

LILY ROSS TAYLOR BEYOND BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

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ABSTRACT

Written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of her death in 1969, my essay on the Roman historian Lily Ross Taylor focuses on her influence as scholar, teacher and educational leader beyond Bryn Mawr College, where she received her doctorate in Latin in 1912, and taught from 1927 through 1952. Among her achievements as public intellectual and academic celebrity, often as the first woman classicist so recognized, are her 1947 Sather lectures at the University of California at Berkeley, 1964–1965 Jerome lectures at the University of Michigan and the American Academy in Rome, and write-ups in such popular US venues as Life and Time magazines. They also include the piazza and garden named in her honor in 2009 by the Italian town of Ciciliano in Lazio, whose territory she had identified as the ancient municipality of Trebula Suffenas. Drawing on reminiscences from those who knew her as well as archival materials and an unpublished manuscript by Taylor herself on “Intolerance and Racial Differences”, I seek to locate Taylor, her accomplishments, and her global legacy today in a variety of different, less glamorous “elsewheres.”

KEYWORDS

Lily Ross Taylor, Bryn Mawr College, American Academy in Rome, Roman history, Latin, Fascism, intolerance, racial differences

I begin on a personal note.¹ Unlike many of the other classicists who have remembered and assessed the life and work of Lily Ross Taylor, I have never attended, nor been employed at, Bryn Mawr College. But in the gracious light of Taylor’s luminous legacy, all classicists today, wherever we may have studied, wherever we may have labored, and whatever our gender, are, in the special name reserved for current students at, and *alumnae* and *alumni* of, Taylor’s graduate *alma mater* and

¹ I would like to thank Marisa Burgoin and her staff at the American Academy in Rome Archives; Eric Pumroy and Allison Mills of the Bryn Mawr College Archives; Jim Stimpert and his staff at the Johns Hopkins University Archives; Dean Rogers of the Vassar College Archives and the referees for this journal as well as the following individuals for their help on this essay: Andrea Rosenberg Adler, Annette Baertschi, Corey Brennan, Jane Merriam Cody, Sheila Dickison, Bruce Frier, Katherine Geffcken, Hanna Holborn Gray, Jill Harris, Sally Ehrlich Kellock, Donald Lateiner, Helen Nagy, Jerzy Linderski, Michael C.J. Putnam, Stephen Rojcewicz MD, Gareth Schmeling, Celia Schultz, Willard Spiegelman and Christopher Stray.

long-time employer: “[Bryn] Mawrtyrs”.² The fiftieth anniversary of Taylor’s death, on November 18, 2019, has afforded a welcome opportunity to explore the significance of her legacy.

I trace my personal debt to Bryn Mawr, and to the rigorous study of Greek and Roman antiquity it has famously fostered, back to my infatuation, as a ten-year old in 1954, with the unreliable but addictively compelling compendium of ancient Greek mythological tales by a legendary “Mawrtyr”: Edith Hamilton, who received both BA and MA degrees in Latin at Bryn Mawr College in 1894.³ This debt mounted three years later, in 1957, when I began studying Latin at Elkins Park Junior High School in Cheltenham Township, Pennsylvania, across the Schuylkill River from Bryn Mawr’s locale on Philadelphia’s Main Line. My teacher, Ruth Rosenberg Ehrlich, class of 1929, extolled her Bryn Mawr background, although she transferred to the University of Pennsylvania in 1926, after only one year. By most accounts, family financial difficulties compelled Ehrlich to abandon her pursuit of a Bachelor of Arts degree in Classics at an all-female liberal arts college for a Bachelor of Education degree in Latin and English at a co-educational Ivy League university. But she told one of her former students, a high school classmate of mine, that she was also motivated to leave because of the anti-Semitism she encountered, a subject to which we shall return later.⁴

My other Bryn Mawr connections merit notice as well. Two of my undergraduate Classics professors at Wellesley College earned PhDs at Bryn Mawr: Charlotte Goodfellow, who died during my senior year in 1965; and my cherished and indefatigable mentor Katherine Geffcken, born in 1927.⁵ Lily Ross Taylor herself joined the Wellesley College Board

² For the history of Bryn Mawr College, see Horowitz (1994). For the term “Mawrtyr”, see Vilkin (2020), who defines “Mawrtyr [mahr-ter]” as a *noun* signifying “a current or former student at Bryn Mawr College. Bryn Mawr is a historically women’s college, which means it now accepts students who are non-binary and transgender as well as women.” She illustrates its usage with “*Oh wow, that person who is not a cisgendered man seems brilliant, bright, and beautiful. They must be a Mawrtyr.*”

³ For Hamilton and her writings, see Hallett (1996–1997), (2008), (2009), (2015) and (2016b).

⁴ For Ehrlich, mother of the renowned population biologist Paul Ehrlich, see Hallett (2019b) S-65.

⁵ For Goodfellow, who died in 1965, see Hallett (2019b) S-66 n. 13. Katherine A. Geffcken, Professor Emerita of Latin and Greek at Wellesley College, is a Past President of the Vergilian Society of America; a Life Member and former Director of the American Philological Association; and a former Trustee of Agnes Scott College (1975–1995), from which she received her BA prior to earning an MA and PhD from Bryn Mawr College. A 1955 Fellow of the American Academy in Rome, she served as its

of Trustees in 1943, serving through 1949.⁶ Bryn Mawr College alumnae and faculty have loomed large as topics of my research on 20th century American women classicists. They include the German-born Edith Hamilton and her younger, American-born contemporary Eva Palmer Sikelianos as well as four refugees from Nazi Germany: Eva Lehmann Fiesel and her daughter Ruth Fiesel, Vera Lachmann and Gabriele Schoepflich Hoenigswald.⁷ My own long list of valued research collaborators, colleagues in professional Classics organizations, intellectual mentors and academic mentees, numbers many women and men fortified and energized by Bryn Mawr Classics training.⁸

Some Bryn Mawr classicists of my acquaintance were fortunate enough to have known Lily Ross Taylor personally. I myself never met her. Yet I keenly recall how stunned and saddened my fellow graduate students at Harvard were to learn of her death under senseless circumstances. Our feeling of irreplaceable loss literally reverberated around the globe, as attested by numerous letters in the Bryn Mawr archive sent to Taylor's one-time student and longtime faculty colleague Agnes Kirsopp

Summer School Director in 1980–1982 and 1991 and as an AAR Advisory Council Trustee from November 1992–November 1995. Her publications include *Comedy in the Pro Caelio* (Brill, 1973; reprinted by Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1995) as well as articles on Garibaldi's defense of Rome (1849) and the buildings of the Janiculum in *The Janus View*, edited together with Norma Goldman, and published by the AAR (NY 2007). Her contributions to *The Collection of Antiquities at the AAR*, eds. H. Nagy and L. Bonfante, MAAR Supplementary Vol. XI (2015) examine the history of the donors, the coins, and a note on the glass. She has also written about the archaeologists Esther Van Deman and Marion Blake — and given many talks about Van Deman, in particular at the University of Michigan (1992, and 2017, the latter at the inaugural celebration for Nic Terrenato as Van Deman Professor).

⁶ For Taylor's term on the Wellesley College Board of Trustees, see Broughton (2020); she assumed this position in the year following her presidency of the American Philological Association in 1942. For the "party politics" in the APA immediately subsequent to her presidency, see Hallett (1992). As Taylor's bibliography (1966c), Brennan (2018) and the discussion below document, in 1943–1944, during her first two years as a Wellesley Trustee, she was serving as Principal Social Science Analyst in the Office of Strategic Services.

⁷ For Edith Hamilton, see above, n. 2; for Eva Palmer Sikelianos, see Hallett (2015) and (2016b) as well as Leontis (2009), (2015) and (2019); for Eva and Ruth Fiesel, see Hallett (2018b) as well as Haentzschel (1994); for Lachmann, see Hallett (2019b) and forthcoming as well as Hallett and Percy (1991); for Schoepflich Hoenigswald, see Hallett (2018b) and forthcoming as well as Hallett and Percy (1991).

⁸ Not only my fellow participants in a Bryn Mawr College Symposium on Taylor in November 2019 — T. Corey Brennan, Sheila Dickison, Jane Cody and Celia Schultz — but also Henry Bender, Mary Brown, Erika Carlson, Sally Davis, Bruce Frier, Ann Kuttner, Eleanor Leach, Ili Nagy, Lee Percy, Edward Sacks and Jean Turfa.

Lake Michels.⁹ Three expressions of condolence should indicate the wide demographic swath of those profoundly affected, as well as why Taylor deeply mattered to so many as teacher, scholar and professional citizen. The first is from Michels' student Sheila Dickison, Associate Professor of Classics Emerita and Associate Provost at the University of Florida, a letter dated December 11, 1969. Dickison who entered the doctoral program at Bryn Mawr in 1964 after graduating from the University of Toronto, had just taken a position at Wellesley College, another all-female institution. Terming Taylor's death "the end of an era", since it occurred at the same time as "the demise of the old Latin seminar room", Dickison reflected:

I have been wanting to write you and tell you that I have been thinking about you ever since I learned of Miss Taylor's death — knowing what a terrible shock it must have been to everybody but especially to you. So please accept my expression of sympathy. I simply cannot conceive of the Bryn Mawr Latin Department without Miss Taylor's presence. It seems ironic that both Miss Taylor's death and the demise of the old Latin Seminar Room as I remember it should happen at the same time as it were, signaling the end of an era of classical studies at Bryn Mawr ...¹⁰

⁹ For Michels' education and career at Bryn Mawr, see Scott (2020).

¹⁰ On the "old seminar room", the center of research life for faculty and students alike at Bryn Mawr College through the late 1960's, Jane Merriam Cody recalls, "The beginning of my story is almost exactly identical to that of Hanna Holborn Gray's in *An Academic Life* (p. 110). It's only that our destinations in the library were different, hers to the reading room; mine, to the Greek and Latin seminar room nestled among the faculty offices on the second floor, those of Nan Michels, Robert Broughton, Richmond Lattimore and Mabel Lang. Both of us arrived to a transformative realization of who we essentially were early on a winter Sunday morning; I, early on an Easter morning, my first as a graduate student at Bryn Mawr. In this place we all, faculty and students, worked together surrounded by the wall to window and ceiling rows of texts and reference works that a graduate student could ill afford at home. As always then, office doors were open and Mr. Broughton, although working at his desk, raised his head and greeted me. Next door we each worked quietly for several hours, but then Easter, as it was, he walked me home with him to share the strawberries and cream that his wife Annie Leigh made each and every Easter morning. This was the academic life, indeed, and at its very best and, like Hanna Holborn Gray, I realized that I would be happy like this for the rest of my life." Sheila K. Dickison adds, "I also remember how lovely it was to look out the aged leaden windows at the dogwoods blooming right outside." — Another important connection between the all-female Wellesley Classics program, which did not offer the PhD degree, and that at Bryn Mawr, which did, is evidenced by the letterhead on Dickison's stationery: "Departments of Greek and Latin." At the time Dickison wrote, Wellesley, like Bryn Mawr, did not have an "amalgamated" Department of Classics, merely two separate Departments of Greek

To Dickison, Taylor, devoted mentor of Michels, represented the unchallenged academic excellence of Bryn Mawr during a period from the late 1920's through the late 1960's. During these years, talented, superbly trained and highly motivated women, such as Dickison herself, who sought to pursue graduate and even undergraduate studies in Classical Studies throughout North America could avail themselves of few other comparable educational options. Bryn Mawr, with its stellar roster of female and male faculty members, and its intellectually high-octane majority-female student learning community, was in a class by itself.¹¹

The second consisted of two letters from Professor J.F. Gilliam of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He had been toiling with Taylor to aid the efforts of the Roman historian Jerzy Linderski, then residing and barely surviving in Communist-controlled Poland, to obtain a research fellowship at the Institute. Gilliam sent the first of these letters, dated on November 20, 1969, to Linderski himself, in care of the German ancient historian Christian Meier, in Basel, Switzerland. Gilliam wrote:

I am very sorry to have to report what you will find as brutally painful as I have. Perhaps you have already heard somehow that during the evening of November 18th Miss Taylor was struck and killed by an automobile near her apartment in Bryn Mawr.

She was 83 and had had a life which was full, beneficent, and creative. But she still enjoyed life and was working as happily and with as much enthusiasm as ever. I don't need to tell you that she will be sadly missed by a very great many.

I talked with Miss Taylor about you and your affairs at considerable length that morning. As you know, she was very much interested in you

and Latin, although the same faculty members — such as Geffcken — would regularly teach in both departments. For the Wellesley departmental amalgamation, see also the correspondence from Geffcken in Appendix V.

¹¹ See Hallett (2018b) on the Bryn Mawr College undergraduate Classics program that granted Ruth Fiesel her BA in 1942. Dickison's strong undergraduate preparation in Classics at the co-educational University of Toronto was unusual in that her teachers included several women. — In 1965, when I was applying to graduate school in Classics, Princeton did not admit women to either its undergraduate or graduate programs; Dartmouth, Johns Hopkins and Yale had yet to admit female undergraduates; and several undergraduate liberal arts colleges with topflight Classics faculties — Amherst, Haverford, Holy Cross, Wesleyan, Williams — were still all-male. With the admission of women to Yale in 1969, the opportunities for women's undergraduate and graduate training in Classics had begun to expand dramatically. And by 1969, moreover, Bryn Mawr had begun to admit males to its graduate Classics programs.

and had high hopes and in fact confident expectations about your future as a scholar.

I will of course continue to do everything I can to assist you. The arrangements for you here in 1970/71 will be formally completed early next month. I will also keep in touch with the ACLS [American Council of Learned Societies]; in fact I wrote to Mr. Turner at her suggestion some time ago to express my interest in you and to inform him of what was being done here. Your reply to her letter of November 6 may be in the mail. Perhaps a copy of it will be sent to me from Bryn Mawr. Her family and friends, however, are likely to be distracted and to be overwhelmed by the many things they must take care of, and perhaps in your next letter to me you can include the substance of anything of consequence that you had written to her which I should know.

With best regards, Sincerely yours, J.F. Gilliam

The second, dated the following day, November 21, was sent to Michels herself:

Dear Nan:

I am writing in case you become troubled about Jerzy Linderski's situation and wonder how well people interested in him are informed. As you know, since September Miss Taylor had spent much time in trying to assist him.

I have copies of all of her letters to him and of his to her (through November 7). I had a long talk with her on the telephone on the morning of the 18th. I also have copies of the correspondence which led to the promise of an ACLS grant for him and will do what is necessary when the time comes. So far as grant and the like are concerned, I believe he is taken care of through 1970/71.

He expects to have a Humboldt-Stiftung stipend through the first six months of 1970, when the ACLS grant will be available. He will have a membership from us for 1970/71. The question of a visa remains, but we will do our best.

It is easy enough to think how full, satisfying and triumphant Miss Taylor's life has been, and I am sure that you added much to her sense of satisfaction and accomplishment. But her death remains brutally and sickeningly shocking and comes too soon. I know how painful it must be for you and others who were close to her.

Sincerely, Frank Gilliam

In addition to testifying to the richness of Taylor's life, and the evident pleasure she derived from working as well as living, Gilliam here asserts that her efforts on behalf of other deserving scholars such as Linderski,

tasks that other senior scholars of Taylor's stature regarded as tiresome obligations, contributed to Taylor's "sense of satisfaction and accomplishment."¹²

¹² For Gilliam (1915–1990), see Beye (1994). See Hallett and Dutsch (2014), for Linderski (1934–), who was able to emigrate to the US, where he taught at the University of Oregon before becoming George L. Paddison Professor of Latin at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Schultz (2019) furnishes the following background details:

It is in large part due to Lily Ross Taylor's kindness that the field of ancient history in the US can boast of the success of Jerzy Linderski. One of my prized possessions is a document that Jerzy wrote up about how he came to leave Poland and the height of the Cold War and to settle in the United States. Given a grant by the Ford Foundation for a year of study in the US, he opted for Bryn Mawr — drawn by the fame of Miss Taylor and T.R.S. Broughton — arriving on the first day of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. Unfortunately, Miss Taylor was away at Wisconsin that year. But they did get to meet in the spring of 1963 in Madison. Jerzy writes of "an unforgettable event: the meeting of Lily Ross Taylor. Imperious, energetic, quick to pass judgment, and yet always fair. She kindly invited me to share her office, and so many conversations ensued on various topics. As in her books and article one aspect stood out: the clarity of her thought and the lucidity of her argument. She hated obfuscation (she nicely commented on the substance of my stuff, published and unpublished, most of it in German, but I wonder what was her opinion of my impeccably involved German idiom)." Jerzy had to return to Poland after what he calls his "idyllic year" in the US. By 1967, he had lost his university position. He posits that this was because the book he published upon his return to his homeland contained excessively effusive praise for American universities he visited (not just BMC, but also Harvard and Princeton). The situation was increasingly dire as the Linderskis ran out of money. The communist government of Poland would not allow them to leave, so Jerzy could not take up a Fellowship at the IAS. He wrote to tell her of what happened. Here I quote, "I wrote to Taylor a short account of what had happened, but of course I could not do so in any straightforward way. Thus I decided to write in Latin — but again only Latin might be suspicious. So I pretended to discuss a scholarly problem, with my Latin missive appearing as a longish quote. Taylor (as Nan Michels later told me) was initially baffled, but with Bob [Broughton] and Nan, they together deciphered the message." It took some more years, and the combined efforts of Lily Ross Taylor and Ernst Badian at Harvard, but eventually Jerzy managed to finagle an invitation to speak in Switzerland (where he first learned of Miss Taylor's death). He then defected to West Germany, where he found a letter waiting for him, renewing the offer of a fellowship at IAS — this time, too, arranged by Miss Taylor.

For Badian (1925–2011), see Brennan (2020). Badian joined the Harvard faculty in 1971 as Professor of History, becoming Professor of History and Classics in 1973, and

The third, dated December 2, 1969, is a letter from colleagues at the University of Wisconsin, where Taylor had studied from 1902–1906, and taught from 1962–1963.

Dear Professor Michels:

The University of Wisconsin wishes to express its sympathy to Bryn Mawr for the recent death of Lily Ross Taylor. With all students of antiquity, we admire her contributions to our knowledge of Roman antiquity and her eagerness and unremitting activity. But Wisconsin felt peculiar pride in her achievement: she was the daughter of one of our faculty, was an undergraduate here, was awarded an honorary degree by us, and, after her retirement from Bryn Mawr, came to us as a visiting professor for a year. She demanded a teaching load equal to anyone's, and added to it by endless student conferences; she burst through the trammels of bureaucracy; illness never kept her from class; and, with all this, she found time to prepare her Jerome lectures. Personally, as well as academically, she was an inspiration to our students, faculty, and friends, and we wish to join our sorrow to yours.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Clodius, Vice-President of the University

Paul Plass, Chairman of Classics

And Department of Classics Staff [each with a signature]

Barbara Hughes Fowler, Emmett Bennett, Herbert H. Howe, Fannie

John LeMoine, J.P. Heironimus, Hugh E. Pillinger, Friedrich Solmsen,

Paul MacKendrick

What emerges from this particular tribute to Taylor as teacher and scholar is her willingness to shoulder heavy classroom burdens, and refusal to demand special status and privileges. Although she was 76 during the 1962–1963 year, a decade after she retired from Bryn Mawr, “she demanded a teaching load equal to anyone's, and added to it by endless student conferences” — “burst[ing] through the trammels of bureaucracy,” finding time to prepare her Jerome lectures as well.¹³

The perspective this essay seeks to offer on Taylor is also global, or at least focused on her influence as scholar, teacher and educational leader

John Moors Cabot Professor of History from 1982 to 1998. But he was in fact a visiting professor (in 1967–1968) and then Professor of History and Classics (1968–1971) at the State University of Buffalo at the time of Taylor's death and Linderski's attempt to win the IAS fellowship.

¹³ For her Jerome Lectures at the University of Michigan and the AAR in 1964–1965, published in 1966 as *Roman Voting Assemblies*, see “Lily Ross Taylor” (1966a) 2–3 and Scott (2020).

beyond Bryn Mawr. Corey Brennan has adopted a similar perspective in surveying archival materials about Taylor and her achievements, illuminating her impact beyond Bryn Mawr as public intellectual and academic celebrity.¹⁴ Among them are her Sather Lectures at the University of California at Berkeley and her Jerome Lectures at the University of Michigan and the American Academy in Rome; and her write-ups in such popular venues as *Life* and *Time* magazines.¹⁵ Perhaps the most important, however, are the piazza and garden named in her honor by the Italian town of Ciciliano in Lazio, whose territory she had identified as the ancient municipality of Trebula Suffenas.¹⁶ The aim of this essay is to locate Taylor, her accomplishments, and her legacy today in a variety of different elsewhere, some better documented than others, some also intersecting with her employment at Bryn Mawr College as teacher and administrator.

Like much else written about her, the lecture delivered in Taylor's memory at Bryn Mawr a few months after her death, by her devoted colleague T.R.S. Broughton, stresses her deep Southern origins, referring to her as "born of old Southern stock."¹⁷ She was born in Auburn, Alabama in 1886, a mere twenty-one years after the US Civil War ended.¹⁸ But Taylor had strong mid-western roots too. She received her secondary education at Pritchett College in Glasgow, Missouri and Madison Public High School in Wisconsin, and earned her BA at the University of Wisconsin itself.¹⁹ The letter from the Wisconsin Classics department and the University's Vice-President — who eerily shares a name, Clodius, with a major figure figuring in Taylor's research on late republican Roman politics — states "Wisconsin felt peculiar pride in her achievement: she

¹⁴ Brennan (2018) and (2019).

¹⁵ See "Lily Ross Taylor" (1966c) 2–3 and Scott (2020) for her Sather Lectures at the University of California at Berkeley in 1947, published as *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (1949). For her Jerome lectures see note 12 above. She was featured in an article about "Great Teachers" in *Life* magazine on October 16, 1950; and in *Time* on June 23, 1952, the year she retired.

¹⁶ For Taylor's identification of Ciciliano in Lazio as Trebula Suffenas, see Taylor (1956); see also Brennan (2018), who discusses the Omaggio there to Taylor on October 10, 2007, in which Brennan participated.

¹⁷ See Broughton (1970); see also "Taylor, Lily Ross 1886–1976" (1976), which lists her among "Alabama Authors", although she moved away from the state as a child. However, in Appendix V, Geffcken, born and educated in Georgia, remarks, "Miss Taylor never seemed Southern to me! Southerners instinctively recognize one another and have bonds of language and culture."

¹⁸ Brennan (2018) and (2019); Broughton (2020).

¹⁹ For Taylor's precollegiate education in Missouri and Wisconsin, see Michels (1978).

was the daughter of one of our faculty, was an undergraduate here, was awarded an honorary degree by us, and ... came to us as a visiting professor for a year ... [demanding] a teaching load equal to anyone's, and added to it by endless student conferences ..."²⁰ In his 1973 novel *Theophilus North*, the Wisconsin-born Thornton Wilder represents his narrator, and fictional alter ego, Wisconsin-born Theophilus, as crediting "Badgers", real-deal no-nonsense Wisconsinites, with being "smart, brave, defending what they've got, ... having a sense of fun and laughter" and "always catching the snake." Taylor apparently displayed these very traits in abundance.²¹

Taylor's achievements and impact beyond Bryn Mawr extend into the world of imaginative fiction itself, specifically *The Moses Virus*, a 2014 "thriller" novel by Jack Hyland, former Chair of the American Academy in Rome (hereafter the AAR). It warrants attention that Hyland has invented nearly everything he says about Taylor, without regard for the actual facts of her life and, for that matter, of 20th century history. He altogether inaccurately represents her as having insisted on staying to watch over the AAR after the outbreak of World War Two as its director pro tem; as living in the Swiss Institute in Rome safely as long as Switzerland's neutrality was honored by the Germans and Italians; and — in that connection — taking two representatives from the Vatican, one of them a fictitious Cardinal Visconti, to the Academy in July 30, 1943. There, according to Hyland's "contrafactual" novel, the cardinal showed an interest in an old iron grate on the floor leading to the emperor Trajan's aqueduct. This interest, moreover, is fatally pursued, 71 years later, by Taylor's mentee and successor, a man supposedly described in the *International Herald-Tribune* as "archaeologist Dr. Robert Brown of Bryn Mawr College in the city of Philadelphia in the United States of America."²²

²⁰ On Robert Clodius, see his *Wikipedia* entry (2020); an agricultural economist, he became acting president at Wisconsin in 1970. For Taylor's research on Publius Clodius Pulcher, see Taylor (1942a) as well as Appendix I, from Schultz (2019), on Taylor (1942b).

²¹ On "badgers", sons and daughters of Wisconsin, see their characterization by Wisconsin-born Thornton Wilder in *Theophilus North* (1973), quoted in Appendix II.

²² Hyland (2014). Plot summary: "Modern day Rome: Two American archaeologists suddenly die in an underground passageway in the Roman forum leading to the buried rooms of the Emperor Nero's Golden Palace. The Italian authorities conclude the deaths were caused by a devastating and highly contagious virus. Tom Stewart, an NYU forensic archaeologist [and, like author Hyland, an American Academy in Rome trustee], who was present when the deaths occurred, becomes entangled in the race to find the supply of the virus — a race involving many powerful players [including the

In addition to inventing detail after detail out of whole cloth, Hyland indulges in highly creative math. Taylor retired from Bryn Mawr in 1952. Even if the fictional “Doc” Brown had been only 28 when he succeeded her, he would have been 90 when the novel takes place. We might question in particular Hyland’s claims that “Taylor wore her hair in a crewcut and dressed in mannish clothes”, and that the novel’s protagonist, NYU forensic archaeologist Tom Stewart, “could picture her a feisty and controversial figure at Bryn Mawr, a conservative women’s college at the time.”

Most obviously, Taylor was not the AAR director pro tem, safely ensconced at the Swiss Institute in Rome, in 1943, the very year she joined the Wellesley College Board of Trustees. As it happens, the AAR archives themselves contain Taylor’s response to a request that former AAR Fellows submit a form detailing their military service in World War II. There she states that she did work as an analyst for the Office of Strategic Services in 1943–1944, for one year. The text of the report is noteworthy for its brevity: it gives her name, Lily Ross Taylor; her address, merely as Bryn Mawr College; and then states “No military record. Work as analyst, Office of Strategic Services 1943–4 (one year),” drawing a line through all of the other categories on the form.²³ Brennan has provided more information about her assignment, noting that she “worked in Washington as Principal Social Science Analyst ... specifically in its Foreign Nationalities Branch. That unit studied European and Mediterranean ethnic groups living in the United States to tap their knowledge of political trends and conditions affecting their native lands.”²⁴ To be sure, the OSS, predecessor to the current CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), did send some of its female analysts overseas. It is, though, more likely that Taylor, on leave as dean of Bryn Mawr’s graduate school, and by then in her upper fifties, worked solely in Washington, DC.²⁵ Still, however fictitiously Hyland

Vatican, foreign groups, and the world’s largest genetic seed manufacturer] desperately seeking the deadly contagion.” Relevant passages on Taylor may be found in Appendix III.

²³ Taylor (1947). These categories are RANK (on discharge), SERIAL NUMBER, DATE OF INDUCTION OR ENLISTMENT, DATE OF DISCHARGE OR RETURN TO INACTIVE STATUS, PROMOTIONS (with approximate dates). DECORATIONS (include Battle Participation Stars), TIME OVERSEAS (years and months), BRIEF OUTLINE OF ASSIGNMENTS WITH APPROXIMATE DATES. Her decision to leave these categories blank makes it clear that she was involved in high-level intelligence work.

²⁴ Brennan (2018) and (2019).

²⁵ Mundy (2017), a study of American women codebreakers during World War II, does not mention Taylor. Yet she discusses several Bryn Mawr alumnae who worked for the OSS in Washington, along with “Julia Ward, former dean of students at Bryn

depicts Taylor, he could do so because, as all who knew her would agree, she was larger than life, a commanding presence whose scholarly achievements and sterling character fueled the imagination of those who knew, or merely knew about, her.

After receiving her PhD from Bryn Mawr in 1912, Taylor joined the faculty at Vassar College, rising to the rank of Full Professor by the time she left in 1927 to become Professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr. During that fifteen-year period, Taylor was away from the Vassar campus for a fairly long spell, as Brennan has richly documented. Selected as the first female fellow in Archaeology at the newly consolidated AAR, after arriving in Rome in October 1917 she spent most of her first fellowship year in Padua as an American Red Cross Hospital inspector. She devoted nine months of her second fellowship to more war work and spent only three at the AAR. Concluding her Red Cross assignment in September 1919, Taylor was in residence at the AAR from fall 1919 through late August 1920, and then again for three months in fall 1921. In a paper delivered to the Bryn Mawr Fellowship Assembly in the spring of 1941, she characteristically minimizes the importance of her war work:

Morover [*sic*] the question comes up as to whether you ought to leave the work you are doing and devote yourself to something more immediately useful. I encountered that problem in the last war when before the United States entered the contest I had secured a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome. I worked fairly steadily until the terrible Italian rout at Caporetto in the fall of 1917, but then, like most other Americans in Italy, I went into war work. It was the right thing to do because I was on the spot and I spoke Italian, but if I had not been in Italy it would have been much better for the Red Cross to send over a stock taker from [the Philadelphia department store John] Wanamaker's or an expert pharmacist to do some of the things I was called upon to do. Bryn Mawr PhD does not fit one to plan the arrangement in warehouses of some 10,000 boxes of surgical supplies and to organize the distribution of the contents based on an adequate

Mawr, czar of a well-run library unit [in the Army's code-breaking operation at Arlington Hall]" (208). Mundy also acknowledges the presence, at Navy operations, of Taylor's junior male colleague "Richmond Lattimore, who taught Classics at Bryn Mawr and later did a translation of the *Iliad*" (181). On the other hand, Allen (2013), a study of American archaeologists with the OSS in World War II Greece, does refer to Taylor on 340 n. 22, stating "Lily Ross Taylor and Meriwether Stewart (Bryn Mawr), replaced [an earlier recruit, James] Oliver in June and July." ("Oliver wrote special reports on Italian Communist newspapers and antifascist societies" (Allen (2013) 73.)

inventory; particularly a PhD in Latin does not help you weigh out quinine and make the best disposition of anti-tetanus serum.²⁶

Notwithstanding this long absence, and as I have discussed in a 2019 article, Taylor forged important, longstanding ties with two of her Vassar Classics colleagues. One was Grace Harriet Macurdy, who joined the Vassar faculty in 1893, received her PhD in Classics from Columbia in 1903, and served as Chair of the Greek Department from 1920 until her retirement in 1937. An internationally recognized Greek scholar with a long list of publications, she is best known for two groundbreaking books on ancient women's history. The other was Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar class of 1894, who then received her MA from Vassar in 1899, returned to teach at Vassar in 1902, earned her PhD in Classics from Cornell in 1909, and eventually became chair of the Latin Department in 1923, holding that position until her retirement in 1942. Both Haight and Taylor also served as the second and third female presidents of the national professional organization of classicists, the American Philological Association, in 1934 and 1942 respectively. The first female APA president, in 1900, had also been a Vassar professor, Abby Leach.²⁷

The 2017 biography of Macurdy by the late Barbara McManus treats Macurdy's relationships and interactions with both Haight and Taylor only briefly. Building on McManus' study, my 2019 article tried to cast further light not only on Macurdy's connections with both of these Vassar colleagues but also the more complicated bonds between Haight and Taylor, ties strengthened by the two women's shared involvements with the AAR. As noted, Taylor alternated her time there with war work from 1917 through 1921, and spent the 1934–1935 academic year, while on sabbatical from Bryn Mawr, as “acting” professor in charge of its School of Classical Studies. Upon retiring in 1952, she was appointed “official” professor in charge at the same program, holding that post through 1955. Haight was a student at the AAR from 1920 through 1921, and, in 1927, became the first woman to chair its Advisory Council — on which she and Taylor, representing Vassar and Bryn Mawr respectively, advocated for

²⁶ Brennan (2018) and (2019); Taylor (1941).

²⁷ For Taylor at Vassar College, 1912–1927, and her interactions with her Vassar colleagues Grace Harriet Macurdy (1866–1946) and Elizabeth Hazelton Haight (1872–1964), see McManus (2016) 211 and (2017) as well as Hallett (2019a); for the APA presidencies of Haight, Taylor and Abby Leach, see McManus (2016) and (2017) as well as Hallett (2019b).

seventeen years to improve the residential facilities for women there, finally succeeding in 1938.²⁸

McManus initially discusses Haight in the context of Macurdy's attempts to support Haight's promotion to Full Professor in 1922. She fails to give Haight's academic achievements, among them thirteen books over the course of her career, much scrutiny or credit. In fact, she quotes Macurdy's recommendation of Haight for promotion, which compared Haight's research at that point unfavorably to that of Taylor, deeming Taylor "distinguished."²⁹ To be sure, as I have noted, Macurdy differed from Taylor in her embrace of women in classical antiquity as an important research topic, and in her more outspokenly feminist stance on social issues.³⁰ Yet in addition to admiring Taylor's research, Macurdy also subscribed to Taylor's progressive political views. And, as McManus powerfully corroborates, Macurdy despised the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, whom Haight adored: creating a complicated situation for Taylor when Haight visited the AAR in 1935, while Taylor was acting Professor-in-Charge. In addition to presenting the only public lecture at the AAR in that year, Haight, aided by Vassar President Henry Noble MacCracken, managed to snare an audience with Il Duce himself. Living and working in Mussolini's Rome, Taylor was required to keep the AAR in the good graces of the Italian government. She could not speak out or

²⁸ Hallett (2019b); see also "Haight" (2020a) and (2020b) and Lateiner (1996–1997) and (2020). See also Geffcken's remarks in Appendix V, which underscore that even the improved facilities left much to be desired.

²⁹ McManus (2017) 120–121, quoting Macurdy, discussed by Hallett (2019b). See also Lateiner (1996–1997) and (2020). Haight (1922) was, however, the only book on classical antiquity that she had published at this time; she produced her other ten on classical topics, as well as two major scholarly articles, over the next thirty-three years.

³⁰ Hallett (2019b). As Taylor (1962b) and (1966c) document, and as McManus (2017) and Hallett (2018a) observe, Taylor did review J.P.V.D. Balsdon's book on Roman women in 1963 as well as Macurdy's 1939 book on vassal queens in the Roman empire, but her own work did not foreground women in the way that Macurdy's did. Or, for that matter, as Haight's did; for Haight's feminist foci in teaching as well as research, see Haight (1936) and Lateiner (1996–1997) and (2020).

up, even in private correspondence.³¹ But, as Brennan has made clear, she did not share Haight's favorable view of the Fascist leader.³²

Taylor's report of her year as AAR professor in charge of the Classical School, excerpted in my 2019 article, tactfully acknowledges Haight's visit but does not mention the audience with Mussolini. The report also subtly attests to the impact of Hitler's "race laws", to be adopted by Mussolini three years later, and documents Taylor's efforts to help classical scholars affected by them.³³ Most notably, she mentions an AAR visit to Hadrian's Villa led by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben. A German ancient art historian whose Jewish parents had converted to Christianity in the 1880's, he was nonetheless expelled by the Nazis from his professorship at Muenster in 1933 and sought refuge in Italy. Fortunately, an appointment to a full professorship at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts in 1935 made it possible for him and his family to emigrate to the US. His equally accomplished older sister Eva Lehmann Fiesel, an Etruscologist removed from her post at the University of Munich, had also fled to Italy in 1933, along with her teenage daughter Ruth. The two Fiesels, however, had already arrived in the US by the fall of 1934: Professor Edgar H. Sturtevant of the Yale Linguistics Department had temporarily rescued Eva by hiring her as his research assistant, unable to offer her more stable employment since Yale did not appoint women to its faculty. But upon Taylor's return to the US, Bryn Mawr College managed to obtain funds — from the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, the Rockefeller Foundation, and a group of Eva's Yale colleagues — to underwrite a two-year visiting associate professorship for her, beginning in the fall of 1936.³⁴

³¹ McManus (2017) 228–229, discussed by Hallett (2019b). "Haight" (2020b) describes Haight's 1935 visit to Rome as well: "In 1935, Haight once again ventured to Greece and Italy, and this time, received a grand reception from both the King and Queen as well as Il Duce Benito Mussolini. She met Mussolini at Renaissance Hall of the Palazzo Venezia and presented him with books about Italy written by the Vassar faculty. She talked to Il Duce extensively, focusing on recent archeological discoveries and the government's plan for continued archaeological work. Haight was impressed by his dynamic personality and powers of concentration that she believed to be 'part of the secret of his achievement.' She also purchased many antiquities for the Classics Museum."

³² Brennan (2018) and (2019); cf. also Taylor (1942a), discussed by Hallett (2019b).

³³ As one of the referees helpfully notes, "Mussolini did not adopt Hitler's race laws; he came up with his own set of laws, which were arguably in some respects even harsher than the Nazi ones." See Sarfatti (2017) and (2018). In Appendix V, Geffcken offers a different perspective on Haight, with which I would take issue.

³⁴ Hallett (2019b), quoting Taylor (1935); for Lehmann-Hartleben and Eva Fiesel, see Häntzschel (1994), Obermayer (2014) and Hallett (2016c) and (2018b).

Tragically, Eva Fiesel died of liver cancer before the end of the 1936 through 1937 academic year. Yet, at Sturtevant's urging, Bryn Mawr transferred the funds pledged to underwrite Eva's faculty position to pay for her daughter's education, at the Baldwin School and then Bryn Mawr College, from which Ruth graduated in 1942. Here Ruth majored in Classics, studying with Taylor, whom she always praised as her favorite professor in alumnae questionnaires. While she never completed her doctoral work in Classics at Johns Hopkins, Ruth Fiesel made an indelible mark on the field of secondary school Latin teaching, first at the Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore — which she and her life partner Ann Merriam played a key role in integrating — and later in Philadelphia at Friends Central and Baldwin, serving the latter as head of its middle school.³⁵

No less important, when highlighting in detail the accomplishments of the fellows in Classical Studies and Archaeology, Taylor accords the most space to the endeavors of Meyer Reinhold and Naphtali Lewis. Immense pride imbues Taylor's detailed descriptions, in 1935, of these two young, male, Jewish scholars, whom she presumably chose to represent the AAR at a prestigious European scholarly conference elsewhere in Italy, soon after Hitler's rise to power.³⁶ It merits emphasis, too, that prior to 1934, the Classical School of the AAR had previously awarded fellowships to only three Jews, nearly two decades apart, in the field of Classics and Archaeology: one of them Taylor's own Bryn Mawr PhD student Irene Rosenzweig in 1930.³⁷ Taylor's support of both refugee and Jewish scholars seems to have had a positive influence on Haight. The Vassar Memorial Minute written by Haight's Classics colleagues soon after her

³⁵ Hallett (2018b). Ruth Fiesel's file in the Johns Hopkins University Classics archives suggests that she entered the graduate program as a special student, attending part-time while she taught at the Bryn Mawr School. There are no letters of recommendation: only an undergraduate transcript submitted in October 1943; a 1946 letter certifying that she was a teacher at the Bryn Mawr School for the 1946–1947 academic year; and an application to "The Faculty of Philosophy" as a special student, stating — in response to the question "Do you expect to apply for a higher degree?" — "possibly a master's degree." What is more, she never formally withdrew from the program, either, merely writing on September 27, 1947 to the registrar: "I find that I shall be unable to attend any courses in the Graduate School this first semester because of heavy teaching responsibilities. I hope to be able to register for a course in the Department of Classics during the second semester."

³⁶ See Hallett (2019b). For the later career of Reinhold, see Toher (2020); for that of Lewis, see Bagnall (2020).

³⁷ For Rosenzweig, see "Rosenzweig, Irene 1903–1997" (2016) and the discussion below; for the first Jewish fellow, the Lithuanian-born Elias Avery Lowe, great-grandfather of British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, see John (2020); he was a Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome from 1908–1910. For the first Jewish female Fellow, Ernestine Franklin Leon, 1921–1923, see Appendix V.

death in 1964 highlights Haight's own efforts at Vassar to help German refugee scholars, many but not all of them Jewish, find positions in the US.³⁸

The Jewish and other refugee scholars who profited from Taylor's academic learning, humane wisdom and principled advocacy at Bryn Mawr College itself warrant attention. In addition to hiring Eva Fiesel to its senior faculty and making it possible for her daughter Ruth to benefit from Bryn Mawr's incomparable undergraduate training in classical studies, Taylor and her Bryn Mawr classicist colleagues welcomed others who shared their plight: Vera Lachmann, later of Brooklyn College, to its teaching ranks; Fiesel's protégée Gabriele Schoepflich Hoenigswald to its graduate program.³⁹ In this connection, the testimony of Hanna Holborn Gray, class of 1950, deserves close scrutiny. Daughter of academic émigrés from Nazi Germany in 1934, Gray, whose distinguished academic appointments include the presidency of the University of Chicago, relates in her new memoir:

One striking picture I took away from the college was that of men and women working together as colleagues in a common cause ... Today the outstanding women scholars with whom I studied — certainly the classicist Lily Ross Taylor or the biologist Jane Oppenheim, for example — would be holders of chairs at leading research universities ... Bryn Mawr was especially strong in the fields of Greek, Latin, archaeology and history of art ... I found myself on unexpectedly shaky ground in my freshman year. Everyone seemed well ahead of me in Latin ... I was surrounded by people smarter than I was and socially far more advanced ... The apex of my undergraduate education was to study Tacitus, Livy, and Lucretius with Lily Ross Taylor. Every one of my teachers was highly competent, every one of them a scholar, each

³⁸ The Minute, written by Haight's Classics colleagues Theodore Erck (1907–1980), Myrtle Soles Erck (1922–1993) and Inez Scott Ryberg (1901–1980), remarks: "In the mid-thirties, when scholars were fleeing Hitler's Germany, Miss Haight was chiefly instrumental in organizing a program of visiting scholars, which brought to Vassar a series of distinguished professors as guests, free to give open lectures and to meet with advanced classes and student organizations. Many of these were enabled through their visit to Vassar to secure appointments in American colleges and universities." See, however, Hallett (2019b), discussing Jaeger (1941), for Haight's failure to support the candidacy of one, female German refugee classicist, Renata von Scheliha, for a position at Vassar, despite the energetic advocacy of Vera Lachmann. A lesbian (like both Haight and Lachmann), von Scheliha was not Jewish, but at serious personal risk owing to her, and her brother's, efforts to aid Jews seeking to escape the Nazis. See Haight (1940) and (1941) as well as Lachmann (1940).

³⁹ See Hallett and Percy (1991); Hallett (2018b) and (2019b) as well as forthcoming.

one knew his or her students and wanted to help them succeed. What set Lily Ross Taylor apart was a singular and vital connection to her subject, her distinctive breadth of intellectual curiosity, and her passionate, rigorous, and effective way of communicating the essence of Roman history and literature, and of demonstrating the relationships among seemingly disparate texts, subjects, and events. Our advanced Latin classes were small (I think six was the largest) and held in her apartment. At some point tea would be served. By the end, whenever that happened (time was not kept), the floor by Miss Taylor's armchair would be strewn with books she had pulled off her shelves in order to read out some favorite passages or answer some questions or make some new observation that had just occurred to her. She taught us to read, which is to hear, Latin poetry as it should be read and heard, and had us memorize and recite quite a bit of Lucretius: those lines are still etched in my memory.

Miss Taylor's standards were formidable. Proud of a paper I had written, I looked eagerly for her comments and found only this: 'I have checked all your footnotes and found them accurate.' Crushed, I consulted another professor about what this indicated and was told it was actually a compliment. Some years later my husband and I had the great experience of visiting Miss Taylor when she served as director of the American Academy in Rome, and spending an entire day with her at the Forum — the most extraordinary passage into the ancient past one could imagine ... History became my major field, Latin my second area of concentration.

Gray hails, *inter alia*, Taylor's "passionate, rigorous, and effective way of communicating the essence of Roman history and literature, and of demonstrating the relationships among seemingly disparate texts, subjects and events."⁴⁰ As the correspondence about Jerzy Linderski attests, Taylor continued to champion scholars seeking to emigrate until literally her dying day. She also made impressive efforts to include scholars from

⁴⁰ Gray (2018) 108–110. The tea was presumably prepared by Alice Martin Hawkins, B.A. Bryn Mawr 1907, with whom Taylor lived from 1932 to her death. The draft version of Michels (1980) in the Bryn Mawr College archives says that Hawkins, "while engaged in her own jobs, gave [Taylor] intellectual companionship and took over the domestic duties that bored her. They were both ardent Democrats, and political discussions were a feature of their hospitality. [Taylor] was not active in women's movements, but her whole life was a lesson which demonstrated how the obstructions to a woman's career can be overcome by ability, hard work and a quiet insistence on justice." Hawkins graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1907, was employed as an editor at, *inter alia loca*, the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Magazine*, regularly edited Taylor's manuscripts, and survived Taylor by five years, dying in 1974.

abroad in American research endeavors, most prominent among them the eminent Italian ancient historian Emilio Gabba (1927–2013). A Fulbright Scholar at the AAR in 1954–1955, during Taylor’s time as Professor-in-Charge of the Classics section, Gabba was based for most of his career at Pavia and Pisa. His AAR memorial tribute notes that his first book and “watershed work” on the second century CE historian Appian, “arose from the time he spent as a Fulbright at the Academy, reflected in his thanks to Lily Ross Taylor in the preface.” In addition to influencing Gabba’s scholarly writings, Taylor’s multiple references to his work in her publications testify to his influence on her own.⁴¹

Scholars who were fortunate enough to breathe the same intellectual air as Taylor while studying and teaching at Bryn Mawr in the 1960’s have similar recollections. In a personal communication, Jane Merriam Cody remembers:

In the Fall semester of 1963 I came to Bryn Mawr as a PhD student, primarily to study Roman Republican history. I had one wonderful year with Mr. Broughton reading a selection of Cicero’s letters before Mr. Broughton, at the age of 65 followed Berthe Marti to Chapel Hill. In our second year (1964–1965), Lily Ross Taylor was delivering the Jerome Lectures in Rome and Ann Arbor. Fortunately, in the year after that (1965–66), she returned to Bryn Mawr. In that year I passed my preliminary examinations and was ready to move on to my dissertation and Mrs. Michels came up with the wonderful idea that I should “cut my research teeth” by serving as Miss Taylor’s assistant.

Much of my job as her assistant was filing her copious notes (actually small sheets of paper) behind the tabbed index “cards” (both of which many of you have seen as they still exist in great numbers in the archive in Canaday). As all of you know, Lily Ross Taylor made much use of the numismatic material in Chapter III of *Roman Voting Assemblies* where

⁴¹ See Gabba (1956), “Emilio Gabba, 1955 Affiliated Fellow/American Academy in Rome” (2020) and Clemente (2014), who observes, “The years spent at the American Academy in Rome, when still a young man, strengthened Gabba’s ties, first established by [Gabba’s mentor Plinio] Fraccaro (1883–1959), with the Anglo-Saxon scholars who shared with the Pavia school an empirical approach and a lay view of history. He believed that an international network was the best answer to the aftermath of Fascism that had isolated most of the Italian scholars (but not Fraccaro). Scholars like Lily Ross Taylor became Gabba’s natural interlocutors and life-long friends.” Taylor began to cite Gabba’s work on Appian, and to do so copiously, a year after it was published, in a study of the centuriate assembly published in the *American Journal of Philology* (Taylor (1957a)); she continued to accord prominence to his publications in three subsequent articles on the second century BCE plebeian tribunes Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, two of them published in the Pavia-based journal *Athenaeum* (Taylor (1962a), (1963) and (1966b)).

she skillfully combines the archaeological, epigraphical, numismatic and literary sources to paint a comprehensive and lively description of these gatherings of the Roman people.

It was at this time, while we were working and talking, that Miss Taylor also suggested as a topic for my dissertation a study of the interplay between familial and political ties on the late Republican coinage, a subject that was interwoven with her unpublished study of the politics of the Late Republic to which she alludes in her May 1966 Preface to *Roman Voting Assemblies* (p. IX).

From that time on until her death fifty years ago Lily Ross Taylor served as my closest mentor as I wrote my dissertation and concurrently moved from Philadelphia to Los Angeles. There, after a year on an American Numismatic Society Dissertation Fellowship, I was seriously in search of employment. When I conveyed to Miss Taylor that there were no tenure track jobs open at UCLA or USC, her advice to me was to just get my foot in the door by taking a part-time lecturer's position at Pomona College, albeit an hour away and for less salary than the cost of the car to get me there.

But how right she was! The next year a tenure track job opened up at USC and it was mine as it has been for the over forty years that I have spent here. All of this, thanks to Miss Taylor's wise advice.

Sheila Dickison had the opportunity to observe and interact with Taylor while a graduate student at Bryn Mawr from 1964–1967, and while studying in Rome in the fall of 1967. Her fond memories — and her empathy for the bereavement of “Nan” Michels, who had been first Taylor's student and then Taylor's colleague for four decades — not only prompted her aforementioned letter of condolence to Michels but abide to this day. Herself an “émigrée” from Canada, Dickison recollects, in a personal communication:

One of the benefits of being a graduate student at Bryn Mawr was working together in the Latin Seminar Room in the M. Carey Thomas Library (now the Old Library). A special treat for us during the period 1964–67 was when distinguished retired faculty would come there from time to time to do research. I especially remember visits from Lily Ross Taylor and a friend of hers, Louise Adams Holland, a Bryn Mawr PhD who had taught at Smith College. They were inevitably engaged in lively conversation on some topic having to do with the Romans. I recall one remarkable occasion when they were having a friendly but very animated discussion about the use of a particular Latin word. As they looked up entries in the Lewis and Short Latin dictionary, they literally tossed the large volume back and forth to each other. We graduate

students were horrified, fearing the cover of this revered volume would come off. Thankfully the dictionary did not suffer any damage.

In summer 1967, just before I left for Rome to spend time as a graduate student at the American Academy, Mrs. Michels told me that Lily Ross Taylor would be at the Academy that fall and she asked that I make a special effort to see if she needed help in any way. As it turned out, Miss Taylor did not need help but indicated that she would be glad to give me whatever advice I needed to get the most out of being in Rome. When venturing out into downtown Rome on a busy weekday, I found crossing one of the many streets at the Piazza Venezia to be downright intimidating. Miss Taylor suggested that I wait for a nun or group of nuns and cross with them (there were many sisters in full garb in Rome in those days). It worked! In retrospect I have always found it to be sadly ironic that Miss Taylor lost her own life after being hit by a car.

That fall at the Academy Miss Taylor would invite us graduate students to her apartment before dinner. She loved to run by us something she was working on and ask for our advice. She also introduced us to limoncello, saying one could not be in Italy without trying it! We all felt what a treat it was to exchange ideas with her.

Russell “Darby” Scott, who joined the Latin department at Bryn Mawr during Dickison’s graduate student years, benefited immeasurably from Taylor’s mentoring, and treasured the time that he and his wife, a fellow classicist, spent with her. Scott, in a personal communication, relates how an episode from her year as Sather Lecturer transformed her own view of one political figure, and perhaps the course of American history itself:

Miss Taylor’s political reach was no less sure with Americans than with Romans. At the time she delivered the Sather Lectures, “Party Politics in the Age of Caesar,” at Berkeley, Earl Warren was in his third term as governor of California and so a member of the board of trustees of the university. A meeting of the board he attended happened to overlap with one of the lectures, and she recalled that he met her and said “Miss Taylor, I hear you are going to talk about getting out the vote today, and I want to hear you.” I don’t recall whether she told me that he did in fact attend the talk, but what was revealing about her later recollection was her evolved view of Warren. It had been decidedly unfavorable because of the treatment of Japanese Americans in California during the war, when he was the state’s Attorney General and then governor, but her view was transformed by his later judicial career and the emergence of the Warren Court. She always looked to the cumulative evidence on the personalities she studied.

In taking the intellectual and moral measure of this extraordinary academic figure, I would like to conclude by looking at some letters of recommendation for Taylor's graduate student Irene Rosenzweig, who applied, successfully for a Classical Studies fellowship at the AAR in 1928, the year after Taylor became professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr. Two of these letters are by Bryn Mawr Latin faculty, Susan Ballou and Taylor's predecessor Arthur Wheeler, who by then was Chair of the Princeton Classics Department as well as Sather Professor at Berkeley. A third is by Rosenzweig's undergraduate professor at Washington University Eugene Tavenner; the fourth is by Taylor. Ballou, Wheeler and Tavenner — apparently with the best intentions, out of concern that Rosenzweig's candidacy might fail owing to stereotyping prejudices toward Jews — all call attention to Rosenzweig's Jewish background and indeed various, pernicious stereotypes about Jews.⁴²

Ballou even suggests that Rosenzweig, who was born in Arkansas in 1903, somehow has a different, non-American origin as well as [non-white] race, saying "I should like if possible to counteract any unfavorable impressions that might arise from her name and evident nationality, by saying that she is evidently devoid of the sometimes unpleasant characteristics of her race" (then citing her personal attractiveness, "quiet good manners, and unvarying amiability").⁴³ After stating "Miss Rosenzweig is

⁴² For this correspondence, see Rosenzweig (1928).

⁴³ The letter from Susan H. Ballou, Associate Professor of Latin at Bryn Mawr College (and Carnegie Research Fellow in the School of Rome, 1905–1906), is dated February 18, 1928:

I have been asked to give my opinion of the qualifications of Miss Irene Rosenzweig, who is making application for a Fellowship in Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome for the year 1928–1929. Miss Rosenzweig held a Graduate Scholarship at Bryn Mawr College for two years, 1924–26, and was a member of my Seminary throughout that time. She took her M.A. degree in June, and since that time has had charge of the instruction in Latin in the Phoebe Anna Thorne School, which is directly under the supervision of the department of Education of Bryn Mawr College. During these latter years she has been a member of one Seminary course each year and also of the Latin Journal Club at the College. She is therefore close to completing the requirements for her Doctor's degree and is already working upon her thesis. She is at the point in her training when a year's study in Rome would be of the utmost value to her and at the point where she is excellently prepared to profit by it. She is a graduate of Washington University, 1924, and came to us upon the enthusiastic recommendations of Professor Shipley. His presence at Rome next year a Director of the School would make it a particularly felicitous

a Jewess, but she has none of the characteristics that are often called Hebraic”, Wheeler emphasizes that she is “nice and attractive”, adding “her only disability is her name and I honor her because [unlike another young Jewish woman he encountered in Rome] she is not masquerading under cover of a name which does not belong to her.”⁴⁴ Tavenner feels it

time for her to be there, and I am sure that he will have a word to add to what I have to say here.

Not only is Miss Rosenzweig an able student, she has also the type of mind and the personal character to make a successful research scholar. She is thorough and scholarly in her methods of work, is keen in critical discernment, and above all has the gift of being able to give her results clearly and of investing them with vivid interest. I should like if possible to counteract any unfavorable impressions that may arise from her last name and evident nationality, by saying that she is absolutely devoid of the sometimes unpleasant characteristics of her race. She is personally unusually attractive, has quiet good manners and unvarying amiability. She is one of the most pleasant and most satisfactory students I have ever worked with. I am very much interested in her future career and recommend her unreservedly.

⁴⁴ The letter from Arthur L. Wheeler, Chairman, Department of Classics, Princeton University; Sather Professor of Classical Literature, University of California, is dated February 20, 1928:

Miss Irene Rosenzweig, now a graduate student in Bryn Mawr College, is an applicant for a fellowship in the American Academy (Classical School) and I wish to say a word on her behalf since she was a member of my graduate class while I was still teaching at Bryn Mawr in 1924–25.

Miss Rosenzweig is a Jewess, but she has none of the characteristics which are so often called Hebraic. She is a very nice and attractive young woman of good ability and thorough training. Everybody who knows her will speak a good word for her, I am sure. Her only disability is her name and I honor her because, unlike one young woman whom I met at Rome in 1921–22, she is not masquerading under cover of a name which does not belong to her.

She is a very good student, has decided ability, and is well prepared to profit by the work in Rome. I believe that she will be a credit to the School if she is given a chance, for she has the health and energy to accomplish something worth while. I heartily recommend her.

For Wheeler, see Briggs (2020). The young woman whom Wheeler met at Rome may be Muriel Morris [Gardiner Buttinger] (1901–1985), who studied Classics at Wellesley College and at the American Academy in Rome in the early 1920’s before pursuing a career as a psychiatrist. Although she never met the author Lillian Hellman, Gardiner was immortalized in Hellman’s memoir, *Pentimento*, and a subsequent Hollywood film, as “Julia,” a millionaire Jewish medical student in Vienna whose anti-Nazi activities Hellman claimed to have heroically aided in the late 1930s. See Gardiner (1983) 28 and Isenberg (2010).

necessary, after describing Rosenzweig as a “Jewess from Arkansas” to underscore that she defies the stereotype by asserting “she is one of the most quiet, unobtrusive, well-mannered persons I know — qualities that are not always conspicuous among our younger Jewish students.”⁴⁵

By way of contrast, Taylor’s letter only discusses the quality of Rosenzweig’s work habits, preparation, communication skills, scholarly potential and intellectual endowments. Dated February 27, 1928, it merits quoting in full:

I should like heartily to endorse the candidacy of Miss Irene Rosenzweig for a Fellowship at the Academy. I have known Miss Rosenzweig only this year, but I have been very much impressed by her

⁴⁵ The letter from Eugene Tavenner, Professor of Latin and Greek, Washington University, Saint Louis, is dated February 20, 1928:

I am in receipt of a letter from Miss Irene Rosenzweig, at present studying at Bryn Mawr College, asking me to recommend her for a fellowship in the American Academy in Rome. This I do very gladly.

Miss Rosenzweig is a Jewess from Arkansas who did her undergraduate work at Washington University. Throughout her four years here not only did I have her in my classes much of the time, but for two of those four years I boarded in the same residence hall, and had an excellent opportunity to discover her qualities in the social sphere. As to this latter, she is one of the most quiet, unobtrusive, well-mannered persons I have known — qualities that are not always conspicuous among our younger Jewish students.

In scholarship she stood at the head of her group. Her work was at all times excellent, though at times one felt that she was a bit too keen in her desire for grades. Still, she knew how to work hard, wished to do so, has a fine enthusiasm for the Classics and won A’s in practically all her work.

She graduated, I believe, in 1924, and has spent the years since then at Bryn Mawr. Concerning her work there I do not doubt that her instructors will give you a very satisfactory report.

In view of these facts I wish heartily to recommend her for a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome.

According to Herbert (2020), Tavenner’s “most enduring achievement was to persuade John Max Wuelfing (1859–1929) to leave by will his very large cabinet of ancient coins to Washington University in St. Louis ... their cordial relationship was sealed when Tavenner, then a widower, married Wuelfing’s daughter in Wuelfing’s hospital room two days before his death.” I would also mention among his achievements Hildegard Wulfing [*sic*] Roberts (1947–2010), the “granddaughter of Hildegard and Eugene Tavenner,” and “niece of Tom and Priscilla Tavenner”, who graduated from Wellesley College in 1968, two years behind me, as a fellow Classics major. She taught Latin, Greek, Mythology and English in the Denver area in a career that spanned forty years.

seriousness, her interest, and her ability to take hold of her work with independence and constructive power. The subject of my seminary of which she is a member is Roman Religion, and I suggested that Miss Rosenzweig study the Iguvine tablets for the picture of the religious organization of an Italian city. It is my idea that, if she should secure a fellowship, she should be able to continue her work and produce a monograph on the cults of Umbria along the lines of the geographical studies of Italian cults already published or in progress at the Academy. No one has yet undertaken the Umbrian cults, for which the Iguvine tablets present material of unparalleled importance for the religion of the ancient city. In her work Miss Rosenzweig was hampered by lack of training in Italic dialects, but she has been very fortunate in securing some aid from Professor Prokosch on doubtful questions. On her own part she has shown much initiative in handling the material. The paper submitted is of course tentative, but it shows the lines along which she is working. If she secures a Fellowship, she will, I feel sure, produce a study that will be a credit to the Academy.

Miss Rosenzweig has been at a disadvantage because she did not begin her work in Greek until after she had taken her A.B. Conflicts in her teaching schedule have prevented her from continuing her Greek in college classes for the past two years, but she has been reading alone in the summer, and she has shown that she can use Greek in her own work.

Miss Rosenzweig is personally very attractive. She presents her material well and has interested the members of the seminary in her work, even in certain very technical parts of it. She has already shown her ability as a teacher at the model school. She represents the type of person that the Academy would like to send out into college teaching. I believe, too, that she has enough real interest to make it probable that she will continue to do research work. She has a full time schedule this year, and yet has found time to do a great deal of work on general questions of Roman religion as well as on the particular problems of her paper. However she has worked with a wide interest in her subject and a desire to pursue it in all its bearings. She is very critical of her own efforts, and is well aware of how much she has ahead of her.⁴⁶

Presumably Taylor realized that colleagues such as Ballou — who must have been among my Latin teacher Ruth Rosenberg Ehrlich's Bryn Mawr instructors in 1925 through 1926 — might foreground, and problematize, the Jewishness of Jewish students. But in judging students — as she did

⁴⁶ Taylor does not give her title, although the letter is on Bryn Mawr College Department of Latin stationery.

“her” AAR fellows Reinhold and Lewis — she had no truck with such modes of assessment. Rather, she addressed the issues raised by these prejudicial attitudes from a larger vantage point in two essays.

One, composed during World War II, is on “Intolerance and Racial Differences.” Only five pages of what is clearly a longer text are to be found in her Bryn Mawr College archive papers; Appendix IV quotes them in full. To be sure, some of Taylor’s language in this essay, now over 75 years old, is dated if not totally outmoded: her use of “man” and “men” to describe human beings in singular and plural; and of terms such as “negro slaves” and “western civilization.” Her effort to maintain that the Italian fascists were among the chief opponents of Hitler’s racialism before they allied with Hitler rings hollow, too. Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, a year before the 1936 Rome–Berlin Axis agreement; the Italians’ passage of race laws in November 1938 occurred six months before the German–Italian alliance known as the “Pact of Steel”, which formalized the 1936 arrangements. Taylor’s failure to discuss the influence of American racism on Hitler is also disquieting, perhaps accounted for by her own Southern upbringing.⁴⁷

But her analysis warrants close attention as well as admiration for its profound understanding of what was happening in Germany as she wrote and why, particularly her remark “Today, as we look back and see how the Nazis put these theories into practice by reducing European peoples to servitude and by exterminating large masses of the Jews, it is staggering to realize that the dangers of the racialism enunciated in *Mein Kampf* were unrealized in the twenties and thirties. Nazi teaching was either disregarded as in America or discarded as false doctrine.” We should pay special heed to her powerful assertion that “Mr. Churchill to the contrary, this is in the American view an ideological war and we are fighting to preserve our democracy from a kultur founded on racialism.” Above all, her recognition that anti-Black racism, especially as evinced in the “presence of negro slaves” central to its American manifestation, is inseparably intertwined with the anti-semitism pervading and warping German classical scholarship at the time she was writing, has major implications for how our field has taken shape, both intellectually and demographically, over the past century. In addition to eschewing the stereotypes about Jews in her assessment of Irene Rosenzweig, like Taylor herself a woman from the American South, she has here sought to account for them, and shown why they are pernicious not only to an informed understanding of both the Greek and Roman past, but also to

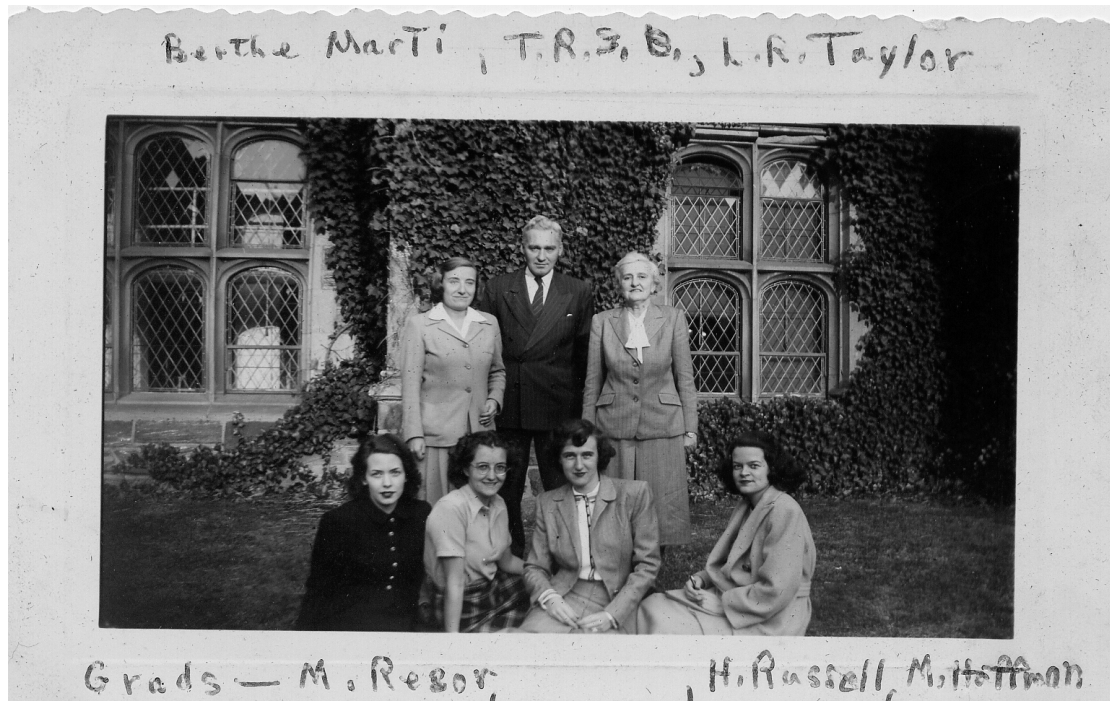
⁴⁷ For Fascism’s embrace of racism and anti-semitism, see Cassata (2008), Sarfatti (2017) and (2018); Ross (2018).

the process of determining who gets credentialed to study and teach that past on our shores.

Taylor's other essay of relevance to the issue of prejudice, in this instance a range of biases by the state that restrict academic freedom through an "ideology imposed ... from above," derives from a 1957 lecture titled "On Scholarship and Nationalism." Ambitious in design and scope, it deals with "developments [she has] witnessed in her lifetime, the influence of ideologies — Fascism, Nazism and Communism — on scholarship, and the relations of scholarship in western Europe today, and, especially, and in America to national interests and national ideals." Brennan rightly labels it a "genuine tour de force, in which Taylor spells out all her criticisms of what Mussolini and Fascism had inflicted on Rome and Italy of the past and the present".⁴⁸ And it is in those connections with Rome and Italy of the past that she made for us in her own present, and the present of the past half-century, that Lily Ross Taylor matters, at Bryn Mawr and beyond.

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⁴⁸ Brennan (2018).

FIGURE 1

Berthe Marti, T. Robert S. Broughton, Lily Ross Taylor

Margaret Elaine Reesor (PhD 1951), Alice Davies Stanley (PhD 1954),
Helen Elizabeth Russell (PhD 1950), Martha Wilson Hoffman (PhD 1951)

Courtesy of T. Corey Brennan

FIGURE 2



Bust of Lily Ross Taylor (1886–1969),
Library of the American Academy in Rome

Artist: Allen Harris FAAR'61 (signed and dated 1970)

FIGURE 3



Lily Ross Taylor, 1919

Courtesy of T. Corey Brennan

APPENDIX I

CELIA SCHULTZ ON LILY ROSS TAYLOR

(UNPUBLISHED PAPER PRESENTED AT THE BRYN MAWR COLLEGE SYMPOSIUM
ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF TAYLOR'S DEATH, NOVEMBER 22, 2019)

Scientists use the term “elegant solution” for an answer to a problem that achieves maximum results with minimal effort. Miss Taylor was a master of the elegant solution. Fortunately for me, she applied her talent to a longstanding prosopographical problem ... Here's some background. After Cicero's return from exile in 57 BCE, he delivered a speech, *De Domo Sua*, that was aimed at recovering ownership of his house on the Palatine. Clodius, who had driven Cicero into exile in the first place, had bought the house and a neighboring plot after Cicero left the city. When Cicero returned home, the senate declared that his property should be returned to him. But there was a problem. Clodius had built and consecrated a shrine to the goddess Libertas on the property. Clodius argued that the land belonged to the goddess and could not be returned to mortal ownership. Cicero's counter-argument is, largely, that the consecration was never properly conducted, so the goddess did not, in fact, own the land. Thus it could — nay should! — be given back to him.

Cicero claims that the *pontifex* who consecrated Libertas's shrine — a man named L. Natta — was utterly inept. He bungled the prayers and his hands shook when he touched the doorposts. Cicero also tells us that Natta only helped out Clodius because he was Clodius's brother-in-law: Natta's sister and mother apparently badgered Natta into doing this favor for Clodius. Who are these women? Now, Servius tells us that Natta was a Pinarius Natta, and this has led many scholars to assume that Clodius had a wife named Pinaria — a woman who is otherwise unattested. Since Natta is also identified as the stepson of L. Licinius Murena, the consul of 62, scholars long assumed that Natta's mother — otherwise unattested, but we can be reasonably sure she existed — otherwise we wouldn't have Natta — that Natta's mother married at least twice: once to Natta's father and then to Murena. A solution that requires the manufacture of two women is, I hope we can all agree, pretty clunky.

But Miss Taylor proposed a much better solution that produces the same family connections using two women who are amply attested in the ancient sources. It is genuinely elegant. The only wife of Clodius that we know about is a woman named Fulvia. You probably know her as the Roman wife of Marcus Antonius, before he hooked up with Cleopatra. Fulvia's mother was named Sempronia. It has sometimes been thought that she is the same Sempronia whom Sallust recounts among the Catilinarian conspirators, or perhaps the Catilinarian Sempronia's sister, but these options seem highly unlikely to me. Cicero hated Fulvia, and he made her a target in his series of speeches aimed against Antonius. If he could throw at Fulvia that her mother or aunt had been a Catilinarian, he certainly would have. But he is silent on this matter. At any

rate, what we know about our Sempronia is that, a few years after this event, she — and Fulvia — testified against Clodius's murderer in court. Sempronia and Fulvia both were redoubtable women.

Miss Taylor posited that Fulvia's mother, Sempronia, was married three times — not at all an unusual number of marriages for an aristocratic woman in the Late Republic. Her first husband was a Pinarius (with whom she had Natta, the pontifex). Miss Taylor argued that after Pinarius Senior died or divorced her, Sempronia married Fulvius Bambalio (Fulvia's father, a man who seems never to have held political office), and then she married Murena, a man who most certainly did hold political office. This reconstruction has met with nearly universal acceptance since it appeared in a footnote in her 1942 article on "Caesar's Colleagues in the Pontifical College"...

And Miss Taylor's solution is even more elegant than it already appears because it solves a second longstanding problem. Lately, I have been thinking a lot about Fulvia. One of the great questions about her, and one that was posed to me some time ago by Judy Hallett, is why did Fulvia's father allow her to marry Clodius. Clodius certainly wasn't the sort of man a father — any father — would be excited to have as a son-in-law. From early on in his career, Clodius had a reputation as a dangerous demagogue and by the time he and Fulvia married, he'd been at the center of one of the biggest scandals to hit Rome in ages. I refer, of course, to the Bona Dea scandal, when Clodius, dressed as a female lute player, infiltrated the all-female ritual of the Bona Dea that was being held at the house of Julius Caesar in December of 62. He got caught, but escaped by leaping out a bedroom window, although not before Caesar's mother and sister could identify him. Ultimately Clodius was acquitted in court — he is said to have bankrupted himself by bribing the jurors — but the damage to his political career was severe.

Here's where Miss Taylor's work comes in. If Natta is Murena's stepson through Sempronia, then Murena must also be Fulvia's stepfather — everybody with me? — and this could explain how Fulvia came to marry Clodius. Clodius and Murena had known one another since they both served with Lucullus in his war against Mithridates in the early 60s BCE. Their connection continued when Clodius then served on Murena's staff when he was governor of Gaul. When Murena returned to Rome to run for the consulship of 62, Clodius returned with him to assist with his campaign. Murena was duly elected. That means that the Bona Dea scandal happened while Murena was consul, just weeks before his term ended. He seems to have been loyal to Clodius in the aftermath by keeping the senate from taking up the case for as long as he was still consul. What I propose is that Murena made a second string show of support by offering his step-daughter's hand in marriage to Clodius. So the answer to the question "why did Fulvia's father allow her to marry Clodius?" is that he didn't. It wasn't Fulvia's father who made the decision. It was her stepfather. Perhaps Fulvius Bambalio was deceased. Or perhaps he was not, but his opinion (if he objected) was overruled by his wife's much more powerful new husband.

APPENDIX II

On 198–199 of Thornton Wilder’s novel *Theophilus North* (1973), the narrator and title character, Wisconsin-born Theophilus North, advises his tutee, Wisconsin-born Myra Granberry, on how to deal with him — and with anonymous letters about her philandering husband:

[Theophilus]: “Mrs. Granberry, I make it a rule that in all the houses where I *work* I only use family names and I wish to be called by my own.”

[Myra]: “You and your rules. *We’re from Wisconsin*. Don’t be an Easterner. Don’t be a stuffed owl.”

We glared at each other.

[Her nurse] Mrs. Cummings said, “Oh, Mr. North, I wish you would make an exception in this case — seeing” — and she gave me a significant glance — “that you are both Badgers”.

[Theophilus]: “I have a great respect for Mrs. Cummings. She is an Easterner and I wish you would apologize to her for having called her a stuffed owl”...

On 208, Theophilus responds to the pregnant Myra’s unhappiness over anonymous letters claiming her husband is involved with another woman:

[Theophilus]: “Myra, all anonymous letters are signed either by ‘A Friend’ or ‘Your Well Wisher.’” She burst into tears. “Myra, no Badger cries after the age of eleven ... Give me these letters and in two weeks I’ll find the writer and drive him — or her — out of town.”

[Myra]: “But, Theophilus, maybe *him* or *her* is right. Maybe my husband loves Miss Desmoulins. Maybe my baby has no father any more. Then I might as well die. Because I love my husband more than anything else in the world.”

[Theophilus]: “Badgers don’t cry, Myra — they fight. They’re smart, they’re brave, and they defend what they’ve got. They also have something missing in you ... They’re like otters. They have a sense of fun and laughter and *wicked tricks* ... Badgers always catch the snake.”

Wilder (1897–1975) may well have been acquainted with “Badger” Lily Ross Taylor. He seems to have drawn on her research for his portrayal of Julius Caesar in his 1948 novel *The Ides of March*. His Yale Latin professor and close family friend Clarence W. Mendell (1883–1970) was married to Romanesque art historian Elizabeth Lawrence Mendell ’25, who served on the Bryn Mawr College Seventy-Fifth Anniversary committee that selected Taylor for a Distinguished Service Citation in 1960.

APPENDIX III

LILY ROSS TAYLOR IN THE TOTALLY FICTITIOUS NOVEL BY
J. HYLAND, *THE MOSES VIRUS* (2014)

Relevant pages include 22–23:

What faced Tom [in the office of “Doc”, the dead archaeologist “Dr. Robert Brown of Bryn Mawr College in the city of Philadelphia in the United States of America”] was clutter ...

Then, a single piece of paper caught Tom’s attention ... a work order, dated September 17, 1943, from an Italian construction company for some work in the cryptoporticus at the American Academy in Rome. The name of the Swiss Institute was stamped on the paper and countersigned by Lily Ross Taylor. There was an approval stamp with the initials “PF” next to that. Tom recognized Lily Ross Taylor’s name and knew she had been one of the Academy’s earliest female fellows, the first woman director of the American Academy and a classicist from Bryn Mawr College. Why would Doc have this old work order? ...

He showed the old work order to Caroline [Sibelius, AAR Director]. “Strange. Doc and I were just talking about Lily Ross Taylor last week. She was quite a personality. We have a file on her in the library, and he must have found it there.”

24–28:

Tom took the file [on LRT]. There was a list of Lily Ross Taylor’s publications, her awards, and public references to her scholarship and historical role in the Academy. Standard stuff, Tom thought. There were a few photographs in the file. Ross had worn her hair in a crew cut and dressed in mannish clothes. He could picture her, a feisty and controversial figure at Bryn Mawr, a conservative women’s college at the time. Then, he found a small brown envelope wrapped loosely with a string ...

Tom found two letters inside, one dated August 1, 1943, and the other dated September 26, 1943. The first was a carbon copy from Lily to her sister in Bryn Mawr:

Rome is exceedingly interesting. Today, Sunday, August 1, there was a solar eclipse, with the moon covering the sun, darkening the Eternal City. The newspapers were trying to tie this event to everything else that has been happening. Speaking of events, two days ago, American bombers attacked Rome, aiming to destroy the rail yards of the main station, the Termini. Some of the bombs went astray and five hundred Romans were killed and many more were wounded. The Church of San Lorenzo, where the Pope’s predecessor is buried, was damaged. Pius XII hurried there where he prayed, offered money and sympathy. When he left, his long

white coat was covered with blood. I don't know what to think. Of course with the Allies landing in Sicily and American bombers all over Rome — that's all good news. But innocent people getting killed upsets me.

Then, last week, on July 24th, Mussolini was voted out of office and a constitutional monarchy with a democratic parliament replaced him. This is wonderful news. But, now everyone expects the Germans to invade Italy.

Rome, as you can see, is in turmoil. I'm safe at the Swiss Institute — with the American Academy closed, I've got nothing official to do, so I spend my days in the Swiss library.

There is one unusual thing. Two days ago, on July 30, a cardinal and a priest from the Vatican — all at the official request of Pius XII — visited the Swiss Institute and the American Academy. They arrived and were greeted with as much fanfare as the dour Swiss know how to do — which isn't much. It seems they really wanted to visit the grounds of the American Academy, so I took them around. They were very secretive, so I have nothing to report, except the oddity of their visit.

If I were superstitious, I'd wonder about the moon blocking the sun and the coincidence of the cardinal's visit. But I'm not superstitious.

Love to you and your family,
Lily

What had the cardinal and his colleague wanted at the Academy? No higher-ups in the Church had ever visited the American Academy to Tom's knowledge. Nor had top Italian politicians, except one famous visit by Mussolini, captured on a Pathe News clip, when the music fellows played "Turkey in the Straw" in his honor.

In the September 26 letter, Lily's sister's anxiety for Lily's safety was evident ...

[Tom reports what he found to Caroline Sibelius]

"There were two letters; one, dated in August 1943 from Lily to her sister in Bryn Mawr and one from Lily's sister to her in September 1943."

"That was an increasingly dangerous time in Rome."

"How could she be at the Academy after Italy and Germany declared war on us?"

"When it looked like Italy would join Germany in declaring war on the United States, just after Pearl Harbor, the director of the Swiss Institute contacted the Academy to offer to take over the Academy property, to prevent the Italian Fascists from confiscating it. I believe Lily was instrumental in promoting this idea at the time."

"I assume the Academy's board jumped [sic] such a generous offer."

"On the contrary — the trustees in New York never made a decision. They suspected that the Swiss offer was just a power play to get our land and building. They never sanctioned the move. Once war was declared on the United States, the Swiss didn't wait for an official invitation — as the Americans moved out, the Swiss came in, uninvited, taking charge and protecting the Academy. Lily insisted on staying to watch over things. For the next couple of years, she was safe so long as Swiss neutrality was honored by

the Germans and the Italians. In late 1943, Mussolini was deposed and Germany invaded Italy — then she knew she had to get out of Italy. She escaped by getting on a merchant freighter, which took her to England. From there she was put on a U.S. Air Force plane for the states. It's all in the records back in New York."

"It doesn't explain Doc's interest in her or what the work order for the America Academy's cryptoporticus with approvals by the Swiss Institute and 'Pf' mean," Tom said.

Caroline shrugged. "Maybe it has something to do with his research for the dig in the Roman Forum. Lily was his mentor at Bryn Mawr, you know, and perhaps she mentioned it to him."

"Yes, I remember now. He took her position after she retired. It still seems a bit odd."

40-41:

[The two official Swiss Institutes reports from 1942 and 1943] confirmed that Lily Ross Taylor was in residence at the Swiss Institute, and that two representatives of the Vatican had visited the Institute in July 1943 ...

The first document was an official announcement from the director of the Swiss Institute that Cardinal Visconti would be there in July 30, 1943, at 3p.m., a guest of Lily Ross Taylor, director pro tem of the American Academy in Rome.

The second document ... read:

Memorandum for the File — Confidential:

On July 30, 1943, Cardinal Visconti, accompanied by a young priest, visited the Swiss Institute. They said that Pope Pius XII had sent them to visit the Institute but also the American Academy, which is under the protection of the Swiss. No reason other than Vatican business was offered. The director of the Swiss Institute and Miss Lily Ross Taylor of the American Academy, a guest of the Institute, accompanied Cardinal Visconti to the American Academy on the Janiculum Hill where Miss Taylor showed them through the buildings. They requested information about the large rooms in the basement of the main building. When they had completed their tour of the American Academy, the cardinal asked the director and his associates to keep his visit confidential.

Signed: Frederick Schumann, secretary

Odd, Tom thought. Why would a senior official of the Vatican be interested in the Academy's cryptoporticus. Had the work order he had found in Doc's papers been connected to this visit? There was also a signed photograph of the cardinal, Lily Ross Taylor, the director of the Swiss Institute, and a young, unidentified priest, all standing in the main receiving room of the Institute. The cardinal's arms were inside his robe; he was standing erect, with no smile on his face. Visconti looked stern, totally businesslike. There was no humor in his face. On the other hand, the young priest, the Swiss director, and Lily Ross

Taylor — the others in the picture — were captured by the camera laughing with each other, appearing to be having a good time talking.

70–71

[Caroline to Tom] “By the way, how’d your visit go at the Swiss Institute?”

“It was interesting, but didn’t reveal much. I confirmed that in 1943 Lily Ross Taylor was staying at the Institute after the Academy closed, and that a powerful cardinal, Paolo Visconti, asked to visit the Swiss Institute and the American Academy as well ... Visconti insisted on seeing the Academy, but specifically the cryptoporticus, which he and his colleague spent time visiting alone.”

“Cryptoporticus? I wonder why.” Caroline thought for a moment. “It’s a huge space, part of it being the lower floors of the library. The rest — in 1943 anyway — was filled with trunks, bicycles, books, archaeological artifacts from some of the Academy’s excavations, the photographic collections — in short, anything that anyone wanted to store until their next visit.”

“Is it self-contained?”

“Almost entirely. Wait a minute. Maybe the cryptoporticus was not the cardinal’s objective. Maybe it was Trajan’s aqueduct. There would have been an old iron grate on the floor of the cryptoporticus leading to the aqueduct.”

Trajan’s aqueduct, or the *Aqua Traiana*, was finished around AD 112. It was the last great aqueduct to be built in Imperial Rome. It entered Rome at the Janiculum Hill, ran under what was now the Academy’s Main Building, then down the hill, across the Tiber — on a special bridge — and underground again to the Baths of Trajan. It was rediscovered when the building was being constructed in 1913–1914.

Tom paused, trying to picture the Roman Forum. Then he remembered — Trajan had his public baths built over the only remaining section of Nero’s Golden House. Precisely, he thought, where Doc’s underground passageway in the Roman Forum led.

APPENDIX IV

TAYLOR'S UNPUBLISHED ESSAY ON
"INTOLERANCE AND RACIAL DIFFERENCES"
(WRITTEN DURING WORLD WAR II)

Intolerance of racial differences is dangerous for our democracy because it is directly in conflict with the principles on which American democracy was founded. According to the American creed enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and frequently reiterated by our statesmen, all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But racial intolerance, or racialism, expressed by discriminations against other races, is based on the presumption that men are unequal and that superior endowments of certain races entitle them to superior rights and privileges.

Racial intolerance and racial discrimination are thus a threat to our democracy — a threat which because of the presence of negro slaves existed from the beginning of the republic. The framer of the Declaration recognized the threat and favored the abolition of slavery. As our population has been augmented from other races, the danger to our system of democracy presented by discriminations which the earlier immigrants practiced has been widely acknowledged. But the seriousness of the danger has been more fully realized in the present war. For, Mr. Churchill to the contrary, this is in the American view an ideological war and we are fighting to preserve our democracy from a kultur [sic] founded on racialism.

Although racial intolerance is based on something primitive in man — a tendency to scorn those who are different in appearance and manners from one's self, racialism actually has no long history behind it. The word race itself is of recent origin. It is a word of unknown derivation which in related forms came into general use in the Renaissance and which in the 18th century became the designation of the various branches of human-kind. Until that time differences in culture and religion far more than race were the basis of prejudice that existed among all groups of men. Among the Greeks there was in the distinction between Greeks and barbarians something of racialism, but the chief basis of conflict was difference of culture. That is shown by the fact that there was no real opposition to admixture of races: in fact Alexander the Great, leading the way by taking a Persian wife himself, encouraged extensive intermarriage between his soldiers and the women of the Persians whom he had conquered. Among the Romans race prejudice was almost unknown. The Roman idea was to make all the world Roman, and the Roman empire represented an amalgamation of many peoples. The amalgamation proceeded through intermarriage with native peoples in the provinces and with the descendants of freed slaves in Italy.

Among the Jews after the Babylonian captivity there are signs of racialism. The prophet Ezra condemned the intermarriage and the mingling of the Jews' holy seed with such peoples as the Ammonites, the Jebusites and the Hittites. The Jews who had intermarried put aside their foreign wives. But the Jewish attitude was at least in part based on an exclusive religion and distinctive customs.⁴⁹

The early Christians, depending on the teaching of Christ and on Paul's missionary doctrine, discarded the exclusiveness of the Jews, and, preaching the brotherhood of man, set out to win all races for their new religion. For centuries religion rather than race was the basis of intolerance. It was because of his religion rather than his race that the Jew was persecuted in the Middle Ages, and there are plenty of records of forcible baptism to end the cleavage between Christians and Jews.

In western civilization race prejudice seems to have developed as a result of the exploitation of subject peoples which followed the discovery of the New World and the development of contacts with Asia, Africa and the islands of the Pacific. The Anglo-Saxons led the way in discriminating against the people of conquered lands. While in Latin America Spanish and Portuguese settlers mixed freely with the native population and in most countries became amalgamated with them, the predominantly Anglo-Saxon settlers of North America either dislodged the Indians or exterminated them to make a place for the white man. Among the teeming peoples of Africa and Asia where such a policy was not possible, the Anglo-Saxon settlers did not intermarry with the natives but set themselves up as a master race.

In the 18th century controversy over slavery, the relative merits of races became a frequent subject of discussion, the opponents of slavery proclaiming the equality of all mankind and the proponents maintaining the inferiority of the black race.

But it was not until the middle of the 19th century that racialism was reduced to dogma. The father of racialism is a Frenchman, Count Gobineau, who in 1853 began to publish his elaborate essay on the Inequality of the Human Races. Gobineau asserted the superiority of the white race over the yellow and the black races, and condemned the mixture because it lowered the stock of the superior race. He was interested not in French nationalism but in the maintenance of a European aristocracy unmixed with the common people. It was to a German king, George V of Hanover, that Gobineau dedicated his work.

Gobineau's ideas found fruitful soil in Germany and it was there that his racialism was transformed into nationalism. The Germans were already imbued with the Aryan myth — the legend of the superiority of the blue-eyed blonde-haired race from whom they claimed descent — and there was a rising tide of anti-Semitism. Richard Wagner, who considered anti-Semitism with his idealization of the early Germans, took up Gobineau's doctrines. An Englishman, Wagner's son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who found Germany

more to his liking than his native land, was one of the strongest influences in fashioning this racist doctrine into German nationalism. Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, published in 1899, glorified the early Teuton and his destiny and described the Jew as an alien at odds with western civilization. Chamberlain's work attracted the interest of Kaiser Wilhelm and exerted great influence in Germany before World War I.

In the period of disillusionment that followed Germany's defeat in that war, the myth of the German as the embodiment of the Aryan flourished, and anti-Semitism was constantly on the increase. Arthur Rosenberg, now one of the leaders of the Nazi hierarchy, became Chamberlain's ardent disciple and communicated his ideas to Hitler who was ready to receive them because of the bitterness of his anti-Semitism. Under Rosenberg's influence Hitler set his theories forth in *Mein Kampf*. There we find the Aryans or Nordics glorified as the creators of every great culture; they had achieved their greatest heights, Hitler declared, in a discussion almost entirely devoid of any concrete facts, by subjecting other peoples to do menial work, thus leaving the master Aryans free for the warlike and creative activity for which they were endowed by nature. The various peoples of the Aryans were able to go on with their creative work, Hitler holds, until they made the fatal mistake of mixing with these subject races. Their genius gradually declined. They became mixed races of second rank like the Italians who could stand culture but could not make it. The direct opposite of the Aryans, in Hitler's view, is the Jew. Throughout history — and again concrete details to prove his points are almost entirely absent — the Jew has completely lacked creative power. He has been a parasite and a bloodsucker whose one object is self survival and who in his efforts to survive has been an agent of destruction in the cultures on which he fastened himself.

It follows that the race that still represents the Aryan tradition — the German — should acquire races of slaves to leave the masters free for their divine destiny and should dislodge or exterminate the Jews who would as parasites destroy the culture created by the Aryans.

Today as we look back and see how the Nazis put these theories into practice by reducing European peoples to servitude and by exterminating large masses of the Jews, it is staggering to realize that the dangers of the racialism enunciated in *Mein Kampf* were unrealized in the twenties and early thirties. Nazi teaching was either disregarded as in America or discarded as false doctrine. It is interesting that the Italian Fascists were among the chief opponents of this racialism. After the Fascist alliance with Hitler, the article *Razza, race*, had to be rewritten in an appendix of the official Italian Encyclopedia. In the new article it was demonstrated that the Italians were Aryans, and creative Aryans of the first rank.

After Hitler came to power and established in the universities chairs of *Rassenkunde* to demonstrate the superiority of the German Aryans and an institute of Jewish history to show up the destructive character of the Jewish people, the import of Nazi teaching reached the scholarly world which had long looked to German leadership in learning and science. The new doctrine became the leading theme of historical and literary criticism. In the classical field, with

which I'm most familiar, race was the main subject under discussion. The Aryans, as Rosenberg put it, dressed their most beautiful dream in Greece and were responsible for the great achievements of Rome, but both in Greece and Rome they sank because they did not maintain their racial integrity. Yet there were still fair-haired blue-eyed survivors of the Aryans in the north, the German of Tacitus' *Germania* which became one of the chief text books of Nazi education. The scientists also fell into line and Nazi biologists argued that various types of men were descended from different species of apes — the Aryans, of course, coming from the highest type.

Note: Subsequent research on ancient diaspora Judaism has called into question Taylor's claim about Jewish exclusiveness here. See Gruen (2002) and Pearce (2013).

APPENDIX V

LETTERS FROM KATHERINE A. GEFFCKEN,
PROFESSOR EMERITA AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE AND FAAR '54–55,
TO HER FORMER STUDENT JUDITH P. HALLETT IN OCTOBER 2020.

They respond to an earlier draft of this essay and to a request for her help in identifying Alice Stanley, who is not identified in the photograph (Figure 1) — given to Corey Brennan by the Broughton family — accompanying this essay.



Part One

Atlanta, October 27, 2020

Dear Judy,

Thank you so much for sending me your paper on LRT ... Speaking of BMC [Bryn Mawr College] types at Wellesley — did you overlap with Emily Vermeule, when she taught for a few years in the WC [Wellesley College] Greek department?

[JPH: Vermeule arrived at Wellesley in the fall of 1965, my senior year. She was appointed to a professorship in the Harvard Classics Department in 1969, during my fourth year of graduate school there].

She was quintessentially BMC. Like H[anna] Holborn Grey, one of the six star *summas* [= *summa cum laude* graduate] in the class of 1950. Also later, BMC PhD ([BMC faculty member] Mabel Lang “rescued” her from Radcliffe) ...

Note that in the letter from the Wisconsin Classics Department, the two women are BMC PhDs: Barbara Hughes Fowler (whom I knew in graduate school) and Fannie LeMoine ...

Miss Taylor never seemed Southern to me! Southerners instinctively recognize one another and have bonds of language and culture. I never saw any of this in her (unlike [Irene] Rosenzweig, who in her Arkansas background had deep Southern roots and reactions, manners, feminine style (Reenie was elegant)). Charles Babcock [AAR fellow, later Professor of Classics at Ohio State University] used to say that Miss Taylor only seemed/sounded Southern when she talked to animals and babies!

On the Wellesley Board, LRT was the Trustee representing the faculty. I'm not sure this Board position still exists, but I remember that we elected this Trustee representative every so often.

About LRT and the OSS: we heard that she and other classicists worked a lot with maps, offering their knowledge of topography, monuments etc.

Clearly, the military planners did not listen to the classicists when they decided to land at Salerno and Anzio.

I have a list of all the times LRT was in Rome (the diary of Director Stevens gives us her arrival and departure dates). That is, between 1917 and 1932. The guest register of the pensione where she stayed in Rome shows her residence when an ASCSR student (1909–1910) and in summer 1912, also. Her AAR Fellowship (I would say in Classical Studies, not Archaeology) was at least her 3rd time in Rome.

“second fellowship” — fellowships in those days could be one or two or three years — mostly two. LRT returned to complete her fellowship later (making up the months given to the Red Cross (all by permission of the Trustees)).

As Corey [Brennan] heard me explain last November, there were no female Fellows between 1913 and 1917 because of horrible manipulations by the AAR NY office, to avoid having women awarded fellowships.

Improving women’s life at AAR. The Classical School students had to live out. The situation did not really become OK until after WWII. From 1917 to mid 1930s, up to three women Fellows lived in the guest rooms at the Villa Aurelia. Then, in the 30s until departure as WWII got serious, 2 women Fellows lived in a cluster of rooms on the second floor back hall of the Main Building. BUT they could not enter the salone, the main dining room, and could go upstairs only on the back staircase. Their quarters were essentially sealed off from the rest of the AAR. They could use the Library, of course, and the Classics lecture room.

One of the things Haight did accomplish was, on one or two occasions, to get heat in the women’s living quarters.

From her time as a Student in the Classical School, Haight was often in Rome. She was the only lecturer at the AAR in 34–35 because the AAR budget for that year had eliminated funds for the characteristically 10–15 lectures scheduled during every normal year ...

What evidence do we have that Haight’s lecture presented a complicated situation for LRT? I am sure that Haight was often at the AAR that year — using Library, going on field trips. Her giving her lecture without honorarium was a natural thing for LRT to arrange. And LRT herself was in continuous contact with Fascist Scholars.

[JPH: Haight’s frequent presence at the AAR was likely to have caused difficulties for LRT. Much evidence attests that LRT was extremely supportive of Jewish scholars, especially those who fled Nazi Germany, and especially those with whom she was then mentoring and championing in Rome. Yet there is nothing to suggest that Haight displayed similar sentiments and sympathies. Indeed, quite the opposite is implied by evidence analyzed in Lateiner (1996–1997) and (2020) on Haight, and by correspondence, to and from both Haight and the German Jewish refugee classicist Vera Lachmann, quoted in Hallett 2019b. These letters testify to Haight’s shoddy treatment of Vera Lachmann when Lachmann asked her, totally in vain, to help her friend Renata von Scheliha escape the Nazis by offering her a position at Vassar.]

Emilio Gabba was one of three Italian Fulbrights at the AAR in my year, 1954–55. I knew Gabba well. He did not come on all our fieldtrips but he went

to Greece with us. It was easier at that time for an Italian to travel with a group of Americans than by himself — naturally, an immense amount of anti-Italian feeling in Greece that soon after WWII. Sometime during 1976–77 when I gave a lecture at the AAR, Gabba turned up, sat in the first row with [luminary Italian epigraphical scholar] Silvio Panciera (who was around all the time) — I was very honored and pleased to see Gabba there. Charles Babcock always kept in touch with him.

When LRT returned to the US after 1952–55, classicists who had met her in Rome came to Bryn Mawr to get her advice etc — I remember visits from [J.] Arthur Hanson and [James] Luce [both professors of Classics at Princeton].

Louise Adams Holland was BA Barnard, MA Columbia, PhD BMC. Like LRT she was one of Tenney Frank's students, was a Student at the AAR in 1916–17, a Fellow in the early 1920's, and the author of *Janus and the Bridge*. She was long an unofficial member of the BMC Latin Department, filling in when others were away. In spring 1954 our seminar read the early books of Livy with her — she was a fantastic teacher ...

Ballou's and Wheeler's comments are certainly unacceptable, and I defend them in no way. Yet, as you so well know, they were the commonly held views of their time, not exceptional at all. It is a big question on many fronts today: is it fair to judge by 2020 standards people who lived in a different era?

[JPH: I am judging those who wrote letters in support of Rosenzweig in 1928 by comparing them to their contemporaries. My junior high school Latin teacher Ruth Rosenberg Ehrlich, who was Jewish, evidently perceived the way Ballou interacted with her at Bryn Mawr as anti-semitic, in contrast to how she had been treated by her [gentile] teachers at the Philadelphia High School for Girls, such as Ethel Chubb, a 1921 Classical studies and archaeology AAR fellow. More important, I have found no evidence that LRT subscribed to anti-semitic sentiments or even stereotypes, and much testimony that, when assessing the suitability of students and fellow scholars for different academic opportunities, she focused exclusively on their academic abilities].

Miss Ballou was incidentally a promising scholar who suffered many misfortunes, and was characterized by this time as "sad."... Wheeler was still in a way with us in the 1950s. In the Latin seminar room, his photograph along with that of Tenney Frank dominated one corner of the bookshelves. Also, his widow Ann Pell Wheeler (BMC Prof of Math emerita) lived nearby and was regarded as an extended member of the Latin faculty and someone constantly visited. I think I went once with [Bryn Mawr Classics faculty member] Berthe Marti to see her and take her some sweet treats. [...]

In my years, only Alice Stanley worked regularly in the Latin Sem[inar] Room. The rest of us preferred our carrels in the West Wing stacks, where we had all our books together on our desks, where we could work uninterrupted by frequent visits from the faculty, who sometimes came in to consult books but also sometimes to see what we were doing. When the stacks closed at 10:30 pm we moved upstairs to the sem[inar] room about the time that TRSB (=Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton) went home, right on schedule, to hear his favorite radio program. In the stacks we also got to know graduate students in other departments — there was lots of camaraderie. LRT was so

disturbed about our not working in the sem[inar] room that she confronted us and asked why not?? We somehow came up with the answer that the overhead lights were insufficient (true), and in two days there were reading lamps on the table — but alas, we still preferred the stacks, but spent a bit more time out of gratitude in the sem[inar] room.

The dogwood trees outside those windows were gorgeous pink! It was often said that only when the trees were in bloom did the Latin grad students have a healthy glow!

About the WC Departments of Greek and Latin: when Barbara McCarthy retired (1970), and MRL [Mary Rosenthal Lefkowitz] moved up to the Latin area, we had to use the plural rather than the singular because the college rules on curriculum, majors etc. limited number of units in the major. In a single department, it would have been impossible for a student to complete full majors in Greek AND Latin. So, we kept the plural in order to avoid this limitation. At the time I retired, the name was changed, as you know, to Department of Classical Studies. I argued for this name rather than Classics because I hoped we would offer work in Archaeology (and the Department did, through the generosity of [archaeologist] Anna Marguerite McCann and the arrival of B[rian] Burns) ... In my first years at WC (1963–67), Greek and Latin faculty worked closely together — especially because McCarthy and [Margaret] Taylor complemented one another well in personality and respected one another. After Peg [Taylor]’s retirement (1967), Barbara became chair of a department with me as coordinator/head of the Latin side. This harmony between Greek and Latin has of course not always been present — with often a subtle but lethal tug of war.

Men were accepted by the Bryn Mawr College Graduate School long before 1969, but probably not in the Classics (?). The first male I know of receiving an MA is 1969. But Mrs. Holland’s son, for example, was a grad student in Physics in the 50s and 60s.

I like what you quote from [Bryn Mawr classicist Agnes Kirsopp Lake] Michels. Spot on. Alice Hawkins was feisty, generous, and fun to be with. I loved riding around Rome with her. She drove with bravado. My favorite recollection: she had her own preferred route through narrow winding streets in Trastevere to get from the Lungotevere to Viale Trastevere to Via Morosini, in the least amount of time at amazing speed. One day we were breathlessly dashing through this maze when we went over an open manhole. We heard a vigile’s whistle — and she stopped with a jolt. The vigile asked Miss H if she knew all the laws she had broken. Miss H answered in a slow drawl, *Io sono ... straniera!* He answered, “*Si, signore straniera, I know you well — have watched you do this many times!*” Everyone grinned, and we went on our way to the Janiculum, plunging ahead.

Miss H would occasionally comment on LRT’s inept approach to domestic things — like the time LRT put the strips of bacon, just cooked and ready to eat, in the silver drawer with the forks.

In later years LRT and AMH were much in the company of Elizabeth (Elsie) Maguire, BMC 1913, who lived in an apartment building diagonally opposite theirs on Montgomery Avenue. On the evening she was killed, you probably know LRT and AMH had gone over to eat dinner with Maguire. LRT must

have gotten bored or wanted to read something and left to walk back across Montgomery at an intersection with a traffic light. I hope she never saw the car that hit her or felt the blow.

I remember the evening that [the Italian historian Plinio] Fraccaro visited LRT. We were all summoned to aperitivi. The straight chairs in the Bellacci living room were lined up along the walls, and we were rather imperiously directed by LRT where to sit, when to move to another chair etc. It was a strange matter of academic musical chairs. And rather awkward — since I do not think any of us really knew Fraccaro's work etc. Not to mention the ups and downs of language.

The young woman Wheeler refers to is, I am sure, Ernestine Franklin, who was a fellow at the AAR 1921–1923. She very soon, on her arrival, became close to Harry Leon, a Sheldon Fellow from Harvard. In AAR statements of the time, there is an ambivalence about Franklin. According to the mores of the time, there was some disapproval of their closeness — men and women were not allowed at that time to be together except during academic activities — mostly — at the AAR. Franklin and Leon married and became beloved members of the U of Texas community. Franklin also teamed up with an architect at AAR on a project that rubbed the Fine Arts people the wrong way — this architect broke Beaux Arts rules and is probably the only AAR Fellow ever to suffer *damnatio memoriae* ... Franklin Leon was active later in Jewish women's groups.

I can't find Muriel Morris in any AAR list. I have the 1943 Classical School Directory — and it is very complete.

[JPH: I have read, and copied, the extensive correspondence in the AAR archives about the scandal caused when Franklin and Leon organized an [unchaperoned!] trip to Greece for the Fellows, because the professor of the Classical School that year refused to organize one himself. It was modeled on the trip in 1920–1921, conducted by Esther Van Deman's nephew Ralph Van Deman Magoffin.

What led me to this correspondence about Leon was my, and my student Stephen Rojcewicz', research, into Thornton Wilder's time at the AAR in 1920–1921: of all the classicists in residence with him (a group including Haight, about whom Wilder writes to his family most amusingly), Wilder seems to have bonded most closely with Leon, who was only a year his senior. Indeed, Wilder seems to have drawn on Leon's work about and interest in the Jews of ancient Rome decades later, in writing *The Ides of March* and *Theophilus North*.

I am familiar with Ernestine's work on Scribonia (and quoted from it abundantly in a paper I have recently given and am about to publish), and friends with two of her devoted former students from the U of Texas. She is perhaps a more likely possibility, and I thank you for suggesting her.

I have published on the extraordinary Muriel Morris Gardiner [Buttinger] (1901–1985), Wellesley '22 in an article that has just appeared in a Festschrift for the Austrian-born, Basel-based classicist Henriette Harich, entitled "*Feminae doctae in terris Germanicis ultra citraque mare Atlanticum: Female pioneers of transatlantic exchange in the field of classical philology.*" Gardiner came from a wealthy Chicago Jewish meatpacking family, and was

the younger sister of the pediatrician, child psychiatrist and art collector Ruth Morris Bakwin (1898–1985), also a Wellesley alumna. From her autobiography, cited in my bibliography, it is clear that she spent the academic year 1922–23 at the AAR: “Before settling down to graduate work, however, I wanted a year in Italy — my dream for many years — and this seemed the right time. I sailed for Italy in September 1922 ... Partly because I knew my mother would be more willing to let me go to Europe if I were connected with some school, I had applied to the American School of Classical Studies in Rome [I had taken courses in Latin, Roman history, and archaeology at college] and was, as I wished, accepted on a flexible basis. I attended the school irregularly, chiefly to use the library, go on school-sponsored expeditions, and take part in parties and entertainments. We lived in Rome with a fascinating Italian family, from whom I learned not only the language but a great deal about people and life in a culture completely different from any I had known. This year was in every respect, except the formal one, an education.”

Of course we will never be able to establish the identity of the woman to whom Wheeler refers, but I do think Morris is another prospect.]



Part Two

October 29, 2020

Dear Judy,

Thanks so much for sending the photo of Alice Stanley. The person I remember most resembled the face in her wedding picture. For what she looked like when I knew her, take away the wedding finery, add ten years, and put small, round metal rimmed glasses on her. Her brown eyes were her most prominent feature. As I think I said, she always sat in the same spot at the Latin sem[inar] table while working on her thesis (which, as I recall) was on some notable Republican figure, a biography). Another memorable thing about Alice is that she smoked a corncob pipe! A small one. In those days, lots of those who came and went in the room smoked. Mrs. Michels was the worst. She smoked through the whole two hours of a seminar — would forget she had a cigarette in her right hand. The student who sat to her immediate right tactfully maneuvered an ashtray to catch the ashes.

But Alice’s pipe was eye-catching. Even when not smoking it, she punctuated her efforts with a kind of puff noise.

Another oddity of that sem[inar] room was the occasional dashing appearance of an undergraduate — they were not allowed in [the] sem[inar] room, BUT Peasy Laidlaw ([Laura Anne Laidlaw, Bryn Mawr] AB 1952) kept a ragged skirt in one of the drawers, by whose permission I do not know. Undergrads were required to wear skirts to classes. Peasy normally wore jeans. So she would dash in to get her skirt to put on for the class she was inevitably almost late for.

In picturing that room, I realized that only LRT sat at the far end of the table for seminars. The other faculty members always sat at the opposite end. And no student ever sat in either of those two chairs. I never heard anyone comment on these seating patterns.

The Greek sem[inar] room, down the hall beyond offices of [Bryn Mawr classics faculty members Richmond] Lattimore and [Mabel] Lang, was a bit smaller, had, I think, a round table, also a fireplace (never used that I saw), and seemed less attractive. Between that room and a landing (where [Berthe [Marti's] office was) there were two or three steps in the hall. Even down in the Latin sem[inar] room, we could tell who was coming. We knew all the footsteps — including the English professors whose offices were also on that floor, beyond the Latin offices.

PS In these notes somewhere I asked you to make clear you are writing about the AAR Classical School (School of Classical Studies) — the world as a whole thinks of the AAR in terms of the School of Fine Arts. The Fine Arts had the money (9 times more than the classicists), the donors, the greater number of fellowships (ca. 14–17), whereas the Classical Fellows numbered 5 or at most 6 — up to WWII, the CS had also students — always women. No women in Fine Arts until 1947.

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