



DONALD HARDEN

## Donald Benjamin Harden 1901–1994

DONALD HARDEN, the world-wide authority on ancient glass, master exponent of Phoenician history and culture, Keeper of Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum and Director of the London Museum, died on 13 April 1994. His life was devoted in equal measure to archaeology and museums; artefacts—rather than excavations—were the focus of his scholarship.

### Family and Early Life

Donald Benjamin Harden was born in Dublin on 8 July 1901, the elder son of the Revd John Mason Harden and Constance Caroline Sparrow. The first Irish Harden, Major John Harden, came from Essex, where he was recruited into the Parliamentary Army, went to Ireland in 1649 and was amongst those paid off in land as part of the Cromwellian settlement. The Hardens were traditionally Church of Ireland clergymen, and schoolmasters. John, Donald's father, was born in Dublin 3 July 1871. He attended the Rathmines School and was a Scholar of Trinity College Dublin from 1890, graduating in 1892. He won prizes in Greek, Syriac, Chaldean and Hebrew. John Harden was ordained in 1895; he was chaplain to the Female Orphan House in Dublin 1899–1901. John had married, in 1896, Constance Sparrow of Clonmel, and Donald was born at the Parsonage of the Orphan House.

In 1903 John took up the post of Principal of the Training College

for the Ministry of the Lusitanian Church, in Oporto, Portugal. John's second child, Joan, was born in Oporto in 1905. In 1907 John was appointed Headmaster of the College of St John at Kilkenny; their third child, Alan, was born there in 1909. Donald attended the college from 1909 to 1914. After seven years at Kilkenny, John became Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity, Highbury; Donald was sent to Westminster School as a day-boy: he was an Exhibitioner 1914–16 and a King's Scholar 1916–20, taking his School Certificate in 1917 with six credits. Donald was a member of the Debating Society, and of the Officer Training Corps; he rowed, and was a keen stamp-collector: an early sign of his classificatory instincts. Donald was awarded an Exhibition to Trinity College, Cambridge, and went up in 1920.

Donald's brother and sister were graduates of Trinity College Dublin: both predeceased Donald by some years; Alan left a son, Brian, who has worked on the family history. Their father returned to Ireland in 1922 as Chaplain and Headmaster of the King's Hospital, Dublin, and was Bishop of Tuam, Killala and Achonry from 1927 until his death on 2 October 1931. He was awarded the degrees of LLD and DD. His obituaries describe him as a brilliant scholar and easy to approach. Many of his father's traits—his scholarship, devotion to duty, approachability, aptitude for languages—can be seen in Donald's career.

At Trinity, Donald read for the classical tripos. He was a Bell Scholar in 1921 and a Senior Scholar in 1922. His mentors were Ernest Harrison and Donald Robertson, FBA 1940, Lecturers in Classics; Arthur Cook, FBA 1914, Reader in Classical Archaeology, and Sir William Ridgeway, FBA 1904, Disney Professor of Archaeology. Harden was misadvised to take Part I in one year, achieving only a second class in 1921. Robertson and Harrison apologised, saying that he was near to the line of division, but he obtained a first class in Part II in 1923, including papers in Special Group D (Archaeology). He was top of the archaeologists, just missing a distinction. He was awarded the Walker Prize for a 'diligent and hardworking scholar'.

## Rome, Carthage and the Phoenicians, and Aberdeen

### **Tarantine terracottas**

Harden was relieved to hear about his First, and hoped to stay in Cambridge for post-graduate studies, but on 20 June he was awarded

a travel grant from the Craven Fund to study terracotta figurines from Taranto. Ridgeway wrote to Harden on 23 June, 'You seem to me to have the right turn for archaeology.' The subject was clearly suggested by Cook, who was interested in the religious aspects of terracotta figurines.

Harden spent a month studying terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum and left London in October 1923 for Rome, where he would be based at the British School at Rome, whose Director was Thomas Ashby, FBA 1927. Harden found accommodation at the Pensione Rubens, where Arnold Mackay Duff was also lodging; Duff, of Oriel College, Oxford, was researching for his B.Litt. thesis. Harden worked on terracottas in Naples Museum and then Taranto. In early February Harden visited Sicily, for the terracottas in Syracuse and Palermo. Duff joined him there, and they toured classical sites before sailing for Tunis. Harden spent the summer of 1924 writing up his findings, giving special attention to the cults revealed by the figurines, but he published only a short article, in 1927, on the Artemis Figurines.

## Carthage

An increasing amount of excavation took place in Carthage during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with Cardinal Lavigerie's appointment of Father Alfred-Louis Delattre, of the Order of the Pères Blancs, as Curator of the new museum in 1878—'the Ancient God of the place', as Belloc described him in 1925. Most of the excavations were on Roman sites, since Punic finds proved elusive.

The scientist Jules Renault carried out excavations on Juno Hill in 1920 and 1921, until his death in May of the latter year. During 1920 he was assisted by the energetic and imaginative American explorer, writer, and archaeologist Count Byron Khun de Prorok, who was of Central European origins; born in Mexico in 1896, he had a colourful career on expeditions to northern Africa, central America, and Arabia. Before his death, Renault had asked de Prorok to continue his excavations: these were carried out in 1922 and 1923, accompanied by the first use of cine-films in archaeology.

De Prorok asked Ashby for recruits for his 1924 Carthage season; Duff expressed interest, and Harden sought advice from Ridgeway, as it would affect his Craven grant. Ridgeway replied, 'Go over to Carthage and excavate . . . sure Craven not object . . .'. So Harden and Duff

arrived in Tunis on 27 February 1924, and helped to prepare the excavation headquarters at the Villa Amilcar in Sidi Bou Said. De Prorok arranged a memorable trip through Tunisia by car in April.

### **Precinct of Tanit**

It was lucky that Harden was recruited for the 1924 excavations since it was then possible to investigate the Punic levels. Limestone stelae, bearing symbols associated with the cult of Tanit, began to appear on the market in 1921; clandestine digging was discovered in the Salammbô district, close to the western shore of the rectangular port. Intermittent excavations were carried out during 1922 with help from the Service des Antiquités, its Director, Louis Poinssot, and his assistant, Raymond Lantier. Many stelae were found, with Punic urns containing the remains of child sacrifices. Four stratigraphical levels, from the eighth century BC to the fall of Carthage in 146 BC, were elaborated by Poinssot and Lantier, who took over the site in 1923. De Prorok assisted in these 1923 excavations. For 1924 he purchased the land and brought in the Abbé Jean-Baptiste Chabot, an expert on inscriptions, as his French co-director. Work lasted from 30 April until 24 May; 468 urns were found. Harden recorded nine main urn types: already pottery seems to have been his main interest. But relations with Chabot were strained: the Abbé would not sanction the removal of dumps which prevented the digging of new ground, so de Prorok took advantage of Chabot's absence one day to have these removed and dumped in the sea.<sup>1</sup> The excavation was stopped after further dissension. Harden records Chabot as being intractable, but the Count 'is awfully decent and obliging'; Poinssot had denigrated de Prorok the day Harden arrived. De Prorok published only an interim report.<sup>2</sup>

### **Aberdeen 1924–6**

Harden returned to Cambridge in June 1924 to discuss his future. The general advice was that he should not spend another year at Cambridge; Harden agreed: after seven months abroad, he had little interest in

<sup>1</sup> Review by John L. Myres of Byron Khun de Prorok, *Digging for Lost African Gods* (1926), *Geographical Journal*, 68 (October 1926), 353.

<sup>2</sup> Byron Khun de Prorok, 'The excavations of the sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage', *Art and Archaeology*, 19.1 (January 1925), reprinted in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1925), pp. 569–74.

Cambridge life. He applied for lectureships in classics at Durham, Reading, and Manchester. Manchester was looking promising when on 4 September Harden was advised that there was a post at Aberdeen, giving lectures on Classical authors: 'they are prepared to nominate you'. Harden accepted, and was appointed Assistant in Latin in the Department of Humanity from October 1924, a post he was to hold for two years, advancing to the grade of Senior Assistant. Harden was happy here, giving his first lectures on Seneca and Horace's satires. Alexander Souter, FBA 1926, was Regius Professor of Humanity; he gave Harden considerable encouragement in pursuing his Punic studies. As Robert Getty said in his 1952 British Academy obituary, 'young scholars could wish for no better start in their careers than Souter's Humanity Department'. In his later years, Harden retained his love for the classics, continuing to read them in the original tongues.

### **Carthage 1925**

Souter released Harden for three weeks at Easter 1925, to attend his second season at Carthage. The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor had started a programme of Near East Research under its Professor of Latin Language and Literature, Francis William Kelsey. De Prorok had met Kelsey to interest him in the Precinct of Tanit project; Kelsey wanted to take part, but requested that de Prorok first carry out a trial season in 1924. The spectacular results of 1924 showed the importance of the site, so a joint Franco-American staff was assembled, including Delattre, the Abbé Chabot, and American supervisory staff.

In March 1925 Harden travelled out to Carthage, visiting Sicily to study the Punic urns from Motya. He reached Tunis on 8 April, to work in the Bardo Museum on Punic urns. On 20 April Harden happened to be visiting the site, the day before he planned to leave, when Kelsey told him to go down into the trench at once to have the urns photographed *in situ* and to supervise their removal. Harden wrote 'as I was the only man at his disposal who even professed to know anything about pot, Kelsey finally made me the astounding offer of entrusting me with the report on all the pottery from the site and have it published with the rest of the Michigan report, too good a chance to be missed'. But relations with the French were difficult, and Poinssot, who could be very plain-spoken, now sent Kelsey 'two insulting letters full of unfounded accusations'. The French stopped the excavations on 6 May. There was a great rush for Harden to record the 1,100 urns found

that season and store them before leaving on 14 May. Kelsey published a preliminary report in 1926;<sup>3</sup> unfortunately, with his death in 1927, no final report was published; Harden wrote a twenty-four-page study of the lowest stratigraphy, with a plan; this and other records are preserved in the University of Michigan archive.

Harden spent the 1925 summer studying Punic urns in earnest. Thomas Ashby had given Harden steady support following his change from terracottas to Punic urns, and wrote to him on 22 May: 'do you want to read a paper on the subject of Punic urns to the British Association at Southampton in August'. Parts of Harden's lecture, on 'Recent excavations in a Punic precinct at Carthage', were incorporated in Kelsey's 1926 report.

By December 1925 it was clear that there would be no 1926 excavation, so Harden decided to visit the Mediterranean in the spring, looking for parallels to the Punic urns found at Carthage. He studied collections in Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy.

### **Commonwealth Fund Fellowship 1926–8**

It was still thought that the French authorities would release to Ann Arbor 500 of the Punic urns found in 1925, and Kelsey invited Harden to go over for two years to study them. Harden considered possible sources for a grant: Kelsey's colleague, Professor Robert Mark Wenley, then Director of the British Division of the American University Union in London, recommended the Commonwealth Fund. Harden was awarded a fellowship on 9 June, to spend two academic years at Ann Arbor writing up the Punic urns from the Precinct of Tanit as his special study and to 'obtain through travel some knowledge of the United States.' The Fund, based in New York, had been founded in 1918 by Mrs Harkness, widow of Stephen Vanderburg Harkness of Standard Oil. In 1924 their son, Edward S. Harkness, suggested that the Fund should establish a fellowship programme for 'British students of unusual promise and ability to study in America'. Harden was the only Commonwealth Fund Fellow, until the 1960s, whose subject was archaeology. Harden left Southampton on 11 September 1926 for New York.

The urns from Carthage had never arrived, and Harden had diverted

<sup>3</sup> Francis W. Kelsey, *Excavations at Carthage 1925: A Preliminary Report* (New York, 1926), pp. x, 51; VI plates. Also published as a Supplement to *American Journal of Archaeology* (1926).

to the study of glass, but he was asked to give a lecture (published 1927) in December to the Twenty-Eighth General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America at Harvard, on Punic urns. Harden also lectured at Ann Arbor to the University Classical Journal Club on his April 1924 Tunisia trip, and to the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, in March 1928, at Urbana, Illinois, on Punic urns from Malta, Sicily and Sardinia.

Harden made good use of his vacations. At Easter 1927 he attended a conference in Chicago and toured Michigan. In the summer he spent three months travelling west to see the national parks (with Leiv Amundsen, who remained a lifelong friend) and explore the south-west Pueblo; in December he visited New Orleans. Harden's diary gives insights into his social life: he attended the Episcopalian Church and took part in their evening discussions; his main evening activity was bridge, varied by attending musicals, plays, and concerts. He played pool, handball, squash and tennis and was a keen observer of the American scene.

### **Carthage 1933 and later**

Harden was well aware that his 1927 publication 'did not do justice to the well stratified 2,000 plus urns found in the four seasons.' In November 1933, therefore, he revisited Carthage and completed his study and classification of the urns, the results being published in 1937.

Soon after Harden's 1933 visit the French resumed excavations in the Precinct; the Americans returned in 1975–9 with an expedition directed by Lawrence Stager. These excavations have not been adequately published, though there has been a recent summary:<sup>4</sup> Harden's two articles remain the only full account of Punic urns from Carthage; subsequent work has confirmed his chronology. Serge Lancel, the head of the French 1970s project at Carthage, said in 1992<sup>5</sup> that 'it is to Harden that we owe a decisive improvement in the stratigraphic perception of the tophet'.

In the 1970s Harden was a member of the committee supervising the British participation in the UNESCO excavations at Carthage. His valedictory visits came in 1976 and 1978 at the invitation of Lawrence Stager, who also called to see him in London: Harden was much touched by this gesture.

<sup>4</sup> Hélène Bénichou-Safar, 'Les fouilles du Tophet de Salammbô à Carthage: Première partie', *Antiquités Africaines*, 31 (1995), 81–199.

<sup>5</sup> Serge Lancel, *Carthage* (Paris, 1992), trans. as *Carthage: A History* (Oxford, 1995).

## The Phoenicians

‘Carthage and the Phoenicians have never been far away from my thoughts, though often for long years the research has had to be laid aside’, wrote Harden in 1962. For nearly forty years he returned intermittently to Punic matters, reading extensively and reviewing publications on the Phoenicians. In 1948 he published his ‘Phoenicians on the West Coast of Africa’ and in 1950 visited Malta to report on what could be done to advance Phoenician research there.

The culmination came when Glyn Daniel commissioned Harden to contribute a volume to his ‘Ancient Peoples and Places’ series. Harden took advantage of his 1955 Leverhulme Research Fellowship tour to visit Beirut, Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and other Phoenician sites and museum collections. The book was published in 1962, and rapidly established itself as one of the best general studies of the Phoenicians. *The Phoenicians* epitomises Harden’s clear, well-informed style of writing, his classical scholarship everywhere apparent.

There were so many printing errors that a revised edition had to be issued in 1963. The 1971 Pelican edition embodied substantial revisions; Harden had many problems with getting his corrections carried out. The final edition in 1980 contained further revisions. *The Phoenicians* was translated into Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese; it has been widely used as a source-book by scientists working on a remarkably diverse range of topics.

## Mediterranean imports

Another Mediterranean interest was ancient imports into Britain. Harden published papers in 1950 and 1951; the text of his 1960 update is in the Society of Antiquaries Library: his main concern was Italic and Etruscan finds of the first millennium BC.

## Glass Researches

### Ann Arbor

The possibility that Harden might change from the study of Punic urns to glass during his Commonwealth Fund Fellowship at Ann Arbor was first broached by Kelsey in a letter of 9 July 1926: ‘in case the urns do not come promptly would you not like to work over our Egyptian

glass?'. When Kelsey met Harden and Whittemore Littell, of the Fund's Education Division, in New York on 27 September it was agreed that Harden should work on the Romano-Egyptian glass from Karanis in the Askren Collection, and then on that from the 1924–5 Karanis excavations by the University of Michigan. He 'avidly accepted the unexpected challenge after falling into the assignment quite by accident' and was set on his major life's work: the study of glass.

Harden's diary and letters record how he started his research on glass. He arrived at Ann Arbor on Friday, 1 October 1926 and already, on the Monday, was making 'a half-hearted attempt to start on my own subject by reading the article on glass in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'. This would have been the 11th edition of 1910, which included an eight-page section on the history of glass, written for the 9th edition (1879) by Alexander Nesbitt; it was revised for the 11th edition by Henry James Powell. Harden was told to read two works in German on the history of glassworking: a chapter by Blümner<sup>6</sup> and the three volume work by Kisa.<sup>7</sup> Although Harden could read German, these were heavy going; Kisa was about the only general book on glass then available. Harden also found a sixteen-page article by Morin-Jean.<sup>8</sup>

### **Karanis glass**

Harden then started sorting the Askren Collection of 333 vessels into groups, with drawings of the 'variants of type', and tried to work out the relative dating of the various types. By the end of term he was enquiring about taking a Ph.D., and the Commonwealth Fund agreed. He had to prepare for examinations in French and German, and on Latin and Greek authors, as well as an oral examination covering classical archaeology. Over the years, Harden learnt at least half a dozen languages, a talent perhaps inherited from his father. In the December vacation he visited glass collections in Toronto, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Kelsey returned early from Karanis; he had a long talk with Harden but died suddenly on 14 May 1927, so Harden was left very much on his own during his second year working on the glass. He

<sup>6</sup> 'Die Fabrikation des Glases', in Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, IV (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 379–413.

<sup>7</sup> Anton Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 3 vols., Hiersemanns Handbücher, (Leipzig, 1908).

<sup>8</sup> Morin-Jean, 'Vitrum', in Charles Daremberg, Edmond Saglio, and Edmond Pottier (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, V (Paris, 1905), pp. 934–49.

completed his catalogue of the Askren Collection in late June. He had hoped to go to Egypt for the 1927–8 season at Karanis, to study the glass as it was excavated, but the Commonwealth Fund refused to sanction this as ‘too divergent from the whole scheme of the Fellowship and would interfere with the fundamental purposes.’

Karanis (Kôm Aushîm) was one of the larger Graeco-Roman settlements in the north-east corner of the Fayûm, south-west of Cairo. In the 1920s a local doctor, D. L. Askren, collected large quantities of glass which formed the basis of Harden’s first year of research. The University of Michigan excavations led by Kelsey, with Professor Enoch E. Peterson as Field Director, started in 1924–5 and continued until 1935. For his thesis, however, Harden was able to study little but the glass from the first season. Karanis had a population of about 4,000 at its peak between the second and fourth centuries AD. Mud-brick houses were well preserved, with many artefacts left behind as the buildings were abandoned and rebuilding took place at a higher level. There was therefore good stratification, and it was also possible to separate the finds from the various properties.

Harden set about studying the glass methodically, sorting that from each room into types and fabrics, and entering the information on to cards. He relied on his own classification instincts: only limited reading was possible as so little had been published. The classification, which was purely morphological, was based on minor differences in shape, technique, decoration, and colour. By the end of March 1928 Harden had picked out fifteen houses for detailed study. In mid-April he was much heartened to receive a seventy-page account from Amundsen in Karanis, describing the latest finds of glass, which confirmed many of his conclusions. Harden’s work on the Karanis glass owed much, as he later acknowledged, to the advice of Amundsen. Harden’s copy of his thesis is now in the British Museum Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. He passed his oral examination on 28 May and sailed home from Montreal on 22 June.

Harden’s thesis ‘Roman glass from Kôm Aushîm in the Fayûm’ was just a synopsis of his earliest thoughts on the Karanis glass and its significance. His visit to the excavations was arranged for October 1928–February 1929; he made only this one visit (not two as reported elsewhere). Having returned from America in July, he worked on glass in the British Museum, then left for the Fayûm. Harden was disappointed in his time at Karanis, as the main impetus of the excavations seems to have been lost following the death of Kelsey. More seriously,

most of the work was on disturbed levels so he never saw much stratified glass actually being excavated. The dig finished mid-February 1929 and Harden visited Luxor and Aswan, before returning to take up his post as Assistant Keeper at the Ashmolean.

Between 1929 and 1935 Harden enlarged and revised his thesis, taking into account glass from excavations at Karanis up to 1929; the result, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (1936) was a startlingly original work, the first full-scale publication to treat systematically, and on a basis of all types of evidence, the glass from a single important site. Modestly described in the preface as a 'catalogue', it is rather a treatise on Roman glass from Egypt and, more importantly, a description and definition of the subject's fundamental methodology. It was a milestone and became a model for volumes such as Gladys Davidson's report on the Corinth glass<sup>9</sup> and Christoph Clairmont's volume on the glass vessels from Dura-Europos, on the Euphrates.<sup>10</sup> Clairmont acknowledged Harden's volume as a 'source of deep and profound inspiration'. The basic dating still stands but, as was pointed out by (Sir) Laurence Kirwan,<sup>11</sup> the end date of c.AD 460 is rather early. The text has stood the test of time and remains a standard work of reference.

### 1930s glass research

The Karanis glass had given Harden a felicitous start and, settled in Oxford from 1929, he soon became known as an authority on glass of Roman age in the West. Glass from excavations all over Britain was sent to Harden in confident expectation of meaningful reporting, resulting in a stream of contributions to excavation reports over the next fifty years.

Harden's first publications on glass, however, were reviews in 1930 of M. L. Trowbridge's *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (Urbana, 1930) in which he criticised her archaeological blunders, at the same time recommending the book as an indispensable compendium of literary and linguistic evidence. During the 1930s Harden combed the literature for references to Roman glass and was an avid explorer of existing collections in museums at home and abroad. Between August

<sup>9</sup> Gladys Davidson, *Corinth XII: The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 76–122.

<sup>10</sup> Christoph W. Clairmont, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report IV, Part 5: The Glass Vessels* (New Haven, 1963).

<sup>11</sup> Laurence P. Kirwan, review of D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* (1936), *Antiquaries Journal*, 17 (1937), 90–2.

1939, when the Ashmolean Museum objects were packed, and his departure to join the Ministry of Supply in September 1940, Harden spent much time in the Bodleian Library searching for glass references of all periods, thus consolidating his remarkable encyclopaedic knowledge.

### Major excavation reports

In 1947 he published a study of the glass from the 1930–9 excavations at Camulodunum: this essay, with its dual approach of studying glass from excavations in conjunction with material in museums, is the foundation of the study of first-century AD glass in the West. As Jenny Price comments<sup>12</sup> it ‘was the first rigorous study of a large assemblage of glass from a Romano-British archaeological site to be published. . . . This report has remained an essential reference tool for all glass historians working on early-to-mid-first-century material and has been very influential for generations of students of Roman glass.’ Another seminal publication of excavated material was Harden’s 1971 report, with Jenny Price, on the glass from Fishbourne, which showed that the first colourless glass table wares in the Roman Empire started to appear between AD 65 and 70. This was absolutely new, and is still widely quoted.

### British Museum catalogue

In June 1946 Bernard Ashmole, FBA 1938, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, invited Harden to prepare a descriptive catalogue of its Greek and Roman glass. The Ashmolean released Harden for several periods to work in the BM. In 1953 he was awarded a Leverhulme Research Fellowship to study the BM glass in more depth: between January and May 1955 he travelled widely to obtain broader knowledge of the ancient glass in the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. But, with his appointment to the London Museum in 1956, he had to postpone further work until after his retirement. From July 1971 until 1988 Harden spent two-thirds of his time in the BM producing a catalogue *raisonné*, with full discussions

<sup>12</sup> Hilary E. M. Cool and Jenny Price, *Roman Vessel Glass from Excavations in Colchester, 1971–85*, Colchester Archaeological Reports, 8 (1994), 1. This monograph is dedicated to the memory of Donald Harden in recognition of our debt to his scholarship.

of the historical and archaeological background. In 1974 Veronica Tatton-Brown was appointed as his Research Assistant, and the *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum: Volume I* was published in 1981. Between 1983 and 1987 Harden drafted the text for volume II, while Mrs Tatton-Brown wrote the catalogue entries. But already in 1979 she was being diverted to other tasks; Harden himself was busy keeping up his wide contacts, replying to letters, examining glass sent to him, and seeing visiting scholars. After the considerable work involved in 1986–7 in preparing his essays for the ‘Glass of the Caesars’ exhibition catalogue, he no longer went into the BM, so volumes II and III of the BM catalogue, although still in progress, have not yet appeared. When Harden left the BM, Martine Newby catalogued his glass papers, now in the BM archive.

### 1950s and 1960s research

Harden’s reports (1959 and 1963, with Jocelyn Toynbee) on the Rothschild Lycurgus Cup were the basis for more recent assessments of cage cups. His researches culminated in three presidential addresses to the Royal Archaeological Institute, in 1967–9, on Pre-Roman, Roman, and Post-Roman glass. Harden was always willing to take new finds and other people’s research into account and change his opinions when necessary. It is one of the hallmarks of his remarkable, broadly based scholarship that he was in touch with the leading practitioners of the subject throughout the world, both personally and in their publications. Zahn, Fremersdorf, Lamm, Fossing, Eisen, Morey, Trowbridge, Thorpe, Rademacher, Haberey, and Simonett are names which recur constantly throughout his correspondence and the bibliographies of his own work (as well as those of subsequent generations), and their research enhanced his own, while his insights often surpassed those of his sources.

During the late 1940s and early 1950s Harden began to think about glass from post-Roman contexts in Britain in relation to continental material, publishing a seminal article in 1950. In 1956 he expanded this in *Dark-Age Britain*, the Festschrift that he edited for Leeds, his former head at the Ashmolean. In the same year he took part in Raleigh Radford’s excavation of a Saxon glasshouse at Glastonbury. In 1968 he was the leading member of a team who prepared the BM exhibition, ‘Masterpieces of Glass’; Harden contributed notably to the

catalogue and gave a magisterial survey of medieval glass in the West.

### **Glass organisations**

After the war Harden rapidly became recognised internationally. In 1950 he attended in London a meeting of international scholars working on glass, initiated by Ray Winfield Smith, the American collector whom Harden had known since 1935. In June the International Committee for Ancient Glass (ICAG) was formed, with national committees to provide support. Harden attended annual meetings in Belgium, Germany, and France, lectured at two of them and chaired meetings of the British Committee. As there was no central finance, the ICAG never made real progress, but it did allow scholars to meet.

In 1958 the Journées Internationales du Verre was founded by Joseph Philippe at Liège with the support of the local authority: this effectively replaced the now moribund ICAG; Harden was elected Vice-President, and, as the natural representative to speak on behalf of members, was President from 1968 until 1974.

Meanwhile, in the USA, the Corning Museum of Glass was opened in 1951. In 1957 Ray Smith published his catalogue of its exhibition 'Glass from the Ancient World', formed from his own collections. His short general history of ancient glass was largely based on discussions he had had with Harden over some twenty years. In 1959 the Museum started the *Journal of Glass Studies*; the 1975 volume was published in Harden's honour, with a short bibliography by Dorothy Charlesworth<sup>13</sup> and an appreciation by Robert Charleston.<sup>14</sup> In 1983 Harden became an Honorary Fellow of the Museum and was the first recipient of the Rakow Award. The paper he read is a masterly survey of the development of glass studies, providing the framework for many of the events recorded in this memoir.

In 1987, at the age of 86, Harden played a major role in mounting his crowning achievement, the ambitious international exhibition 'Glass of the Caesars' held in Cologne, Corning, London, and Rome, 1987–8, which combined unique objects from the Corning Museum, the British

<sup>13</sup> Dorothy Charlesworth, 'Bibliography of the works of Donald B. Harden', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 17 (1975), 14–22.

<sup>14</sup> Robert J. Charleston, 'In Honor of Donald B. Harden', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 17 (1975), 11–13.

Museum, the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne, and Italian museums. Harden contributed much of the introductory material for the catalogue, a model of its kind; as he said in the introduction, 'no item is, surely, worth including in an exhibition if it is downgraded by not being illustrated in the relevant catalogue.' During the exhibition the Society of Antiquaries of London held a seminar on Roman glass,<sup>15</sup> at which he made an endearing farewell speech, including the notable phrase 'as I said in 1933, and see no reason to change my mind'.

Harden was an inspiring presence behind the formation of the Bead Study Trust in 1980, and gave Peggy Guido a lot of support when she was setting it up. In the early years he was particularly helpful when the publication of regional catalogues of the Beck Collection was mooted.

### Ashmolean Museum: Assistant Keeper 1929–40

#### **Appointment**

David Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean since 1909, died on 6 November 1927. E. Thurlow Leeds, Assistant Keeper since 1908, was appointed Keeper and began to seek an assistant. Two letters from Stephen Glanville to Leeds suggest Harden for the post; Harden did not get wind of the possibility until July, writing to Leeds on 1 August 1928 'a post in the Ashmolean Museum certainly does appeal to me very much'. Glanville had suggested that Harden might work for a trial month at the Ashmolean before going to Egypt; Leeds agreed and Harden went to Oxford in August to organise their 400 Roman bronze pins and brooches, as well as Roman terracotta lamps. His work must have been satisfactory, as Leeds was prepared to wait for him to take up the post on his return from Egypt in April 1929. Harden was appointed as Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities, for five years from 1 April. So started Harden's long professional museum career, which was to last over thirty-six years.

#### **Achievements at Oxford**

Harden was well suited to the demands of a department which covered so wide a range of periods and civilisations. He wrote a short note on

<sup>15</sup> Martine Newby and Kenneth Painter (eds.), *Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention*, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper, 13 (1991).

the glass from the Ashmolean/Field Museum excavations at Kish, in Iraq, in 1934, but it was clearly part of his duties to report also on the Sumerian and Sassanian pottery; his publication of the Sumerian pottery was a landmark for Middle Eastern pottery studies, considering the social aspects many years before these were generally recognised.

Harden never allowed the prehistory and history of Oxfordshire to be neglected. He regarded it as vitally important that the Ashmolean should be responsible for the investigation and excavation of local sites. He took part in several excavations including the Abingdon Anglo-Saxon cemetery in 1934, and the Ditchley Roman villa in 1935. Harden became Secretary of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in 1931, and, in 1936, was instrumental in launching its new periodical, *Oxoniensia*. Although his name does not appear, Harden was mainly responsible for the editing; he wrote the preface in volume I and the notes for the first four volumes. It was here that he developed the meticulous editorial skills for which he became highly respected, not least twenty years later when *Medieval Archaeology* was launched.

In 1939 Harden rearranged the Ashmolean's Near Eastern collection, but war clouds were looming: in March 1938 Leeds had arranged for selected antiquities to be stored at Chastleton House; on 25 August the Museum closed, and a band of staff and volunteers began packing under the direction of Harden. During the phoney war, Harden helped Grimes excavate a barrow on a new airfield at Stanton Harcourt, editing the report for publication in 1945.

## Marriage

Harden's first wife was Cecil Ursula Harriss, the eldest of three daughters of James Adolphus Harriss (1861–1919) and Caroline Prynne (1863–1942), both of Cornish origin. James Harriss had been a missionary in India before becoming Curate of Swansea, where Cecil was born on 18 July 1895; from 1906 until his death he was Perpetual Curate of St Andrew's, Oxford.

It was pure coincidence that both Donald's and Cecil's fathers were clergymen, as by this time neither went to church regularly. They were introduced by a friend in common, St John Gamlen, a solicitor at Lincoln's Inn, who had a lifelong interest in medieval antiquities. They were married on 6 July 1934. Their daughter, Georgina, was born 3 January 1936; she has inherited her father's editing instincts, albeit with different interests. A magazine editor and journalist, she has

held a succession of editorial posts with *Vogue*. She married Anthony Boosey, of Boosey and Hawkes, in 1960.

Cecil was admired for her style, her perspicacity, and humour. Few realised that she often suffered physical pain as the result of a childhood accident. She took great pride in Donald's work, her devoted support giving him a confidence he had earlier lacked. She helped Donald with his publications, proof-reading and advising on style, which he greatly valued. Cecil enjoyed entertaining, and she and Donald were always respected for their generous hospitality (a rare talent in Oxford!).

## War Service 1940–5

### **Warwick and London**

Harden was released for government service on 31 August 1940, and joined the Ministry of Supply in Warwick Castle as a Temporary Principal in the Raw Materials Division, with responsibility for paper supplies: his great joke was that he kept the war effort going by supplying lavatory paper. The family moved to a flat in Warwick: one of their main memories soon after arriving was of enemy bombers flying over, and then seeing the sky red from fires burning in the Coventry raid. In 1941, his peacetime interests far from forgotten, Harden arranged archaeological lectures for his colleagues.

In June 1942, with the setting up of the Ministry of Production, Harden was transferred to London. From June 1943 for five months he had responsibility for leather during the visit of the United States Leather Mission; he was Secretary for all their joint meetings. He was promoted to Assistant Secretary in December.

With the start of the liberation of Europe, the Supplies to Liberated Areas Secretariat (SLAS) was set up in the Ministry of Production, with Harden as one of three Assistant Secretaries. He had responsibility for Italy and the Balkans.

### **1944 mission to Italy**

Now came the most notable passage in Harden's Civil Service career: a secret mission to Italy in October 1944. The Hyde Park Declaration had been issued on 26 September, following a meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt at the President's home, stating that efforts were to be

made to rebuild the Italian economy. A mission, comprising two Americans and two Britons, was sent to Italy to work out details with Allied Headquarters, in the Palace of Caserta near Naples, and the Allied Control Commission in Rome; this was to be done in consultation with Harold Macmillan, the British Resident Minister. The two Americans were from the Combined Civil Affairs Committee (CCAC) of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. The British Ambassador in Washington nominated Adam Denzil Marris, also on the CCAC, and described by Macmillan as 'a very clever man'. London designated Harden to represent the civilian departments.

Harden spent three weeks in Italy, from 8 October. He familiarised himself with the local position, prepared a path for the mission discussions, and had meetings with Macmillan. Macmillan's *War Diaries* record Harden's description of a 'terrific dispute going on in London about Italian civil affairs and a raging interdepartmental war—chiefly between the War Office and the F.O.' On 15 October the mission drove to Rome with Sir Anthony Rumbold, Macmillan's Second Secretary; details of the rehabilitation programme were worked out, and the mission returned to Naples on 22 October. The next day it drafted the proposals for supplies to Italy: Harden did this, with Rumbold's help.

Macmillan was very selective in his diaries and seems to have regarded Harden as a background civil servant figure. But Harden's diary demonstrates that he played an important part in the mission. He records that Macmillan agreed the drafts; Macmillan, however, commented in his diary that they seemed rather complicated and he would try to redraft them. The rest of the story comes from Macmillan, who writes on 25 October, 'I redrafted the Italian supply stuff for tomorrow's meeting in Rome', and then, in Rome, 'After a very good and sensible discussion, *all* my plans and drafts were approved. Now for action in London and Washington!' In adopting the mission's results as his own, Macmillan pays a perhaps unintended compliment to Harden's efforts. Harden stayed on at Caserta for another week, to assess local conditions. He kept to his job very resolutely, rarely diverting to archaeology.

Following his return to London, Harden continued for nearly another year with the SLAS, his responsibilities extending to Romania and Bulgaria and later to Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria. He was released on 1 October to take up his new post at the Ashmolean. Harold Macmillan's official biographer, Alistair Horne, has described how Macmillan was made by the Second World War: sent by

Churchill to North Africa, he never looked back; so, too, did Harden's career prosper, the administrative expertise then developed bearing fruit in many of his future endeavours.

### Ashmolean Museum: Keeper of Antiquities 1945–56

Leeds should have retired as Keeper of the Museum in 1942, but he kept the Museum going through the war, despite ill health. He wrote on 21 December 1943, on the occasion of Harden's promotion to Assistant Secretary, 'your promotion from what may be termed civilian inefficiency to such heights of competence will unquestionably stand you in very good stead, for this trade of ours does need plenty of calm business-like capacity which I have never possessed'. Leeds clearly hoped that Harden would succeed him as Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, which he held jointly with the Keepership of the whole museum. Harden applied for the post of Keeper of Antiquities in March 1945 and was duly appointed.

Harden had to face the major task of reorganisation; he undertook this with energy and commitment. Harden did most of his research at home, as he did not have time while he was in the museum: he often stayed after hours chatting with the staff, catching up with administration and walking round to discuss improvements. He had many contacts with foreign scholars, but Oxford dons were relatively rare visitors to the museum. Harden helped young people in the museum; visits to schools for lectures, and from schools to the museum, were encouraged. He was President of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society 1952–5 and a Vice-President until 1990.

### London Museum: Director 1956–70

#### **Appointment**

The question of a successor to Gordon Childe as Director of the University of London Institute of Archaeology in 1955 was a contentious one. The Chairman of the Directorship Committee, Sidney Woolridge, wrote to Harden, asking, 'would you be willing to consider putting forward your name, probably we will agree to recommend you'. However, he had to report on 6 October that Peter Grimes,

Director of the London Museum, had been appointed, after a long and troublesome debate, by a majority vote.

Ironically, six months later Grimes wrote to Harden that he was 'inviting a small number of individuals to submit themselves for interview' for the post of Director of the London Museum, then in Kensington Palace. Harden was appointed and took up the Directorship on 1 December 1956, on the understanding that the Trustees would support his aim to amalgamate the London and Guildhall museums.

### **The Museum of London**

Harden proved to be the right man for the job: very receptive to new ideas; a great committee-man, most important at this juncture of the museum's history; and never discouraged by the numerous setbacks on the long road towards amalgamation. His friendship with Norman Cook, Keeper 1950 and, from 1966, Director of the Guildhall Museum, led them to collaborate in establishing the new Museum of London. Harden's skills in administration and committee work suited him to take part in the complicated negotiations.

The first plans were made in February 1959, and a draft constitution was approved in 1961. In 1964 the architects, Philip Powell and John Moya, were chosen, and a Museum of London Bill prepared. The Act was passed in June 1965, and Harden was appointed Acting Director of the new Museum of London, working from Kensington Palace. Lord Harcourt was appointed Chairman of the Board of Governors. Harden worked closely with his Chairman, whom he had known since he came to London. Unfortunately, frustrating bureaucratic delays held up the project. In Harden's words, it suddenly entered into 'a state of suspended animation'. In December 1968 new sketch plans were ready, but construction could not start until April 1971, after Harden had retired in June 1970. The Guildhall and London museums were finally amalgamated on 1 June 1975.

Harden raised the London Museum's attendances from 158,000 in 1959 to 290,000 in 1970, an increase of over eighty per cent. This was helped by several important exhibitions and temporary displays. He managed to persuade the Treasury to raise the grant for purchases from £3,000 to £8,000 in 1970, and extracted from that body an increase in staff of one-third; this made it possible to set up a Schools Service and appoint a Field Officer.

## Second marriage

Harden's first wife, Cecil, died in December 1963. In May 1963 Donald and Cecil had been on a Swan Hellenic cruise, with Donald as one of the lecturers, and they had been booked to go on another in May 1964; Donald was understandably loath to go alone but was persuaded to, especially by his daughter Georgina. On this cruise he met the McDonald family: Dorothy May, her sister, brother-in-law, and niece. Dorothy was born in 1911, the elder daughter of Daniel Herbert McDonald, a chartered accountant in Melbourne; she was the co-owner of the Ormiston School for Girls in Melbourne. Dorothy and Donald immediately formed a rapport; the McDonalds came on to London after the cruise and Dorothy became engaged to Donald.

They were married on 1 April 1965. For nearly thirty years Dorothy looked after Donald, and was very supportive of him; she discouraged his traditional pattern of retiring to his study after dinner. She persuaded Donald to take up church-going again, worshipping at St Mary's, Bryanston Square, where he became a churchwarden. Dorothy died eight months after Donald, in December 1994.

## Honours and Appointments

Harden was appointed OBE in the 1956 New Year Honours, while still at the Ashmolean, and was advanced to CBE in the Queen's Birthday List of 1969. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the British Academy in July 1987. He was a member of the Ancient Monuments Board for England 1959–74 and of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for England 1963–71. He was a member of the German Archaeological Institute from 1960 and was appointed to the Executive Committee of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, representing the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1948–84; he was also a member of the Council of Management of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, representing the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, from the foundation of the Institute in 1948 until 1964. He was on the Council of the British School in Jerusalem from 1955 and a member of the Faculty of the British School at Rome 1957–61. Harden was external examiner for several University Archaeological Departments and external assessor of Civil Service Appointments Boards for posts in the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate and in the Royal Commission on

Historical Monuments for England: all reflect his wide interests and influence in the 1950s and 1960s.

### Archaeological Organisations

Harden joined the *Museums Association* in 1933 and, throughout his career, was a dedicated supporter. He was particularly concerned with the training of museum staff: in 1947 he set out the need for a proper scheme of professional education and training, which has still not totally come to pass. He was Secretary of the Association 1949–54 and Chairman of the Educational Committee 1954–9; he edited the Association's *Handbook for Museum Curators*. He was President 1960–4 and Chairman 1968–70 of the Directors' Conference of National Museums.

The *Carnegie UK Trust* (CUKT) began to make improvement grants to museums in 1925. Harden was appointed a committee member in 1950, and was Chairman 1961–9, of the joint Museums Association/CUKT Committee that helped the CUKT to administer these grants; he carried out many museum inspections.

Harden attended meetings of the *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (BAAS), Section H Anthropology, for forty years. After the war, Section H was, for a dozen years or so, renamed Anthropology and Archaeology at Harden's instigation; at the first post-war meeting in 1947 he delivered a paper on Romano-Egyptian lamps, and for the next five meetings he was Recorder of Section H. In 1950 he returned to his Punic interest, lecturing on Maltese archaeology. He was Section H representative on the Council of the BAAS, 1950–6. For the Oxford meeting in 1954, Harden was Chairman of the Publication Sub-Committee which arranged publication of *The Oxford Region: A Scientific and Historical Survey*. Harden's time at the BAAS culminated in 1955 when he was President of Section H. In his presidential address on 'Anthropology: a scientific unity' he argued, diplomatically using the phrase 'we anthropologists', for archaeology and anthropology to come together at a time when they were drifting apart. Harden did another stint on Council 1962–5. His main achievement at the BAAS was in bringing younger people on to the Section H Committee.

Harden was elected a Fellow of the *Society of Antiquaries of London* in March 1944, having been proposed by Leeds. For forty years there was hardly a volume of the *Antiquaries Journal* which did not

contain some reference to his giving lectures, exhibiting at ballots, and publishing papers and reviews. Sir James Mann appointed him as his first choice for Vice-President in 1949; he served on the Council and as Vice-President until 1953. He had the rare honour of being appointed a Vice-President for a second term, 1964–7. Harden was the longest serving member of the Publications Committee. His contributions to committees were distinguished by a shrewd and well-balanced approach, sometimes trenchantly expressed. Harden was presented with the Society's Gold Medal in 1977, followed by a dinner in his honour. His last major appearance at the Antiquaries was at the 1987 seminar on Roman glass, which was marked by a party at Burlington House, at which, dapper and bow-tied, he spoke with undimmed sprightliness. His final visit to the Antiquaries was for a tea-party on his ninetieth birthday in 1991.

Following his long editorship of *Oxoniensia*, his editing of *Dark-Age Britain* confirmed his editorial expertise. So when (Sir) David Wilson and I were discussing the formation of a medieval society, it seemed natural to turn to Harden. He was immediately enthusiastic and wrote on 11 November 1956, 'I have long had it in mind that a new periodical covering the later British fields of archaeology is necessary'. Harden obtained the support of the establishment, including the Society of Antiquaries. He persuaded its President, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, to chair the initial meetings, enabling the *Society for Medieval Archaeology* (SMA) to be formed in a period of less than six months. The first paper in the first volume of the new journal was an article by Thurlow Leeds.<sup>16</sup> His editorship of *Medieval Archaeology* created a journal of international stature; he could take justifiable pride in its being adopted by Professor Michel de Bouard, in 1971, as the model for its French counterpart *Archéologie Médiévale*. Harden had a real love of the editorial role, and would talk freely of the pleasures and problems involved in the task. He was President of the SMA 1975–7.

Harden was elected as second President, 1950–4, of the *Council for British Archaeology*. He was an efficient President, who put the interests of the Council before his own; with the administrative experience of his wartime days, he did a great deal to get things done. His 1952 presidential address stressed the importance of the co-ordination and co-operation of local archaeological societies, following the Council's

<sup>16</sup> The late E. Thurlow Leeds, ed. Sonia Chadwick, 'Notes on Jutish art in Kent between 450 and 575', *Medieval Archaeology*, 1 (1957), 5–26.

*Survey and Policy of Field Research*.<sup>17</sup> He pointed out that it was easy to plan, but hard to implement, research without the necessary drive. This led to the formation of six Research Committees in 1953, setting the tone of the CBA for forty years.

Harden became a member of the *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* in 1957. He was elected to the Council the same year and was President 1959–65. His five presidential addresses covered the wide range of his interests: the London Museum; prehistoric trade between Britain and the Mediterranean; ancient glass-makers; the Phoenicians; and the modern museum.

He also joined the *Royal Archaeological Institute* in 1956. He was a member of the Executive Committee 1960–3, a Vice-President 1963–6, and President 1966–9.

### An Appreciation

All through his life Harden's encouragement of young people was particularly marked. Arnold Taylor, who went up to St John's College in 1930, recalls that to 'a young committee member of the Oxford University Archaeological Society, Harden, together with his ever-revered master at the Ashmolean, Thurlow Leeds, and Nowell Myres, Student of Christ Church, were the three senior members of the university who, by their experience and contacts, linked the generality of the Society's undergraduate membership to the active outside world of archaeology and antiquities. My abiding memory of Dr Harden, as I would then have spoken of him, is of his friendliness and approachability.' Martyn Jope recalls that 'From 1936 the Ashmolean with Harden seemed to provide a second home in Oxford where I was made welcome at any time.'

The number of similar cases must be almost endless. It must suffice to record my own experience. I first met Harden at the British Association meeting in 1948, when I was about to go up to Cambridge to read archaeology. From this point Harden was the main mentor in my career. He encouraged me to take up medieval research, and later recommended that I apply for a job in the then Ministry of Works. At my interview he was the external assessor: by drawing me out on my

<sup>17</sup> Council for British Archaeology, *Survey and Policy of Field Research in the Archaeology of Great Britain* (London, 1948).

interest in deserted medieval villages, and later asking me to lecture at the BAAS meeting in 1952, he concentrated my thoughts and persuaded me to take up this subject as a major research topic. This led to the formation of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group and forty years of excavation at Wharram Percy.

Although Harden encouraged students in many subjects, it was those interested in glass who benefited most. Robert Charleston, when he went up to New College in 1935, had a consuming interest in glass, which was actively encouraged by Harden. After the war, Dorothy Charlesworth came up to Somerville; at Harden's suggestion, she took up the study of ancient glass, and worked for him at Oxford and London. She went on to publish many reports on excavated Roman glass. Jenny Price had always been interested in glass as her family were glass-workers in Stourbridge; Harden heard about her 1966 work on the glass from Masada and invited her to help him with the Fishbourne report; 'Harden was very welcoming to me, and spent a lot of time discussing my material. More than anyone else, Harden was my patron and supporter during my postgraduate years and my early career in archaeology.'

When Harden started reporting on glass in the 1930s he was the only English-speaking expert. The fact that there are now so many practitioners is due entirely to his prompting of others to take up the study of glass, and his success in establishing the principles of classification, description and dating. There can be no more fitting tribute than the following appreciation by Martyn Jope, who knew Harden for nearly sixty years:

Harden served archaeology very well in many ways. His major contribution to archaeological scholarship must be seen in his lifelong topic of research, ancient glass; in this he was an acknowledged authority world-wide, and one whose *oeuvres* still command full respect. From his first introduction to ancient glass as a worthwhile research topic at Ann Arbor, Harden proved to have an innate feel for this elusive and fascinating material. His first major work, the account of the glass found during the first five seasons' work at Karanis, is a consummate and gracious volume, set forth with great clarity. Harden seemed from the start to have an instinctive faith in ancient glass as a meaningful cultural and dating index, and he set out on a long journey to use it as such in the service of pre- and proto-history. He soon realised that knowledge of changes in composition and manufacturing processes was much to be

desired, but after a few years he began to see that a very large data-bank of element analysis would be needed. He must have foreseen that this could hardly come in his time (long though it turned out to be), and that he had therefore to formulate and apply his own judgement criteria. By great good fortune his mind proved exactly suited to the task.

What were the special attributes which gave Harden his never-failing masterly feeling for glass? He had an empathy with this infinitely malleable material, its texture, its reflections and its evanescent colours. He was fortunate in serving his apprenticeship with a self-contained body of material from a unitary source like Karanis; his years of study of this gave him the necessary discipline. He had a quiet mind, calm and unruffled, such as is perhaps responsible for the cream among all scholarship. Harden easily made human contacts and soon became internationally known, so that he acquired a very wide experience of glass and glass study in many countries. His work on glass has firmly held its authority; if we wish occasionally to modify a conclusion, it is but to take account of new evidence. Harden was responsible for showing that glass can be used as a highly meaningful tool for the study and dating of human civilisations, a view being now very much enforced by the conclusions from current refined technology of element analysis.

Robert Charleston, in his 1975 appreciation<sup>18</sup> described a wise and generous counsellor of outstanding candour and common sense, practical and energetic; a generous host; a loyal and warm-hearted friend. 'The unaffected laughter without malice, the white hair, the pipe, the bow tie, are all treasures in affectionate recollection by his many friends.'

Harden died on 13 April 1994, aged 92. The funeral service was held at St Mary's, Bryanston Square, on 20 April. A memorial service was held in St James's, Piccadilly, on 11 October 1994. The address was given by Michael Robbins, whose own distinguished career in transport had been combined with archaeological society and museum positions; he joined the Board of Governors of the Museum of London in 1968, just before Harden retired. He was also an Old Westminster, which gave him a pleasing bond with Harden. Robbins summed up Donald Harden's long and fulfilled career when he concluded 'we saw the man's extraordinary industry, his decent humility in the face of

<sup>18</sup> See above, n. 14.

evidence, his helpfulness and courtesy to colleagues and students, his cheerfulness in private life. For those qualities we all respected him; as for those of us who had the good fortune to know him at all well, we indeed loved him’.

JOHN G. HURST

*Fellow of the Academy*

*Note.* I am greatly indebted to Harden’s daughter, Georgina Boosey, for her help and for making available the family history and her father’s papers; also to the Society of Antiquaries for allowing access to Harden’s diaries, notebooks and correspondence (MS 967). I am grateful for the contributions and other help from his colleagues, particularly Kenneth Painter, Jenny Price and Veronica Tatton-Brown on glass, and generally Donald Bailey, Beatrice de Cardi, Joan Clarke, Max Hebditch, Marjorie Hutchinson, Jocelyn Morris, Michael Robbins, Roger Moorey, and Arnold Taylor. I am also indebted to Martyn Jope for his tribute to Harden’s leading role in glass studies, and for other material.

The completion of this memoir would not have been possible without the continued help of my colleague from the Wharram Percy Research Project, Richard T. Porter, who not only researched several topics (especially the background to Harden’s 1944 mission to Italy) but also took pains to correct my drafts and edit down the large amount of information collected. I am grateful to my typist, Wendy Gilding. A more detailed text, of some 21,000 words, together with background material, is in the possession of Mrs Boosey; there are also copies of the detailed text in the libraries of the British Academy and the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Obituaries appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 1994; the *Guardian*, 3 June 1994, by Jenny Price; the *Independent*, 29 April 1994, by Kenneth Painter and Hugh Thompson; *The Times*, 3 May 1994, by Robert Charleston; other obituaries include: *Oxoniensia*, 59 (1994), iii–iv, by Joan Clarke, stressing Harden’s time in Oxford; *Journal of Glass Studies*, 36 (1994), 143, by David Whitehouse; *Medieval Archaeology*, 38 (1994), 182–3 and *Medieval Settlement Research Group Annual Report*, 9 (1994), 52, by John Hurst; *British Archaeological News*, NS, 14 (June 1994) 11, by Jenny Price.

In 1975 Dorothy Charlesworth published a basic bibliography of Harden’s publications in the *Journal of Glass Studies*, 17 (1975), 14–22. This was followed in 1991 by a full bibliography of his research papers, compiled by Martine Newby, in M. Newby and K. Painter (eds.), *Roman Glass: Two Centuries of Art and Invention*, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper, 13 (1991), xi–xxix. Full details of the dated references given in this memoir to Harden’s publications will be found in this 1991 bibliography.

