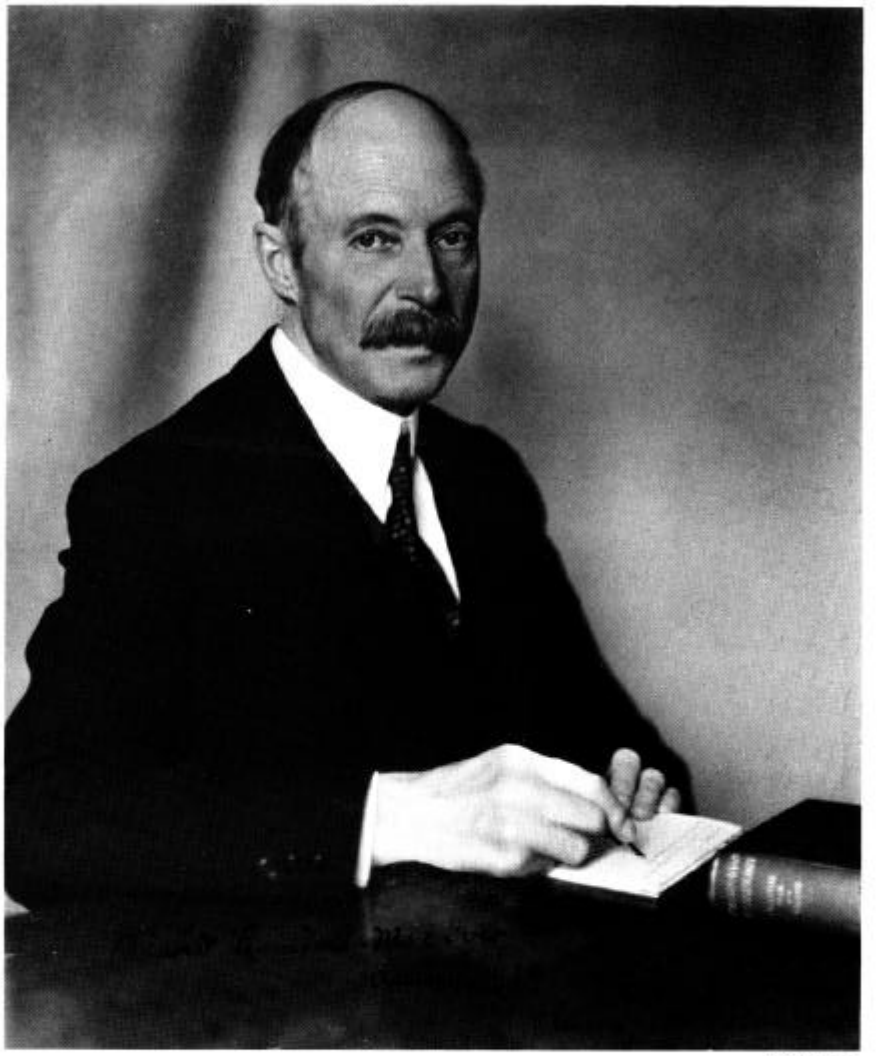
PLATE XVI



Marta Heide

DAVID RANDALL-MacIVER

DAVID RANDALL-MacIVER

1873–1945

SHORTLY before his death, the subject of this memoir felt able to make the following enviable declaration: 'I have been singularly happy and there is no part of my life that I would wish to have been different.'[1] His books include only a small proportion of popular or ephemeral work, and their subjects range from Roman Nubia via medieval Rhodesia to Iron Age Italy. The first impression is of the restless sequence of interests that might be expected of one who, on his return from the Great War, chose the lot of a private citizen. Closer inspection reveals an authentic odyssey, the unity of which resides in a single-minded devotion to the factual information about the past that 'we derive from Archaeology, on which alone any valid arguments can be based'.[2]

David MacIver was born in London on 31 October 1873; he died in New York on 30 April 1945. He was the only son of John MacIver, who was the second son of Charles MacIver, one of the three founders and for many years the principal manager of the Cunard Company. Three years after John MacIver's death in 1875, his widow married Richard Randall, a barrister, whose surname David later assumed by deed poll as a prefix to his own. 'I look back on the five years that I spent at a public school with no pleasure at all and never cared to refer to them. I was entirely undistinguished in the only way in which the Radley of my day counted distinction.' Having obtained the first scholarship at either University that a Radleian had gained for six years, Randall-MacIver went up in 1892 to the Queen's College, Oxford. Under the distinguished tuition of T. W. Allen, he almost

[1] This and other unattributed quotations in the following pages are taken from a set of Biographical Notes compiled by Randall-MacIver in 1942 and forwarded to the British Academy after his death. The Notes barely mention the years that Randall-MacIver and his first wife spent in Italy ('our life in Rome is well known to many people'); for the earlier period they are too valuable to turn into unrelieved *oratio obliqua*, and I am most grateful to the Academy for making them available to me.

[2] Fittingly, these words conclude the last sentence of Randall-MacIver's last published paper, read at the Metropolitan Museum in 1942: 'Who were the Etruscans?', *Amer. J. Archaeology*, 47 (1943), 91–4.

achieved a first class in Classical Moderations—'but fortunately I just missed it; so high an honour would really have embarrassed such a rough scholar as I was'. Greats was a different matter: 'I plunged with all the enthusiasm of a neophyte of purely Scottish origin into every branch of philosophy', with the result that in 1896 he was placed in the first class of the Honour School of Literae Humaniores.

Of the many and various influences that worked upon me at Oxford none was greater or more lasting in its effects than that of Professor E. B. Tylor (later Sir Edward), who was then Professor of Anthropology and Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum. My introduction to him came vicariously through reading Andrew Lang, who (though I never met him) is thus in some sense my godfather in anthropology. In the spring after taking Mods I was deep in *Primitive Culture*. Having discovered that the revered author of this great work was actually resident in Oxford I rather slyly and quietly presented myself at his lectures. Undergraduates interested in anthropology were not then very numerous and Tylor at once noticed an eagerly enthusiastic boy in his audience. Calling me up after his first lecture he asked me what course I was reading and finding that it was Greats said 'Well, there is not much anthropology in Greats but there *is* Herodotus. Bring your Herodotus with you and I will go over all the passages of anthropological interest'—which he did, most kindly giving me many hours of his delightful exposition all to myself.

Queen's extended Randall-MacIver's scholarship for a fifth year, which he devoted to anthropology and Spanish ('always my favourite language since those days'). These interests led to Prescott and the Central Americas. Tylor 'pointed me to numerous sources and I spent long hours in the Bodleian studying Aztec and Mayan documents and anything and everything which could throw light upon them'. Soon, there were serious plans for an expedition to Yucatan. Randall-MacIver's family strongly opposed this. It was made clear to him that he had been brought up with the expectation that he would follow his stepfather's profession, and he had to go through the formality of studying sufficient law to be admitted as a barrister in 1898. 'I . . . have used my privileges as a member of the Inner Temple only to attend its beautiful church service, and to enjoy the summer and autumn flower-shows held in the Temple grounds.' But if Yucatan itself was out of the question, one could travel in Spain and Italy to read the manuscript reports of earlier and more fortunate explorers: and this Randall-MacIver did in April 1897. 'I was too young and inexperienced to make much out of my search in the libraries, but the experience of Spain and Italy made an indelible impression

which has lasted all my life. This was the moment in fact when I turned from the archaeology of the New World to that of the Mediterranean.' The following winter saw another decisive step. 'I obtained an introduction to Flinders Petrie and in January 1898 arrived in Egypt. After a few weeks spent near Luxor in acquiring the rudiments of Arabic I joined Petrie in his camp at Dendereh.' Randall-MacIver's odyssey had begun.

> Petrie having been told in general terms that I was an anthropologist thought that this was a great opportunity to get made a systematic study of the vast quantity of skeletal material that he was turning up. So rather unexpectedly I found myself plunged into the study of the physical side of anthropology, for which I had at that time no special training . . . as the amount of material was very large I emerged from several months of very intensive work with a good deal of fundamental experience.

In 1899, Randall-MacIver was allowed to take part in the actual excavations that Petrie was conducting for the Egypt Exploration Fund between Dendereh and Abydos, returning to the latter site in 1900 for Petrie's re-excavation of the Royal Tombs ('I also measured all the skeletal material from the site'). An opportunity for further travel presented itself: 'Petrie had thrown out the suggestion that the pre-dynastic people whom we were studying in Egypt had originated among the Libyans of North Africa, and that there might be survivals and traces of them. . . .' Randall-MacIver and Antony Wilkin, an intrepid youth who had been with Haddon on the Torres Straits expedition, determined to test Petrie's theory on the spot. The results were not impressive in establishing the desired connection, but 'two wonderful months of rough and tumble life and mild adventure' yielded a good haul of pottery and ornaments for the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford and a collection of observations on Berber life, racial types, arts and crafts: D. Randall-MacIver and A. Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (1901). On his return to Egypt, Randall-MacIver was assigned by the Egypt Exploration Fund to El Amrah, a small and partially plundered cemetery of the same period as the Royal Tombs at Abydos. He reported his findings there in a special extra publication of the Fund: D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899–1901* (1902).

While at Abydos in 1900, Randall-MacIver received the welcome news of his appointment as the first research student on the Laycock foundation, newly established at Worcester College, Oxford, for the study of Egyptology. Accordingly, on completion of his El Amrah excavation, he took up residence in Oxford with the intention of dealing with 'my large and unique assemblage of

craniological material . . . Perhaps it was as well that I did not foresee that it would mean every hour of my time for a full three years, and every hour that Arthur Thomson [the Professor of Human Anatomy] could spare.' Following publication of the resulting anthropometrical study, A. Thomson and D. Randall-MacIver, *The Ancient Races of the Thebaid* (1905), 'we both felt that we had too many other interests ever again to devote so long a time and such immense energy to a study of which all the foundations were so shifting and debatable'. It was time to return to Egypt, although not under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund: 'I wanted more independence and hoped, somewhat indefinitely, for an expedition under my own command.' A felucca was duly chartered, and temples (including Philae) were visited and assessed in relation to the Egyptian Government's reported intention to raise the dam at Aswan.

Any prospects there may have been for an independent excavation in Egypt were set aside on receipt of an unexpected invitation from the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In accordance with the Association's policy of encouraging scientific research throughout the Empire, the 1905 Annual Meeting was to take place in Johannesburg. With the support of the Rhodes Trustees, the Association's council had decided that since various experts were being commissioned to report on different aspects of the host country, it was appropriate that an archaeologist should be engaged to explore the enigmatic stone ruins of Southern Rhodesia, especially those at Zimbabwe. How or why the Laycock Student in Egyptology was selected for this work is not clear: but the choice could hardly have been a happier one. Local antiquarian investigators had based ambitious theories of far-flung ancient—preferably Phoenician—contacts on the sophisticated architecture of Zimbabwe, and on the discovery there of a few exotic objects; but no proper excavation had ever been carried out on the site. Randall-MacIver had been trained by Petrie, and it may be assumed that his grasp of excavation technique, sequence dating, and typological analysis was by now complete. Although the prospect of extending the range of Near Eastern studies to south-east Africa was admittedly attractive to him, he had no axe to grind other than that of method.

I covered great stretches of country . . . and succeeded in examining not only Zimbabwe but a whole representative series of similar sites in the four months at my disposal. By the middle of September I was ready with my report and had arrived at very clear conclusions, which I

presented to the British Association and to as many hundreds of South Africans as could find standing room in a large hall at Johannesburg. It was a very dramatic occasion when I announced that the enigma of the mysterious buildings was in all its essentials solved; they belonged not to ancient but to medieval and post-medieval periods; they had no oriental connections but were the work of native Bantus in a higher state of organization than they now possessed. Although the scientists (with very few exceptions) accepted my findings, they caused astonishment and rage in a great part of the South African community. . . .

The text of Randall-MacIver's detailed report was as uncompromising as its title: *Mediaeval Rhodesia* (1906). The imported objects he had found—fragments of Persian faience, Ming Dynasty porcelain, Arab glass and silver—had been submitted for identification to C. H. (later Sir Hercules) Read at the British Museum: none of them, and none of those previously found in the area, could be shown to be earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century AD. Stratigraphically, those found by Randall-MacIver could also be shown to be contemporary with the buildings from which they had been retrieved. More revolutionary still was the attention paid to the rest of the finds, the majority of which had clearly not been imported. Comparison of the domestic pottery from the trenches with that used in the surrounding villages by the 1905 population yielded unequivocal similarities and suggested an African identity, which was borne out by the complete absence of Near Eastern or European style—of any period—in the domestic and military architecture. Confirmation of the indigenous nature of the Zimbabwe ruins was provided on a large scale in 1929, when Gertrude Caton Thompson carried out further work there.[1] But, as Brian Fagan has written in the Introductory Note to the 1971 reprint of *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, it was Randall-MacIver's four month campaign in 1905 that 'set the stage for the recognition of Zimbabwe as one of the greatest achievements of prehistoric Africa'. In its incisive and integrated approach to a specific question, and in its prompt publication of the answer, this extraordinary African interlude foreshadows Mortimer Wheeler's approach to the problems of Wales, England, and India from *Segontium* (1923) to *Charsada* (1962).

Back in England, the Laycock Studentship was drawing to a close. 'I determined on a new line. I would go and seek my fortune in

[1] G. Caton Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture* (1931); the same author's extended introduction to the second edition (1971) reviews subsequent progress. See also P. S. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe* (1973), pp. 76–83.

America'—and see whether other universities and museums could be persuaded to follow the example of Harvard and New York in sending archaeological expeditions to Egypt: 'in that case I might be their man'. Inevitably, it was in Philadelphia that Randall-MacIver found what he was looking for: the University Museum, where the curator of ethnology, G. B. Gordon, introduced him to Eckley B. Coxe Jr., a coal magnate 'of about my own age, rather delicate in health and with a gentle shy manner'. After a few days, it was decided that Coxe would enable the University of Pennsylvania to finance a series of excavations over the following five years.

> I was to be director of the excavations and curator of the Egyptian Department in the University Museum, with a comfortable salary. It was stipulated that I should publish, at Mr Coxe's expense, all the results within a period of five years from my appointment. I stipulated on my side that everything which I wrote should be published and adequately illustrated.

By January 1907, Randall-MacIver was thus able to return to the district that he had surveyed in his solitary pre-Zimbabwe reconnaissance. The concessions he obtained from the governments of Egypt and the Sudan amounted to the entire southern half of Lower Nubia: 'no-one except myself supposed that this distant border region was rich in antiquities'. In the event, it was shown to include sites of every period between the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty and the twelfth century AD. Randall-MacIver was ably assisted in the field by another Briton, C. L. (later Sir Leonard) Woolley, whom he had persuaded to resign from the Ashmolean. Woolley joined the Egyptian Department of the University Museum in Philadelphia as assistant curator, and his name appears with Randall-MacIver's as joint author of the following three monographs in the 'Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia' series.

Areika (1909) contains the first description of the previously unknown Meroitic civilization of the black races bordering Egypt on the south in the time of the Roman Empire. Further south still, Randall-MacIver discovered a large cemetery of the same period, whence 'with the exception of a few of the finest pieces all the art objects went to the University Museum': *Karanòg* (1910). The third and fourth seasons were devoted to the two temples and to the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasty cemeteries at *Buhen* (two vols., 1911). In addition, Randall-MacIver found time to edit Geoffrey S. Mileham's account of medieval *Churches in Lower Nubia* (1910), and to take advantage of 'opportunities for wonderful

holidays on the way between Egypt and America': Constantinople and Greece in 1907, Sicily in 1908, and Italy—'which I was already beginning to know well'—in 1909 and 1910. By the end of 1911, his work for Coxe was finished and published. And through the Coxe family he had met and married Joanna Davidge, and made a home at Eastern Point, Gloucester, Mass. On the expiry of his Philadelphia contract, Randall-MacIver took up duties of a very different nature as Librarian (chief executive officer) of the American Geographical Society in New York.

> It was my ambition to make the library not merely a good library but one of the best of its kind. . . . Maps began to pour in, at the rate of several thousand a year; books at a similar pace. . . . I was intensely busy and active [and] well content to be employed on a task so congenial and obviously useful.

Randall-MacIver resigned from the Geographical Society on the outbreak of war in 1914, sailed for England, and was in France until the autumn of 1915, later joining the expedition to Macedonia and finally 'a certain department' of the War Office in London. When he was demobilized with the rank of Captain and reunited with his wife in New York in 1919, it was clear that one period had ended and that another was due to begin. 'I was most anxious to get back to archaeology.' There was no reason why America should be the Randall-MacIvers' only home. They resolved in future to spend at least half of each year in Europe, and to go back to Eastern Point for the summer. Where in Europe?

> What interested me was the Mediterranean as a whole, with Egypt indeed as the indispensable background but not with Egypt as the sole subject of study. For a moment I thought of devoting the next ten years to Spain, but the prospects did not seem favourable at the time so that I decided, as was in every way most natural, that my proper sphere was Italy.

Around 1904, during his tenure of the Laycock Studentship, Randall-MacIver had made the acquaintance of a talented young Oxford graduate, T. E. Peet.[1]

> It was I who induced him to make his debut in archaeology by studying in Italy. This was the genesis of his important book on the *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy* (1909). It was a remarkable achievement for so young a man . . . But Italian studies have never offered a living wage to any Englishman, and only those of independent means can devote

[1] 1882–1934. Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool, 1920–33, and subsequently Reader in Egyptology at Oxford until his death. Peet excavated in Egypt for the Egypt Exploration Fund from 1909.

themselves for more than a year or two to a subject which is so poorly supported in England. Peet was obliged to turn to something in which he could make a living and thus it was partly necessity as well as choice which turned him to Egyptology. I at the age of 46 had inherited and earned a sufficient competence to need no salary; I was free to go where I pleased and live, on an unambitious scale, where I pleased. Peet's studies had not carried him beyond the close of the Bronze Age. The Iron Age, full of intriguing problems, was untouched by any writer except certain specialists whose only language was Italian. This therefore was the field for me.

In July 1921 the Randall-MacIvers sailed for Italy.

Randall-MacIver was well aware that the state of the Italian Iron Age in the twenties did not resemble any of the situations that he had resolved so efficiently before the Great War. For the first time in his archaeological odyssey, he was not required to be a pioneer in the field, solving a basic problem of identity or opening up new territory by survey and selective excavation. The challenge represented by two generations and more of unremitting excavation in the Italian cemeteries was far greater. 'In the winter of 1920 . . . I began to collect books and to lay my plans': it was as if a missionary from Africa were about to engage in theological research at one of the ancient universities—or as if Mortimer Wheeler were setting out to write Gordon Childe's *Danube in Prehistory*. 'In the next ten years (1921–1931) I was at the very best of my strength and intellectual powers, and in that time I produced [five] books . . . into which I put the very best that was in me, with a great exercise of self-restraint in the choice and limitation of treatment.'

Villanovans and Early Etruscans (1924) and *The Iron Age in Italy* (1927) are the works by which their author was and is best known. The Villanovan cemeteries and their contents in the area around Bologna and in Etruria are reviewed in the first half of the first volume; the second half illustrates the growth of Etruscan civilization down to 650 BC by detailed reference to Vetulonia, the magnificent Regolini Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini Tombs at Caere and Praeneste, briefer accounts of Corneto (Tarquinia), Bisenzio, Faliscan territory, and Marsiliana d'Albegna; and there is a final chapter on Chiusi and Northern Etruria. *The Iron Age in Italy* offers similar descriptions of the material aspects of those early Italian peoples who were neither Villanovan nor Etruscan: the Atestines, Golaseccans, and Comacines of Northern Italy in Part I, and the Picenes in Part II. In Part III there is a change of

style and method, rendered necessary by the paucity of material everywhere south of Latium and Picenum. The chapter on Sicily summarizes the findings of Paolo Orsi, whose work (published in 1926) on Torre Galli and Canale was also the only source of Randall-MacIver's—or anyone's—Calabrian information; by the same token, E. Gabrici's *Cuma* (1913) is the principal source for Campania; and the final chapter, on Apulia, is a heroic attempt to extract a connected narrative from the ceramic elucubrations of M. Mayer and M. Gervasio.[1]

Both books provide abundant evidence of a deep and broad acquaintance with scholarly Italian publications that was by no means limited to the official reports and monographs published by the [Reale] Accademia dei Lincei in the 'Notizie degli Scavi' and 'Monumenti Antichi' series. Outside Italy, Randall-MacIver's principal debt was to the Swedish scholar Oscar Montelius, from whose atlas of plates, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie* (1895–1905), he reproduced many illustrations. Many more were executed by F. O. Lawrence and R. A. Cordingley, successive holders of the Prix de Rome in Architecture at the British School at Rome; coverage was extensive, and still affords a remarkably comprehensive panorama of Iron Age material culture north of Rome. The photographs taken in Italian museums are superb, and serve as a reminder that the problem of unpublished material was less acute sixty years ago than it is today. In many parts of Italy, a properly accredited investigator of Randall-MacIver's standing and natural '*correttezza*' would have had little difficulty in handling the contents of showcases and *magazzini* for himself; indeed, it was necessary for him to do so if he was to understand the terse official catalogues published for primarily bureaucratic reasons since 1876 in the 'Notizie degli Scavi'. There, a sample page of Luigi Pernier's 1907 report on the eastern cemeteries of Villanovan Tarquinia accounts for twelve graves and a total of ninety artefacts, almost none of which were illustrated. That Randall-MacIver's researches extended far beyond the public galleries of the museums he visited is demonstrated on a number of

[1] In the peninsula as a whole, the most extensive discoveries since Randall-MacIver's day have been made in the south. In Campania, the first Western Greeks have emerged to provoke a radical reassessment of the Orientalizing phenomenon (p. 573 n. 2, below). Elsewhere, Lucania (Basilicata) is never mentioned in Randall-MacIver's writings. This vital zone was still *terra incognita* in T. J. Dunbabin's time (*The Western Greeks* [1948], p. 153), and remained so until the creation of an autonomous archaeological Superintendency at Potenza in 1964: see *Scritti in onore di Dinu Adamesteanu: Attività archeologica in Basilicata 1964–1977* (1980).

occasions. He could not have written, for example, that the authorities of the Museo Preistorico in Rome 'may have some good ground for believing' that the (now) notorious Manios fibula was stolen from the Bernardini Tomb 'by workmen or others' unless he was aware of a confidential statement to this effect compiled by the young Georg Karo at the behest of the Museum's director in 1901. Karo's unease at what he alone recognized as a veiled reference to his—presumably innocent—part in a disgraceful episode emerges from an odd passage at the end of his otherwise mellifluous review of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, and remained inexplicable until his 'letter' was published in 1976.[1] Regrettably, there were difficulties at the Villa Giulia, where Randall-MacIver was unable to gain access to the vast quantities of material from the 1200 Villanovan graves excavated between 1913 and 1916 in the cemeteries at Veii.[2] He seems to have been told that a full account would be published in the 1924 volume of 'Monumenti Antichi'; in the event, the first and so far the last small instalment (102 pp.) did not appear until 1979,[3] eleven years after the republication of the contemporary cemeteries at Tarquinia[4] and four years after the initiation of the definitive monograph series devoted to the

[1] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 216 f.; G. Karo, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, 12 (1925), 143–7; F. Zevi, *Prospettiva*, fasc. 5 (April 1976), 50–2; and, for the whole story so far, M. Guarducci, 'La cosiddetta Fibula Prenestina: Antiquari, eruditi e falsari nella Roma dell'Ottocento', *Memorie . . . Lincei*[8], 24 (1980), 415–574.

[2] G. A. Colini, *Notizie degli Scavi* (1919), pp. 3–12. Ten years after Randall-MacIver, Alan Blakeway found that the painted pottery from Villanovan Veii in the Villa Giulia was 'unpublished, inaccessible and invisible': *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 33 (1932–3), 195 n. 4. Like others in Oxford (p. 573 n. 2, below), Blakeway disagreed strongly with Randall-MacIver's views on Greek matters. Nevertheless, as he himself acknowledged handsomely (ibid. 174 n. 1), he owed a considerable debt to Randall-MacIver's two principal Italian books for introducing him to much of the Geometric material in his pioneer studies of pre-colonial Greek trade with the West.

[3] G. Bartoloni and F. Delpino, *Veio I: Introduzione allo studio delle necropoli arcaiche di Veio: il sepolcreto di Valle La Fata = Monumenti Antichi*, serie monografica i (serie generale l): cf. *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 193, 269 f. Between 1961 and 1975, several hundred Villanovan graves were excavated in the Quattro Fontanili cemetery at Veii by the Istituto di Etruscologia dell'Università di Roma and the British School at Rome; substantial (and extensively illustrated) reports appeared in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1970, 1972, 1975, and 1976.

[4] H. Hencken, *Tarquinia: Villanovans and Early Etruscans = American School of Prehistoric Research, Bull.* 23 (2 vols., 1968). The title is evocative: see the review by M. Pallottino, *Studi Etruschi*, 36 (1968), 493–501.

Bolognese cemeteries investigated in the nineteenth century.[1] In the area of *The Iron Age in Italy*, the northern evidence from the areas around Este and Golasecca was not finally reorganized until 1975.[2] The first modern account of Picene affairs appeared in 1976.[3] It remains true that the only major gaps in Randall-MacIver's knowledge of Italian material that were not due to *force majeure* are Sardinian. He would have found much to interest him in the writings of the indefatigable Canon Spano (1803–78), and in the museums in Cagliari and Sassari that he did so much to fill. If the *Bullettino archeologico sardo* was inaccessible, as it need not have been, Giovanni Pinza—whose work on Latium Randall-MacIver knew and used—had published his seminal *Monumenti primitivi della Sardegna* in 'Monumenti Antichi' (1901), where A. Taramelli also reported on a number of important sites from 1909 onwards. Randall-MacIver should not have been unaware of the origin of the eponymous bronzes in the Tomb of the Three Boats at Vetulonia: but he clearly was.[4]

The epilogue of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* warns readers that 'many a battle will yet be waged over the ground which I have surveyed. But my immediate business is with the survey and not with the battles, for in these I choose to take but little part, having no thesis to maintain and no theory to champion.' Even so, Randall-MacIver had formed his own opinions on a number of chronological and historical matters, and he inserted them at the appropriate points of his survey, invariably—and courteously—distinguishing them from those of others. The overall picture of Iron Age Italy that emerges from his writings is complex, although not unduly so; it is composed largely of shifting populations whose movements can be charted according to the distribution of different burial rites. Thus successive waves of transalpine cremators pour down from Istria and the Tyrol and begin to push their

[1] R. Pincelli and C. Morigi Govi, *La necropoli villanoviana di San Vitale = Cataloghi delle collezioni del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, i (1975).

[2] R. Peroni *et al.*, *Studi sulla cronologia delle civiltà di Este e Golasecca* (1975); see also id., *Studi di cronologia hallstattiana* (1973).

[3] D. G. Lollini, 'La civiltà picena', in *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica*, v (1976), 107–95. The seven collective volumes of *Popoli e Civiltà* (1974–8), of which five have been reviewed in *J. Roman Studies* (66 [1976], 206–13; 71 [1981], 208–11), currently afford the most complete picture of pre-Roman Italy. A briefer account: M. Pallottino, *Genti e culture dell'Italia preromana* (1981).

[4] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 136 with pl. 25, no. 5; cf. p. 118, where, à propos of the 'curious object' (pl. 22, no. 1: actually another *barchetta nuragica*) from the Tomba del Duce, it is merely noted that 'similar models have been found in several parts of Italy as well as in Sardinia'.

way southwards through the peninsula, flooding the western half of the country as far as the Alban Hills. To the east, their progress is blocked by the opposition of the Picenes, who inhume their dead and are therefore to be regarded as the descendants of the Neolithic stocks who once occupied the entire peninsula. The intrusive cremating peoples are classed as three nations: Villanovans, Atestines, and Comacines, related to each other and to the Iron Age civilizations of central Europe and the upper Danube by a more or less close cousinship, and in some undefined way to the Bronze Age (and also intrusive) denizens of the *terramara* pile-dwellings of Northern Italy. The Villanovans are a people entirely distinct from the Etruscans, preceding them by at least two centuries south of the Apennines. There, from the latter half of the ninth century, Villanovan civilization is radically transformed by the newcomers from the Near East, whose success may be attributed to the triumph of intelligence over numbers.

Clearly, Randall-MacIver had diligently absorbed the prevailing Italian view that required the early history of the peninsula to be explained in terms of invasions. The invaders themselves could not be identified by myth and legend, the use of which had long since been discontinued on Mommsen's instructions, but they could be correlated with the phenomena—such as burial rites—perceived by archaeology.[1] This reasoning, as arbitrary as it was dogmatic, found its fullest and most fatal expression in the hypothesis associated with the name of Luigi Pigorini (1842–1925): for him and his school, the appearance of the *terremare* and the cremation rite in the Po Valley signalled the advent of the Italian Bronze Age and the arrival of the Italic peoples from north of the Alps. Randall-MacIver's conscientious delineation of subsequent Iron Age waves from the Danube and central Europe is essentially a variation on Pigorini's north–south theme: he modestly suggested that 'the points of agreement between the two views will appear more valuable and interesting than their differences'.[2] In fact, neither view could survive the demonstration by prehistorians such as Ugo Rellini—whose Rome inaugural

[1] The relevant changes in the climate of interpretation are reviewed in more detail than is possible here by M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans*[2] (1975), 37–81; see also M. Zuffa, 'La civiltà villanoviana', in *Popoli e Civiltà dell'Italia Antica*, v (1976), 197–363 (especially pp. 205–41 on '*gli studi dei pionieri*').

[2] *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, p. 93. As early as 1904, Randall-MacIver had provided English readers with an epitome of Pigorini's views on 'how the civilisation of the *terremare* became the parent of mighty Rome, and how the construction of the pile dwellings determined the very walls and streets of the Eternal City' (*Man*, vol. 4, pp. 44–6); cf. p. 576 n. 1 below.

lecture, *Le origini della civiltà italica*, appeared in 1929—that the Italian Bronze Age did not represent a break in continuity with the preceding Italian Neolithic and Copper Ages.

The oriental origin of the Etruscans supported by the majority of Italian scholars and duly reported by Randall-MacIver was also under attack. At the Primo Convegno Nazionale Etrusco, held in Florence in 1926, Luigi Pareti argued strongly that the Villanovans and the Etruscans were one people, descended from the sub-Alpine *palafitticoli* ('pile-dwellers', of which the *terramaricoli* were a western branch). This approach shifted the question of Etruscan origins in space, as the contemporary autochthonous hypothesis of Ugo Antonielli shifted it in time: neither accounted satisfactorily for the unique and well-defined language and culture attested between the Tiber and the Arno. As late as 1943, Randall-MacIver was by no means the only authority who still defended 'the solution which commended itself to good minds in antiquity': the Lydian theory, collected by Herodotus.[1] The cobwebs were finally slashed in 1947 with the appearance of Massimo Pallottino's *Origine degli Etruschi*, since when it has not been reasonable to see the Etruscans as the result of any process more arcane than the gradual fusion of various ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and political elements into an historically perceptible whole. The origin, external or indigenous, of individual elements may indeed be discussed in the terms appropriate to their nature; that the actual formation of a recognizable Etruscan identity took place in Etruria itself is now not normally doubted. Central to the modern approach is the visible fact that the inception of the Iron Age in Etruria coincides precisely with the expansion of many centres destined for greatness in Etruscan times. At the very least, it follows that 'the Villanovans' are 'Iron Age Etruscans', and that they were perceived as such by their contemporaries. But the realization that national status depends on more than archaeologically retrievable phenomena (such as the cremation rite) means that the 'Villanovans' are no more substantial as an *ethnos* than the 'Aborigines' and 'Pelasgians' of a more robust age.

It is frankly little short of tragic that the title of Randall-MacIver's first Italian book juxtaposes two ethnic identities of which one is now seen to be bogus. At least in the English-speaking world, his authoritative use of the term 'Villanovans' has preserved the frame of reference that was current (but already less than universal) in Italy at the outset of his investigation. This is

[1] Op. cit. in p. 559 n. 2, above.

not Randall-MacIver's fault, and it in no way diminishes the scale of his achievement: which, as (Sir) John Myres shrewdly observed, was the ungrateful one of 'clearing the ground'.[1] No one pair of eyes before his had reviewed all the available Italian Iron Age data, nor had Italian archaeologists acquired the habit of regular exchanges of information and ideas. Centralized publication by the Accademia dei Lincei was indeed helpful in this respect, but there was no Italian equivalent of the French Congrès d'Archéologie Préhistorique and its conferences to keep serious workers in touch with each other's discoveries and thinking. Randall-MacIver's two-volume survey brought order and system to a vast quantity of archaeological material, and the result was widely respected even by those of his Italian colleagues who were already experimenting with new interpretations.[2] With the benefit of hindsight, it may be argued that the desire for orderliness was sometimes excessive—the positively cavalier rearrangement of the absolute chronology of Este and Golasecca is a notorious case in point.[3] Far more significant were the lucidity of Randall-MacIver's exposition, and the consequent potential of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* and *The Iron Age in Italy* as a source of worked examples illustrating the exegesis of large artefactual assemblages from funerary contexts. Myres's judgement of the first book applies to both:

> . . . it has the especial merit of 'giving reasons', and forming not readers' opinions only but a habit of scientific thinking, which will earn it a wider public than its ostensible purpose claims. Rather a large handful, it is nevertheless a manual of archaeological practice, in the best sense of the word.

No less valid in the long term is Randall-MacIver's own blunt assessment of the value of his writings: '. . . if there are still scholars who protest that such things are not worth knowing, they can no longer have any excuse for asserting them to be unknowable'.[4]

Randall-MacIver wrote three more books about early Italy. *The Etruscans* (1927), *Italy before the Romans* (1928), and the insubstantial *Greek cities in Italy and Sicily* (1931) are small books intended primarily for those general readers who may have

[1] J. L. Myres, review of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, in *J. Hellenic Studies*, 45 (1925), 269–72.

[2] U. Antonielli, review-discussion of *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, *The Iron Age in Italy*, *The Etruscans*, and *Italy before the Romans*, in *Bull. Paletnologia Italiana*, 49 (1929), 133–40; see also id., *Studi Etruschi*, 1 (1927), 35.

[3] R. Peroni in *Este e Golasecca* cit. (p. 569 n. 2, above), 19 f.

[4] *Italy before the Romans*, p. 12.

reflected that they knew very little of any ancient Italian people except the Romans. Though lucidly and enthusiastically presented, the essentially text-free subject that Randall-MacIver had made his own was not yet ripe for treatment at this level, nor was the level itself established until Woolley's *Digging up the Past* (1937) and *Ur of the Chaldees* (1938) appeared in the new Pelican series and struck a chord that has never since lost its appeal. It must be admitted that Randall-MacIver's characterization of everyday life in the Italian Iron Age was not wholly successful, although it was occasionally arresting: 'In the neighbourhood of Bologna itself [the Villanovans] had built four villages, some distance apart but within easy range of an afternoon's call . . . The ancient Highland dress in Scotland will enable us to realize how a Villanovan looked when he went for a walk.'[1] *The Etruscans* continued the story begun in *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* into the period normally regarded as the preserve of the classical archaeologist: which Randall-MacIver was not. Hailed in the United States as 'the only good little book there is on the Etruscans', Randall-MacIver's strenuous defence of the Etruscans against what he saw as 'pro-Hellenic bias' was received coolly in Britain.[2] Its infectious enthusiasm was not vindicated for serious English readers until the publication of J. D. (Sir John) Beazley's *Etruscan Vase Painting* in 1947, followed by the positive assessments of the Etruscan role in Mediterranean history and art history that were

[1] Ibid., pp. 55 f.

[2] Reviews: R. V. D. Magoffin, *Amer. J. Archaeology*, 33 (1929), 168 f.; R. S. Conway, *Classical Review*, 42 (1928), 233–5 ('It is too late in the day to represent the Etruscans as very fine fellows'); H. G. G. P[ayne], *J. Roman Studies*, 17 (1927), 240 f. ('indifference to the accepted facts of Greek archaeology'); and especially S. C[asson], *J. Hellenic Studies*, 47 (1927), 293 f. Casson had recently compiled a brief account of Etruscan art for the *Cambridge Ancient History* (iv [1926], 421–32), of which the editors' preface commented on Etruscan artists' 'ill-paid debt to the inspiration of Greek artistic ideas' (ibid. vii). Randall-MacIver campaigned vigorously against this negative attitude in ch. 7 of his *Etruscans* (of which an Italian version appeared in *Studi Etruschi*, 2 [1928], 15–18: 'Sull'indipendenza dell'arte etrusca'). His emigré 'Tyrrhene artificers' have since been overtaken by events: it is now clear that the connection between Etruria and the 'crucible . . . situated somewhere in the Levant' was effected by the international community of traders and artisans resident at Pithekoussai, the first permanent Western Greek establishment, founded by Euboeans on Ischia before 750 BC and excavated by Giorgio Buchner from 1952 to date. See the collective volumes published by the Centre Jean Bérard, Naples, *Contribution* (1975) and *Nouvelle Contribution* (1981) *à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*; P. J. Riis, J. N. Coldstream, and G. Buchner, s.v. 'Phönizier und Griechen: Partnerschaft und Konkurrenz', in *Phönizier im Westen = Madrider Beiträge*, viii (1982); D. Ridgway, *L'Alba della Magna Grecia* (1984).

contained in the first (1955) and even more in the second (1975) English language editions of Massimo Pallottino's *Etruscologia*,[1] and in the seminal account of *The Etruscan Lion* (1960) by Beazley's pupil, the late W. Llewellyn Brown.

Mrs Randall-MacIver died in 1931.

For four years after Joanna's death I continued to live in Rome. I had many friends there, and I loved the apartment (25 Corso d'Italia) in which we had spent such happy years. There was indeed nothing that I felt impelled to write, the last book of those which I had planned appeared in 1931, and my subject as I had sketched it ten years previously was finished. The energy and vitality to make a fresh start were also wanting; I was seriously ill for the whole of the two years 1930–1932, and when I had more or less recovered at the end of that time I could not but be aware of the loss of power.

Nevertheless, in September 1932, Randall-MacIver presided over Section H (Anthropology) at the Annual Meeting, held in York, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The communications he heard there ranged from Flinders Petrie on Copper and Bronze in Palestine and J. W. Crowfoot on Samaria to C. Fox on the frontier dykes of Wales and I. A. Richmond on Birdoswald; and from J. G. D. Clark on the Mesolithic Age in Britain to M. E. L. Mallowan on Nineveh. In a stirring presidential address,[2] Randall-MacIver himself remarked on the startlingly wide interest in the subject under review that was by now current in Britain: 'There is some danger indeed that archaeology may be killed by kindness and the indiscriminating affection of its admirers.' Both the audience and the speaker must have been aware of Mortimer Wheeler's current plans (brought to fruition in 1937) to establish an academic Institute of Archaeology in the University of London. Randall-MacIver's characteristically forthright views on archaeological policy and education were thus highly topical:

I do not believe that early specialisation in archaeological training would be wholesome—indeed I think it would probably be rather harmful. . . . For it is not so important that an archaeologist should be an

[1] Op. cit. in p. 570 n. 1, above.

[2] 'The Place of Archaeology as a Science, and some Practical Problems in its Development', *British Association for the Advancement of Science: Report of the Annual Meeting* (1932), pp. 147–68, from which the extracts in this paragraph are taken. For an account of the contemporary state of archaeological studies in Britain, see S. Piggott on R. E. M. Wheeler in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, 23 (1977), 623–42.

expert in one subject as that he should be widely and well educated. But with this premise once granted, I think that much time would be saved, and much efficiency would be added, if the student at the beginning of his archaeological career were to superimpose a year or so of intensive technological training on his more general education. . . . A technical training in primitive handicrafts such as pottery-making,[1] flint-chipping, weaving, and the hammering, alloying and casting of metals, would give him an insight which no mere reading or even handling of finished specimens can give.

Wheeler's comments, if any, on these proposals are not recorded; but he would surely have endorsed both the plea for more contracts like those exchanged between the speaker and the University Museum in Philadelphia twenty-five years earlier and the spirited reaction to archaeology as front-page news '. . . printed with two-inch headlines in columns next to the exploits of the gangster and the gunman. This is fame—let us take advantage of it.' Other observations are no less striking; and, as the credo of a working archaeologist, the address as a whole is an impressive document.

The York meeting did much to revive Randall-MacIver's confidence. He began to travel again, and to think of new fields of study. He visited Rhodes, Syria, and Cyprus: but what he saw there, 'though it interested, did not fire me'. During the long summers that he spent in America at the beloved house at Eastern Point, he finally resolved to return to his earliest European interest: Spain. Once again, books were collected and languages —Spanish and Portuguese—were perfected.

For the winter of 1935–36 I went to the Balearics instead of to Italy (now under 'Sanctions' on account of Ethiopia, and therefore not congenial to me) and watched the Spanish situation while I studied, very profitably, the archaeology of Majorca and Minorca. In February I crossed to Spain and spent a couple of months in Catalonia, especially devoting myself to Barcelona with its university and admirable museum.

Following his second marriage (to Mrs Mabel Tuttle of New York), a wedding tour in April 1936 to the old cities of the north and centre of Spain was a happy experience, not least as a prelude to an intensive campaign of study scheduled for the autumn of the same year. *Dis aliter visum*: the Spanish Civil War, which broke out in July, was a mortal blow. Plans to visit Portugal were

[1] Randall-MacIver's interest in the practical aspects of this subject went back to the observations he had made in North Africa in 1901: see his remarks 'On the Manufacture of Etruscan and Other Ancient Black Wares', *Man*, 21 (1921), 86–8.

delayed by illness; this, and the scale of the continuing conflict in Spain, combined to shatter the prospect of one more major piece of constructive work. It remained to keep a watching brief on Italian affairs for O. G. S. Crawford's *Antiquity*,[1] to which Randall-MacIver had contributed since its inception in 1927. Election as a Fellow of the British Academy in 1938 'gave me intense gratification. I had long secretly wished for it, but only one person ever knew of my wish; it was the spontaneous kindness of my friends and co-workers which brought me this honour.'

In 1942, Randall-MacIver ended his private autobiographical notes thus:

> My present interest is in Northern archaeology and literature. The antiquities of Scandinavia, especially Denmark, delight me (and like Montelius I am intrigued by the early connections with Italy); the literature of the Sagas begins to fascinate me. After all, it is a return to 'the pit whence I was digged': the Norsemen are more than my cousins, they are my very close kindred. And as I survey my life I find it very natural that I am completing the circle by coming back to Denmark, Norway and Scotland. I wish that I could expect years enough to make a deeper study. And what language, I wonder, is most spoken in the next world!

At about this time, he proudly announced to Hugh Hencken that he could read even legal texts in Old Norse. In 1944, on the grounds that he had absorbed everything in this language, he presented his Norse library to the University of Virginia. Another subject finished, and a consequent concern for the next generation: an exemplary logic that found another permanent expression in the endowment of the Randall-MacIver Studentship in Archaeology at the Queen's College, Oxford. The further particulars of the award published by the Governing Body of that society exclude Greek and Roman archaeology, and end with a statement of the conviction that, more than any other, had determined the later course of Randall-MacIver's singularly happy odyssey: 'Italy before 300 BC is, however, a legitimate and commendable subject.'

In accordance with its subject's known wishes, this memoir has been confined to his external performances. Given the time that has elapsed since his death, it could indeed hardly be otherwise. But it is fitting to end with the personal reminiscence appended to the entry compiled for the *Dictionary of National Biography* by his god-daughter, Thalassa Cruso Hencken:

[1] 'Modern Views on the Italian Terremare', *Antiquity*, 13 (1939), 320–3.

His appearance throughout his life was extremely striking for he was very tall with bright blue eyes and wavy fair hair; to this was added a smiling sparkling charm of speech which gave a peculiar interest to everything he said and served to kindle in others his own unfailing enthusiasm and optimism. He was a worker with very high standards and he expected others to hold equal standards. Although he was intolerant of slipshod work or thought in any form, and never hesitated to denounce such weaknesses when he found them, he was also full of encouragement and interest in the efforts of others, and always ready to do anything within his power to help young students on the threshold of their own careers.

Randall-MacIver was always exceedingly proud of his Highland origin. He was a complete stranger to any form of narrow nationalism and spent his life with equal serenity in England, Italy, or America.[1]

O si sic omnes.

DAVID RIDGWAY

Note. It is the Academy's aim to publish obituary notices of all deceased Fellows. It was recently discovered that no obituary of Dr D. Randall-MacIver had ever appeared, and the Academy is particularly grateful to Mr David Ridgway for agreeing to write a memoir after so long an interval of time.

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1941–50 (1959). See also the obituary notice by H. Hencken in *Amer. J. Archaeology*, 49 (1945), 359–60.