

Grahame Clark and His Legacy

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Edited by

Arkadiusz Marciniak and John Coles

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P U B L I S H I N G

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Grahame Clark, by Ruskin Spear, 1953

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PREFACE

ARKADIUSZ MARCINIAK AND JOHN COLES

Grahame Clark was a major figure in European prehistoric archaeology of the 20th century but there has been to date little in-depth assessment of his influence on the practice of archaeology across Europe. The lack of such a multi-dimensional assessment has left a major lacuna in understanding the archaeology of the 20th century. This is particularly striking when compared with V. Gordon Childe, whose works and their impact upon world prehistory has been discussed on a number of occasions.

Grahame Clark is remembered for his pioneering work in prehistoric economies, in the ecological approach, in the study of organic artefacts, in his initiation of science-based archaeology, in his various excavations and investigative projects, and in his world view of prehistory. In these respects comparison with the contributions of Gordon Childe, with his cultural synthetic approaches, are unnecessary and irrelevant, each pursuing his own trajectories and each in his own way achieving pivotal status in prehistoric studies.

Grahame Clark's rich legacy has been addressed in some earlier publications. The first attempt to evaluate the impact of Clark's approach to world prehistory was published four years after his death in the volume *World Prehistory. Studies in memory of Grahame Clark* (Coles *et al.* 1999). It is a collection of essays by a distinguished group of scholars and can certainly be regarded as a solid point of reference for further works on Clark's heritage. One has also to mention here a book *Grahame Clark: An Intellectual Life of an Archaeologist* written by Brian Fagan in 2001 as well as various publications by Pamela Jane Smith (e.g. 1997) addressing some major themes of Clark's research agenda.

Grahame Clark's achievements are numerous and are discussed in some detail by all contributors to this volume. He is one of those few eminent archaeological figures of the 20th century thanks to whom prehistoric archaeology became a fully professional discipline with explicitly stated goals, a coherent set of methods and procedures and strong institutional foundations. Clark is known as a pioneer of ecologically-oriented functional archaeology and established foundations

for its further dynamic developments, one example being the Higgsian paleoeconomy school. In more general terms, he can be regarded as one of the founders of “the new archaeology” as some of its constituting principles were present in Clark’s writings decades ago. He was certainly responsible for setting up an agenda of archaeological interests in economic and social issues. Thanks to a number of successful field projects, he set up modern methodological procedures involving studies of paleobotanical and faunal remains as integral and pivotal elements of archaeological investigations. Clark is universally linked with Star Carr and prehistoric hunter–gatherer studies but his interests were much wider and broader. He has never been linked with analysis of only one category of archaeological material or one aspect of the past. Moreover, despite his label as an economic prehistorian, his interests in the human spirit and non–material aspects of prehistory are now becoming more recognized; several of his late books were devoted to such matters.

This book is based on a well–received international symposium dedicated to Grahame Clark on the centennial anniversary of his birth and 50th anniversary of the Polish edition of *Prehistoric Europe. The Economic Basis*. It was organized by the Committee of Pre–and Protohistorical Sciences, the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Archaeological Museum at Biskupin, Poland. Some of the papers presented at the symposium are published in this volume in much elaborated and extended versions. Some authors have been invited to join the endeavour at a later stage of the volume preparation. The meeting had the honour and pleasure to welcome Grahame Clark’s wife Mollie (Lady Clark) and their son Philip, who attended the lectures and other events in Biskupin.

The book is divided into two major parts. Its first part is focused on Grahame Clark’s intellectual history and his relationships with his great contemporaries such as V. Gordon Childe, Stuart Piggott and Christopher Hawkes. Clark’s intellectual history is presented here by people who had the experience and privilege of working with him. John Coles presents an account of Clark’s academic life and intellectual odyssey in the context of the dynamically changing external conditions of the practice of archaeology in these early days. He explores in some detail Grahame Clark’s own life as student, teacher and his emergence to a pre–eminent position in British archaeology. He also sketches the context of his innovative research, European contacts and relations as well as his alliance with the scientific establishment in Britain. John Mulvaney makes an important assessment of Clark’s influence upon the development of Antipodean prehistoric research. This is largely a personal experience as Mulvaney was the first academically trained archaeologist on the staff of

any Australian university and Clark's personal influence upon the author was a crucial factor in his archaeological development. Roger Mercer in his paper discusses the relations of Grahame Clark with his great contemporaries Stuart Piggott and Christopher Hawkes, who comprised the "New Guard" or "Young Turks" of British archaeology. All of their personalities and academic interests differed considerably but all significantly contributed to the development of archaeology in Britain in the second half of the 20th century.

One of the editors had close personal contacts with Clark, and with his contemporaries Piggott and Hawkes, in the years from 1955 to the early 1990s. One aspect of their lives and careers has rarely figured in their memoirs and personal histories (as outlined in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. 84, 94, 97), and this is the character and quality of their own working libraries. These years saw the publication by themselves and by their many contemporaries of a multitude of monographs and papers on a vast variety of subjects, technological, typological, historical, philosophical and all the rest. Each of them had access to this volume of literature and all devoted much time and effort in assessing, evaluating and interpreting what was offered to the discipline. Offprints, so rarely encountered today, were widely-distributed and the three collections of books and papers in the libraries of Clark, Piggott and Hawkes were a vital and fundamental store of source-materials and stimulation for evaluation and research, and both approbation and criticism. These three collections have now been unevenly-preserved, parts housed in national archives, parts disseminated to the next generation of archaeologists, and some segments now lost to view.

As an aside, Clark, Piggott and Hawkes each had pride in his own library, and their individually-designed bookplates, stuck onto the inside front covers of books, or bookmarks, identified ownership and source, a logical attitude when loaning out materials to aspiring students and colleagues. But the approach to such designs differs, and are identifiable and characteristic. Piggott's bookplate is sheer simplicity, direct initials only, unassuming and straight to the point, rather like much of his own work and presentation (Fig. 1). Hawkes' bookmark, created when part of his library was distributed, is as in his typical footnote-based writings, more elaborate and exploratory, with LUX IN TENEBRIS set below an embellished wise old owl (Fig. 2). Clark too preferred to expand a bit beyond the bare necessities for his bookplate, with the word FORTITUDO at base of a shield overlain by a flowery design and all surmounted by a fierce-looking animal head with an expression rather like that of an irate professor faced with a badly-written essay (Fig. 3).



Fig. 1. Stuart Piggott's bookplate Fig. 2. Christopher Hawkes' bookplate

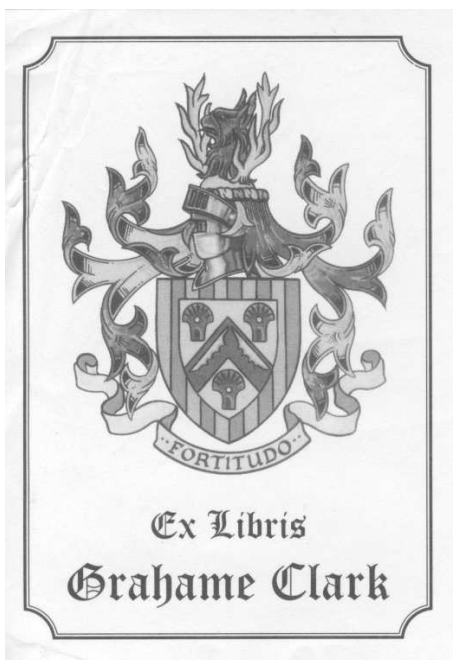


Fig. 3. Grahame Clark's bookplate

The first part of this book concludes with a short paper by Peter Rowley-Conwy in which he examines one aspect of Grahame Clark's interpretation of Star Carr. In his interpretation of this site, now world-renowned, Clark built upon and developed new concepts from the traditions of the study of waterlogged deposits, and interpreted the Star Carr platform as the primary habitation area; the site and its identity has been frequently discussed over the years since Clark's work, and is currently under investigation as is its preservation for future enquiries.

Clark's works have been highly influential on the development of prehistoric archaeology in Europe far beyond Britain. His analyses of environment and subsistence played a vital role in the formulation of some of the basic tenets of the ecological school in archaeology. The in-depth evaluation of Clark's legacy is presented in contributions from key individuals from European regions in which Clark's works had the most profound impact such as Scandinavia, Germany, Spain, Poland and Russia. The second part of the book aims to examine this rich legacy and the impact of Clark's works upon the development of archaeology across Europe. Clark's contribution to studies of the Mesolithic can hardly be overestimated. At the outset of his academic career, the Mesolithic in Miles Burkitt's word was defined as "a sort of dust-bin into which any awkward industry which does not seem to belong to any period could be cast". Clark's intense field research, elaborated methodologies and profound syntheses, created a coherent field of archaeology with well established objectives and traditions. Lars Larsson in his lively article guides the reader through the meanders of Clark's activities which contributed to the emergence of modern Mesolithic studies. This overview is enriched by Bo Gräslund, who examines Clark's impact upon the development of Scandinavian archaeology, in particular studies of the Stone Age. He made a profound contribution to this field and at the same time Scandinavian archaeological data continuously inspired and enriched his scholarly work.

Reception of Clark's works in the German-speaking archaeological milieu of Central Europe was quite different and direct references to his ideas were often conspicuously absent. In their paper, Tim Kerig and Andreas Zimmermann try to reconstruct the history of Central European scholarly reception of Clark's writings as a means of overcoming a simple distinction between scientific and humanistic traditions, believed to be the two major currents in European archaeology. The impact of universalistic ideas as advocated by Clark arguably also contributed to dilute nationalistic traditions of European archaeologies and to build up a strong and distinct European archaeology. Adrianna Szczerba in her short contribution provides

an outline of the history of perception of Grahame Clark's works in Soviet archaeology and sketches the political and social context of this reception. Clark was portrayed in the Soviet Union as a bourgeois scholar, and the major impact of his works in the milieu of Soviet archaeology was in terms of providing formal analogies used for the interpretation of archaeological evidence from the territory of what used to be the USSR. Other papers discuss in some detail the reception of Clark's works in Polish archaeology. Jacek Lech presents an account of the impact of *The Mesolithic Settlement of northern Europe* (1936) on Polish research of the Mesolithic and Neolithic. Particular attention is focused upon the significance of Clark's major book *Prehistoric Europe. The economic basis*, translated into Polish only five years after it was published. Arkadiusz Marciniak attempts to reconstruct Clark's idea of bioarchaeology and its reception in Polish archaeology. He examines a long process of linking cultural and environmental factors into a single system as well as methodological issues in studying these relations. He further discusses the reception of this sophisticated model and advocated methodologies in the Polish archaeology milieu, trying to explain why some elements of the program were adopted more successfully than the others. This second part of the book is concluded by Margarita Diaz-Andreu, in an exploration of the reception of Grahame Clark's archaeology in Spain. This account is based on his correspondence with three major figures of Spanish archaeology, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, Luis Pericot García, and Martín Almagro Basch. The author examines the political significance of these links, the character and dynamism of relations with these figures, as well as their impact upon some Spanish issues, in particular the emergence of an interest in economic and social archaeology in Spanish archaeology. The book is concluded by a complete bibliography of Grahame Clark prepared by Peter Rowley-Conwy, containing over 300 books, articles, notes, reviews and obituaries, and is a fine compilation derived from a wide variety of sources.

One final point might be made here. Clark's widespread contacts, so early established through his own travels, were not only to his personal benefit in his publications and assessments. He met and made many friends over the years, influencing many and acquiring data and ideas from a wide variety of people. Two of Sweden's foremost archaeologists have recently commented upon their own travels and the development of their own careers, and each remark that they met Grahame Clark in the late 1940s, and both gained encouragement from such early contacts (Hårdh *et al* 2007). Märta Strömberg writes of her travels in 1948: "One of my last days in Zurich I was invited to a meeting—and a good meal—with (Emil

Vogt) and Grahame Clark from Cambridge”. And Berta Stjernquist was in England in 1947: “The time at Cambridge was very noteworthy with excavations at one of Grahame Clark’s projects not far from the town [...] Our friendship for life was formed at that time”.

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PART I:

GRAHAME CLARK AND HIS WORLD

GRAHAME CLARK— A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

JOHN COLES

Abstract

The place of Grahame Clark in the history of the development of prehistoric archaeology has been assured and acknowledged for several decades. His archaeological books have often been assessed and their influence on past and current projects recognised. Less explored is Grahame Clark's own life as student, teacher and his emergence to a pre-eminent position in British archaeology, in a career of some 60 years. His particular attitudes and responses to the challenges and potential of prehistoric sites and landscapes were deeply influenced by his contemporaries and by those few archaeologists who preceded him during the emergence of the discipline itself, with its formidable opportunities for innovative research. In this development, Grahame Clark played a major role through his own determination, his European contacts and relations, and his alliance with the scientific establishment at Cambridge in particular. In this way he came to dominate prehistoric studies not only in the U.K, but, through his students and associates, in many other parts of the Old World and the New.

The author of this introductory paper had the experience, and privilege, of working with Grahame Clark at Cambridge in the years 1955–57 and 1960–74, the first period as a student and the second as a lecturer in his Department. Following his retirement from the Disney Chair of Archaeology in 1974 he and I continued to debate archaeological issues and I had the honour to become the literary executor of his books and papers after his death in 1995. In this last task I had the privilege of working with Lady Clark and from her gained new insights into Sir Grahame's thoughts and experiences in what was for him the abiding passion of his life, "the spell of a subject which seeks to discover how we

became human beings endowed with minds and souls before we began to write” (Clark, unpublished memoir (Coles 1997, 357)).

Grahame Clark has claim to be recognised as one of the founders of European and world-wide prehistoric studies, and there are many now who would assert his primacy in these fields over all other prehistorians of the 20th century. His career spanned a full and productive 70 years, from his schoolboy flint-collecting days c1922–1926 to his knighthood in 1992, and during these decades he helped shape the character of prehistoric archaeology, from the mere collecting of artefacts to economic and ecological studies, and in his last years he moved towards the pursuit of “man the spiritual primate”, the theme of his last unfinished text.

Clark spent his early schooling in the heart of prehistoric Wessex, with Avebury and Silbury Hill within easy reach of an enthusiastic youth, and Stonehenge not far distant. A family move to Sussex offered new opportunities for field walking and the collection and study of flint tools, and he published four short papers in the school’s Natural History Society reports. At the school he was soon nicknamed “Stones and Bones”. He was encouraged by his teachers to apply to Cambridge to study prehistory, a subject not available in any other English University. He arrived there in 1926, and studied History at first then moved into the newly-created Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology. Here he met and was taught by Miles Burkitt, a specialist in the Old Stone Age and from whom he learned much of flint tool typology and stratigraphic successions in a rigidity of approach that he soon came to dispute and challenge.

It was here in Cambridge in these early years that Clark came to know Dorothy Garrod, and to hear of her field studies in the Middle East and in Gibraltar (1925–1928); he greatly admired her original and science-based approach to archaeological data. Louis Leakey was in Cambridge from time to time, with news of his East African work (1926–1929). And Gordon Childe’s *Dawn of European Civilization* (1925) was now available for study and astonishment at the scale and scope of the author’s research; Clark and Childe later came to a mutually satisfying relationship that lasted for many years. The journal *Antiquity*, edited by O.G.S. Crawford, was another stimulation for Clark’s eager mind. There were many other academic opportunities at Cambridge, of course, and among them was the landscape archaeology already published by Cyril Fox, geographical and economic history, and the visual stimulus of the collections in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. The Botany School and the Sedgwick Museum of Geology lay across the courtyard from Clark’s base and he profited from cross-disciplinary relationships with scholars in these institutions.

The instruction given to Clark within the archaeological department was very restricted, and fieldwork was not a part of the discipline. In the year of his graduation, he joined an excavation team in Sussex and learned something of the practical aspects of evidence recovery, as well as meeting two men who came to influence and encourage him throughout his life. Charles Phillips introduced Clark to the realities of landscapes, recognition of the signs of human presence within landscapes, and the frailty of such traces as well as their occasional prominence. The two, Phillips and Clark, explored the archaeologically-rich countryside of Lincolnshire, and through their work Grahame Clark met Mollie White; they married in 1936 and she aided his career enormously for the rest of his long life. The other Sussex contact was Stuart Piggott, and between Clark and Piggott there grew a deep respect and friendship, although each had his own perception of the values of contact and each was quite happy to express admiration as well as criticism of one another to me during my long association with both of them.

In trying to view the development of Grahame Clark over his long and active academic life, I think we can see a fourfold evolutionary emergence, and the Table sets out in abbreviated form the four phases that seem to be identifiable; perhaps the four Ages of Grahame Clark is a more appropriate title. This introductory paper is directed towards Clark as an individual and is not a full bibliographic and career-dominated account; three of the latter have now appeared (Coles 1997; Rowley-Conwy 1999; Fagan 2001).

I. 1928–1938

The period 1928–1938 was a crucial decade for the development of archaeology as a whole in Britain. The entrenched views of the older generation, with fixed ideas on evolution, order, typological and cultural compartments, had to be respected by the younger scholars such as Clark and Piggott, but they were quick to seize on every opportunity to advance the discipline with new ideas and approaches. Clark, having successfully obtained his Undergraduate degree, began work for a higher degree, on the Mesolithic industries of Britain, adopting a traditional approach. He was not yet prepared to mount a campaign against his academic supervisors; but he soon embarked on expansionist principles, travelling to Scandinavia to see and experience other cultures, non-lithic evidence, rock art, and landscapes; the contacts made remained fruitful for Clark throughout his life.

The Four Ages of Grahame Clark 1907-1995.

1907

1926 Cambridge undergraduate, lithics

I. 1928-1938

1928 Research, Mesolithic Britain

1930 Fenland landscapes

1932 *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*

1932-1940 Fenland Research Committee

1935 University Assistant Lecturer, Shippea Hill excavations
Prehistoric Society, editor1936 *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*

Marriage to Mollie White

**European
Mesolithic**

II. 1939-1960

1939 *Archaeology and Society*, biome

1942-1948 Economies, plants and animals

1946 University Lecturer

1951 Fellow of the British Academy

1952 Disney Professor

Wenner-Gren Foundation

*Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis*1954 *Excavations at Star Carr*

1959 President, Prehistoric Society

**Economy
and
Society**

III. 1961-1974

1961 *World Prehistory* (and 1969 and 1977 editions)

1963-1965 Radiocarbon dating

1964-1969 America, Australasia, Japan

1966 Early History of Agriculture

1966 Invasion hypothesis

1970 *Aspects of Prehistory*

1972 Bioarchaeology

1973 Elected Master of Peterhouse

1974 Retirement from Disney Chair

1974 Science-based Archaeology

**World
Prehistory**

IV. 1975-1992

1975-1992 Master of Peterhouse

1978 Wheeler Memorial Lecturer, India

1983-1986 *The Identity of Man, Symbols of Excellence*1989 *Prehistory at Cambridge and Beyond*

1990 Erasmus Prize

1992 Knighthood

1995

**Man the
Spiritual
Primate**

Table. 1 The Four Ages of Grahame Clark 1907–1995.

He obtained his Ph.D in 1933; in the previous year he had published his first book on the same subject, a daring thing to do or so we would think it today. Too late for incorporation in the main text of the book was the discovery of a barbed antler point from deep in the North Sea in 1931, just the stimulus needed for a research project to be founded upon the East Anglian Fenland and, by logical extension, upon the existence of the ancient drowned landscape that once linked Britain to mainland Europe. The close relationship between Clark and the palynologist Harry Godwin in the adjacent Botany School was fundamental for such a project. In 1932, Clark assembled together a wide range of specialists in geology, botany, geography, biology, history and prehistory to form the Fenland Research Committee. This may well have been the first truly multi-disciplinary group to engage in research on ancient landscapes and societies anywhere in the world. It is quite likely that Arthur Bulleid's work at the Glastonbury Lake Village in south-west England was a stimulus and encouragement to Clark when establishing the more structured approach to the Fenland project.

Field studies, excavations and analyses were conducted in the Fenland and promptly published, with Clark as the project leader and driving force. It was the beginning of ecology as an essential element in considerations of archaeological evidence. One problem became clear, that much of the archaeological community thought that the Fenland was a freakish landscape, perhaps deserving such a wide approach to its study, but the multi-disciplines employed here were unnecessary and impracticable in other conditions. This view was unsupportable, and the prompt publication of the early work at Shippea Hill, with its formidably deep trench and satisfyingly-stratified deposits, should have put paid to criticism; the photographs today still evoke astonishment and regret that such Fenland deposits were allowed, by wartime and other pressures, to fade and lose their precision for later generations of archaeologists.

In 1935 Clark joined the Department of Archaeology at Cambridge as an Assistant Lecturer, and he at once recognised his dilemma. He had to somehow compromise between the traditional teaching requirements and his own beliefs in the importance of new concepts:

"I had to attack and overturn the kind of archaeology promoted by [...] people who spent all their time looking at flint tools, pottery, and never trying to think what they *meant*."

Archaeologists, he thought, were "long on facts, short on thoughts, narrow in perspective". We may well suspect that not everyone in the discipline approved of his opinions, even if expressed more politely, and

his early election to the Society of Antiquaries of London was instituted by Burkitt, “before too many enemies were made”.

There were very few prehistorians at work in Britain in the 1930s and it now seems inconceivable that three men—Grahame Clark, Stuart Piggott and Christopher Hawkes—should have between themselves divided prehistory into three chunks, each one taking the responsibility, and the opportunity, to dominate research in his own allocated sphere, Clark for Mesolithic and early Neolithic, Piggott for later Neolithic and most of the Bronze Age, and Hawkes for latest Bronze Age and Iron Age.

By the onset of the war in 1939 Clark had begun to make his mark on the development of prehistoric archaeology both in Britain, by his lectures and publications and editing work, and in Europe, by his travels and contacts and output of papers that looked away from regionalism and towards universal concepts. All of these beginnings and accomplishments were achieved by his 32nd birthday, and he had already recognised that the course of his career in archaeology, just as others in other scientific disciplines, had to be marked out and would be judged by published work; Clark’s decade from 1930 to 1940 was immensely fruitful in his books and papers. His excursions into the deeper landscapes and economies of Scandinavia, Holland and Germany allowed academic contacts to be made with T. Mathiassen, J. Troels-Smith and G. Hatt, and he gained much from these and other scientists. His book *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* (1936) was a pioneering approach to the concept of ecosystems, the widest possible view of societies tied to, and coping with, environmental change, economic variability, the building of social networks and addressing the concerns of everyday survival and prosperity. Clark saw that, in order to gain access to the evidence that would allow such studies to emerge, he had to expand his own technical abilities and extend his search for sites where the evidence for such variety would be recoverable. These opportunities were soon to come his way, and he had laid the foundations for what I identify as perhaps his most prolific and influential period, and one by the end of which he had become the pre-eminent prehistorian in Britain.

II. 1939–1960

For Clark, the war of 1939–45 made a decisive break with the traditions of research he had inherited, due to the suspension of much archaeological work and the period of time during which he could, and had to, stand back and contemplate the meaning, rather than the shape, of the materials upon which archaeologists based their work. He became much more interested

in activities rather than artefacts, and, as soon as he was able, he began to assemble the material and begin to write his famous papers on economic pursuits, acknowledging his favourable exposure to ethnology at Cambridge. He was also particularly influenced by two publications that appeared at crucial times in the development of his own ideas on economic approaches to environmental opportunities: the 1941 work by J. Iversen on the impact of farming activities upon vegetational development in Denmark, and A. Rust's 1943 report on the hunter-gatherer occupation at Stellmoor.

In the years 1942 to 1948 Clark managed to conduct research, write and publish a series of papers on aspects of economic prehistory, based on seasonalities and organic survivals; these papers, on bees, water, seals, whales, forests, sheep, fishing and fowling were revelations to most archaeologists and are still quoted today as source material and as reminders of the potential that awaits in well-preserved environments. And he could not resist making a remark that directly criticized many of his contemporaries: "which is more important, the bees or the bronzes". He could have substituted fish or flints, or sheep or shrines, in expressing a call for new approaches and interests to be aroused. Clark's Reckitt Lecture to the British Academy in 1953 made an attempt to summarize his strong belief in the importance of such matters "economic progress [...] marks stages in the liberation of the human spirit".

As early as 1935 Clark had been able to promote a widening of the discipline, and acquire and develop new ideas, by his editorship of the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1935–1970). He felt particularly pleased to publish a paper by Donald Thomson on the seasonal activities of the people of Cape York in Australia; the paper proved to be fundamental to Clark's own development of his economic approach, and its appearance in the 1939 issue of the *Proceedings* coincided with the publication of one of Clark's most important books, *Archaeology and Society*. In this small volume, he packed a wide range of themes and introduced his own thoughts on the role that such a discipline could play in modern society, small though it might seem to be in the immediate years from 1939. He believed that efforts should be made to instill a sense of the past in society, and that its achievements and revelations might prove to be a guide and help for a world soon to be in turmoil. The book itself is better known now for its presentation of the concept of "biome", in an interfingering of disciplines and ideas. The diagram brought together all of the economic and some of the social elements in the life of pre-industrial societies. Clark tried to show how all these aspects were related to one another, and developed as a result of the relationships. He later expanded

and extended the diagram, bringing in more aspects and connections, and, in retrospect, claimed that with such a diagram to guide him, he “could write anything and everything” that the past could throw his way, and he could not help but be made aware of his and our own deficiencies in the retrieval of the kinds of evidence and relationships that his universal diagram advanced. It is instructive to see the contrast between the diagram of 1939 and the hugely more complex version created in the 1957 edition of this book. This later diagram was in effect social ecology, and it introduced the themes of religion and spiritual concerns and respect in the past for ancestral figures and memories; he suggested that the basic concerns of modern pre-industrial peoples served as fundamental guides for a better understanding of the prehistoric past and the earliest humans. Some of these concepts were never, I think, explored to the logical depths that Clark reached in other spheres of his interests. He was forced towards such themes later on by his own students but never felt entirely comfortable with the, quite logical, absence of tangible evidence for the more complex processes that had clearly lain behind the relevant structural and other artifactual remains. At the end of his life he was encouraging himself to address some of the issues, but time ran out.

By the late 1940s, Clark was still seeking a site or a landscape to try out his ideas in detail, on humans and their interactions with broad environmental conditions and seasonal alterations; for such research to prosper, he needed something more than the dry sites so often found and relentlessly explored by prehistorians. The Fenland of eastern England had in a way failed him, in part due to its historical and continuing exploitation by drainage and demanding cultivation practices, but also I think in part because Clark and his colleagues had not been in a position, collectively (through political events, funding and uniformly available academic time), to mount the major projects necessary to address the full potential of a number of sites and areas where suitable conditions of survival and preservation did exist. In 1948 Clark was told of a discovery in Yorkshire, at Seamer Carr, where Mesolithic flints lay in a wetland context. He, and Godwin, soon recognised the potential of one of the lithic sites, at Star Carr, and Clark mounted a determined campaign of excavation and limited field survey. Within two or three years, his excavations were completed and a major publication prepared.

Clark’s inability, perhaps also an unwillingness, to undertake a new Fenland Project after the War, and yet to enthusiastically initiate the new work at Star Carr, may deserve a comment here. From my understanding of the situation in the immediate post-war years (1946–48), Clark did not have the necessary multi-disciplinary contacts fully re-established that he

felt to be essential for a project such as the Fenland offered, with its wide chronological scope (Mesolithic to modern), geographical scale (Cambridge to the Wash and to the river Witham) and disciplinary studies (environment, ancient and local history, drainage, peat and agricultural work etc). Perhaps if he had had a decade to consider the matter, he might have undertaken the work. But in 1948 the site of Star Carr presented him with many of the studies he craved, and all in a more compact setting.

In the book *Excavations at Star Carr* (1954) he was able to present a diagram based on his earlier concepts of human and environmental relationships, but now specifically directed at the site and its great abundance of evidence of animal, vegetable and mineral origins; the diagram has appeared in numerous publications and has been fundamental in the teaching of archaeology across many parts of the world as well as informing research into the hunter-gatherer economies of Europe and beyond. Clark's excavation career was not of course limited to this one site and he carried out other major programmes in the following years, but nowhere else did he encounter the preservation conditions for organic materials, and he ceased excavations by the late 1950s.

He did, however, continue to visit the excavations of others and on such site visits Clark would sit in his small collapsible chair beside the trench and silently observe the work being done; this was unnerving to many a student digger, and the excavation director would be politely appraised of his views on progress. On his own sites he had been equally orderly and constructive. Photography was not for him much of a priority and the story is told that at one of his last excavations, he decided that a high-level view was required. A contraption of chairs and ladders and planks was created but after an unsuccessful attempt to climb the thing, he abandoned the effort with the words "No, the loss to science would be too great". Whether this potential loss was to site or archaeologist was not made clear.

In publishing the results of his work at Star Carr so soon after the excavations, Clark was always aware of the need for new analyses and new thoughts on such a site, and he was quite prepared to see, over the succeeding years, various re-appraisals of his work, criticisms about his excavation methods, and debates over seasonality, territoriality, social units and, increasingly even today, the preservation of the Star Carr landscape. In 1972 he himself set out new thoughts on the environment and several of the above themes in *A Case Study in Bioarchaeology*.

In the late 1940s Grahame and Mollie Clark had made a number of tours of European landscapes to experience different environments and to see how people in the present and by inference in the past had adapted

their lives and had responded to the opportunities offered by coastal or inland waters, hills and valleys and plains. These extensive journeys as well as Clark's many academic contacts helped bring about his most-prized book, in his eyes as well as those of many of us—*Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis* (1952). The book was built partly upon his earlier papers on bees, seals and the like, but it had a broader sweep and its depths of thought, based essentially on pragmatic principles but viewing economic practices within their active social units, were a revelation to British archaeologists and doubtless also to European colleagues.

The appearance of this book coincided with an important development for Clark. He was appointed at the age of 45 to the Disney Chair of Archaeology at Cambridge and assumed control of the development of prehistoric studies for the next 20 years or so. Perhaps even more importantly, he broke away from his European concerns and attended the first meeting of the Wenner–Gren Foundation for Prehistoric Research, in New York. The contacts made there, and the exposure of the variety and scale of work going on in other parts of the world was a huge stimulus for Clark and he almost at once began to look outwards, to the wide world, for the evidence he sought in his pursuit of human developments over the vast timescales of prehistory; his major work in this field came in the 1960s.

There can be no doubt that the years 1948–1954 were Clark's most exciting, productive and satisfying, or so he came later on to admit to me and to others. His succession to the Disney Chair at Cambridge opened many doors for funds, contacts, opportunities, and his *Economic Basis* book (always abbreviated to this by its many readers) would be sufficient for most people, but he had the immense excitement of work at Star Carr, both in the field and in the preparation of the book and its appearance in 1954. As a new student in the Department at Cambridge, I arrived just as the first reviews of *Star Carr* were appearing, and just as Clark was moving into a more experienced and assured position within the University and in the wider archaeological community.

Those students who have written of their time in Cambridge with Clark's tutelage in archaeology generally agree that he as a lecturer was inconsistent. There was never any doubt about his academic standing, or his immense knowledge, or his commanding presence in the lecture room, but there was always a frisson of anticipation when he appeared before us students because we never knew what would come next. Sometimes he would deliver the wrong lecture to the students, a detailed final-year debate to a first-year group for example, and I know that such a group would listen in some awe at the erudition, without comprehending where or when such things had occurred in the distant past. And he would often

stray from the theme and end up in a place or time far removed from his subject. The same distraction, rewarding at times, would intrude with his own research students, who might submit a chapter or draft paper to Clark and be at once told of Clark's decisive opinion of the topic (or perhaps a different topic altogether) with no real examination of the student's work, if indeed it was even looked at.

He had inherited a very small Department, with a staff of only three teachers who were assigned fulltime to the instruction of undergraduates. By 1960, when I joined the Department, there were five of us (Clark, who taught the Mesolithic and into the Neolithic), Charles McBurney (Palaeolithic), Glyn Daniel (Megaliths and history of archaeology), Eric Higgs (faunal analysis) and John Coles (Bronze Age and first-year Palaeolithic). John Alexander came along later for the Iron Age, and was a very welcome colleague to have in the Department. As Head, Clark made it quite clear to us all, or almost all, that Research was all important, and next on the list was the supervision of Research Students; last on the list came Undergraduate teaching, and Clark's advice on this was "it doesn't matter what you teach them as long as you keep it simple".

And yet it is unfair to exaggerate Clark's neglect of students without defining the latter. For Undergraduates, he was too magisterial, too profound, for most of us, and there was little or none of the friendly but irrelevant chat that might have loosened the formality of meetings. Yet he and his wife were hospitable to all, and those of us who displayed a real interest and enthusiasm for prehistory would soon discover that Clark's involvement in studies of the past included the earnest encouragement of even the youngest of students. For Research Students, Clark had ample time to discuss serious matters, contacts and approaches, new ideas and new regions of the world where work might prosper. For established figures, former students who had gained promotions and initiated projects, and were driving the Cambridge school forward in widely-spaced territories of the world, there was enthusiastic welcome from Clark when they came back to the Department. Clark's book of 1989 *Prehistory at Cambridge and Beyond* sets out many of their achievements.

Clark's relationship with Glyn Daniel was not an easy one and the two of them rarely met apart from official Faculty business meetings. Daniel made reference to certain disagreements in his autobiography *Some Small Harvest. The Memoirs of Glyn Daniel* (1986) but he devotes remarkably little time or space in the book to his one-time academic colleague, who became his Departmental Professor, and whom he succeeded in the Disney Chair. Clark's opinion on Daniel's research was equally critical; his view of such things as Megaliths, and perhaps bronzes as well, was that these

things came along much later and were far less interesting than the real and lasting inventions and achievements of early humans.

Such academic differences were perhaps to be excused as normal variations of opinion among colleagues. But Clark and Daniel differed more than this, and I believe it was a question of personalities and envy, in both men. Clark had, and could be seen to be developing, a world-wide audience of prehistorians who greatly respected his approaches and his discipline, whereas Daniel received far less approbation for his seemingly insatiable appetite for archaeological miscellanea, and more seriously and more debatable, his lack of observational depth of research even into his own speciality, the megaliths of western Europe. Yet to the public at large, Daniel was a well-known and respected figure, whereas few had heard of Clark, and this must have bothered Clark and provoked his critical comments on Daniel's undoubted achievements in those fields of archaeological enquiry, and his editorship of *Antiquity*, that were of no real interest to Clark; however, he did not hesitate to use *Antiquity* for some of his own contributions, and thereby necessarily involve himself with Daniel's editorial work. I doubt there were many corrections or amendments suggested by the editor to this particular contributor.

To my mind, it was unfortunate, perhaps tragic, that Clark and Daniel did not develop a real friendship. They were of different temperaments, approaches to life, interests in the past, and I rarely saw them engaged in any serious debate. That said, there were perhaps rather few occasion when archaeological matters could be formally discussed; Clark as Head never called a meeting of the Department of Archaeology to debate any issues whether political (University or Faculty) or academic (Departmental teaching or research). We all just got on with our research and our teaching as our own consciences suggested, although doubtless some magisterial overview must have been present in cases of extreme reluctance to act responsibly. And yet, with all this seeming aloofness, Clark was basically a sympathetic and kind man, often helping people out of various predicaments and often offering some of us welcome advice, assistance and companionship in meetings and site visits and dinners in colleges.

Through Clark's involvement with and devotion to the Prehistoric Society, he had close contact with all of the leading figures in prehistoric archaeology in Britain and north-western Europe, and such contacts extended back to his first encounters with V. Gordon Childe, a man whose work he greatly admired even if he could not agree with Childe's leftist political leanings. Their views on politics, economics, life in general it seemed, diverged widely yet both Childe and Clark respected one another,