



ALAN JOHN BAYARD WACE

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1879-1957

ALAN JOHN BAYARD WACE was born on 13 July 1879 at Cambridge; he was the second son of Frederic Charles Wace, M.A., J.P., a mathematical don of St. John's College. His father, third Wrangler of his year (1858), had held a fellowship of his college from 1860 until his marriage, in 1875, to Fanny, eldest daughter of John Campbell Bayard, J.P., of Manafon, Montgomeryshire. He had already served as Senior Proctor, and he continued prominent in university life and affairs: from 1877 to 1893 he was Esquire Bedell; he was an Alderman of the Cambridgeshire County Council; and in 1890-1 was the first don ever to become Mayor of Cambridge, an office he filled with wisdom and impartiality at a time when the University's ancient jurisdiction over citizens of the Borough was generating much bitterness between town and gown. Alan Wace could well regard himself therefore as very much a Cambridge man; but equally there were good family reasons against his falling into the error of supposing that Cambridge was the world. On his father's side he liked to think of himself as one of the Normans or Vikings, and reckoned the epic poet Robert Wace an ancestor. His mother's family were a branch of the prominent American family of Bayard, but had removed to Britain for political reasons at the time of the War of Independence, rather as their forbears had migrated for conscience' sake from France (where they could claim the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* as an ancestor) to Holland, and thence to New Amsterdam.

In January 1893 F. C. Wace died, at the age of fifty-six, leaving his much younger widow with two sons in their teens to educate. It would not be easy, but the problem was not insoluble. The family left Cambridge for Shrewsbury, where the elder brother, Emeric, was already at school: and Alan was thus able to enter Shrewsbury School in the autumn as a day-boy. As such he was conscious of a basic handicap; he had little contact with the other boys outside the classroom, and took little or no part in school games: perhaps there was little opportunity; it may partly have been choice; for though he never looked robust and was regarded at home as 'delicate' he always enjoyed outdoor pursuits; but he was one who would rather

spend a summer afternoon fishing for grayling in a Shropshire stream than playing organized cricket. In school he got into the sixth form by his fifth term, and responded excellently to good teachers. Of these he remembered with particular respect 'Old Moss'—the Rev. H. W. Moss, an outstanding classic of his time. When he left in 1898 he was Head of the School (a dignity determined at that date by learning) in a sixth form whose subsequent careers prove there was no mean competition. A younger contemporary at the school recalls him departing with 'armsfull of prizes' on speech-day.

He won an entrance scholarship to Pembroke College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1898, there to read classics under the direction of Leonard Whibley and R. A. Neil with the same proficiency that he had shown at Shrewsbury. His three years to Part I of the Classical Tripos seem to have been uneventful, and he achieved in that examination (which qualified him for the B.A. degree) the First Class that by now was doubtless expected of him. Shrewsbury and Cambridge and his own capacity for concentrating on the work in hand had made a classical scholar of him; but he was undecided what to do next; and decision was made the more problematic by the sudden blow, between sitting the examination and the publication of the class-list, of the death of his elder brother at the early age of twenty-five. They had been fast friends; and it must have seemed sadly like a repetition of what had happened when his father died in the very year he was to enter Shrewsbury. Many years later he used to say that the eventual course of his career was principally due to Neil, his tutor, who just after the publication of the Tripos list on 15 June 1901 met him by the (then) new Cambridge post-office and suggested that he should spend the next year reading classical archaeology for Part II of the Tripos. It was perhaps the last time he saw Neil, who died suddenly within a few days.

Wace took Neil's advice, which was to be far more momentous than either can have supposed, and again devoted himself to the work that was set before him. The Reader in Classical Archaeology at that time was Charles Waldstein (later Sir Charles Walston), and no doubt Wace followed his lectures carefully; but a more forceful and original teacher was Sir William Ridgeway, Disney Professor of Archaeology, who that very year published the first volume of his *Early Age of Greece*. It was not merely because Ridgeway was a great 'character' that in later life Wace would recall him far more frequently

than he did Walston: he was clearly the more influential teacher. Wace himself has told us (in the introduction he wrote for the second and posthumous volume of Ridgeway's *Early Age*) something of what could be learned from him: he taught his students

not to be satisfied with superficial conclusions, but to probe deeply into the matter in hand and strip off the layers to reveal the kernel of truth within. They learnt . . . to go back as far as possible to the first authority. They were told that method, attention to detail, thoroughness, and accuracy are the hallmarks of the true scholar, especially one who has been properly drilled in Latin and Greek. They learnt further the use of anthropological parallels, the value of self-criticism, detestation of humbug, caution against plausible theories, and the necessity of first collecting the evidence and then determining what conclusions can logically be drawn from it. Finally, if controversy were to arise [and with Ridgeway it usually did] they were counselled to reserve a few shots in the locker, so as to complete the discomfiture of the adversary if he were rash enough to reply.

In this, Wace might for 'they' have written 'I', *passim*.

The following June saw his name again among the firsts in the Tripos list, with an asterisk denoting distinction in his special subject, classical archaeology. In the same class were R. M. Dawkins of Emmanuel, a man some years his senior in age, with distinction in philology, and among the archaeologists P. N. Ure. They were to see more of each other in Greece, where they went in the following autumn to study at the British School at Athens. Wace was enabled to do this by the award of the Prendergast Studentship. His subject was Hellenistic Art—which, if it was a suggestion (as such first research-subjects often are) of his teachers', was surely Walston's rather than Ridgeway's. In the light of his later work it seems an odd choice, but he pursued it with the same tireless enthusiasm that he later devoted to Greek prehistory. He studied in museums in Germany, Austria, and Italy as well as in Greece, he visited Alexandria and Constantinople, and the next annual report of the Director could say that he had 'justified his choice of a large and complex subject'. But although in the following years, as Craven Student (1903-4) and Prendergast Student (1904-5), and with the added assurance of a Fellowship of Pembroke to which he was elected in 1904, he continued his Hellenistic studies, his omnivorous mind delighted in breaking new ground. After winters in Rome he returned to Greece for the spring and summer to take his share in the archaeological exploration of Laconia to which the School was turning its attention on the

conclusion of the Palaikastro excavation in Crete. Besides this fieldwork he undertook, with Marcus Tod, a catalogue of the Sparta Museum, eventually published in 1906. It was for both their first book; and a direct result of it was that the British School was invited by the Greek Department of Antiquities to undertake a catalogue of the important sculptures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens.

In 1905 Wace was visiting Delos, Pergamon, and Constantinople, in continuation of his Hellenistic studies; but in the same year had his first experience of excavating, with F. W. Hasluck, a prehistoric site—Geraki in Laconia; and his investigations around Volo, an area including both the classical site of Demetrias and the astonishing newly discovered neolithic settlement of Dimini, besides visits to the Northern Sporades, suggest that he was seeking a new world whose discovery might be his own. It was in fact in Thessaly and in the prehistoric period that he was to find it; but for the present, as always, he tied himself to no single region or period. His early papers in the British School *Annual* well illustrate his wide range: the first, on a third-century statue of Apollo on the Omphalos, led to another on 'Grotesques and the evil eye', in which he drew on modern Greek folk practices to explain those of antiquity; his explorations in Laconia resulted in a report on medieval Frankish sculptures which no one had noticed before.

In 1906, as soon as he could get away from Rome, where for that session he was Librarian of the British School, he was back in Greece, helping in the Sparta excavations, and then off with Dawkins (now Director of the School at Athens) on a tour of the Southern Sporades. They visited Astypalaea, Nisyros, Telos, Leros, islands still under Turkish rule at that date, and not easy of access; years after Wace liked to recall one night spent on a rocky desert islet with nothing but sea-urchins for supper. The two interested themselves in modern conditions and ways of life as well as in the ancient remains. In some of the islands western ways and materials were only beginning to change the custom by which unmarried girls spent much time embroidering clothes and bed-linen against the wedding-day; and Wace and Dawkins together seized the opportunity to inform themselves, before the craft vanished, on the styles and patterns traditional to each island. Wace's interest in such matters had perhaps first been sparked off by Miss Louisa Pesel, Directress of the Royal Hellenic School of Needlework, who became an Associate of the British School in 1902; he had already in 1905 prepared a catalogue

of Greek embroideries in the Fitzwilliam Museum; and on this tour he laid the foundations of his eventually outstanding collection of Aegean embroideries.

In the next two years Wace divided his time between travels in the Peloponnese and central Greece, the School excavations at Sparta, and exploration in southern Thessaly. At Sparta he was found to be just the man to tackle some of the more tedious tasks: tracing the city walls, classifying and studying pottery and stamped tiles and the hundred thousand little lead votives from the Orthia sanctuary. He was virtually incapable of making even a rough sketch of any object, but he had an astonishing visual memory for all he studied. The work in hand was for him always the most interesting and important; and he never became bored or careless over any material because it was aesthetically unattractive. This enthusiasm, and a slightly ponderous indignation with those whom (often rightly) he thought stupid or pretentious, led some of his colleagues at this period of his life to think him 'difficult'; but those who knew him better realized that he was really a very modest man, sensitive, and easily hurt, but full of kindness and, in the right company, of fun. This last quality was a special asset in the British School of those days, when the hostel still stood almost in the country and ready-made entertainment was rarer. It was customary to hold during every session one or two open meetings at which the Director or others would lecture on recent work to an invited audience of other foreign archaeologists, distinguished Athenians, and a front row of bored diplomats. One year Wace organized his own 'open meeting', with a carefully selected audience (Karo of the German Institute came made up as a *Fräulein*), at which the speakers were each given six slides, all unseen before, on which to base their 'lectures'. Scholarly reputations were torn to shreds, and Wace himself gave a brilliant performance.

In Thessaly the evidences of prehistoric settlement engrossed him more and more, not least because this was (apart from Tsountas's excavations at Dimini and Sesklo) virtually *terra incognita*. He recognized too that these early settlements would throw light on the history of mainland Greece in periods before it came under the influence of the Minoan civilization then newly displayed by Evans's work at Knossos. With a grant from the Worts Fund at Cambridge, Wace in 1908 organized an excavation at Zerelia, near Almyros, in which one of his colleagues was Maurice S. Thompson, recently out from Oxford, where J. L. Myres had urged him to see all he could of unexplored

northern Greece. The publication of this dig in the following year (*British School Annual*, vol. xiv) shows that for all his other occupations Wace had already familiarized himself with the relevant comparative material from Dimini and Sesklo, and from Phylakopi in Melos, besides the Mycenaean and Minoan finds of the Peloponnese and Crete. He was planning an extended study of northern Greek prehistory. In the next two seasons Thompson was his companion and colleague on further travels and excavations in northern Greece, the results of which were ultimately to be published in *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1914). The two travelled rough and lived hard, with a minimum of food and comforts, and people wondered how Wace with his lean gaunt figure could survive it all; but he was tireless as ever. The excavation technique that he had learned under Dawkins at Sparta was used to good effect, and the neolithic settlements of Thessaly were made to yield a full quota of information. *Prehistoric Thessaly* is still the essential work on its subject. The finds are classified and compared and allowed to tell their own tale, not fitted to any procrustean scheme of preconceived theory or chronology. Many a student feels that the classification of the pottery is cumbrous, and in nomenclature this is perhaps true; but it is only fair to notice that it is based on that designed by Tsountas for Dimini and Sesklo, and that it depends on descriptive analysis, deliberately avoiding any chronological implications, which might not be valid for all localities alike.

It was on their Thessalian journeys that Wace and Thompson began their acquaintance with the Vlachs, and heard about the little town of Samarina, set among 'mountains covered with grass . . . forests of oak and beech and pine . . . innumerable streams that never failed in summer . . . how everyone at Samarina ate meat every day and wine was brought up from Shatishta three days' journey with mules'. This, after the heat and dust and mosquitoes of the previous July in the Thessalian plain, proved irresistible; but it was not merely for a holiday that in May 1911 they joined their Vlach friends to travel up from Tirnavos on the annual migration of these semi-nomads to their summer villages in the Pindus. Their resultant book, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (1914), describes and discusses the distribution and history of the Vlach people, their language, customs, folk-lore, and costumes; it includes a grammar of their language, and collects in its appendixes a number of folk texts; and the great bulk of it is from Wace's and Thompson's personal observation and inquiry. After 1821 the Vlachs, though Romanian

rather than Greek in stock and language, had tended to hellenize, as sympathizing with the Greek revolt for independence of Turkey. Then, from about 1867, with Romania free of Turkish rule, there had followed a Vlach national movement, fostered by the establishment of Romanian schools in the Vlach villages. Later, with the extension of the Greek frontiers in 1881, many Vlachs came under Greek rule, and before long a Greek theory developed that, despite their language, the Vlachs were really Greeks. Much of the literature about them had consequently been politically tendentious and misleading; but Wace and Thompson had no desire to theorize about them one way or the other: the aim, as in so much of Wace's work, was an objective record. As such their book is of permanent value, and the more so because wars and frontier changes have further altered the situation since Wace visited them. The Balkan War of 1912 was indeed already casting a premonitory shadow; and Wace was unable to carry out a projected excavation at Sedes in 1912, though he continued his exploratory travels in Thessaly and Macedonia. He also excavated (again with Maurice Thompson) an important Early Iron Age burial site at Halos in Phthiotis.

There followed two years (1912-14) in which he held a lectureship in ancient history and archaeology in the University of St. Andrews. But it was only an interlude, for when it was known that Dawkins would retire from the Directorship of the School at Athens in 1914 Wace was appointed to succeed him. His ten years' experience of travel and exploration in Greece, the wide range of his studies, and the many friendships he had formed both among the Greek archaeological authorities and the foreign schools in Athens, were an unparalleled equipment for the post. Unluckily, the First World War prevented him, for the next six years, from using it fully as he would have wished. It was a serious disappointment, and a lasting source of regret. Just when he might have 'burst forth into sudden blaze' circumstances forced him to confine himself to minor activities; but they were numerous and varied. In the autumn of 1914, before going out to Athens, he was busy compiling the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club winter exhibition, devoted to Greek and Turkish embroideries; he travelled within Greece from Olynthus to Arcadia; he visited Alexandria, Bucharest, and Sofia; and though he could not dig himself he assisted Carl Blegen of the American School in his two campaigns (1915 and 1916) at Korakou near Corinth. In Blegen he found a fellow spirit and a lifelong friend. Sharing their war-time diet at Korakou they cheered each other

by reading in the advertisements of American newspapers what comparative ambrosia might be had for half a dollar in New York, and by hatching plans for the better investigation of the Bronze Age history of mainland Greece. In particular Wace was intending (with the encouragement of the Greek authorities, especially Staïs) a re-examination of the pottery from excavations at Mycenae, with perhaps a stratigraphical check-dig at Lerna. Mycenaean pottery, however, had to become a spare-time occupation, for in the following session, and until November 1919, he was seconded to H.B.M. Legation, originally as Director of Relief for British Refugees from Turkey. The full account of his valued services is not recorded; but it was a suggestion of his, towards the end of 1915, which resulted in the establishment of a passport bureau in Athens (designed to check the passage of potential spies from Athens to Egypt) which was in time to serve as the model for passport bureaux all over the world. In the fresh contacts he made during these war years his academic interests made him not less but more acceptable to many sorts of people. Sir Compton Mackenzie, who lodged for a time at the British School, has given us a vignette of his 'delightful combination of great scholarship and humour, a worldly humour too and not in the least pedagogic. He was a tall slim man full of nervous energy, with a fresh complexion and an extraordinarily merry pair of light blue eyes . . . not ashamed to display his knowledge of Tiryns and Mycenae against a background of wise humanity.' Archaeology had for the time to take second place, but it was never forgotten. When in the winter of 1916-17 the Legation was temporarily evacuated to a yacht anchored in the Straits of Salamis, Wace took the opportunity to explore the east end of the island, and reported to the Greek authorities on some interesting wall-paintings that needed preservation. With Lt.-Cdr. J. L. Myres he rearranged, in off-duty hours, the British School's collection of antiquities; several papers in the School *Annual* reflect his browsings in the Finlay Library. Besides Myres, Dawkins and J. C. Lawson of Pembroke turned up in new capacities; and after they had left Athens for service in Crete and the Islands, and travel was impossible, he still enjoyed such excursions as could be made into Attica with friends from the Legation. For them, with Wace as guide, conversing of archaeology, of the wild flowers, or of local history, Greece was suddenly alive and enchanted. When tied to Athens and the School he could be equally happy, as host in the Director's house, or planting in the garden beds of violets that

for his friends' became a standard for ever after. But his real work was shelved; and though the armistice brought some increase of freedom, so that he could respond to demands on his time to help form a Museum of Decorative Art in the old Monastiraki Mosque in Athens, or (on leave) to rearrange the Greek embroideries at the Victoria and Albert, he was not finally free of his commitments to the Legation until November 1919.

Then at last he could devote himself to Greek prehistory. From 1920 to 1923 Mycenae became the focus of activity for Wace and for the British School. With the spectacular revelation by Evans and others of the centuries of development that preceded the Late Minoan culture at Knossos, there was a tendency to assume that the Mycenaean mainland was culturally (and even politically) a mere province of Crete. Wace saw rightly that Minoan influence alone could not explain Mycenaean civilization; the earlier history of the mainland must be taken into account. His own work in Thessaly had taken it back to neolithic beginnings; the early and the middle Bronze Age were represented at Orchomenos and elsewhere. An important result of Blegen's work at Korakou had been to clarify by stratified finds the sequence of the phases so far recognized; and it was thus possible for Wace and Blegen to publish, in the first British School *Annual* to appear after the war, an article proposing the systematic division of the Bronze Age remains of mainland Greece into Early, Middle, and Late *Helladic*—terminology that has stood the test of long use. Though the nomenclature itself begs no questions, that article already postulates the importance of a Helladic character underlying and ruling the Minoan elements in Mycenaean; and it even claims that classical Hellenic culture is due to a renaissance of this Helladic spirit. The first Greeks, in fact, were for him the Middle Helladic invaders who made Minyan pottery—a view now orthodox, but at that time accounted heresy by those whose Greek history began only with the Dorian invasion, or even the First Olympiad. For the present, however, the crucial question was the relation between Late Minoan and Late Helladic: the 'pan-Minoan' school apparently supposed that all that was finest at Mycenae must be in fact Minoan work, a view that ran into difficulties over the beehive tombs, which seemed to have been constructed when Knossos was already in decline. The Shaft Graves, on the other hand, were clearly under the influence of a superior and still vigorous Minoan culture. What was the chronological relation

between the two groups of tombs? Evans himself had proposed to the Managing Committee that the British School should dig at Mycenae to solve this and other problems; the Greek archaeologist Tsountas was willing to relinquish his prior excavation rights on the site; and Wace, as Director, was well prepared for the task. The three seasons' excavations that followed accomplished much: notably, it was shown that the Grave Circle excavated by Schliemann was only part of a larger cemetery, rifled graves of which were traced outside the circle; the existing circle itself was shown to be much later than the Shaft Graves within it, and probably of the same Late Helladic III date as the walls and the Lion Gate; the palace and several Mycenaean houses in the citadel were cleared, revealing evidence of an early (Late Helladic II) palace beneath; excavation under the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus produced some evidence that it was of Late Mycenaean date; and investigation of the other beehive tombs showed clearly enough for most people that it was the latest in a developmental series. Unfortunately a few pan-Minoans refused to accept the evidence, and claimed that the series had been read upside down. Even as late as 1928 Evans published a theory that the contents of the Shaft Graves had originally lain in the beehive tombs, and been transferred within the city walls for safety. One must suppose the objectors acted in good faith, though at times it seemed as if they only did it to annoy. Certainly it was galling to Wace, and the more so because the Managing Committee decided to stop the excavation of the 'Epano Phournos' and the 'Tomb of Aegisthus', beehive tombs in which he reasonably hoped there might be undisturbed burials to clinch the dating question. It was an additional disappointment that the Committee decided not to reappoint him as Director of the School on the expiry of his current tenure in 1923. His last year was spent preparing the excavation reports and generally 'clearing up' at Mycenae; but although the fat volume xxv of the *British School Annual* and the subsequent publication of the chamber tomb excavations in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxxii, show what a mass of work had been brought to completion, there is no doubt that Wace left Mycenae and the School at Athens with a feeling that his work had been interrupted in mid-course, and that professional jealousy had perhaps contributed to the interruption.

His long tenure of the Directorship, despite the lost years of the war, had been one of marked progress for the School, and in addition to British students a number of very able men from

other countries (including Axel Boethius from Uppsala and J. E. Hondius from Utrecht) had been attracted to it by Wace's reputation. He was always on the best of terms with the Greek archaeological authorities; and a ready collaboration with archaeologists of other nationalities was characteristic of him. He formed many lasting friendships in Greece in this way—especially, but by no means exclusively, with other workers in the Mycenaean field—Carl Blegen of the American School, with whom he dug at Korakou and at Zygouries, Georg Karo of the German Institute, the Greek Kourouniotis, Axel Persson whom he had known as the excavator, with the Crown Prince of Sweden, of Asine, and many others. With these and with their work in Greece he remained in touch; but Greece had become a part of him, and he of it, and to leave it after twenty years of almost continuous work there was a sore wrench.

But it brought other opportunities. Two years before, his commitments at Mycenae had prevented him accepting an invitation to lecture at Harvard. Now, in 1923-4, he was free to make a visit to the United States—the first of many—to give the Vanuxem Lectures at Princeton, and as Norton Lecturer for the Archaeological Institute of America. In 1924 he was appointed Deputy Keeper in charge of textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum. On Greek and Turkish embroideries he was already an authority, and it is due to him that the museum's collection is unsurpassed in the field of Mediterranean embroideries; but there was much else he must learn. With his strong visual memory, however, and his thorough classical and historical learning, he was quick to master styles and subjects in such new fields as Elizabethan embroidery or Sheldon tapestries. On the latter, his book *The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and their Work*, written in collaboration with E. A. B. Barnard, remains the standard work. He also prepared, with the late H. C. Marillier, a still unpublished study on the Art of War Tapestries, including the famous set at Blenheim. His advice was often in demand concerning private collections as well as those of other museums both here and in America; and he was responsible for the superlative selection, display, and cataloguing of the textiles in the 1929 Exhibition of English Decorative Art at Lansdowne House. Those who worked with him at this period speak of his quick and sound judgement, and his power of communicating his enthusiasm and enjoyment, and his careful methods, to his juniors on the staff. These ten years he spent away from classical archaeology bear indeed no mark of second

best, no hint of *faute de mieux*. They were made the happier by his marriage, in 1925, to Helen, daughter of Professor W. D. Pence of Evanston, Illinois—whom he had met a few years earlier at Mycenae as a visiting student from the American Academy at Rome—and by the birth of his only child, a daughter. Seen against his whole career, however, his years at the Victoria and Albert were an interlude; for in 1934 he returned to classical archaeology on appointment to the Laurence Professorship at Cambridge, on the retirement of A. B. Cook.

His inaugural lecture, *An Approach to Greek Sculpture*, shows what a freshness he could bring into fields besides that of Greek prehistory. He lectured in an easy and informal manner, for his knowledge was wide, varied, and ready to mind; and as he was not afraid to make use of experiences and information beyond the strict range of an examination syllabus he could educate as well as instruct. He emphasized too those admirable precepts of the need for autopsy and distrust of umbratile theorizing which he had himself perhaps first imbibed from Ridgeway; but he never had that Irishman's joy in polemic. A professor at Cambridge knows his pupils as much as he chooses to; and Wace chose to know his well. He would discuss their reading with them as he came across them in the library, and pull out book after book to point out with his long little finger the illustrative parallels, which he never needed an index to locate. He entertained them at tea or luncheon at the new house he and his wife had built in Millington Road, sharing his own delight in the pleasures of home and hospitality. There they might meet visiting scholars of established repute, and feel at home while they did so; and always some new world of his knowledge was opening before them. He was happy too to be back at Pembroke; as a Professorial Fellow his part in the running of the college was naturally small, but his counsel was always useful in college meeting on matters of architecture or decoration, and he was glad to help anyone in the college in questions of classics or archaeology. He was indeed interested in people as some archaeologists are not; he was always good company, and enjoyed the interplay of personalities of a college high table.

Meanwhile, excavation had done much to fill out the picture of Mycenaean civilization: there had been the Swedish discoveries at Asine (begun while Wace was still at Mycenae) and in the splendid tombs of Dendra; Blegen's exploration of the chamber-tomb cemetery at Prosymna, and his subsequent work at Troy; and beyond Greece the remarkable evidence of

Mycenaean overseas activity at sites like Tell Abu Hawam near Haifa and Ras Shamra in Syria. Wace was eager to be in the field again himself. By 1939 he had several pupils out at the School at Athens engaged on research in Mycenaean archaeology, and in the summer of that year he began, with them as his assistants, a fresh campaign of excavation at Mycenae. He had plenty of friends in Greece; at Mycenae itself the village people greeted him with a warm and loyal affection, delighted to be able to welcome him back, and to welcome his wife and young daughter too. His sixtieth birthday was celebrated by a lunch-party at the Treasury of Atreus at which the company was augmented by Professors Kourouniotis, Marinatos, Blegen, B. H. Hill, and Karo, who all came down from Athens for the occasion. The gap of sixteen years since he had last dug there was closed; and he was resuming some of the old problems. Further excavations at the Treasury of Atreus revealed evidence of a fourteenth-century date beyond reach of cavil; and his conclusion that the Grave Circle was only part of a larger cemetery was amply justified by the finding of Middle to Late Helladic graves just outside the citadel walls, just as he had predicted. This cemetery ought, he believed, to include shaft graves like those found by Schliemann—he could quote Pausanias to support him; and Blegen's spectacular find at Pylos in the preceding April, when his first trial trench on a new Mycenaean site had run into the palace archive room with some 600 clay tablets inscribed in the 'Minoan' Linear B script, convinced Wace that Mycenae must equally have been a literate society. But with the outbreak of war in September excavation at both Pylos and Mycenae was postponed *sine die*, and Wace was soon busy helping the Athens Museum to pack away its treasures against war risks.

Once again, H.M. Legation at Athens was glad of his services—for Wace a specially happy arrangement now that an old friend who had been a member of the Legation in 1917 was back in Athens as H.M. Minister. Indeed the hospitality of Sir Michael and Lady Palaret did much to fill the gap when his wife and daughter were evacuated to the United States. It was to be a long separation. But both in Athens and, after April 1941, in Cairo, Wace showed a remarkable capacity for making the best of what opportunities remained of civilized enjoyment. He had old friends in Cairo; he readily made new ones of all ages among his official colleagues; and it was a crossroads where many old ones from Cambridge or elsewhere would turn up

unexpectedly and in strange guises. All found him the best of companions off duty, whether it were for some archaeological excursion—he was never too tired to visit a medieval mosque and decipher kufic inscriptions, or to assist an Egyptian colleague over textiles at the Arab Museum—or simply for a midnight supper in Ramadan at some Musky restaurant, or for the pure pleasure of his conversation. Like many others at that time, he found a soothing relaxation in reading Trollope, and he and a number of colleagues, mostly younger men, formed a sort of informal Trollope club, comparing notes on their reading. (After the war the King of Sweden invited his old archaeological colleague to visit him at Stockholm; and on the way home Wace chose Trollope as the subject of a paper he read to the English club at Göteborg. Several Trollopian analogies, too, crop up in his later archaeological papers.) Only those who knew him well were able to know how much it meant to him to be separated so long both from his family and his real work; indeed, even they only sensed it, as much from his sympathetic consideration for others as anything.

In 1944 Wace accepted the chair of Classics and Archaeology at the Farouk I University at Alexandria. It was at that time thought desirable that an Englishman be appointed, Wace's wide experience made him admirably suitable, and he was on the spot. It meant forgoing the remainder of his tenure of the Laurence Professorship at Cambridge; but he was already close on the retiring age, and it was problematical whether he could be released from his war-time work in time to return to teaching there; and to say that he also recognized in the Alexandria post a duty-call would only be to say that he applied himself to the new task with his characteristic energy. He remained at Alexandria till 1952, and despite the changes in Anglo-Egyptian relations continued on good terms with the authorities. In classical studies there was virtually no tradition to build on (at least for the past 1,500 years), and he lamented, privately, the lack (in Alexandria!) of an adequate library. But the particular purpose of classics in modern Egypt is of course archaeological; and by encouraging and participating in the excavation of Hellenistic sites he brought life and relevance to the work of his few students of Greek and Latin. In due time his wife and daughter were able to rejoin him at Alexandria, and the family took a lively part in the social life of the English-speaking colony there.

In Hellenistic archaeology Wace had returned to his first but

not his greatest love. Mycenae still called. He had been busy garnering his previous conclusions in his book *Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide* (1949), which he completed during a visit to Princeton as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in 1948; but this was never intended to be the last word. By 1950 conditions had sufficiently improved for him to resume excavation at Mycenae in the summer vacation. But for a serious illness he had hoped to do so a year earlier. It is a mark of his tenacity of purpose that one item in this 1950 campaign (when he was already seventy-one) was to complete his excavation of the Epano Phournos beehive tomb, which had been interrupted in 1922. He also continued investigation in the cemetery outside the citadel, and began work on a group of Mycenaean houses at a little distance from it. In this campaign, as in all his subsequent excavation, he had the active help of his now grown-up daughter. The 1950 season was not spectacular, but it inaugurated a new and important phase in the exploration of Mycenae, in which a new generation of archaeologists were in time to take over. He himself, however, was still possessed of a remarkable vitality, physically as well as intellectually; and it was not an old man who was the guest of honour at the dinner-party in Pembroke College in 1951 at which the subscribers to the British School presented to him a special volume of the School's *Annual* to commemorate his completion of fifty years' work in archaeology. The presence of foreign scholars on that occasion, both European and American, signaled the wide repute in which he was held; and indeed it had been formally recognized at various times, by his membership of the Royal Swedish Academy, the American Philosophical Society (which generously supported his later excavations), and the German Archaeological Institute, and his honorary membership of the American Archaeological Institute, the Royal Northern Antiquaries, the Greek Archaeological Society, and other similar bodies; he was besides an Honorary D.Litt. of the Universities of Amsterdam and of Philadelphia. At home he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and Hon. LL.D. of Liverpool; in 1947 he had been elected a Fellow of the British Academy; and in 1951 his College made him an Honorary Fellow.

In 1952 Wace retired from his Alexandria post; and if ever man desired a bed of laurels to rest upon, he had them. But he did not choose to be inactive. He took a house in Cyprus as a Mediterranean *pied-à-terre*, moving later to a flat in Athens; the summers he spent on excavation and museum work in

Greece; the winters at Princeton, where he was welcomed again as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study. Cambridge saw him from time to time, in transit from one to the other, and always turned out a large audience to hear him lecture on his latest excavations. Mycenaean archaeology had taken on a new brilliance as Wace's predictions came true, at his hands or others. The discovery of the new Shaft Graves in the extra-mural cemetery came by chance, and their excavation fell to his Greek colleagues in 1951 and subsequent years. In his own excavations in 1952 he began to find the expected Linear B inscriptions, and that within a few days of the first announcement by Michael Ventris of his discovery that the language of this script, both in mainland Greece and at Knossos, was Greek. This confirmed startlingly Wace's old contention that even before the fall of Knossos a Mycenaean influence had been at work on the Minoan centre; and of course it proved finally (though the implications are not yet as fully recognized as they should be) that the Mycenaean could properly be called Greeks, as the classical Greeks knew they were. At the same time, the finds in the extra-mural houses he excavated, especially the wealth of carved ivories, taken in conjunction with the new evidence from the deciphered tablets of Pylos and elsewhere, demonstrated a richness of sophistication and elegance in Mycenaean civilization that put it much more clearly than ever before on a par with contemporary civilizations in the Near East, including Egypt. The actual history of Mycenae also begins to take shape in the relatively datable story of the building and destruction of these houses; and in the post-Mycenaean graves discovered in these latest campaigns there is evidence of the continuity of settlement at Mycenae through what most archaeologists regard (though Wace would not) as the Dark Ages of Greek history. Study of all these matters was partly interrupted, first by a moratorium on excavation at Mycenae in 1956 and 1957, and then by Wace's death on 9 November 1957; but he left it at a point at which it will be eagerly continued by his colleagues and successors of several nationalities. Despite a severe illness in the early summer of 1957 he was busy to the last; he helped in the rearrangement of the Mycenaean Room at the Athens Museum, as he had helped to pack it all away in 1939, and he was present with Dr. Papadimitriou, the latest Greek excavator at Mycenae, at its reopening.

One project which he left unfinished—though his own contributions had been written—should perhaps be mentioned here:

the *Companion to Homer* which he had first planned as long ago as 1939. It is designed to bring together for the ordinary student of Homer the results of both literary and archaeological research. The long delays in its preparation have not been without their advantages; for (largely through Wace's own work) the continuity of Greek history from Bronze Age to classical times is now so apparent as to make the need for such a survey more evident than before. To Wace himself, who had proceeded from classical studies both back into the Bronze Age and forward into modern Greece, that continuity was always evident. For he saw men and things in relation; he understood Greek history because he knew the Greek setting so well, and realized both its possibilities and its limitations.

Mycenae is the subject with which Wace's name will always be linked; and a Greek colleague has called him the last figure of the heroic age of Mycenaean archaeology which began with Schliemann. Those who knew him well think of him in other terms too; for he carried his profound learning lightly; it was always readily communicable, in a way that made his many professional colleagues his friends. Novices in the Mycenaean field are apt to think and speak glibly of a learned 'feud' between Evans and his Minoans on the one hand and Wace and the Mycenaeans on the other; and it is therefore worth recording that with Evans personally Wace maintained friendly relations. Controversy there was; but it was in the cause of scientific truth. Wace's pupils are aware rather of the number of scholars from Uppsala to Cairo and from the Near East to the Middle West who would welcome or assist them because they came from him. Of course Wace had his dislikes; inaccuracy in a professed scholar was severely to be condemned; still more the building of theories on inadequate premisses; most of all the refusal to modify a theory in the light of new evidence. On the other hand a willingness to learn was readily recognized. With people, as with things, he was quick to see through the superficial to the significant. He was little given to the discussion of politics or current affairs, national or international, and perhaps for the same reason. He was himself a citizen of the world—*πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω*—at home with all sorts of men, judging them, or rather understanding them, in terms that by-passed local or national fashion and prejudice. Patient and orderly as he was in archaeological study, his handwriting was of the most impressionistic, as though it could not keep pace with the intention, for he was a willing writer of letters to his

widely scattered friends. He could express himself forcefully, but was without rhetoric, and quiet of speech. He was an excellent teller of tales, tales springing from the play of a whimsical imagination on all his varied experience in the Aegean scene. They were told orally at first, to entertain the after-dinner hours at Mycenae; later some were committed to writing, and a few have, happily, been published recently in *Archaeology* and *Antiquity*. Music was apparently nothing to him, poetry much; for there was in him a sensitive depth of feeling. His spare frame and quiet manner hid (except through the eyes) a restless energy, and it is doubtful if he ever took what other men call a holiday. He did not struggle to make life other than what it was. He had his share of disappointments in his career, but he bore them as equably as his successes, as might one who had taken as his motto *sans peur et sans reproche*.

For information used in compiling this memoir I am immediately indebted to Mrs. Wace and Miss Wace, to the Headmaster of Shrewsbury (Mr. J. M. Paterson), and the Master of Pembroke College (Sir Sydney Roberts), to Lady Palairot, Mr. Maurice S. Thompson, and Mr. Arthur Woodward, as well as to the writers of notices that have already appeared in the press. But inasmuch as one knows a man by and through his friends I am aware that I have also learned much about Professor Wace over the years from others whom I have not specifically consulted at the time of writing. To all I offer my thanks. The portrait is reproduced, by kind permission of the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens, from volume xlvi of the School's *Annual*.

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