



OLIVER GURNEY

Oliver Robert Gurney 1911–2001

OLIVER ROBERT GURNEY'S LONG CAREER in Hittite studies spanned the greater part of the existence of this academic subject. He was born in London on 28 January 1911, only child of Robert Gurney D.Sc. and Sarah Gamzu née Garstang. The Gurneys from Norfolk came from the well-known group of Quaker families, including Barclays, Frys and Lloyds, who were so prominent in banking and other businesses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed Gurneys were in partnership with Barclays in banking, and there is still a 'Gurney's Bank' in Norwich, but as Gurney liked later to point out when the question of his family's banking connections was being discussed, 'That Gurney went bankrupt'.

Nevertheless Gurney's father was a gentleman of private means, who had a lifelong and more than amateur commitment to zoology. His mother was the daughter of Walter Garstang, a Blackburn doctor with a strong interest in Hebrew, from which came her second name Gamzu ('and yet another!') by which she was always known. Her brother was the archaeologist John Garstang, reader, then professor of archaeology at the University of Liverpool, whose career began in Egypt under Flinders Petrie and remained centred in that country, but later extended to Anatolia (Sakça Gözü, Mersin) and the Levant (Jericho). His Anatolian interests were fostered by his friendship with A. H. Sayce, whom he knew from Egypt. Gamzu shared keenly in her brother's interests and often accompanied him on excavations. This enthusiasm of his mother and uncle was to exercise a decisive influence on Gurney's life.

Gurney grew up at Ingham Old Hall, a large, rambling country house near Stalham in Norfolk. In 1924 he was sent to Eton, leaving in 1929. An early love and talent was music, and he was already a good enough pianist at school to give a performance broadcast on the BBC. He continued to play the piano for many years, until other commitments intruded on his time, leading him to give up and dispose of his piano. In 1928 his father moved to Oxford in pursuit of his zoological interests, buying Bayworth Corner, Boar's Hill, a pleasant and comfortable late Victorian house with a large garden and substantial tract of woodland. The Gurneys settled into Boar's Hill Oxford society, where family friends and neighbours included Gilbert Murray (next door), Sir Arthur Evans, and the Assyriologist Reginald Campbell Thompson. Gurney went up to New College to read Literae Humaniores, taking Honour Moderations in 1931 and Greats in 1933.

Already during his undergraduate days Gurney took part in his uncle Garstang's excavations, joining him at Jericho in 1931 for his first experience of archaeological life in the field. It was here that he happened to meet Sayce for the only time when the latter visited the excavations, remembered later by Gurney as 'a very old but still vigorous gentleman dressed in formal clerical garb with a dog-collar in the oppressive heat of the Jordan valley'. Gurney regarded Sayce as his 'spiritual ancestor' since he (Gurney) was to represent at Oxford that subject, Assyriology, first represented there by Sayce. Also it was Sayce who had first interested Garstang in Anatolia and the rediscovery of the Hittites, and had arranged for him to apply for permission to excavate at Boğazköy, already known as a source of Cuneiform tablets. In the event however, apparently as a result of the personal intervention of the German Kaiser, the Ottoman authorities awarded the permit to the German Assyriologist sponsored by the German Orient Society (Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft), Hugo Winckler, who commenced operations in 1906. Garstang paid an amicable visit to these excavations in May 1907 and actually witnessed the early discovery of the Hittite archives, recording for 21 May: '... lunch with Makridi Bey. Taken over lower temple and shown in a trench of excavation a myriad of fragments of tablets sticking in channel side. Their profusion was astounding. . . . Food beastly, bugs ghastly'. Garstang proceeded to prospect for a site and the following year opened his excavations at Sakça Gözü. In 1910 he published a topographical study of Anatolia and its Hittite monuments, *The Land of the Hittites*. He maintained this interest in the Hittites, especially after the decipherment of Hittite from 1915 onwards and during the publication and editions of the Hittite

texts in the 1920s. In 1929 he published a new edition of his Hittite book, completely revised to include all the recent information drawn from the reading of the Hittite texts, under the title *The Hittite Empire*.

Thus it was that when the young Gurney during his classical degree became particularly interested in Homer, his uncle was able to direct his attention to the emerging field of Hittite studies and the possible background to Homer that might be found there. Garstang also urged that it was the right moment for a British scholar to master this field with a view to establishing the study in this country. So after taking his finals, Gurney arranged to begin the study of Akkadian, then taught in Oxford by Langdon, the Shillito Reader in Assyriology, as an introduction to the Cuneiform script, and a preliminary to embarking on Hittite. He studied with Langdon in 1933/4 and 1934/5, and in the latter session was able to make a beginning on Hittite with Dr Léonie Zuntz who was then in Oxford. With this preparation he was ready to head for the centre of Hittite studies in Berlin, the National Museum, where the Hittite tablets were sent for conservation and study. Curator of the tablets was Hans Ehelolf, who was also Professor of Hittitology at Berlin University and at that time principal epigraphist to the Boğazköy excavations.

Gurney spent the winter semester 1935–6 in Berlin studying Hittite with Ehelolf and attending also the Akkadian lectures of Erich Ebeling. His time there made him a fellow student with other future Hittitologists of distinction, including Sedat Alp from Turkey, later Professor of Hittite at Ankara University, and the young Heinrich Otten who became the official Boğazköy epigraphist after the war, and the doyen of Hittite studies in Germany. He also became friends with the Swiss Emil Forrer, whose controversial interpretations of Hittite texts had already provoked strong reaction from the Hittitological establishment in Germany.

This induction into Hittite left Gurney in a position to begin on a doctorate when he returned to Oxford. On Ehelolf's suggestion, he undertook the academic edition of an interesting group of recently published tablets containing parallel texts of prayers addressed by the Hittite king Mursili II to two different deities, the Sun Goddess of Arinna and the god Telipinus. These texts, showing a complicated recensional history which derived originally and in part from substantial Hittite re-working, were a tough assignment for a young scholar in the new discipline. An essential preliminary step was the creation of a personal reference dictionary of Hittite on file cards, based on a reading of all the Hittite texts published to that date, some thirty-six volumes of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* and *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* and others. (This work with

post-war additions by Gurney's and other hands was bequeathed by him to the present writer, and remains an invaluable tool.) In the space of only three years, 1936–9, Gurney was able to complete this preliminary task as well as his doctorate, the critical edition of the texts.

This excellent piece of work was presented in the style then becoming established for Hittite text editions and since standardised in the series *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*: explanatory introduction, transliteration and translation of the texts, commentary, and analytical glossary. Its publication as a monograph would have been completely appropriate, and effectively this is how it appeared: *Hittite Prayers of Mursili II* (volume 27 of the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool University Press, November 1940). It was then the first such Hittite text edition in English and remains one of the few. While Gurney was writing his thesis, important new material on the original sun-hymn was excavated but published too late (1939) for inclusion. As Güterbock wrote forty years later in the volume of *Anatolian Studies* dedicated to Gurney: 'His careful analysis of the texts as well as his translation have stood the test of time admirably.' It provided a firm foundation for subsequent studies and publication of the new material.

In these post-graduate years, Gurney, besides working on his doctoral thesis, continued to study Akkadian with Langdon until the latter's sudden death in 1937. On Boar's Hill, Campbell Thompson had been demonstrating the practice of copying Cuneiform to Gurney, and after Langdon's death read Akkadian texts with him, though Gurney found him somewhat out of date in the field. In fact Campbell Thompson was appointed to the Shillito Readership in Assyriology as Langdon's successor in 1938.

Gurney continued to participate in his uncle's excavations, and was present for the last season at Jericho in 1936 after his semester in Berlin. His assistance with the photography is acknowledged in the report. The dig was broken off by the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, and Gurney returned home via Ankara where he took the opportunity to meet the Assyriologist Landsberger and the Hittitologist Güterbock, both of whom had been forced out of Nazi Germany and were fortunately employed by Atatürk's newly founded Ankara University. With Güterbock Gurney formed a lifelong friendship.

Garstang transferred his archaeological work to Turkey, and after a season's survey work in Cilicia selected for excavation the site of Yümük Tepe near Mersin, where he conducted two seasons' campaigns 1937/8 and 1938/9. Gurney joined for the second season, meeting there Seton

Lloyd and Richard Barnett, both destined to become his friends and colleagues.

Along with all his other commitments in the years 1935–9, Gurney was already active in writing articles and reviews, as reference to his Bibliography at the end of this memoir shows. This promising academic career however was to be interrupted for him as for so many of his contemporaries by the outbreak of the Second World War. Gurney immediately volunteered for service in the army and was enlisted in November 1939 in the Royal Artillery.

After training at Aldershot, he was posted to the Sudan Defence Force, travelling by boat in a convoy from Liverpool round the Cape to Suez, a voyage of some three months. During this time he worked on his Arabic, of which he already had some knowledge from his presence on Garstang's excavations at Jericho. From Cairo he went by train to the Sudan, where he was stationed at Shendi on the Nile north of Khartoum, arriving there at the end of 1940. He served with the rank of *bimbashi* (captain) in the Northern Arab Corps with the Sudan Artillery Regiment (as the Sudan Horse had become). He was to spend all the rest of the war in these parts.

In 1941 he took part in the successful fighting against the Italians in Eritrea and Abyssinia from Barentu to Gondar, and by the beginning of 1942 he was back in the Sudan for the victory parade at Gedaref. This year saw him at Kufra in the south Libyan desert on reconnaissance and garrison duty. By this time the fighting in Eritrea and Abyssinia was over, and Gurney remained in the Sudan for the rest of the war. His photograph album of these years shows him travelling in Abyssinia and Eritrea, probably on leave rather than on duty.

Campbell Thompson held the Shillito Readership only until his own sudden death in 1941. The post was left unfilled for the duration of the war, until in 1945 a student requiring teaching appeared (Donald Wiseman). On the initiative of G. R. Driver, the revived Shillito Readership was offered to Gurney even before his demobilisation. The appointment was in Akkadian rather than Hittite, and Gurney had reservations about his qualification for such a post. Fortunately he felt able to accept it, and being both able and conscientious can have experienced little difficulty in bringing his mastery of Akkadian up to the requisite standard.

He was to hold the Shillito Readership for his working career up to his retirement in 1978, though he received an honorary professorship in 1965 in recognition of his academic distinction. For all these years he

continued to live in the spacious house at Bayworth Corner, which he inherited on his father's death.

In 1957 he married Diane Hope Grazebrook (née Esencourt). She was half French, and her parents had been friends and neighbours of the Gurneys in Norfolk, so she had known Gurney all her life. She took an interest in his academic activities and accompanied him on a number of extended visits to Turkey, where they travelled widely. As an accomplished draughtsman, she was often in demand to do archaeological drawing including much for Gurney's work. They shared a love of music and in particular opera, which they attended regularly, though Diane experienced some difficulty with Gurney's special favourite, Wagner. They had no children, but her daughter Caroline from her first marriage completed the family scene. In 1988 finding the upkeep of Bayworth Corner and its garden too much, the Gurneys moved to a smaller establishment, Fir Tree House in Steventon, where Oliver lived for the rest of his life.

The teaching of Akkadian at Oxford was much developed during Gurney's tenure, and he was also able to teach Hittite there. In 1948 Robert Hamilton was appointed Lecturer in Near Eastern Archaeology at Oxford, and the University tried to consolidate the field of Ancient Near Eastern Studies with the creation of a lectureship in Ancient Near Eastern History. Unfortunately this did not go through, but when Hamilton became keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in 1959, his vacant post was awarded to Peter Hulin, a former student of Gurney, thus effectively though not explicitly replacing Archaeology with History of the Ancient Near East. This was not altogether a helpful development, but it concentrated resources in the field of Assyriology and provided Gurney with an academic colleague.

The Akkadian syllabus, which Gurney inherited from Langdon, had been devised in 1928 and offered Akkadian only as a second language in the study of Hebrew. Gurney introduced a BA in Egyptology with Akkadian. When Hulin's appointment provided two teachers of the language, it seemed timely to upgrade Akkadian from second language to Hebrew and Egyptology to a subject of first choice. This was effected by offering the B.Phil. degree with options in Cuneiform Studies, Ancient History, and Hittite. Thus Gurney's special subject appeared on the University Examination Statutes for the first time. These courses on offer attracted a small but distinguished company of students over the years, a number of whom are now in prominent academic positions. In fact, Gurney's career in the post-war years coincided with an optimistic period

of university expansion, and ended in retirement before the remorseless clamour for student numbers began to echo across campus.

His teaching was always thorough and enthusiastic, lightened by humour. Deeply involved in Akkadian and Hittite as he was, he communicated his pleasure in solving the problems and teasing out the meaning of the texts. The present writer early in his career in Hittite had the privilege of reading through the main Hittite texts with him and was always deeply impressed by the encyclopaedic knowledge of their content and background which he effortlessly and unselfconsciously displayed. Unlike many experts who have risen to dominant positions in their fields, he was always prepared to listen as well as speak, and throughout his life he remained unusually receptive of new ideas, which he would examine with rigour and, if they passed this scrutiny, adopt.

An interesting seminar grew out of his friendship with Leonard Palmer, then Professor of Comparative Philology. By the early 1960s the Hittite Hieroglyphic texts were becoming more accessible following the discovery of the great Karatepe bilingual and the publication of important studies based on it. At Palmer's suggestion, he and Gurney began to meet weekly to read through these texts to assess the progress that was being made, and in this they were joined by younger colleagues, Anna Morpurgo Davies, Gill Hart, and subsequently the present writer. In these memorable encounters, which continued for a number of years, the combined expertises of Palmer and Gurney served to set the subject on the move, with long-term fruitful results.

In his publications Gurney felt that his appointment to the Shillito Readership should direct his primary research allegiance towards Akkadian rather than Hittite. As it happened, circumstances combined to draw from him a good balance of both. In 1948 he was invited to publish the Middle Babylonian texts from Aqar Quf (Dur-Kurigalzu), and he spent the early months of that year in Baghdad (his only visit to Iraq) to copy them (Bibliography items 38 and 41). Yet two of his main contributions to Hittite studies appeared in the 1950s, his Penguin book *The Hittites* (1952) and his collaboration with Garstang, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959).

The Hittites (Bibliography item 2) was part of a Penguin series *Near Eastern and Western Asiatic Archaeologies*, published on the initiative and under the editorship of Professor (later Sir) Max Mallowan, which was to include a number of distinguished contributions. Gurney's volume was dedicated to Garstang, whose assistance is acknowledged in the foreword along with that of Albrecht Goetze and Sir John Miles. With

characteristic but undue modesty he refers to it as 'this small work', and disclaims that it 'contains much that is original'. His observation, however, that 'no synthesis of these results has yet been published in the English language and it may therefore be hoped that this book may go some way to meet a real need' was fully justified. The history of the book's editions and reprints demonstrate this well enough. From its first edition in 1952 it has never been out of print, and as recently as 1999 it received the accolade of a reprint in a fine edition (still with updating revisions by Gurney) of the Folio Society. The 'real need' which it has met is made clear by the steady demand which has kept it in print for fifty years, and its appearance in Italian, German, Polish, Russian, Turkish, and Spanish translations attests to an international recognition. In this context it is pleasing to note that it produced a respectable and regular income for its author.

The chapters of the book cover all aspects of Hittite civilisation clearly and succinctly: discovery, historical outline, state and society, life and economy, laws and institutions, warfare, languages and races, religion, literature, art. During the fifty years of the book's life there have been very substantial advances in our knowledge of the Hittites in the shape of new discoveries as well as new interpretations, and Gurney clearly took immense pains to ensure that this information should be included in the successive editions. This he achieved by economical emendation of, or additions to, his text and the appropriate supplementation of his comprehensive bibliographies to each chapter. Instructively a reading through his latest Folio Society edition shows that the basic fifty-year-old text can at no point be reproached as out of date. It is not actually a 'small work'.

Gurney's joint publication with Garstang, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (Bibliography item 4) was a major work in its day, and its conclusions, though occasionally superseded by the discoveries of the last forty and more years, have been more generally substantiated. It was the first full-scale attempt to tackle the complex and wide-ranging problems of location of Hittite toponyms, and it had grown slowly out of the combined interests of the two authors. Garstang, ever since the Hittite texts had become available, had been eager to link their topographical information to his own first-hand knowledge of the Anatolian terrain and sites, much of it gained from horse-back travel before the First World War. His *Index of Hittite Names, section A. Geographical* (with L. A. Mayer, Supplementary Papers I of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1923) was a valuable siting shot, and as

many more texts became accessible and his nephew was able to provide the necessary Hittite expertise, he planned a new treatment of the subject. By 1939 Gurney had provided him with a draft *Essay on Hittite Geography*, but the project was of course interrupted by Gurney's absence during the war. Nevertheless using Gurney's notes, Garstang was able during this time to produce a series of articles covering much of the ground. After the war it was agreed to resume the work, but Garstang's other commitments and then failing health led to further delay, until his sister Gamzu undertook to pull the first draft together. In 1956, however, Garstang died and it was left to Gurney and his mother to produce the final draft and see it through the press. The family character of the finished work was completed by the maps drawn by Mrs Diane Gurney.

The *Geography*, like Gurney's other work may be judged to have stood the test of time well. The new discoveries since its publication in 1959 have generally tended to confirm the overall topographical picture and locations and seldom to overturn them. We note the following discoveries and the principal locations which they establish: the Inandik tablet (*Hanhana*), the Maşat tablets (*Tapikka*, *Anziliya*), the Korucutepe sealings (*Işuwa*), the Karatepe bilingual (*Adana*), the Fekheriye statue (*Sikanil Wassukkanni*), the Ortaköy tablets (*Sapinuwa*), the Kuşaklı tablets (*Sarissa*), the Bronze Tablet (*Tarhuntassa*, the *Hulaya River* land, *Parha*), the Yalburt inscriptions (*Lukka* lands), the Karabel inscription reading (*Mira*, the *Seha River* land, *Apasa*), the Miletus excavations (*Millawanda*). Gurney himself in an article *Hittite Geography thirty years on* (Bibliography item 25) was able to review recent developments in the context of the publication of Forlanini's *Anatolia: l'impero hittito (Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente*, fascicolo 4.3 (Rome, 1986)). He recognised that the main area in need of revision was north-central Anatolia. Otherwise new data is generally supportive of the *Geography's* locations, and in the case of southern and western Anatolia, Tarhuntassa, Lukka, and Arzawa, triumphantly so.

His duty towards Akkadian publication as he perceived it led him to resume a task which he had accepted already before the war to publish the Kassite period texts excavated at Ur as a volume of *Ur Excavation Texts*. But this work was interrupted by one of the most exciting Cuneiform finds of that time, the Sultantepe tablets, with which he was to be closely associated. In the season of 1951 Seton Lloyd, as Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, discovered a large pile of Assyrian tablets lying against the wall of a building excavated high up in the steep

mound of Sultantepe, north of Harran. It took a second season in 1952 to complete the clearance of this trove, and almost 600 tablets and fragments were recovered.

As it happened Gurney arrived in Ankara in 1951 with the purpose of conducting a geographical reconnaissance shortly after the first batch of Sultantepe tablets had arrived at Ankara Museum, so he was able to inspect them at once and make preliminary identifications and a catalogue. In 1952 he joined the Sultantepe excavations as epigraphist, and he wrote a preliminary report for *Anatolian Studies* of that year. In all he was to be preoccupied with Sultantepe for some thirteen years, which included many prolonged visits to Turkey for study and copying. Latterly he was often accompanied by his wife Diane, and when work was done, they would take the opportunity for Anatolian travel.

The tablet collection appears to have belonged to a scribal school of a temple and to have extended over three generations of scribes, and it comprised an important literary archive. Gurney's publication produced two volumes of tablet copies (I, with J. J. Finkelstein, 1957, and II, with P. Hulin, 1964, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, nos. 3 and 7). He also published a series of editions of the most important texts, principally literary: the Eponym lists, the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer (with W. G. Lambert), the Cuthaeen Legend of Naram-Sin, the unique folk tale the Poor Man of Nippur, a Letter of Gilgamesh, and the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal. These articles made exciting contributions to *Anatolian Studies* for its first ten years (Bibliography items 40, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 52, see also items 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 56, 60, 68, 71).

Gurney returned to Hittite studies in the early 1960s with the invitation to contribute the chapters on the Hittite Old and Middle Kingdoms to the revised *Cambridge Ancient History* (volume 2, part 1, chapters vi and xv (a)). The revised (second) edition was issued in separate fascicles as the individual contributors submitted, Gurney's being fascicles 11 (1965) and 44 (1966), and the volume itself (third edition) was published in 1973. But at this time the tectonic plates of Hittite history were on the move, and indeed a major earthquake occurred between the appearances of editions two and three. This related to the dating of the fragmentary Annals of Tudhaliya and his son Arnuwanda and a group of associated texts, principally the Indictments of Madduwatta and of Mita of Pahhuwa: the reattribution of these from Tudhaliya IV and Arnuwanda III (end of the Hittite Empire, c.1250–1210 BC) to Tudhaliya I and Arnuwanda I (early Empire period, c.1410–1370 BC) was beginning to be

advocated. An associated but independent area of instability concerned the ancestry of the great king Suppiluliuma I.

Gurney's acute antennae picked up the preliminary tremors. Already in the second edition he considered the reattribution, acknowledging (fasc. 44, p. 20 n. 4) 'The credit for this observation belongs to Dr Edmund I. Gordon'. He is referring to a remarkable letter which he had received on 15 February 1965 from Gordon, a deeply eccentric scholar whose brilliance marched perilously close to the edge of sanity. This mis- sive of fifty pages (dispatched in unnumbered and confused order) ranged over the fields of Hittite historical and geographical problems scattering extraordinary insights in wild confusion. A page selected at random reproduced as Figure 1 may give some impression of the style. (The only part of this document to find its way into print appeared in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 21 (1967), pp. 70–88, where the reader feels overwhelmed by an unstoppable torrent of information. Sadly Gordon died soon thereafter.)

Important contributions arguing this redating in detail appeared from Otten (1969), Carruba (1969), and Houwink ten Cate (1970), and resisting it from Kammenhuber (1969), as recorded by Gurney in his Addenda to the bibliography (third edition, p. 812). Otherwise in the third edition Gurney was allowed to make minimal changes to incorporate this new information without unduly disturbing the text, and it may be stated that today this reinterpretation has won general acceptance.

The redating is very important, since it moves a group of historical sources previously thought to explain the terminal disintegration of the Hittite Empire *c.* 1200 BC to an earlier period where they are now understood to illustrate a turbulent spell through which the Empire passed at an early stage. The implications for the *Cambridge Ancient History* revisions are worth noting. Gurney's prescience in the matter of the redating stands in contrast to the unfortunate position of Goetze, who in his second edition fascicle 37 (1965) cited the texts in question with their now superseded attribution and dating, and died in 1971 before being able to make the necessary revisions for the third edition.

Having completed these major publications, Gurney was able to return to the Kassite period texts from Ur, and these were supplemented with miscellaneous Ur texts of the Old and Late Babylonian periods. The volume appeared in 1974 (Bibliography item 6), soon followed by a volume of *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* with S. N. Kramer (OECT V, 1976; Bibliography item 7). With these two volumes he discharged long-standing obligations to the British and Ashmolean

only in the pockets along the two north-south routes where they still survived in name and memory until classical times; it is perhaps even possible that Arzawa's reopening of her corridor to the East, forced most of the displaced Lukka of the Haballa area south into the overcrowded Pamphylia and western Trachea area, whence they could do nothing else but seill over northeastwards into the Hittite territory. Then afterwards, Hattusilis having had his hands full of attacks from all sides, Arzawa having finally cleared the Afyan "corridor" of Lukka, and then finding a void in the LCWER LAND where the Lukka invasion of KUB XXI 6a will have wreaked much havoc, so that Arzawa will then have come across the LCWER LAND as far as Uga and Tuwahuwa, where they will finally have reached the outer limits of the territory still under control of Hattusilis II. Thus I ~~NEVA~~ find a possible ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{tion} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ from the victorious conquest of almost ~~XXXXXX~~ "all the lands, and all the mountains and all the rivers" of every corner of Anatolia, via KUB XXI 6a in the beginning of Hattusilis II's reign (annals always seem to reflect the early parts of reigns ~~XXXXXX~~ anyway, especially if there were victories or even just half-victories to write about), to the 'Uegur Pirwa' prolegue in which the later catastrophes of Hattusilis II's reign (and possibly part of his son's, Suppiluliuma's father's, reign as well) were summarized by Hattusilis III at a later date. The Lukka who had moved into Ussa and Padassa and the LCWER LAND and the JULAYA RIVER LAND will in the meanwhile have become Luwianized, and peaceable normal citizens, with just a memory that they were once called Lukka, which therefore later caused them to be called Lykaanes and the region of the Lower Land + the Julaya River Land + Ussa and Zallara altogether to be known as Lykaonia. The ones ~~XXXXXX~~ who had settled down in Walwaras and its 5 dependencies will also have become Luwianized, as will those who had taken over the district of Walma, and by the time of Hattusilis III they will have become little vassal-states of the Hittite realm. ~~IT WILL BE ONLY THOSE WHO WERE IN THE 'UNDERDEVELOPED' PAMPHYLIA AND WESTERN TRACHEA WHO WILL HAVE BEEN CONTINUED TO BE CALLED LUKKA, perhaps only gradually becoming Luwianized, so that the memory of that remained in Pamphylia (i.e., the tradition that they were Achaeans who had lost their language, would have remained alive because they lost whatever language it was that they originally spoke to become Luwianized last, while presumably some groups that went into what was later called LYKIA will also have become Luwianized at an earlier date, presumably because the western Bronze Age Luwians there too (presumably Talawa etc.) will have caused them to be assimilated; and it should be noted that in classical times, the Luwian-speaking people of Lykia did not call themselves or their language Lykian but Trmmlil, so that the name Lykia for them may also have been a term given them by the last to Luwianize, the pamphylians. I just reminded myself that another piece of evidence connecting Lukka with the north, particularly if I am right about Millawa(n)da being on the Marmara coast, is that Strabo speaks of the arrival of the Milyai from the north, and coming to Lykia. (I may have something unclear in my mind on this, since I have no copy of Strabo here to check it. There is also the business of Kaballia and Milyadike north of Lykia being all mixed up, the people of Kaballia, being themselves Maionians and kin to the Lydians. THIS IS ALL A VERY PRELIMINARY THESIS, BUT I THINK IT'S GENERALLY CORRECT, IF I HAVE A RIGHT TO DO SO MYSELF.~~

Well that about covers what I plan to through out; it's perhaps very ambitious. I don't know even whether you will be able to take it all but I think it's a restoration that all fits together and makes sense.

I have made only two carbon copies of this, one of which I will send to Prof. Landsberger and Güterbock, so that I will have their comments and thinking, approval or otherwise. I've always been on good terms personally with Prof. Goetze, but I could never find the nerve to send him this, NOT YET ANYWAY, I appreciate knowing that you have an open mind on the subject, and hope to hear from you soon. Unfortunately my typewriter won't make any more than 2 carbons, so I have but one copy left for myself, and at some point soon, I'll be sending it (along with my 1961 papers, after you shall have returned them) to Prof. Sedat Alp who expressed an interest. I'll leave off on this now. I have so many other things to do, and I must do some correspondence with colleagues whose recommendations I would like for a fellowship for next year.

Sincerely yours,

Edmund I. Gordon

Edmund I. Gordon

Museums. The preface and introduction to UET VII promised an academic edition of the texts copied and published by Gurney, which was delivered after his retirement. His Cuneiform copies in these two volumes like those in *The Sultantepe Tablets* were neat and precise, and he always maintained a subsequent interest in these, checking, collating, and correcting difficult and uncertain points.

Gurney was invited to give the British Academy's Schweich Lectures for 1976, and selected as an appropriate topic Hittite Religion, one of the features of their civilisation which had always attracted his interest. The choice again took him back to his first love, Hittite, and was generally a happy one in other respects, enabling him to expand and update the survey in his chapter 'Religion' in *The Hittites*, which had been written twenty-four years previously. The lectures were published in 1977 under the deceptively modest title *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*. It is in fact a masterly survey of our current state of knowledge of all the main aspects of Hittite religion, and it is specially welcome as an English language publication in a specialist field as well as for its up-to-date bibliography. The lectures were delivered under three headings: the Pantheon, the Cult, and Magical Rituals. In the first Gurney was able to present the recent work associating the god lists in the treaties and the Hurrian *kalutis* (divine groupings listed for offerings) with the sculptural representations of the gods at the Hittite extramural sanctuary at Yazilikaya, and to supplement this with his own proposals. Under Cult, he drew attention to Hittite practices standing in the background to both the classical and the biblical worlds, and under Rituals to the interesting techniques for the transference of evil using either the scapegoat/carrier or the substitute, in both cases either human or animal, and again with parallels well beyond the Hittite world.

Gurney's career in post was a full and active one. In addition to his teaching and major publications, his Bibliography shows a steady stream of articles, in which his interests in Hittite dynastic history, geography and religion predominate. But his range was wide and embraced many Assyriological interests too. One special topic, which he pursued in several contributions (Bibliography items 58, 75, 80) and discussed with a number of specialists, was Babylonian music, specifically the tuning of the harp, an appropriate enough inquiry for such a lover of music. Nor should his very extensive number of reviews be passed over; these appeared regularly over the years until the early 1980s, usually short but always pertinent and incisive (see Bibliography, section D).

Over and above these many commitments Gurney gave outstanding service to the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. After the war, Garstang, who was again working at Mersin in 1946–7, lobbied tirelessly with both the British and Turkish governments to open a British School of Archaeology in Turkey. He wisely judged that this should be located in the new capital Ankara rather than the old cosmopolitan city of Istanbul where the other foreign schools were. His efforts were rewarded with success, and in January 1948 the Institute was officially opened in Ankara with himself as first director. In London a Council of Management was formed under his presidency, and in the first annual report covering 1948 and 1949, Gurney appears among the representative members (on behalf of Oxford University), making him a founder member, and he remained a member for the next 53 years, up to his death. The Institute inaugurated its journal *Anatolian Studies* under the editorship of Gordon Childe, producing volume 1 in 1951, for which year Gurney was already named as assistant editor. Childe was editor for the first five volumes but resigned to go to Australia at the end of 1955, whereupon Gurney took over the editorship. The first volume for which he was fully responsible as editor was volume 6 (1956), planned as a *Festschrift* for Garstang, but sadly turned into a memorial volume by Garstang's death in September of that year. (In spite of evidently failing health, Garstang insisted on taking part as Guest of Honour on a cruise in Greece and southern Turkey, accompanied by Gurney and his mother. Carried ashore for a visit to Mersin he rallied sufficiently to give the company a lucid exposition of his excavations there, after which he collapsed and died two days later at Beirut.)

Gurney edited *Anatolian Studies* unaided up to 1997, an astonishing forty-one volumes—missing only volume 30 (1980), which was dedicated to him in honour of his seventieth birthday, and was edited by James Macqueen. Among the dedications and contributors to this volume, his friends and former students, a constant theme is their debt and gratitude to him. Contributors to those forty-one volumes edited by him, including the present writer, remember him as a meticulous and deeply committed editor, interested in the whole range of Anatolian subjects covered by the journal. His judicious touch saved many contributors from error, and most of the articles which passed through his hands will have benefited from lesser or greater editorial improvements. On the practical side his relations with the printers over many years served to restrain cost increases even over periods of high inflation. One occurrence that illustrates his devotion to the journal as well as his generally

stoical attitude to life was the occasion when he was taken to Moorfields Eye Hospital for an emergency operation for a detached retina. Afterwards he remarked cheerfully to me how conveniently it had all come about: he had been able to complete the galley proofs before going into hospital, and was sufficiently recovered in time to deal with the page proofs. He was himself a frequent contributor to the journal, in earlier years on the Sultantepe tablets, as already noted, and latterly on Hittite subjects (Bibliography items 70, 74, 76, 77, 78). On Mesopotamian subjects he most frequently contributed to *Iraq* (items 38, 53, 58, 59, 61, 62, 69, 75, 80).

Gurney's life after his retirement continued to be notably productive. He took the opportunity of his increased leisure to produce his edition of the *Middle Babylonian Legal and Economic Texts from Ur* (Bibliography item 9). For this purpose he schooled himself in the then rapidly advancing computer technology to typeset the entire volume himself: that is what lies behind the notice (reverse of title page) 'Typeset in Lasercomp Times at Oxford University Computing Service'. From then on he regularly used a word-processor and became adept at its intricacies. Similarly when he completed a further OECT (XI, 1989, Bibliography item 10), he typeset that volume too.

Nor did his services to the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara flag with retirement. In addition to his editorship of the journal, he had been named in 1965 deputy chairman, a post which he filled under the chairmanships of Sir James Bowker and Sir Bernard Burrows. In 1982 in recognition of his long and distinguished service to the Institute, he was elected president which he remained until his death.

Under him the presidency was no figurehead role, and he concerned himself closely with the running of the institute, actively participating in meetings of the council of management, where as editor he was also responsible for publications, another job which he took seriously. When the council was discussing the production of an index to volumes 21–30 of *Anatolian Studies*, and voicing concerns at the likely cost, he immediately volunteered to do this himself for nothing, and using his newly gained mastery of the word-processor, do it he did. Again unlike many council members of learned societies he took a detailed interest in the accounts—too detailed, some harassed hon. treasurers may have felt. It was also as president that he penned the survey of fifty years of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara in Roger Matthews' fiftieth anniversary volume in 1998 (Bibliography item 26) as well as the retrospective chapter on Sultantepe and Harran.

By a happy coincidence the years of Gurney's retirement saw a dramatic harvest of new discoveries in the Hittite field, which had the effect of drawing him back into these studies. He followed each discovery closely and gave his own illuminating interpretations of the unfolding evidence in a series of articles (Bibliography items 19, 20, 25, 70, 74, 76, 77, 78). He was actively writing almost up to the end of his life, and as will be seen from the dates, at least three contributions were to appear posthumously (items 28, 29, 30). His continued areas of interest lay especially in Hittite dynastic affairs, and the new pieces of evidence for Hittite geography, in particular the way in which both of these topics impinge on the wide-ranging nexus of problems centering on the dating and attributions of the Tawagalawa letter. I myself have a voluminous file of letters from Gurney on these subjects throughout the 1990s, to which I would reply by telephone at weekends. This became quite a regular feature of our relationship, and indeed a continuing pleasure, and even now the feeling 'I must tell Oliver of this or that new discovery, he will be so interested' is very hard to shake off. It should perhaps be recorded that one point on which we were absolutely unable even after prolonged discussion to agree was the interpretation of a crucial passage in the Tawagalawa letter, which has such implications for so much of the thirteenth century BC Hittite history.

Oliver Gurney was a man of the greatest courtesy and integrity. A natural reserve might make him appear aloof at first, but behind that lay a warm and humorous personality. It must be admitted that these qualities were allied to a certain unworldliness. His refusal to think let alone speak ill of anyone could lead him to misjudge colleagues and others who did not adhere to his own high standards. When confronted as on occasion he was with academic impropriety, it could take a long time before he would bring himself to accept that something was wrong. He could sometimes show excessive loyalty to the unworthy, though in such cases he was seldom rewarded with any gratitude.

Mention has been made of Gurney's letter writing, which was indeed prodigious, and he belonged to a generation which very much believed in replying by return of post. He used to conduct many prolonged academic correspondences on subjects which interested him, but no topic was too small and no correspondent too inept to secure his full attention. This is no doubt connected with his persistence in pursuing problems through to their solutions. He did attract more than his fair share of cranks, though here his replies could be unexpectedly sharp from one so polite, but this was simply a reflection of his unflinching honesty.

Gurney found time in a sedentary academic life for physical activity. He was a keen tennis player until deteriorating eyesight led him to give up, and he played golf regularly almost to the end of his life. He enjoyed general good health, and a heart by-pass operation in 1993 gave him a number of years of active and productive life. He died after a short illness on 11 January 2001, some two weeks before his ninetieth birthday.

His distinction was duly recognized by honours. His presidency of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and the volume of *Anatolian Studies* dedicated to him have been recorded. He also served as member of Council for the British School of Archaeology in Iraq for many years.

He was elected Fellow of the British Academy in 1959. He became Foreign Member of the Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters in 1976, and was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Higher Letters in the University of Chicago in 1991. He was Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford from 1963, and was also a Freeman in the City of Norwich.

J. D. HAWKINS

Fellow of the Academy

Note. In writing this memoir I have been much assisted by conversations with Mrs Diane Gurney. For Gurney's academic career at Oxford I have drawn on the text of a lecture which he gave in November 1991 entitled 'A hundred years of Assyriology at Oxford'. For his war-time service with the Sudan Defence Force I was helped by conversations with Professor Edward Ullendorff and Professor David Williams, who both knew him there at that time.

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