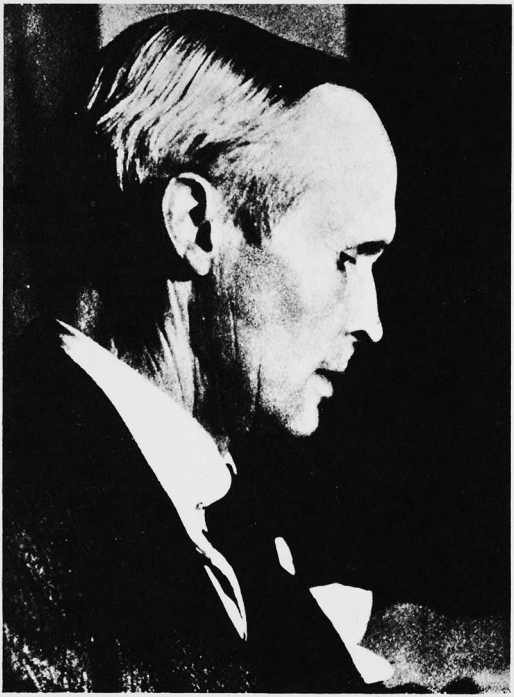
PLATE XVIII



Photograph by Barbara Buckler

WILLIAM HEPBURN BUCKLER, 1937

WILLIAM HEPBURN BUCKLER

1867–1952

WILLIAM HEPBURN BUCKLER was born in Paris on 1 February 1867, the only son of Dr. Thomas Hepburn Buckler, a leading physician of Baltimore, Maryland, and Eliza White, *née* Ridgely. Dr. Buckler and his wife had moved to France after the war between the States, taking with them Mrs. Buckler's two sons by her first husband, Henry and Julian White, who were already nearly grown up at the time of W. H. B.'s birth, and in this curious household W. H. B. was brought up. Looking back on his childhood from old age he wrote:

We led an entirely American existence, seeing hardly anyone but compatriots and those, at first at least, mostly Southerners. We were a fairly large party; my father, who kept on a little of his medical practice, but only among friends; my mother, the king-pin of the establishment; her life-long friend, Miss Mary Evans, known to me as Auntie, and Mr. Henry White (well over 80 when I first remember him) the grandfather of my two half-brothers who were to me more like young uncles and who led a fairly *répandu* life of their own. Finally, there lived under our roof a number of young American girls from Southern families whom my mother educated as a form of philanthropy. . . . As far as outside acquaintances were concerned we might as well not have been in Paris at all. We hardly knew, or desired to know, any French people, and my only recollection of social gaieties consists of the children's parties which we ourselves gave at Christmas to compatriots. On the whole it may be said that day after day our family ate alone, sat alone, spent the evening alone, and I never worked and seldom played with other children.

First a French governess and then an English tutor directed W. H. B.'s solitary education under Mrs. Buckler's close supervision. In 1873 he started lessons with

Mademoiselle Marie Louise Lemonnier, who came for three hours in the morning, and to whom I owe my knowledge of French history, geography and composition. At one time I could reel off the names of all the eighty-one French departments with their *préfectures* and (usually four) *sous-préfectures*. I also did my arithmetic in French, a habit which has remained with me all my life. I had begun learning to read when I was four, being taught by my mother out of the 'Grandfather's Spelling Book', a large quarto filled with words in very black letters. When I was five, she began to teach me Latin, and kept up my

grounding in Latin grammar with reading of simple Latin passages, even after my French lessons had got under way. She also taught me the rudiments of English history. Not only was she a good teacher and a strict disciplinarian, but I owe much to her anxiety that her children should know the principal foreign languages, in which she herself delighted. She spoke to my brothers in Italian, which they had learned in Rome in 1868, and I picked up a good deal by hearing them; to the adopted members of the household, Lily W. and Janet H., she always spoke German, and the result on me was the same as with Italian. My brothers often wrote to her in Italian and corresponded in Italian with one another; I always had to write to them and to her in French.

He learnt to ride and swim and attended classes at a gymnasium, but it was not until his tutor persuaded his parents to send him in 1887 to Trinity College, Cambridge, that W. H. B. found himself free among young people of his own age.

To his English contemporaries, fresh from their public schools, W. H. B. appeared almost exotic, with his taste for bibelots, his knowledge of languages, and his European upbringing, which had only been interrupted by a visit to the United States at the age of eleven. It is a tribute to his charm and good sense that he did make friends. He edited a short-lived college magazine—*The Trident*; he rode at Cottenham, he drove a four-in-hand; he joined various societies and played Athene in a production of *Ion*. He broke the isolation which had so long surrounded him.

From his tutors he received no advice and, after abandoning his early intention to be a doctor like his father, drifted into reading for the History Tripos and organized as best he could a course of study for himself. His tutor

> never attempted to find out what I knew or how I meant to learn, and the idea of recommending a private coach, useful to all freshmen but absolutely necessary to an alien who had never been to an English school, never occurred to him. So I stumbled on in my own inexperienced way, and in my three years of conscientiously attended lectures I was left entirely to make my own estimate as to what was or was not important. . . . I worked with steady diligence and high ambitions for one Long Vacation and eight Regular Terms, only to find in the end that I had been in great measure beating the air.

He was much chagrined to get only Class III, in 1890, but was somewhat consoled by getting Class II in Law the following year and by winning the Yorke Prize in 1893 with an essay on 'The origin and history of contract in Roman Law'.

The most momentous event of his Cambridge career was his

meeting with Georgina Grenfell, daughter of Theodore Walrond, C.B., a Classical Scholar of Girton, whom he married in 1892. It was a union of remarkable intellects, each reacting on the other. Thirty years later, at his instance, she became a distinguished Byzantine scholar, while at the close of his life she enabled him to overcome his blindness and to continue to contribute articles to learned journals.

The first thirteen years of W. H. B.'s married life were centred on Baltimore, Maryland, where he was for ten years a member of the bar and worked in the office of Steele, Semmes, and Carey. He also studied in the Law School of the University of Maryland, writing the Prize Thesis for 1894 on 'Sales on the Instalment Plan'. At this period it was W. H. B.'s wife who was the chief classical scholar, while his future appeared to be that of a distinguished lawyer and prominent citizen. When he gave up the Law in 1903 he retained his interest in Roman Law and added to it research in the Johns Hopkins University on Trade Unionism in the United States. He published at intervals articles on such varied subjects as 'The Torts of Lunatics', 'The Control of Oyster Fishing', 'The Theory of the Standard Wage' and 'The Minimum Wage in the Machinists Union', 'Railway regulation in France', and 'The relation of Roman Law to the other Historical Sciences'. This last paper (1904) led to the offer —which was refused—of a Lecturership in Roman Law at Yale. He was appointed Secretary to the Committee which dealt with reconstruction after a fire which devastated the business quarter of Baltimore in 1904, and in the same year became Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, which owes the acquisition of its present site mainly to W. H. B.'s initiative and energy In 1913 he refused to consider becoming President of the Johns Hopkins.

W. H. B. and his wife loved entertaining, and most visitors to Baltimore found their way to 'Evergreen', the unpretentious white house surrounded by lawns and trees built by W. H. B.'s grandfather in 1792. They made an open-air theatre against a wooded slope in the grounds, and persuaded their friends to take part in three Shakespeare plays. They brought novelty and enterprise to a rather staid society.

For nine months of the year they lived in Baltimore, but the hot summers drove them to the north or to Europe, and even on one occasion to a fishing trip in Canada, whirling down the Saguenay River in birchbark canoes.

In 1903 W. H. B. with his wife and ten-year-old daughter

spent a winter in Rome and made a tour in Greece. For the first time they were in close contact with Classical Archaeology, which was eventually to become W. H. B.'s ruling passion. At the end of his life he looked back nearly fifty years to mark the Roman visit as having a vital influence on his career.

There was a third interest yet to come; he had tried and discarded the Law, his tastes as an archaeologist were not yet clearly defined, when in 1906 he accepted the post of Secretary to the Special U.S. Envoy to Spain for the marriage of Alfonso XIII and Princess Ena of Battenberg. This mission, on which he was accompanied by his wife and daughter, only lasted a few weeks and was followed by a summer of travel in Spain and Italy before returning to Baltimore for the winter. He was restless, and turned his mind towards the U.S. Foreign Service in which his adored half-brother, Henry White, at that time American Ambassador in Rome, had made such a distinguished career. 'Having without very serious purpose taken the recently introduced Diplomatic Examination at the State Department in Washington, with the surprising result of 95 per cent. marks and warm congratulations from Dr. James Brown Scott, the department's chief legal adviser, I was not unnaturally tempted to try my hand.' He finally decided to accept the Secretaryship at the American Legation in Madrid. Before taking up his post, he went with Professor Howard Butler of Princeton and Dr. David M. Robinson of the Johns Hopkins to Constantinople, to investigate the possibility of excavations at Sardis; the struggle between diplomacy and archaeology had begun.

There was plenty of time in Madrid for other interests outside diplomatic duties. 'The routine work of the Legation was very light, as may be shown by the fact that the entire staff consisted of the old messenger and his son who was typist and archivist. For me it was a grand opportunity to improve my Spanish which I soon wrote and spoke with ease, though all the cultivated Spaniards whom we met talked in French or English or both. There was practically no entertaining except for occasional dinners at the embassies of many guests and endless courses. . . . In Madrid itself the natives hardly ever entertained the foreigners, the Court setting this example.' No food of any kind was provided at the stiff afternoon receptions at the Palace.

Although at the time such formality seemed irksome, in later years both W. H. B. and his wife enjoyed their memories of vanished pomp. The Royal Wedding festivities in 1906, with a bullfight in sixteenth-century style, 'the gorgeous coaches of the

grandees with the horses' magnificent trappings and heads decorated with ostrich feathers to match the family liveries', had been a wonderful introduction to Spanish grandeur, and as diplomats they were present at the ceremonial Washing of the Feet, performed by the king on Maundy Thursday, which survived longer in Spain than in any court in Europe. What they enjoyed most of all were the week-ends spent in sight-seeing, with every now and then a glimpse of Phoenician, Greek, or Roman sites to stir the latent passion of archaeology. In April 1909 the turn of duty in Spain came to an end, and W. H. B. left both Madrid and the Foreign Service.

The decision to make a career of archaeology was finally made a year later after many consultations and discussions, particularly with Howard Butler of Princeton, who was planning to excavate the ruins of Sardis. 'I made up my mind to join the Sardis expedition at my own expense, as well as contributing to the scheme. . . . On May 5th the Rubicon was crossed and I became an active field-archaeologist, going to Paris, Constantinople, and Smyrna, arriving at Sardis on May 12th, 1910.' At the age of 43 he had at last found the supreme interest of his life.

The excavations at Sardis were spread over several seasons and only took place during a comparatively short period each year. The first year W. H. B. was mainly occupied in supervising the building of the villa in which the archaeologists and their guests were to live. The second year was to prove 'the turning-point of my whole career' when he had handed over to him 'the study of a huge inscription found on the inside wall of the temple. . . . At once my year of Roman law at Cambridge served me in good stead, enabling me to recognize it as a mortgage and to translate the legal terms. . . . So I became and remained until 1914 the recognized epigraphist of the American Excavations at Sardis.' His other charge was the excavation of tombs in the necropolis. The third season, 1912, added more Greek and Lydian inscriptions, and a bilingual one, to the collection. 'Never shall I forget the thrill of wiping off the dirt from our prize, eight lines of Lydian and eight of Aramaic, with the insertion as an afterthought in each version of the name, Alexander.' The seasons of 1913 and 1914 were not particularly remarkable. In the latter year 'Some curious foreboding made me write to G. on June 17th, "the personnel will be pretty different here next year, I think. The old times are over." They were indeed.'

During this period his family lived mainly in Bournemouth, chosen to suit the delicate younger daughter who had been born in 1909. As in later years, he managed to combine a great deal of social activity—including a visit to the U.S.A.—with work at his chosen subject, and the family journal records visits to friends and relations, riding expeditions, games of golf and, after they moved to Taplow, boating parties on the Thames.

The outbreak of war in 1914 found the whole family in Haute Savoie, about to move into a châlet near Chamonix. Letters of credit at once became valueless, so W. H. B. immediately dashed to London and returned loaded with gold Napoleons which he had obtained from Willys the car magnate who had received him in his pyjamas in his bedroom in the Savoy. W. H. B. immensely enjoyed this sort of improvisation, thanks to which his family got safely to England shortly before a great part of their route was overwhelmed by the Germans. Almost immediately after this return home, W. H. B. went back to Paris, saying that as he had missed the siege of Paris in 1870, he was determined to be present at the siege so many expected in 1914. He took a bicycle, and joined the 'Ambulance américaine' as an orderly, moving later to Boulogne to start a branch of the Red Cross Inquiry for the Wounded and Missing, in which his wife, who came out to join him, found the work which was to occupy her till 1920. Later he accepted an offer from the U.S. Embassy in London to act as 'competent assistant' in charge of Turkish interests, and on 14 December 1914 he found himself once more an agent of the State Department, to remain so for the next five years.

At first W. H. B.'s work was to deal with Turkish and Austrian affairs, involving such curious problems as an interned Austrian scientist who had been obliged to abandon his wife and a houseful of squirrels in Bloomsbury, and the charge of the vast Imperial Austrian Embassy in Belgrave Square. He reported regularly on conditions in internment camps. His diary also records constant luncheon parties at Ciro's Club which he had joined to the shocked surprise of many of his friends, and where he brought together his American and English guests, relishing the idea of a respectable archaeologist and civil servant entertaining in such surroundings.

From 1916 onwards he reported regularly to Col. House in Washington on the attitude of the British Labour party towards peace by negotiation and the possibility of U.S. mediation. After the end of U.S. neutrality, W. H. B. still kept in touch with

British Liberal and Labour spokesmen. 'Though soon after April 6th, 1917, Wilson's dogma of peace by negotiation was now regarded in America as Utopian and therefore valueless, it remained the ideal of all Socialists and many Liberals on both sides of the war. . . . The policy of the "knockout blow", however steadily upheld in the House of Commons, was under constant attack, and it was my business to gather and present the case for negotiation which could not be aired publicly in war-time, a job exactly to my liking.' He was present at a breakfast given by Noel Buxton, at which the Prime Minister was a guest, when the possibility of a separate peace with Austria was discussed; he interviewed Lord Lansdowne and had frequent meetings with H. W. Massingham and Ramsay MacDonald. It fell to him also to help with the reception of U.S. experts of every kind who came to London to get or give information. He served as the Embassy member of the American Red Cross Committee and represented his Ambassador at various functions.

The culminating experience of his time at the London Embassy was when in 1918 he escorted the Delegates of the American Federation of Labour, headed by Samuel Gompers, on their tour of England, France, Belgium, and Italy. In their company he attended a Trades Union Congress at Derby and acted as guide and interpreter on the Continent. Later he wrote of the Paris visit: 'The interview with Clemenceau I shall never forget. He leant forward on the desk by the window of his study with his small, gloved hands clasped. I sat just opposite, with Gompers on my right, for owing to a cold the Premier, in dressing-gown and skull-cap, received only us two. His recent meetings with men in the trenches were sketched with emotion, so that Gompers did little beyond listening.'

In Belgium they were taken to visit the front near Cambrai. The Italian tour passed off successfully, in spite of some opposition from Italian Socialists, and after Gompers himself had sailed for home in October, W. H. B. returned with two other members of the mission to visit—at President Poincaré's suggestion—the newly liberated towns of the war-zone. 'Nearer the front we drove into a region of complete silence. Douai, although with most of its buildings intact, was totally empty; we saw no signs of life except a dog and two patrolling sentries. The military cordon excluded everyone without a pass. No door being locked, we walked through the City Hall. Everywhere there was a wanton disorder that seemed wrought by mischievous

monkeys, and an uncanny silence, except that here, as at Cambrai, we distinctly heard to the eastward the guns of the battle still in progress.' The Germans still showed such strength that the Armistice came as a surprise as well as a relief only a fortnight after W. H. B. had returned to England. His period of work in London was drawing to an end.

After the Armistice he accompanied President Wilson when he left England for France and, owing to his familiarity with Labour views on peace and on the new Soviet régime, acted as an informal link between the Embassy in London and the Delegation in Paris. He was almost immediately sent off to Stockholm, on a secret mission to Litvinoff, then Soviet agent in Sweden, whom he had known as a journalist in London. He was congratulated by Colonel House on his report, but nothing further came of this attempt to break into Soviet isolation. As a member of the Intelligence Division of the U.S. Delegation, W. H. B. became involved in the complicated affairs of the different commissions to which the Conference gave birth, particularly in Near Eastern problems. His half-brother, Henry White, was one of the four U.S. commissioners who assisted President Wilson, and used W. H. B. regularly to gather information about French opinion. Having no official connexion with either the Lansing or the House factions within the Delegation, he was on intimate terms with both. He left the U.S. Foreign Service in December 1919 when the U.S. delegation went home.

The failure of the U.S. to ratify the Peace Treaty marked the end of W. H. B.'s connexion with American political affairs. He had, while in Paris, refused the offer of the post of first U.S. Minister to the Republic of Poland. During a visit to the U.S. in 1920 he took part in the non-partisan Labour Campaign to secure ratification of the League Covenant, which took him out to make speeches in Ohio. He continued to follow the fortunes of the League of Nations with the keenest attention, frequently visiting its sessions at Geneva and speaking on behalf of the League of Nations Union in England and the U.S.

He quickly resumed his archaeological interests, which, indeed, he had never entirely dropped, and under the influence of Sir William Ramsay their scope developed from Sardis to a more general study of the epigraphy of Asia Minor. At the end of 1922 he read a paper on 'Archaeological opportunities in the Near East' to an Archaeological Congress at Newhaven, Connecticut, giving 'the arguments in favour of recording the

monuments above ground before seeking those that lie safe below the surface. The idea of collecting photographs, squeezes, and topographical information by small parties travelling through Asia Minor was taken up with enthusiasm.' A small committee was formed under the title of 'The American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor' and, as he wrote, 'became within a few years well known among learned societies, although lacking any kind of constitution or bye-laws. It has published six volumes of regional survey, but it has also to its credit the reports of a trial tour in 1924 which appeared serially in the Journal of Roman Studies'.

It was obviously extravagant to conduct research in Anatolia from the U.S., and Oxford provided friends with similar interests and a library with unrivalled facilities. He moved there in 1922, never relinquishing his American interests and citizenship, but putting into practice his belief that scholarship recognized no bounds of nationality, and that as long as his work could be best done in England, there he required to be.

He obtained his *ad eundem* degree through Balliol, and was made an Associate Member of All Souls, where above all he found that congenial society of scholars and statesmen in which his previous career so fitted him to participate. In 1930 he was delighted to become a member of the Society of Dilettanti—only the second American to be elected in the long history of that distinguished society—and faithfully attended its dinners in London to the last year of his life.

His studies in Oxford were pursued against a background of constant social activity. During the inter-war years a week seldom passed without one at least of the luncheon or dinner parties over which he and his wife so admirably presided. He was also remarkable for keeping horses and a carriage in regular use until 1933; he had ridden and driven horses all his life, and enjoyed the sensation created by his American 'Surrey' flying down the Banbury Road behind a pair of chestnuts. He made several long visits to the U.S. and travelled frequently in Europe and the near East, his wife's Byzantine studies having led him indirectly to an interest in Cyprus and the frescoes in Cypriot churches. In spite of this apparent restlessness his contributions appeared regularly in learned journals.

He took his D.Litt. at Oxford in 1937, and was shortly afterwards elected a Fellow of the British Academy. To honour his 70th birthday, twenty-six scholars of various nationalities contributed to a volume of Anatolian Studies in which glowing

tribute was paid to his learning and to his generosity to other scholars.

The last thirteen years of W. H. B.'s life were clouded not only by the war, but by partial blindness. He felt it his duty to return with his wife to the United States in 1939 and spent five years in Baltimore. He was most warmly welcomed and given an honorary degree by the Johns Hopkins University. He occupied himself in renewing contacts with some of his old friends of the Peace Conference days and in helping exiled scholars; with his wife's assistance he contributed articles to various publications. He faced increasing infirmity with undaunted courage, and on his return to Oxford in 1946 continued to take the keenest interest in public affairs and in scholarship until his death on 2 March 1952, a few weeks after his 85th birthday.

. . . . .

The above notice (by his younger daughter, and mainly extracted from a Memoir covering the first 80 years of his life, dictated by Buckler to his wife) may be rounded off with a few words on Buckler's service to the Archaeology, and in particular the Hellenistic, Imperial, and Byzantine Epigraphy of Anatolia.

When, already in his forties, the man of affairs and future member of the Society of Dilettanti went to Sardis in 1910, his equipment for field archaeology was a lively interest in the past of the Near East and a good knowledge of Roman Law. His grasp of the totality of a document, and a skill in the decipherment of mutilated or miscopied texts which was uncanny, presently appeared in notable contributions to Epigraphy; and Epigraphy was to become Buckler's *grande passion* for the remainder of his life. But the man of affairs was never submerged in the scholar. He was the first to sense the danger to the multitudinous monuments of the Anatolian landscape brought close by the transference of the capital from the Bosporus to Ankara, and the acceleration of construction in all kinds which was bound to follow. His 'Salvage Operation' launched at Newhaven, Connecticut, in 1922, was to apply to Anatolia generally; for its opening phase his interest was engaged in the wide area, bristling with sites and monuments, which straddled Cicero's route through his Sphere of Duty all the way from Laodicea to Derbe, and was the scene of the earliest Christian missions in Galatia and Phrygia. In the event 'Buckler's Survey', as his fellow members of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor were wont to call it,

was limited to this area, and to parts of Cilicia and Caria. It covered the years 1923 to 1934 and involved eleven expeditions, in four of which Buckler himself took part—regularly accompanying the arabas on a horse—and it made accurate records fully authenticated by impressions and photographs of over 4,000 monuments, about half of them already recorded with varying degrees of accuracy, the rest new. Acting (incognito) as a generous patron and (unofficially) as general editor he impressed the stamp of his trim and unexuberant personality on the Society's publications, designed as they were simply as reliable source-books for the use of scholars in several fields. One of his last acts was to provide for the publication of two final volumes, suspended by the Second World War and his own failing eyesight.

Buckler's survey of the rich monumental treasure of Phrygia and southern Galatia came just in time. In pre-Kemalite days the archaeological traveller on those pastoral uplands, with their thronging sites and cemeteries, found his quarry already dug out for him, and lodged in housewalls, fountains, bridges, or used as headstones in modern graveyards. Wastage there was; if the traveller returned on his tracks after an interval of ten years he would find that a quarter or a third of the old stones had vanished, and that their places had been taken by others newly excavated. The whole stock remained exposed and available for a time. Now in these same areas 'standard' houses are springing up in neat rows, bridges, fountains, even tombstones are of concrete. Meantime the old sites and cemeteries are ransacked with an energy unknown in the older days, for road-metal and rubble. The heroic Department of Antiquities does what it can with its limited resources and saves monuments, or groups of monuments here and there.

And the new devastation is as tragically indiscriminate as the old wastage. Next to the *Monumentum Ancyranum* the two most notable written memorials of the Roman period discovered on the Central Plateau are probably the Charter granted by Constantine to Orcistus and the Epitaph of Eugenius, bishop of Laodicea at the time of the Nicene Council. In October 1951 I revisited both these monuments, the first to revise the reading of a single letter, the second *pietatis causa*. Fragments of the first (oddly including one containing the letter I sought) were helping to prop the leaking lade of the *aquimolina* beside which Pococke, Hamilton, and Ramsay saw it; there were plenty of stones a hundred yards away, but the pillar inscribed with

the Charter lay close to the mill-lade, and Turkish peasants never look for trouble. The second monument had lain in the way of a housing extension at Ladik; the Museum staff at Konya were informed, but had no funds to remove so heavy a block. I saw one small fragment of it in the corner of a garden.

Thanks to Buckler reproductions in facsimile of both these monuments (the first removing the errors and defects of the copy in *C.I.L.*) are available for study. See *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vii, no. 305, and i, no. 170.

W. M. CALDER