University Museum Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (October 1933) and Vol. V, No. 1 (January 1934). See also the monumental work by Golomshtok, "The Old Stone Age in European Russia," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XXIX (new series), Part II, March, 1938.



Beginning with 1936 a series of summary articles by Henry Field of the Field Museum and Eugene Prostov of the Iowa State College Library was published in the *American Anthropologist* and other learned journals.<sup>70</sup> In 1938 Field and Prostov became contributing editors on the U.S.S.R. for the "Archaeological News and Discussions" department of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The information provided in these journals is of a summary nature and is confined to the results of archaeological investigations on Soviet territory; the results obtained, however, show that the obstacles to a broader knowledge in this country of Soviet studies in the history of the ancient orient, Greece, and Rome are not insuperable.

As the present survey has tried to suggest, there is an enormous new development, amounting to a renaissance, in historical studies in the U.S.S.R. today. Not all of this work is first class, as the often acidly critical reviews in Soviet publications indicate. But there is much that is interesting and new, starting with the philosophic approach to historical problems that has been noted here. Furthermore, although there is obviously a great eagerness on the part of Soviet scholars to keep informed of the work being done abroad, the present writer has come across more than one evidence that not all our publications reach the Soviet Union.

Just now, of course, transport facilities between the two countries are monopolized by tanks, airplanes, and other military paraphernalia and personnel. But if even during the war the medical profession was able to establish an *American Journal of Soviet Medicine* (edited by Dr. Henry E. Sigerist of the Johns Hopkins University), there is no reason why students of ancient history should not adopt a postwar program aimed at the realization of Mr. Golomshtok's three suggestions on an exchange basis: (1) an American bibliography of Soviet publications, and a Soviet bibliography of American publications; (2) translations of the major works produced in each country; and (3) a regular exchange of information and discussion in learned journals here and in the Soviet Union.

<sup>70</sup> For a full list of these articles, see *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLIV (new series), 1942, p. 406, n. 10.





ΛΕΩΦ. ΒΑΣ. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ 48  
116 35 ΑΘΗΝΑ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΑ 722.98.11 - 15

MISS  
VIRGINIA GRACE  
AMERICAN SCHOOL ~~AT~~ ATHENS  
ΣΟΥΗΔΙΑΣ 54  
106 76 ΑΘΗΝΑ



July 16

Dear Virginia -

1987

Just saw the notice of  
Winifred's death in the NY Times,  
and we both wish to express  
our sympathy to you.

What a strange and  
difficult life she had -  
more troubles than anyone  
should have to bear. Knowing  
nothing of the circumstances of  
her death, we can only hope  
it was not too painful and  
long drawn out, as was poor  
Winifred Thomas's not long  
ago. It's tough seeing friends



go. —

But we look forward to  
seeing you at the end of August,  
as Carolyn has doubtless  
told you.

With love

Edw. & Saul

Mrs. Saul Weinberg



SURROGATE'S COURT  
ROCKLAND COUNTY COURT HOUSE  
MAIN STREET  
NEW CITY, NEW YORK 10956

George Wythe

Patriot



USA

14

Virginia Grace  
American School  
54 Swedias Street  
Athens, Greece 10676



Estate of EMILY GRACE

Date: August 13, 1987

Mary Grace has filed an affidavit in this Court for the purpose of administering the personal property of the above named decedent as a small estate, and is now acting as voluntary administrator thereof.

*Virginia Athens*

Clerk of Surrogate's Court





S.019

MISS V. R. GRACE  
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF  
CLASSICAL STUDIES  
54, Odos Soukvas  
Gr. 106 76 Athens  
RECU



7. Bouquet / Bicolor G, 120 00 PRANA

S.01b



Prague, 7/8/87

S.D.2

Dear Virginia,

sorry for Emily: Petrka will also write you, he shall go to Moscow in September, so let him know, if there should be something to arrange there.

I met <sup>Em</sup> her in Moscow on several occasions, even when only crossing the city for Ceylon or Georgia, but I missed her when being there the last time in 1985. She very rarely responded letters, but I am very grateful to her for much how I learned in and about Russia, and I enjoyed the trips through Bohemia we made together when she was here. Besides this, she enabled me a good introduction to Ceylon by lending me for my first trip there (via Moscow) one book by C. Woolf (the husband of Virginia Woolf) about his experiences when serving as a colonial officer there; much of his descriptions fitted well into the chain of my experiences. I will keep her in my heart - it is great how much I owe to both of you.

If it happens that I would be able to meet the invitation for the Norton



lectureship for 1988/9 which I was offered by AIA  
I must ask you again for Mary's address  
and try to meet her in New York.

I was invited to the Prehistoric Aegean  
conference next month in Athens, but it would  
be too difficult to come to Greece twice  
in one year.

Glad that Kymel safely arrived;  
if you need any more for anyone,  
it will be easy still to supply (even Kymel?)

Best wishes to all friends in Athens,

Love to you from all of us

Yours ever

Jan



6

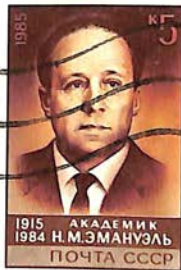
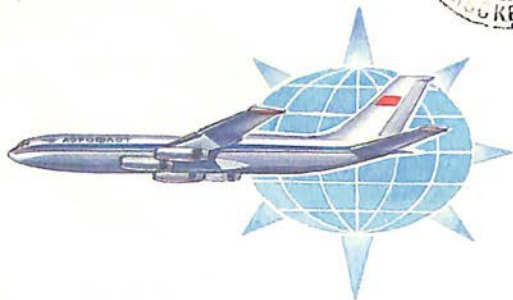
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filed

(bond and papers  
up to)



АВИА  
PAR AVION



7.019

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American School  
54 Swedias Street

Кому Athens - Greece

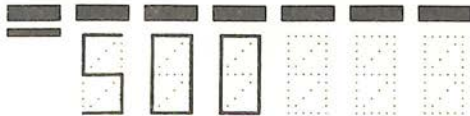
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kv. 141

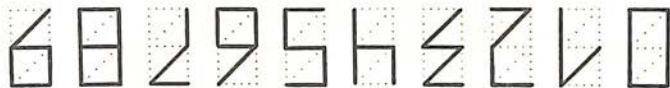
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7.016



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14. 01. 85. Цена 46 к. Художник А. Рысс

Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака



Moscow

21 Jan. 1986

rec'd  
ca Feb. 7 or 8

Dear Mart,

next to ~~last~~ Your letter came on the 13<sup>th</sup>, the

[last bitter day of <sup>the</sup> resumé obstacle race.

~~After~~ After that - flop for a day or

so, while I wondered just how to send

(forward) the paragraphs destined for Mondakov;

Finally I consulted my very nice & efficient boss. She looked the other way & muttered

something ~~at~~ like better have the instr. send

it, and didn't hear any more. So I thought

some more, got his <sup>M's</sup> imga otchotcha from Yu.

and his <sup>M's</sup> address and simply cut off the

top (including the impressive print ~~on the top~~)

and sent it, with a little explanatory note,

about why I had to cut it off ~~without~~ so

abruptly. I hope he gets it and will

answer. To your ~~ref~~ references to pp. in

your article p. 185 (description), with the

history (fascinating!) of the amphora's

discovery. I'm not sure I did get the sp. 1985

Mondakov's  
the resumé's  
edit. I don't  
remember  
whether I  
translated  
and sometimes



you sent last spring. He looked through many heaps without success. My life is chaotic, has been for some time, and my head ditto (I hope it will come straight when I get to college). Lately they've been dosing me ~~from~~ for incipient anaemia.

If so, it's been incipient for a long long time. I looked around but nowhere could I find "A. n. p. v. v." very vivid, nevertheless, is your figure of Pope X.

I'm glad you behaved so nicely - he can, of course - but I can't read his things. He ~~hasn't~~ hasn't got the modesty of a real scholar - though <sup>he is</sup> ~~he is~~ bright and personally can be very kind + funny. Oh, well.

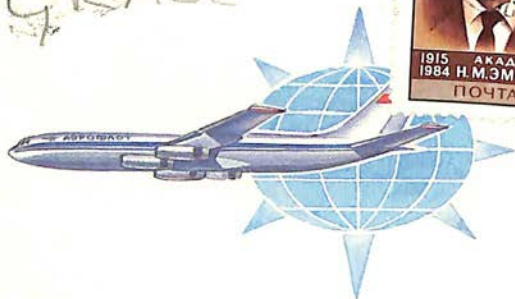
Tell Ellie that I love her and my not writing is part of the general fog, when I get where I'm going I'd like to go to see you. Will my miraculous salary (or whatever it's called) be enough do you think? I faintly remember the name Christopher Ratto - I tell you, the fog is awful! I can only say please excuse everybody - Love Em

Regarding the sp '85' it seems to me I did not get it, but then there I will see it





GRACE



8.01a

Греция

Virginia Grace

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54 Swedias Street

Копы Athens 106 76

Greece

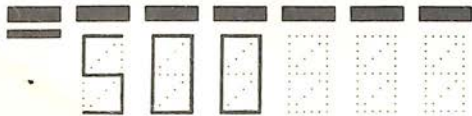
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See his catalogue, facing p. 172, no. 7 (1922).  
Found on the site of the ancientropolis. ...  
Grave, p. 183, pl. 19-4 - perhaps elsewhere, I didn't look

2. IV. 86  
Dear Mart, Here I am again, with a translation of a letter  
just received!

[8.023]

Respected Emilia Lvovna!

I am most grateful for the trouble you took to hunt me up and send me an offprint of your sister Virginia Grace's article. I confess to feeling flattered by her attention to my work. I am of course well acquainted with her many works on ceramic containers and their epigraphy, including her article of 1949, where the chersonesus amphora is published. I did use that ~~use that~~ pot in an earlier work (VDI, 1980, no. 4) \* The offprint sent now by Virginia Grace is however most welcome, since the photocopy I had of her article was not good, and in the important annex [I suppose he means the plates - E.G.] it was extremely bad.

Soon I will write to Miss Grace and will send her some of my articles that are apparently not known to her. I hope she will find them interesting

With unalterable respect and gratitude -

Yours

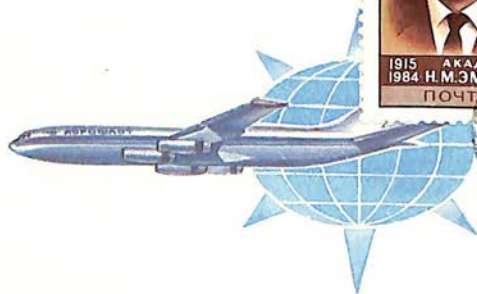
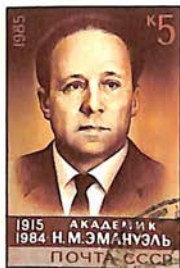
S. Yu. Monakhov

There you are. He may write soon, but <sup>it</sup> might take an even longer time than this scribble to reach you (if at all!).

Domestic: still no document from Marne, and I cannot move without it. Maybe you'd ask her if something's the matter, some hitch in sending it. Worse (I brood anxiously), something happened to her. Oh dear - but perhaps it will come tomorrow!

Love Em





Греция

Virginia Grace  
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54 Swedias St.

~~Копия~~ Athens - Greece  
10676

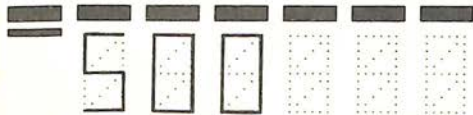
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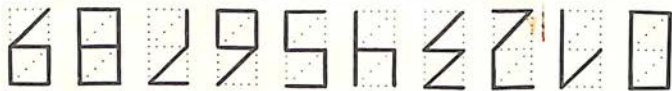
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14. 01. 85. Цена 46 к. Художник А. Рыс

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9 March 1986

9.02

Dear Mart,

I've been going through a mass of letters, answered + not answered. Among them (the unansw.) was yours of October 8 of ~~last year~~ <sup>1984!</sup>. The envelope was fast glued. That might be due to pressure from other letters ~~of~~ over a long period, in fact some of what you say in this letter seems faintly familiar. But, it seems, the part about the Middle Stoa article ("must be finished" This Month") and the critics, 2 cents are new ~~to me~~ <sup>work</sup>. A later letter has more. And then publication and did I get it? By now I'm not sure. Yuri says he got his - but did you send him one? or did I give him mine (if I got one) & he ~~is~~ simply appropriated it? I've examined all the works you sent me (some I passed on to needies) and no Middle Stoa! Either I'll borrow Yuri's (?) or I'll wait till I can read it in the B.M. library. I'm getting <sup>very</sup> curious. You see now what chaos I represent. So far I have not received Marnie's invitation, without which I can't move. Perhaps "for good" causes delay. Maybe, indeed, I could get your article, if you have any left, golly, it came out almost a year ago!



9.03

As I write this the Challenger case is being bitterly <sup>(2)</sup>  
explained by Commander Young (?). It is a terrible  
lesson - not to gobble! I had thought something  
was ~~very~~ <sup>wrong</sup>, the way they were always putting  
flights off for "technical reasons."

Engel's death. His eyes + his ears and his voice  
are not ~~to~~ forgettable. ~~But~~ some found him  
exasperating. I guess he was, certainly his  
politics were <sup>in the end</sup> quite crazy. ~~Oh!~~ - but so were  
mine, and I would like to have seen him again.

About Elli - did I say? I did get her letter ~~the~~  
(second) and did not answer it (chaos). Her  
first letter sent me up - for days, ~~the~~ exaltation.  
I wish I could be calm. I wish I could have behind  
me a solid piece of useful work like yours. I wish  
Yuri could delete his trumpeting. ~~and~~ Well, I  
can't seem to find words. Tell me if you  
get a response ~~from~~ about the Chersonesus  
amphora.

I'd better stop now. I'm enclosing  
a photograph I found yesterday. It's V. on  
a trip to Uglich. If possible don't lose it  
+ someday give it back. Show it to SER,  
they were briefly friends (her visit to NY after  
the war). Much love, Mary. When will  
you do the knee?

Em







June 25/1912.

10/12

9.046



GRACE

AIR MAIL ABUA

E

4.11.89



ПОЧТА СССР

Греция

10.01

Virginia Grace

33 Plantarch Street

Athens

Greece

E. Grace

Novopreschenaya 23

Moscow 125252-USSR



4 Feb. 1984

10.02

Dear Mart,

The other day, I was leafing through  
the contributors' <sup>index</sup> section of the OED<sup>2</sup>,  
which I have owned for several years &  
frequently resort to in struggles with  
summary (for VDI) translations (+-iterations)  
when there suddenly sprang from a page  
Virginia Randolph Grace. Golly! they  
don't give subjects, but a moment's thought  
sent me to 'Amphora', & sure enough, Nice,  
tidy, clear; one harmless typo in the bibliog.  
note at the end.

But I have more: This morning's  
breakfast reading (Jupiter [see B. Towers]),  
- 3-4 months old, - where in the Diary I ~~saw~~  
bloodcurdling reference to the schools in your  
vicinity in an item titled "classical flattery" (19 Sept):  
culture lady <sup>takes up</sup> potential nests of sp.'s & robbers",  
which the school allegedly counteracted by putting  
into its newsletter "no fewer than 5 pictures" of her  
and her "charm". Dear me, dear me I hope it's all  
over - and that the marbles stay put. Maybe that's



wrong of me; it probably is - but some strong  
 instinct urges that conditions are not right.  
 But will they ever be? Would like to know  
 what you think.

Now I must get back to telling  
 the world about the VDI. Particularly  
 anxious & distracting this quarter because  
 mainly oriental stuff & people will forget  
 to provide transliterations

Much Love & Respect

Em

There's an improbably light-minded looking  
 young female just added to our group whose  
 subject (for a Candidatus degree I guess) is Hellenistic  
 Delos using V.R.G.'s work among inscriptions  
 - "of course".

I see not much of Yuri - but I see little of  
 most people, for that matter. I sit among disordered  
 papers and try... full of ideas, but must  
 concentrate. Can't look up a reference to a text  
 without reading on & making unfilable notes  
 on tempting new paths. I work alright, but  
 not in a Disciplined fashion. I imagine you  
 hurrying along well planned paths - ?





20.III.84

GRACE, E



Греция

11.01a

Virginia Grace

54 Swedias St. - American  
School

Athens - Greece

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E. Grace, Navarshchinskaya 23,

kv. 141, Moscow 125252

USSR



11.016

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05.03.80. Цена 33 к.



20 March '84

Dear Mart

Thanks for your kind + infuriating  
tactful letter. A note from me must  
have crossed yours to me. I sent it to  
Plutarch St.

Why can't Elli be conveyed  
to, say, Switzerland and perhaps mended  
there? I hate her to suffer so + call  
herself a 'ripple'

Read the enclosed <sup>if</sup> though I do cover  
its nakedness with an  
extra sheet if you like - I'm  
afraid you (and she) will find it "excessive".  
I really couldn't help it. Ever since I've  
been a balloon rather than a classical  
scholar.

Times  
I saw the obituary of Philip Noel-Baker  
and thought of her too, + the estate I  
never saw.

I wonder which will be worse  
(harder on you), the late Mary Pussy <sup>or</sup> smell  
mine.

LOVE

Em





Греция

12.019

Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical Studies  
54 Swedias Street, Athens 10676  
Greece

*Адрес отправителя*

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Moscow 125252 - USSR



12.016

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05.03.80. Цена 33 к.

I meant to say that I have <sup>Feb</sup> got 13 April 1984  
~~letter~~ ~~sent~~ - or not -?

12.02

Dear Mart,

You should have had my two letters  
by now. The first was just to say something to  
you after all, written sometime in January I think.  
The second was in answer to yours (enclosing  
Ellie's) postmarked from Athens 31 Jan. '84, Moscow  
arrival stamp: 28 Feb. You see it takes some time,  
whereas my correspondence with Maine (such as it  
is) extraordinarily rapid - 8-10 days. I think that's  
because one is used to it. If you have my answers you  
know how I enjoyed James's.

Ellie's letter so tugged at my thumbs that  
I lunged desperately (excess!) to slide right down  
to you both. But I suppose we'd quarrel <sup>not you</sup> over politics  
(would we? I mean is she still - or is she just busy  
with her documents that she doesn't notice the -tics?).  
That's all very well, but I almost certainly could not  
get off for a visit for another year. You say in this  
last letter that you hoped I might call on you on my way to  
Maine. That, you know, was an idea for good. While  
I was there ~~this~~ last spring I was very sluggish - anyhow  
I couldn't make myself push sensibly for jobs and a  
place to live. It seemed so hopeless. I don't want  
to live even (or especially) on my nearest & dearest,  
either for their sakes or for my own. Now that I'm  
back here it's a relief, simply because I've tried in  
this apt. for 31 years, it's my own (in a manner of speaking)



messy place. How can I expect to find a place  
 and a living back home? Kind people promised  
 to look about for me, but people are busy, and  
 what I need is I'm afraid unobtainable. I won't  
 go on with this. Nor will I talk about my work,  
 which is solid & worthy - but muddled. By the  
 way why do you suppose Stroud sends me nothing  
 nor writes? Just because, I ~~was~~ suspect, like  
 most people. The last I've had from him was a wondrous  
 work on exiles & rebels. He wrote on it that it was  
 very dull but he just had to write it. I made them  
 a good try to read it. But like everything I've  
 tried to get done in the years '75-82 I didn't  
 read it through, not because I didn't want to. Those  
 were the years when V. was sickening and ~~then~~ dying.  
 Then exhaustion - and still muddled, though firm  
 intentions. But I MUST HAVE my own place -  
 and I cannot teach. See what I mean?

About your January letter, such a lovely one! The  
 telephone: 157-6700, I only know that I read (in  
 the To of hand) 2 or 3 yrs (?) ago that it had become  
 v. difficult, because no longer was it possible to dial, official  
 reason (and likely some truth in it): they're gradually  
 up-dating the whole system. Now you say my line  
 is always busy - in a letter of Feb. 16. Just lately  
 my friends have trouble getting me because all they  
 get is busy signals, though I've been sitting by the  
 telephone all day. Periodically we call up the telcor and  
 they say "trouble on the lines", and it gets better. But  
 that is much later than when you <sup>were</sup> trying. I don't  
 know why that happens - When Maime was calling

we sometimes twice a day in March there's pressing business to do (as in that case) - and surely it's turning expensive.

I'd be doing some thing else - obvious.

12.04

The simple truth is (1) that I would very much (3)  
like to visit in your 2nd floor and seriously  
consider doing it, if I can get papers straight  
(a terrible time & leg-weary business, but necessary)  
but (2) that's what I said when I left Mame -  
and I meant it too. The even simpler truth is  
that being in a thorough mess, beg, I mean  
to take hold and get out of it - just of old, to you.  
About time!

Now in September (not April as I had  
thought) Guri hopes to get to the Amphora  
meeting. If ~~he~~ can get there you'll be seeing  
him no doubts. I do hope so, for his sake  
and because I'd like to know what you think  
of him. I'm as it were instinctively fond  
of him. He has a good head too - but I  
find ~~self~~ ~~as~~ resisting his methods of proof  
and a sort of playing <sup>(he sometimes engages in</sup> to the gallery. He  
could be, in some respects he is, just class.

Love, Mame, me - and  
love to Ebbi <sup>when</sup> ~~if~~ she  
happens to call you up.

En



19 December, 1985

*by*

Dear Em,

An article by SS. Yu. Monakhov about amphoras of Chersonesos looks interesting, especially from a technical point of view: Vestnik 1984, pp. 109-128. Did you write the resumé?

I am hoping to get it translated. In the meanwhile, can you forward to the author the enclosed copy of my old article, "Standard Pottery Containers, etc." (Hesp. Suppl., VIII, pp. 175-189)? It publishes, among other amphoras, a complete stamped one of Chersonesos: pl. 19, 12 and pl. 20, 4 (stamp). I think Mr. Monakhov does not cite this jar, or illustrate anything similar.

29.XII.85 - no. 30.XII

The young woman who typed the beginning of this letter asked me three times how to spell the name of the journal, returning and apologizing for the interruption. Her final version is actually a correction. I said, After all those inquiries you still got it wrong? - thinking she had managed to forget what I said. She then confronted me with what is to be seen on the front of the photocopy enclosed: BECTHWK. She knows Greek. My enclosed article has some oldfashioned dating. I'll do a little marginal correcting.

7

I was in the US from July 7 to Dec. 6. The hip replacement very accomplished. (It would be nice to have also two good feet and two painless shoulders; a new knee they are offering.) It was great to have lots of time with numerous relations. Great subject of family conversation was your coming over, looked forward to by all. One realizes of course what a lot you have to tend to in that connection. In addition to impressions of present life of our dear families, their joys and sorrows, there was also the impressions taken from reading a lot of letters of the late ~~xxxxxxxx~~ twenties and early thirties, especially those from Mother (writing to me, as I was away).

I finally telephoned Ellie. And must manage to go and see her. Do write to her - did you receive a letter from her? which she says has not had a response. She is of course in bad shape physically.



Jan. 5, 1986

13.02

It turned out rather a fuss to correct the dates in that 1949 article, and after I had done it, it seemed best to enter the corrections also in my working copy.

Have you read my ~~1985~~ 1985 article (The Middle Stone Dated)? I sent you a copy last spring, and if so, did you believe it? The nicest answer to that came

from Mr. Papachristodoulou, Ephor of Rhodes. He said, "Αδύμωρο!" which I take to mean, in this case, "For God's sake!" I.e., he did. Mr.

Papa X is very important to our labors.

4. II, 20. III, and 13. IV

I find I have 3 letters from you written in 1984, not all of which were probably answered. (Nothing <sup>received</sup> after, IV. 84.)

Reading your IV. 84 letter, it seems as if I had not properly read it before. You hope that Yuri and I might meet at the Amphora Colloquium did it sooner come true - did he tell you about it? I met him from my bed - this was the period when a bad stiff knee kept me at 33 Rutland St. for weeks, and I did not hear any of the papers. (My own was read by a young colleague,

all this time, local 3rd party, by Publishing. Have 90% but right.



I did like Yuri. He did not seem like the author of  
parts of his publication, but rather shy and wanting to please.  
Carolyn Kochler, but that had been planned for the  
start.) I was also on the program & received the  
participants for a drink at my apt. one of the evening  
and we kept this date. Carolyn Carolyn, and Max  
Wallace I think, received the guests, and Claire  
Zimmerman ushered (all?) in to my bedroom, a  
sort of love. Do you know Claire? She is a sort  
of great-niece for us - Alexis Belash's step-  
daughter. Has stayed with me quite a bit, and  
looked after me, both in Greece and in the U.S. - You  
met her boyfriend, Christopher Ratté, who came to  
call on you during a limited sort of tour - was it  
last winter. A beautiful young man. I had tried to  
convince to telephone you about him. He managed to  
reach you by telephoning after he got there. We asked  
him (when he got back) "And did she ask you to  
dinner?" And he said, "Well, not exactly." Poor Ben  
I hope it was not too much of an imposition. He seemed  
to be a good student. And greatly valued meeting you.

I enclose some of these letters of the early '30s, so you can remember how you felt about  
Pindar, etc., in those days, and the more look forward to a return. Love, Mary



The original of the letter  
 being sent to Em I. 86

January 30, 1932

Bay View.

Addressed to me  
 at the ASCS, A.M.

Dear Maest,

This is indeed a monstrous job - worse  
 than a report. I might as well limit myself to  
 college news, as now probably gives you the rest.

Again your letter arrives in the midst  
 of mid years, but this time near the end and  
 to a relatively sane and peaceful mind. Pinder  
 with Sandy was an unutterably good thing.

I loved it and him and consequently worked  
 pretty hard. He gave me a 90 for the course, which  
 was very kind of him, considering that I omitted  
 the recursion on the exam! Now it's Archybas  
 & I'm hoping for a 98! Mrs. Wright  
 has been feeding me Hookerites and romantic  
 poetry in large doses. Her exam was yesterday,  
 kind of mean as usual. I wrote a horrible  
 report and a lousier exam for Miss Crandall  
 but she kindly gave me an 80. Swiny I  
 haven't heard from yet. (Did you know that  
 she has been made editor of the American  
 Journal of Arch.? ) The last report I wrote



14.02  
was about the existence of an Alexandrian School  
of Hellenistic sculpture. The reading, mostly in  
J. E. A. and B. S. A. was interesting but awfully  
inconclusive, and how the devil she expects me  
to have any opinion when I have never seen the  
stuff, and when Dickins and Lawrence simply  
contradict each other on conclusions taken from  
the same evidence - is more than I can see.

However, I summed up arguments for 10 pages or  
so and then said I thought it unlikely that there  
was a School of any importance on such slight  
evidence as even the pro's put forward. Pretty  
silly and pompous for me to have any opinion.

Miss Goldmann gave a lecture here a while ago  
and Ted came down for it. It was considerably  
above my head but exciting and authentic -  
sounding, even though they forgot the proper lantern  
and we had to admire minute and blurry  
pictures of sherds, etc. on the lantern used for  
music lectures. Charlotte sat in the back row  
being mutely miserable about the lantern, but  
the whole trouble was, of course, that  
Swiny had forgotten to requisition the thing.  
The reception after the lecture was fun. Ted  
looked handsome and noticeable & knew people.

Mr. Goodheart of Goodheart & Hall Took me aside<sup>(3)</sup> and told me how as a matter of fact the walls of Jericho fell because they were dynamited. He had taken poison by mistake the day before, which may have accounted for this. There was one interesting crisis. Ted and I were standing behind Miss Park, who was talking to Miss Goldway, about five feet away from us. Miss P.'s corsets were showing in a nice pink triangle above her evening dress, a fact which I remarked to Ted in a very soft whisper. He insists that she heard me, but I know she couldn't. A fact in my favour is that last night she appeared at the Alumnae dinner in the same dress with the same corset showing, according to Char L. O. H.

I'm beginning to worry about having to stop Greek when I graduate. I asked Sandy was there any future for me in Greek. He said certainly not - no future for women in anything, but I could go on with it evenings. I said something about not being optimistic about progress without him, to which he replied nonsense nonsense, bridle slightly, that Mrs. Wright was probably doing much more good to me. I murmured yes but wasn't she just a little dull? Perhaps - but discipline - very good for you. I wonder if he can possibly



14.04  
know how I feel about him. I don't think he likes  
me much - he says I'm odd, and when he first  
knew me in Canada he was always worrying  
for fear I would tear the motor boat to pieces.  
And then my expression may be a little grim  
some times, because I'm determined not to  
coo over him the way some others used to  
do last year. But gosh he's all that's  
superlative to me. Sometimes he talks me about  
Wilamowitz - do you know he didn't know  
about the man's death till a week afterwards -  
and then it had to be Mrs. Wright that told  
him. Can't you imagine the gleam in her eye?  
But she and I are getting on pretty well and I do  
like her - for her very oppositeness. I go from  
one Greek class to the other and have to be  
careful to admire the right people in the right  
class. She certainly knows nearly everything  
there is to know - makes me feel awfully  
raw and American.

Something exciting happened awhile back...  
I propounded a theory in Pindar - I've forgotten  
just what - about a v.v. thing - to Satchy and  
he thought it was damn. very interesting - and  
wrote it into his text! I was very calm and  
went on reading but I felt like shouting.  
Of course he gave me Wilamowitz Pindaros to  
read, and of course I didn't get through much.



I'm about decided that nobody else in the family<sup>(3)</sup> really appreciates Greek but me - gets the creative thrill out of it. Why creative I don't know, but that's the feeling I have when I track down a variant reading to its ambiguous origin. Maybe you understand. I wish to goodness you were here. When I heard you were coming back this fall I felt personally resentful, the way one used to feel when mother went off for a drive without one. Of course it is great for you to be there and all that, depression being what it is and all that, but I did want you here. Don't you think you should get your Ph. D. here next year? All your Radnor girl friends keep asking for you. Poole and I come to each other's hall teas and occasionally go Sundaying together. She's looking all right and is playing around with Sea Monsters - you probably know all about her, as I suppose she writes to you.

Your letter was certainly swell. It made me laugh in the middle of exam period, which is something, at breakfast, too.

This will be about all, I guess. As I read it over it seems to be mostly about me and neither interesting nor comprehensive at that.

Love,  
Em.



15

Athens, March 28, 1981

Dear Em,

John Camp, son of Edith who called on you I believe some years ago, is about to visit Leningrad and Moscow with his wife Abigail, with a smallish group that leaves here April 17. He offered to bring you offprints or anything else, so I have given him my Dikaio's article "Kouriaka" and the revised edition of my Picture Book. If by any chance you already have either, you can always pass them on. John is young but very advanced in archeology, having started by assisting Homer Thompson in his excavations, summers while still an undergraduate at Harvard Harvard. He is assistant director of the Agora, and acting director in winter when Leslie Shear is at Princeton.

I would have liked to telephone Mame to get the latest news of you before he goes, but find I do not have her whole tel.no. as usable outside the US, i.e. some of it is in letters. I must get all those nos. to have on hand, and would like to have yours up to date also.

I saw Ellie not long ago in connection with giving Heinrich Immerwahr my Kontoglou print for his 65th birthday. I wanted to find out some detail about the picture and about Kontoglou in general (who said to Ted in 1928 that the Anglo Saxons have not yet emerged from the vegetable kingdom). Ellie looked again at the print and said, "I hope he's worthy of it." Do you remember Heinrich, whom you met at the dock in 1940, and who is now director of the Am. Sch., but oh dear only for another year. I was delighted to see that he loved his present and kept getting it out all through dinner at the restaurant where they had taken me to celebrate the birthday Heinrich and Sally gave me a very fine 80th birthday party, with all sorts of people I wanted to see (but not Ellie, who does not go out now at night, as she told H. on the phone).

Maggie Wallace Matheson is here, you must remember meeting her father William W. when he and I were both in Princeton and he was the ~~son~~ son of A.C.'s bosom friend May Wallace. Maggie is working with us and the Koan vol. of stamps.

Do send me some news.



## Notes from Em

she will put in a letter something like, 'if you could send me that book <sup>say</sup> sometime this spring, any time you're ready.'

3 then write to the <sup>consular division,</sup> Embassy, or call, and ask for the form for invitation to close relations. The name is Emilia Luoma Kazakovich, born 2 Feb. 1911 in N.Y. For a period of 6 weeks (maximum of 6 weeks, she says, for either of us!).



unpublished  
manuscript  
4.11.77

3 May 1977

Dear Mark,

unpublished  
manuscript  
14.11.77

Today came yours (letter) of 13-14 April, in effect answering or at least commenting <sup>on</sup> the questions I asked you in mine of April 24 (acknowledging receipt of the xeroxes), though you hadn't got my letter yet. I had not noticed the difference between the phrasing in the catalogue card and Meritt's "attempts to dismember". At first I bounced to agree that Vanderpool's was better: dismember suggests tearing limb from limb + a rectangular solid block has no "members" in that sense. But if you wanted a perfectly rectangular and (almost) smooth block for re-use you would prefer this block without the sculptured relief and the triangular pediment: ~~that~~ That would be a sort of dismemberment (beheading?). And, when you (I) come to think of it, "break up" suggests reduction to something like rubble. But then why the upper, shorter cut? ~~what~~ it would soon come off of the relief. Could it be that the brute-builder (of some thing else), or his menial w. The saw, started by an inaccurate sighting from the edge of the stone, which he first set on its side? He might begin with a nick right at the angle, then turn his saw (?) & make a few strokes before he noticed



that had started too high. (As of course it might be the relief - pediment member he wanted, to decorate his dining room or something.) Oh, the photographs are beautiful! Please thank Lucy W. K. for making prints for me. What is a "conservator". A restorer? a keep-off-the-tourist-er?

Lines 24-26 did puzzle me. (1) a bouleuterion isn't a court, though it might be used for one, whether by the boule of the 500 or the 6. of the Areopagus. Then (2) I looked at all available plans and couldn't see any <sup>likely</sup> place for a courthouse near the bouleuterion. But that doesn't mean much. Mycherley, Testimonia p. 127 seems sensible (I must look at <sup>his article</sup> JHS 75 (1955)) (3) of (1) why can't a bouleuterion be a place, or even a collection of people for a <sup>purpose</sup> ~~place~~ (like an ergasterion)? All quite fascinating.

Meritt's last para. (dating) isn't quite clear - perhaps because I'm vague about terms. If his "early in the 3rd cent." for the building in whose fill the stela was found, & if a "fill" is what's under a building (?) Then, if HAT is right that the building is of the last quarter of the 4th century. Then I suppose that sharpens the likelihood that the stela was cast aside right after 322 - that is, if Eukrates is who Meritt says he was. Exactly if true.

I ought to hear any day now about the exit side - what they decide. Then, at the best, I suppose another couple of weeks to get the visa. I've been awful about delaying my own decision, but now I hope things will soon be settled & I'll see you. Love Em



25 January '77  
(Wednesday)

Dear Mart,

ⓧ so we now have Nos 1-16 - great!  
Griffiti + Dimpiti and the two lots of

Pic Books ⓧ arrived Sunday. I patiently fed my waiting sparrows on my way back across the square from the P.O. (one has to be patient to see that they get the bread crumbs and not the doves [whom everyone feeds from vaguely religious motives] or the ravens, who really want meat anyhow and frighten the sparrows terribly [the doves eat with the sps but much faster]). So I stand abt. 15 feet away & watch, rushing in to ~~shoo~~ <sup>chase</sup> away ~~the~~ doves & cawing <sup>back</sup> fiercely at hovering ravens (crows? grackles? anyhow large & handsome & fearsome). Then one heard on the censor's string & the other died. Yuri's number - "Can I come over right now?" he said; I: "yes, yes it is G.R.D. + P.B. too - yes of course, come!" He sat in the kitchen ⓧ shuffling (next day of the) happily over every page. But: now that I've read the griffiti Pic-Bk, also by Mabel - tell me: is she as

Then, good, better, than me. I seem to remember slaps - business & - well, Yuri is certainly delighted & I hope to do his wishes to you. (The P.O. has nothing to do with griffiti. I just the way I happen to feel) Love Ben

gilly + faintly vulgarly "w. it" person as her currency for an bread public suggest? 13 she a good research worker? I seem to remember her, tho'. I didn't do from B.M. (she was

ⓧ I'm not sure





Греция

19.01

Miss Virginia Greece

American School

54 Swedias Street

Athens 140

Greece

Адрес отправителя

E. Grace, Novopeshenaya 23,  
kr. 141, 125252 Moscow

USSR



19.06



Министерство связи СССР. 1976 г.  
19.06.76 г. Цена 17 к. Художник Ю. Косоруков



Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака



19.02

Saturday  
26 March 1977

Dear Mart,

As Mame may have told you, I am filing papers for going to the U.S. on Mary's invitation. I hope to have all the necessary preliminaries finished so that next week I can turn in all the 'documents' and the official wheels can start turning. I would like to be there May-June-July (I'm asking for 3 months, acc. to Mame's invitation-document) but that is probably utopian. It might (e.g.) will be June-July-Aug. or even later (if the Americans are slow with their visa). I do very much hope there'll be a chance to see you there. I keep Mame informed of every step and at the end - if all goes well - will wire about date (flight, of course).

Meanwhile, if poss., would you, could you, send me a xerox of the <sup>337 B.C.</sup> ~~1957~~ decree on tyranny - you sent me a photograph when it was first discovered; then I know it appeared in Hesperia 21 (1952) - Meritt. There may be a later important publication of it, I don't know. I need the text, + the best commentary going.

T-256  
-1

The photograph you sent me I saw not so long ago in a search for something else among my desk drawers & folders - but now I cannot find it anywhere; and I need it in connection with a piece on 16<sup>th</sup> 115 (Draco's law).

I say no more. I'm much relieved that I've decided to run through this mill, and I hope I'll do it successfully, and see you all before very long.

Love Em

If you can do me the xerox - send it here or bring it to the US (if you can come!) I can't decide which is best<sup>ⓧ</sup> (probably - but I can't decide!) you decide. Thanks!

Love again

ⓧ I mean - to send the xerox or bring it





20.019

Греция

V. R. Grace

American School of Classical Studies

54 Swedish Street

Athens 146

Greece

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E. Grace, Novopreschenaya 23,  
Kv. 141, Moscow 125252, USSR

20.016

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12/IV-76 г. Цена 17 к. Художник Ю. Косоруков

Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака



[20.02]

Did I get round to telling you how very much I got to like your Kymé editor? 24 April 1977

24 Apr 1977  
He says you must like him too

Not that I didn't like him in '72 when - listen to him - so much. He but then I didn't get tally to him somehow so much. He was here in March - 6 months ago. I think you must like him too.

Dear Mart,

Another quicky (I've showered Mame with them, marking every step of the way - even an interlude or so) to say that your contribution to Kymé I has come, & with it the desired Meritt publication of the anti-tyranny decree, in the inventory card (a fascinating bit of catalogue real life - you was fascinated too) I see you (I suppose you) have <sup>red-</sup>arrowed & starred Ostwald's article - which, glory be, I have - Xeroxed for me by the Society in London. Against 2 places in Meritt's commentary you have put a red "X". When I say X in a margin it means (unless a footnote) that I don't think I agree. I'm not sure what you mean by it. The x-red passages are (1), p. 358 (Hesp. XXI, 1952), comm. on lines 22-27 of the decree: "This is a clean topographical... entrance to the Bouleuterion"; (2) <sup>p. 359</sup> "The square building where the stela was found is dated ... early in the Third Century B.C." I hope to be off by June 1st - but that is optimism. (or so I keep telling myself).

Many thanks for sending - unfortunately I can't get myself seriously down to work. But now I must do a batch of Ely summaries for Personal Local En

you wrote (in the Address to Kymé I) elegantly and to the point - the purple of Ostwald ("in dead"). (He didn't say much, but was devoted. It's not you know, nothing is in the works - 7-11-77-8. 5000.)



American School of Classical Studies  
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

April 13, 1977

Dear Em,

On your letter of March 26, I have been hearing about the possibilities of your visiting the US, and of course I will hope to be there at the same time, or for part of it. Arrangements have to be made for cats, roses, etc., as you know.

In the meanwhile, under separate cover I am sending you:

1) xerox of Meritt, Hesperia 21, 1952, pp. 355-359. On Meritt's commentary, (1972) the Square Building, or Square Peristyle, is dated by HAT in Agora XIV, see p. 61 and note 175, in the last quarter of the 4th century, partly because of the discovery of the tyranny stele in its construction filling. (Meritt speaks of the building) ~~it~~ as of the early "Third Century B.C.") I think also there is something funny about that expression ΕΗΙ ΤΗΕ ΕΙΣΟΔΟΥ ΤΗΕ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΕΙΟΝ ΔΙΑΤΟΝ ΤΗΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΟΝΤΙ. I think this is something I heard recently from Tony Raubitschek, and must check on it.

2) xeroxes of the front and back of the catalogue card, and of a second card to make more references. These entries are put in by all sorts of people, ~~or~~ were in the days of Lucy Talcott; now we're lucky if references get in from Hesperia articles and from Agora vols. The typed text of the catalogue description is taken practically word for word from the notebook description by the excavator, who was Eugene Vanderpool; I thought "to break up the stele" was better language than Meritt's "dismember", and I checked the notebook, and it was EV, who had copied also all the text there, and one can imagine with what feeling. He comments also on the importance of the context. You probably ought to see Ostwald's article.

3) Three lovely photographs, prints of 87-217, 219, and 220, given me for you by Lucy Weir Krystalli, a nice girl, really a conservator by training, who is at present doing the catalogue, and I hope she will be kept there at the Agora

4) xerox of my chapter in Kyme I that you saw in ms. in Praha.  
(offprints disappeared at the printers')

Please let me know when you receive both this letter and the separately enclosed items. You won't suppose that I write all this so quickly because I have nothing else to do! but out of desperation at the way things get buried and never answered and can't even be found. Maggie Wallace Matheson (Wm. Wallace's daughter) is staying with me for a few weeks, sharing the room with Mary the former Agora cat. Today Maggie is off with her brother Mac to Euboea and perhaps to Skyros. Peggy McVeagh Thorne's song Stuart called up and I'll see both of them probably Saturday.

Love



P.S. April 14

It was in fact E Vanderpool and not Roubidoux who had spoken to me about the passage in lines 25-26. I saw E.V. last evening at the School and he said so. It seems that beside Merrill's text, <sup>in the margin</sup> in the publication (in whose copy I'm not quite clear), B.H. Hill had simply written in, "the bouleuterion of the Areopagus" or something close to that. I.e. <sup>as I understand it</sup> The Bouleuterion he considered was not being referred to, but the place where all those Areopagus Councillors sat. This makes a difference to people trying to figure out the topography of Athens.



Athens, Dec. 2, 1976

Dear Em,

Wonderful to have a letter from you. Indeed I don't write  
 any myself, nor manage to turn out academic <sup>writing</sup> at anything like your  
 rate - if only 22 English summaries! - such hard work. Right  
 now I'm in the middle of a festschrift article that was due over  
 a month ago, and is stuck by a block. The object of the festschrift  
 is here, just through the autumn, and I haven't been able to see  
 nearly enough of him (great friend) on account of being haunted  
 by this undone job. I do sympathize about the loss of your boss,  
 who sounds like somebody always needed.

An offprint of my "Revisions in Hellenistic chronology" (Ath.  
Mith. 1974, pp. 193-200, plus an appendix by Kroll) did go to you,  
 late in 1974, and you acknowledged it in Jan. 1975. Other copies  
 went to Brashinsky, Levi, Shelov, Vinogradov and Zeest. Probably  
 you had forgotten how little it is, or thought more should have  
 appeared by this time, as it should (but hasnot). The reason I  
 worried about it circulating widely in ms. form, before being quite  
 ready, was certainly not to keep it secret but just ~~because~~ in case  
 there were things that turned out to need correcting - one can  
 never catch up with those errors. I don't remember about  
 sending M. Lang's Picture Bk. on Graffiti. Was that not in the 2  
 sets I sent you? What's their last item? I'll try to remember  
 to send it now anyhow. The big Agora vol. has not got here yet,  
 though maybe it is now in print. As to the Krakov publication  
 which is "going ahead now steadily" - what is it? Is it IOSPE ??  
 Yes I did receive your article in Eirene XIII, and love having it,  
 though not able to appreciate it as Stroud would. But I do sym-  
 pathize with you about people who quote one - cite one - getting  
 the whole point wrong. The better they are, the worse it is.

*Up late last night, and understood a part of it  
 & Greek Emperor, for August Higgins. I am rather under  
 I shall send this letter in another form in appropriate, so  
 as not to lose you again. Spent 1 hour, I was in London, on the way out  
 this in late October. It was in London, on the way out, so was specially  
 to Paris the next day.*

*[So put in about Sally Zimmerman]*





(Ил)-154

23.11  
76  
but about 1/2 in

Греческая



23.019

Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

54 Swedias Street

Athens 140 - Greece

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USSR

23.016

23.016

Министерство связи СССР, 1976 г.  
12.IV-76 г. Цена 1 руб. Художник Ю. Косоруков

23.016

Изготовлено на Первом Гознаке



23.02

26 Nov. '76

Dear Mart,

In short, since I got your two-tier letter - and was awfully glad to have it, as always - I have been embroiled with such a spate of emergency writing <sup>(for the same issue)</sup> to another round of Eng. summaries (22 of them! for a special issue honouring our immediate boss, whose loss - death - in early May was nothing short of agonising. he was such a darling and saw us through such red tapes & figured out such fancy ways of letting us work on the work led us), that a pile of VERY IMPORTANT letters has accumulated - and now I must get another piece of writing done "at once". Your letter is not in the pile because, evidently, I put it in some special 1st rank place & now can't find it. I've even looked in all the texts & works I've been using.

I remember (1) (because of guilt) that you had not meant me to circulate your memo on new chronology for certain material. That had not occurred to me. It seemed an unnecessary necessary to circulate it at once to all archaeologists affected. I do beg pardon! I think you said



a grand, eye-catching picture. He has what it takes to be a native - his danger is glory-hunting (a young man, of course).  
 that the published version was on the way or soon would be. At present writing it has not come

(2) The picture book (graffiti, I think) has not come either. You said you were sending it. I only hope there's been no stupidity with the "post" (a thing that seldom happens with me - but always might). Much love always,  
Mart - Em

(3) Yuri Vin. He's all wrapped up in Obbia graffiti now (so of course he longs to have M. Lang Graffiti + Dipinti, Athen. Agora vol. XXI - could you have it sent, like before, + have me billed with Memo?). I regret, even bitterly + for his own sake (as I see it) that he did not stay with handles altogether till Brekov's work was published. He is too young (it seems to me) to start flying about. But then I remember myself + the Pelican League Hoard. There were reproaches: "we thought you were a numismatist" + the like. But somehow it did not stick with me either. But the work is going ahead + now steadily on the Brekov (+) publication, and Yuri has had a lot to do with it, devising ways to give all necessary information without being allowed to publish enough photos. That's a long Soviet-type story. The main thing is that the work is under way + you will have it "soon".

Did Eirene XIII (my offprint) get to you finally? It travelled via Ginny + Memo. First, you said, in that letter. Strong wrote wonderfully cheering things to me about it + sent me his

Cap so I thought + think. He's too eager to publish bits of history to get on & make a grand, eye-catching picture. He has what it takes to be a native - his danger is glory-hunting (a young man, of course).  
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lost in English (my blue-Turner thing)

as I found to publish, but what I said of it in the letter, I was, I ed. of those things

Oh Strong getting it all wrong": I mean he didn't get named to publish, but what I said of it in the letter, I was, I ed. of those things





May 3, 1970 V. E. Kazakovich  
waiting for a train at  
a r.r. station near the Volga.

24b



## WATERSEGE

[entry II. 75]

Virginia dear one -

I want to see Emily in  
Moscow and I must want to  
see you to tell you about it. It  
stirred up so many deep feelings

in the of terrible sadness, admiration,  
 respect & tenderness towards that  
 darling woman I only saw for  
 half an hour. Ivan (or V - or whatever  
 his name is) was darling - gay, spirited,  
 witty, urbane - But seeing those two  
 living in Russia made me think a lot  
 more about what Russia is really like -  
 Not old Russia, or beautiful tourist Russia but  
 what it all stands for - I'll see you soon but I wanted

you to get these soon lots of love E.



to his

3.11.75

Your reference to Mahars I did not properly recognize, but it was confirmed by people here. It happened while I was home for a week with flu + antibiotics, and I wasn't seeing the newspapers. A fine and characteristic story. The Megars think a great deal of him. But right and wrong in Cyprus are not <sup>so</sup> clear as one imagines, I fear. Because it seems that in these years since independence, the Turkish villagers have had a pretty nasty time. Many were wounded and concentrated - as far as I can make out by their own leaders, but then their homes were cleared out. Now, in 1974, the Episthi Turks, our neighbors, and



generally on good terms with the Episcopalians, lost everything out of their hands, which is mean and sad. Most people are not mean like that, but it just takes a few action men people to make a very bad effect, including very bad feeling. A few action decent people, on the other hand, also make an effect - so shines a good deed in a naughty world.

I've not seen Elli a ages. She called up long ago - Sept 7 Oct. - and said I must understand that people do not want to be with Americans. She called again after a few weeks, and there seemed to be some change - feeling, but when I told her of an American friend of mine (prof) who, though entirely in sympathy with the student anti-American demonstration then going on (in fact he marched with them), insisted on their knowing that he also was an American, all with good feeling on both sides. This seemed silly, I guess, to E., so I have heard no more. I did not tell her about going to Polytech, she probably would think it presumptuous. But I don't think she would approve of you either. There ought to be something about members of a team. Of course I value her, and after a while I'll bring her some Geographical (that I got from Danny Grace). She is Oct., getting a pension as a WRITER.

Danny Manchester was with the "others" (as far as I know) in the New Yorker. Tell you. I did. I became really very all mixed up. Are you sure?





Греция - Афины

Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

54 Swedish Street

Athens 140 - Greece

Индекс предприятия связи и адрес  
отправителя

E. Grace, Novopeshchanaya 23,  
apt. 141, Moscow 125252, USSR

27.016

Издаётся Министерством связи СССР.  
3/1-73 г. Цена 17 к.

6-51118

Издана в Московской ф-ке Гознака



I got a beautiful kitting Christmas card from Jane - & remembered her 25 January 1975  
 term who was at the <sup>bow</sup> of cream when she came & found him & he "jammed his hat down over his ears and fled". (That's how I remember her letter of long ago.)

Dear Mark,

Yours of Jan 4 came today; perhaps mine of Jan. 4 has reached you? saying I had the Att Mitt. offprint, & other things that might have caused it to go astray.

Too bad, I felt sure I'd given you the revised tel. no. Perhaps because I'd given it to Mame & hoped she'd tell everybody. The beginning has changed: ~~to~~ 157-67-00. If they really were in a mood to help Edith C. find me they'd tell her that all D 7's have become 157's. But look, it's already the 25th & nothing heard from your friend. But they are obviously instructed to be sticky about these things. Too bad!

Well, you are still happy, I see, & who wouldn't be? since 23 July. And involved - great! As it happens I am too, though not in that of course. I meant not to tell I had my murder law monster safely hampered in the press, but it's hard to say no, esp. when your whole spirit presses.

The other day in an old paper I read about the end of Rodney Young & felt sort of annoyed that the big obit.

was all Gordium when Rodney was that handsome strapping young man of my youth - and surely something else even then. (H.T. 29 Oct). It's the devil, isn't it? I wonder if I'll still be around to see what you have seen + to hang my roses (or pine branches) on some eloquent railing. Is Elli happy too? But what a shameful mess in Cyprus. It's v. depressing to have the English helping the invaders divide the land. But that wouldn't surprise E. + doesn't really surprise me - I'm only sorry. Even so far from the scene I felt such a relief when that crock collapsed + left - though at once of course I had to imagine how he must be feeling + be sorry for him too. (Ivy calls me a masochist.) Of course it was the colonels who blew up Cyprus, + putting them down can't put C. together again, esp. with Henry + Co. being "realists", i.e., wanting it broken because one hates the archbishop so. And what a price he is! That demonstration (quite justified, but likely to lead to another bloody murder), why (as I imagine it from what I heard) he just came, stood in front of them, wiggled his finger, + they marched joyfully off behind him + out of trouble. No autocracy, please. But what a magnificent advocate he makes! Oh Merit, how good it would be to have a talk! You could clear up a lot of things I probably get wrong. I did read Lady Fleming's book, + for all its F.L.A.ing I think I learned some reality, esp. when she described what she herself experienced.

Yours ever  
W. Love



Mrs. J. Attalus

Jan. 4, 1975, am

Dear Em,

Here is some correspondence between me and Edith Camp. She wants to see you when she goes to Moscow. She may want you partly of Sybil. She lost her husband about a year and a half ago. They were on their way here for Easter - all by themselves stopping over in <sup>Carling Island</sup> Tenerife (of ?), and he died suddenly, sitting in the bus from the airport. I think it was. She loved him very much, and he was lovable, in a grumpy Sandy-ist way. She has two fine daughters, Margot and Sophronia, and a son John, very bright, who is assistant director of the Agency - but he tells me it may all come to an end on June 30.

So much happens, I hope you are OK. I have felt very much involved with what has happened here, and that my flower to the Polytechnicum mailing with those of thousands of others. July 23, when the clouds gave up, seemed like the end of a nightmarish.

I do wish I could see you!

Love

Wendy

Hope you get my letter, little effort



Athens, December 30, 1974

Dear Edith,

Lucky you to be going again so soon to Russia, and perhaps to see my sister Emily. Address her:

Emily Grace  
Apartment 141  
Novopeschanaya 23  
Moscow 125252

I think you should telephone before calling. The number I have: D7-67-00.

I think Emily is still sharing the apartment with her former husband, Vladimir Kazakevich, an economist. If you should speak with him, on the telephone or otherwise, please give him my greetings.

It must be terribly nice to have Margot and Paul with you. I was delighted to receive the calendar with all those portraits by Paul. Those not recognized by me were recognized by Eirene. What fun if he gets lots of commissions in America. Painters seem to be the only people now who are keeping ahead of the inflation. I went to a show the other day of Sikeliotis, one of whose early works is incorporated in my buffet wall. He had been to England and painted a lot of old buildings. A view of Birmingham from the canal, with old brick factory buildings, etc., I thought would be a nice present for my sister-in-law, as we also visited Birmingham by canal, in about 1951. It turned out the price was \$40,000. I was pleased for the painter, who had already sold a number of smaller ones, at about \$10,000. I liked the pictures, and it was nice to see him again, he seemed so happy.

Good journey to Russia, and back here soon I hope.



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF  
CLASSICAL STUDIES

31

Nº 0521

RECEIPT

DR. 1,235.90  
\$ 41.33

Received by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens  
from Miss V. Grace

the sum of Drachmas One thousand Two hundred  
thirty five and 70/100 —  
for school publications

Athens 16/8/74

T. Dui

AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES



54 SOUIDIAS STREET  
ATHENS

Date: 8 August 1974

# INVOICE

TO: Miss Virginia Grace

Your order no./date:

Items	Price	Total
1. Sparkes & Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (Athenian Agora XII) 2 vols.	\$40.00	
Registered post	<u>1.33</u>	
TOTAL	\$41.33	

Credit Publications

Sent to:  
Emily Grace  
Novopeschanaya 23, apt. 141  
Moscow 125252  
USSR



August 10, 1974

Dear Mrs. Driva,

Enclosed is my check no. 219 for \$41.53, being the cost of one copy of Agora XII plus registered postage of this book to Emily Grace in Moscow.

I enclose also the invoice. Would you be so kind as to return it to me receipted?

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

August 10, 1974

Dear Nancy,

My check for \$41.53 has been made out to the ASCS, and will be sent to Mrs. Driva.

I am most obliged to you for putting this through for me. I make heavy weather myself of preparing great books for posting, and getting them to the p.o. at hours when registering can be done.

Yours,

Jack Kroll  
Dept. of Classics  
Univ. of Texas  
Austin, Texas 78712





35.01a

Греция - г. Афины  
V. R. Glase  
American School of Classical  
Studies  
54 Swedias St.  
Athens 140 - Greece

Индекс предприятия связи и адрес  
отправителя

Е. Гласе, Новоресчаная 23,  
apt. 141, Moscow 125252  
USSR

35.016

Издание Министерства связи СССР.  
23/1-73 г. Цена 17 к.

Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака



8 July 1974

Dear Mart,

About a week ago, a, little more, Agora XIV (Thompson-Wycherley) came, to the satisfaction and pleasure of all concerned. I waited to acknowledge its arrival, thinking may be Black and Plain Pottery would follow close upon it, as it followed upon the Picture Books. It hasn't, but may well do so still.

I write to you today because it's time and also because one of those destructive repair tornadoes has struck our apt.

which destroy not only one's neat arrangements finally achieved but also one's peace and articulation of mind. In this case <sup>(noted)</sup> the one room which was really a pleasure to sit in <sup>(the kitchen, redecorated 2 years ago)</sup> has been converted into what V. calls a pigstie, and quite unneces-

sarily, not to mention against ~~your~~ wills: a question of replacing perfectly and admittedly sound <sup>and beautifully painted-apple-green</sup> gas pipes, which had an S curve in them to take care of a <sup>gas - abt. 15 yrs ago!</sup> metre long since removed, ~~with~~ a short line from main to stove. Result: two holes in the

wall, also big burnt spots on it, also my choros line of pots and implements (ses Xen. Oec. VIII 20) <sup>x</sup> is utterly disrupted by

<sup>x</sup> χορὸς... ~~κενὸν~~... οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς καθὼν <sup>θέαμα ἐστίν,</sup> ~~καὶ καθὰ~~ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ καθὼν καὶ καθαρὸν ~~καὶ καθαρόν~~ <sup>φαίνεται</sup> - but I think I wrote to you abt. this before?

the laying of the new short line right right over & ~~on~~  
 front of the hooks ~~from~~ <sup>h</sup> ~~from which~~ ~~h~~ ~~they~~ ~~hung~~ ~~in~~ ~~harmonious~~  
 and useful order, making the heart to skip with joy every  
 morning. In short: hell. I must say that the underlying  
 idea was sound enough: there have been even more destructive  
 explosions elsewhere in the city, resulting allegedly and per-  
 haps in truth from old and crazily twisting gas pipes. Hence  
 the order went out: rip out all unnecessary twists. But there  
 are ways (considerate, allowing for record and condition of  
 given pipe, etc.) and ways (opposite) in which such orders can  
 be applied. Further result: one loses absolutely all desire  
 to try to produce order once more, one's already buffeted  
 standards fall another notch; and one simply tries not to  
 look at the ruined view.

Yuri would like to get in touch with J.B. Kroll, whose  
Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates came out in 1972. Is that the  
 same person whose work led to your revisions (chronological)?  
 Y. thinks so. <sup>or anyhow, of course,</sup> If so, could you tell me her (?) address so Y.  
 could write to her? I have snapshots sent by Carolyn Grace  
 with a nice letter from her and a note from Bastion: you and  
 Mame and Priscilla, the children, <sup>and Pat, so dear + good.</sup> Nicky, J.S.G. lovely to see  
 and I must thank them--without waiting for the next unpre-  
 dictable tornado.

Love

*Em*



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF  
CLASSICAL STUDIES

36

RECEIPT

№ 0381

DR. 860.-  
\$ 28. 76

Received by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

from Miss V. Grace

the sum of Drachmas eight hundred sixty —

for school publications

Athens 17/6/74

Davis

AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES



54 SOUIDIAS STREET  
ATHENS

Date: 12 June 1974

# INVOICE

TO: Miss Virginia Grace

Your order no./date:

Items	Price	Total
1. Thompson & Wycherley, The Agora of Athens (Athenian Agora 14)	Drs. 840	(\$28.00)
Registered post	<u>20</u>	
Total	Drs. 860	

Credit Publications

Sent to:

Emily Grace  
Novopeschanaya 23, apt. 141  
Moscow 125252  
USSR



## A.S.C.S.

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Miss Grace

The books have been sent to your sister.  
Enclosed you will find the invoices, which  
you can pay to Mrs. Driva.

*Nancy Winter*

*Also enclosed is the registration  
slip.*

ΑΡΙΘ. 7  
2248

ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΕΝΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣΤΟΛΕΥΣΗ American Shoe  
Παραλήπτρια Emily Grace  
ΕΙΣΛΙΣΤΗ

Ταχ. ἀπὸ κείμενον\* ἡμερ/νία  
Ταχυδρομικὸν τέλος... πογραφή ὑπαλ/

Ἀπόδειξις παραλαβῆς...  
Κατεπεῖγον

Σύνολον 174

\* Σημειωθῆτω γράμμα, δαίγμα, έντυπον κλπ.



American School  
54 Swedias Street  
Athens 140, Greece

June 8, 1974

Dear Em,

On yours of May 22, I have ordered the books sent from here, as it seemed foolish for you to wait for them to get over from America when the School has a supply. Later I'll get in touch with Tom through Mame. I've ordered them to be addressed to you, I hope that is ok. The Picture Books have gone up to a dollar, still worth it, I think (or mine is! - it was so much trouble to assemble). Anyhow I'm sending these as birthday presents, i.e. 2 sets of Picture Books.

Yes, I did receive your letters as listed, I think all three (they are not down here at the Stoa). I was very glad you liked the Ath. Mitth. piece. I feel not particularly at fault for my earlier chronology, it seems to me to have been based on fairly on data then available, given the frivolous nature of the numismatic arguments, as I see them. I won't be very sure that the new chronology is right until everything is laid out in order, and possibly not then. Homer apologizes (to me) for leading his colleagues astray, but I say that before "Two Centuries of Hell. Pottery" we had nothing at all to go by; and you have to expect, or at least hope, the Science will march on. He remained particularly bothered about the effect of revisions on the date of the piece of wall on the Pnyx. He asked me to cite some recent opinions accepting the excavators' date. I enclose a replacement of my note 19; cancel the one in your copy. I have had a first proof of the article. Just lately I have been astonished to see out in the colonnade (upstairs) of the Stoa an addition to the plaster models: we had the Agora and the Akropolis, and now we have the Pnyx, all crowedd with a piece of towered and crenellated city wall, which is the one in question.

I was in the US 5 and 1/2 weeks in Feb. - March. I meant to write to you all the time, but there never is any time, those periods are so stuffed. A letter got



started on the way back in the plane. It still lies. There was one wonderful family gathering, sort of a serial one. Its kernel was a party given for Martha Grace by Carolyn and John Sebastian Grace, an evening party at their house in Cambridge. To this came the Alex McPhedrants, 6 in number, all the way from Maine, despite the difficulties caused by gasoline shortage. Also everybody else near Cambridge in the family, including Judy and family from near Woods~~hole~~. Also the Peter McPhedrants from New Haven. Also Mame (by train). The Meyers. Also some old friends of Pip's whom we all knew. Pat~~p~~ and ~~Kx~~ Jack could not manage that evening, but they came to the extension party at Old Farm - Sunday dinner, walks in the snow, TALK TALK. I was glad to be the grain of sand around which all this pearl accumulated. Pip was pleased about Carolyn and John's party, since it seems it was the first time C. had made an effort like this for the family. Nick not to be forgotten. Danny Grace was not able to get East for the occasion, we had him by telephone. The small cousins had a fine time getting acquainted. with each other.

Early in May I had a visit here by Mame and Bob. They had not been able to make it to go to Naxos with me last June when I had Jane Rabnett's (British School) lovely ancient house up in the Kastro, so she consented to lend it to me for a bit this May. We were there about a week, and they stayed a few days also in Athens. They had wanted to go to Marathon, missed on previous visits, and I arranged a drive there. I could not manage to go with them, so called up Ellie to see if she would. At first she more or less accepted, but then something else seemed to come up; so in fact Mame did not see her. Mame and I managed to have some terrific talks. In Athens she stayed with me, and Bob outside nearby. As you can imagine, I did not have much sleep while they were here! as we never felt like breaking off. You must have had good talks with her in 1970.



June 15, 1974

Dear Mrs. Driva,

Here enclosed are two bills and two checks for books sent to my sister in Moscow. Miss Winter has been kind enough to prepare the order and have the books posted, being School publications.

Although the cancelled checks will eventually serve as receipts, I should be obliged if you would endorse these bills as paid, and return them to me, so that I can have receipts now and not have to wait for a couple of months for the cancelled checks.

Miss Winter did not translate into dollars the figure of drachmas for the 20 booklets. I see that there is 30 dr. difference between the two sums, but I cannot seem to make 830 dr. into a round number smaller than \$28.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace



A. S. C. S.

41a

MEMORANDUM

TO: Miss Grace

Your books are being prepared for mailing to your sister, and the invoices will be left in the Agora box when the postage has been added. Unfortunately, we are out of stock for Agora XII. I have ordered some from the Publications Committee which should arrive soon, and I will send a copy off when they arrive and invoice you separately.

Marney Winter

P.C. to Em  
14. VI. 74  
— delay on  
VII

Miss Grace



22 May 1974

Dear Mart,  
 Just in case there really has been a stopper I inform you that, taking the last several months, I wrote to you on 29 Dec. '73 (on receipt of "Revisions"), on 13 March '74 (on receipt of Knoll's appendix to same) and on 14 Feb. '74. The probability is, I know, that the trouble with both of us is simply that we are not Anthony Trollope. But just in case....

- Yuri - having visited our friend Brashinsky in Leningrad - yearns for Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th + 4th Centuries, Parts 1 and 2, by B. A. Sparkes and Lucy T. (oh dear!), Princeton 1970. \$40.00; The Athenian Agora vol. XIV, The Agora of Athens, The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center, by H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, Princeton, 1972 \$28.00.

The 2nd also interests me, but of course one copy will do for both. Yuri also longs for a full set to date of the little popular booklets, of which I have only yours. Can it be true that they still cost only 56 cents or at most \$1.00 each? I



write to you about this instead of straight to NY  
 where my money lies (at least Mama succers that  
 it still lies in sufficient quantity [?]) because  
 I am not sure that Tom McDade knows how  
 to go about such esoteric orders. He has most  
 kindly offered to take over from Karl (old N.Y.,  
 a. rade who besides a stiffness over p. ties has  
 had a coronary + can't do anything like work  
 any more) and has had my request for  
 e.g. Rhodes on the Athenian Boyle - but  
 so far with no results. (Karl was a professional  
 bookseller for years + had a good tie-up with  
 Parker in Oxford.) Well, so I write to you  
 in the vague hope that you could without  
 too much trouble organise the ordering  
 of these works, sending the bill (having it  
 sent?) to Mary in N.Y. Is that so?  
 If not, tell me, and I'll write to  
 McDade + hope he'll manage. If only he'd  
 establish relations with Parker it would be  
 easy - they do the sending + it's all very  
 quick + satisfactory, from London (Oxf.).  
 Or at least maybe you can tell me  
 what to tell McDade to do - who to write  
 to (if not to Parker). Sorry to cause fuss  
 if I am doing so. Hope you're ok + steaming  
 ahead. Love to Ellen. E.





43.019

Греция - г. Афины

V. R. Grace

American School of Classical Studies

54 Swedias Street

Athens 140 - Greece

Индекс предприятия связи и адрес  
отправителя

E. Grace, Noropeshanaya 23,  
apt. 141, Moscow 125252  
USSR

43.016

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- Yuri - having visited our friend Brashinsky in Leningrad - yearns for:
- ① Black and Plain Pottery of the 6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries, Parts 1 and 2, by B. A. Sparkes and Lucy T. (oh dear!), Princeton 1970. \$40.00; The Athenian Agora vol. XIV, The Agora of Athens, The History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center, by H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, Princeton, 1972 \$28.00.

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 kindly offered to take over from Karl (old N.Y.,  
 c. 1940 who besides a stiffness over p.tics has  
 had a coronary + can't do anything like work  
 any more) and has had my request for  
 e.g. Rhodes on the Athenian Boyle - but  
 so far with no results. (Karl was a professional  
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 Parker in Oxford.) Well, so I write to you  
 in the vague hope that you could without  
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 of these works, sending the bill (having it  
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 establish relations with Parker it would be  
 easy - they do the sending + it's all very  
 quick + satisfactory, from London (Oxf.).  
 Or at least maybe you can tell me  
 what to tell McDade to do - who to write  
 to (if not to Parker). Sorry to cause fuss  
 if I am doing so. Hope you're ok + steaming  
 ahead. Love to Ellen Em.



USSR - E. Grace 44  
Stoa of Attalos, June 5, 1974

Dear Miss Winter,

The books I want to order at my sister's request are Agora XII (Sparkes and Talcott) and Agora XIV (Thompson and Wycherley); also two complete sets of the Picture Books. Would you be so kind as to bill me the Pictures Books separately? as I should like to send these as presents. I will need a detailed bill for Vols. XII and XIV, to send to America to my sister's man of business, who will reimburse me from her account there.

The two volumes and the two sets of Picture Books should be sent to:

Emily Grace  
Novopeschanaya 23, apt. 141  
Moscow 125252  
USSR

Please send them registered. I do not know what your usual practice is, but I always register books or articles I send to the Soviet Union, in fact to all those countries, as they tend to disappear.

As soon as I receive your bills, I will pay them with a dollar check.  
Thank you very much for attending to this for me.

With regard to the ARCE Newsletters, I see by my records that I must have turned over to Mrs. Philippides Nos. 1-70 (1951 to Oct. 1969). In this series there were three numbers missing, nos. 52, 57 and 58, and I suggested that she ask the Center if it could supply these. Perhaps, they did. If you find that they gave you also the whole series 1-70, ~~then~~ so that you ended up with a duplication of what I had given to the library, then I would be glad to have mine back so that my set would be complete.

With my thanks again,

Yours sincerely,

I have in mind the Samaria volume, and you will surely have it by next week.



To Em

The attached receipts evidently belong to an  
envelope of publications sent to Em:

3 copies of the Shear no. article (unavailable)

1 copy of the AAA having the 2 archival  
status, also article by EU and one by  
Aleson acknowledging to us.

Ταχ. 140 Αριθ. 8394/

Swedish IV  
ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΕΩΣ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΕΝΟΥ

\*Αποστολεύς V. George

Παραλήπτης Emily George

Eis USSR

Ταχ. αντικείμενον \* 322 Ημερ/νία 23-8-72

Ταχυδρομικόν τέλος

\*Απόδειξις παραλαβής

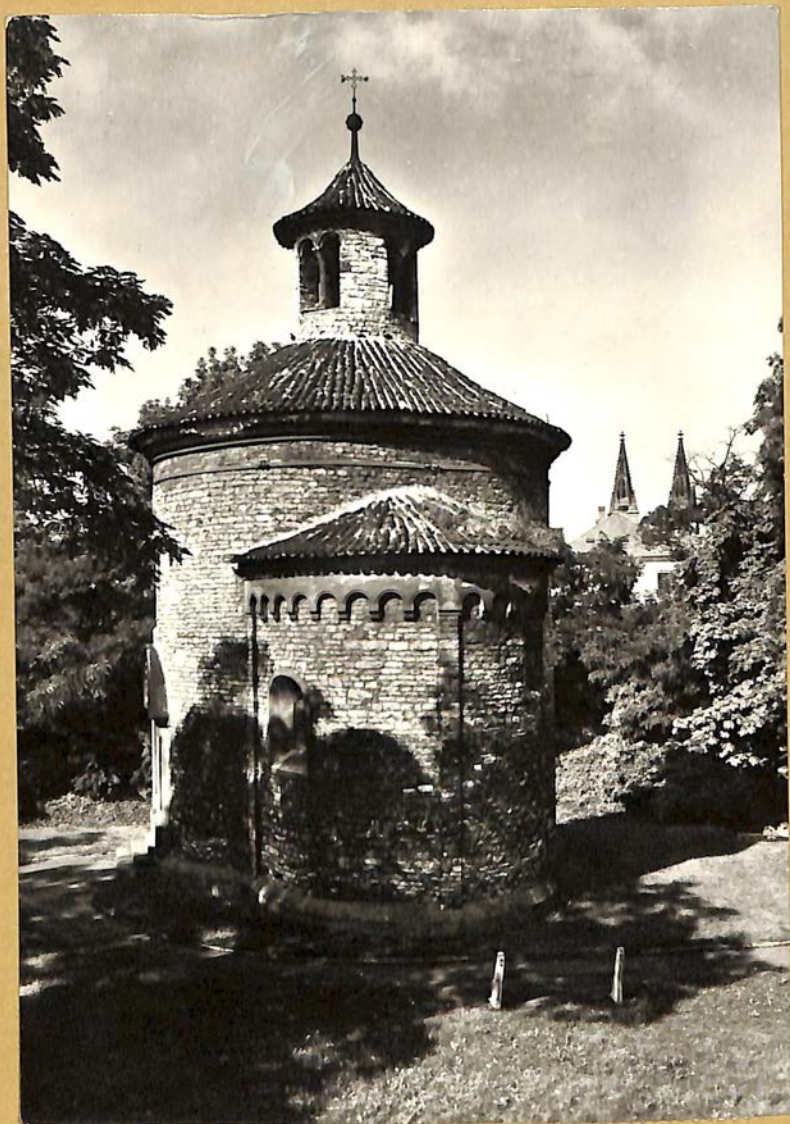
Κατεπείγον

Σύνολον 34

\*Υπογραφή παραλήλου

\* Σημειωθήτω γράμμα, δείγμα, έντυπον κλπ.







Vyšehrad, rotonde des n<sup>os</sup> 46 Martin aus der  
2. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts  
Vyšehrad, St. Martin's Rotunda from the 2nd  
half of the 11th century  
Vyšehrad, rotonde de Saint-Martin, deuxième  
moitié du 11ème siècle

26.4.72 Prague

Dear Mart, This goes to Mary because I  
see in my addr. bk. of the Manor School - which  
just goes to show. Now it seems perfectly idiotic  
that we're not meeting there. Then it seemed impossible  
to be sure when & if (mail) I'd get her. Next  
time we must plan it. You must give me a space of  
time within which you'll come & I will aim & hope.  
It was easy this time - the whole of M-con was turning  
up surprised. I've just returned from  
Foto V. Hyhlik *meeting with Bouček (?)*. It's a lovely  
old house, I thought abt you - esp. because tomorrow, like the  
dentist, I must SPEAK (as Ellie said) to his students,  
just as you did - but not the same! because being here is

so wonderful & awful together, because that  
was, I thought, just what the dr. ordered.  
I still can't get over it. I'm ready a lot in  
Jan's faculty library - however after  
I got an opponent & saw the pencil ed. note  
abt. Blavatsky's being sent you something  
after all. I don't know where to talk them -  
they are just shocked not to be acknowledged,  
yet it might be worse to talk them. I don't  
know how to talk? + Mrs. And Mary Jan &  
household. Mary? + Mrs. And Mary Jan &  
his wife & little boy now - with me - who En

Miss Mary Grace [466]

156 Piermont Avenue

Nyack, NY. 10960

USA

ČESKOSLOVENSKO



1942 LEZÁKY 1972

ČESKOSLOVENSKO



1942 LEZÁKY 1972



On postcard by Samos  
toward Memphis

Jan. 6, 1968

47.01

Dear Ben,

I delight to see you late of Oct. and  
December, ~~to see~~ No plans to visit  
Mlle. Bernard whom I saw last in 1967.  
Glad if she's ~~ending~~ out all right as I  
fear she might be having religious problems.  
Have been submerged in efforts to produce  
an article on Samos amplores, already  
past its deadline, will not <sup>to you</sup> see again  
until just you and Ann. <sup>not to discuss</sup> Ellie ~~and~~  
<sup>continue to talk</sup> ~~still talking~~ about Ann to member of a  
and how they must  
learn ~~about~~ stick together and not give  
comfort to outsiders, a point of view I  
least expected of her. She is more

Ben

indignant about Jackie Kennedy  
and remarked "Shallow woman?"

Low  
Malt



αχ.

Αριθ. 114103

ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΕΝΟ

[48]

κ. Αφροδία Λοδιν

διαμέν. εν δόδ. αριθ.

κατέθεσε την 28/6/6 195

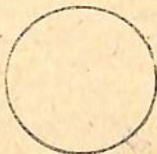
συστημένον (\*)

προς κ. Σπύρος Κορσινίδης

δδός Μόσχ 2

εις

Χρον. Σήμαντρον



Τέλος.....

Απόδειξις παραλαβής....

Επείγουσα



Αριθ. α

18

18

(\*) Σημειωθήτω επιστολή κλείματι.

USSR

Letter V9 5 E912 (or V)

dated , rec'd filed

9. X. 57 18. X. 57 typed section only, in COAN

23. XI. 57  
aft dinner  
(59.1) *not received*(longhand cert.: see calendar. Presumably mailed 25. XI  
as I did not dine downtown on Sunday  
- Perhaps by Sabkas? check his list)  
Presumably with <sup>letter</sup> copy of Grishin?12. XII. 57 *by 1.58* COANchristian cert. & photo. *by 1.58*  
19. XII. 57 *(sent by 2.0. XII)*  
9. I. 58 *(sent by 2.0. XII)*included: mention of my leaving and copy of  
letter to Grishin  
longhand; ack. of cable, and various bits of  
news, incl. Russ. vol. out, more prospect of  
J. - M. coming, no word from Grishin or Guid.

13. I. 58

*(sent by 30. I. 58)*SINOPEAN (has copy of letter to Grishin, &  
which other copy in COAN)

14. I. 58

28. I. 58

USSR

(1. II. (coming)  
13. II. 58

24. II

cable for birthday

(longhand, covering photostats of U. Paoli,  
requested in ltr of 30. I, ack. receipt of ltr  
latter of 18, 30. I. 58, and to info. Guid.)

3. III. 58 (mailed by post)

longhand letter to V., answering inquiries  
on dates and names of signs

9. VI. 58

(books (Paoli) mailed to him, 3rd cl. air.

16. VI. 58

20. VI

COAN

26. VI. 58

4. VII.

RHODIGU NAME LIST

OVER



date      rec'd      carbon  
filed

to V.  
19. VII. 58      before  
7. VIII. 58      USSR  
16?  
18. VII. 58      26. VII.      USSR  
28. IX. 58      10. X      COAN  
29. (30). X. 58      USSR  
1. X. 58  
(longhand, acknowledging letter of 23. X,  
and mentioning Gaidukovich's Jan  
date. Remarks on why I don't  
"take up seriously living in Athens.")  
(no money)

25. IV. 59 <sup>photo</sup>  
K.V.

(longhand; contains family news written in  
U.S.; a visit of <sup>to his</sup> E. Laimont &  
guests - welcome; reminders on jobs  
in Horticulture)

→ XII. 59

Christmas card, welcoming idea (from Katerina)  
that they may be visiting Greece, suggesting  
they be my guests

3. II. 60 <sup>photo</sup>

Longhand letter, long, with account of lives  
of 3 & 9 May (in care of before) and  
comments, news, with mention of  
Shardorova's escape, and diary (incl. to  
Gaidukovich)

3-4. VII. 60

USSR

? VII. 60

5. VIII. 60

Longhand note, with copy of <sup>on Thessalonika</sup> EIKONES <sup>glenn</sup>  
sent ordinary mail, closed

2. III. X. 60 (rec'd)

longhand note posted in Paris

6. XII. 60 <sup>photo</sup>  
11. XII.  
in London

In PERSONAL file.



<u>dated</u>	<u>Rec'd</u>	<u>carbon</u> <u>filed</u>
Jan. 15, 1961		(letter card with Allen on a coin, encl.) note about meeting Tony
Dec. 1, 1961		USSR
June 13, 1962		(Not a letter, but a book: <u>Wyszynski's Testimony</u> written by Spyro, sent registered.)
June 20, 1962		USSR



Letter EGK &amp; VQ

<u>date</u>	<u>rec'd</u>	<u>filed</u>
6. VII. 58		U.S.S.R.
3. IX. 57	(before 9. X)	U. S. S. R.
21. X. 57	before 23. XI	SINOPEAN
26. X. 57 (with V. 10)		U.S.S.R. (G.L.)
30. X. 57		SINOPEAN
8. XII. 57 Xmas and w. photo.	before 20. XII	
1. I. 58	11. I. 58	USSR
18. I. 58	ca. 29. I. 58	USSR
22. I. 58	31. I. 58 cancelled - Altman	USSR
30. I. 58	8. II. 58	USSR
4. II. 58	14. II. 58	USSR ad hoc cable
(16. II. 58)	before 3. III.	USSR (with from V.)
24. II. 58	ca 11. III. 58	USSR
12. III. 58 (V)	ca Altman	"
21. IV. 58	cancelled 28. V.	USSR (card in envelope)
7. VI. 58		(after K file - about Kalamov.)
24. VI. 58	3. VII. 58	USSR
	(before 19. VII)	
5. VII. 58		USSR With En's letter, memo by V
7. VIII. 58	17. VIII. 58	USSR
26. VIII. 58	5. IX. 58	USSR
13. IX. 58	23. IX. 58 cancelled	USSR
4. X. 58	15. X. 58	USSR
23. X. 58	30. X.	USSR
21. XII. 58 photos	II. 59 (after return from U.S.)	"
23. XII. 58 article	II. 59 " "	"
14. IV. 59	ca. 19. IV. 59	USSR
3. V. 59	ca 16. V. 59 ? potentially	USSR
OVER 9. V. 59	?	personal only (cliffhanger Zeis family quest for)



<u>date</u>	<u>rec'd</u>	<u>filed</u>
XII.59		(Christmas card)
28.II.60		USSR
7.V.60		USSR
19.VII.60 (p.c.)	25.VII.60	USSR
18.VII.60	<u>agreement</u> <u>Lat.</u>	USSR
29.VII.60	6.VIII (cancelled)	USSR (copy of letter with 8 ARB) w. clist
5.VIII.60	12.VIII.	USSR (post card)
8.IX.60	13.IX (cancelled)	USSR
19.IX.60	28.IX "	notes on visit ack. of Plaid Soc. 1957 for quot. about Solov'ev's views
27.IX.60	5.X in Act from L.S. U.S.	inquiring on the Metroon
XI.60		(Christmas card)



51.019

PAR AVION



TRAVEL VIA USSR MEANS  
COMFORT, ECONOMY, SPEED!



ТРАНЗИТОМ ЧЕРЕЗ СССР —  
УДОБНО, БЫСТРО, ДЕШЕВО!



Греция - г. Афины

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical  
Studies

Athens 140 - Greece

СССР, Москва А-252, Новоресчанск

23/7, кв. 141, г. Грейс

USSR, Moscow A-252, Novorossiyskaya 23/7,  
apt. 141, E Grace

51.616

Издание Министерства связи СССР.  
10/IV-65 г. Москва. Цена конверта с маркой 17 к.

Художник Ю. К. Левиновский.  
Редактор В. В. Алексеев.



1945-4966

50 E19N





Novopeschanaya 23/7, apt.141  
Moscow A-252

19 November 1965

Dear Mart,

And this is just to say Thank you very much for the offprints. I did already have the one on the Benachi collection, so that when these came I had two of each to give away. One pair I gave to the Blavatskys, the other to Sokolsky, who's been digging at Kepi, see the current issue of Archaeology. They ask me to thank you heartily. The report on the Benachi collection I read, with interest, when I got it. The wreck one not yet. I was very glad to hear from you, even tersely. But for a good while I'm going myself to be a not chatty correspondent, though I'll try not to leave letters unanswered and will hope to get more. I'm writing--very late, but writing, a helluvan effort and a great relief. In English, with someone translating. Maybe someday, if fate is kind, it will have an English edition, then you'll actually read, or at least take an intelligent look at, one of my works. I think of that with pleasure, then begin to doubt, in the first place if I'll have the gumption to finish it, and then if it will be presentable. It seems to be pouring out in a formless way.

I'm sorry about Guernsey. How is Jo? The best eye doctor I've ever had. Funny Jane doesn't write even to you. To me almost never. I hope they are all right there. Among the things you never answered is how Betts is living. I often wonder,

If there's anything you want specially to know about me, just ask. Otherwise I don't know the sort of thing you want to hear. On the whole things are tolerable, especially now that the engine has started turning over. If it only won't splutter and die on me! It was grand to see Elli, with all the scolding, and I got plenty. Oh yes, and thanks for seeing my Moos woman. She wrote me a marvellous letter about it all afterward.

The calendar was not enclosed. Stolen? or forgotten? Love E



Nov.9, 1965

Dear Em,

This is just to say I am sending you some printed matter in a big manila envelope. The main thing is our monograph on the Antikythera wreck in Transactions of the American Phil.Soc. I am adding to this two extra copies of my part of this monograph, and two extra copies of my last report in the Year Book of the Amer. Phil. Soc. These spares are for you to dispose of as you like. I shall be sending direct to Brashinsky, Gaidukevich, Grakov, Shelov and Skoodnova copies of my part of the Antikythera joint effort, in fact probably I shall send the whole monograph to Gaidukevich. Except for Skoodnova, all these have had sent to them copies of the report in the Year Book. You too, of course - hope it came.

In your envelope I am putting also a nice calendar from last year that I did not like to discard. It has intriguing pictures of a great variety of antiquities, with their captions on the back, i.e. when the calendar is new, you look at each picture for a couple of weeks betting to yourself the date and source of the object, and then when the time comes to turn, you find the answer. I'll try to find you a fresh one for 1966.

So far as I know, our family is ok. I don't hear from Jane, she must have had too much of me last year, I shouldn't wonder; but I've been in correspondence with Mame, partly in connection with Mike's visit to Greece with a nice girl named Penelope Hart, in September. Now Mr. Lucas Benachi is in the US, at the moment in N.Y., so I have been writing to everybody to look after him, and they have all responded nobly, including Jack Graham who has given him a checkup I gather. Only sad news in our connections: Guernsey Frey died, late in September I think; something associated with hepatitis.



USSR

American School of Classical Studies  
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

May 5, 1965

Dear Em,

This is just to tell you to be sure to look out for Ellie in the near future. She has suddenly got an invitation, with expenses, to go to Moscow to attend a congress of which she was not sure of the exact title (it's all very last-minuty and she is excited) anyhow, something like World National Resistance, which she says you will be sure to know about, as it has been much announced. She will try to get in touch with you of course, but thought possibly it would be easier <sup>for you</sup> to find her than vice-versa. Another place of contact would be the ~~xxxxxx~~ Greek - Soviet union Club. I think she is guest of a Soviet writers' association.

Your letter (latest) is uptown, and I want to post this before getting there, so I won't wait to reread it. In our next, I'll send you the Sybilline (Sibylline?) pages of the letter I wrote you piece-meal in America. I trust that will be before I leave on May 22 with Maggie Wallace for Alexandria, toilsome prospect. John Sebastian and his fiancée (??) are due on Saturday to stay for some weeks in Greece, much of which I fear I will miss, owing to Alexandria. Maybe they will use my ap't. The other day Peggy MacVeagh Thorne turned up with a Group (patrons of the Walters Art Gallery). She climbed up to my place - the front door outside is on a stepped part of Plutarch Street - after taking her people out to dinner, and we talked for hours, not without mentioning you. She is full of energy, and proposing to take one of her sons on walks all over Greece, having got here by means of the Group. We have staying with us at the School a Czech epigrapher named Pecirka, who says he has met you, at a congress I think; to remind you of him, he looks like Stan Laurel of the Laurel and Hardy films. He has been this winter past at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, and his English is quite developed from the last time I saw him here (with Dr. Frel, who also knows you).

LOve,

54.01

AGORA EXCAVATIONS  
AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
ATHENS, GREECE

Miss Grace

(see Em's letter)



c o p y

November 1, 1964

Professor V. F. Gaidukevich  
Leningrad D-41  
Dvortsovaya nab. 18  
Institut Arkheologii  
U.S.S.R.

Dear Professor Gaidukevich:

On behalf of the staff of the Agora Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens I wish to send you our warmest felicitations on reaching your 60th milestone. May the further journey also be long and pleasant!

Like the Athenians of old, we who now labor in Athens profit greatly by what comes to us from the north shores of the Black Sea. At this moment we are thinking especially of the vivid picture of Myrmekion that you have recovered for us, and we look forward with lively expectation to the new edition of your most valuable Bosporan Kingdom.

Once more, accept our warmest good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

*H.A.T.*

Homer A. Thompson  
Field Director, Agora Excavations  
Professor of Classical Archaeology,  
Institute for Advanced Study



Athens, October 27, 1964

Dear Georges,

Possibly you have not yet heard that Ben Meritt and Lucy Shoe are to be married on <sup>November</sup> ~~September~~ 7, in Princeton. I have this news from Lucy Talcott, who says it was not unexpected to her, "Ben so greatly needing companionship, and he and Lucy seeing eye to eye on so many things." The wedding is to be very small and quiet.

In connection with your trip to Russia, I am wondering if you had heard that Professor Gaidukevich of Leningrad, head for the Russians of the Myrmekion excavations, is celebrating his 60th birthday on November 12. No festschrift is planned, but greetings from scholars would be greatly appreciated, especially as he has been very ill in the past year. I am told that his Bosporan Kingdom is soon to appear in a new, long-needed edition (in German). You may remember that he was here with the group we met in April 1960. I thought him charming. His address:

V. F. Gaidukevich  
Leningrad D-41  
Dvortsovaya nab. 18  
Institut arkheologii

Homer has written a very nice letter to be posted on November 1.

I hope you have a very good trip. I am sure you will enjoy at least the Hermitage.

Yours sincerely,



October 28, 1964

Professor C. Bradford Welles  
Department of Ancient History  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.

Dear Brad:

My sister Emily writes me that Professor V. F. Gaidukevich, <sup>of Leningrad university</sup> will be 60 on November 12, "and his friends and colleagues here are building up a celebration. His talents and achievements must surely be known to scholars everywhere who are interested in North Black Sea archaeology. He's headed the Myrmekion dig for most of the thirty years of its existence, source of many wine-presses (of which he has published a monumental study), and of, I guess, thousands of stamped handles. His Bosporan Kingdom is soon to appear in a new, long-needed revised edition (in German)." She goes on <sup>to</sup> say that a special effort is being made because he has been very ill for the past year or so.

You seem to me to be in loco Rostovtzeff, and I thought you might like to send a note of greeting and congratulation, for that is what they want. The address is: Leningrad D-41, Dvortsovaya nab. 18, Institut arkheologii. Homer, now in Princeton, left a nice letter to be posted from here on November 1. I see that Gaidukevich did not make the index of SEHWW, but certainly he does appear in the notes, cf. pp.1331-2, notes 43,44. He was here in a visiting group in March 1960, and came to the Stoa. I thought him delightful (not at all dialectical). We are very grateful to him in my business for free permission to publish some of his finds (stamps), and excellent photographs thereof.



American School of Classical Studies  
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

October 24, 1964

Dear Em, I hope the envelope comes through for your philatelic friend. It is a first-day cover in honor of the current Olympic Games.

I got your letter about Gaidukevitch's 60th, and Homer Thompson wrote a nice letter to him, to be posted on Nov. 1; he gave me a copy; he has now left ~~for~~ and is in the U.S. spoke also to Canarache, who was here with a congress of tourism, but of course spent good deal of time in archaeological pursuits, and particularly with us. I think he took your letter note of the date. I then asked Maria to show it to the Karouzoi in the National Museum where she works. She has kept forgetting to do it, and this morning when I telephoned said she would do it right away. I asked her to bring back the letter on Monday. Right now I am writing without it, and hope I have got your address right. I think I remember the letter pretty well; of course I read it more than once.

About Jane and Maurice's move, this is now due to take place on December 1. They do not however relinquish the old house immediately, but will be able to return to it for awhile, like Robinson Crusoe rowing out to the wreck. Awbury is a part of Germantown (in case you have not heard all this already from J.), I am not sure whether it is <sup>a</sup> section <sup>n</sup> of the city, or an old estate. It is where the Harold Evanses lived - possibly their own place, now left by them? - anyhow, as I remember it, a very nice region, hilly and sort of wooded. J. and M. are to have the ground floor, made over to be independent; and to enjoy a garden for whose upkeep they are not responsible. I should better save description until I have been there. Because I am planning to go in about ten days. Address me at 5321. I must buckle down and dispose of my stuff. Some I hope will come here; but you know how terribly expensive it is to try to ship things, and one does not know how much duty may have to be paid, though I am trying to find out. Is there anything, any kind of thing, you might like to have, that it would be practical to send? Jane has had to dispose of some of Pop's ordinary books (i.e. I am not talking about his collection); I asked her not to let others go until I could have a look at them.

One thing I do mean to bring to Athens, and that is Bryson's "Demeter in Winter"

I wonder if you have received a copy of Sylvia's Thunderstone. Of her books I like it best, and I liked it a good deal better after I read it for a second time; I could see the construction, and it stated a truth I had not recognized, i.e. there are things one ought to do which under ordinary circumstances it is in fact quite irrelevant. I am not sure if it is in fact quite irrelevant.



Oh my, I never wrote you about Mame and Bob's visit in the spring. Though not perfect, it was certainly good. I hope they will come again, and stay with me. How wonderful if you could come too. I have lately found some photos of Judy's wedding you should have had 3 or 4 years ago. I think I'll still send them.

which you may remember fell to me. I plan to hang it in my living room, opposite the big north window. The room is small, but has a fireplace, which late yesterday afternoon was ceremonially inspected and tested, and it seems it will draw o.k. and not smoke and spoil pictures. I am supposed to take up residence in January.

I am under great pressure of course to produce volumes, but I am trying immediately, i.e. to be ready by March, to prepare a numbered list of Rhodian names, for direct use in Alexandria on Mr. Benachi's 54,000 Rhodian. I hope to get a grant from the American Research Center to cover expenses of two students to work there March to June, identifying the names on the handles and marking them with numbers, so that the handles can easily be "arranged alphabetically" - expression you once teased me about, i.e. when applied to handles. I cannot remember if you have commented on my "Notes on the amphoras from the Koroni Peninsula", which of course I did send to you. Anyhow, you must have seen mine as published in Hesperia and also the preceding and following pieces by Vanderpool, etc. We are in animated disagreement, but personally all great friends just the same.

Georges Daux, director of the French School here, is hoping to visit Moscow, I think toward the middle of November. He and I are not really great friends, because of our different relations to some of his former students and associates whom I still value while he does not. But he has in various ways forwarded my work. Most important perhaps was that right at the start of his being director, he consented to the corpus plan of publication, - i.e. inter-collection, inter-School - instead of keeping us tied to making books about the products of a particular site, with never anything approaching a complete view of the issues of a particular center. I wish coins could be done more often by the place of issue, i.e. the Rhodian as a whole, rather than the coins that happen to be in a collection even as large as that of the British Museum. Well, if you should meet G.D., greet him with cordiality for the good things he has done, if without falling on his neck.

Spyro, who acquired for me and others the "first-day covers" of which this envelope is one, should be leaving now this Saturday afternoon, so I stop. My greetings to Ivy. I wish she were to be in London to help me shop.



19. II. 64 58.019

АВИА·PAR AVION

PAR AVION



МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



Куда Греция - Афины

V. Glasse

American School of Classical Studies

~~54~~ 54 Scouidies Street

Athens 140, Greece

СССР

Адрес отправителя Москва К-9, а/я 346.

346, Э. Казачкин

USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazachikov



58.016

P.O. Box 346, Moscow K-9  
19 February 1964

Dear Mart,

Did I say thank you for the offprint (Koroni)? It came. Thanks also for the b.day letter. But you mustn't think I went to see my friend in the san because I thought I ought to. I wanted to. He's still there, and maybe tomorrow I'll go again, if I can get other things dealt with in time. Good luck with you apt. hunting. Perhaps you're in it now. I think I know just what you mean, sort of like what Lucy T. had when I was there? You're right the problem can be a tough one. It is our main one now, the one, you might say, we have left in common, and it's truly dreadful. However it works out it will mean large financial damage, not to mention the nervous agony and the mess with e.g. papers. Br-r-r how I hate it all! And it seems to me I ought not to be the one to have to do it. Never mind, it's not the most important thing in life, only currently aggravating, very.

Thanks, too, for the Benachi scenes. But what about my questions about Frances and her son? Next time.

Soon you'll be having Mame with you. Don't forget the snapshots, including perhaps some of you in new situ?

Love,

The stamp you put on this time will make one  
small boy delicious.



P.O. box 346  
Moscow K-9  
18 December 1963

Dear Mart,

Thanks for the card and the story of your travels through Africa. It must have been a lovely trip. It was pleasant, too, to hear good report of our citizens in the recreation ground under the judge's windows. It might have been otherwise-- a very critical point from which to judge. One way and another you've done rather a big job on the Benaki collection, haven't you? I'd like to hear the whole story. Kennedy's death was a shocking mess, whatever one may think of the victim.

Today I tried to inspire a colleague with your example, only I wanted her (she's comparatively young and still wobbly) to ~~become~~ become The Specialist on pirates. I talked so long and struck such sparks from myself that I felt the urge to abandon all and follow the sea. The colleague, however, stubbornly sticks to Coptic texts and gnostic thoughts, for ~~which~~ which I have little sympathy, because almost no knowledge, I suppose. One gets to be so narrow--less and less educated all the time. A 'historian of the old school' seems by now to be one who really knows more than one square metre of history. And me, I sit in my 4th century texts and go round and round... Except for Saumakos, that was a little dash out into the big world. I'm afraid I haven't sent it to you. I haven't made any English summary, though, and I wonder if it's any entertainment to you to get me in Russian?

Sorry as I am to say it, you must be told, I think, that V. has started divorce proceedings. How long it will take to finish the business, I don't know. Perhaps not long (a few months? less?), as I am of course not contesting. We meanwhile live along amicably enough. It is quite unknown when and where to which of us will move out of this apt. That is the most complicated question; it may well be that years will roll by and find us both still living here, amicably, though separately (in the eyes of the law). The p.o. box address will anyhow probably remain as is indefinitely. Only, eventually, my name will be yours again-- I'll let you know. Don't worry about me being abandoned in a strange land. It's not strange any more, and I have friends. But I am sorry about it, and I find the fact and the process disagreeable. However, it's probably for the best. There's no point in trying to 'explain', at this, or at any distance. Don't worry. Tell Jane.

Happy New Year, dear Mart!

I'll be o.k., really.

Love  
1 *Em*



Later to Niagara Falls, from Toronto, with Lois McPhedran Fraser, my first visit to N.F.! Hope to call then on Sylvia and John, en route to a visit to Wallace's Island for the first time (to either place) since 1948. Later to stay a while with Priscilla on Martha's Vineyard (which after all I ought to know). How lucky I am. Old Henry Robinson pushed me out of one of my rooms here for the summer, but I think, d.v., I ought to emerge from this country holiday a new woman, able to do at least a good part of what I ought to, and had been running down pretty much; and I really think he had this somewhat in mind in his demands.

Dear Em,

Must write before I depart day after tomorrow, though there is far too much to say to even start.

I enclose a review by Gavin Maxwell, which you may like since you liked his book Ring of Bright Water - so did I, and felt just like you about the first otter. This Maxwell is a friend of friends of mine, and his brother has a house in Euboea. I have not had a chance to really read either of the books about Elaa that he discusses in this review, but I have long thought that you should have them. Have you actually seen them? If not I'll look for copies to send you.

About a week ago I did have posted to you, registered, a copy of Wycherley's Testimonia about the Agora (the ancient mentions, with translations and other commentary). This is the first Agora volume I have bought! but I shall get one for myself, it looks so nice.

I enclose nice comment on my Picture Book from a Belgian review. Funnily  
1961  
enough it sells, being well ahead of any of the others in the year April 1961  
- April 1962, though it did not go on sale until June 1961 (September, in  
Athens). Mabel Lang's sells well too, especially out here; I must send you  
a copy.

I leave on the 22nd, flying to Rome, then by train to Florence to spend a week with Betts at the Hotel Croce di Malta, 7 Via della Scala, isn't that fun (but no fun, all I have got to do before then). June 30-July 5 in and near London, Whitehall Hotel, Montague Street, W.C. 1 (where Ivy had tea with me - I wish she were to be in London this time). July 5 fly to Halifax to meet Jane and Maurice and have a Nova Scotia holiday with them.



AMERICAN SCHOOL  
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES



54 SOUIDIAS STREET  
ATHENS

Date: June 11, 1962

INVOICE

TO: Miss Virginia Grace

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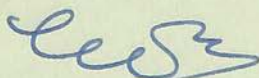
1 - Wycherley, Agora III		\$10.00
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June 12, '62





Athens, December 1, 1961

Dear Em,

It is an awfully long time since I have heard from you, and I cannot lay hands on whatever was last. I am pretty sure I wrote you a family letter after being home a year ago, and that eventually you said you had received this; but all I find here is various nice notes (uptown) of the summer of 1960, and a Christmas message. I am troubled at never having written to Ivy after seeing her last December; but by the time I got my head above water (temporarily) here, I had for some reason the idea that she had already returned to Moscow, where I have no address for her.

I had a specially nice acknowledgement from V. of my Picture Book. Other copies I sent to the Blavatskys (who have sent me some offprints in acknowledgement), to Brachinsky, to Gaidukevich, to Grakov, to Shelov, to ~~Mme. Skoodnova~~ Mme. Skoodnova. I want particularly to send one to Mme. Zeest. She sent me her book on amphoras found in the Bosphoros area, which is very important for me, and which I have recommended to lots of people for its large repertory of conveniently numbered types and the good plan of presentation. I got some translation done, mostly last spring, and found the <sup>general</sup> introduction particularly worthwhile. (The introductions to the various categories are not quite so good.) Could you give me a nice double address for Mme; Zeest? (so I can send her my booklet) I have a diver-correspondent in East Berlin and we have fun referring each other to Zeest types.

I should bring you up to date on my situation. Having given me no undertaking for anything, Alfred wrote to me <sup>(after 6 months)</sup> last May, and said that the Executive Committee of the School had approved his budget which included me as Research Associate of the School for the coming fiscal year, and that it was proposed to continue me in that capacity for several more years. <sup>From then</sup> It was not clear at first that this definitely

OVER



put me on Social Security, and so I was not sure at first that I would not have to give it up and go hunt for something that would (almost any other job, of course, but they are not so easy to find at my age now). However this is in order now. I feel so grateful to you for your help.

I am sitting writing this on Missy Crosby's machine, in what was Fred's room, and later Ted's that summer he came here to work on his dissertation and was ill a good deal. It is the middle room on the east side, in a series of rooms on the east side of the terrace that were designed by W.B.Dinsmoor; he designed them with intricate precision all to have exactly the same space though they had to be of different shapes. Oscar Broneer is using part of these rooms for his pied à terre in Athens - he ~~lives~~ really in Corinth (in a house he built next to the School); this morning he left by air to spend Christmas etc. in America. Just before dinner I went to call on William Dinsmoor in the Evangelismos hospital, where he is getting better from a stroke he had August 7. So much patience one must expect to need! His mind seems to be entirely clear, and his speech nearly so now, but he can read very little and hardly write, and how can he bear the length of days? His wife died about a year ago. Luckily his son is here with family; Bill is a regular architect but he seems to be getting to be an archaeological one, doing chores for various digs that much need his help since Peshke is dead and Piet de Jong is in England looking after Effie.

Well, there is much more to talk about, but I must go to bed and try to get something done tomorrow. Please give me your news.

Much love,

Marta



63-d

Stoa of Attalos  
Saturday, December 2, 1961

Red letter day, in that Prof. Dinsmoor actually came down here! brought, along with his wheel chair by his son and family. The first time he has left the hospital since August. From my office, he heard a street crier. He insisted on being taken out in the upstairs colonnade, and standing up by the parapet, and seeing the electric train go by, and people crossing to go into the museum. I guess he was half sick of shadows, allright.

I enclose two smirking pictures of self taken late March and April (before any dire announcements had been made). The interior was a dinner party given by the Morgans for their Greek teacher, Mme. Zikou and her family, with VG and T. Leslie Shear jr., on March 30, 1960. Being propped by me and Vangheli the guard in the other are two Oriental-type jars dated by the destruction of Corinth; colour photograph by Lucas A. Benachi.

A few notes on your notes and letters: I had hoped that Priscilla would come and be my much-needed partner in this job, but I guess she was 1) too discouraged by how horrid (on the whole) it is here in summer when you have lots of work to do, with all accommodations crowded hot noisy; and 2) surprised and delighted by the fact that the boys now grown up want to be in her house, and to talk with her about their activities of all kinds. Her life and house are full, with them and visits from Judy, and all the friends and relatives. Whereas she had been prepared for loneliness and not being needed at home. She is also working at Shady Hill school (where all the children went), being the resident psychologist or some such. However, she writes me pep notes, and has arranged for me to have, this year, money to pay the part-time services of Maria and Andreas (whose picture you have); possibly this will go on for a year or two; but I must say, I think that yours always should regard it as much a necessary part of the School's expenses as all the renovations they are going to make on horrible Loring Hall.

Hetty Goldman has been ill again with diverticulosis. I have only heard indirectly and from people who thought I already knew really. She did me one very good turn, earlier in insisting that I should get <sup>myself</sup> onto Social Security; now I am, and it may well have been brought about by my flourishing her remarks at Alfred.



(Dec.2, 1961)

63.02

Judy does look quite a lot like Ted, as well as like her mother. Oh dear, I have never sent you those wedding pictures, and now they will be stale - or has someone else sent them? Send me a photo of you with hair off. I hope you don't hate my new uncurled cut as shown in the enclosed. I suddenly got sick of being dependent on the rather sulky woman who gave me permanents and sets, never paying attention to what I asked her to do, but just making it easier for her by more bushiness. So now I just get cut, and I find it has a mild bend of its own that is easily encouraged, and stays quite tidy if not ~~xxxxxx~~ brushed back (for this, fringe useful). Vanity.

I'm sorry you did not like Machteld Mellinck. I do, a lot. She always makes me feel pleased to think I am also Dutch. She is so friendly and without taste for gossip, but plenty of taste <sup>zest</sup> for most other things. I had not given your telephone about because I thought you would prefer not, but another time I shall try to use judgement on the individual case.

As to Aischines 1, 60, on the altar of the Mother of the Gods: yes it does seem to be associated with the Metroon. Have you not seen the testimonia volume of the Agora publications? You would love it. Let me send you a copy.

You sent me last year a lovely Christmas card with a picture of a Dacha on it. And I sent you a birthday card with your own portrait disguised as the goddess on the coin of Athens. Did you receive that, and my long letter about <sup>our families in</sup> the U.S. ? I feel sure I had some note that this was so, but I cannot find it. The letter was posted in London in December (1960).

Again, much love,

I think that Roger Fry and Edith were lovers for a time. Bryson also had affairs, you know. But all this I had from Mother, and I don't remember ever discussing it with Betts.

Write to me.

25. VI. 57 64a

Two letters for - Emily, Grace & VG,  
4th and 15th May, 1982, concerning  
possible arrangements for Anna  
Joanona BOLTON to come to an  
-unofficial- congress in Athens  
Mention of the Gardiner.

Fam! aptown.

copy made for Gordon?  
p. 2 of letter of 4 May



~~Spathere~~ ~~ELSIE~~

\* 3210164

Wm 3228490

Wm 3239317

5319

Wm Tel.

Tanen

for

166, no. 831

14. IX. 76

646  
Winter Egg

АВИА  
PAR AVION



65019

13100137



(ИЛ)-154

Греция

Virginia Grace

33 Platarch Street

Athens

Greece

Адрес отправителя

E. Grace, Novopeshanya 23,

KB. 141, Moscow 125252

USSR



24 V 82 22

ATHINA



65-016

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12, IV-76 г. Цена 17 к. Художник Ю. Косоруков

Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака

65.02  
15 May 1982

Dear Mart,

This should be a telephone call or at least a telegram - but I write instead; swamped with people when I want only to get to work - all helpful people, nice people, but I get so tired!

I hope ~~th~~ you, neither you nor J. Camp have tried to arrange that invitation for A. Beltunova because she came to see me today (forgot her umbrella here) to tell me also that ~~the~~ the congress is of course in October '82 and not, as she thought Spring '83, and therefore even if you could do something about an invitation, there wouldn't be time to process it here. That takes 2 months (official processing) + the better part of a month to collect various papers + fill out others in order to present ~~the paper~~ all this to the officials for 'processing'. We handled



65.03

this very badly. A.I. and I, and I  
hope you said to one another at once  
on reading my letter - What nonsense!  
of course we can't manage such a thing -  
and forgot about it.

Another thing: I'm not going  
to get to the U.S. before the first  
of next year because I want to get  
my work (opóvos) fixed and formally  
presented before I do another thing. I asked  
man to postpone her invit. to start  
from the end of the year. So if you  
were thinking to see me there in August,  
and weren't going to go otherwise,  
don't go. I must learn how to  
shoo people out of my house and  
not be distracted any more -  
Gosh how nervous I get, & such  
nice people!

Love from yr. incoherent  
sister Em

АВИА  
PAR AVION



66-019



Virginia Grace

33 Plutarch Street

Athens

Greece

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E. Grace, Voropeshchanaya 23,

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66.016

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12/IV-76 г. Цена 17 к. Художник Ю. Косоруков

Изготовлено на Пермской ф-ке Гознака



4 May 1982

Dear Mart,

Here is a request which may be awkward, embarrassing, or simply unfulfillable. And yet I make it, because the person it concerns ought, in my opinion, to be in Athens for the epigraphical congress. She is Anna Ivanovna <sup>BOLTUNOVA</sup> Boltunova, and her home address is: (I mean, this is what you put on the envelope:) A. I. Boltunova, Krasnostudenchesky proezd 9, kv. 9, Moscow 127434, USSR. 'Ivanovna' is a patronymic, as you may know, and among Russians the normal polite form of address is by ~~the~~ name and patronymic. Since that is what I am accustomed to calling her (Anna Ivanovna) I will use it here. I asked her how they addressed her in foreign parts and she said they usually called her Professor Boltunova. Anna Ivanovna graduated from L. grad University ca. 1920, along with Bickerman, with whom she renewed acquaintance here at the historical congress in 1970. As an epigraphist she has a solid reputation here. Though her main field of work has been the N. Black Sea area, she has attended learned gatherings in E. and W. Europe and is in correspondence with colleagues in those parts. (At the epigr. congress in W. Germany she was warmly received by Klaffenbach, whom <sup>work</sup> she greatly admired.) A.I. reads English but does not speak or write it ~~it~~ easily. Her best foreign language is French, next: German. Her contribution to the Korpus bosporskikh nadpisei (Corpus of Bosporan Inscriptions, Moscow-L. grad 1965, see pp. 6 and 10) was enormous: hunting up all the inscriptions, published (by Latyshev and since his time) and unpublished, checking their texts against the stones, re-dating them where necessary, photographing them, etc. Much more could be told of her work as an archaeologist and epigraphist, for she is never not working and producing: her publication of five inscriptions from Gorgippia (Anapa) is to appear in VDI 1982, 3. All this I relate not because Anna Ivanovna needs my 'recommendation' but because she may be unknown to you. She and I (and V. in his time) have been acquainted for nearly 30 years, meeting at digs and local conferences and more recently at home.

Now the point is this. Being officially in retirement, she does not get included in official delegations. This condition does not, however, prevent her from accepting person-to-person invitations from relatives or (I hope) colleagues abroad, which are processed through consulates on the spot according to well established forms filled in by the inviter. When John Camp was here he offered to invite me in this fashion so that I might attend the conference, as it were, privately. What I am asking for is that ~~he~~ instead of me he invite Anna Ivanovna - or that you invite her (but then you'd have the official fuss) or someone else appropriate and sufficiently resounding - perhaps a Greek on the host committee? I can say with certainty that anyone, including you, would find her a pleasant, quiet, unobtrusive house-guest (she does not smoke!), who would naturally keep busy with the congress. If help were needed, Yuri will be at the congress



and he is very good at helping, and ~~is her friend~~ they are friends. Indeed, whatever comes of this request of mine, I hope you will get well enough acquainted with him to understand why we think <sup>highly</sup> ~~well~~ of him in spite of his occasional lapses in manners and sometimes flamboyant methods of proof. He may be shy of taking the ~~first~~ initiative, being ashamed a little - sufficiently, though. His language is German.

If it comes to that, be sure that on the invitation form <sup>A.I.'s</sup> her name is written out in full: Christian, patronymic and surname, as ~~first~~ given at the beginning of this letter; also date of birth: 23 June 1900. If purpose of visit needs stating, say colleague, I guess, for a visit (dates), or even, perhaps, for the purpose of attending the congress (dates), though I'm not sure about that. She will (if allowed out) have some currency with her and one way or another the travel money can be raised here.

I saw Garlan in the Archaeological Institute (downstairs from us), frantically weighing and measuring (or whatever one does) on the eve of departure, so could not hold him in conversation long. He seemed very nice, his wife also - both simpatichnye, as Yuri said. I'm sorry I didn't get to see him earlier, my own silly fault. As for me, dunt esk, not yet for a while.

Love,

Em

June

67.01

Em, str'

23' N. 81'





67.026

23. ~~IV~~.81

phot. by Camps

dining with Em

Kodak

Moscow

Em





67.036

23. . IV . 81

photo by Camps

living with Em

in Moscow

Em.





67.046

237. to 81

joint. by Camps

being written



Moscow



ETHIOP  
EXHIBIT  
KODAK  
ADINA  
AIR, 81

V. and Eric Swedish P. friend





67.05b

237, IV. 81

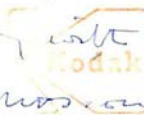
photo by Campes

during visit En  
in Moscow

This is V.



ENTR  
ET  
KODAK  
AGHNA  
AMP 81



ENTR  
ET  
KODAK  
AGHNA  
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АВИА  
PAR AVION



68.09

Греция - Афины

Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

Athens, Greece

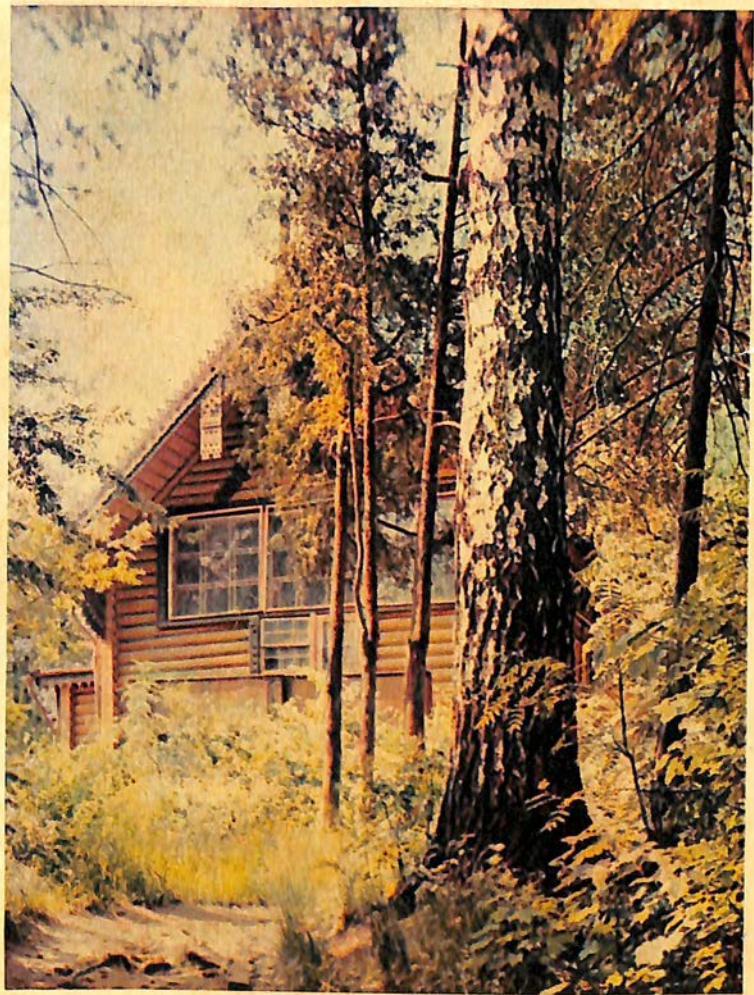
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USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakovich

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ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ  
ΣΤΟΛΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΙΜΕ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΕΥΜ  
ΚΥΤΙΔΙΑΚΑΤ ΠΡ

68.016





Издательство  
„ПРАВДА“

Merry Christmas, Mair,  
& Happy New Year!

This is what a dacha can look like.

Hey, write to me about Ivy! The  
other day I got a rapturous p.c. from

her about your first (I hope <sup>Куда</sup> not last) meeting  
in London — "There stood a woman who could

only be for me". I'm so glad <sup>Кому</sup> you met & I want  
to know what you thought.

I send This to Athens, not knowing where else.

Love, Em

Ivy said you were like me only in the  
bridge of your nose. That's about it, I'm afraid!

[XII 160]



68.02b

Абрамцево. Музей.

Фото Е. Умнова и С. Фридлянда

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02.07.74



PA

АВИА  
PAR AVION



69.01a

Греция - Африка

Miss Virginia Grace

~~American School of Classical Studies~~  
40 Mr. F. M. McPhedran  
~~Adelphi, Greece~~

5321 Baynton St.  
PHILADELPHIA 44, Pa.  
U.S.A.

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ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤ

41

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ

15/5/77

ΑΥΙΟΝ

ΠΑΜΕΝΤΕΡΙΟΝΙ  
ΠΟΛΥΤΑΧ/ΜΕΙΑ  
ΠΡΩΤ ΑΡΘΕΥΜΑ  
15 ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤ

-5 X 6011

ΑΥΙΟΝ

69.016





See Weyburn  
Tertius  
p. 151

69.02

27 September 1960

P.O. Box 346  
Moscow K-9

Dear Mart -

Does anyone in your neighbourhood  
know anything special about 'the altar  
of the mother of the gods' / τὸν βωμὸν τῶν  
τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν - (Josephus. 1.60).

Does one know where it stood in the agora?

Had it any institutional connection  
with the Metroon?

but I strongly suspect that he did... perhaps July?

Your silence strongly suggests that  
you're gone to the US for Judy's  
wedding.

Somebody gave me a nice new Parker  
pen, but I see it's not going to do for  
this paper.

Love

Em



АВИА  
PAR AVION



70.01a

Куда

Греция - Афины

Miss V. Grace

American School of Classical Studies

~~Кому~~

Athens,

Greece

Адрес отправителя: СССР, Москва К-9, а/я 346,

З. Kazakova



70.016



POSTAL LYMÄ  
13 IX 1900



POSTAL LYMÄ  
13 IX 600



8 September 1960

Dear Marta:

Don't remember if I told you the "Ancient wine jars.." report came. Thanks - I read it, every word, and thought of the crew & the hot day. Have only one small question: how can handles be arranged alphabetically? Then I got the one for Staerman and gave it to her. She was pleased.

Your silence after my burst of letters and cards makes me worry a little. Possibly the p.c.'s did really shock you? Perhaps--oh horrors!--you had shown my first letter to Alfred? which would certainly have torn it. I saw his sister here quite thoroughly--amiable lady, who suffers patiently from my ailment (sisterhood). She showed some nice rug pictures, about which I had no more intelligent comment than that they were like ours at home. Saw, ate lunch with, M.Mellinck, thought her pleasant, competent, as though put out by some B.M. machine for the purpose (I know she's a Hollander). At the meeting (where she was reporting) she waved her hand to reveal a solid phalanx of faces beaming in my direction--also friends of V.G. But there wasn't much time to go into any of this.

Just last night I found in our p.o.box a letter from Sterling Dow from Stockholm, saying he and wife and Broughton & wife were to be in Moscow on that day & the next (today) on a post-historians-congress tour, with messages from you and from Priscilla--but of course they did not know where they'd be staying (one never does) and today I did not manage to find out. I'm sorry for this, I would have liked especially to say hello to Broughton, of whom I have the warmest memory. Why didn't you tell them my t.phone? Have you lost it? D 7-67-00.

My friend Ivy, still in London, writes to me that her friend Manya (That's all I know) is to visit Athens for the first fortnight in October. If you are there and able, it would be the kindest of favours to me if you'd show her a thing or two. Perhaps Ivy will write to you more specifically herself. She (Ivy) knows about you & all of us what can be told in hours upon hours of meandering memories--but I think I told you this before. So when her friend was to go to Greece she naturally thought of you.

How are you doing? I'd awfully like to hear! Did Priscilla come? Oh! I see you said in one letter that you were hoping to go to Judy's wedding in the autumn. So perhaps you won't be in Athens early in Oct. Well, if so it can't be helped. I hope you like Judy's man.

Love





719

АВИА  
PAR AVION

ПОЧТОВАЯ КАРТА

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



Куда

Греция - Афины

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Район, село или деревня.

Miss Virginia Grace

Улица, № дома и квартиры.

American School of Classical Studies

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Athens - Греция

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места  
получения

(automatically wrote my home address - The P.O. Box  
better, easier for you to use.)

5 August 1960  
[71b]

Dear Mart: EIKONEE came today. Thanks an  
awful lot! Am half way through translating the version  
of the inscription for Jan & for V. Most of our people  
are off on leave or digging at the moment, but I'll  
show them when they reassemble. Very exciting!  
But it seems - not enough square brackets used in the  
translation. Have written that letter - & sent you a  
copy, & written a letter & p.c. to you earlier. Hope all  
goes well. Would have been fun if you'd managed to  
come to the Congress. My best to Priscilla if she  
really shows up. Wish I could! Love Em  
So treasures had names! (Should have known that?)

Got Alfred's letter, of course





АВИА  
PAR AVION

72,019



Куда

Греция - Афины

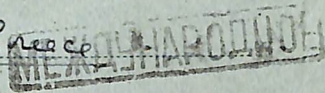
Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

Кому

Athens

Greece



Адрес отправителя: СССР, Москва К-9, а5/мш. 346,

Э. Казакевич

А.С.С.

72.01b





29 July '60

72.02

Dear Mark. Here you are! Do not  
lose in the wrong place. Hope you haven't by  
some foolish chance showed him my last  
letter to you!

Yrs shamelessly  
(but it's all perfectly true!)  
(except the one  
little question) Em

29 July 1960

72.03

↑ for you only!

Dear Alfred:

Got your letter from Corinth today & am smitten all kinds of ways. First in that I never answered your last, in which a beach and a nice lady figured, which I admit gave me a wistful pang, but, I hasten to add, it wasn't that that made me not answer. Lord only knows what it was by this time--some ancient crisis I suppose. Anyhow it is so nice to hear from you again, and from such dearly-beloved-by-me mountains, sea, caterwauling donkeys (or have ~~xx~~ these latter been silenced by television?). I hear that you are now attached in some fancy way to the school and hope you will be very happy at it, & not too continually beset by insoluble problems (I mean, of an administrative nature; scientific ones are the breath of life, I guess, so there's no use complaining).

Second, I'm smitten by gratitude for the truly gentlemanly manner in which you warn me of the approach of an army of scholar-friends. If you knew how raw & tender one gets at the sound of the telephone these days. Hosts of the nicest possible people blow in to Moscow, friends, friends of friends, friends of...etc., each having a real claim on attention, each full of useful & entertaining information about the great world without, and of wonderful little 25¢ pen-pencils, of which I rob them mercilessly (if I see they have more than one!), and each one invariably opening with "I know you're busy, but--" Please don't suppose that I'm not often very glad to see them (& not only because they yield pens), but time does get taut. Now you just tell me the names of your flock, in case I bump into them. Why it makes me positively want to seek them out, & indeed they each sound interesting, & I hope we shall bump. So thanks for that! Of course I mean to be at the Congress. I had some faint hope for Virginia--someone connected with the Congress did ask me for her address not long ago. I itched to ask "what for?" but, being her sister, felt I should not embarrass them with anything that might seem like interested pressure, so kept silence, dignifiedly.

Third--well, third is just affection and the pleasure of seeing your handwriting.

Sometimes longing to see Athens again overwhelms me. I almost made it a couple of times and hope still to do so. All the better if it's during your rule. Of course I realize, from the accounts of my colleagues who went down this spring, that much has changed. Though I'm encouraged (& not quite believing) to hear that the town is not plastered with coca-cola ads. On my desk stands a photograph of Virginia's quarters in the Stoa. It is beautiful and neat, & way in the background sits the great Veergeenya Gress pondering a corpus. Archaeologist friends seize magnifying glass to examine her features. Of those that were toured round the Agora by her this spring one actually got all red in the face & cried from sheer excitement when telling me about it. I wish she'd send me a real, solemn portrait. Her counterpart here, Grakov, dreams of some day rolling out his handle problems to her & is (when I see him, which is not too often) inclined to ask irrelevant questions as to the colour of her eyes & whether she smokes. So she'd better send a colour photograph--but a solemn, dignified one. These people don't understand the pin-up, windblown scientist. So--you see I haven't managed to get away, even here, from the blight of my youth--"Oh, you're the sister of--!" The one embarrassing thing is that they can't grasp the notion that so famous a specialist is not ipso facto rolling in wealth. And I'm afraid Virginia isn't (is she?). Hence they keep expecting her to turn up in this painfully expensive-for-tourists land.

I'll try to find out who sends casts & photographs of Athenian New Style silver, & what about the Byzantine coins. But it may take time, as this is dig season.

Yours,





А В И А  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



73.019



Куда

Греция - Афины

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

Кому

Athens - Greece

Адрес отправителя: СССР, Москва К-9, а/я 346,

Э. Казакевич

ΤΑΜΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΣΤΟΛΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΥΜΕΙΑ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑ  
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ



ΤΑΜΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΣΤΟΛΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΥΜΕΙΑ  
ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑ  
ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ



ΤΑΜΕ  
ΣΤΟΛ  
ΠΡΟΣ

73.016

"Τομάρ Η δλ  
Kavali"

420

Ανδρ  
Χρ  
Τομάρ



Mart, I can't make out those  
words you ask me about at the  
top of your letter - except  
that the last one seems to be  
к аданем

P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

July 18, 1960

Dear Mart,

Yours of July 3 reached me a couple of days ago. I was very glad to see it, on all counts, and because I was beginning to feel a little spooky about my mail. I've been pondering, and will go on pondering, but here are some business thoughts that have occurred to me so far.

First of all, because in any battle one has to raise a standard, and I'm sure everyone, here & there, will agree on this one: that work of yours CAN'T stop! It's only a question of how best to arrange its continuation.

The most practical thing I've thought of so far is small, and even it will take time to show results, if any. I'm going to put the matter before the Blavatskys, hoping they haven't vanished somewhere into archaeological space since Friday, when they were in town--and see if there won't at least be a review for Bon-Bon. Of course you must realise that they all think that work of top importance and usefulness, and if they haven't reviewed it it must be or may be (for I can't think why else) because it's like a lexicon (& Pnyx too) and you might not think of reviewing a lexicon. But maybe that's a silly idea. Anyhow, I'll lay it before them.

On invitations, I have always hoped they would, of course. Trouble is I can say or do absolutely nothing to that end (indecent). There isn't the faintest doubt in my mind that a good half dozen, probably more, ~~and~~ would simply love to have you about for discussion and consultation. Would be in transports of joy at the prospect--if only someone else would attend to the wearisome mechanics of getting the idea across upstairs. There is the notion, which I sharply dispel whenever it's put to me, that being such a famous person you must undoubtedly be rolling. In this sphere there is the scholar exchange arrangements. But the hitch about that might be, V. suggests, that you are based not in the US (with which exchange arrangements would be made--or with



Greece, but you're not that either). A thought wanders through my head--just wanders, don't know if it has any practical worth--that one might consider the idea of arranging exchanges between this side and the various foreign schools (as such) in Athens, and perhaps in Rome. But even as I write this doubts loom, political doubts. The political aspect, for reasons that I am assuming must be obvious to you if you read the papers, is in fact all round the most difficult nut ~~xxx~~ to be cracked, especially just now. I will, however, sound Blavatskys, in all possible, conceivable directions. But a trip here, thought it certainly would be good and might even bear on the main problem in the long run, still isn't the main problem, which is how to go on there.

I'm really doubtful about writing to Bellinger (in general I owe him a letter--where by the way should he be addressed after he leaves Athens, which is soon now, acc. to your letter?). He'd be more convinced by a review, I suppose, than by anything I would write. Or, even if he were convinced (and I guess I could get across to him my deep certainty that your work is very well known and greatly admired here--my word, how wouldn't I know that, I the wretched "sister of V. Grace"?), he would find it difficult to convince others that the sister was not just prejudiced, more difficult than if there were a review (though come to think of it, I should think there's already a good deal of evidence to be culled from footnote refs to the Authority).

Well, so the upshot so far is the review idea. But I'll write to Alfred if you still think it a good idea (& if you tell me where best to address him)--though I must say, the idea seems queer (me as it were vouching for you).

Thinking of people with some money or money influence who must admire your work I naturally think, for instance, of Miss Goldman (or...<sup>I owe her a letter too...</sup> Priscilla?)--but you and your friends there must have gone over these things much more exhaustively long ago.

Glad you enjoyed the colleagues, as they did you. I wouldn't say Gene made a dreary impression on them. It's just that they described him as middle-aged, in other words, time has passed, which is always a shock when you come upon it suddenly. I'm glad he flourishes.



73.04

About Bunker. Some time ago I had a note from him, asking me to answer ~~me~~ c/o of the Embassy or Intourist. I picked the latter, and gave my telephone. But either he <sup>y</sup>didn't call up, or found nobody home. So I haven't seen him.

The cuirass find is very thrilling, and I mean to read the article about it you sent from the Vima (with a dictionary). Please do, if not too difficult or expensive, send me something about the Salamis inscription. V. Had seen about it, in the London Times. You mention EIKON<sup>Σ</sup>, with a good picture. That would be lovely. Did I ever tell you that V. somehow made correspondence friends with the director of the University Museum and gets their "Expedition"? That's where we read about Rodney's mining venture at Gordion.

I want to hear what you have to say about R. Fry, very much (in connection with Bryson?) Can't be written?

The picture of your team stands on my desk. It's lovely, beginning with Judy, who seems to look like her mother mostly (dark-bright), but isn't there some Ted in that smile? It was a wonderful & touching story that you told about them all and that day. In general my desk (it's a table really--all this time I haven't had the housekeeping gumption to go out & buy myself a desk) is a picture gallery. Counting only the front (& visible) row there are, reading from r. to l.: Ivy L., being happy in London, your team, you in your Stoa hq with all the pots and files (an inspiration of cool quiet productivity), Dégas, woman seated at window (Courtauld Collection, London), Selene's Darling horse<sup>y</sup> snuffing the morning with his chin on the stable half-door (Elgin), Jane (that you sent me), V. (Weehawken days).

My most exciting news comes last: I've cut my hair off again, & am perfectly happy & unspeakably relieved. Weren't you?

I'll keep on pondering, & meanwhile do you write.

Love, *Em*

Love to Alfred, if he's still there.

АВИА  
PAR AVION



ПОЧТО



74a

Куда

Греция — Афины

Наименование места, где находится почта, и области или края, а для станций — наименование железной дороги.

Miss Virginia Grace

Район, село или деревня.

American School of Classical Studies

Улица, № дома и квартиры.

Кому

A thena

Подробное наименование адресата.

Greece

Адрес  
отправителя:

СССР, Москва К-9, а/м/п 346.

Э. Карабев

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

штамп  
места  
получения



Isn't it terrible? It's the L.S. corrupted me. Persisted  
for 1 1/2 years & now suddenly I burst out with p.c.'s in  
all directions. Woburn & Quanny be shocked, though? Hope  
Dear Maud, you're not going to be!

19 July 1960

746

Just mailed a letter to you this morning. Today

I saw Mrs. B.L. and she went home with the material  
to think about it - I mentioned the review point particularly. In  
a couple of days she's going south to engage in underwater arch.  
Her husband is already there, & she will consult with him. Damn  
good thing you said wh. you did about her (I always was sure she'd  
make a good impression in the world, though I'm not so sure about what's  
beneath). She was terribly excited about the Thorax. Everybody's v. excited  
about Themiastobles. Can it be true (as someone read in a Polish paper, wh.  
described what it learned from some other paper, etc.) that Jameson says  
"the doctor was all wrong" - (thus I heard it quoted)? Forgot to mention  
in yesterday's letter to you that I've been reading the Palmer shindig in the Observer  
(sent by English friend line who's an ~~old~~ newspaper man. I told him I was rather  
shocked by the crudity of presentation - old the Observer be yellow press, I asked? "Well,  
said he, you see I'm yellow myself"). Today he sent me clip of yr. D. Gray's  
objection, also Finley. Would be glad to hear what you say.  
Love Em

Julia is a dear. She'd be awfully pleased that you  
thought so, but she's on leave just now.



Athens, July 3, 1960

Dear Em,

It was certainly ungrateful of me to have left unacknowledged your wonderful letter of Feb. 28, with description of the boys' visit; and then your letter of May 7, about the Greek journey of the colleagues. Now I write down here at the Stoa of Attalos, which seems to be the only place I can manage to write letters; so they are usually more or less business letters, and this also has a bit of that in it. To get it out of the way to start with:

Yours always Alfred is coming here for a short visit in his new capacity as Chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies. He arrives on July 9, is dined festively by the Director Robinsons (Henry, remember) on the 11th, I hope in the garden, <sup>as</sup> (and I am invited, with a lot of other people), and leaves somewhere about the 20th - 25th, having no doubt visited Corinth, Lerna, Pylos, etc., and generally inspected the plant. Everyone seems glad at his appointment; last evening at dinner, Sterling Dow, after alluding to the "caveman" tactics <sup>certain</sup> of past powers in the American School, and the resultant wasteful factions, said we could hope now, with Bellinger, to have entered into a new era, i.e. one of concord, and I suppose fruitfulness.

Now the Agora has got very little money left. They have fired my assistant of ten years, Maria Savvatiou, as of June 30 (end of fiscal year), and at the end of last September they fired the other one, Andreas Dimoulis. Several other tried old hands (!) ~~hands~~ have also gone, including the wonderful typist who did for instance the manuscript of Wycherley's Testimonia of the Agora, which is full of Greek texts, and everything of mine since I came back here. (They have kept the photographic department, complete, and a few others.) Since last September, I have had Andreas's spare time, at my own cost, amounting to something under \$400, a very well-spent sum, but it would have been better for somebody else to have spent it! [Andreas, thank God, has another job, not too wonderful, but apparently solid.] Now, my own stipend



has been reduced by half, and no doubt they find it hard enough to spare that.

Homer proposes an application to a Foundation, to be made perhaps in the autumn.  
(by letter - he has just arrived here)

His suggestion that I apply for a three-year grant, undertaking to produce three corpus volumes, seemed to me impractical, but I imagine we can work out some plan

together. *(There is at present nothing available for me after next June, so that the work would presumably have to stop.)*

I think it would help a lot if you could write Alfred something affirming the prestige of my work in the Soviet Union, I mean of course if it has any. (And as they don't invite me there, perhaps it hasn't.) I am sure he would value your own opinion as to its importance, but he might think it was not without prejudice. Then even if the School does not spend any money on this project, they could help in many ways, perhaps by giving me my quarters free, and generally behaving as though I were an asset. Please don't quote any of the foregoing background information.

Homer now wants us to bring out one of the larger corpus categories, and put the Koan "on ice" for the present, because he thinks it is too short for a separate volume. I am sorry for this, because Maria had done a very fine job with the plates, and when things are delayed there is always so much to change. However, she and I agree that the Knidian might be a better thing to start with, for a number of reasons, one being that the chronology of the Knidian is ~~what~~ often the source of close dating for the other categories, in the dating of groups of handles. (Have you ever read my Pnyx publication? Especially the introductions to the Thasian and the Knidian sections? Nobody who has reviewed that volume - or "Bon-Bon and Grace" as Gene calls it - ever has, it is my firm conviction.) Homer also presses for my booklet to correspond with Pots and Pans.

You will be receiving some day my report just published in the Year Book of the ~~Am~~ American Philosophical Society, about the work Judy Grace helped me with in 1957. I enclose a photo to illustrate it. You see to the left dear Judy, then Maria Haviaras, granddaughter of the collector Demosthenes Haviaras, then her cousin Eleni Apokotou, then Andreas (after sorting and counting, and finally heaving 11 big cases), and



then the Kyria Apokotou, Eleni's mother and the <sup>sister</sup> ~~sister~~ of the collector; she wrote me afterward a dear letter, and has since died. Like a pillar behind is Maria Savvatianou, triumphant over the terrific day that has just faded. In fact, it had faded too much for a good photo, but we had never stopped before. Judy had a blister on the finger used to make rubbings. The family had been comforting and reinforcing all day, with cold water brought continually - it was very hot, we drank and gallons - and they did in fact make us sit down and eat a lovely lunch compounded of the remains of the previous day's picnic beautifully supplemented with a fresh salad; and the two young cousins took rubbings and wrote numbers. Look at Andreas: he is the son of our old Master Carpenter (Master John); I have known him since he was ten, and used to come at New Year's with Maki Lokkas, and ding on a triangle, and sing the "Kalendas" song, verses and verses and verses, beginning "Kaleemo-e-e-ra, Archontes!"

Monday a.m.

We hope you will feel like siding with this gallant band.

The visit of your colleagues was of course most exciting for me, only frustrating that they had so little time. Gaidukevich was delightful. Julia in her blue dress was dear. I am sorry they <sup>gave you</sup> ~~gave~~ a dreary impression of Gene Vanderpool. Naturally he is no longer in golden youth. But each batch of new students is devoted to him, as continue to be his old friends. He was very willing to give time to the group, as much time as they themselves could spare. Did they tell you how he showed them the ostraka? This is one of his special subjects. There was the language difficulty; I thought at the time he spoke a little too quietly, and not quite slowly enough, and it might have been good to give time between remarks for some to translate for others. Actually the group was quite pressed for time. We hoped they might be able to come back another day - for instance, I had a lot to discuss with Shelov, which we hardly started - but they said they could not. So the next day being a holiday (Good Friday), I stayed uptown to plug away at Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, for my article on Pamphylian amphoras; and thereby missed the ~~return~~ visit of the Blavatskys,



who had been at the National Museum looking at vases on Thursday. Will you tell them how sorry I was not to see them at the Stoa? We had met at the reception at the Greek-Soviet Club. They each left me an offprint. How should they be addressed? - no, I see I have it, with a note that Gene said Mme. Blavatskaya was sweet.

At the time of their visit, we did not have our <sup>Russian-language</sup> ~~Russian~~ scholar Gerry Bunker, who came as a student of the American School, but spent the School trips looking at Russian vocabulary cards instead of Greek landscapes, and finally gave up his membership and travelled, first to India, then back here for a short time, and now he must be in the Soviet Union, and may try to get in touch with you (I gave him your postal address). He is accompanied by wife and small son; the family was described by a friend in the British School as "those two babies who have a baby of their own." I should have written to you sooner about these people, I see that it was June 16 that they sailed for Odessa, where they expected to meet their car, which had been shipped from India.

Two recent exciting finds: one is a bronze cuirass found in a tomb of the Mycenaean period at Dendra, by a joint Swedish-Greek expedition. I enclose clipping from BHMA of 22.V.60, for you to show your Linear B friends. Nobody has ever found such a thing before (only pieces of bronze which must have studded a leather cuirass, found near Olympia fairly recently by Yalouris). This wonderful object explains the Linear B ideogram, for cuirass (thorax), which nobody could ever understand before, - those cross lines, which are <sup>bronze</sup> bands of varying size, and those little shoulder curves, which are the epaulettes on this object. Dorothea Gray at Oxford had sent me an offprint called "Linear B and Archaeology", discussing the ideograms, so I sent her this, and she was pretty excited, also Chadwick.

The other I rather think you must have heard about: the copy found in Troezen by Mike Jameson of the Themistokles decree ordering defense measures before the battle of Salamis - evacuation of Athens, etc. It is terribly exciting and has caused much controversy. People here think the lettering is of the 3rd century B.C. They attribute the lack of much of the usual formula content (e.g., "So-and-so was archon, so-and-so



was scribe, etc.") variously to the fact that it would have been simplified in a copy to be set up outside Athens, or that Themistokles was a dictator for the time, and didn't bother with formulas, or that the content of this decree is the earliest we know of, and perhaps formulas were not yet established. I'll try to get you a copy of the current EIKONES, with an article by my friend Paraskevaides, and a very good photo. Poor Mike Jameson, his article in Hesperia was supposed to come out simultaneously with the breaking of the story, which was a special article on the front page of the New York Times, Sunday edition, June 5, I guess. I believe V. sees the Times, so perhaps you knew the details. The number of Hesperia has been much delayed.

Tell V. the investigation of the Bronze Age wreck off Finike in Turkey is under weigh. A note written after they had been diving on it for about a week said that it was a job not for weeks but for several years. Possibly Priscilla and I may call on it when (oh dear, if?) she comes here for a short visit this summer. There is quite an international group, Turks, Americans, English, French, including the well-known diver Frederic Dumas. An article in the May Geographic signed by my friend Peter Throckmorton tells about the preliminary work, before 1960, and gives some good colour photos.

I must stop, and get on with the Pamphylians to finish them.

Thank you so much for the account of the boys' visit, which I have read many times. Indeed, I had heard nothing about it from letters you had written to others. It is extraordinarily vivid. And, naturally, I know how you felt.

Thank you also for the notes on Roger Fry from V. Woolf. I would like to talk to you about part of that, which is poignant in view of something I remember Granny telling me.

I'm hoping to go to Judy's wedding in the autumn.





АВИА  
PAR AVION



76.019

Куда Греция — Афины

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

Кому Athens — Greece



Адрес отправителя: СССР, Москва К-9, а/я, 346,

Э. Казакевич

76.016

KYPIAKAI  
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KHOLEYMA  
KHOLEYMA



\* I looked in my letter file, find I have a copy - a long letter, about the boys' visit et al., dated Feb. 28. Did you get it?

7 May 1960

76.02

Dear Mart:

18 I don't write this minute when will I ever?

I wonder, did you ever get a letter I wrote to you some months ago? In it I spoke of my new friends (now old as the hills, it seems to me) and gave you a London address for one of them, an address that is long since invalid, though the lady's still in London.

The colleagues came back from their 12 days simply lyrical, of course. Julia brought me the darling little "publicity" by Lucy T. (if all publicity were so charming and informative -!) and told me & told me about her conversation with you, even with tears in her eyes (she's rather excitable, our Julia). As you may have gathered, that expedition was the affair of the Inst. of Archaeology, & very few of our people (Inst. of Hist.) could be included. I won't say it didn't make me sad to be left out, but I can't, conscience won't let me complain seriously, because after all I've been there once. Now preliminaries are afoot towards putting through a similar trip for our people - but I've long ago fixed my face not to be disappointed about anything connected with trips abroad, as the rule for occupying the - of - necessity - parsimoniously - distributed foreign currency is something that has to be seen to be believed. But you might do a little hoping for me.

It was wonderful to hear how you showed them part of (or part of them?) the Agora, but sad to gather from description that Vanderpool - well that it's 20-odd years later. But wait till you see my grey hair & haggard press! (I long to cut the

hair again, but can't yet bring self to face the looks + comments). And to hear with what awe they speak of ~~the~~ being shown the Kadukem of Virginia Grace! How'd you like Gaiduk? They say he kissed your hand, & that he has promised to send you & me pictures. But he hasn't so far. I was glad you met Anatoli Ksaverovich (the small, squarish, oldish one - he's past 70 but goes skiing with weekends & is a perfect darling, though rather crazed on the subject of Athenian democracy). And Herman Ghermanovich? the tall, baldish, gauntish, deliberate young man? He's normally quite sober, not to say prosaic (a good, careful, even rather interesting worker, late Rom-Empr., Western) and it was funny how lyrical he grew over Delfin + Greek landscapes generally. Well, I can't object - can only yearn myself!

Tulia said she was asked to kiss me for you - but looked so upset (from excitement) & explosive that in the end I had to do the kissing. That was for you.

This time V. is attending the archaeological meetings without me. They're in Kiev & I had neither the inclination nor, really, the time to go down there - though I've never seen that city and they say it's fabulously beautiful, especially in May. Silly of me, I suppose. I know V. thinks so.

I'm very busy helping with Eng. transl. of Soviet papers for the coming (in August) Int'l Congr. of Orientalists. They say some Greco-Romans are coming. Could you? Only thing is keeping you here (in one apt.) wd not be very comfortable for you - on account of the old lady. Could you manage a short tourist expenditure? Oh, that! I suppose not? Well anyhow, Love, Em - But tell me, did you get that letter?



KAZ

АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

В. Грейс

гор. Афин

Греция

СССР, Москва К-9, а/мш. 346, Козаков  
USSR, Moscow K-9 - P.O. Box 346, Kozakov



77.01g

4.5.59

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical  
Studies

Athens

Greece

6 V 591

TAMMETT  
T. O. S. W. S. W.  
T. O. S. W. S. W.  
S. K. T. O. S. W. S. W.

TAM

To V. S. W.

77.016





P.O.Box 346, Moscow, K-9  
3 May 1959

Dear Mart:

Business first. As I wrote to you long, long ago (November) your whole-stamped-Thai-jar request was immediately forwarded by me to Leningrad. At the recent archaeological meetings in Moscow somebody in a corridor told me that the question had been dealt with, all information collected. Or so I seem to remember, but you know what corridors are; smoky subway jam plus zoo bird-house filled with criss-cross squealings. Anyhow I've now written to Leningrad again. Very likely the job was done, and then got buried in the refuse of someone's desk. There's no point in being surprised. Let me know if you get any results, or not, during the next month or so. I repeated the gist of the question, in case the original got lost and nothing after all had been done.

Thanks very much for keeping all those travelling scraps and sending them to me. News, even diaper news, strained through your head, has a synoptical quality, comprehensible, credible, revivifying. On the other hand, Margaret Bonnell, kind as kind can be, recently sent me, at my request I admit, a long Cooper round-robin effect, which though colorful and gay, is somehow quite unreal, incredible. I had asked her for one of Sibs's books, any one, old or new, and if she does eventually send one I expect to discover much more about who is Sylvia, which I've suddenly grown curious about. Meanwhile, if you know, maybe you'd give me some kind of notion. Though I see that Coopers had no place in your timetable.

About Corliss & Co. (he was actually named after Lamont, Corliss & Co.) Being in Greece and not knowing Ellie would seem to me a vanity. And yet I think they might not suit each other in the roles of guide and guided (if that is what you had in mind). In spite of the fact that Margaret's original name was Irish, I don't believe that either one of them has a spark of fantasy. But true, they would certainly both be interested in all there is to know about civil liberties, that being the main line of their (at least Corliss's) active interest in the US. So a meeting with E. might be of considerable mutual interest -- though it is to be noted that C. is the son of his pa, a cautious Scot. I do hope that they look you up and that all goes pleasantly. It should, I think. Don't fail to tell me about it, with illustrations, please, preferably by Ellie, but a snapshot would be nice too.

Nothing yet heard from or about Bastion and Nick. I'm girding myself for seeing Ted in Nick. Maybe it will at last knock that sickening swooping fall out of my head for good. My word how prolific is our tribe--Alex's children, Margaret's, Janet's..on and on. You and I can take some comfort--it had to stop somewhere, or how could they all be housed (a Moscow thought)? It makes me think of that book Janet used to recite to me before she could read, sitting on the livingroom couch in that little original half-house in G'town: Hundreath of catth, thouthandth of catth, miwwionth and biwwionth and triwwionth of catth.

Too bad you didn't get to see Miss Fowler. She was counting on it, I know, because she wrote to me about it..a letter that I have not answered, so there we are, even. I wonder, why should Pat be unhappy, and what on earth can I write to her? Jack? I had supposed she was thoroughly amalgamated; otherwise it's hard to imagine how she could participate in those extraordinary poems that issue from the Grahams every year's end. One has simply to set one's teeth and hold fast to the fact that they are undoubtedly darlings all. Dear old Pat. Could you not enlighten me just a little further? Maurice--how terribly frightening, and what a relief. I was as frightened and relieved as though present--no matter how cross he's been with me, first for sposing too much, then for not sposing enough.



When next you write to Philadelphia, do please send my love to d.M., and tell him that now I'm sposing somewhat more, but probably not nearly enough to suit him; and that from time to time I sit here at beautiful concerts, and remember my debts. What do you get check-ups about, and why from Jack? I thought he was a pediatrician. What have you been concealing from me? eh? Oh, maybe just the virus. Tell me, though.

I wonder myself about how Nicky and Bastion are going to finance their auto trip, what Intourist category that falls in--for it surely must fall in some. If it is decently less than \$30 a day, maybe, maybe you could get a seat sometime in someone's rumble. You could sleep in a sarkophagus in the Hermitage, which ought to bring the price still lower. (Are there rumbles any more?) (are there any roadsters at all, or only those Superman phainomena that one sees coasting about the American Embassy?) Let's all pile into Dodgy and go huckle-berrying up and down Sylvia's Hill, or out on Meteetoconck's Foot--where we will find a beeyootiful housang development and no chiggers. And we will settle down in it like a flock of locusts, and christen it Graces Hutch, and lay in deep-freezers on the installment plan, and dream about huckleberries & our youth. You and I will teach all the grandchildren Greek and deliver them all in relays to Harvard and Bryxn Mawr...as long as the money lasts. After that I won't embarrass you by saying what we'll do (with Ellie in command). V. will long since have fled to the civilized caverns of Wall Street. Do you remember how the Point Pleasant cop once reprimanded Mother for protruding? But now--now he wouldn't even know there was a car underneath.

A young artist acquaintance asked me some time ago (nearly forgot) whether I could find out if there was any realistic painting going on in the US--any school or grouplet of realism. Could you answer that question? If you have first to know what I mean (he meant) by realism, I'll have to make further enquiries. I then thought of asking Betty Burroughs, but haven't a notion how to get at her. Is she teaching somewhere near Boston? Would like to hear any news of her for its own sake.

As to Jane Ure. You know, quite a number of people Sometimes come to Moscow, and we by no means see all of them. So far no Jane Ure has crossed our path. What does she do, i.e., what circles would she be likely to frequent?

About Pop's books. That's just where we left off, some ten years ago: to sell or not to sell. V. still insists that it's barbarous to break up a collection, that they ought to be bestowed as such on a library. I'm not sure; I can see the point both ways (sposing--there you are!). An argument on V.'s side that occurs to me is that they're bound to suffer rude handling before they get to the next collectors. If they could be sold straight off to one or several collectors, that would be better--now, while the production index is still climbing.

How were the meetings? Did you produce anything? Did you stop off in New Haven and see Alfred B. (he's asked me to call him Alfred, which I can only just manage--he said: Virginia does, so why can't you? nice of him, wasn't it?). Who is going to put out your Picture Book? My mouth waters. And what did you do about Fred's books? Left them at Baynton Street, I guess. Did you ever find out what happened to Judeich? Say, Mart, long ago we wanted to ask you: are you the person responsible for Brentano's mailing us on Christmas Eve a truly remarkable publication called Picasso's Home Life? -- or some such title; it's been going the rounds almost ever since. If so, thanks! It has given a lot of fun to a lot of people.

That's about all. We're both all right. V. reviewed the troops at Red Square on May Day; I sat home chewing pencils. We have some old N.Y. friends in town and are relieved to find them the same people.

Write soon again.

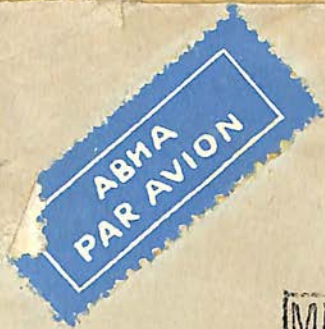
Love, E

V. wants to know what's the latest news from Gordon. Did Rodney report at the meetings?  
From me: Do you know anyone who does not believe in the Ventris-Chadwick decipherment?

x  
(in 2nd hand  
books time)



78.019



МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



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P.O.Box 346  
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14 April 1959

Dear Mart:

*which* Rather too long ago I received with pleasure your 1952 BCH article, for many thanks to you and Jane. That makes my collection virtually complete, I think.

Last night, after Blavatsky's report to our society of ancient studies, a lady from the Pushkin Museum, whose acquaintance I made only the other day at the annual archaeological meetings, asked help with spelling and pronunciation of phazers like "Boeotia", in preparation of guide talks for the coming tourist rush. I murmured that it would be so nice if "my sister" should turn out to be one of the guidees. No sooner was the word sister out, before I'd got the end of my sentence articulated in all its aspects and cases--"Ah," said she, "if only she would!" I don't even quite know who this lady is, but she knows all about you. A Hermitage lady, by the way, also accosted me at the meetings for your address, wants to send you an offprint (Skudnova, who's been digging at Nymphaeum).

The archaeological meetings were good. Especially to my taste were the reports on Olbia and an account of a dump of 6th-2nd BC terracottas found, by another Pushkin Museum lady, on a "mud hill" in the Taman Peninsula. Some of these were exquisite. Our travels, and V.'s extensive reading in between, have made these meetings annually more interesting to us. V. is now caught up by underwater archaeology, wants to take a look at it this summer as practised by Blavatsky. Fall will probably find me with him somewhere in the N. Black Sea region--Kerch, or maybe Khersones, or maybe Olbia, or a little of each. But it's still far too early in the year for me to be able to think of such things connectedly.

You stayed comparatively long in the US this year, didn't you? I'm hoping to get a news letter from you soon.

Two N.Y. ~~friends~~ friends of ours, Corliss and Margaret Lamont (Mr. and Mrs.) (they have four grown-up children, but will be travelling alone, I believe) are to be in Greece for most of the month of May. When they wrote us their timetable (they're going round the world, intend to come here after Greece and E. Europe), we wrote back suggesting that they look you up in Athens--which I hope and believe won't be a pest. They are well organized people, won't flap on the hands; also very rich (his father was chairman of Morgan's), will probably want to "do" everything on a grand scale, and won't constitute a charge; also very well behaved and pleasant people, can be enjoyed. Corliss is learned (PhD) in philosophy, teaches an extension course at Columbia. We know them because they both have for many years spent a major part of their time trying to improve American-Soviet relations. Although they have, I suppose, no particular knowledge of antiquity, they will, I think, be capable of intelligent interest in anything you might show them. Being "organized" people, they may have mapped out all routes in advance and in detail. But I did take the liberty of telling them that you knew the country and adjacent waters very well and might have useful suggestions.

I hope this finds you well and in Athens. Do write soon.

Love,  
Em



KAZAK.



79.019

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Like the preceding article on δουλος and the concept "slave" (VDI, 1956, 3), the present study is based on an analysis of slave terms commonly occurring in the Demosthenic Corpus: ἀνδράποδον and οἰκέτης (the latter term in less detail). The question of the special usage of ἀνδράποδον in the later classical period has acquired fresh interest since Ya. A. Lentsman ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ suggested <sup>ed</sup> that this term's primary function was to denote slaves engaged in production, more particularly in handicraft and mining (VDI, 1951, 2, pp. 56, 59 ff.). Investigation of the use of ἀνδράποδον in a homogeneous group of 4th century Attic literary documents led the author of the present article to conclude that there is an important connection between the common occurrence of the term at this time in contexts of a certain type and the wide application of slave labor in production. However, the connection is an indirect one, expressed in a marked tendency to associate the term with one aspect of the general concept slave: the slave as an embodiment of monetary value.

The notion that either ἀνδράποδον or οἰκέτης was a term specific to a certain occupational group among the slave population is immediately refuted by the alternate use of both terms to denote slaves engaged in domestic service, in handicraft and mining, and in work connected with farming. However, οἰκέτης and ἀνδράποδον were not identical in usage. The nature of the difference between them and in particular the factors conditioning the choice of ἀνδράποδον, rather than another word, are best brought out by analysis of contexts in which this term is used interchangeably with other words denoting the same slaves.

In XLVII, 64 f. ἀνδράποδον, and in §§ 76 and 81 οἰκέτης, appear with reference to the same two slaves: a shepherd and a servant acting as messenger (§§ 52 f., 57; cf. XI, 14, LIX, 33), who had been seized in default of payment of a certain sum of money. Evidently neither ~~word~~ <sup>word</sup> is used here as a term specific to any one group of slaves according to type of occupation. The distinction between them ~~is~~ is less easy to detect. Where ἀνδράποδον is used the association of the slaves (and other goods seized) with the amount of the monetary debt is perhaps more stressed than in the contexts where οἰκέτης appears. But the distinction would hardly deserve



notice, were confirmation of it not found elsewhere in the Corpus.

In another part of the same speech (§53) οἰκέτης is used of other slaves, encountered on the speaker's land. The context suggests their employment outside the house, perhaps as field workers. Hence the evidence of this speech alone makes it sufficiently clear that οἰκέτης was not limited in its application to domestic servants in the narrow sense (as held by Lentsman, *op.cit.*, pp.52 ff., 56), although in still another passage (§61) this term is used of a person apparently presumed to be a domestic.

In the speeches against Aphobos ἀνδράποδον is used almost exclusively of artisans, the craftsmen-slaves who manned the knife- and couchmaking workshops in the property inherited by Demosthenes (XXVII, 6, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 31, 35, 48, 61, XXVIII, 8, 12, XXIX, 37). A comparison of contexts in which the craftsmen are denoted by ἀνδράποδον with those in which other <sup>words</sup> ~~are~~ are used of them reveals a tendency to denote these slaves by generally or specifically descriptive words in contexts relating to their maintenance (<sup>ἀνδρῶνες</sup> ~~ἀνδράποδοι~~ --XXVII, 20; cf. 25), their profession in general, or with particular reference to technical aspects of their craft (δημιουργοί --XXVII, 20, 32; κλινονοιοί, μαχαιρονοιοί --e.g., XXVII, 30). On the other hand, ἀνδράποδον ~~appears~~ appears in contexts emphasizing the exchange value represented by the slaves (cf. the "inventory" contexts noted for this term by Lentsman, *op.cit.*, p.66): when mention is made of their sale or price (XXVII, 13, 16, 18, 48, 61), of their serving as security for a loan (XXVII, 25, XXVIII, 12, XXIX, 37), when they are mentioned as rented objects (XXVII, 20; cf. XXVIII, 12), as sources of income (XXVII, 35; cf. 61).

This distinction cannot be pressed too hard. What we are dealing with is not a terminus technicus, as may be seen with most startling clarity in the well known analogy drawn by Socrates between the tyrant and the owner of many slaves. In one brief passage these slaves are successively, and with seeming indifference termed: ἀνδράποδα, οἰκέται, δεῦλοι, θεράποντες (Plato, *Resp.* 578D-579A). The word ἀνδράποδον means first of all "slave", in which meaning it is synonymous with the other general terms. But, especially in what may be called "business" or "account-<sup>ing</sup>" contexts, a tendency appears, when speaking of slaves as equivalents of money, as forms of wealth, to use ~~ἀνδράποδοι~~ ἀνδράποδον rather than δεῦλοι or οἰκέτης. This



tendency may be observed not only in the private orations of the Demosthenic Corpus (which, be it remembered, form a composite collection of the work of various authors), but also in other contemporary documents of analogous content (e.g. Hyperid., c. Athenog. 15, cf. Plato, Leg. 916A and inscriptions cited by Lantman, op. cit. pp. 65 ff.).

In XXIX *οἰκέτης* is once used of slaves who can reasonably, though not with absolute certainty, be identified with <sup>Demosthenes'</sup> craftsmen (the slaves are offered for examination under torture as witnesses to the sale of raw materials used in the workshops). This is the second instance where *ἀνδράποδοι* and *οἰκέτης* are used alternately of the same slaves. The term *οἰκέτης* appears in analogous contexts (of slaves having certain knowledge) in XXX, 23, XLIX, 52, LII, 22; cf. Isaac. VI, 42. In all these passages it is possible (in the last two cited, virtually certain) that the slaves mentioned were in fact (or by presumption) domestic servants. However, one passage has just been noted in which the term in all probability denotes craftsmen, and other passages will later be considered in which it certainly does so (XIVIII, cf. also Aeschin. I, 97). Hence it was clearly not the occupation of the slave that influenced the choice between *ἀνδράποδοι*, *οἰκέτης*, or *δούλος*, but rather the aspect of the notion "slave" that was foremost in the speaker's mind: the slave as an equivalent of money; as subject or object of certain action as a person (though attached to someone's property); or as belonging to a certain status in society, the emphasis being on the status rather than on the person. For example, the same craftsmen who are called *ἀνδράποδα* in XXVII, 6 and *οἰκέται* in XXIX, 38 (if the proposed identification be correct) are in the immediately following section designated by the term *δούλοι*, when it is argued that their slave status allows their examination under torture.

Demosthenes says that when judgment went against Aphobos in the guardianship suit the latter made haste to remove <sup>from sight</sup> all movable property of his own that might be seized by Demosthenes. From his house Aphobos took, among other objects *τὰ ἀνδράποδα* (XXIX, 3). No hint is provided as to the occupations of these slaves. Assuming the speech to be genuine (of which there is some doubt), none of Demosthenes' craftsmen could have been intended, as none of these were supposed to have been in Aphobos' possession at this point. The most likely supposition is that the term



here denotes all the slaves in Aphobos' household, whatever their occupations might be. The obvious point of the passage is that Aphobos was intent on removing from his house all movables that might be convertible into cash.

In XXXVII ἀνδράποδον is used of thirty slaves employed in Pantainetos' ore-grinding mill in the mining district, the context in all cases being a loan transaction in which the slaves served as security (§§4,5,9,12,21). Quoted in the ~~text~~ speech is the text (or part of it) of the charge (ἐγκλημα) brought by Pantainetos against one of his creditors, and in which the mill slaves are denoted only by οἰκέτης (§§26,28,29). The genuineness of quoted documents is always subject to suspicion, but, as we have seen, the change in terms is not of itself evidence of spuriousness, and there do not seem to be other serious grounds for rejecting a document accepted by Blass and in the more modern literature. In the enkla the term οἰκέτης is also used of two slaves whose regular occupation is unknown (§ 22, 25); no other slave term appears in the document as quoted. Only in the sixth and last instance of its use in the enkla (§29) does οἰκέτης appear to be anomalous: "Having sold my ergasterion and οἰκέται contrary to the agreement..." In the light of the preceding analysis one might expect to find here ἀνδράποδον. However, in a legal document there would probably tend to be a minimum of term variation. The manner in which the various excerpts from the enkla are introduced indicates that they form successive parts of a continuous text. The first five times οἰκέτης was the appropriate term; the sixth time it was not, but the medium was not conducive to nice distinctions.

The fourth and final instance of the alternate use of ἀνδράποδον and οἰκέτης of the same slaves occurs in XLVIII. The dispute is over inheritance of a property that included two ergasteria, one for grinding drugs, the other for weaving sail-cloth. In the introductory description of this property the slaves of the ergasteria are termed ἀνδράποδα (§12), a usage that accords with the tendency already observed for contexts of an inventory character. In later sections one of the drug-grinders, Moschion, is termed οἰκέτης (§§14,15,18,44), <sup>ἀνθρώπος,</sup> ~~these~~ (§§14,15,16,17,19, 32,34,37), and twice he is designated by both <sup>these</sup> words simultaneously (§§27,35).

Moschion is singled out because he had stolen money. The sum was subsequently



extracted from him by torture or threat of torture, and it is in the recounting of these events that the slave is called οἰκέτης and ἄνθρωπος. Moschion had not changed his profession. What had changed was the point of view from which the speaker regarded him; no longer impersonally as an embodiment of wealth, but as an individual.

The case of Moschion completes the evidence of the Corpus regarding the terms used of slaves who can be identified as workers in handicraft or mining. This evidence confirms the usage noted in XLVII: neither ἀνδράποδον nor οἰκέτης was specific to slaves of one or another occupation group. The frequent use of ἀνδράποδον to denote artisans is explainable by the commodity or inventory contexts in which the term appears rather than by the slaves' occupation. When the speaker had in mind the slaves' individual, personal fate or behavior, οἰκέτης was evidently felt to be a more suitable designation for the same artisans.

Like δοῦλος, the term οἰκέτης was sometimes used in a broadly classificatory sense, for instance when it occurs in antithesis to πολίτης, ξένος, μέτοικος (e.g., IX,3; cf. Arist. Ath. pol. 57,3). Occasionally ~~it is found~~ in antithesis with ἐλεύθερος (XVIII,258; cf. Isocr. IV,123, Plato, Leg. 848A). Even in this use οἰκέτης seems more concrete than δοῦλος, connoting a definite body of individuals rather than a social or legal status. Sometimes, however, the difference between the two terms is hardly detectable.

In LV the slave Kallaros is said to have been accused of walling off a watercourse so that it flooded a neighbor's land. Kallaros is introduced as "one of my δοῦλοι" (§31; cf. XIV,85); in the next section he is referred to indirectly in the rhetorical question: "And yet what οἰκέτης would build a wall around his master's land without his master's order?" In the first instance the speaker may have used the "defining" term in order to stress the impropriety of bringing suit against a person of Kallaros' status (cf. LIX,9, VDI,1956,3,p.123). In §32 the slave, though representing a species, is considered in relation to a certain type of behavior. In XIV,35,75 f., on the other hand, the shade of distinction between the two terms is virtually imperceptible.

In LIII the objects of dispute are two slaves, Xerden and Manes, who had



been, like Kallaros of IV, employed in work connected with farming (§21). The only slave term used of Kerdon and Manes, ἀνδράποδον, occurs mostly in the repeated assertion that the slaves were the property of Arethousios (§§2,10,14,19,22, cf. 23,27). In §1 it appears in a purely commodity context (selling price). Probably the same term was used in the legal document on which the suit was based, a specification (i.e., an "inventory") denouncing the property of a state-debtor as liable to confiscation. In only one instance does the context of the term's use conflict with the tendency observed elsewhere in the Corpus (§22, second occurrence--a challenge to hand over the slaves for examination by torture), where the choice of term may be explained, like οἰκέτης in XXXVII,29, by the overriding influence of a persistently repeated term, reflecting the language of a formal document.

The term οἰκέτης occurs only once in LIII, referring to <sup>runaway</sup> slaves who were most probably field workers (§6). The single occurrence of δοῦλος (§16) is also perfectly characteristic of that term's usual function in texts of this type and period: "...so that if I caught him I might put him in bonds or beat him, supposing him to be a slave"--ὡς δοῦλον εἶντα.

The closest approach to the use of ἀνδράποδον in a broadly classificatory sense comes in two types of context, which, though plainly related to the commodity contexts already discussed, form sub-types requiring separate consideration.

The first of these sub-types--the use of ἀνδράποδον in phrases describing inventory characteristic of the χώρα--has an important bearing on the problem of the extent to which slave labor was applied in agriculture during the developed classical period. Particular instances of such application found in the Corpus, meager as they are, do suggest that the employment of slaves in farming operations was not uncommon in Attica at this time (XLVII,53,64 f.,76,81,LIII, passim,LV,31). Broader in its implications than any of the passages just cited is Xen.Oec.III,10 (Socrates on the ages at which it is advisable to buy horses and γεωργοί; cf. Plato,Leg.805DE). The classificatory use of ἀνδράποδον in connection with the χώρα, Attic and non-Attic, further strengthens this impression



by suggesting the ubiquity of the phenomenon.

As designations of a population category *δοῦλος* and *οἰκέτης* are associated, expressly or by implication, with their antithetical opposites *ἐλεύθερος*, *πολίτης*, *ξένος*, etc. The word *ἀνδράποδον*, in the analogous usage now under consideration, designates not a category of population, but a class of property, a form of wealth found in the countryside; its associates are *βοσκήματα*, *πρόβατα*, *ὑποζύγια*, *ἵπποι* --i.e., other typical inventory of the *χώρα*. See, e.g., Plato, *Alcib.I* 122D (Messene), *Xen.Hell.VI*,2,6 (Gercyra); cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, No.503,33-38, *Iys.IV*,1.

The most familiar example relating to Attica is *Thuc.VII*,27,5 (cf. *Hell.Oxy.* XII,4), where the historian speaks of the damage caused by enemy occupation of Decelea: Athens was deprived of its whole *χώρα* and suffered heavy losses in *ἀνδράποδα*, *πρόβατα*, *ὑποζύγια*. Thucydides stresses the magnitude of the damage by pointing out that the slaves were in large part artisans (*χείροτέχναι*). While most, if not all of the *χείροτέχναι* and some of the draught animals may have come from the mining district (which was part of the Attic *χώρα*), the cattle and some portion of the slaves were evidently agricultural inventory. In an earlier passage foreshadowing this event slaves are virtually defined as part of the normal equipment of the Attic *χώρα* (*VI*,91,7--Alcibiades urges the Lacedaemonians to fortify Decelea). In the Demosthenic Corpus there is only one example of this use of *ἀνδράποδον*. The orator relates how Macedonian envoys urged the Thebans to join Philip in war on Athens, tempting them by the same prospect of booty which Alcibiades had dangled before the Lacedaemonians: *βοσκήματα*, *ἀνδράποδα*, "and other goods" to be found in Attica (i.e., in the Athenian *χώρα*).

Sometimes the choice of *ἀνδράποδον* seems to be motivated either not at all or only partly by an immediate inventory of commodity context, but rather to serve as a contemptuous epithet. In *IX*,31 Demosthenes, railing at Philip, refers to Macedonia as a land "from which formerly not even a single decent slave (*οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδέν*) was to be bought". True, the purchase-sale context is itself sufficient to explain the choice of term. But there is also a note of ethnic scorn, an implication that Philip is comparable to inferior "barbarian" imported goods. To the Attic slaveowner the association of the notions "barbarian", "commodity",



and "slave" was a natural one; in XIV it is more directly stated. Apollodoros reminds the judges of the time when Phormion was a mere commodity (*ὄντος*), a barbarian commodity at that (§§ 71, 81), and charges him with ingratitude to those who made of him "a Hellene instead of a barbarian, a notable instead of a slave"--  
 γνωρίμων δ' ἀντ' ἀνδραπόδου (§ 73).

The words *ἀνδράποδον* and (especially) its cognate *ἀνδραποδείδης* are not infrequently used in this contemptuous sense by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, sometimes in contexts showing a definitely anti-demos political tendency--e.g.: Xen. Mem. I, 1, 6, IV, 2, 22; Plato, Gorg. 463AB (cf. Phaedr. 258E-259A, Theaet. 175D); Arist. EN, I, 5, 3. The adjective appears nowhere in the Demosthenic Corpus; nor is the noun used in the Corpus as a contemptuous epithet in an anti-demos context.

Two passages in the Corpus, one derivative from the other, where the choice of *ἀνδράποδον* seems comprehensible only if <sup>the term be</sup> taken as a contemptuous epithet, bring three general terms into play in close succession (XXIV, 166 f., cf. XXII, 54 f.; see VDI, 1956, p. 129). Timokrates and his associates are accused of using illegal (and undemocratic) methods of collecting arrears in *εἰσφορά*. The climax of the argument may be paraphrased thus: By subjecting citizens and metics to mishandling worse than you inflict on your own slaves (*εἰκέλει*) you encroached on the basic privilege that distinguishes slave (*δοῦλος*) from free; you punished the bodies of free men as though they were slaves (*ἀνδράποδα*). The first term denotes particular individuals--"one's own" slaves; the second - the slave status, in opposition to which all free men should be brothers; the third term denotes creatures of barely human status, whose persons no democrat needs respect. None of the three terms designates a separate group among the slave population; yet each of them expresses a distinct aspect of the general notion "slave".

The contemptuous use of *ἀνδράποδον* in polemical contexts is apparently derivative from its use in drier business or accounting contexts to express the idea of slaves as "negotiable assets". The normalization of the practice of employing slaves in production for the market did not give rise to a special term for the slave-worker, as we have seen. But the expansion of commerce, in particular of the slave trade, which is reflected in the special use of *ἀνδράποδον*, was both a necessary condition and a result of increased application of slave labor in pro-



duction. As regards Athens, from the latter part of the 5th century and throughout the 4th century a principal function of the slave trade must have been the supplying Athenian production enterprises with "barbarian" labor power.

It is therefore not surprising that of a total of 44 instances of the use of the word ἀνδράποδον in the Demosthenic Corpus 35 relate to slaves employed in production and of these 24 concern slaves engaged in handicraft or ore-processing; while in only one case can we say with certainty that a slave denoted by this term was a domestic servant. This suggests that the slave engaged in production, especially in handicraft or mining, had become the most valued ~~kind of property in~~ slaves.

There are some indications that extension on a similar scale to comparable texts of an earlier period of the method applied in the present study might show that the use of ἀνδράποδον found to be characteristic of Athenian practical rhetoric in the 4th century was established as a tendency not long before the end of the 5th century. Allowing for a lag in the adaptation of language to external reality, this would suggest that in about the middle of the 5th century property in slaves took on new significance, as the slave mode of production began to take serious hold on the Athenian economy. Results obtained for the 4th century alone, however, confirm ~~the essential validity of the connection first~~ observed by Lantman between the term ἀνδράποδον and the exploitation of slave labor in production.

E. Kazakevich  
Moscow, 20/XII/58



АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

80.019

21. XII, 58  
(photos)

В. Грейс

гор. Афины

Греция

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я № 346, Э. Казаченко  
USSR, Moscow K-9 - P.O. Box, E. Kazachevich



Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical  
Studies

Athens

Greece

4191

ΠΡΩΤΗ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΩΝ  
Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ



ΠΡΩΤΗ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΩΝ  
Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ



80.016







One of my favorites. Supposed to  
have been built as a birthday  
present for Ivan the Dostoj.  
Now it's a lovely place to  
spend a day, especially in  
spring.



80.026

Коломенское. Церковь Вознесения. 1532 г.

Ш03470-57 г. 5-23. Т. 100 000. Ц. 10 к. З. 157.  
Полиграфкомбинат, г. Калинин.





Mninski Sept. 1958

80.036

VDK in a 6th cent. B.C. hole with the  
excavator thereof





80.046

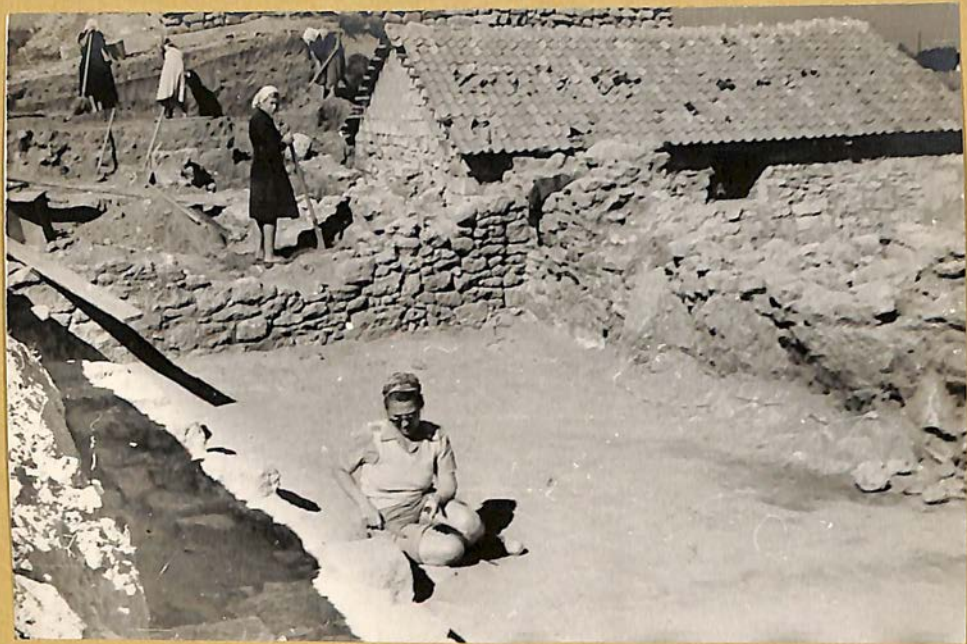
Mürnski, Sept. 1958

Left - VDK (a friend sent the shooting stick from Switzerland)

Center - young man with handle tendencies

Right - V.F.G. Himself





At Minnackim, Sept. 1958. Polishing things up  
for the survey + photography. (But really - sitting  
in the sun)

Merry Christmas. Happy New Year!

Love,  
Eve





30.066

Moscow, 15/XI/58

Merry X-mas and a happy  
New Year!

This is the so-called Royal  
Kurgan near Kerch of the 4<sup>th</sup> century  
B.C. The woman following us is the  
guard, who has been on the job since  
before 1914. I am with a lady who  
was spending her vacation in the  
South collecting inscriptions on stone.  
The time - September 1958.

Vladimir.



Athens, October 29, 1958

Dear Em,

Thank you very much for the two offprints. I wish that, like Professor Grakov, I could read them. Who knows, some day.

I have also your note of October 4, with mention of a telephone call from him, also acknowledgement of the Lenger-Grace offprint. This object should be useful as a supplement to Bon, and my chief influence on the text was in seeing that the concordances are complete and arranged so as to be ~~un~~usable. I expected that it would be made more plain that the composition is not by V. Grace, who does not enjoy it much, but that 78 per cent of the photographs and other records on which it is based (the 1954 material) were made by Maria and me (in a very rainy season, late October 1954). Clever as the serpent is what we are not. Corrigendum: on p. 402, the pictures of nos. 104 and 105 have been exchanged.

I have been perforce working on amphoras of the late 5th century B.C., since quantities of broken ones are all over inside and outside the workshop in front of the Stoa, from an ancient well cleared in 1954 but never fully worked through. It is necessary to weed out as much as possible for storage in a smaller area in our inadequate cellar, but to sort out and write down first what is there. Acquiring a psychosomatic grippe over the awfulness of the task - so did the mender! - I<sup>1</sup> spent a day in bed, during which I finally made a real study of Ebert's publication of all those tombs full of amphoras in the Maritima estate (Chersonesos), which came out so unexpectedly in the Præhistorische Zeitschrift (1913). A lot of the tombs are close in date to the stuff from the well. All this has led me to brood over the anomaly of our numerous well-dated deposits of the last quarter of the fifth, in which we do not find Thasian stamps, although I firmly believe Thasian jats were stamped at that time. (We do have one or two contexts of before 400 for Thasian stamps, but not really enough for comfort.) So now I am wondering if I recognize any unstamped Thasian



in this well; it is difficult, because no whole jars could be made up despite all our efforts, and Mendeian and probably some of the Pontic classes have features - rims, micaceous clay, or whatnot - resembling Thasian (as one can tell from stamped fragments). I arrive again at the point of wanting very much to know about some whole Thasian jars, of which mostly <sup>in the Hermitage collection</sup> ~~no~~ reproduces only the stamps. I should like to know as much as can still be learned about them, even if it is only whether or not they survived the war and are still there. I should be grateful if you would tell me the address of the right person to write to for such an inquiry. In the meanwhile, I list them here, in case by chance some information is available:

Pridik p.	no.	inv.no. cited	stamp
39	76	1489	APIXTOMENHZ, KIPON, Archer Herakles
41	122	423	ΔΗΜ(, ΔΑΜΑΣΤΗΖ, device (omphalos?)
47	251	425	ΑΑΒΡΟΖ, ΔΑΜΑΣ(, no device
54	402	424	ΤΙ(, ΜΥ(, no device
57	465	447	amphora, caduceus?
122	55	422	ΘΑΕΘΑΝΗΖ, goat

The last is the only one of which the jar shape is illustrated (p.35, fig.2). I know of no whole Thasian with the stamps without device except the two listed above. So I should be very glad to see what they look like, if they still exist.

Please let me know if you received my letter of ~~October~~ September 28, on which I rashly put a rather hard-to-get stamp with cyclamens in it; I should hate to think the letter was murdered by philately. In it I said we were going to Samos and Delos; so we did, and worked hard, and enjoyed ourselves too, for ten fully occupied days. I spent three nights in a little house at the Heraion, on the shore, by the mouth of the Imbrasos.



82-01a

АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

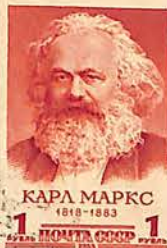
В. Грейс

гор. Афины

Греция

Miss V. R. Grace  
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Greece

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USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, Kazakovich



ΝΑΥ

5811

ΝΑΥ

ΤΑΜΙΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΣΤΑΘ. ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΩΝ  
ΠΡΩΤ. ΑΝΤΙΣΤΕΤΗΡΑ  
Κ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤ.

ΑΤΗ

30 X

1

ΤΑΜΙΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΣΤΑΘ. ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΩΝ  
ΠΡΩΤ. ΑΝΤΙΣΤΕΤΗΡΑ  
Κ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤ.

ΑΤΗΝΑΙ

30 X 5811

ΝΑΥ

ΤΑΜΙΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
ΣΤΑΘ. ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΩΝ  
ΠΡΩΤ. ΑΝΤΙΣΤΕΤΗΡΑ  
Κ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΩΤ.

82.015



P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

23 October, 1958

Dear Mart:

Immediately on receipt of yours of Sept.28 (rec'd Oct.10) I wrote to Gaidukevich (same date), and Lo, tonight came an answer from him. It is dated "Leningrad, 20.X.58" and translates as follows (the pertinent parts): "It goes without saying that all the photographs of Coan stamps that were sent to her in Athens she may use and publish in the Corpus, i.e. in the book being prepared for publication. In a very few days I shall communicate with her about that. I had already intended to write her a letter on this question, but then decided to wait a little, for the following reason. This year we found in Mirmeki several more Coan stamps, about 10. It will probably be expedient to add the new stamps to those sent earlier. We have ordered photographs to be prepared at once. I think they will be ready tomorrow. Together with my letter I shall now send also these new "fresh" Coan stamps.... I think that toward the end of the month V. Grace will receive both my letter and these additional materials from the very latest Mirmeki digging.... If you are going to be writing to your sister in the near future, please inform her that the photographs of the stamps were sent precisely for inclusion in her publication, if she should find this expedient. I believe that she considers some of our stamps interesting and worthy of attention. In the hurry of preparing for the expedition I did not manage to write an accompanying letter. That is how it happened that the photographs were sent from Moscow in the name of IIMK<sup>x</sup> and the accompanying letter was signed by our learned secretary Merpert. Hence arose the puzzlement of V.Grace. Yesterday I received from her yet another very valuable "present"--an offprint of an article (Stamped Amphora Handles found in ~~1931-1932~~ 1931-1932) in Hesperia, III. In the letter written by my son was contained a hint that I would very much like to have this work. Evidently it was not easy to find an offprint of a publication that appeared almost 15 years ago. I am much touched by the

x  
Institut istorii  
materinskoi  
kul'tury



82.03

attention your sister has paid to my request. I greatly appreciate this kindness, on her part."

I have translated this accurately, I think, though without grace, because I'm in a hurry--have lessons to do for tomorrow (study circle on economic theory). As the good Lord only knows whether the letter so elegantly promised will actually ever forthcome, I'm getting at least this to you as fast as possible. It seems to me you can take it on this basis without serious risk--and go ahead and publish the stuff. I have this signed document and so can back you up morally in case of need--but really, I don't expect such need will arise. Still, as soon as tomorrow (and differential rent) is over, I think I'll write a note to Gaidukevich, gently urging that he really get something off to you under his own signature. But I wouldn't wait for that, if I were you--go ahead. If Grakov's sense of property is damaged, let him tell Gaidukevich about it. Gaidukevich sent you the stuff for publication, and that's all the authority you need as far as this group of photographs is concerned. But probably the thing is that material dug up is considered the province of the expedition that dug it.

The stamp (cyclamen Greac.) was lovely. I gave it to a collector who, although he teaches us all Latin, couldn't find the error by himself. Fun!

About Maurice and Jane. They were stirring up about that years ago, I remember. Of course it had to be in the end, I suppose--the move, I mean. But I join you all in hating it. Please (as Gaidukevich likes to say), when you next write to our sister, tell her I love her as always. I'm just terrible not to write, that's all. That applies to Mame too. About Fred's books: why don't you move them to Athens and take up living there seriously (much nearer me)? Books are nice just to have, piggish though that may be. But if you firmly decide to scatter some of them, I suppose there's people like Betsy Wyckoff who would use them right; or I certainly would be very glad to have some. But I think you ought to hold on to them at least a while, and make a center. I often peruse at length (slowly and tastingly, so to speak) my memories of talks with Fred at Calydon. That's where I saw most of him and grew to appreciate him.

Now I must go back to differential rent. You'd be surprised how generally illuminating such studies sometimes are.

Love, En





МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



83.01a

В. Грейс  
гор. Афины  
Греция

Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of  
Classical Studies  
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Греция

СССР, Москва К-9, адрес. 346, Э. Каракабан  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Karabovich

ΥΠΟΧΡΩ  
ΤΗ ΔΕΛΤΙΑ  
ΠΡΟΣΤΙΜΑ  
ΚΑΤ' ΕΠΟΙ



ΤΑ ΔΕΛΤΙΑ  
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΑΧΥΔΕΛΤΙΑ  
ΠΡΟΣΤΙΜΑ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ



ΤΑ ΔΕΛΤΙΑ  
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΑΧΥΔΕΛΤΙΑ  
ΠΡΟΣΤΙΜΑ  
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ



83.016



P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

October 4, 1958

Dear Mart:

A few days ago I sent you a couple of offprints. When I came back from the South (Sept. 23) I found in the box your BCH offprint, for which thanks very much. At the moment it is out on loan to the Blavatskys, who thank me very much.

This morning, before breakfast, Grakov called up. In his high, light voice he said a great deal very rapidly. He had just received my offprints, and t.g. seemed to take and accept the gesture as it was intended, i.e. as a pacifier. Even has a 4th cent. inscription with andrapodon for me. This much I made out over the protest of my hollow stomach and through the fog in my head, and also that he had received a long letter from you, to answer which requires lengthy research, so "if you should be writing to her, please explain this". In other words, there'll be another wait, but something will come of it in the end.

The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist; for the most part they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator who cultivated the science of words--the productions of a recluse student, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was incessantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian commonwealth.

These withering words I read this morning in Gibbon, ch. 24. Oh dear me!

Just got a telegram announcing V.'s return this evening. He stayed on in Kerch after me, then went to Olbia.

Write soon again.

Love,

Em



84.01a

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



В. Грейс  
г. Афины  
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Virginia Grace  
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СССР, Москва К-9, а/я 346, Кацаквели  
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Greece



84.016





84.02 Kerch: Mirnaki

13 September 1958

Dear Mart:

We're here since Sept. 8, and I have another ten days. V. will probably vacation a while longer, with a trip to Olbia. All my original notions of reading up on handles and going into them seriously here for a whole month - collapsed. My own work grew monstrously, taking unexpected tangents. On Sept. 26 I am presenting what from the point of view of quantity may be called a monograph; by content it is a group of loosely connected studies - with still another one to come. Perhaps, for reasons unconnected with the work itself, it will after all not appear all under one cover, but the series of articles will, simply continue in the Vestnik. That would suit me just as well, as it would probably thus reach more readers. But all this remains to be seen.

Meanwhile it's very pleasant to be here, even for a short time. On the dig I've been at my usual cleaning jobs, scraping and cleaning new floors and walls, in the sun - swimming, eating, sleeping. For V. it is excellent convalescence, both interesting and healthy. By the time we arrived most of the stamped handles had already been garnered and put away. Only a small trickle comes in now as one peels off a Hellenistic layer here and there. Otherwise one is uncovering mostly Roman stuff; in a couple of places one has poked down to 5th and late 6th cent. In one great cavity there is a 5th century well with a neat, very small stone mouth. A boy named Tolya (Anatol) spends most of his time in this hole, sending up dirt in a bag tied by a rope to the well-head - rather like that Corinthian plaque. Every half hour he reappears, all damp and bluish, for a rest in the sun. It's an interesting corner.

There's a great vacation emptiness in my head, so that's all I'll say. Just wanted to explain why I'm not for the moment answering any letters you may have written.

Love, Em.



USSR

84.03

I've just discovered (in some handbook) that you  
are only 1 GMT hour to the West of me. Nice thought.

P.O. Box 346  
Moscow K-9

August 26, 1958

Dear Mart:

First of all thanks for the exquisite stamps. They will delight my friends the stamp-collectors. Maybe you didn't seek them out specially, but thanks just the same.

This in reference to your letter of Aug. 16, just received. I enclose an envelope, in fact two (see both sides). Really You do not need to put my address in Russian, though it does slightly ease the sorting process in the PO. The whole point of our keeping the box after we got a lasting home address in 1953 was the convenience to non-Cyrillic correspondents. Though I know quite a number of people who get letters in Latin script (addressed) to their more and less complicated home addresses. The vast majority of our foreign correspondents simply write the PO address in English, as one normally would, order and all. The return address you could also write in your usual way, in English or Greek, if you feel like it. On such envelopes one finds scribbled on by the PO K-9 people (that's the Central Telegraph on Gorky St.): *ad/24, 346*. However, if you want to continue being kind to the postman... I enclose a model, which is just what you've been doing, only I leave out CCCP on the Russian side, as there is really no need for that, once the letter is in the USSR. As a matter of fact you've been doing very well; I display your learning. But I'm sorry it's caused you fuss.

You make no comment on "c'est tout" in Grakov's letter; none is needed. I've known horses, even spoiled and petted ones, who had more savoir faire. But that's no surprise. A horse can be a very gentlemanly creature. We had one rather nasty scrap over all this, and now I leave it up to you. Nice of him to convey thanks to Daux. That was what the scrap was mostly about--the silliest and least pardonable omission, or so it struck me. But the man is a good man, I'm convinced, nonetheless. I'm glad the exchange continues.

You do puzzle me with your ups and downs, Virginia. "I shall keep it [my letter] ... for when I may have ready a suitable article." I thought the Rhodian piece most suitable (and I understood its character from the start). That in fact was what I discussed with the colleague. But now you're fading out again. About the language I understand. But in the first place I'm not absolutely sure it might not appear here in English or French, though that has not been the practice hitherto. Granting that to be not likely, would you object to its being printed first in Russian? Otherwise I suppose it might not be very polite, to offer a "used" article to the journal here; whereas journals that are accustomed to getting your articles might not mind printing one "translated from the Russian". If your reason for wanting it in English or French is that you want it comprehensible to the rest of the world, I don't see that it would matter if it appeared first here, then there. It would be a nice appreciation of the considerable good work being done here in exactly that field--by the villainous G. and others. You might even negotiate a journal exchange--have, say, G. contribute something to Hesp. on Sinope types, you to Sov. Arch. Though lord knows in which decade of the century either of you would produce the goods. Anyhow, there's an idea. What do you think of it?

I noticed that the Astronomical Congress took place, but received no call or letter from your friends. Perhaps they tried and found me out. We've had an old friend of V's here and tending to him has fallen to my lot, as V has been laid low with a return of ulcer trouble (but not so bad as the first bout). So I was hopping nearly every day to one of the hotels, and when not doing that was often visiting V. The docs undertook to fix him up if he would go to the hospital for a few weeks, so that's what he's done. Very dull without him, but by the end of this week he'll be home. He's been in the country branch of the Academy

\* (Thought of course  
it would be ready  
to be translated)

(sic)



hospital, out in a nice birch and pine grove, but he doesn't appreciate it at all. However, he's nearly well, t.g.

Thanks for the picture of Doreen. Good old Doreen, I'm glad she has a nice big son. She looks as if she enjoyed it too. About Nicky Grace, naturally I gasp to think of him in the Sorbonne. Priscilla must be finding life livable after all. Not that you'd ever catch her saying it wasn't, but I've thought it could hardly be. But having all that growing up around you must soften the jagged edges. It seems to me, not having those perspective-makers, a terribly recent thing still.

Mr. Bellinger wrote to me not long ago that he had received a lot of useful stuff from a lady (his word) in the Hermitage--about coins, with all data and photographs. He wanted me to identify her in proper form for mention in a preface. I've always (nine years) thought that Leningrad was a first-class city. Anyhow that shows it can be done, and without any c'est touts.

Love,

Em



84.05a

МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ДЕНЬ ЗАЩИТЫ ДЕТЕЙ



40к



ОБРАТИТЕ ВНИМАНИЕ НА ПОЛЮСЫ ЖИВОТНЫХ



20  
коп

ПОЧТА СССР



В. Грейс

гор. Афины

Греция

V. Grace

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Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я 346, Э. Казакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakevich

84.056

1951

1951

1951

1951

51X52

1951

1951

1951

1951



1951

1951

1951

1951

1951



(Adrian has a model of an envelope  
addressed to him) USSR 85

Athens, August 18, 1958

Dear Em,

Coming back last evening from a few days in Corinth, I found your letter of August 7. This is very informative, and I shall keep it available and ready for when I may have ready a suitable article.

The Rhodian piece I have had in mind would be, in a way, a survey, that is, it would present not any particular lot of handles, but the assembled names that occur on all Rhodian handles known to me, including a lot from Russian publications. However, I think that of this there would have to be an English (or, say, French) edition; and I suppose neither of your journals would be interested in printing an article which was coming out somewhere else also. If I am wrong here, please let me know.

I'll see about the book for your friend.

Writing to V., I mentioned receiving your letter of June 24. Since then, I have had a letter from Professor Grakov, dated July 30. In this, he includes a detailed list of 295 Coan which will appear in his corpus of finds handles in the Soviet Union area. Some we had already on file from earlier Russian (not new types, all, but there are a number). publications, but over half were new to us. He says, "Vous les pouvez mentionner dans les commentaires comme analogiques a vos exemples, en citant sous les numeros de ma liste. C'est tout." And adds that photographs and drawings are not yet made, will be made in 1959. In this letter he revises a former notice on his forthcoming publication: to be published in 1959 will be only the 1st vol. of his corpus, containing Black Sea categories (Sinopean, etc.). He does not now set a date for the 2nd volume, with the Coan, Rhodian, etc. It should be stated that his list is quite full, with readings (minuscule) and indications on letter forms, and statement of provenance, where known, and it must have taken quite a long time to prepare. It helps us in one or two cases to identify as Coan some stamps we have on non-double handles, and thus adds one or two types to our <sup>book's</sup> repertory. We are working on this list, and I shall write soon to Professor Grakov. He asks me to thank Daux for the Thasian book.

I enclose a photo of Doreen and her big boy. He calls me "Auntie", like Peter McPh. I like him. Carol and Jim George and I think some children will be here about 5 weeks on holiday, beginning about the beginning of Sept. They have been seeing a lot this summer of Nicky Grace, the one that looks most like Ted; he's been taking some summer courses at the Sorbonne, while Judy is working in a summer work-camp in Colorado (teaching, etc., but also chopping wood, etc.)



PAR AVION



В.И. ЛЕНИН  
1870-1924

1



86.019

В. Грейс

Американская школа  
классических исследований

гор. Афины

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Miss Virginia Grace

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Studies

Athens

Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я. 346, Э. Казакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakevich



96.016

SMA

MA

MA  
MA



P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

7 August 1958

Dear Mart:

(You could begin: "Dear Dr. Kruglikova" / don't think she is a doctor yet, but no harm done!)

Just wanted to tell you that your last letter (about the possibility of placing the Rhodian names here) was received and is being acted upon. That is, I have instituted inquiries in appropriate quarters--though the person of whom I inquired has bounced off to Mitridat (Kerch) without informing me of the results of her consultations. Perhaps I may yet hear from her. Meanwhile, I can't see any harm in your formally addressing the archaeological journal yourself with the proposal. That is, you could write to them saying that you have (or ~~may~~ expect to have by such and such a date) such and such an article, with approximately such and such contents, of such and such length, and with so and so many illustrations, and would they be interested in publishing it in their distinguished etc. journal? You would not need to bring up the financial question at all. If they publish it, the money will be forthcoming as a matter of course--upon publication. Yes, archaeology is considered a science here. The operative person on that journal is, they say, Kruglikova, the "responsible secretary", who is, I believe, a conscientious person, as likely as anybody to be prompt and businesslike with her reply (but I absolutely refuse to predict any longer on this score!). It seems to me very likely that they would be interested in publishing such an article, though probably only in Russian. However, most likely the translation or at least the checking thereof would be turned over to me--nobody's told me that, but it would seem only logical. So you could be assured of a maximum of care. There is only one possible hitch that I can see: it may be that the editors want to keep the contents of the journal (except for surveys) strictly confined to material found on Soviet territory. In that case (Kruglikova would tell you, of course) the thing could be presented to our journal, Vestnik drevnei istorii, which does carry some archaeological material. If the thing goes through, printing schedules being what they are, it might be a year before it got actually into print. As I remember, that's the way it was with R. Frye of Harvard, who got a Persian piece printed in the Vestnik (thus, incidentally, financing a visit here). They might offer you the fee in dollars (sometimes they do that with authors, I believe), but you should of course ask to have it held for you in rubles. Here is how to address the archaeological journal:

Moscow K-1  
Sadovskikh per., 2  
"Sovetskaya arkheologiya"  
I. T. Kruglikova

Москва К-1  
пер. Садовских, 2  
"Советская археология"  
И. Т. Кругликовой

Try it, why don't you, and see what happens.

Now I have a request, which may add to your burdens now, but would also add to your rubles then. In the current issue of the Vestnik (1958, No. 2) I have an article. Most of this article I wrote in English, which was translated for me by my friend, who is also one of our coming most brilliant specialists on the history of the Near East. She is a very, very bright girl, and her translation of my work, with all its terrible allusive idioms that V. says are "untranslatable", was also brilliant, exquisitely accurate. I am simply overcome with gratitude, and begged her to tell me what I could get for her, or try to get, in the way of books. She said she would very much like to have the following: L. et J. Robert, Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Sinuri en Carie, 1953. She was not sure of the title when she told me, but that ought to be recognizable--if not, I can get it more accurately later. Could you inquire at the French School as to whether ~~this~~ this work is available? And if it

can be bought, could you buy it and send it to me? The amount I would then hold for you, translated into rubles at the tourist rate (1 to 10) to give to you when you come touring--when I shall also introduce to you my charming orientalist "translator".  
Love, Em.



American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

July 19, 1958

Dear Vladimir,

I am much obliged for your memo of July 5 explaining the mechanics of importing into the USSR, and the various possibilities of financing a trip to your country. Physically, it looks possible to visit first a few of the Black Sea sites, say <sup>toward the end of</sup> at excavation time, meeting whatever archaeologists might be there, and then to proceed north to Moscow and Leningrad, say in late September, having written first to those one wished most to see, such as Emily and V., to find out if they would be at home. This is how many visitors come to us here. It is too bad for one's length of time to be so strictly limited; however a postcard from Mrs. Black told us of the wonderful speed of the Soviet plane that brought them from Prague to Leningrad, so the big distances don't seem to take much time. What the Foundations can be persuaded to devote to my work, I fear I must save for essential support, not for lovely trips no matter how stimulating in potentiality. I am a good deal struck by what you say about authors being paid for articles published in scientific journals, and would like to know more about it. Does "scientific" cover archaeological articles such as my proposed one on the names and <sup>their</sup> dates in Rhodian stamps? Would the text necessarily be printed in Russian? What would be the mechanics of the purchase for a journal of such an article? Because <sup>mine</sup> certainly ~~it~~ would need 32 pages rather than 16. How much illustration could be provided? I ask in a general way, of course.

Thank you very much for writing to your friend Captain Katenov. He did come to see me; I liked him very much, and hope we will meet again. I think he was going for a trip outside Athens, after which perhaps he will at least come and visit us at the Stoa of Attalos. He says, "Vladimir is a bright boy."

Please tell Em I have indeed received hers of June 24, and more anon. We have been having a bit of hot weather. How is it with you? Tonight I am going to see "Thesmophoriasousai" in the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, with an Egyptian citizen, a Frenchman, an Englishwoman, and a former Swede (Oscar Broneer, whom Em knows). It appears that I have never read it. With many thanks, Yours sincerely,





98.01

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

В. Грейс  
Американская школа классических  
исследований  
г.р. Афины  
Греция

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я. 346, З. Козакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, Z. Kozakovich

Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical  
Studies  
Athens  
Greece



88.02

P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

July 5, 1958

Dear Mart:

Yours of 26.6 received on the Glorious Fourth (we ate several pints of strawberries <sup>and ice cream</sup> in honor), and contents deeply pondered. With regard to the business end of it I am enclosing a "memo" composed by V., which is probably clearer than anything I could produce. Myself, I think it's high time you were invited, but, being kin, I can't very nicely press the point. It would take more than the fingers of one hand to count those who think so too, and eventually I presume that something along those lines will happen. But when... who can say? Hence I think the best bet is the foundation idea. If people get money from there and visas to here to study steel, literary archives of the 19th century, and lord knows what all else, why shouldn't you get ditto and ditto to study artifacts of a somewhat earlier date? You will know best yourself about such possibilities, but to me sitting here it looks like a very reasonable proposition.

About "miscellaneous people". To tell the honest truth, and this you ought to know already, I'm not much of a one for social life "in general". It both distresses me and bores me (which practically nothing else in this world does). Of course I have no rational objection to being looked up by your friends--after all we send you ours on occasion. I'm just not much good at performing social graces with parties with whom I have nothing particular in common. At least I always think so in advance, and too often it works out that way. V. is talented in this direction, not only that, but he enjoys it; whereas I'm a miserable stick, a true vegetable (as Ellie says), getting into a sweat about clothes, which never seem to be in the right state, and what on earth to say. In short--the prospect dismays me. But when those people show up, of course I'll see them (if I'm in Moscow), and I suppose it will be good for my one-track soul.

In miserable anticipation, but with love,

By now you should have received mine of June 24, answering yours of June 16.

Em



KAZAKHSTAN

89.06



АВИА  
PAR AVION



Куда Африка - Греция

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies

54, Souedias Street

Athens - Greece

Адрес отправителя: СССР, Москва ~~К-9~~, ад/явз 346,

З. Казакбаев



89.016



1971  
MAY  
10

V. Woolf, Roger Fry. A Biography. London, Hogarth, 1940. 39.02  
with Fanny's letter 9  
28.11.60

p. 135 (Fry, as Director of The Metropolitan (1905), writes to Louisa Dickinson) "My two trials are the American artists who keep asking me to say that theirs is the greatest art ~~the~~ the world has ever seen, and the Millionaires - ... The in-between people are all right even when rich, and a few quite delightful. I've got <sup>as</sup> an assistant one of the most charming creatures I've ever met, a young and unsuccessful but quite good artist called (sic) Burroughes, a man who has never bothered about anything but just gone his own way - with no money and no reputation but with peace in his heart."

Bite about his visit to Greece (1952)

"And then the voyage down the Dalmatian coast, sliding past pink gray mountains with blue shadows; and then the first sight of the Acropolis, purple that evening in a storm of rain, and his shock of surprise - his "awfully swell - awfully swell", ~~and as I left~~ <sup>And so, one</sup> sunny afternoon, to a Byzantine church where an old man was reading the newspaper at three o'clock in the afternoon



and the peasant women were lazily picking great  
 yellow flowers. [?!] He laid out his little conversation  
 book and began to talk to them, and then,  
 gazing up at the white vindictive Christ in  
 mosaic on the ceiling of the church, exclaimed:  
 "Better than I'd any notion of", and instantly  
 set up his easel and began to paint. And so to  
 Sunium, where, ~~squatting~~ squatted on the turf,  
 he dug up minute blue irises with his  
 pocket-knife. Did he think Greek irises  
 would grow in Suffolk? "Well, one can only try  
 and see." And so to Delphi and the argument  
 with the chauffeur. "We must see that  
 monastery." The chauffeur protested; the monastery  
 was twenty miles out of the way. "Never mind.  
 We'll get up at dawn." "But the road's impos-  
 sible." "Never mind. We'll take the risks."  
 "But the last car fell over the precipice." Reason  
 convinced, at last he yielded. And so across the  
 Peloponnese, the road winding along precipices,  
 the road pitted with pot-holes, scarred with ruts,  
 the passengers flung from side to side, bounced  
 up and down. But always pitching or bouncing,  
 back from the front seat where Roger Fry sat beside

his sister came scraps of talk . . . So the car pitched and bounced; fragments of Talk and laughter were thrown back; until at a turn of the road when cypresses or poplars made a pattern and the accent was right for painting, two hands rose simultaneously, the car was halted, and brother and sister sat silent, painting. But Greece, bar of trees, angular and over-dramatic, lacked something necessary. He admired, he analysed, but he did not fall in love. That was a tribute that he reserved for France."

The best of him, but even to be helped



Today Grandma, tomorrow Mother

28 February 1960

Dear Mart:

What a glorious letter received from you too long ago. Meant to answer it every day, now here we are at last. Just turned in an article, not very long, but if any good at all (sometimes I am shaken to foundations by doubts-- I don't read enough modern writings, because have tendency to fall asleep in libraries) may make quite a difference. Of course, if it's accepted and comes out I'll send it pronto. As for letter-writing, I'm sure I must be worse than you now, far worse. In fact I'm not at all sure that it wasn't I that was the debtor before you wrote. To think that I never wrote to you about the visit of Bastian & Nicky! Added to my general inefficiency has for the last more than year ~~been~~ been the sudden expansion of horizons (in line of music & outside reading & perfect torrents of talk) and devastation of tidy tight routine caused by the entry of the Litvinov family into my life. Now the kingpin of this family, the mother, grandmother, widow, Ivy herself, has gone for several months' visit back home to England, London, where, if you should visit those parts, you will find her in the Lonsdale Hot., next the B.M.--and you'll find her quite well acquainted with you, and most noisily cordial.

About the visit of Bastian & Nicky. It was August, I think. I'd been up most of the night, writing a piece of this same article, very exciting, and in the morning (I wrote this to someone, I'm sure, can't believe you haven't seen it; if you have just please excuse repetitions) was feeling diaphanous, still exalted, polishing sentences, sharpening footnotes..when the doorbell rang. Damn! I thought, the woman downstairs, who has nine children and does our laundry, and is now wanting an advance of the laundry she has which I won't therefore see for weeks, so I must be firm, or I'll never get clean sheets, I don't care if she has nine children..and therefore I opened the door with rather a fierce swish, and found self staring right into Ted's face. For a moment I felt something like sick with surprise; so translucent was my state that logic hadn't a foothold: it was Ted, that was all, and the decades began to whirl... Then the apparition smiled an embarrassed, guilty sort of smile, as if to say, I know, I'm always giving aunts a shock, but I can't really help it. Then I realized, and from behind Nicky Bastian and their equally youthful Soviet guide came into focus, and I ushered them in. You had warned me of this resemblance, but they were supposed to come in early July (Enge had written to me too) and by this time I had long given up expecting them. Indeed, it was their last day in Moscow. Their visa was running out, and the next day they were to drive off in their little French car along the Minsk highway, heading for the border. We sat over coffee and talked and talked. Then I got hold of V. at his institute (not an easy thing to do, as he sits mostly in the library reading the press, where there's no telephone--one has to plead emergency, then someone hunts him out, a thing I rarely resort to) and we planned to meet, all of us, here at home late in the afternoon. Meanwhile the boys had tourist business to attend to. But they drove me into town, to my institute, telling me on the way of their difficulties with the militia. The thing is there's a city rule here that all cars have to be clean. The boys had been touring all over Russia and the Crimea, and their car was dirty, very; but they couldn't seem to find anywhere to get it washed, nor could their guide. So they were slinking about, always getting "remarks" from the militiamen, the guide patiently translating their explanations. At the institute I introduced them to the only colleague present (my journal editor), then fed them in our rather muddled cafeteria. They ate an enormous amount, which made me happy. With the colleague one of them (Nicky?) talked French, and she, a susceptible youngish lady, was delighted. In fact for days thereafter people were asking me about those tall handsome creatures. Apparently no one in that building had failed to note their passage. It was a great pleasure. The reason we did not meet till their last day in town was partly that they had been touring the country, partly that when they did get back to town for a few days they could not find me at first. They had the old address, and no telephone, which I



cannot understand, as it seems to me that our proper address and telephone must be pasted up all over the USA. When I was through at the institute and V. got off from his and the boys got through with the Kremlin, we all met here and talked some more. V. found them charming too, and "amazingly well informed"--i.e. they had some notion of the history of the world, including Russia, a phenomenon perhaps rarish in young Americans. I was to go that evening to the country to the Litvinof's dacha near Moscow (where I spent a good deal of the summer, commuting wildly) and it suddenly dawned on me that that was on the Minsk highway, or just off it, down which the boys would head in the morning with their guide, who was to see them to the border. So we joyfully arranged that they would turn off the highway at the little dacha town, where I would meet them on "Main Street" (Communist St., as I remember) and take them to the house for supplementary b.f.a.s.t. I drew them all kinds of maps and plans, and it was settled. At the dacha that evening I told the glad news to Ivy and Tanya (her daughter) and the kids (Tanya's little girls). In the morning we set out the army cot for Ivy, who has a rather dangerous heart and has with great difficulty to be made to rest as much as possible (she bounces terribly); made coffee, made piles of bread and jam, set out under the same tree a circle of chairs, and I went off to catch the little grey car on Comm. St. It didn't come and didn't come and didn't come, and at last I went back, feeling miserable & you can imagine how deflated, to Ivy of the cot and the empty circle of chairs. I knew something drastic must have happened, even worried seriously about breakdowns. In the end, very promptly really, Bastian I think it was wrote from Poland that they hadn't been allowed to turn off the highway! Even the guide had thought they would be, and he pleaded and pleaded, but no go. Their route was straight through, and to their route they must stick. But on the whole I consider that their visit was successful, though so very short (to us, I mean). Only they did insist on taking our pictures that evening in Moscow, which I'm sure must have been perfectly stinking. I hope you don't see them! I had prepared notes (while sitting on the curb of Comm.St.) to Priscilla and Jane for them to take, which I sent on afterward by mail, and got a nice answer from Priscilla--which I have not answered.

Tell Ellie, if you do ever see her, that Wednesday I'm going to see her friend Ellie and this Ellie's son-in-law Georgis, who needs help with a translation of a play. I have known this nice Greek family for more than a year I guess, but have seen very little of them--through my own fault. Ellie is authentically charming; we have an ancient arrangement for her to help me pick back up my modern Greek. Maybe something will come of it now.

V. was pleased with the underwater information--indeed it made a sensation among my colleagues too. As for the tourist trip, there was a hope, but it has pretty well faded. The battle over currency is intense. IT's a real problem. Eventually, no doubt, we'll manage, but when I just can't say now. Did I never write to you about the Lamonts either, how they came and gave us presents from you and Ellie--but much reduced, because Margaret had lost That suitcase somewhere in London! A lovely tablecloth and a sort of circular about the shadow theater, which I read through in Ellie's Greek with the greatest satisfaction. If I get the Samos book I'll read that too, perhaps with the help of this Ellie here. Ages ago was having a bout of reading old friend V. Woolf and found things in her biog. of Roger Fry which I even noted down for you (though maybe you read the book yourself). So if I can find it I'll send it. Been reading too the volumes of her essays, published (republished) post mortem by L. Woolf. Awfully good some of them seem to me. Have you read them? I would like to have Sylvia's new book. No, I have not received the one Margaret B. kindly sent (and I owe her a letter too). Thanks about Betts. I do mean to write to her soon. No, by "realism" I mean just realism. O lord, I owe Alfred a letter too; and Mr. Welles sent me a ducky Christmas card, asking for my works, which I haven't responded to. So you see I'm awful all round. Write again soon,

Love,  
Ew.



The idea of financing a trip through the sale of literature is not practical. First, how to import the literature? Since April 1918 we have a government monopoly of foreign trade. A carton of published matter intended for sale would be a commodity like cheese, pencil sharpeners, wine or anything else. One could deal with the Ministry of Foreign Trade, but that would be a long process. Second. What agency inside the USSR would take care of the sale, if the "goods" got here? There would have to be a contract with some agency that would be coordinated with the Ministry of Foreign Trade, etc... All this might be possible, but would involve no end of overhead in the shape of correspondence and effort.

One can come to the USSR as a tourist. Usually that means a visa for 30 days. One receives service "de luxe", including hotel, transportation, food, use of a car, services of an interpreter and what not. That pleasure costs 30 dollars per day. The cost of the trip thus comes to \$900. Few people can afford that. But still a lot of American research workers come (anyone "purchasing" such a tour can in addition exchange dollars at the rate of \$1 for 10 rubles, instead of \$1 for 4 rubles; that is a special provision for pocket money and drinks). Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie foundations seem to dish out money for such USSR trips quite extensively. I think these three foundations have a "pool" on that question. From 50 to 100 people seem to come every summer on foundation money. I do not know the exact amount they get, but it must be about \$2000, to take care also of the plane across the Atlantic, both ways, and purchases of literature. That, of course, involves applying to the foundations in the US.

Another method would be to get something published in the USSR. Scientific articles are paid well: from 2000 to 4000 rubles per 16 pages in a journal. The author could be paid in rubles, upon publication, and then use the rubles for a trip (one would need from 4000 to 6000 rubles, depending, of course, on the nature of the trip). The difficulty would be one of time. It takes months and years to get a scientific piece published. On that we might be somewhat faster than the US, but not much.



The best method to use is to get invited and be part of an "exchange" between the US and USSR. We had Samuel N. Cramer from Philadelphia, the curator of the Tablet Collection in the University Museum, on that basis in the USSR for two or three months. In your case some American institution would have to suggest that to some Soviet institution.

You must decide ahead of time what you want, and then aim at ~~it~~ that. If you want to see excavations, the time to come is obviously the summer. For consultations with scholars in Leningrad and Moscow that is not so good (they might be digging or be away on vacations). For consultations the winter is better. One can see the museums, but in the street it will be cold (one will need special clothes).

Most American "foundation boys" (no girls have come yet) seem to think that in one month they can do two things: see a lot of the country (Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Yalta, Tbilisi, etc.) and also do some interviewing of people along the lines of their special interest. That, I believe, is impossible in one month's time, if one is just a tourist (even with all of Rockefeller's money back of you). Finding people takes time, since people teach, travel, get sick, have to sit on committees, read proof, etc., as everywhere else. Unless a tour is prearranged step by step, including the interviews, by some influential Soviet organization, one cannot do both within a month. However, that seems quite impossible to explain to Americans having foundation grants (that they must either sit and occupy themselves with interviews, or travel and forgo the interviews).

From your point of view two things might have value: (a) to come in the summer and see some of the country and some excavations; (b) to come in the winter (do not forget the extra expense of winter clothing) and concentrate on the Hermitage in Leningrad and on seeing people in Leningrad and Moscow. The ideal thing would be, of course, to come twice, but would the Foundations be willing?





АВИА  
PAR AVION

91.019

В. Грейс  
Американская школа  
классических исследований  
гор. Афины  
Греция

Miss V. Grace  
American School of  
Classical Studies  
Athens  
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МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я из. 346, Э. Казакович  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakovich

3V15818

EXHIBIT  
MEXICO 7 10Y

91.016



P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

June 24, 1958

Dear Mart:

Yours of June 16 received. First of all, many many thanks for Paoli. The book came last week, just before we left for a few days' trip to Leningrad. Words are hard to find adequate to my delight at receiving it, and thankfulness to you for bearing in mind my rather sideways, shamefaced request (knowing that books as a rule cost a pretty penny). It not only was important for me to know what happened on the next page after the ones you sent earlier, but there is other material I need to read. My Italian is primitive, but I manage--as can anyone, I guess, who's not a half-wit.

We found your letter on our return from Leningrad. Words again simply fail. I know that both copies of the Thasian corpus were received, long ago; even heard oh's and ah's of appreciation. I could not dream that there had not been any acknowledgment whatever. Grakov, at any rate, appeared to be in correspondence with you. Some eons ago, weeks if not months, he called me up about a letter he was then writing to you, relating to the problem of sending material. As to this material, I know that there are various problems, including (perhaps even exclusively--he talked a blue streak, and I did not take everything in; I still have just that much difficulty when it comes to voluble Russian on the telephone) a natural desire to put things out first oneself. But he seemed to be working out some compromise arrangement, which he wanted to propose to you, did I think you would be offended, would you be sure to understand his French, etc. I said, of course, that I was sure you would understand any plain explanation he gave, whether it could or could not be sent at all, in what form it could be used, also that I thought your French was OK. I did not want to interfere in any way, so did not even write to you about it. Anyhow, since he was writing there was no need for it. Well, that's what I thought; it never occurred to me that this "problem" letter would never be sent, as evidently it has not been (judging by your letter to me). Even less did it occur to me



that there had been no notification of the arrival of the Thasian corpus. About the material I have no real basis for judgment--except to say the obvious, that one could at least say whether one was sending it or not. But about the corpus the only possible remark to make, with regret (because I'm fond of these people, and I'm sure they did not intend the exhibition of impoliteness they have apparently put on, no matter how much it may look that way<sup>7</sup> though at the same time I can't think of any possible real excuse for it), <sup>is</sup> that I could not blame you for not going to all that bother another time. In all this, it seems to me, Gaidukevich is a separate phenomenon--perhaps it only seems that way to me because I know him better. He's incredibly incapable of reacting in a normal fashion. He's unbelievably lazy, even lazier than I am, in spite of being such an orderly and effective archaeologist, and personally both a cordial and a helpful person--if he doesn't have to write a letter, or get a proof read on time (his record on holding up proofs is, they say, phenomenal). I hope that all this will unwind itself, and that useful and pleasant relations will not be spoiled by silly carelessness. But I guess that won't be in time for the corpus, which is a great pity.

Think of seeing Doreen again. Well do I remember--well, for instance how she led us in single file, herself playing the flute, to the sanctuary at Delphi. And how Pa came to visit her, and said there were great opportunities for the automobile industry in India, where labor was so nice and cheap. And how he called her up in Cairo on New Year's day (from Cleveland--which was then still an event). Too bad J. and M. didn't come this time. I hear about their healths (good) from time to time through their Quaker friends who come here on various delegations. Glad you finished with that Negeb thing. What are you going to be at when the corpus is finished? My monograph is drawing to a close. I'll send it to you, though don't expect you to understand a word. But it won't be really out for many more months yet. Meanwhile I have two articles (pieces of it) in the next issue of the journal, which you'll be getting sooner (offprints).

Write again sooner. Again profoundest thanks for Paoli.

Love,

Em



92.01



Виргинии Грейс,  
Американская Школа  
Классических Исследований,  
Гр. Афины,  
Греция.

Virginia F. R. Grace,  
American School of  
Classical Studies,  
Athens,  
Greece.

СССР, Москва К-7, Готин. Лужик 346, ВД Каракоз  
USSR, Moscow K-7, P.O. Box 346, V.D. Karakoz



USSR Moscow K-9,  
P.O. Box 346,  
V.D. Kazakevich

March 12, 1958.

Dear Virginia:

Many thanks for all the references. ~~But~~ I must study all of them, to get some idea of how things are done elsewhere. Emily has received the photostats and has already mailed you a note. I am glad you found my brief description of our Black Sea trip interesting. The Russian language papers in Toronto (Canada) and New York have just published a much more lengthy version, done as 8 articles. All that was popular writing, nothing much scientific about it. Today I did see a book that might be of interest to you. It is a volume about archeology in the Ukraine (1914-1957), in Ukrainian by a J. G. Shokoplias (Ukr. Acad. of Science, Kiev, 1957). The book itself might not tell you much but it has a very detailed bibliography (sources on classical earth Black Sea pp. 358-376, for 40 years). A great deal has been done on that area in the years 1917-1957.

As to your proposed trip. If we knew the exact dates well ahead of time we could, of course, see you in Odessa or Yalta. But one day in either of those two places would not give you much (outside of seeing us) in the line of the things that are worth while. What would be worth while for you, is from Odessa to go and see Olbia, or from Yalta to go and see Kesch, including Minmeki. That would mean a break in the trip. May be we can work up some kind of an invitation for you on our end, that might be possible, but how can that be worked out your end? (The boat will be gone, I think). May be you could find out whether it is possible to introduce a break in such a trip? If you feel that you might need the Shokoplias book (for its bibliography) let me know. It would be fine if we could see you, and it would be interesting for you to see Olbia or Minmeki. Thank you once more for the references.

Sincerely  
Vedimir



PAR AVION

МЕЖАУН



93.01a

В. Грейс

Американская школа  
классических исследований

гор. Афины

Греция

Miss Virginia Grace

American School of Classical  
Studies

Athens - Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, а/я. 346, Э. Казакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakevich



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5 ΠΑΣ  
ΠΡΩΤΗ ΑΝΤΑ  
5 ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ



ΑΠΟΛΕΥ  
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ЛЕНИНГРАД. ЭРМИТАЖ.

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Moscow K-9

P. O. Box 346

21 May 1958

## ПОЧТОВАЯ КАРТОЧКА

Dear Mart:

That was a lovely picture of the Parthenon. I send you the nearest thing to it we have (by contents only!). Glad the Michalovskis found you. Aren't they charmers? Isn't it about time you wrote me a letter? Did Jane and Maurice come to see you? Even another postcard with a nice picture on it would be kindly received. Tell about the Michalovskis' visit. Did you get some good stamps out of them?

Did you finally finish that thing about

love, Sam

the Negroes (or something like that)?

Цена 75 коп.  
Изд. Фотокомбината «Союзторгреклама» Министерства торговли СССР  
Л 124537 14/III-55 г. 1-я типо-литография Гимназ. Зак. 500. Тир. 20 000



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P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

24 Feb.1958

Dear Mart:

Yours of 13/II received just now. Am immensely grateful for enclosed copyfixes. I suppose that's that new little machine I saw advertised in one of the journals--you just turn a crank or something and it's ready. We need that sort of thing here: stuff is scattered badly, one volume here, another there. We do have photostatting, microfilming; maybe we have this new thing. I haven't seen or heard of it yet. Anyhow, thanks ever so for the pages. Of course now I wish I knew what was on pp.109,110,104,103 etc.ad finem. It's just possible that the book is in Leningrad--but 1930 is a bad year: all currency was going for machines. On p.108 the man (Paoli) touched lightly, flicked a little finger in the direction of an idea I'm coddling. I've got to start (continue, really) writing in earnest now myself, so soon will be in your condition.

V. sent you a missive the other day, enclosing a German summary of my doulos article and asking you a nice fat lot of questions. Maybe you can hire someone to answer them. He's getting more and more archaeological on me every minute.

Glad Gaidukevich wrote, but it doesn't sound as though he wrote very lavishly. You say you got mine of Jan.18 & 30. That's nice, but I also wrote to you on Jan.22; and again on Feb.24, about my birthday.

We're still slipping along on the ice and snow. I suppose where you are it's all flowers.

Love,

*Em*



For Mart - though somehow it  
seems rather crudely decorative  
in this form. But maybe it will  
please you. Love, E. E.  
16/11/58 [95]

Sonderdruck aus  
**Bibliotheca classica orientalis**  
Heft 4 • 1957  
Akademie-Verlag • Berlin

CLASSICA ORIENTALIS  
Jahrgang — 1957 — Heft 4

202

Ge- geteilt, sondern sie waren in dieser Hinsicht den  
nul- freien Arbeiten gleichgestellt. Auch kann man  
nicht eindeutig behaupten, daß die Sklaven-  
halter aus Furcht ihren Sklaven nicht bessere  
Geräte in die Hände gaben, sondern es muß  
lediglich festgestellt werden, daß sie zumeist  
größere Investitionen zu vermeiden trachteten  
und sich um den Stand der Geräte in der Regel  
wenig kümmerten. Hochwertigere Geräte konn-  
ten freilich nicht jedem Sklaven anvertraut  
werden, namentlich nicht denen, die in Fesseln  
arbeiten mußten. Diese Sklaven konnten sich  
nämlich eine kurze Rast nur dadurch ver-  
schaffen, daß sie absichtlich die Geräte be-  
schädigten, ohne die man die Arbeit nicht ver-  
richten konnte. Die Meinung, daß die antiken  
Sklaven mit Leidenschaft die Arbeitsgeräte  
vernichteten, scheint jedoch eine übertriebene  
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ATTILIUS DEGRASSI, *I fasti consolari dell' imperio romano dal 30 avanti Christo al 613 dopo Christo* [Die Konsularfasten des Römischen Reichs von 30 v. Chr. — 613 n. Chr.]. Roma 1952, XI und 288 S.

*Besprechung* von IZABELLA G. NAGY. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/223—225.

BRUNO DOER, *Neros Menschenfackeln. Das Altertum* 2/1956/15—27.

*Besprechung* von JAN BURIAN. Československý časopis historický 1/1957/173.

F. DÖLGER und A. M. SCHNEIDER, *Byzanz*. (Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte. Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe). Bern 1952, 328 S.

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HANS JÜRGEN EGGERS, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien. Atlas der Urgeschichte*, Bd. I, Hamburg 1951, Teil 1: Text, 212 S.; Teil 2: Tafeln und Karten, 16 Taf.

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Древняя Греция [Das alte Griechenland]. Москва 1956, 613 S.

*Besprechung* von J. KURUC. Historický časopis 5/1957/137—141.

WERNER HARTKE, *Römische Kinderkaiser. Eine Strukturanalyse römischen Denks und Daseins*. Berlin 1951, XI und 487 S.

*Besprechung* von EGON MARÓTI. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/316—318.



A. BRIESSMANN, *Tacitus und das flavische Geschichtsbild*. Wiesbaden 1955, 105 S.

*Besprechung* von ISTVÁN BORZSÁK. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/311—314.

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*Besprechung* von GYULA MORAVCSIK. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/227f.

JOSEF ČEŠKA, *O ničení pracovních nástrojů antickými otroky* [Über die Vernichtung von Arbeitsgeräten durch die antiken Sklaven]. Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university, Řada archeologicko-klasická 1/1956/136—144.

Die marxistischen Wissenschaftler führen des öfteren an, daß die Sklaven eigenwillig die Arbeitsgeräte vernichtet haben, wobei sie sich nur auf eine Bemerkung von KARL MARX (Das Kapital, Bd. I, Berlin 1951, S. 205, Anm. 17) berufen, die sich auf Belege aus der neuzeitlichen amerikanischen Sklaverei stützt. Der Verfasser analysiert einige Quellen aus der Kulminationszeit der auf Sklaverei gegründeten Gesellschaft in Italien und gelangt zu diesen Schlußfolgerungen: Den amerikanischen und antiken Sklaven war gemeinsam die Interessenlosigkeit für die Arbeit und ihre geringe Produktivität. Allerdings hatte man im Gegensatz zu der amerikanischen Sklaverei im Altertum den Sklaven keine allzu primitiven Geräte zu-

geteilt, sondern sie waren in dieser Hinsicht den freien Arbeiten gleichgestellt. Auch kann man nicht eindeutig behaupten, daß die Sklavhalter aus Furcht ihren Sklaven nicht bessere Geräte in die Hände gaben, sondern es muß lediglich festgestellt werden, daß sie zumeist größere Investitionen zu vermeiden trachteten und sich um den Stand der Geräte in der Regel wenig kümmerten. Hochwertigere Geräte konnten freilich nicht jedem Sklaven anvertraut werden, namentlich nicht denen, die in Fesseln arbeiten mußten. Diese Sklaven konnten sich nämlich eine kurze Rast nur dadurch verschaffen, daß sie absichtlich die Geräte beschädigten, ohne die man die Arbeit nicht verrichten konnte. Die Meinung, daß die antiken Sklaven mit Leidenschaft die Arbeitsgeräte vernichteten, scheint jedoch eine übertriebene Verallgemeinerung zu sein.

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*Besprechung* von EGON MARÓTI. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/316—318.



U. KAHRSTEDT, Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit. Kleinstadt, Villa und Domäne. Dissertationes Bernenses, Ser. 10, Fasc. 7. Bern 1954, 295 S.

Besprechung von TAMÁS PEKÁRY. Antik tanulmányok — Studia antiqua 3/1956/305f.

Э. Л. КАЗАКЕВИЧ, Термин *δοῦλος* и понятие „раб“ в Афинах IV в. до н.э. [E. L. KASAKEWITSCH, Der Terminus *δοῦλος* und der Begriff „Sklave“ in Athen im 4. Jh. v. u. Z.]. Вестник древней истории 3(57)/1956/119—136.

Der Artikel stellt einen Teil einer Studie über Termini dar, die zur Bezeichnung von Sklaven in literarischen Dokumenten des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (besonders Dem. 1—59) gebraucht werden. Das zentrale Problem, das dort behandelt wird, ist das gleichzeitige Vorkommen von drei Termini für Sklaven, *δοῦλος*, *οἰκέτης*, *ἀνδρόποδος*, die man als allgemeine Termini in dem Sinne findet, daß sie nicht spezifisch für eine bestimmte Kategorie von Beschäftigungen waren. In dem vorliegenden Artikel wird der Terminus *δοῦλος* einer besonderen Analyse unterworfen. Dieses Wort begegnet — zusammen mit verwandten Wörtern — von allen Termini für „Sklave“ am häufigsten. Dieser Terminus steht meistens antithetisch zu *ἐλεύθερος* („frei“) und wird sehr oft bildlich in Bedeutungen politischen und moralischen Unterworfenenseins gebraucht. So war *δοῦλος* die hauptsächlichste klassifizierende Bezeichnung der sozial-juridischen Kategorie Sklaverei. Wurde das Wort auf einzelne Sklaven angewendet, so charakterisierte es nicht so sehr die Person des Sklaven als vielmehr den Stand der Sklaverei. Dieser Terminus wurde dort gebraucht, wo die juristische Stellung der Person strittig war, so z. B., wenn sich in Beweisverfahren die Frage erhob, ob von einer Person ein Zeugnis unter Folter erzwungen werden sollte (Dem. 29, 49). Wegen seiner speziell „definierenden“ Eigenschaft bildet der Terminus *δοῦλος* einen nützlichen Führer in der vorbereitenden Erforschung der einzelnen Komponenten in dem Begriff „Sklave“, wie er sich in der Ideologie der athenischen Sklavenhalter um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. entwickelt hatte. Grundlegend für den Begriff „Sklave“ in dieser Periode war die Idee des Eigentums: *ὁ δοῦλος κτῆμά τι ἐμψυχόν* (Arist., Pol. 1, 4, 2 p. 1253 b). Genauer: Im 4. Jahrhundert galt der Sklave in Athen als ein Gegenstand des Eigentums, der durch Kauf erworben wurde (Dem. 17, 3; 57, 34; 59, 49; Plato, Polit. 289 d, vgl. Resp. 563 b; Isocr. 4, 123). Diese zwei Aspekte des Begriffs „Sklave“ fanden besonderen Ausdruck (mit verschiedenen Genauigkeitsgraden) in den Termini *οἰκέτης* und *ἀνδρόποδος* (beide Termini müssen an anderer Stelle analysiert werden). Ein drittes Element in dem

allgemeinen Begriff „Sklave“ findet man in der Tendenz, den Sklaven als ein vornehmlich körperliches Phänomen anzusehen. Das Kriterium der Wahrheit, das in dem attischen forensischen Grundsatz bezüglich des höheren Werts eines von *δοῦλοι* unter Folter (*βάσανος*) erzwungenen Zeugnisses enthalten ist — im Gegensatz zum freien Zeugnis freier Männer (Dem. 30, 37 = Isae. 8, 12) — kann nur im Lichte der sozialen Beschränkung richtig verstanden werden, der der Sklave durch seine besondere Beziehung zur Gesellschaft unterworfen war; seine moralischen und intellektuellen Fähigkeiten hatten ihre soziale Realität verloren; für die Sklavenhalter war vornehmlich seine körperliche Existenz von Bedeutung. So konnte seine körperliche Reaktion auf die Folter als eine verhältnismäßig objektive und unbestechliche Quelle der Wahrheit angesehen werden. In der gerichtlichen Praxis war der Sklave ferner dadurch vom freien Mann unterschieden, daß er für alle Fehler und Vergehen körperlicher Strafe ausgesetzt war; das fand in einem anderen Grundsatz seinen Ausdruck in der „somatischen“ Definition der Sklaverei (Dem. 24, 167 = 22, 55; vgl. 8, 51 = 10, 27). In solchen praktischen Manifestationen des „Naturrechtes“ in der Sklavenhaltergesellschaft kann der Ursprung des Terminus *σῶμα*, der oft zur Bezeichnung von Sklaven in hellenistischen Dokumenten dient, gesucht werden. Wie schon früher WALLON bemerkte, wird dieses Wort tatsächlich in einer Rede aus der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts (Dem. 47, 12) zur Bezeichnung eines Sklaven verwendet. Der Gebrauch des Wortes *σῶμα* in anderen Abschnitten läßt auf eine Tendenz in der gleichen Richtung schließen (Dem. 47, 47; 49, 56; vgl. 59, 19/29).

Es wird schließlich die Bedeutung des Ausdruckes „Sklaventätigkeiten“ (*δουλικὰ πρᾶγματα* — Dem. 57, 45) erörtert. Die Betrachtung des Zusammenhanges, in dem dieser Ausdruck begegnet, und des Zeugnisses in anderen gleichzeitigen Dokumenten läßt den Schluß zu, daß im Athen des 4. Jahrhunderts nur eine begrenzte Zahl von Arten ungelerner physischer Arbeit von der Mehrheit der Bürger als „Sklavenbeschäftigung“ angesehen wurde. Die Tendenz in der Ideologie der herrschenden Klasse einer auf die Ausbeutung der Sklavenarbeit gegründeten Gesellschaft, alle Arten physischer Arbeit als Freien nicht geziemende Beschäftigungen zu brandmarken, war anscheinend im Athen des 4. Jahrhunderts teilweise gehemmt durch die Beibehaltung beträchtlicher politischer Macht in den Händen des Demos. Aber diese Tendenz war nicht nur in den Schriften der ideologischen Wortführer der Minderheit der großen Sklavenhalter (Platon, Aristoteles) schon gut entwickelt. Eben dieses Erscheinen des Begriffes

„Sklavenarbeit“ in einer Rede, die, wie es scheint, an ein Publikum hauptsächlich von ärmeren Bürgern gerichtet ist, zeigt, daß die athenische Demokratie bereits von diesem ideologischen Keim angesteckt war; einem Keim, der in den sozialökonomischen Beziehungen entstanden war, die ihre ökonomische Unabhängigkeit untergruben, ihren sozialen Status bedrohten und ihre politische Souveränität in eine immer hohlere Form verwandelten.

A. P. КОРСУНСКИЙ, О колонате в Восточной Римской империи V–VI веков [A. R. KORSUNSKI, Über den Kolonat im Oströmischen Reich des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts]. Византийский Временник 9/1956/45—77.

Von ganz besonderer Wichtigkeit ist für die Entstehung des Feudalismus in Byzanz die Frage des Kolonats.

Gegen Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts bildeten die Kolonen einen großen Teil der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung des Oströmischen Reiches. Auch hatte sich hier noch, in stärkerem Maße als im Westen, eine Schicht kleiner Grundeigentümer zu behaupten vermocht. Doch im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert wächst der Kolonat immer mehr an.

#### I. Die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung des Kolonats

Die wichtigste Voraussetzung für die Entstehung des Kolonats war die Zersetzung des kleinen Grundbesitzes. Das relativ hohe Entwicklungsniveau, auf dem sich in den Ostprovinzen des Reiches damals die Ware-Geld-Beziehungen bewegten, beschleunigte diesen Prozeß der Ruinierung der bäuerlichen Kleinwirtschaften und förderten das Wachstum des Großgrundbesitzes, der sich der Arbeit der Kolonen und Sklaven bediente. In den Rechtsquellen, den Papyri und der zeitgenössischen Literatur tritt uns das Bild einer chronischen Verschuldung der Bauern entgegen, eines die Kräfte der Kleinbauern übersteigenden Steuerdrucks seitens des bürokratisch geleiteten Staates, von Zwangsmaßnahmen der Großgrundbesitzer, der Beamten, der Militärbehörden gegenüber den Bauern. Des öfteren zwangen die Großgrundbesitzer die Bauern, sich zu Kolonen, zu adscripticii zu erklären.

Unter diesen Umständen kam es zur Enteignung des bäuerlichen Grundbesitzes und zur Herabdrückung der bis dahin noch freien Bauern in die Stellung von hörigen Ackerleuten.

Die Regierung traf wohl einzelne Maßnahmen, die auf die Erhaltung der freien Bauernschaft abzielten, denn die Kriegsmacht und der finanzielle Wohlstand des Staates hatten sie zur Grundlage. Aber alle diese Maßnahmen waren

nur vorbeugender Natur; sie erwiesen sich als ungeeignet, die Lage der Bauern nachhaltig zu beeinflussen.

Aufs ganze gesehen, trug die Politik des Staates nur dazu bei, daß die Bauern dem Ruin anheimfielen und auf Grund von Schuldverschreibung in Hörigkeit gerieten. So schritt z. B. Justinian in seiner Gesetzgebung gegen den Landraub in seinen rohesten Formen ein, der an den hungerleidenden Bauern von ihren Gläubigern begangen wurde, aber nichtsdestoweniger wurde in diesen Gesetzen die jährliche Zahlung von Prozentsen durch die Bauern verlangt, und es ward als allgemein geltende Bestimmung festgelegt, der Gläubiger habe ein Recht auf das Land seines zahlungsunfähigen Schuldners (Nov. Iust. 32, 33, 4). Die oströmische Gesetzgebung hatte zwar dem Rechtsinstitut der patrocina den Krieg erklärt, machte aber zugleich auch den Großen und den Kirchen systematisch Zugeständnisse, indem sie deren Patrozinien teilweise anerkannte. Diese aber waren ein Mittel, die Herrschaft über die freien Bauern durchzusetzen.

Dadurch, daß der Bauer sein Land auf den Namen eines Patrons überschrieb und sich zu bestimmten Zahlungen in Naturalien oder in Geld an diesen verpflichtete, ging er seines Grundeigentums verlustig und war faktisch in die Stellung eines Prekaristen oder eines Kolonen hinabgesunken. So diente die Ausbreitung der Patrozinien der Großgrundbesitzer als ein weiterer Kanal, durch den die Schicht der Kolonen aufgefüllt wurde.

Einen geeigneten Nährboden für den Kolonat bildeten ferner die bäuerliche Kleinpacht und das precarium, Institute, die, nach den Rechtsdenkmälern und den Papyri zu urteilen, im Ostreich weit verbreitet waren.

Die Unsicherheit der wirtschaftlichen Lage dieser Gruppen von Landleuten, bestätigt durch Tatsachenmaterial in bezug auf deren ständige Verschuldung, bewirkte, daß die Abhängigkeit der Kleinpächter und Prekaristen von den Großgrundbesitzern immer mehr zunahm. Die Quellen bekunden, daß die Kleinpächter und Prekaristen in ihrer Lage den Kolonen nahekamen. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist die Tatsache, daß die Lokalbehörden dazu übergingen, die Pachtverhältnisse als Handhabe dafür zu betrachten, den Inhaber von Land (zweifelloos den kleinen Grundbesitzer) der Kategorie der adscripticii zuzurechnen (Cod. Iust. 9, 48, 22).

Bei den Großgrundbesitzern machte sich die Tendenz bemerkbar, ihre Pächter und Prekaristen zu Kolonen herabzudrücken, während der Staat trotz einzelner Maßnahmen, die zum Schutze der Freiheit der Bauern getroffen wurden, letzten Endes jener Tendenz Vorschub leistete. Am stärksten kam die Politik des Staates, die die Überführung der Bauern in ein



Abhängigkeitsverhältnis und die Umwandlung der verschiedenen Gruppen von Bauern in Kolonen bezweckte, in der bekannten Konstitution des Anastasius vom Jahre 500 zum Ausdruck (Cod. Iust. 9, 48, 19).

Eine wesentliche Quelle, aus der der Kolonat gespeist wurde, war auch die natürliche Reproduktion der Arbeitskraft auf den Gütern der Großgrundbesitzer. Von seiten des Staates war ein ganzes System von Maßnahmen ausgearbeitet worden, das dem Bestreben der Landleute, sich der Fesseln des Kolonats zu entledigen, einen Riegel vorschoben und in der Nachkommenschaft der Kolonen den Großgrundbesitzern die Ergänzung der Arbeitskraft gewährleisten sollte. Bei der Regelung der Stellung der Kinder, die aus Ehen zwischen Kolonen und Freien hervorgegangen waren, sah sich der Gesetzgeber unter dem Druck der Massen der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung doch hin und wieder genötigt, den Bereich der Anziehungskraft der mit dem Kolonat verbundenen Hörigkeit wenigstens einigermaßen einzuschränken. Doch im allgemeinen trug das offizielle Recht aktiv dazu bei, daß der natürliche Zuwachs der Landbevölkerung in Richtung auf die Erhöhung der Zahl der Kolonen gelenkt wurde.

Die Sklaven dienten nicht unmittelbar als Reservoir zur Auffüllung des Kolonats. Sogar die servi, denen Land zugeteilt worden war, blieben in juristischer Beziehung Sklaven, und die Grenze zwischen ihnen und den Kolonen wurde nicht verwischt. Doch auf dem Wege über die Freilassung konnten die Sklaven zu einem Ergänzungskontingent für den Kolonat werden.

Meistens war der libertinus nach wie vor von seinem ehemaligen Herrn persönlich abhängig. Der Staat suchte diese Abhängigkeit noch zu steigern. Insbesondere enthielt er den bäuerlichen libertini das Recht der Freizügigkeit vor (Cod. Iust. 9, 53, 1).

Die Stellung dieser libertini auf den Gütern der Großgrundbesitzer unterscheidet sich wenig von denjenigen der „freien“ Kolonen.

Somit dienten die Hauptgruppen der in der Landwirtschaft tätigen produzierenden Bevölkerung entweder unmittelbar als Quelle für das Wachstum des Kolonats, oder sie entwickelten sich in Richtung auf eine Stellung, die dem Status der Kolonen nahekam. Man kann also jenen Forschern nur beipflichten, die der Ansicht sind, daß in dem hier behandelten Zeitraum der Kolone zum Haupttypus des unmittelbaren Produzenten in der Landwirtschaft des Ostreichs geworden ist.

## II. Der Status der Kolonen

Seit Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts unterscheidet das offizielle Recht des Ostreichs zwei Gruppen

von Kolonen, und zwar die „freien“ Kolonen und die adscripticii (ἐναπόγραφοι).

Die Angaben der Quellen stehen im Widerspruch mit der Auffassung derjenigen Forscher, die behaupten, im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert sei die Grenze zwischen adscripticii und Sklaven bereits verwischt gewesen.

Die Stellung der Kolonen, der adscripticii sowohl wie der „freien“ Kolonen, war eine zwiespältige. Der Gesetzgeber ging darauf aus, den Kolonen die Rechtsfähigkeit auf dem Gebiete des Vermögensrechts zu entziehen. Die adscripticii hatten das Eigentumsrecht überhaupt nicht; die „freien“ Kolonen konnten eigenes Vermögen besitzen, aber den Herren waren weitgehende Rechte auf die Habe jener eingeräumt (Cod. Iust. 9, 48, 23; 1, 3, 20; Nov. Iust. 144; P. Oxy. 135).

Und zu gleicher Zeit geht sogar auch aus den Rechtsquellen hervor, daß die Kolonen, darunter auch die adscripticii, eigene Landparzellen und Arbeitsvieh besitzen, daß sie ihre Habe auf ihre Kinder und sonstigen Verwandten übertragen, sie vermachen oder verkaufen.

Das Zwiespältige in der Stellung der Kolonen spiegelt die widerspruchsvollen Tendenzen der Übergangsperiode von der Antike zum Mittelalter wider, einmal das Bestreben der Großgrundbesitzer, ihre Rechte auf das Vermögen der Kolonen zu erweitern, um die Norm der Ausbeutung dieser Ackerleute zu erhöhen, und sodann die Tendenz der ökonomischen Entwicklung, die wirtschaftliche Selbständigkeit der unmittelbaren Produzenten zu stärken und Anreize zu schaffen, die Ertragsfähigkeit ihrer Wirtschaften zu steigern.

Diese letztere Tendenz fand ihren Ausdruck in dem Kampf, den die Kolonen gegen die willkürlich von den Großgrundbesitzern vorgenommene Festsetzung der Höhe des Grundzinses und der Formen seiner Erhebung (in Geld oder in Naturalien) sowie anderer Mittel zur Steigerung ihrer Ausbeutung führten.

Der Kampf der Kolonen um die Senkung der Norm des Mehrprodukts, das die Großgrundbesitzer von ihnen einzutreiben suchten, und um die Behauptung des Status von Freien hatte zur Folge, daß der Staat sich in einzelnen Fällen zu Konzessionen gezwungen sah. So sah der Gesetzgeber z. B. das Herkommen als Hauptkriterium an, wenn die Höhe des Grundzinses und die Formen seiner Eintreibung sowie die Leistungen der Kolonen festgestellt werden sollten (trotz der offiziellen Rechtsnormen, nach denen die gesamte Habe eines Kolonen Eigentum seines Herrn war); auch fand sich der Gesetzgeber mit der Tatsache ab, daß in der Praxis die Kolonen (darunter auch die adscripticii) in gewissen Grenzen über ihr Vermögen verfügten.

Das Zwiespältige ist auch für den persönlichen Status der Kolonen charakteristisch. Das



96  
USSR, Moscow K-9,  
P.O. Box 346,  
V.D. Kazakévich.

February 16, 1958.

Dear Virginia;

From the Kereh Museum I have a letter. The material you mailed them has been received.

About a week ago there was a telephone call after midnight. That was V.F. Gaidakevich at the railroad station, on his way back from Tbilisi to Leningrad, telephoning between trains. With him I had a long conversation and the necessity of mailing material to you was urged on him once more. Now he is back in Leningrad and, I hope, will tend to it.

You might know that we have a new quarterly "Soviet Archeology" (Советская Археология) started in 1957. Now No 1, 1958 is out (the 5th issue of the quarterly). In it (p. 56-70) there is an article by V.D. Tsekhmistrenko (Kereh) on the problem of periodization of amphora stamps of Sinope. You should see that. If, by any chance, you do not receive "Soviet Archeology" you should start receiving it, by establishing an exchange with the Institute of the History of Material Culture in Moscow (Moscow K-1, Pereulok Sadovskikh No 2). That Institute is our main archeological center.

Now let me ask you something. I have an argument with several people about the duration of archeological work. That is: how many months per year and the scope (how many workers). I am waiting to several people about that to get examples of various practices. You, probably, could tell me what went on at the Agora. That is: from what to what date in the year one conducted the work and with how much labor. If that information is available in some printed form, just give me the reference. It seems that one can find in reports (and in the press) data on the amount of money spent. But I am interested in the number of days per year and with how many workers. I realize that a lot depends on money and geography (Mongolia can not be the same as Mexico!), but I am interested in finding as many as I can, examples of duration and scope for archeological expeditions.

If you do not deal with such problems yourself, maybe you can persuade some one on the Agora staff to write to me about it, who is interested in the problem. Enclosed is a summary in German of Emily's article of a year ago (in Russian). At the moment she is looking over the publishers' copy of her second article on the same subject, that is to be published in 1958.

Sincerely

V.



АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖНАРОДНОЕ



97.019

В. Грейс  
Американская школа  
классических исследований  
гор. Афины  
Греция

Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical  
Studies  
Athens - Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, ад/лц. 346, Э. Казак-Вил  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazak-Vil

ΑΡΧΗΝ  
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TAMIEYTHPON  
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ΕΥΡΩ



97.016





P.O. Box 346

Moscow K-9

4 February 1958

Dear Munt:

Just to say thanks very much for the telegram; and yesterday V. shipped off to you Nos 2 and 3 of the Chersonesus Sbornik.

We went into the center on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, for V. to buy me the enormous coffee cup he had in mind, and just to see if by any chance there might not be something pleasant in the p.o. box. I was afraid we'd miss it, that it would come late in the day, but there it was. How near you are, right down there! In fact, you might as well know our telephone number, in case you ever should feel moved to call up: D 7-67-00 - write it down in your book (Do as in Daniel). Anyhow someday you'll doubtless be along for a confab with Grakov et al. And if you have time you can call us up!

After we had bagged the cup and pocketed the telegram we bought some books and came home to entertain friends: one local American, one "Anglo-Russian" and one Canadian-Finn. We drank French cognac and champagne, ate a kushibaka (large meat pie), fat, juicy tangerines from China (mandarins?), and an enormous box of candy - present from the Sector. And talked, of course. Much love, Em.

\* which present arrived by Institute courier at 7 a.m. - ugh! But even so I managed to be glad.







БЕЛЫЕ НОЧИ

Hotel Europe - Leningrad  
20th of July 1958 USSR П

Dear Miss Grace: Because



Miss Grace

The Star of Attolias

Athena

Greece -



our first ~~first~~ days in Moscow were so frustrating with our inexperienced guide, lack of auto. We left the hotel the Leningradski a new building one, several miles outside the city of town, we could not attempt to get in touch with your sister. The day before we left we got an excellent guide who brought us here. We have enjoyed this city of the past greatly. The Hermitage collection is superb - 4 rooms of Greek vases - will write you from Stockholm. Leave here tomorrow. greetings also to the Thompsons from

Ленинград. Анничков мост и Дворец культуры.  
Фото Р. Мазелена М-33202 з. 32 г. 50 000 1958 г. и. 70 г.

986

AVIA  
PAR AVION



99.019

В. Грейс

Американская школа  
классических исследований  
пор. Африки  
Греция

M 195

В. Грейс  
American School of  
Classical Studies  
Athens

Greece

СССР, Москва К-9 адм.из. 346, Э.Казаков  
Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazakov



05587



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ  
ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΙΑ  
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΝ  
ΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΣ

99.016





Moscow K-9  
P.O. Box 346

January 30, 1958

Dear Mart:

Yours of Jan. 19 received day before yesterday, Thanks for the data about letters. So far it comes out that you got all my letters, but two of yours never reached us, namely, those of Nov. 23 and Dec. 12. I'm very glad Grakov came through at last. Guess soon I'll get a letter from him full of what V. calls justifiable indignation, in answer to my reproachful last. Gaidukevich will write too eventually, and send stuff, I'm sure. I must say, I expected it to be the other way round. But for you, anyhow, Grakov is the most important. It might interest you to know that the only comment of a critical nature that has come my way yet regarding the Thasian corpus consisted in a complaint that the Bons make no serious effort at dating the material, that they do not make sufficient use of the works of V. Grace in this respect. That came from Mrs. Blavatsky, who was returning my copy after a weekend's perusal.

The address of Dmitrii Borisovich Shelov is:

Moscow K-1  
pereul. Sadovskikh, 2  
Institute of the History  
of Material Culture, AN USSR  
D.B. Shelov

Москва К-1  
переул. Садовских, 2  
Институт истории матери-  
альной культуры АН СССР  
Д. Б. Шелов

*That's a silly  
combination but  
any thing else  
seems just as  
silly. Maybe  
better!  
AN SSSR?  
(Akademiya  
Nauk SSSR)*

I know him only slightly, but find him decidedly attractive: intelligent, amiable, modest. I remember a very good speech he made at the Archaeological meeting a couple of years ago, on numismatics. He has done a lot, if not most of his work in that field. Some months ago he came to our place (of work) and asked me how to address you, thinking apparently to send you the work you have just received.

I didn't tell you, I guess, that when I saw Gaidukevich here a few days ago on his way to Tbilisi, he repeated his standing invitation to me and V. to come back to Mirmeki this summer. I think I'd like to do that, if he'd really put me to work as promised--on handles. I'd take all your works, and the Bons, down with me, and that way I'd learn quite a lot--much more than from just reading and looking at pictures, as I'm sure you'll agree. But we'll see. V. thinks he might want to come too. He has developed a terrible digger's itch, even after close observation of all the hot-and-sandy side of it.

Yesterday we had a birthday party (day before yesterday, really) at our sector. One of our members reached the age of 50 (he already worries about his "nekrolog"! ). We organized a small Sector meeting, made small speeches, and presented him with a copy of L.-S.-J., which I had written to N.Y. for. It's not so easy to get those things, because of exchange problems (the store owner is due to come here for a visit and will be paid in local currency), and anybody knows that a dictionary at home is worth ten in the library. So the birthday child was deliriously happy. Even I managed to make a speech (5 min. or less), standing on my two feet, and not reading--a satisfaction. Golly how such things still frighten me! It takes only people staring at me expectantly to confound utterly all my case endings (remember how Ted cowered before curious cows).

In a day or so now we'll send off the Chersonesus tomes. About the exchange idea, better, of course, to deal directly with the museum on this, if only they can be got to write to you (or the School) about what they want. We'll work a bit on that too. I remember Black Kosta. What happened--death? or worse?

Say, Mart, by any chance have you got in your library there U. Paoli, Studi di diritto attico (Firenze 1930)? So far I haven't managed to find it here anywhere, though there is still one place to look. There's a page or two in it that I need very much, pp. 105-107 (on Lampis et al. in Dem. 34) If you



should ever come across that book in a disposable condition, I'd be grateful if you'd dispose it in my direction. But I don't suppose it's the kind of thing one would find in that condition. Meanwhile, please, take a look in your library. Next week I will probably have exhausted my searches here and will let you know if I've found it. If not, maybe you would get me photostatted those pages?

How does Ellie live? you haven't said.

Love,

Eu

Would it be possible (financially or otherwise) to find me a good modern Greek learner, dictionary, and maybe one small historical work to practise on? Not asking for much, am I? But the day will come, and I want to be prepared.

ancient  
historical { Κοδάτος (Pamph)  
works { Παταταταρος

(for me)



Paoli: Studi sul Processo Attico

Libreria Editrice

"L'Erma" di Bretschneider. Roma  
via Cassiodoro 19.

MDCCCXC = year of K.G. XIV

~~Fabretti: Bull. dell'ist. di corrispondenza archeologica, 1870 p. 202-3  
: 30 stamps Rhodian~~

~~G. Henzen: "Inscriptiones d'auree rodie"~~

~~Bull. dell'Instituto 1865 p. 72-73~~

~~22 Rh. stamps~~





МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



100.0/9

В. Грейс

Американская школа  
классических исследований

г.р. Афины

Греция

Miss V. Grace

American School of Classical  
Studies

Athens

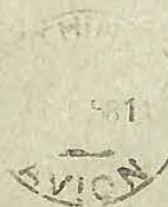
Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, офис. 346, Э. Козакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kozakevich

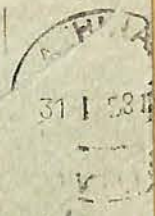
ΑΝ  
ΠΡΕΙ  
ΥΜΑ  
ΠΡΕΙ



ΤΑΜΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
5 ΠΑΡ ΤΑ ΤΑΧ/ΜΕΙΑ  
ΠΡΕΙ ΑΠΟΤΕΥΜΑ  
Σ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΕΙ



ΤΑΜΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
5 ΠΑΡ ΤΑ ΤΑΧ/ΜΕΙΑ  
ΠΡΕΙ ΑΠΟΤΕΥΜΑ  
Σ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΕΙ



100.016





P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

January 22, 1958

Dear Mart:

Yours of Jan.13 enclosing copy of missive to Grakov just received. Awfully glad you got V's letter, after all. Still missing is the one you wrote to me after writing to Gaidukevich (you mentioned this on your Christmas card). What you say about Miss Fowler twists the innards. Who am I to cuss my fellow for not writing when he ought, who indeed? I did send Miss F. a Christmas card, but just a card, I fear, no newses.

Well, now I must, I'm sorry to say, at least partially eat certain fiery words previously addressed to our gentlemen friends the censors. Yesterday morning Gaidukevich telephoned--in Moscow en route to attend a thesis defense in Tbilisi. He sounded quite timid, almost tremulous: "I got your letter...." I had written to him rather stiffly about the undesirability of impoliteness, just in case--though I really did suppose that he must surely have long ago sent off a letter to you. It seems that he had not! He thought he'd be able to get off the material to you soon, gave orders for its collection right away, he said, and, well, time passed and somehow he didn't notice, etc., etc. In the letter I had quoted rather fully certain painfully relevant comments from p.7 of the Bon corpus, and I must say he sounded chastened. The devil of it is, he's really a very good, neat, accurate etc. man at the work, and most genial, as I said, personally, but....just as bad as I am when it comes to tending to things like correspondence and getting places on time. I brought the Bon book in to the Institute, and he came over from the Inst. of Hist. of Mat. Cult. to look at it. Was much impressed, of course; wrote down its name with the idea of trying to get himself a copy. Found more painfully relevant remarks here and there in the Introduction, swore he would tend to writing to you as soon as he got back to Leningrad (early Feb.), but meanwhile, in case I was writing to you ("I have written already!")...would I just mention that he would send the material very soon now ("I will do no such thing, or you will never write!"). He said that Grakov had gone to visit the Hermitage, which explains, I suppose, why I have not had a similar response from him so far. I've turned pessimist on the whole gang. They simply have no concept of the passage of time. Gaidukevich, in course of conversation, floated the notion that the continuation of Sinope stamped handles between 183 and 140 (which Grakov now maintains) may be understood in the light of the fact (?) that what we have after 183 have no asty-nomos names, only numbers representing dates of the Pharnakes era (?). At least that's how I understood him. I suppose (hope) that in the end he'll write about this to you more competently himself.

That's the latest news.

It was extremely thoughtful of you to send a copy of the letter to Grakov. I read it aloud to V. and we were both much interested. I do hope he (Gr.) gives you as clear and circumstantial a version of his own contexts--in the end!

Love,

*Em*





101a

В. Грейс

Американская школа  
классических исследований

г.р. Афины

Греция

Miss V. Grace

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Athens

Greece

СССР, Москва К-9, а/м. 346, Э. Казеков  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, E. Kazekov



STANDARD  
TAC/NEIA  
NOT STINA  
AT NPS

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10 TH



USSR

January 19, 1958

Dear Em,

Betty Caskey, who is librarian of the School here, says the School has got Vol; 1 and 2 of the Chersonesos Sbornik, and "It really is material that we should have," and for which the School would like to exchange on a book for book basis, i.e; as it is irregular, not a regular subscription to Hesperia but volumes on request. If you would like therefore to send me those volumes, probably some good start will be made. (I realize Vol. 2 will be a duplicate, but am sure it can be well bestowed somewhere if it turns out not to be something I would use; )

I have received your letters of Sept. 3, Oct. 21, 26, and 30, also your card of Dec. 12, and your letter of Jan. 1. I have written to you Oct. 9, Nov. 23, Dec. 12 and 19 (Christmas card), Jan. 9 and 13, this last with a second copy of my letter to Grakov. The first copy must have been in my letter of Nov. 23. This latter seems to have been written on a Saturday evening. I have no record of what was in it, nor of by whom it was mailed, but would suppose I mailed it myself, perhaps not until Monday a.m. on my way to work. If it does arrive, let me know whether the postage seems to have been insufficient (on other delayed letters too - since I have found out by chance that some books I sent for Bastian's trip, and that missed him, had less postage on than was recorded in the bill rendered to me by the successor of black Costa whom you may remember as ruling over the School when you were here.

I love your picture, but shall say no more for the moment, since I am late for lunch, except to ask you when writing to tell me the address of a certain D. Shelov, who has sent me what looks like a very interesting article on stamps from Phanagoria. Ah! last night I got a letter from Grakov. Though he won't give in, he writes very cordially and helpfully on other matters.

In haste, with love,



January 14

Dear Betty,

Here is the letter with the list of stuff offered to me for living and suppl. & by the Chersonesus Museum.

See if the library would like to see it, possibly with an idea of a future exchange.

(Read the rest of the letter, if interested.)

VG  
we have vols 1 & 2, Virginia, I don't see why we should not ~~have~~ make some arrangements. I have the Peterson book for book basis - i.e. go they send us a volume of the Bulletin

they ask for a volume in  
exchange. We can't exchange  
Hesperia with such an  
irregular publication as  
the Bulletin clearly is.  
Could you write to your  
sister to that effect &  
see what comes?

E.H.P.

It really is material  
that we should have, and  
when someone needs it  
they will just have to  
arrange for a translation.  
Thanks for the letter - it  
is very interesting.

Betty

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF  
CLASSICAL STUDIES,  
54, SOUEDIAS STREET,  
ATHENS GREECE.



АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



104a

Виргиния Грейс  
Американская школа  
классических исследований,  
гор. Афины,  
Греция.

Virginia F.R. Grace,  
American School of  
Classical Studies,  
Athens,  
Greece.

СССР, Москва К-9, Почт. ящик 346, Э. Казакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346, Emily Kazakevich

ΑΘΗΝΑ  
10 1 5811

ΤΑΜΙΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ  
Σ' ΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΤΑΧ/ΜΕΙΑ  
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Κ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΙ

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ΑΘΗΝΑ  
10 1 5811

1046



P.O. Box 346  
Moscow K-9

January 1, 1958

Dear Mart:

Happy New Year again, doubly happy!

This is in answer to ~~the~~ your card, and to your letter of Dec. 12, which oddly enough arrived after the card. But I never got the letter you sent me when you wrote to Grakov, and I much regret this, as I was much interested in your discussion with him. And it isn't at all that he isn't perfectly friendly (though difficult, as already said), but somehow it simply isn't convenient to ask him to show it to me: he's hard to find, always popping in and out of the country to and from his dacha. But he did call me up on receipt of your letter "just as I was about to write to her": would it be all right if he wrote in French, and what was your "imya otchestva", as it seemed wrong not to address you by it, and then a long disquisition about why he felt he couldn't go back beyond 140 BC. I do hope he really got that letter written this time. He didn't mention this, as it happened, but others say his corpus (all handles found on Soviet territory, I think) will appear relatively soon. I suppose, of course, that he'll send you a copy, though ~~because~~ I'll let you know anyhow as soon as it does come out. From Gaidukevich I haven't heard any more.

Some MUTT is meddling with our correspondence, I fear. Not only did I miss one of yours, but it looks as though you didn't get at least one of my letters. Since the one from Mirmeki I have written to you three times: Oct. 21, 26, 30. Oct. 21 was in answer to your long letter with the stuff about Sinope and Cnidian handles. Oct. 26 accompanied a long letter to you from V., description of our trip. In my letter I told you I had written a note to Grakov about your Sinope thoughts, but had not yet heard from him, and I gave you his university address, and thanked you for being kind to Petran that day she was in Athens. In Oct. 30 I repeated Grakov's address and added Gaidukevich's. Judging by what you say on the Christmas card, you may have received the first and third of these letters, but not the one that accompanied V's letter, as so glorious an event could hardly have gone unremarked. If you like, I'll make a copy for you from the one he kept. But I don't want to risk another snitch by sending it with this--though only the lord and the MUTT know why it shouldn't have reached you the first time. Anyhow I'm not yet absolutely sure you didn't get it. Please notify at the earliest convenient ~~that~~ you got this one.

Dear Mart, the card was fine, the picture very handsome--but an interior rather than a portrait. I had to use a magnifying glass to discover, more or less, the shape of your beautifully cut hair. Mine is long and a mess; I hate it. Grakov really ought to have an example, but damned if I'll send him mine. Do you think it would be too forward to send him one? You could say I requested it (in self defense). If only I could find the Princeton one. I put it somewhere very carefully, probably in a hook, where once I put my passport, and for the few hours of sheer Proustian mental exploration until I remembered which book I had been reading that day, you may imagine my condition (a person without is hardly extant). I'm glad you liked our pictures. As you find me too thin, I enclose now another, taken the year before at Karmir-blur, <sup>(Ankara)</sup> on top of the 6th BC Urartu fortress mound. I don't think I'm any thinner now--on the contrary. Yesterday I proudly showed all Sector colleagues, before they hurried off to greet the New Year, and I the same. I asked Staerman how she wanted her name spelt, and that's how. She ~~is~~ rightfully a historian of the western Roman Empire, on which she has just produced a tremendous monograph. Her handle work with Grakov was more or less an accident. She is very glad it proves useful to you.

Yes, I did get the Canaanite Jar, and what's more I've read it, and so have others. Kind of too bad you couldn't bring old Cadmus in--remember Sandy's wicked talk? Of course it's an interesting piece--gives me needed perspective in my (often interrupted lately) studies of the works of the great Veergeenya. A few timid little comments: On p. 82, "cf. esp. Pl. IX, 5--shouldn't it be No. 3, which



105.02

seems more like? N.32 seems to me a dirty crack--is that right? Or was the humor unconscious? Well, I guess that's really all. I looked carefully at everything and learned quite a lot. Thank you. More please. I haven't forgotten your request of long ago to tell you of anything pertinent I might find in my reading, and you know I think I saw that thing in Athenaeus too, and am mad now that I didn't tell you first. I read a lot, far more Greek than learned constructs on it, which is a weakness, but they're so often dull and annoying, and the Greek never ~~is~~, with the exception of Isocrates, who winds and winds and winds himself up, as though Babe Ruth were at the bat, don't you find?

From the Khersones Museum we've had a warmly thankful acknowledgment of the receipt of Hesperia Suppl.X, no word from the Kerch people so far, but probably they got it all right too. Recently the Director of the Khersones Museum sent us two huge volumes of Museum publications, which they want us to send on to you, in token of thankfulness. As we're not perfectly sure it's the sort of thing you want at all, V. has composed a description of contents, which I now reproduce:

Khersonessski Sbornik (Bulletin du Musée d'Etat de Chersonèse Taurique), No.2 (1927), bound, and No.3 (1931) unbound. (This is what was sent us, these 2) No.1 (1926) was published soon after work was resumed after World War I and Civil War. Excavations started in 1827.

No.4 (year?) is very badly published, I am told. No.5 is in preparation now.

In No.2 (1927): 1. very detailed study of city walls (continued from No.1)

2. Description of Roman tombs next to the walls

3. diary of excavations of the necropolis in 1908.

4. Continuation in 1926 of excavations of 1907-1910.

On pp.182-183 a listing of inscriptions on amphora handle stamps, no description of the stamps (55 stamped handles, nearly all of which are with astynomos--rest, I gather, were illegible)--ref. to Invest.Arch.Komm. No.33, p.43 (V.Latyshev).

No.3 (1931): Khersones excavations of 1908-9, 1910-12 and 1913 (a great deal about coins dug up 1908-12).

The information about stamps seems unlikely to be of special interest to you, but the whole business, I suppose, might be of interest to various people at the School--if they have not already got these two numbers.

Kindly imagine Alex a Chief Resident. I'm delighted. You sound (letter of Dec.12) as though you might not be going to the US this year, though Grakov did say that in your letter to him you said you were going to N.Y. soon, which made him wonder how to address you. I said Athens, anyhow, and that's what I'll do myself. Your card was dated Pop's birthday. I remembered it to; I remember such dates more and more, and so feel connected, in spite of the onward sweep of generations. How relentlessly they grow! How lovely it would be to have a little reunion in March...

Write again soon, meanwhile all the best.

\*

Love,  
Em



KAZAKEVICH



106.01a

В. Трейс,  
Американской школы  
классических исследований  
гор. Афины,  
Греция.

Virginia Grace,  
American School of  
Classical Studies,  
Athens,  
Greece.

СССР, Москва К-9, Почт. ящик 346, В.Д. Казакевич  
USSR, Moscow K-9, P.O. B. # 346, V.D. Kazakovich

ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΠΩΛΩΝ  
ΣΤΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΗ ΜΕΙΛ  
ΠΡΟΙ-ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑ  
Σ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΙ



ΤΑΜΕΙΟ ΠΩΛΩΝ  
ΣΤΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΗ ΜΕΙΛ  
ΠΡΟΙ ΑΠΟΓΕΥΜΑ  
Σ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΑΣ ΠΡΟΙ



106.016





Moscow

26 October 1957

Dear Mart:

On V.'s letter. I couldn't be nearly so organized. I think it's fine.

But--:

1. Leningrad for me was no "side line". I've wanted to live there ever since.
2. On the "link between old and Russians" (rather, Slavs): I'd say it wasn't the young who particularly sought it; it's a gadfly that bites both young and not so young--but by no means all of ~~neither~~ group. Which makes things all the more interesting. (As you see, unlike V. in the given circumstances, I'm for the 100 flowers).
3. In Olbia--i.e. in <sup>the</sup> village where Olbia was, we lived in the cleanest, neatest, hottest, most claustrophobic "hata" imaginable and ate at the excavation diningroom in another ditto hata (not at all like Mr. Hill's table of tender memory in Episkopi). In fact, all round, it was <sup>awful</sup> very, very hot--ha-ha! (fee-bul!). The truck that took us <sup>away</sup> from Olbia to Nikolaev did not carry lumber, only us and our poor bruised old bones, whose condition on arrival was horrid. Back in Odessa one could make mudpies in the bathtub.
4. The fresco of Demeter is beautiful beyond description. It's mostly her eyes, though partly also her mouth. She ought to figure in Swinny's and such-like books. The Tsarsky kurgan isn't really cyclopean, I hope you don't think. Handsome squarecut masonry, elaborately retreating from a square into a cupola. Most impressive big thing. Wonderful Scythian view from the grassy top of the mound. (Someday you can use all this as a Baedeker for your trip to S.Russia.)
5. The mixture of Greeks with locals: judging by Herod. it took place in Cyrene too, and perhaps in other places (surely in A.M.) more than is studied?
6. On the percentage of construction funds going for archeology, I guess we're no longer the only country. At least, from what I hear, China has a similar law (I speak of "the part of China now occupied by the Communists").

(Oct. 21)

Since writing to you the other day I have put in a request for an offprint of Staerman's 1951 article on Coan handles--don't know if one still can be found. It contained drawings, no photographs. If no offprint, will see about photostatting. Grakov I have not managed to see; he has been in the country. Wrote to him in my best and politest Russian, giving (I hope) the essence of your present tentative views on dating Sinope handles, explaining that you particularly hoped to hear his opinion soon (and why), offering to come and translate the relevant part of your letter for him, giving him (once more) your Athens address, urging that it were better for experts to talk directly with each other than through a mere smere etc. That was two days ago. No reaction yet. And none yet either from the Leningraders. But maybe you'll hear first. Why not write to Grakov at his work address? It goes like this:

B.N. Grakov  
 Historical Faculty of ~~the~~  
 Moscow State University  
 Herzen Street, 5, Moscow.

Москва  
 ул. Герцена 5  
 Исторический факультет  
 МГУ  
 Б. Н. Гракору

If you wrote straight at him, you might get quicker results. This intermediary stuff is very interesting for me, of course, but not a little silly for two grown-up people? I don't know, though, maybe one of them isn't altogether grown up. Thanks for attention to Petran last year. She came through again, said you were very kind. Thanks because we set store by her. Nice, intelligent female.

Love, Em



Moscow K-9, P.O. Box 346  
October 25, 1957.

107-01

Dear Virginia;

Emily told you that I might give you a "report" on our trip. First of all it is the 3-d such trip. In June 1955 we went to Leningrad. We had a room in one of the best hotels and for 25 days went to see museums and palaces. All that had to do with the 200 years of the empire. Leningrad is also the city of my earliest memories. That was an interesting side line.

In October 1956 we went to Armenia. That is a most interesting country. We visited the excavations of an Urartian city (6th century B.C.), of the Hellenistic fort Garni, of the former capital Yvri (4 to 11 centuries A.D.) and no end of all kinds of monuments of the Middle Ages (4 to 14 centuries A.D.). Also were at the archeological congress, held in the Caucasus for the first time since the 1880-see.

This time (August-September 1957) we wanted to see, what could be seen, the Greek city states on the Northern coast of the Black Sea. In March 1957, at the annual archeological gathering in Moscow, we received several invitations. Then there was a good deal of letter writing. On August 17th we left Moscow by air to Odessa.

I visited Odessa in 1936. Then it looked rather empty and sad. Now Odessa was full of vacationists. There is a very interesting museum, dating back to the 19th century. It has a rather good room on Egypt and no end of interesting things on the Greek city states. From Odessa we went, by a tiny boat, to Behakov and then by truck (with lumber) to Olbia. In Olbia we spent 3 days; were placed in a hut on a collective farm, had our meals with the staff of the excavation. Very little remains on the surface. The Tartars and the Turks carted all the stone they could find away, for construction purposes. Digging goes on for over 100 years, but scientific work only for the last 50 or 60 years. A lot was done by the late Farmakovskiy, who worked 1905-1914 and 1922-26. Now the work is continued by his former students from Kiev and Leningrad. The problem now is to open up the agora. A lot can be done yet on the lower city (near the water) and, probably, even more on the necropolis. While we were at Olbia there was in operation a group from Kiev and a group of Poles from Warsaw. The Leningrad group had not started yet.

In an old lighthouse there is a museum, in one of the houses of the collective farm quite a good library. It was extraordinarily hot and dusty. From Olbia we made a side-trip to a dig (also on the Bug river) of a place dated 3 and 4 centuries A.D. The younger people are very eager to find "a link" between the old and the Russians.



From Odessa we went by truck to the city of Nikolaev on the Bug river and then by taxi back to Odessa. The countryside is also interesting because of its gigantic collective farms (grain). That is "a new civilization," even if the New York Times does not think so.

Odessa was so full of vacationists, that we could not obtain tickets for the boat to the Crimea (we obtained a hotel room in Odessa only because it was reserved for us from Moscow), so we went by air to Simferopol (2 hours on the air). There we got on a bus to Sevastopol. That is a "closed city," but we had a pass from Moscow.

Sevastopol is all new. The Germans did away with 94% of the old buildings. We went to see the Panorama of the 1854-55 war (all restored by now) and spent 2 days in Khersonese. Two very interesting museums; one classical and hellinistic, the other on the Middle Ages. Very large works going on: the old city (4 and 3 centuries B.C.), something that might have been an open air theater and then the Byzantine city, that was smashed by my patron St. Vladimir of Kiev in the 10th century A.D. A lot of work is also done on the pre-Greek population.

From Sevastopol we went by taxi to Yalta. Just had a glimpse of Balaklava and then along the most remarkable road in the Crimea, along which are all the resorts. Yalta is a Soviet version of Miami and just filled with people, eating, walking around and showing off their clothes. Everything filled to capacity. We went to an old sailor friend of mine from New York, who now lives in Yalta in a modern 2-room flat.

In Yalta we took a bus to Kerch, that is 12 hours of rattling. But one gets a good look at the Scythian country. In Kerch, the hotel half empty, that is not a resort. The next day the excavation people (Soviet-Polish expedition on Mirmeki) put us into a house near the dig. For over two weeks we had a very interesting time at Mirmeki. Also went (by truck) to the Sea of Azov, to go into the Sea and take a look at a place that might be the Khersonese of Zeno.

Along the coast of the Black Sea we drove to Tiritaka, ~~Mimpei~~ and Kitei. Groups working in the first and the last. Inland we went to the works on the Roman fort Jffarat. A most interesting trip was to the Caucasian shore, where Fanagoria and Hermanassa used to be. Very large excavations are conducted in the center of Kerch, on the Mt. Mitridates. That we also visited. We also watched from the beach at Mirmeki an experimental under water archaeological venture.

Kerch has a good museum. There is a remarkable collection of Tomb-stones (about 1000), that one intends to house in a 8 century Byzantine church, not yet restored. The local people talk about what the English carried away in 1854, put into the British museum and even published as "their finds". The Germans in 1943-44 smashed the city to bits and did all kinds of swinishness in the museum.

A very impressive view are all the graves. Just no end of them and mostly taken care of in antiquity. The largest, the so-called Tsarsky kurgan (probably 4th century B.C.) is a cyclopean thing, that could be in Crete. We also went to see the fresco of Demetria in one of the graves.

After having seen all we could on and around Kerch, we went by bus to Theodosia and from there by taxi to Simferopol. In Simferopol there is the excavation of the Scythian Naples (capital of a Scythian - strongly hellinised kingdom of 3c. B.C. to 4c. A.D.). Also took a trip to Bakhchisaray, the palace of the Tartar Khans of the Crimea. Then, after five weeks, by air back to cold, wet and dark Moscow.

The entire trip cost 5,900 roubles. By the official rate of exchange decide that by 4 to get the dollar amount. The entire trip was possible only because we had the aid of all the expeditions we visited, since in most of the places there are very few facilities. We were put up, given trucks, taken to see things, etc....



It seems to me, that there is in all this one aspect that needs further study. The Greeks came in 7-4 centuries BC. and then mixed with the local culture. In the West one would say that they became "barbarized". Why did that take place on the Black Sea area, but not in other places?

At the same time the Scythians became hellinized. Thus a peculiar kind of new civilization arose. That phenomenon, so unlike what took place, let us say in South Italy, needs further study.

The work is hampered, first, by the fact that stone was taken away by the Tartars, the Turks and then (in the 19th century) by the Russians. Old books, describing how things looked 2 and 3 centuries ago, are particularly valuable. Second, the popularity of the subject. In the 19th century every nobleman dug on his estate and on many places (for instance Olbia) the local population is all very eager to dig on their own. In Kuch the director of the museum, a former locomotive engineer from the railroad and a war hero has the confidence of the population and since 1945 there was not a single find that was not reported at once to the museum by the population. That is good progress.

I would say that there is too much democracy on the business of excavation. All the expeditions have their pet ideas. It seems hard to concentrate efforts on large excavations. Strange as it may seem, under socialism there seems less centralization of efforts, than under capitalism. At the same time, what is needed, are large excavations of the same object, year on and year out. For instance, Fanagoria should be excavated on a large scale and that is not done.

The question of preserving the excavations is another problem. That costs money and money is not so easily obtained for that purpose. Another problem is that of labor. In some places there just is no population near door (Fanagoria). Then one needs a bus service to bring people to work and get them back home. In other places the collective farmers are quite well off (Olbia). Only when they have nothing more lucrative to do will they work on their bicycles and dig.

The archeologists want to uncover something that can be demonstrated to the public. It seems to me, that at Minimeki that might be possible (view of a city 3-4 century BC). But in other places the thing is so complex, that it might be wiser to dig it all up, transferring it so to say to a block and then just put the earth back. But then one has one got to show? The public is eager to see. This last summer a Scythian grave near Simferopol had 10,000 visitors.

One of the difficulties in a trip like ours was the question of food. The local population eats at home and drinks in restaurants. Hence, the food in public places is not too good. Excavations are not always located near ~~and~~ resorts, where there is good restaurant service.

There seems to be a good deal of money for archeological work. We are the only country, where a certain percentage of the cost of industrial construction by law has to go for archeological purposes. But a lot of claims are advanced against those funds. The boys and girls working on pre-history are very energetic (palaeolit, neolit, etc...) and so are the people who deal with the Middle Ages. The classical crowd has a constant fight for funds on its hands.

A lot of pre-revolutionary stuff has as yet not been properly published, but now the publication might be faster than in the West. Foreign reference sources we have in Moscow and Leningrad, but not on the spot. On the museum front we are well fixed. I think there are about 860 in the USSR and that is more than in most countries. On Sundays it is hard to get in, in most places, just too many people.



On your field of interest there is a lot to do. The Kerch museum has over 8,000 amphora stamps and other places have them also. In Kerch there is even a joke, believed by some people, that since the amphoras were too bulky, the archeologists had them broken up and kept only the handles.

Of course a trip like ours had to be partly based on imagination. The north coast of the Black Sea had all kinds of masters and the old Greek cities are gone a long time ago. It is all underground now. Things are changing even now. The Russian and Ukrainian "invasion" of the area is going on full blast. In the Crimea gone are the Turks, the Armenians, the Tatars, etc... The people from the north come at the rate of several tens of thousands a year and the area has very little left of the oriental flavor that it used to have, to some extent, back in 1936 (when I was in the Crimea as a tourist).

But to make a word of all the Greek city states was a lot of fun. Both of us had a very interesting time and did learn a lot.

I already have visions of going in 1958 to Central Asia and looking into the question of Khoresm (the slave economy of 3 century BC), Bactria and the Parthians and the Empire of Hameulake. I have been reading Plano Carpini, Roubrouk and Marco Polo.

Both of us want to visit Greece and I hope that some kind of a tour might materialize in time. But that depends somewhat on the international situation, which again does not look too good to me.

I ~~am~~ hope that you will find this rather compressed description of a very large subject interesting.

Sincerely





USSR

Athens, October 1, 1957

Dear Lucy,

I hope you have received my letter of September 25, with samples of plates, etc., for our corpus of Coan stamps and jars. I mention it because I gave it to George Sakkas to mail, and had some slight apprehension that he was not putting on enough postage to take it airmail.

In it I mentioned a letter I had had from my sister Emily, excavating at Mirmeki, Kerch. This is a long fascinating account of sightseeing in that general area, and of excavation life, her struggles to read the stamps on the handles she is digging up, as well as agreeable conversations with the Polish excavator, Professor Mikhailovsky, an old friend of Valentin Müller.

She spoke of the dearth of books in all but the larger centers <sup>(Leningrad, Moscow),</sup> e.g. in the provincial museums, and asked me if I could send a set of my works to the Kerch Museum, and whether it would be possible to arrange an exchange of publications for the Chersones Museum, i.e. whether they could get Hesperia and/or A.J.A., if possible also something devoted primarily to somewhat post-antique material, Byzantine, etc., since the director of the museum is a mediaevalist. The Kerch Museum is as short of books as the Chersones one, but most of the scholars working at Kerch work up their stuff at Leningrad after they go home (it is a Leningrad dig). Whereas an important part of the Chersones staff work all the year round on the site, and they publish a series of "sborniks" (apparently collections <sup>reports?</sup> of essays?) which they could send in exchange.

I asked Betty Caskey what about the possibilities of exchange, and she said she would think about it; there seems to be various drawbacks, including the fact that when the things get here nobody can read them; luckily there is no longer in view the problem of what to throw out if one wants to



insert anything else on our shelves, now that we are to have the library extended. But I am personally rather eager for an exchange: I want to try out my ideas, e.g. on chronology, ~~in~~ against their evidence, and I want their material, especially at this moment whatever they have in the way of Coan handles or jars. Peering through the Rumanian of a new book Betty has just received from Bucurest for exchange - I've written the title to Homer - I perceive a Russian article published in 1951 that we need for present purposes, and I plan to ask Emily either to get me a copy or to tell me just what is in it, with tracings. So I am enclosing my check for \$15.50, and ask you please to send, with my calling cards enclosed, one copy each of Supplement X to the Kerch Museum and the Chersones Museum, using the enclosed labels, made out by me, (non sans mal, as Mme. Bon used to say) according to Emily's copy. On each parcel, that is, go two labels, one in Latin letters (typed) and the other in Russian. Would you stick on the labels yourself? Because it would be upsetting if they got mixed, so that the parcel stood like the donkey in the fable between the two bunches of hay. It seems to me that in that area they really should have Suppl.X, especially in view of the Pnyx figured stuff, which is so Kerchy; and Betty tells me that whatever exchange is arranged, she never sends supplements, because what they send in response is never anything ~~wanting~~ the library wants.

Yesterday I mailed a long letter to Homer about publications, which I suppose he will discuss with you.

Do give me a line or two of Princeton news. I hope you are well. I heard that Dick was thinking of asking a graduate student to stay with him. I would like to hear about him.

Yours affectionately,

Encl. check, 2 calling cards, 4 labels



АВИА  
PAR AVION

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ



В. Грейс  
Американская школа  
классических исследований  
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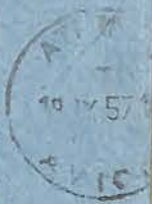
Miss V. R. Grace  
American School of Classical  
Studies  
Athens  
Greece

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ON  
EIA  
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3 and copies of Suppl. & (complete) & each  
museum

Mirmeki (Kerch)

109.02

September 3, 1957

Tuesday

Dear Mark:

It's pouring rain, The dig is a sea of mud, V. is asleep again, so I'm writing. We're on vacation. We started with Odessa, from which we made a <sup>2-day</sup> trip to Olbia, then to Sevastopol and a 2-day visit to Chersonesus. From Sevastopol we drove through the Baidar Pass to that famous, succulent & paradoxical resort strip of Crimea, where we stopped two days at Yalta. From there a 12-hour bus ride, up and down & around mountains (in the Greek sense) and across flat plains to Kerch - Panticapaeum. Here we have settled (except for side runs now & then, e.g. Nymphaeum, we hope, on Friday, the Kurgan graves, the Roman fort at Ilusat etc) for the rest of our holiday. We're due back at work on Sept. 30, but will probably go back earlier. Work to do.

Mirmeki was once a polis in its own right, then part of the Bosporan kingdom. Digging went on here through the 30's, then came the war, and like most else in this neighborhood, the dig was churned up to a meaningless mess by bombs. Kerch could be and was rebuilt (as was Sevastopol, of which only a small handful of buildings remained, of course - but now it is a large, clean, white city) but the dig, naturally, was a total loss. Now one is working on a new part, finding mostly 4th century & Hellenistic stuff - several wine presses and an abundance of stamped handles. The site is about 4 km. from Kerch, on the other side of the bay, from which <sup>(conspicuously)</sup> Mithridat (the hill) & the city are visible. Beyond the city, still further around, along the far horn of the bay there is long series of kurgans, a row of little peaks on the horizon. In-land from Kerch, the ~~steppe~~ <sup>steppe</sup> is rolling steppe, ploughed and cultivated by big kolchozes - grain, cattle, vineyards. In the city itself another group is working on Mithridat, and there is also the Kerch museum, the center of the whole business. V. D. Blavatsky (whose wife works in my institute, but also digs with him every year) heads the Mithridat excavation. But here at Mirmeki V. F. Gaidukevich directs the work - now jointly with Professor Mikhailovsky from Warsaw. The Poles are soon going home, rather well loaded with finds from their sector - nearly 200 stamped handles among them.

V. and I arrived out here Saturday afternoon. There was only a horn of work left, then we swam and drank coffee with the Poles. Found dozens of mutual acquaintances, including Valentin Müller, who was an old friend of Prof. M. of course they all knew you, that is, your work, and Gaidukevich introduced me - "Here is the sister of -" "Shucks!" Then we went to Ilusat - hot wind, dust, excellent spirits - V. all the time conjecturing where the officer's mess could have been. Then back to dinner. Dinner is the one common meal, ~~it~~ eaten in a large factory dining room near by. On arrival, & several high spirits were celebrated a little, then we went swimming again - that is I did, with the handle man, while V. & Gaidukevich, philosophized on a deck chair in the moonlight.



2) The next day was Sunday, no work. We loaded 2 trucks with the joint expedition and went across the peninsula to the Sea of Azov - another neat white village at the edge of rolling steppe farmland. Even a couple of engaging donkeys, and a vineyard. But the sea, the sea was a great surprise. There in our Mirmeki-Kerch bay, wide and open as it is, there is scarcely a ripple. But there there were real white-foaming breakers, sand dunes, the beach full of sea shells. It's a long, long time since I swam in such a sea, and it was delicious. We ate whole sacks of grapes, lunched off canned fish, bread, mineral water & watermelon, and got nicely toasted in the sun.

So yesterday was the first real working day. I was given handles to "read", struggled, floundered & began learning the only possible way - by doing. But I'm resolved now to study the works of V. G. Unfortunately in the Museum here they are not available. The stuff is worked up in Leningrad (this is a Leningrad dig) where the literature is, which brings me to a subject - but first I may give you a most inadequate bit of information, gathered for only one day's experience. The great majority of the handles are from Sinope (acc. to Grakov's identification, which I'm told [?] you also adhere to). Yesterday of the approximately score of handles found while I sat there, 3 or 4 were Rhodian, one Thasian, one Knidian - the rest Sinope. The subject I wanted to bring up is this. Foreign literature, unless one can establish exchange, costs currency. The literature is available in the large centers, but usually not in the provincial museums, as, for example, in Kerch. I don't know how you stand with supplies of your works, but if you should be able to send a set of them to the Museum here I think it would be very useful. The address is Kerch Museum, (Керченский музей), Крымская область, Украинская ССР, - СССР - Director:

F. T. Gusevov. Here it is in Russian & in transliteration:  
 Керченский музей, зап. Крм  
 Крымская область, СССР  
 СССР - Директоры музей  
 Керченский музей, Керч  
 Крымская область, Укр. ССР  
 У ССР  
 Директор музея F.T. Gusevov

F. T. Gusevov  
 This is my own idea. The people here seem accustomed to waiting until they get back to Leningrad, but it seems to me they ought to have your works here too. They have Grakov here of course, and Pridik.

With the Chersonesus Museum it's a little different. There an important part of the staff works all year round on the site; and they publish a series of "sborniki" which they would be able to send in exchange. There they asked us, me, if I could help them establish such an exchange - they were not even sure of the names of American journals they ought to have. I thought: *Hesperia*, *AJA* - but they also have a lot of post-antiquity material, and the director is himself a medievalist. I didn't know what to suggest on that line. The director said it would help if some institution on your side (the School? *Hesperia* or *AJA*?) were to write to Chersonesus for



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of their stuff (the library of Congress, it seems, has already done so). Then they could put this formal request through the proper channels and establish an exchange. I don't know, maybe you personally are not the right person to ask about this, but I thought I'd try. In case you can do something about it, here is how to address the Chersonesus people:

Херсонесский Государственный историко-археологический музей

Директору И. А. Антоновой

Севастополь, Крымская область, Укр. ССР  
СССР

Khersonesskii ~~Рос~~ Gosudarstvennyi istoriko-arkheologicheskii muzei

Direktoru I. A. Antonovoi

Sevastopol, Krymskaya oblast, Ukr. SSR

U SSR

Earlier in the summer I had a couple of letters from Betsy, who had been visiting you. It was very pleasant hearing from her, although she had exasperatingly little to say about Greece. Then we had a tourist visitor who lives next to Mame, goes to town every day in the same bus. He brought a note and even presents, all of which delighted me. But I didn't manage to write to him yet. While in Moscow - and again, as soon as I get back - I am in the clutches of an all-absorbing nightmare in the shape of my monograph, which is due by the end of the year. So I simply stew and sweat and suffer, and nobody gets written to, though I long for letters. If another rainy day comes along here, I'll see what can be done by Mame. On good days, as you know, after all day outdoors one can only bat one's eyes a little over a book, then collapse in slumber. Right now the sun is coming out - time to go see who's doing what (we all live in little houses - beautiful white, solid little things, each with its grape trellis, yapping little watchdog, cat). Then in connection with the Youth Festival an "observer" showed up from the Germantown Friends School, so I heard a little about McPhedrans. This tourist flood is a lot of fun, but we're not sorry to take a vacation from that too.

I'm enjoying this dig business tremendously - only hope that V's enthusiasm (which so far is great) will hold out, because I really want to sit here a while and learn something. As a matter of fact it was V's interest that inspired our whole trip - his idea to make a circuit of the ancient sites in S. Russia. He always has such energetic ideas - last year Armenia, the year before Leningrad. I always rather dread them. Then enjoy them tremendously. Next year he wants to tour Central Asia - I think I want to come back here & continue my education. But then I always want to "come back here!" I hope things are going well with you. Write when you can. Love to E.



P.O.Box 346  
Moscow K-9

July 6, 1956

Dear Mart:

Yours of June 29 just received, pouring salt on the wound. By now you will have received mine of June 24. There's no need to expatiate on how horribly disappointing the whole silly business was. So near to coming off, and then collapse, and for such a nonsensical (per se) reason. I prefer, on the whole, to look upon the failure of this trip as a casualty of haute politique, which in the long run may bring another, maybe even a more sensibly connected trip. H.p. seems, at any rate, to be sowing little seeds in that direction these days.

Indeed, indeed, how we could have talked! It's a funny thing: I was wrapped up in my doings, and you no doubt in yours, and there simply wasn't much room in the head to think about trips one way or the other. But when suddenly, quite unexpectedly, the opportunity appeared, then grew fat and prospered, so that sleeping one began walking the streets of Athens, it became necessary to go, unthinkable not to, and so the disappointment was huge. Very, very vexatious.

I write this after having my first tooth out in the Soviet Union. The differences are that (a) it costs nothing, even though done promptly, kindly and by a famous surgeon, and (b) that it's done only by novocaine, which is claimed to be far more healthy than gas, but I find works horribly on the imagination. So I'm feeling nasty, swallowing iodine all afternoon, and your letter has flattened what was left of spirit. Damn. But thanks for it just the same. And now you must, please, write that long letter. Tell me everything you can think of about home, M. and your work's progress and prospects (and life, of course).

The lady who borrowed all your works (but I haven't got the BCH one-hm!) is returning them at last, so she told me on the telephone last night. She begs me to show her your photograph. Lawks, Veergheeny, what an ikon you've turned out to be! About the picture, I told you I showed to the colleagues long ago, when my kinship was first discovered. But now I can't seem to find it, though I dimly remember putting it someplace carefully where I thought it would be handy. It was the Princeton one, sitting at the typewriter, a very good one. I'll look harder for it, but maybe you could send me a new one. It has to be very handsome, like the Princeton one, so as not to disappoint the public. That shouldn't be too hard.

A book has just been published here about the S.E. shore of the Black Sea: Sinope, Amisus, etc., from the beginning through Roman times. I've only begun it but it reads very nicely. If you can penetrate the Russian (which V. says is unusually rich and good) you might enjoy reading it. The author is M.I. Maksimova, whom we met in Leningrad last summer, a very charming old person. She was in Greece in something like 1913, or earlier, along with Rostovtseff, when he was still a promising shoot. 1917 found her working in the Hermitage, and she's worked there ever since, until last year, when she decided to conserve energy and confine her jobs to the archaeological institute. She had us to tea (meeting her was a great thing, we were most honored by the invitation) in her small room on one of the many old and beautiful streets in that unparalleled-for-me city (you can't compare it with Athens, no common denominator; it's the opposite, and also, strangely enough, the opposite of N.Y., because horizontal). The room was a confusion of books, papers and pieces of food, all the neatness and clarity being in the lady's head. She showed us her aged and cracked snapshots of Greece. If you were to come this way, I think she'd be second on the (my) list for you to meet, after Grakov.

July 8 I've looked some more for the picture, no luck. Found an earlier one, and the little snap you sent me, taken in 1954. Neither is quite the thing, but for the time being and the enraptured one they'll have to do.--Been reading JHS 74 all day. Kind of an interesting piece by W.F. Wallace. Is that Billy Wallace?

Love, Em.

↑  
74+75 together -  
74 came late  
to us.



Trumpler  
Oscar F. Field  
Branford  
Tel. Hubbard 89564



VSSR

111

435 East 57 St.

N.Y.C. 22

January 15, 1948

Dear Mart:

Just got another issue of Vestnik drevnei istorii (No. 3 for 1947). A summary look through it discovers the following of possible interest to you:

1. E. M. Shtetters, "Ancient Epigraphy in the USSR" (one of several surveys in this issue on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the October Revolution). 17 pages of text, including somewhat less than 4 pages on ceramic inscriptions, mostly stamped amphorae.
2. B. F. Gaidukovich, "Some Results of the Excavations at Tiritaki and Mirmekia (10 years of work of the Bosphoran Archaeological Expedition)." These two towns are in the neighborhood of Kerch. The article (from the "Khronika" section of the VDI) has pictures, among them: a Rhodian stamp of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.; stamp of a "Bosphoran ~~type~~ (?)", rectangular shape, with a horse grazing and what look like the following letters above him: ΚΕΦΑΝΙ (Buccephalus?) (why in the Bosphorus - Crimea?)?
3. L. El'itskiĭ, "New Epigraphical Finds from Kerch" (Lit. "Epigr. novelties fr. K.") has a picture of a clay stamp for stamping amphorae, made of a fragment of a near-round Rhodian jar handle. The author dates it to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. on the basis of the monogram and the amphora-type (shape of handle). Says a number of other things that might interest you, and refers to several articles (in VDI and elsewhere) which publish other stamped handles, but which, alas, I have not. Probably Harvard has. The monogram is thought by the author to relate to one of the Bosphoran kings named Pairisades.

Your colleague Mr. Meritt ought to take an interest in an article in the same issue by S. Hurie, "Athens and Carthage in 409-406" in which the author discusses Meritt's publication of the decree of 407/6 (in Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson) and brings to bear on it an article by Radermacher (1895), which Meritt apparently failed to notice. On the decree, Hurie is inclined to disagree with one of Meritt's reconstructions. An interesting article in general.

What would you like to do about all this?

Am drenched in abl. abs. + dat. of purpose. Am likely to start tutoring a beginner in gk tomorrow!

Fruitfully yrs

Em.

pp. 51-67

pp. 187-204

Table B and C

pp. 205-208

pp. 12-13  
B.D. 12-13  
and 14  
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000



USSR

112.01



A

(There is no room  
for writing below the  
horse)



B



C



435 East 67 St.

N.Y.C. 22

Jan. 19, 1948

Dear Mart:

Here's what I find directly bearing on the grazing horse impression. It was found in the ancient town of Mirmek (ending uncert.), an industrial suburb of Panticapaeum (wine industry, and later, under Romans, fish). Site was excavated 1934-1938, and 1946. Main report published in VDI, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 305 (I haven't got this issue). Hence the author of the present article only gives a summary of the principal finds & conclusions. In connection with the 1946 campaign, after speaking of remains of a Hellenistic establishment, the author (Gaidukevich) says: (p. 204)

"There is no doubt that with more extensive excavation in this sector of Mirmek there will be uncovered an economic-residential building of the Hellenistic epoch. There ceramic material of the Hellenistic period is strikingly abundant. Of amphora stamps, <sup>[impressions]</sup> above several hundred pieces were extracted. The vast majority of them belong to Rhodes and Sinope. We note the interesting ~~two~~ example of a Rhodian stamp (Table I, B [do you want a picture?]) with the usual representation of the state emblem, a rose blossom, around which is read the name of the fabricant 'Αγγορος. Besides the blossom there is also a representation of a fly (?), which was probably the emblem of the magistrate. Also interesting is the stamp (Table I, F), on which is depicted a grazing horse, above which is inscribed, evidently, the name of the fabricant Κεφάδ[ωρ]. The emblem on the stamp is exceedingly close to the representation of a grazing horse on Panticapaeum coins of the III century B.C. [footnote ref. to Mirmek, Pl. II, 25]. Does the stamp not belong to an amphora of Bosporan origin? The character of the clay does not contradict this supposition."

The query after the word "fly" is Gaidukevich's, although in the photograph it's very clear. There is no ~~was~~ indication as to the size of the stamp, or its position on the handle, or the shape of the handle. Tracing it on the enclosed onion skin is the closest I can come to reproducing the photograph. (of the lower stamp)

The restoration Κεφάδ[ωρ] is also Gaidukevich's. (at least, it isn't mine)



Drawings B and C on the onion skin are tracings from photographs on p. 208 of same VDI (No. 3 for 1947), the article by L. El'nishtskii. I'd better just translate all of what El'nishtskii says about it, so you can judge for yourself: (pp. 20<sup>6</sup>X-208)

(first I should say there are 2 Russian words to be differentiated: (1) urnamenn (stempel) = thing you stamp with; (2) klevmo (kleimo) = impression made by the stempel. For clarity, in the translation "stamp" is used for (1) and "impression" for ~~the other~~ (2).)

"Several years ago we tried to separate out a Bosphoran group of amphora impressions" <sup>1</sup> See "On Bosphoran amphora impressions," VDI, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 318 f. <sup>2</sup> from among those, still rather numerous, manuvia incertorum locorum, the places of production of which have not yet been determined by any direct or indirect indications [tokens].

"The basis for ~~our~~ putting together the impressions selected by us into a Bosphoran group lay in analogies with a stamped tile giving full readings of the names of Bosphoran kings" <sup>2</sup> See V. F. Gaidukovich, Structural ceramic materials of the Bosphoros (Bosphoran tiles) in the collection "From the History of the Bosphoros, IGAIMK [Izvestiia of the State Academy of the History of Material Culture - I think], publ. no. 104, app., p. 298 f. <sup>3</sup> and observations of <sup>the</sup> clay of Bosphoran ceramics, which established certain differences between it and the clay of other known centers of production of stamped amphoras and tiles.

"Nevertheless, in spite of the multitude of analogies and the identity of the material of Bosphoran tile and amphora handles with the impressions grouped separately by us, the existence of a Bosphoran group of stamped amphoras remained somewhat problematical, in view of the fact that the analogies are found primarily in monograms and abbreviations" <sup>1</sup> VDI, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 319 f. <sup>2</sup>, but not in full names, which, needless to say, are almost entirely absent in the group we selected" <sup>2</sup> Three impressions containing full readings of names are cited on p. 323 of the article cited above, but exactly these do not have direct analogies among the names on tile impressions.

"However, the 1946 excavations in Kerch brought in a find which puts an end to any sort of doubts on this score and transfers the question of Bosphoran stamped amphoras from the sphere of hypothesis to the sphere of undoubted fact.

"In the excavation on Esplanade Street there was found a ceramic stamp for making impressions, on which is incised a monogram having the closest <sup>analogies?</sup> among certain monograms on impressions included in the Bosphoran group; it is an almost exact copy of a monogram (in negative version on the stamp) occurring on coins of one of the last Bosphoran kings, named Parisades, of the late Hellenistic epoch.



"The stamp (drawing 3 [tracing B]) is made of a fragment of an amphora handle (evidently from a Rhodian amphora); it is 3.3 cm. in cross section, approximately round. Thus in its dimensions it is suitable precisely for amphora impressions, since tile impressions, in the vast majority of cases, are of larger dimensions.

"The use of wood as the material for stamps for tile and amphora impressions is frequently and quite accurately attested by the inequalities [or unevennesses] and splits found on some stamp impressions<sup>3</sup> // <sup>3</sup> See V. F. Gaidukevich, op. cit., p. 258, drawing 72; there is evidence that [attested, modifying "stamps"] wooden stamps were used for amphora impressions on Rhodian amphora handles. See B. N. Gnakev, Ancient Greek Ceramic Impressions with Names of Astynomoi, Moscow, 1929, p. 69. //

"According to the observations of B. N. Gnakev on astynomoi (Sinopian) impressions, the stamps must have been cut out of a hard material - stone or metal<sup>4</sup> // <sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 70. As to the possibility of the existence of ceramic stamps such as the one published here, no conjectures, it would seem, have been expressed; now that such a stamp has been found, it is more than likely that impressions with round and elliptical outlines were made by means of just such ceramic stamps, made of amphora handles.

"The stamp published here (drawing 3 [B]) reproduces a monogram analogous, as has been said, to the Panticapaeon coin of the late Ptolemies<sup>6</sup> // For a coin with analogous monogram see in E. M. von Strydom and Greeks, 1913, pl. VI, No. 21. // [Παρ (ιστάτος)]<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup> Britskii's brackets

"Unfortunately we so far ~~know~~ not only of ~~any~~ amphora impressions that could be accepted as imprints from the stamp published here, but we even ~~do~~ have ~~to~~ <sup>no</sup> complete analogues of it among known impressions - i.e., published or looked through by the author of these ~~present~~ lines. Perhaps this can be explained partly by the fact that the rounding of the letter P, attached to the staff of the letter Π, even when sharply enough impressed, can easily escape attention.

"In any case, in order to assert categorically the absence of impressions corresponding to the new-found stamp, a ~~more~~ further reconsideration of the available material (in the first instance, from Kerch) is needed. And even the proved absence of such impressions would have to be explained, surely, by the exceedingly limited quantity of examples that have been found of Bosporan amphora impressions, which number so far only a few hundreds.

"However, even the analogues we have are quite sufficient to prevent any doubts arising as to the stamp's monogram belonging to the group we isolated earlier.

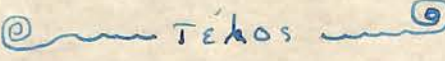


(impression)

Its closest tie with this group is the ~~impression~~ monogram on amphora handles in the Moscow and Kerch ~~historical~~ museums <sup>1</sup>// <sup>1</sup> VDI, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 321 (Bunachkov coll., inv. No. 14913 (10 B); cf. Pridik, inv. catalogue, table XVI, No. 30). <sup>2</sup>// which is almost identical with the monogram published here, the stamp with which it was impressed being very probably also made from an amphora handle, judging by the outline of the impression. This very close analogue is approached by some others, less close, repeating in various positions a combination of the same letters Π and Α. These more remote analogues may be observed on tiles as well as on amphora handles <sup>2</sup>// <sup>2</sup> on amphora handles: VDI, 1940, No. 3-4, p. 321-322; on tiles: IGAIMK, No. 104, p. 301. //

"The monogram impression (drawing 4 [C]), by analogy with the above-mentioned Bosporan coin, <sup>has been</sup> ~~was~~ dated by us in the II century B.C. The stamp published here, whose monogram is a complete analogue of the coin monogram, undoubtedly belongs to the same period. Consideration <sup>ous</sup> that might be ~~raised~~ <sup>expressed</sup> as to the date of the Rhodian amphora also fully agree with this date. Handles that are approximately round in cross section belong to amphoras of the late type, III-II centuries B.C.

"The find published here is a very valuable contribution to archaeology, since stamps for ceramic impressions are a very great rarity; in particular it is interesting for ceramic epigraphy, since, thanks to it, we have indubitable confirmation of the production of stamped amphoras on the Bosphoros, in which, furthermore, there is used for the impression a numismatically attested monogram of a royal name."

©  ©

Hope you can make all this out. My translation creaks a bit here and there, but I thought awkwardness might be preferable to airy interpretation. If you want a deeper analysis of any part, please ask.

May I keep your photograph of the grazing horse from the Troad? If not, please indicate.

The Florida trip ought to be fun.

Love, Em.



22 March 48

On Vestnik drevnei istorii 1947, 3, borrowed from Harvard and now due to be returned, I appear to have no separate page of notes. See E.G.K. letters, with some annotation by me. Other annotation in "Rhodia" and in "Greek artists" files.

Attached are actual size copies of illustrations in 2 different articles in this volume, as mentioned in E.G.K.'s notes. These copies were made by Melville.

in a computer building <sup>(in Washington)</sup>. They are not satisfactory for publication (wrong process) but the book is now due. Can get ~~the~~ <sup>the book</sup> rephotographed later in Cambridge or borrow it again.

From Plate 1  
M.P. 192



В. Родосское клеймо  
III в. до н. э.



Г. Боспорское (?)  
клеймо III в. до н. э.

(original very good)

P. 208



P. 4



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
ELECTRONIC COMPUTER PROJECT  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Miss Grace,

This is the best I can get with ordinary techniques. If you find it unsatisfactory I will attempt a microphotograph which is the only other way I know of which might work.

Dick Melville

P.S. Absence of a bill is intentional. I ran through a number of others at the same time.



18 March 48

Dear Mr. Melville,

Please photograph for me  
the two stamps illustrated on  
the photographic plate opposite  
p. 192 of this Russian journal.  
There are the 2 objects on the  
upper right side of the plate,  
one round with a flower in the  
middle, the other rectangular  
with a grazing horse. Put  
them on the same negative, if  
you like.

Also: the two dim pictures  
on p. 208 (a stamp with a  
monogram).

(2.)

115.02

They should all be same  
size as in the book, and  
printed as well as possible  
for further publication.

I have to turn in the book  
on Monday sometime.

Thanks ever so much

VS



Scanned by  
9 Miles  
31.7.58

USSR: RIAZAN  
(CENTRAL RUSSIA)

[116]  
Mr. V. D. Kazakevich,  
435 East 57 Street,  
New York (22), N.Y.  
June 30, 1947.

Dear Virginia;

In reading N° 4 (1947) of the Voprosy Istorii (Questions of History) I came across something that might interest you. This magazine contains an article by A. Mongeit entitled The Old Riazan (p. 88 to 98). In this article (which is an abridged version of a dissertation) on p. 96 the author tells about things found in Old Riazan, mentioning that "from the coast of the Black Sea there came amphoras with wine, fragments of which are found in excavations." The author is discussing the period from the 9th to the 11th centuries of our era.

The city of Riazan (or Ryazan) is about 150 miles south east of Moscow. Old Riazan was farther south east. It was mentioned for the first time in 1096 A.D. (as Riazan). In 1237 A.D. the city was burned and smashed by the Tartars. It was restored, but the capital of the Riazan principality was moved north, since the old place was too close to the border, to the place of the present city of Riazan. What remained of the old place became known as Old Riazan.

I think it is rather interesting that Black Sea amphoras with wine came that far north and at so late a date. Here is another case for you to look in, some day.

Sincerely  
Vladimir.



Sent by

G. Miles  
31.8.58

Answered  
from Milton  
street of 15  
minutes

117.01

Mr. V. D. Kazakévich  
435 East 57 Street  
New York (22), N.Y.  
July 9, 1947.

Dear Virginia;

Your letter of July 5 contained a question of the Don river, as a road north. The Don and its tributary the Donets were navigable. For instance, the winter of 1696 the then young Tsar Peter I spent in Voronezh building a navy, which to the great surprise of the Turks sailed down the Don and besieged Azov from the sea. The expedition of 1695 could not take Azov because the Russians did not have the mastery of the sea.

However, I do not think that this was the road over which objects from the Black Sea could get to Old Riazan. Speaking of what he found in Old Riazan the author of the article I quoted indicates that this city was near three navigable rivers: Oka, Pron and Pry. I do not know much about the last two, but the Oka is a navigable river and a tributary of the Volga. The Volga and Oka join at Gorky (formerly Nizhnii-Novgorod) and that is where today the big boats start down the Volga. Going down the Oka and Volga people from Old Riazan would get to the Volga Bulgars and then going further down the Volga to the Caspian Sea and the Arabs. Very many hoards of arabic coins were and still are being located in this part of Russia. The article of Mr. A. Mangeit mentions that there is a particular concentration of them (findings of such coins or hoards of them) on the Oka river. The coin evidence seems to indicate that up to the end of the XI century (A.D.) the commercial relations of the Volga-Oka district with the Orient were close. Mr. A. Mangeit asserts that towards the end of the X century



Old Riazan established contract with Byzantine Empire through Tmutarakan. This was a principality of the Sea of Azov. From there things might have been going up the Don, up to its bend, where the Don comes quite close to the Volga (near Stalingrad), there unloaded, taken over land to the Volga, then all the way up, past the Volga Bulgars, to the Russian areas on the Oka.

The road from the Varangians to the Greeks (Baltic to the Black Seas) used the Dnepr (Dnieper) river. Between the Oka and the Dnieper the forests were not easily passed. Up to the end of the XI century this was regarded as quite a heroic deed. Old Riazan looked east from the IX to the XI centuries. According to my author the picture changes in the XI century, the geographic exclusiveness of Old Riazan disappears (in relation to the west), commercial contracts are made with Kiev and other Russian cities and with places further west.

The amphoras with wine could have reached Old Riazan in the IX century from the Black Sea state of Tmutarakan (which at one time, I believe, held parts of the Crimea) or later in the XI century (towards its end) by way of Kiev. The last is less likely, the stuff must have gone up the Volga.

All this is, of course, not documented. The thing to do is, probably, to write to Mr. A. Mangeit and ask. He must have some ideas on the subject and might have also interesting data.

I am interested to find out that in your offices there is someone who listens to my lectures. One never knows where one's deeds, past present and future, will catch up with one!

Sincerely Vladimir



(from sub folder)

OTHER CORRESP. WITH EM,

SEE UNDER USSR: VINOGRADOV

USSR: CORRESPONDENCE WITH  
EGK AND VK AND RELATED