



SETON LLOYD

Seton Howard Frederick Lloyd

1902–1996

SETON LLOYD died on 7 January 1996 at the age of ninety-three. His long and varied archaeological career of forty years divided naturally into four almost equal phases, each of markedly different character, and was succeeded by an extended period of retirement during which he remained active and involved until very latterly. Beginning in Egypt in 1929, he moved to Iraq in 1930, where his archaeological skills were developed by his participation in the grand scale excavations of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, on the Diyala river. From 1939 to 1949 he held the Iraqi Government appointment of Technical Adviser to the General Directorate of Antiquities, a position which kept him largely in Iraq during the War where he suffered inevitable interruptions from the upheavals of those years. In 1949 he was appointed Director of the recently founded British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, thus shifting the scene of his activities to Turkey, where he remained in post for twelve years. On return to England, he was an obvious choice to succeed Professor Max Mallowan as Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, a post which he held from 1962 until his retirement in 1969. His knowledge of Near Eastern Archaeology, in the shaping of which he had himself played a significant part, was thus unrivalled and survives in many meticulous academic publications as well as more readable works for a wider public.

The course of Lloyd's personal life and career is well documented by himself in his delightful and informal memoir, *The Interval*, so named from a quotation from the philosopher George Santayana.

There is no cure for birth and death but to enjoy the interval . . .

Those who read it can be left in little doubt but that Lloyd enjoyed his active and successful Interval. He was born in 1902 into a substantial Quaker

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background of well known names, Howards, Cadburys, Frys, Foxes, Gurneys, Barclays, whose family ramifications gave him widespread circles of kinsmen. He was the second child in a family of eight (in a background of large families), and grew up in Edgbaston. His father, a director of the firm Allbright and Wilson, was handicapped by deafness and seems to have been a somewhat remote figure, and it is to his mother Florence (*née* Armstrong) that he refers as a more formative influence. In his memoir he mentions many childhood illnesses, among them polio, but the only visible trace of this in later life was a somewhat immobile face. He was educated at Uppingham.

On leaving school in 1920, he was articled to a firm of Birmingham architects, also attending classes at the Central Municipal School of Art. Subsequently he transferred to London in 1923 and completed his training at the Architectural Association, qualifying as an ARIBA in 1926. Thus his natural aptitude for drawing was trained into fine architectural draughtsmanship, which was to be an important tool in his later, unexpected career. He completed his training with two years as assistant to Sir Edwin Lutyens, and in 1928 set up a small architectural practice with two friends. A career as architect might have been expected to follow, but in fact only a single house in England was designed and built by him in his professional capacity, a pleasant residence for Charles Seltman on the north edge of Dartmoor at Whiddon Down, with a fine view of Cawsand Beacon. Nevertheless it is clear that his years of training were invaluable to him later.

Lloyd's entirely fortuitous entry into archaeology was brought about by a sudden turn in personal relationships, the irony of which was later appreciated by the main participants. Lloyd and his architect friend Brian O'Rorke were both interested in the same young lady. O'Rorke was contracted to join an archaeological expedition in Egypt as advisory architect, but on his becoming engaged and subsequently married to the young lady in question, Lloyd replaced him as member of the expedition. The sequel to this occurred in the following generation, when Lloyd's son John married O'Rorke's daughter Tessa.

Thus it was in 1929 that Lloyd joined the Egyptian Exploration Society's excavations at El Amarna in middle Egypt, then under the direction of the Dutch archaeologist Henri Frankfort. It was a momentous meeting for Lloyd, who later always referred to Frankfort as a formative intellectual influence on his life. As the expedition architect, Lloyd was occupied with planning buildings and drawing objects as he gained his first experience of life on a dig at this rather untypical site with its single period occupation and no stratigraphy. A surviving relic from his time at El Amarna is the model of an Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty mansion for which he drew the plans. This is still on display in the Egypt Museum in Cairo.

However, the decisive event of the season (for Lloyd at any rate) was not

strictly archaeological but the visit to the site of Professor J. H. Breasted with Mr and Mrs J. D. Rockefeller. It transpired that they had come to head-hunt Frankfort to lead the projected expedition to Iraq to be mounted by the Oriental Institute, Chicago. Frankfort accepted but stipulated that he wished to have Lloyd as his advisory architect. So Lloyd was signed up as a member of that magnificently conceived and generously funded project, which was to occupy the next eight years of his life (1930–7). This established him in his archaeological career, and gave him thorough training in quintessentially Mesopotamian conditions. He emerged from the experience as a master of stratigraphic, mud-brick excavation.

He arrived in Iraq in the autumn of 1929 knowing little of the country and its archaeology. Preparations for the projected excavations on the Diyala river were not yet ready, so he had a chance to visit excavations then in progress: Jordan at Warka, Watelin at Kish, Woolley at Ur, and later Campbell Thompson with Mallowan and Hamilton at Kuyunjik. Until the Diyala expedition could be mounted, Frankfort took his team by way of induction for a winter season at Khorsabad, where the Oriental Institute, Chicago, had recently opened excavation. Lloyd found himself in a small but goodly company of outstanding personalities whose names were to become famous in Near Eastern Archaeology: besides Frankfort himself there was Gordon Loud, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Pierre Delougaz. Lloyd's first attempt at excavating mud-brick was unsatisfactory. After he had struggled for some time without perceptible results, Delougaz pointed out to him that he was simply digging into the excellent masonry of the thick city-wall, and proceeded to give Lloyd his first lesson in wall-tracing.

It fell to Lloyd as dig architect to design and build the excavation house at Tell Asmar on the Diyala, already identified from inscribed bricks as the site of ancient Eshnunna. This lay some forty miles east of Baghdad in total desert, well away even from any water source, so the practical difficulties were considerable. The lavish scale on which he was encouraged to build was not solely for the purpose of indulgence but more a practical necessity to provide tolerable living conditions for a substantial team to work many months each year in those inhospitable conditions. His account of the task is typically entertaining, and the house was built, a palatial complex with a towered gatehouse and three courtyards for workrooms, services, and living quarters. The running water for seven bathrooms and eleven lavatories had to be trucked in from ten miles away. Generators supplied electricity. Today only the ruins are visible.

The Iraq Expedition of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, conducted six seasons of excavation from this base, digging for three to four months each year over the winter from November or December to March. At the end of the first season Lloyd was given a proper contract of employment for the duration

of the expedition by the Oriental Institute, and thus became one of the key members of the enterprise. The unoccupied part of the year left him free to travel widely in the Middle East and Greece on his way to and from England, and to get to know archaeological colleagues and to familiarise himself with their excavations. He records particularly visiting Crete with John Pendelbury, whom he had known from El Amarna, and also staying at the excavation house of the Oriental Institute's North Syrian expedition at Rihaniya in the Amuq, where he got to know McEwan, Braidwood, and Haines. On his return to England in the summer of 1931 he became engaged to Joan Elizabeth Firminger, whom he married the following year in the South of France. Thereafter she accompanied him each year to the Diyala, but the marriage was not to be a success and they were divorced in 1935.

The work of the Iraq Expedition on the Diyala sites can be seen as a fine team effort by able individuals coordinated by the genius of Frankfort. Each man took responsibility for the excavation and publication of his allotted site(s), but clearly all benefited from collaboration. Tell Asmar was excavated by Frankfort, with Lloyd as architect and Jacobsen as epigraphist, while from the second season on, Delougaz conducted operations at Khafaje from a secondary base. Frankfort did two seasons at Ishchali with Jacobsen, 1934/5 and 1935/6, and Lloyd himself had two seasons alone at Tell Agrab, 1935/6 and 1936/7.

At Tell Asmar Lloyd took over the main responsibility for the major excavated buildings, principally the Palace of the Rulers and the adjoining Temple of 'Gimilsin' (Šu-Sin) in the seasons 1930/1 and 1931/2, and the Northern Palace area including the Abu Temple in the seasons 1931/2–1934/5, while at Tell Agrab in the last two seasons he excavated the Temple of Shara. Also at Tell Asmar he conducted soundings in search of the known main temple E-Sikil, which was never found, and to locate the main city wall.

The Palace of the Rulers had to be excavated down through numerous rebuildings of the Old Babylonian period to the original foundation under the Third Dynasty of Ur. The excavations produced a wealth of epigraphic material, building inscriptions, *in situ* or not, stamped bricks, and other inscribed objects. These permitted a reconstruction of the list of rulers by Jacobsen and the construction of a chronology against which the various building phases could be dated with relative precision. The original foundation proved to be a square temple with *Breitraum* cella approached on a straight axis through a courtyard, built and dedicated by the ruler Ituria for his overlord Šu-Sin of Ur. Obliquely to this, Ituria's son Ilušu-iliya as an independent ruler built his palace. Lloyd's reconstruction of the complex drawn in 1932 was the first of his many such drawings and is well known.

The Abu Temple was first identified in 1932 as a small single-shrine building of the Akkadian period lying just below the surface under an eroded

corner of the Northern Palace. In the first such operation which he conducted, Lloyd traced the phases of this temple down through Early Dynastic III to the large square temple of Early Dynastic II, then through successive archaic phases of Early Dynastic I to a small irregular Protoliterate shrine, the earliest building on the site. The most dramatic find of this temple sequence was the hoard of statues found buried beside the altar in one of the shrines of the square temple (ED II). This group of twenty-one statues, mostly men with long hair and beards painted black with bitumen, standing in attitudes of prayer, is one of the most striking finds in the whole of Mesopotamian archaeology, and the two largest figures especially, one male and one female, with their huge, staring, inlaid eyes, unforgettably symbolise the spirit of this archaic period. It was while excavating this temple that Lloyd improvised a simple technique of taking vertical photographs of excavations from above by suspending a camera from kites, an adaptation which has been much copied by his successors.

At an outlying mound, Tell Agrab, Lloyd initiated a survey, then excavated on his own for two seasons with fifty workmen. Relying on a combination of observation and reasoning, he began work immediately above the high altar of the main sanctuary of what turned out to be the Shara Temple. The surviving part of this very large temple was well preserved, and interesting enough for its reconstructable plan but especially for its extraordinarily complete inventory of temple equipment. Among the prize pieces were some fine sculpture and copper figurines including a model chariot driven by a man and drawn by four onagers.

As if the labours of their four month winter–spring season on the Diyala sites were not enough, Jacobsen and Lloyd initiated a subsidiary project arising from the team's links with the excavations at Khorsabad. After the 1931/2 season, Jacobsen while staying at Khorsabad, visited the ruins at the village of Jerwan usually referred to by earlier travellers as a 'causeway', 'bridge', or 'dam', and the rock sculptures and inscriptions of Sennacherib at Bavian, where the river Gomel flows out of the hills into the plain. Having obtained a permit, Lloyd and Jacobsen worked at Jerwan for four weeks in the spring 1933 respectively as surveyor and epigraphist and at the same season in 1934 they worked at Bavian. The combination of survey of the physical remains and the establishment of the texts of the accompanying inscriptions enabled them to show for the first time that these two sites represented two stages of Sennacherib's project to tap the waters of the river Gomel and take them by canal across country to augment the waters of the river Khosr and thus ensure a better water supply for his new capital of Nineveh. The ruins at Jerwan could be shown to be a massive aqueduct carrying waters of the Gomel canal over one of the Gomel's tributary wadis. This collaboration of Lloyd and Jacobsen

was a fine piece of work, which was to receive a rapid and exemplary publication.

Frankfort, as leader of the Iraq Expedition, ensured that time and funds were secured for post-excavation work, which seems to have been something of a novelty in those days. The chief members of the expedition were based in London, and the Expedition maintained an office in Sicilian Avenue where drawings and materials could be prepared for publication. Lloyd himself spent much of the disengaged part of each year working here. The first result was the appearance of his and Jacobsen's *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan* (OIP 24; Chicago 1935), published the year after the project's completion, so Lloyd early established the pattern of prompt publication which he was to maintain throughout his career. He also found time in these years to write the first of his many general books on Mesopotamian archaeology, *Mesopotamia: excavations on Sumerian sites* (Lovat Dickson and Thompson, London, 1936), a succinct account of the archaeological work being conducted at that time on sites of the third millennium BC and earlier.

The death of Breasted led to the withdrawal of Oriental Institute funding and the end of the expedition at least for Frankfort and his team, who conducted their seventh and last season working at Khafaje and Tell Agrab over the winter 1936/7. (A different expedition funded by the University Museum, Pennsylvania, and the American School of Oriental Research was able to conduct two further campaigns at Khafaje in the spring 1937 and over the winter 1937/8). Lloyd's seven and a half years with the Iraq Expedition had transformed him from a young architect of uncertain direction to an established archaeologist with deep experience of stratigraphic archaeology on Mesopotamian sites in a well-funded project. He was not to remain long without archaeological employment, but he was never again to enjoy such generous funding and the large-scale activity which this permitted. It was a story of riches to rags, but he was always sufficiently adaptable to tailor his projects to his resources and to produce valuable results with restricted budgets.

While still working in London on processing Diyala material, he was invited by Professor John Garstang to join his projected excavations at Yümük Tepe, Mersin, in Cilicia. He worked there for two winter seasons, autumn 1937 to spring 1938 and the same period 1938/9, after which the excavations were interrupted by the outbreak of war. This employment brought Lloyd for the first time to Turkey and its archaeology and history, and formed a connection which was to last for most of his life. It also gave him experience of a more varied archaeology than the single period El Amarna or the Diyala mud-brick stratigraphy. This modestly funded operation consisted essentially of a stratigraphic step-trench cut down the north-east side of the mound. But for its time and with its limited resources, the excavation gained a remarkable

archaeological sequence from the Iron and Bronze Ages back through the Chalcolithic to the Neolithic. Significant architectural remains were recovered for the Late Bronze Age (level VII), the Chalcolithic (level XVI) and the Neolithic (level XXVI). This was accompanied by a fine sequence of pottery. Lloyd was later to speak of the extraordinary interest attaching to the results of this excavation.

After his first Mersin season, he planned and conducted his ground-breaking Sinjar survey, assisted by his friend Gerald Reitlinger and with financial assistance from Garstang. Before beginning this, he made a journey through the extreme south-eastern towns of Turkey, from Malatya, through Diyarbakir as far as Mardin. This was by no means easy in those days, for the area was a military zone requiring special permission to enter and continual police checks. He published a short account of this trip.

His aim in undertaking the Sinjar survey was to fill in the archaeological blank between Assyria on the Tigris and the settlement of the Khabur, at that time recently surveyed and excavated by Max Mallowan. In this he was conspicuously successful. The southern watershed of Jebel Sinjar and its eastward extension up to the Tigris as it slopes away into the Jezirah has at periods in the past supported very substantial settlement, and is a crucial marginal zone through which ran a fluctuating line marking the limits of successful rainfall agriculture. The level plain is thickly dotted with tells of all periods: Lloyd noted that from one central point over two hundred are visible. In his three week survey, he visited and plotted seventy-eight sites on the map, identifying recognisable periods of occupation and describing the salient features of the more distinctive.

It is a measure of his success in this previously little known area that a substantial number of the sites which he first identified have subsequently been excavated with notable results. Actually he himself was first in the field, the following year after his second season at Mersin. From 20 May to 8 June 1939 he conducted soundings on behalf of the Iraqi Department of Antiquities at two of the prehistoric sites which he had recorded. At Grai Resh he excavated a well-preserved Uruk private house, and at Tell Khoshi, apparently on the city wall, an Akkadian shrine with Early Dynastic predecessor. Others have since followed in his footsteps, and successful excavations have been conducted at Eski Mosul, Tell Thalathat, Tell Hawa, Tell al Rimah, Tell Taya, and Yarim Tepe. Again Lloyd was involved in placing a new area on the archaeological map.

He seems to have been unusually fortunate throughout his career, unlike many archaeologists, in that new openings always appeared when needed. While at Mersin in the spring of 1939, he was invited by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities to take up the post of Archaeological Adviser, which he accepted with effect from October of that year, a momentous decision indeed.

Lloyd was to view the War, which broke out at about the same time as he arrived in Iraq, from a Baghdad and Middle Eastern perspective. This appointment in Baghdad which he held through the War years into the post-war period for nearly ten years (1939–49) was the second phase of his career. The excavations in these years with which his name is associated are those of Uqair (1940–1), Hassuna (1943–4), and Eridu (1947–8), all conducted in collaboration with Fuad Safar, with whom he formed a close friendship. He also gave general guidance to the excavations conducted by Taha Baqir at Aqar Quf (1942–5) and Tell Harmal (1945).

These years could not but be punctuated by the alarms of war. From spring 1940 for one year Lloyd was seconded to Jerusalem to work in the British Public Relations Office. During this time he began writing his book *Twin Rivers*, a concise history of Iraq, designed to supply the need for such a book. On his return to Baghdad in 1941 he was almost at once caught up in the events of the pro-Axis Rashid Ali *coup d'état*, which resulted in all British residents who had not been evacuated being besieged in the British Embassy with very little food for an entire month (May 1941). Fortunately the coup collapsed, the pro-British government was reinstated, and Iraq was occupied by British forces. Lloyd took up residence in a fine old Ottoman house on the Tigris at the South Gate, which served as a centre for political activities in support of the occupation. He played his part in these along with his official archaeological duties. Throughout this time he was very much at the centre of British society in Baghdad and was regularly deputised to escort visiting dignitaries to the Museum, meeting in the course of this 'a curious variety of people'. One visitor, in April 1943, less curious but more welcome, was Sergeant Ulrica Hyde of the Royal Army Service Corps, who, stationed in Cairo, had accompanied a convoy to Baghdad. Her meeting with Lloyd led to their marriage in Cairo in February 1944, and a life-long match. Ulrica Hyde, always known as Hydie, was an artist and sculptor and had trained at the Royal College of Art before joining the army for the War. Those who knew her remember her as a very remarkable and lovable personality, with a passionate devotion to animals, everything from horses and salukis to birds, praying mantises, and stick insects. Indeed she was seldom without one or more exotic pets, often about her person. The Lloyds' son John was born in Jerusalem in May 1945 and their daughter Clare after their move to Turkey in September 1949.

The excavations conducted in Iraq by Lloyd with Safar and Baqir were all important in their own ways. At Tell Uqair, he uncovered a small but well-preserved Protoliterate temple on a platform. The walls were preserved to two metres and he was able to enter the temple through its own still standing doors. The shrine was virtually intact. The walls were painted and the altar decorated with leopards. Preservation or recording of these was extremely taxing. With

this temple Lloyd had found a preserved platform temple like those postulated though not preserved at Khafaje and Ubaid but earlier.

Tell Hassuna took the history of Mesopotamian settlement back to its beginnings. Excavating down in two linked soundings to virgin soil through fifteen levels, the excavators encountered Ubaid and Halaf pottery, ending with a type, observed before only in Nineveh level I, now named *Hassuna* from this, the type site. The Hassuna sequence produced successive levels of *pisé*-built houses down to a first 'camp-site' level of hearths, pots, and burials. Lloyd's attempt to estimate the age of the earliest settlement by depth of archaeological deposit, which suggested *c.*5000 BC, was later triumphantly substantiated by carbon-14 tests.

With the sites of Aqar Quf and Tell Harmal Lloyd seems to have taken less of an initiative and confined himself more to his advisory role. Both in any case were much more conventional excavations than he was used to, hardly ground-breaking though by no means without importance. Lying on the western and eastern edges of Baghdad respectively, the one was the Middle Babylonian Kassite capital city Dur Kurigalzu, and the other a small Old Babylonian walled city Šaduppum, the westernmost of the Diyala sites.

With Eridu, however, Lloyd was again very much in the business of pushing back the frontiers of the knowledge of Mesopotamian prehistory to ever earlier levels. Previously excavated by Taylor in 1854, Campbell Thompson in 1918 and Hall in 1919, the ancient site had not yielded particularly notable results. Lloyd however, with his knowledge of Khafaje, Ubaid, and Uqair behind him, came to Eridu with a clear idea of what he wanted to know and where to seek it. Probing beneath the southern corner of the Ur III ziggurat he soon located a recognisable temple (level VI) well filled with Ubaid pottery. This was embedded in five distinct casings of brickwork (levels V–I), identified as successive enlargements of the temple platform ending with the outermost, faced in stone and dating to the Protoliterate period. Examining the substructure of his Ubaid temple Lloyd found himself 'involved in the familiar task of examining one temple after another right down to the deepest levels . . .'. In fact he recovered plans of a further eleven successive temples (VII–XVII) down to presumed virgin soil passing through various phases of Ubaid back to Hajji Mohammed ware, of which an earlier and previously unknown version was named 'Eridu ware'. Again Lloyd was associated with the writing of new pages of Mesopotamian prehistory, and in particular it was he who was able to draw together the evidence of early temple cultures from the Diyala and southern and central Mesopotamia. Due to contemporary work at Tepe Gawra in the north, he was also able to point to early pottery links between north and south.

Life in post-war Baghdad seems to have passed pleasantly for the Lloyd family. They had now taken over the greater part of the South Gate house.

Baghdad high society was clearly very open. The Prime Minister Nuri es-Said was accustomed to drop in unannounced to Lloyd's office. Lloyd was also entrusted with the job of inducting the ill-fated young King Feisal into archaeology at weekly meetings. For recreation there was riding and shooting. Home leave in post-war Britain by contrast must have seemed bleak (Lloyd had only had one spell of leave during the War). On the sudden death of her mother in 1947, Hydie Lloyd returned to England to settle family affairs, and it was at this time that she bought the lovely old mill-house Woolstone Lodge, immediately below the Uffington White Horse on the Berkshire downs. It was to be their home base, then family home for the rest of their lives.

After the War, plans were being made to reopen the British Schools of Archaeology abroad in Rome, Athens, Jerusalem, and Iraq, and further plans were made to found a new one in Turkey. Garstang, who had resumed excavations at Mersin in 1946 and 1947 was the moving spirit behind this, and the School—or 'Institute' as was preferred for reasons of translation into Turkish—was opened in 1948. Garstang agreed to act as Director for its inaugural year, 1948, but wrote to Lloyd informing him of developments and inviting him to Ankara to see if he were interested in the post for the following year. A combination of reasons suggested to Lloyd that his stint of almost ten years as Archaeological Adviser in Baghdad had run its course, and he therefore accepted. In March 1949, the Lloyds moved into the 'rather awful little house in the suburb called Yeni Şehir' (in Meşrutiyet Caddesi), where the Institute began. In March the following year they were able to move it into more commodious premises nearby at Bayındır Sokak, where they stayed for seven years, moving the Institute in 1957 to the then half-built house in Tahran Caddesi (the second half was built in 1962 after Lloyd's retirement from the Directorship).

So began the next phase of Lloyd's life, his twelve years in Turkey. The move from Iraq involved for him a sharp reduction in salary, accommodation, and archaeological budget. There were compensations, however, and both Lloyds came to love Turkey, its archaeology and its history as they had previously loved the very different present and past of Iraq. Certainly Turkey of the immediate post-war years was very different from the Turkey of today. Atatürk's capital of Ankara was not yet thirty years old, Turkey's modern road system was barely on the drawing-board, and clearly much old Ottoman charm and remote, backward poverty remained untouched. In spite of the then difficulties of transport, the Lloyds were assiduous in getting to know their new country and travelled widely at a time when travelling was still a (sometimes disagreeable) adventure. Lloyd's archaeological work took them to the south-east, south, west, and later north-east, and family holidays to the Aegean and south coast. Altogether there seems to have been little of Turkey which Lloyd did not get to know.

Then there was the matter of reading himself into the archaeology of his new sphere, known to him up to that point only from his two seasons at Mersin before the War. He moved rapidly and within six months of his arrival in Ankara was able to select an extremely significant piece of work with minuscule funding, his Polatlı sounding, undertaken in August 1949. The true measure of the decline in archaeological resources to which Lloyd had to adjust, became clear: from the lavish operations of the Oriental Institute on the Diyala, he had worked through the fluctuating finances of the Iraqi Department of Antiquities and come at last to the parsimonious provision of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, which for his first field season was able to offer him only £100.

Lloyd however had the experience and resource to be able to maximise the effectiveness of the grant. When invited by the Director General of Antiquities, Dr Hamit Koşay to undertake work at Polatlı near Gordion, where a high *höyük* on the outskirts of the town was being quarried away for brick-making, Lloyd immediately spotted the potential for obtaining an important stratigraphical sequence for central Anatolia within his financial constraints. He collaborated with Nuri Gökçe, Director of Ankara Museum, who was able to match his £100 with an equivalent sum from the Turkish Ministry. With this they were able to work a three-week season.

Excavation was facilitated by the vertical cutting or 'cliffs' left by the quarriers. Also the locals were prepared to remove, and even pay for, the excavated spoil, a unique experience for Lloyd of being able to sell his dump. Ingeniously excavating a series of five separate sondages, he was able to splice together the results, obtaining a sequence of thirty-one levels spanning almost the entire Bronze Age. With this went an excellent pottery sequence which served to draw together the then known sequences from Troy through central Anatolia to Cilicia. Typical village architecture was found in most levels. The results of the season were published with characteristic meticulousness in *Anatolian Studies*, 1 (1951).

For Lloyd's second season in 1950 funds still would not run to proper excavation. Seeking a useful project he conceived a survey of the site of Harran, in which he was assisted by William Brice. This was a site which Lloyd had been unable to visit on his 1938 journey through the cities of the south-east Turkish frontier. The fruits of this three-week survey, also published in *Anatolian Studies*, 1 (1951), included a site plan by Brice and a plan and elevations of the medieval *kale* by Lloyd, also of a basilican church in the north sector. The publication of the topography and surface monuments of this great historic site was a significant step and well worth the three weeks of the July heat.

For the following season, 1951, there were sufficient funds for a modest excavation, again in collaboration with Nuri Gökçe. The team began at Aşağı

Yarımca near Harran, where three years earlier, a stele with Cuneiform inscription had been found. When the source of the stele proved to be a much later Sabian building, excavations were moved to Sultantepe, a very high *höyük* between Harran and Urfa. A rainwater gully high up on the south-west side had washed out some basalt Assyrian column bases, so excavation began here. It soon became clear that massive Assyrian walls and pavements were projecting all round the north end of the *höyük* some 7 metres below the summit, the remains of a huge building or buildings which had occupied this summit in Assyrian times. These eroded remains were traced around the north end of the *höyük* by trenching down from above, and as luck would have it, the excavators in the course of this four-week season hit a pile of Assyrian tablets stacked against a wall surrounded by a semi-circle of pithoi. A further six-week season was required the following year to complete the removal of the more than 400 tablets and investigate their archaeological context. Unfortunately the excavators were forced to conclude that there was little more that could be done to reveal this Assyrian citadel without a systematic removal and recording of the 7 metres of Hellenistic and Roman occupation, which a trial trench had shown to be particularly barren. Clearly this was out of the question from all points of view, not least the financial, and after the second season the site was regretfully abandoned. It still awaits the attentions of a better provided or more ruthless excavator. The prize of the Sultantepe archive however remains: a provincial library of Assyrian religious and literary texts of the later seventh century BC.

The following season, 1953, with funds still needing to be husbanded, a further survey was decided. Having been captivated by Seljuk civilisation, Lloyd selected the great harbour castle of Alanya for investigation. The survey itself was conducted by Lloyd while his collaborator Storm Rice worked on the inscriptions. This season produced the book *Alanya* (published by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara in 1958), which contains some of Lloyd's finest architectural drawings and is in general a model of its kind.

By 1954 the Institute was at last able to fund a full-scale archaeological excavation. The site chosen was Beycesultan in the area of James Mellaart's Southern Turkey survey, a large double mound on the upper reaches of the Meander River near Çivril. It was clearly a major site, located in a little-known area, which might be expected to throw light on the Arzawa lands known from the Hittite records, and archaeologically to bridge the gap between the sites and cultures of the interior and those of the western coastlands. The surface pottery suggested a good Bronze Age range but nothing later. Its six seasons of excavation, 1954–9, fulfilled the hopes up to a point: the architecture was dramatic and the pottery sequence unusually rich. If one senses a certain disappointment with the results, this is due to the dearth of other finds, above all of any written documents. This total absence of any indication of writing in

the big and important buildings of the Middle and Late Bronze Age remains extraordinary, and is perhaps to be explained by the supposition that it may have been committed to wood or other perishables rather than the clay tablets produced by Boğazköy and other Hittite sites. Nevertheless Beycesultan remains a type site for the Bronze Age of the south-west and a still unsurpassed link between the interior and the coast.

It was to turn out a very different site from anything encountered before by Lloyd, and he admitted that it was probably the most difficult excavation he ever undertook. Unlike the comparatively straightforward mud-brick architecture of which Lloyd was now an acknowledged master, this most Anatolian of sites employed timber on a massive scale in its building. Even the biggest buildings were timber-frame constructions, usually on stone rubble foundations and with panels of mud-brick filling in the open parts of the frame. The resulting inflammability of such structures produced a different degree of ruination, which, combined with collapsed upper floors, made for a highly complicated archaeological deposit. This demanded all Lloyd's experience, skill, and patience to disentangle, but in the end his work was entirely successful.

Of the buildings recovered, the larger excavation on the east mount exposed a Late Bronze Age group of megaron-type houses (level III) and below these the Middle Bronze burnt palace (level V). The former were very substantial buildings with two streets. One complex included easily recognisable stables, while another abutted an extraordinary 'wine shop' and 'bar', where a number of human skeletons lying in disorder suggested nothing so much as a gruesome terminal party. The Burnt Palace, a vast construction with prodigious amounts of timber, could certainly be characterised as a political and administrative centre. Though burnt with great ferocity, it was largely empty of objects which implies that its occupants had time to evacuate it. Lloyd's reconstruction of the building is something of a classic.

On the west mound the most notable buildings were the remarkable series of shrines excavated in two areas out on the city wall (trench R), and in the deep sounding (trench SX). The former yielded an extraordinary Late Bronze double shrine with temple furnishings largely intact including weird terra cotta 'horns'. This building lay over an early Middle Bronze shrine. In the deep sounding below levels of Early Bronze I houses, another extraordinary sequence of double shrines of the Early Bronze II levels was revealed. The sondage continued on down through Early Bronze III to twenty levels of the Chalco/Neolithic and virgin soil. Lloyd's reconstructions of these shrines are often reprinted.

Lloyd's direction of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara carried it virtually from its beginning to a fully grown establishment. Its early success amply justified Garstang's wisdom in locating it as the first foreign archaeological

mission in Ankara, where all others, French, German, Dutch, American, remained Istanbul-based. Garstang's choice of Lloyd as Director was equally well judged. Official recognition of his work came his way. He had already been awarded the OBE in 1948, while still Technical Adviser in Baghdad, and in 1958 as Director in Ankara he was awarded the CBE. In 1955 he was elected Fellow of the British Academy.

Lloyd twice moved the Institute to better premises: from Meşrutiyet Caddesi to Bayındır Sokak, then to Tahran Caddesi. The Lloyd family lived in the Bayındır Sokak Institute, but with the move to Tahran Caddesi, the Council encouraged the family to rent a separate flat, a separation which Lloyd later judged 'a disaster'. With children being educated in England, the Lloyd's migration became an increasing strain. On the academic and social side in those years the Institute prospered, and the roll of its fellows and scholars is full of names who then or subsequently became prominent in Anatolian archaeology and elsewhere: Michael Gough, Basil Hennessy, James Mellaart, John Evans, Charles Burney, David Stronach to name but a few. With many of these the Lloyds formed enduring friendships.

In particular Michael Gough with his wife Mary were prominent in the Institute and with their own projects, and Michael himself was to succeed Lloyd as Director. James Mellaart, Institute Scholar, 1951–4, and Fellow, 1955, initiated his South Anatolian survey which led to commencement of excavations at Beycesultan, where he acted as Assistant, then Field Director to Lloyd throughout. He was given the new Institute appointment of Assistant Director in 1959. Charles Burney, Institute Scholar 1954–5, and Joint Fellow, 1957–8, conducted (on bicycle) a North Anatolian survey in the years 1954–7, which extended from the Bosphorus to the Armenian Highlands, concentrating in the last two years on the then little known Urartian sites. Lloyd's interest in Urartu was aroused, and in 1958 with Burney and R. D. Barnett he took the opportunity to visit the main sites around Lake Van and those located by Burney's survey. He hoped to inaugurate excavations, but since the whole area east of the Euphrates was still a military zone, the time was not yet ripe.

The latter part of Lloyd's tenure was overshadowed by the 'Dorak Affair'. In 1958 Mellaart reported having been shown a treasure in Izmir with an alleged provenance from the village of Dorak. With the agreement of Lloyd and other Institute members, Mellaart's drawings of this treasure were revised and published in the *Illustrated London News*, 29 November 1959. No trace of the treasure has ever subsequently been seen, but the Turkish press, amid growing disquiet at the ever increasing international trade in stolen antiquities, chose to make it the centrepiece of a public outcry. This dogged Lloyd's last years in post and continued to vex his successor, but he with typical loyalty and generosity stoutly defended Mellaart at the time and later.

In 1961 Lloyd resigned from the Directorship of the Institute. For over 30

years, ever since his first entry into archaeology, he had been permanently based abroad, in Iraq, then Turkey. Since the advent of his family, and the education of his children in England, his family life had suffered from constant migration and separations. He felt quite reasonably that he had earned some home life. So he withdrew to the idyllic surroundings of Woolstone Lodge, where, as one can sense from his memoirs he revelled in some well-deserved domesticity. In 1960 he and Hydie had adopted a Polish boy, Josef Levandowski, who became their second son. Lloyd worked steadily on his publications and Hydie on her sculpture. But Cincinnatus was soon called from his plough.

In 1961 Professor (later Sir) Max Mallowan was awarded a Senior Research Fellowship at All Souls and relinquished his post as Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. Lloyd was induced, not without hesitation, to apply for the post and was duly appointed, taking up the position in October 1962. He held it for seven years up to his retirement in 1969 at the age of 67. It was the last phase of his professional career, and the Institute, like all who had secured Lloyd's services before, benefited greatly.

For him this represented a return from Anatolia to Mesopotamia. He had never taught in an academic context before and approached the experience with some diffidence. But he need not have worried. His qualities of patience and thoroughness allied to his deep knowledge of the Mesopotamian past saw him through any initial difficulties. And what a tale he had to tell, drawing on his own twenty years in the Mesopotamian field, supplemented by his extensive research on behalf of his already numerous publications.

His years at the Institute are remembered as a golden period of Western Asiatic archaeology there by those, including the present writer, who were students under him. He had as colleagues in the Western Asia Department Peter Parr, who had recently succeeded Dame Kathleen Kenyon, to teach the archaeology of the Levant, and James Mellaart, appointed at Lloyd's own initiative shortly after his arrival, for Anatolian archaeology. Barbara Parker (later Lady Mallowan) backed up his Mesopotamian courses with her own on art and seals, and Rachel Maxwell Hyslop gave courses on metallurgy. Late in his tenure Lloyd introduced the BA Course in the Archaeology of Western Asia, though this did not begin to be taught until after his retirement.

As Professor at the Institute of Archaeology he was able, indeed expected, to conduct an excavation, and at this point the possibility of an Urtian excavation dormant since 1958, became a reality. In 1964, with Charles Burney and others, he spent a season of survey in order to choose a site. The sites in the province of Van identified by Burney were now pre-empted by Turkish archaeologists, but Lloyd and Burney were given the relatively unknown province of Muş to survey. There they selected at Lloyd's insistence a rocky hilltop site on the upper Murat Su (south branch of the Euphrates),

named after the local village Kayalidere. The survey was much disturbed, but in the end not interrupted, by John Lloyd's falling ill with typhoid. He had to be nursed by Hydie in the primitive hotel in Muş until well enough to be moved to Erzurum and finally Ankara.

An initial season of excavation at Kayalidere by Lloyd and Burney was conducted in 1965. All the Lloyd family except Joe were present, as was also Dominique Collon, Hydie's niece, who had taken the postgraduate diploma under Lloyd at the Institute of Archaeology the previous year. John Lloyd, now a student following his father's footsteps at the Architectural Association, served as architect, and produced fine drawings in good Lloyd tradition. The season lived up to or exceeded expectations. All the regular features of Urartian civilisation were present at this small provincial fortress: a square temple of well-dressed masonry, magazines with huge storage pithoi, rock-cut tombs, and a rich collection of bronzes both military gear and furniture decoration. Altogether it was very promising and held out the hope of further seasons of successful excavation. But it was not to be. Difficulties over the excavation permit which had occurred in 1965 were even more serious in 1966, which under the circumstances was perhaps a blessing in disguise. While the excavation team were waiting for the permit, in August 1966 a major earthquake destroyed the local town Varto and severely damaged the village of Kayalidere including the school-house which had served as dig-house for the expedition. The permit was never given, and Lloyd relinquished control of the expedition funds to Burney, who transferred operations to Urartian north-west Iran. So ended Lloyd's last dig.

Intermittent reference has been made above to Lloyd's publications, which deserve consideration in their own right. They naturally divide into his formal excavation reports, both preliminary and final, and his more popular writings for general readership. Both were of a high quality. A full bibliography compiled by Dr Dominique Collon was printed in *Iraq*, 44 (1982), 221–4, a volume dedicated to Lloyd in honour of his eightieth birthday. Even to this list a few items have to be added: 1981, the long-delayed final publication *Eridu* (with Fuad Safar and Mohammed Ali Mustafa); 1986, his memoir *The Interval* (self published, in collaboration with D. Collon); 1987, 'Palaces of the Second Millennium BC' (*Anadolu*, 21 [1978/80]—*Festschrift Akurgal*); 1989, *Ancient Turkey. A traveller's history of Anatolia* (British Museum Publications). Characteristic of his excavation reports were his own drawings, plans, sections, and reconstructions executed in his beautiful and elegant style and illustrating with great clarity the way he knew exactly what he had been doing in excavating. His combination of the roles of excavator and architect was central to his achievements, and while other archaeologists have also combined the two skills, it may safely be judged that Lloyd was in the first rank.

His earliest dig reports were of course those from the Diyala, appearing as Oriental Institute Publications, and like the excavations themselves large-scale, grand, and generous. The first *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan* (1935, in collaboration with Thorkild Jacobsen) exactly exemplifies Lloyd's ability to conceive, execute and encapsulate in a beautiful book a given piece of work. The other Diyala volumes on which he collaborated are also models of their kind: the Tell Asmar Palace and Temple with Frankfort (1940); and the Diyala Pre-Sargonid Temples with Delougaz (1942). These were prepared as part of the post-excavation work during the non-excavating part of the year. Only the Diyala Private Houses and Graves (with Delougaz, 1967) was substantially deferred by events.

As with his excavations, his dig reports after parting from the Oriental Institute were less lavish, but no less meticulous. Reports on his Sinjar work appeared in early numbers of *Iraq*, inaugurating a long but intermittent connection with that journal. The wartime excavations of Uqair and Hassuna were reported in wartime in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and the post-war Eridu in the rather problematic early numbers of *Sumer*. His move to Turkey naturally transferred his allegiance to the new *Anatolian Studies*, where Polatlı, Harran, Sultantepe, and the six seasons of Beycesultan are all reported, as was later Kayalidere. Beycesultan warranted three volumes of final report, published in collaboration with Mellaart by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Alanya as noted was treated in an elegant monograph.

In his more general publications, Lloyd served both Iraq and Turkey well, and a number of his books ran into republished and revised editions, as well as being translated into several languages. During his years in Iraq he began early with *Mesopotamia: excavations on Sumerian sites* (1936), continued by *Ruined Cities of Iraq* (1942), *Twin Rivers: a brief history of Iraq* (1943), and *Foundations in the Dust: a story of Mesopotamian Excavation* (1947), and retrospectively *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia* (1974). For Turkey he swiftly produced the Pelican *Early Anatolia* (1956), then *Early Highland Peoples of Anatolia* (1967), and very retrospectively *Ancient Turkey: a traveller's history of Anatolia* (1989), of which the paperback edition appeared when he was 91. *Mounds of the Near East* (1963, the published form of his Rhind Lectures, Edinburgh, 1962), bridged his experience in both countries. Most general of all, ranging well beyond his own personal experience, was the Thames and Hudson *Art of the Ancient Near East* (1961). If one may pick out from these books the contributions of special and enduring value, one would probably settle on *Foundations in the Dust*, *Early Anatolia*, and *Mounds of the Near East*.

Besides his Rhind Lectures, other notable lectures by Lloyd were published in journals: 'Bronze Age Architecture in Anatolia' (Reckitt Archaeological Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 49 [1963]); 'Anatolia: an

archaeological renaissance' (Inaugural lecture, *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin*, 5 [1965]); 'Twenty-five years of British Archaeology in Turkey' (25th Anniversary of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, *Anatolian Studies*, 24 [1974]). 'Aspects of Mesopotamian Architecture' (First Bonham Carter Memorial Lecture, 1975), unfortunately remained unpublished by his own wish.

During his Professorship at the Institute of Archaeology and after his retirement Lloyd remained active in the affairs of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. He served as Honorary Secretary from 1962 to 1972 and in 1975 was elected President, serving until 1981, and subsequently as Honorary Vice-President until his death. He was also President of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1979–82 and subsequently Honorary Vice-President.

Lloyd came to archaeology with his architect's training allied to a fine drawing hand and a natural conscientious thoroughness. He learned his archaeology in the grand theatre of the Diyala excavations. His understanding of buildings enabled him to master rapidly the techniques of stratigraphic digging as well as to record and reconstruct for publication what he found. It was these aspects of archaeology which interested him and at which he was to excel. His excavations are remembered for the recovery of a series of remarkable buildings: the palace and temples at Tell Asmar, the Shara Temple at Tell Agrab, Sennacherib's aqueduct, the Ubaid, Uqair, and Eridu temples as examples of early religious continuity in Mesopotamia, and the Bronze Age palaces and shrines of Beycesultan. His interests and skills are also well illustrated by his surveys of the medieval standing remains of Harran and Alanya, and indeed by his article on the Safvet Paşa Yalı at Kanlıca, the residence before its destruction by fire of James Mellaart's father-in-law (*Anatolian Studies*, 7 [1957]). His more purely stratigraphic excavations include Hassuna and the small-scale but highly informative Polathı, sounding. At Sultantepe he was unable to reach significantly the tantalisingly glimpsed Neo-Assyrian buildings but by good fortune hit the jackpot of the library of tablets.

Lloyd's excavations were aimed at carefully chosen targets. They were, as has been emphasised, modestly funded after the initial phase, and never employed a very extensive staff. It is notable, however, and doubtless says something about the man, how many successful collaborations he conducted. The big, multi-disciplinary excavation teams only really began to come in after Lloyd had withdrawn from the field. His publications contain many sly references to the relative inappropriateness of rigorous and dogmatic British archaeological methods to Near Eastern conditions. As for the 'New Archaeology', Lloyd regarded it with somewhat diffident scepticism, excusing himself on the grounds of being old-fashioned, an attitude which looks quite

defensible from the standpoint of today. His name is associated with the addition of many new areas to the archaeological map of the Ancient Near East from the Diyala through Upper Mesopotamia to the Anatolian plateau. His record of publication was impeccable, and unlike so many of his profession he left no backlog of unpublished material. Indeed while there were among his contemporaries more extrovert and flamboyant figures than he, the body of work which he bequeathed compares favourably with theirs.

Seton Lloyd was a tall, imposing figure, who always dressed well. He united an outward reticence, even diffidence, with a pleasing, dry humour. His life-long passion for shooting may nowadays seem to sit rather uneasily with his love of natural beauty, but this was not an uncommon combination in his generation. He was very happy in his marriage to Hydie, who shared his love of travel and out-of-the-way places. Indeed his last book, *Ancient Turkey*, is dedicated to her as his 'travelling companion'. Sadly she predeceased him, dying in 1987. The atmosphere which they created in the beautiful setting of Woolstone Lodge remains a happy memory for all who knew it.

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