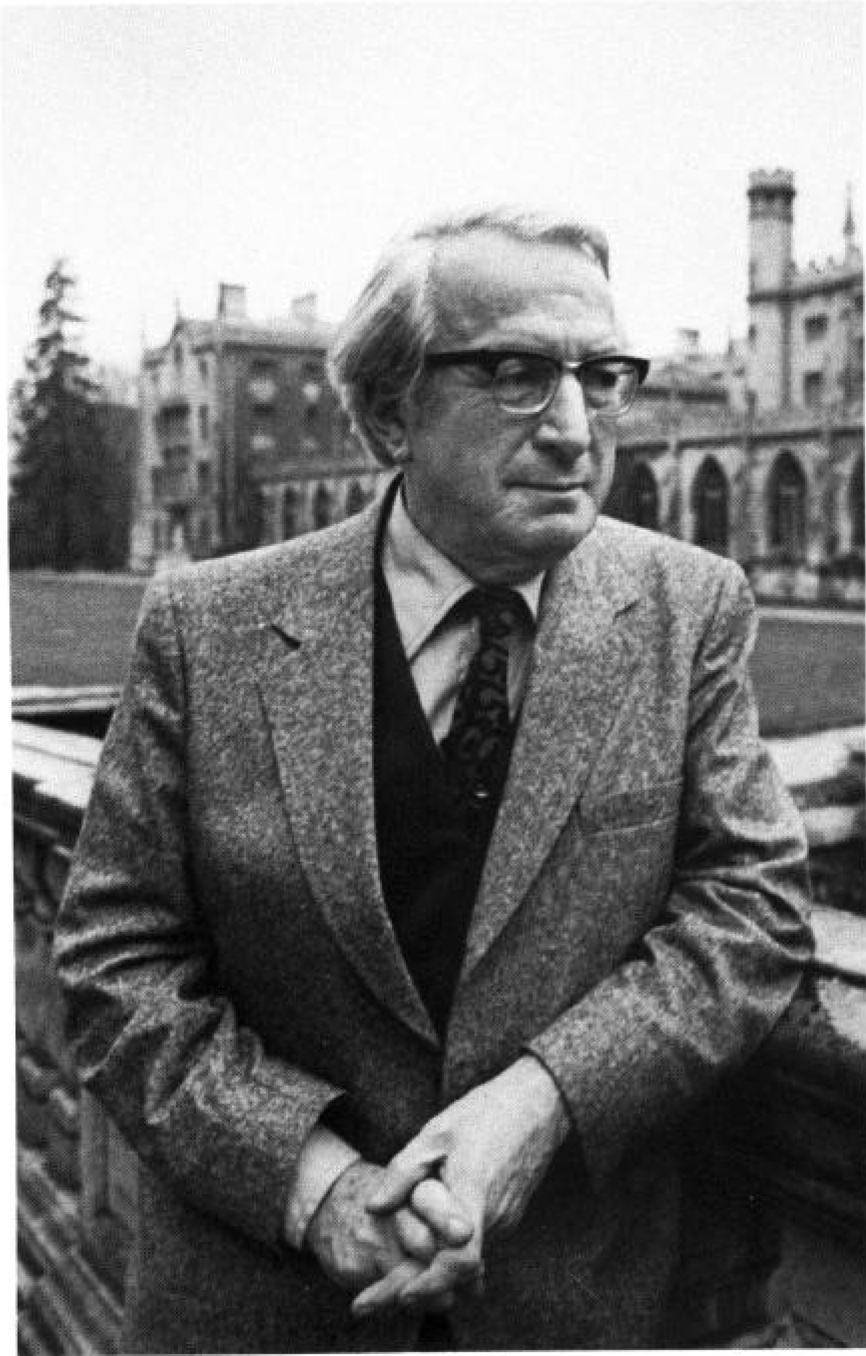
PLATE III



G. E. DANIEL

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GLYN EDMUND DANIEL
1914–1986

GLYN DANIEL was born on 23 April 1914 of Carmarthenshire farming stock. His father, a schoolmaster, moved to take over the school at Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire, and the young Daniel, an only child, spent his childhood and youth in South Wales. He was educated at Barry Grammar School, which around that time, as he was later to recall, had a distinguished record of boys later to achieve recognition and success in their careers. In 1931, holding County and State scholarships he entered university life, initially at University College Cardiff for a year, characteristically combining the study of elementary geology and the organ, until in 1932 he went up to St John's College, Cambridge. From that moment until his death over half a century later the College and the University were to remain the centres of his life, loyalty and affection.

He initially read for Part I of the Geography Tripos but, dissatisfied, on the advice of his senior fellow South Walian, H. C. Darby, he transferred to that of Archaeology and Anthropology, in which he achieved a starred First in 1935. Awarded the Allen Scholarship, as a Research Student of St John's he began a Ph.D. thesis on the megalithic chambered tombs of neolithic England and Wales, which was presented in 1938: in the same year he was elected a Fellow of his college. The war years swiftly intervened; by 1940 Daniel was commissioned in the RAF as one of the small group of archaeologists, geologists, geographers and surveyors which was to form the nucleus of the Air Photo Interpretation branch of inter-service intelligence. Posted to India in 1942 as a staff officer to organize (and eventually to direct) photo-intelligence in the South East Asia theatre of war, in 1946, with the rank of Wing-Commander he returned to civilian life, to his College Fellowship and as Director of Studies, and to an Assistant Lecturership in the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology. In the same year he married Ruth Langhorne. A devoted member of St John's, he served as Steward from 1946 to 1955, and was elected to hold the Disney Chair of Archaeology in the University in 1974 until his retirement in 1981. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of

Antiquaries in 1942, and of the British Academy in 1982. He unexpectedly died on 13 December 1986.

Against this uneventful background of academic success, Daniel's life was in fact vivid and varied: he certainly did not play the part of the remote and ineffectual don. His ebullient autobiography, *Some Small Harvest*, published a couple of months before his death, is anecdotal rather than analytical, but his contribution to archaeological scholarship can only be assessed against the background of the general state of British prehistoric archaeology, and that of Cambridge in particular, in the early 1930s, the formative years in which he first entered the subject as an undergraduate. I, his senior by four years and an outsider in London, was nevertheless closely associated with the new movements in archaeology which were then stirring in Cambridge.

Prehistoric archaeology at that time was still essentially the pursuit of amateurs, many of high standards of excellence, working in the field, and had nominal status in only two universities. From 1927 Gordon Childe, single-handed, lonely, unloved and unlovingly, had held the Abercromby Chair at Edinburgh; in Cambridge the Disney Chair, dating from 1851, was also from 1927 held by E. H. Minns, a scholar devoted to Greeks and Scythians. The British Museum, in the persons of T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, was beginning to provide a youthful and dynamic centre in London; in the field there were the Curwens in Sussex, Keiller, Stone and the Cunningtons in Wiltshire, St George Gray and Bulleid in Somerset, and O. G. S. Crawford everywhere. Our aim was the acquisition of new reliable evidence in the field by excavation and field survey, to be interpreted by inductive means and in conjunction with a systematic ordering of the available material in the form of the corpus and the map. In Cambridge the new archaeology engendered by this activity was being introduced by Grahame Clark, who as a research student had just published his Ph.D. thesis on the British mesolithic in 1932, and given a novel and very important dimension by the interdisciplinary alliance with the natural sciences, primarily botany in the person of Harry Godwin, the early exponent of pollen analysis in Britain; this alliance found expression in the formation of the Fenland Research Committee in 1932. Concurrently, with the impetus again from Cambridge, some of us young archaeologists took over and in 1935 reformed a local East Anglian group into a national institution, the Prehistoric Society, as a vehicle for the expression of our views. All this was heady stuff for us juniors, and it was an

exciting and invigorating world in which to begin professional archaeology. But Daniel, entering it as an undergraduate in 1932–5, was to be an observer rather than a participant. Perhaps a chill acerbic Fenland wind blew more harshly than the soft breezes of the Vale of Glamorgan, and an immediate and enduring antagonism of personalities (which he was not to disguise in his autobiography) further isolated him from what really mattered in the Cambridge archaeology of the time.

The archaeological teaching establishment of Cambridge, other than Minns, was effectually embodied in that great polymathic scholar H. M. Chadwick, who as Professor of Anglo-Saxon taught in the Archaeology Tripos as then constituted and for whom Daniel had a life-long admiration and affection, with, for prehistory, Miles Burkitt and J. M. de Navarro, the one concerned with the palaeolithic (he had sat at the feet of Henri Breuil), the other with the later, bronze and iron age, prehistory of Europe. Daniel, seeking a research topic in 1935, chose that of the megalithic chambered tombs of neolithic England and Wales in the form of a corpus of extant records, within that framework of the ordering of material as a basis of inductive inference in which many of us were concerned at the time. There was no one in Cambridge capable of acting as a knowledgeable supervisor for such research. Burkitt was dismissive, referring him to his friend the antiquary W. J. Hemp as the authority in all such matters. Unfortunately Hemp was pretentious, ignorant and incompetent. Daniel proceeded virtually unsupervised and presented his thesis in 1938. The intervention of war delayed its publication until 1950 under the title of *The Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of England and Wales*. From the early 1930s until that time the neolithic cultures, of which the chambered tombs formed a part, had been the subject of extensive new excavations and works of synthesis; the pottery and stone artefacts were beginning to be understood, as were the ditched enclosures; four long barrows, the counterparts of the stone-built monuments, had been newly excavated to modern standards as well as several of the tombs themselves, from the Cotswolds to the Hebrides. The new evidence was abundant and accessible but we were disappointed to find it had not been used. The book was an inventory on a typological basis of tomb-plans still in the idiom of 1930, not of 1950. It was seen as a valuable contribution as such, but as a contemporary reviewer concluded, this was not enough—'the method that will succeed will be the study as a whole of the culture of the settlements to which the tombs belonged ... the

typological study of the ground-plans of the chambers will carry us but a little way towards understanding who the settlers were and whence they came'.

In the immediately post-war years the study of neolithic chambered tombs in this country received a marked impetus when the first volumes of Georg and Vera Leisner's monumental survey of their Iberian counterparts and their abundant grave-goods became available from Germany where publication had begun in 1943 (and continued until 1959): a thirty year 'self-imposed task of epic magnitude' as an English reviewer put it. It prompted Audrey Henshall to undertake, from 1951 and in the same terms, a Scottish counterpart, and in 1960 Daniel, still resolutely pursuing what had become his main research objective, published *The Prehistoric Chamber Tombs of France*. His love-affair with France and its megaliths had begun with visits to Brittany as an undergraduate, and by now his knowledge of the countryside and its chambered tombs was extensive. The geographical area was large and varied, and its neolithic archaeology as a part of that of Western Europe as a whole, was emerging after the war from the work of French archaeologists and their English colleagues as a coherent entity. Within this complex pattern the chambered tombs obviously had an important part to play as distinctive elements of material culture. But unhappily Daniel's study again failed to make the contribution to knowledge and comprehension we hoped for. Despite a self-limiting subtitle 'A Geographical, Morphological and Chronological Survey' its approach was still that of the 1950 book, and if this was felt inadequate at that time, a decade later the failure to integrate the burial monuments within their cultural setting and prehistory was even more apparent.

The whole status of the chambered tombs as archaeological evidence was by now under review: in 1958 Daniel had summarized what then appeared their position in *The Megalith Builders of Western Europe*, of which a reviewer wrote that it was a milestone in such studies. 'What neither he nor I realized was that it was the last milestone on the wrong road' Daniel wrote retrospectively in his memoirs. To many of us the study of chambered tomb typology had long seemed to have become a dreary self-defeating game of patience played with a faulty tattered old pack in which most of the court cards had been replaced by jokers. The decisive blow not only for megalithic theory but for the whole of traditional prehistory was the theory and application of radio-carbon dating from the early 1950s. In a couple of decades the establishment of a new absolute chronology indepen-

dent of that uncertainly obtained by fallible correlations of items of material culture had destroyed the long-standing thesis of an inevitable east to west migration of culture, going back to the Genesis narrative, pursued and propagated by Gordon Childe, and accepted in some form by all of us. In 1973 Colin Renfrew in his *Before Civilization* conducted a funeral ceremony for many dead prehistories.

But Daniel's active mind had long pursued a quite different interest, that of the history of archaeological research. His early essay on *The Three Ages* (the stone–bronze–iron sequence of tool technology originating in early nineteenth-century Scandinavia), first published in 1943, is still fresh and lively. He made other more comprehensive studies after the war, and his *Hundred Years of Archaeology* (1950), revised as *A Hundred and Fifty* ... in 1975, is a constantly quoted source book. In *The Idea of Prehistory*, given as the Josiah Mason lectures in the University of Birmingham and published in 1962, he set out the development of archaeological concepts in the nineteenth century with a clarity and cogency that well justified its recent reprinting. He was instrumental in encouraging and securing the publication of several such surveys in English by European scholars, and of participating in conferences to this end. In a subject only now beginning to receive attention within the general history of thought about antiquity, Daniel's work provided an early and valuable stimulus.

As a university teacher, in lectures, supervisions and informal occasions with individual pupils as well as on field classes, he was outstanding, winning the admiration and affection of generations of archaeology students, among whom many were destined to become distinguished scholars: one, Colin Renfrew, was (to his great pleasure) to succeed him in the Disney Chair on his resignation in 1981. Many of those he taught have put on record their grateful appreciation of the impact his exuberant and genial personality had on them in their formative years, with its insistence that academic learning was a thing which could be pursued as a pleasure and an enhancement of life rather than an arid irrelevance. To stimulate intellectual curiosity and invigorate latent enthusiasm is perhaps the most difficult task facing a teacher, and Daniel did it with memorable success.

From university to public lecturing was an inevitable step, and he soon became an able exponent of popular archaeology on the lecture circuits of Britain and America. His main influence in this sphere was first in sound broadcasting but from 1952 in the then novel medium of television. The archaeological quiz programme

he compèred, *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral*, achieved in the 1950s–1960s enormous popular success: Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a star performer in the show, was acclaimed Television Personality of the year in 1954, Daniel in 1955. He enjoyed it all immensely, realizing to the full, as he was later to write, that it demanded a 'semi-sincere, semi-insincere projection of a charismatic personality ... a degree of extraversion, showmanship, extravagance and flamboyance'. He had these qualities and exploited them to the full, but this display of virtuosity not unnaturally incurred criticism from some fellow-scholars. Wheeler's overbearing personality in the same field was perhaps a not wholly happy influence, and his seniority and achievement could be weighed against some superficial showmanship in a way Daniel could not share. There remained, and still remains a more ambiguous problem today, the value of an undiscriminatingly wide popular archaeology. To what degree was the public interest in archaeology, so vigorously promoted in the post-war decades, a genuine understanding of a complex intellectual discipline and how much a superficial vulgarization of largely misunderstood techniques? The question is of importance not only in estimating Daniel's contribution to it, but as a wider issue of social attitudes to learning today.

At the time we all felt that the increase in a public awareness of archaeology could do nothing but good. To a large extent this has been the case, especially in creating a favourable atmosphere for rescue excavations and conservation policies. In the immediate instance, more than one of Daniel's more distinguished pupils was first attracted to archaeology, Cambridge and his teaching by reason of this new publicity. But already by the 1960s disquiet was being expressed in more than one quarter. As a scientist Sir Peter Medawar in his masterly demolition of Teilhard de Chardin's *Phenomenon of Man* saw the danger of the emergence of an unthinking and credulous 'large population of people, often of well-developed literary and scholarly tastes, who have been educated far beyond their capacity for analytical thought'. From the historian's standpoint Sir John Plumb in his *Death of the Past* saw contemporary society as one that 'does not need the past' which 'becomes therefore a matter of curiosity ... a sentimentality ... few societies have ever had a past in such galloping dissolution'. This, some of us felt, could equally well apply to the popular view of archaeology: I said so tactfully in a Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society in 1963 and more forcibly on a similar occasion to the Council for British Archae-

ology in 1970, deploring 'the distressing trivilization' of the subject in the public mind, treated not as an intellectual discipline but as 'a nice, out-of-doors, weekend and holiday hobby... best fitted in as a harmless way of alleviating the impending boredom of increased hours of leisure'. The more recent incorporation of public archaeology into part of a frankly commercial leisure industry in an anti-intellectual social setting brings no surprise. Daniel retained a more robust faith in the public's understanding of prehistory, seeing especially the lengthening of the time-scale and above all an appreciation of prehistoric art as an enhancement of human culture—'the final and real justification of prehistory, its relevance to us, and the reason why it has a popular interest' he wrote at the close of his *Idea of Prehistory*, was this enrichment of life: 'it is the excitement of the discovery and study and appreciation of the enrichment which is to me the main component of the idea of prehistory which we have at the present day'.

Where Daniel became a significant figure in the encouragement of learning was in his successful promotion of archaeological publications which should be at once up to date, scholarly and original; comprehensible to the educated public or university undergraduate. Post-war academic expansion was encouraging the teaching of archaeology, and there was still a public which wanted and enjoyed serious information presented in not too technical terms. Sensing this to be a more valuable and less ephemeral commitment to public instruction than broadcasting, Daniel from the mid 1950s exercised as advisor or editor a significant influence on more than one publisher, epitomized by the 100 titles in the *Ancient Peoples and Places* published by Thames and Hudson between 1956 and 1982, and with wider repercussions in the whole field of scholarly but accessible archaeology which has become a tradition in British book production that has done much to advance public understanding of the humanities.

The opportunity for Daniel to make what was perhaps his major contribution to British archaeology came in 1957 with the sudden death of O. G. S. Crawford, founder and editor since 1927 of the quarterly review of archaeology, *Antiquity*. There was no designated successor and action to ensure continuity of this uniquely important journal had to be swift. A small benevolent plot was instantly hatched by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and one or two others, and within a month a public announcement appeared assuring the interested public that publication would continue uninterrupted under the editorship of Glyn Daniel who

had been persuaded to accept the post. The appointment proved to be a brilliant and unqualified success. Crawford had created *Antiquity* thirty years earlier as the product of an idiosyncratic character with an omnivorous interest in the human past and an outstanding journalistic flair; Daniel took up the challenge in the same terms and maintained the journal's standards of independence, accurate up-to-date reports of current developments in archaeology, a vigorous review policy, and in his own idiom continued the personal quality of editorial comment that had been a feature of Crawford's editorship and became a recurrent delight to readers. With his wife as production editor Daniel, until he retired from the editorship of *Antiquity* in 1986, brought the journal through three decades of archaeological change with undiminished vigour and authority. Like Crawford before him, he had a sharp eye and a sharp tongue for the frauds, follies and fantasies from which archaeology so unhappily suffers, castigating those who were the willing dupes of folly, aware that (to quote Medawar again) 'if this were an innocent passive gullibility it would be excusable; but all too clearly, alas, it is an active willingness to be deceived'. Style, typography and layout were kept under constant review. Much had changed from the form set in 1927: Crawford was a friend of J. C. Squire and one sees more than a hint of the *London Mercury* in the format of the first *Antiquity*. But more serious was the change in the climate of thought among the public on whose subscriptions the financial life of *Antiquity* as an independent journal without sponsored subvention depended. When it was founded it was in a long tradition of serious but popular journals—its title, 'A Quarterly Review of Archaeology' puts it in the tradition of the great Quarterlies and Reviews of the early nineteenth century that were addressed to an educated public. Unfortunately in recent decades increased affluence and leisure have been accompanied by a decline in the standards of readership, and the older general subscriber has inevitably been replaced by a younger professional requirement. Daniel's editorship adroitly adjusted itself to the change while preserving the high ideals of the original concept—'that patrician journal' a young archaeologist remarked to me very recently.

Samuel Johnson was to say of Richard Mead, the successful physician and patron of the arts (who befriended the young William Stukeley as a medical student) 'Dr Mead lived more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man'. Daniel too lived a happy sunlit life, the vivid enjoyment of which he conveyed to

his many friends: 'Friendship is a conspiracy for pleasure' he would quote one of them as writing. In a life of wide and varied contacts he made a few enemies, but his warmth and generosity endeared him to countless people of all ages and in every walk of life. As his close friends knew, he could pursue with unwearying vigour the alleviation of the disadvantaged scholar in whose worth he had faith, and he was always generous with encouragement and sympathy for the young. The world of humane letters needs, if only for the preservation of its own sanity, the inclusion in its ranks of such unconventional spirits as Glyn Daniel.

STUART PIGGOTT