

CHAPTER 3 First Steps in the East

June 1909 – December 1910

LAWRENCE left England on 18th June 1909 on board the SS *Mongolia*. He spent the voyage working at his Arabic and, after a delay changing ships at Port Said, finally reached Beirut on July 7th. There he made contact with tutors at the American University who assured him that they had been 'taking walking tours in their summer holidays for years, exactly as I proposed to do . . . everybody, from the Consul downwards, tells me that travelling is as ordinary as in Europe. [Thomas] Cook has a permanent camp at Petra, the brute!'¹

He began the first stage of his tour on July 8th, walking thirty miles down the coast road to Sidon on the first day. His itinerary then took him to Nabatiyeh, where he hired a guide to reach the fortress of Beaufort and thence Baniyas, 'whose people have the finest castle, and the worst reputation, in S. Lebanon.'² After this he went on to Hunin ('The castle there was trifling in strength but as for fleas!')³ There he parted company with his guide, continuing alone to Tibnin and to Safed, which stands on a hill 2,700 feet high: 'In the day's march I went up and down the height of Mt. Blanc – and Palestine is all like that: a collection of small, irritating, hills crushed together pell-mell, and the roads either go up and down all the time, or wind in and about the rocks of the valleys, and never reach anywhere at all.'⁴ From Safed he went eastward to Chastellet, an ancient ford across the Jordan, and then down the Jordan valley to the Sea of Galilee, which he skirted on the western shore. Continuing southward he visited Belvoir, then walked via Endor to Nazareth and eventually Athlit before returning up the coast road to Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut. He completed this section of his programme in three weeks.

In one way he found this journey through the Bible lands disappointing, since the arid landscape bore so little resemblance to the scenery he had somehow expected: 'it is such a comfort to *know* that the country was not a bit like this in the time of Our Lord. The Renaissance painters were right, who drew him and his disciples feasting in a pillared hall, or sunning themselves on marble staircases: everywhere one finds remains of splendid Roman roads and houses and public buildings, and Galilee was the most Romanised province of Palestine. Also the country was well-peopled, and well watered artificially: there were not twenty miles of thistles behind Capernaum! and on the way round the lake they did not come upon dirty, dilapidated Bedouin tents, with the people calling to them to come in and talk, while miserable curs came snapping at their heels: Palestine was a decent country then, and could so easily be made so again. The sooner the Jews farm it all the better: their colonies are bright spots in a desert.'⁵

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He got back to Beirut from this first part of his tour on August 2nd and wrote a 5,000-word letter to his family, to give them 'an idea of Northern Palestine in summer.'⁶ They must have been delighted to receive it, not least because of its many Biblical allusions.

The account of his contacts with the local people reveals a good deal

about his willingness to adopt the ways of the country: 'In the evening I get, either bread or *leben*, or more rarely *haleeb*. Sometimes I have to join in the native *burghul*, which is wheat, boiled in some way I fancy, but very greasy. One could not eat much of it, without a river near at hand to help it down. There are I believe other native dishes, but not among the peasant class at this time of year: I at least have found none, though the priests (native Arabs) give me stews and meat-messes of divers sorts.

'Nobody drinks anything but water, except coffee, for visitors. When I go into a native house the owner salutes me, and I return it and then he says something to one of his women, and they bring out a thick quilt, which, doubled, is laid on the rush mat over the floor as a chair: on that I squat down, and then the host asks me four or five times how my health is; and each time I tell him it is good. Then comes sometimes coffee, and after that a variety of questions, as to whether my tripod is a revolver, and what I am, and where I come from, and where I'm going, and why I'm on foot, and am I alone, and every other thing conceivable: and when I set up my tripod (sometimes, as a great treat) there are cries of astonishment and "*Mashallah*"s, "by the life of the Prophet", "Heavens", "Give God the glory" etc. etc. Such a curiosity has never been seen and all the village is summoned to look at it. Then I am asked about my wife and children, how many I have etc. I really feel a little ashamed of my youth out here. The Syrian of sixteen is full grown, with moustache and beard, married, with children, and has perhaps spent two or three years in New York, getting together enough capital to start him in business at home. They mostly put my age as fifteen, and are amazed at my travelling on foot and alone. Riding is the only honourable way of going, and everyone is dreadfully p. 59
afraid of thieves: they travel very little.

'However meanwhile the women have been getting my evening meal, served up on one of those large straw dishes I mentioned: (the "charger" for John the Baptist's head is translated by this in the Arabic version) then they pour water on my hands from a pitcher . . . and if very polite, will offer to wash my feet. The next thing is bed, which is the same quilt as that on which I am sitting, laid either in the house, or outside, on the roof of an outbuilding or verandah. Another quilt on top acts as blanket, and also there are pillows. These quilts are of course far too hot for a European to stand, since they are stuffed with wool, and feathers and fleas (in about equal quantities I fancy), so usually I lie on both mine, and hope for the best. One goes to bed soon after nine, and gets up at sunrise (about 4.30). Dressing consists of smoothing one's hair, and moistening one's hands and face in the stream from the pitcher: then on the road after bread and *leben*. Sometimes the people of the house will take money for one's lodging, sometimes not.¹⁷

During this first part of his tour Lawrence had averaged twenty-two miles a day, and on one occasion walked thirty-six. He left Beirut for the next stage of his journey on August 6th and reached Tripoli a week later, having spent three or four days at the American Mission School in Jebail where he was welcomed by the principal, Miss Holmes, and her staff: 'She was most exceedingly kind in feeding me up, and as she had plenty of books and a marble-paved hall, with water ad lib and trees (real green ones) in her garden I was very happy.'¹⁸ Lawrence's opinion of the American Mission's activities in Syria was to change over the coming years, but in 1909 it was favourable: 'it is doing much the most wonderful

work of all in Palestine. It is Presbyterian, and has most brilliant men at the head of it. They recognised that at present conversion of Muslim in Syria was impossible . . . they have opened schools for both parties all over the country. In these the instruction is given in English, and includes many very important matters . . . Thus English is a common language in Syria, and in ten years no other will be needed. The influence . . . has promoted emigration to America, and I don't think there is a village in north Syria where one of the people has not been to America (they never stay more than a few years). These men are all eager for reforms in Syria, and dissatisfied with the government, so that the secretary of the government of the Lebanon (a high Turk) said to me – “the recent reform of the constitution in Constantinople (i.e. the revolution) is entirely due to the American mission.” They have so educated the country (without touching on politics) that public opinion rejoiced in reform. They have colleges all over Syria, and Asia Minor, and in Constantinople (mostly self-supporting) and in all of them the religious side is emphasised: also every school is a mission station'.⁹

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On his way north to Tripoli he had visited castles at Batrun, Mseilha, Enfeh and Tripoli. Then, on August 14th, he set off into the interior: 'It will take me at least three weeks to get to Aleppo (there are fifteen castles in the first 125 miles) and from there to Edessa another week. Then to return will take ten days, to Damascus. Altogether it will take till the end of September to do this piece.'¹⁰

On August 16th, his twenty-first birthday, he reached the magnificent Crac des Chevaliers, 'which is I think the finest castle in the world: certainly the most picturesque I have seen – quite marvellous: I stayed three days there'. Thence on to Safita and beyond: 'I will have such difficulty in becoming English again, here I am Arab in habits and slip in talking from English to French and Arabic unnoticing'.¹¹

Venturing into the interior to see the castle at Masyad he was shot at, from about two hundred yards, by 'an ass with an old gun',¹² but managed to scare off his attacker by firing back (at extreme range) with his pistol: 'I'm rather glad that my perseverance in carrying the Mauser has been rewarded . . . the man simply wanted to frighten me into money-payment'.¹³ At the end of the month, when he had reached Latakia, he wrote home reassuringly: 'you may be happy now all my rough work is finished successfully: and my Thesis is I *think assured*'.¹⁴ But from Latakia he struck inland once again to Sahyun: 'perhaps the finest castle I have seen in Syria: a splendid keep, of Semi-Norman style, perfect in all respects: towers galore'.¹⁵ He stayed there two days, then walked on to Aleppo 'by forced marches, 120 miles in five days, which no doubt Bob or Will will laugh at, but not if they had to do it stumbling and staggering over these ghastly roads: it took me thirteen hours of marching per day, and I had an escort with me (mounted) so I lost no time. By the way it is rather amusing to contemplate a pedestrian guarded carefully by a troop of light horse: of course everybody thinks I am mad to walk, and the escort offered me a mount on the average once a half-hour: they couldn't understand my prejudice against everything with four legs'.¹⁶ The escort was a precaution taken after the shooting incident near Masyad.

Lawrence realised when he reached Aleppo that he was running short of time, and he decided to hire a carriage there with two men and two horses to take him inland to Urfa and back. This final stretch of the

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journey, which lasted only ten days, took him through an area rich in Hittite remains. D. G. Hogarth, who had visited this region the previous spring, was one of the pioneer authorities on Hittite seal stones. He had presented a collection of these seals to the Ashmolean fifteen years earlier and was now keen to increase it; consequently he had asked Lawrence to look out for seals during this section of the castle tour. All kinds of ancient objects could be bought quite readily from villagers, who augmented their meagre incomes by robbing graves and selling their finds to itinerant *antika* dealers based in Aleppo.

On the way back from Urfa, at Seruj, Lawrence's camera was stolen from the carriage while the coachman he had left on watch slept. This was a serious loss, since no picture postcards of these Crusader castles were available and photographs were essential for his thesis. Worse was to come: a few days later while touring villages near the Euphrates in search of Hittite seals he was attacked. 'I meant to buy more, and found some rather jolly ones in a Turkish village one hour north of Tell Bashar; – but a beggar followed me from Meyra and bagged all my money and valuables (not content with pounding me behind the ear with a stone and biting open the back of my hand). I recovered most; but with such work that I was too sick of the district, and had (after due baksheeshing) too little cash to spare to search further.'¹⁷

He was back in Aleppo by September 19th, making strenuous efforts through the local authorities to recover his lost camera, but with no success. By the 22nd he had decided to abandon his further plans. He wrote to his family: 'After all I'm coming home at once, for lack of money. Of course you could send me more but I'd want new clothes, those I wear at present shall be left in Beyrout, I'd never get them past the sanitary inspection at Port Said:– new boots, the present being “porous”, I've walked them to bits at any rate, and my feet lately have responded to it. They are all over cuts and chafes and blisters, and the smallest hole in this horrid climate rubs up in no time into a horrible sore. I can't imagine how many times I would have had blood poisoning already if it hadn't been for my boracic: but I want to rest the feet now or there will be something of the sort. To undertake further long walks would be imprudent, for even in new boots these holes would take long to heal.'¹⁸ Before leaving Aleppo he also wrote to Sir John Rhys at Jesus College to excuse himself for arriving in Oxford late for the beginning of term: 'I have had a most delightful tour . . . on foot and alone all the time, so that I have perhaps, living as an Arab with the Arabs, got a better insight into the daily life of the people than those who travel with caravan and dragomen. Some thirty-seven out of the fifty-odd castles were on my proposed route and I have seen all but one of them: many are quite unpublished, so of course I have had to make many plans, drawings and photographs . . . I am exceedingly sorry to leave the two castles in the Moabite deserts unvisited. I would go to them certainly, only that last week I was robbed and rather smashed up. Before I could be fit for walking again (and it is very hard physically in this country) the season of rains would have begun. It is most unfortunate, for the getting here is expensive: the actual travelling, my beggar-fashion, costs practically nothing of course.'¹⁹

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Lawrence took the railway south from Aleppo to Damascus, where he spent three days before returning by train to Beirut. He had spent nearly three months in Syria and already hoped to return there after Finals: 'this

is a glorious country for wandering in, for hospitality is something more than a name: setting aside the American and English missionaries, who take care of me in the most fatherly (or motherly) way . . . there are the common people each one ready to receive one for a night, and allow one to share in their meals: and without a thought of payment from a traveller on foot. It is so pleasant, for they have a very attractive kind of native dignity'.²⁰

He travelled the whole way to England on the RMS *Ottoway* rather than taking the quicker route across France from Marseilles by train. This gave him the chance to recover his strength before reaching Oxford in mid-October: 'It will be pleasant to have fourteen days with no sight-seeing to do; nothing to do but eat.'²¹ During the voyage home he drew up a detailed statement of his expenses on the tour, which amounted to £71 8s. 6d.²²

The ship called in at Naples, and Lawrence had time to visit the National Museum. He found its collection of bronzes 'beyond words'.²³ He also went to a local bronze foundry, hoping to get a reproduction of a statue (which he referred to humorously as the 'footballer') for his brother Will. There was 'none to be got worthy under £2', and instead he bought 'a Hypnos head, very good work, but a bad cast, modern naturally. I asked the price and tumbled down with it to eight francs, little more than the value of the metal. You will admire it immensely; and I'll give you five minutes to find out the fault in the casting'.²⁴ He brought the Hypnos back to Oxford and found a place for it on a seat in the bay window of his study in the garden bungalow, where it became his most cherished ornament. It was a free-hand copy of the well-known Hypnos in the British Museum bronze room (itself a Roman copy of a Greek work dating from the fourth century BC). According to Vyvyan Richards, Lawrence would lie on the floor and contemplate it.²⁵

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Lawrence's letters show that his interest in medieval sculpture had led him to study the Greek masters. Now that he had learned to draw, he began to try three-dimensional work, and this became an occasional hobby. Much later he wrote that he had 'modelled and carved with some hope and vigour, for nearly four years: and did slowly gain the power to express something of my meaning in clay or stone. And I did thereby come to understand a little the limitations and triumphs of a sculptor's aim'.²⁶ When his youngest brother Arnold was sixteen, Lawrence would advise him to 'keep up an interest in sculpture. It is finer far than flat work, much more difficult to do and to appreciate, and gives one complete satisfaction where it is well done. I would rather possess a fine piece of sculpture than anything in the world'.²⁷

Lawrence was now twenty-one, and entering his last year at university. He had far more freedom than most undergraduates, since by using the side-gate of his parents' house he could come and go at any hour he pleased. With Finals approaching, he decided to take regular private tutorials from L. C. Jane, who later wrote: 'Midnight to 4 a.m. was a favourite time (living at home, he had not to bother about college regulations).'²⁸ The bungalow also gave him the liberty to work or read late into the night without disturbing his family. 'You know, I think, the joy of getting into a strange country in a book: at home when I have shut my door and the town is in bed – and I know that nothing, not even the dawn – can disturb me in my curtains: only the slow crumbling of the

coals in the fire: they get so red, and throw such splendid glimmerings on the Hypnos and the brass-work. And it is lovely too, after you have been wandering for hours in the forest with Percivale or Sagramors le desirous, to open the door, and from over the Cherwell to look at the sun glowering through the valley-mists. Why does one not like things if there are other people about? Why cannot one make one's books live except in the night, after hours of straining? . . . if you can get the right book at the right time you taste joys – not only bodily, physical, but spiritual also, which pass one out above and beyond one's miserable self, as it were through a huge air, following the light of another man's thought. And you can never be quite the old self again. You have forgotten a little bit: or rather pushed it out with a little of the inspiration of what is immortal in someone who has gone before you.¹²⁹

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During the winter of 1909-10 Lawrence completed his thesis, calling it *The Influence of the Crusades on European Military Architecture – to the End of the XIIIth Century*. The maximum length allowed was 12,000 words, and the thesis had to be submitted before the Easter vacation began on 19th March 1910. He had the final draft typed, although this was not a requirement. It contained numerous illustrations, including his own plans, sketches and photographs, as well as drawings copied by Beeson from published sources,³⁰ and picture postcards.

Lawrence hoped that his result in Finals would be good enough for him to pursue an academic career; the next step would be to prepare for a B.Litt. He had spent a good deal of time during his undergraduate years working with E. T. Leeds on various archaeological projects. That spring, for example, he had helped Leeds rearrange the Medieval Room at the Ashmolean. During the autumn they did their best to collect and record pottery fragments which came to light during excavations for a new book stack at the Radcliffe Camera. If Lawrence chose a research topic that combined his academic knowledge of the Middle Ages with this private interest in medieval pottery, the way might be open to a career in archaeology.³¹ Like other undergraduates, however, he felt unwilling to commit himself; indeed he took a certain pride in neglecting plans for a career. He later wrote: 'I fought very hard, at Oxford and after going down, to avoid being labelled'.³²

The idea of revisiting Syria appealed to him strongly. On November 30th he wrote to Doughty: 'the Crusading Fortresses I found are so intensely interesting that I hope to return to the East for some little time. It struck me that I ought to see you first . . . and so I asked Mr. Hogarth if it were possible.³³ Hogarth had written a letter of introduction and as a result it was arranged that Lawrence should meet Doughty in mid-December.

Lawrence's scheme for setting up a private press was also taking shape. He had passed on his enthusiasm for fine printing to Vyvyan Richards and the two were thinking of forming a partnership. The project clearly owed more to the ideals preached by William Morris than to any first-hand knowledge of the tasks involved. A letter written by Lawrence to his father some months later describes the basis for their plans: 'If we are to preserve the utmost elasticity in our relations, we cannot be bound by a written agreement. We must (if such agreement exists) inevitably go outside and beyond it whenever we feel inclined: so that there will always

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be a contradiction between our theory and our practice . . . There cannot be any fixed hours of work. We both feel (at present) that printing is the best thing we can do, if we do it the best we can. That means, though, (as it is an art), that it will be done only when we feel inclined. Very likely sometimes for long periods I will not touch a press at all. Richards, whose other interests are less militant, will probably do the bulk of the work. The losses (if any) will be borne by us both, according as we are in funds (we will approximate to a common purse): the profits will be seized upon as a glorious opportunity to reduce prices.

'You will see, I think, that printing is not a business but a craft. We cannot sit down to it for so many hours a day, any more than one could paint a picture on that system.'¹³⁴

Lawrence's parents did not approve. Richards was two years older than their son, and they could see no natural basis for this friendship. 'It would be hard to imagine two more diverse minds than his and mine', Richards later wrote. 'I had spent all my boyhood since the age of ten getting classics, with scholarships and distaste, in the orthodox public school way. My father was an inventor and a man absorbed altogether in business; my mother, an American . . . Archaeology, architecture, art – all such matters I scorned. I was one of the leaders in the college games with a proper sense of their importance.'¹³⁵

Towards the end of his life Richards confessed the true basis for his friendship with Lawrence: 'Quite frankly for me it was love at first sight. He had neither flesh nor carnality of any kind; he just did not understand. He received my affection, my sacrifice, in fact, eventually my total subservience, as though it was his due. He never gave the slightest sign that he understood my motives or fathomed my desires.'¹³⁶

Though Lawrence hid the fact from Richards, he can hardly have been unaware of this difficulty in their relationship. He chose to be tolerant; moreover he had a gift for persuading people to do what he wanted, and skilfully diverted Richards' infatuation into an enthusiasm for printing. Although Richards had previously known nothing whatsoever about this craft he soon found himself the instrument of Lawrence's ambition to set up a private press.

The difference in their attitudes towards one another is clear from their own statements. Richards wrote: 'The rest of my life at Oxford was spent in almost daily companionship with my new exciting friend.'¹³⁷ Lawrence, on the other hand, while prepared to defend what he saw as Richards' good points, also had many reservations. Writing to his brother Will about Richards, he said: 'Your character of him seems to me very apt and fairly complete: though I must say I think some of the "snobbery" which gives such an unpleasant conceit to his judgments comes rather from lack of understanding, than intentionally. Richards is exceedingly narrow in his outlook and interests, and is too apt to condemn generally where he does not find the particular colour and cast of thought that appeals to him. He is not at all intellectual, but an artist to the finger-tips . . . As soon as you get him on what he thinks really good he loses entirely his critical sense, and becomes a most fiery prophet. He has said things to me of an intimacy and directness which are beyond anyone else I have met. Altogether though he is a most complex and difficult personality, and I do not think he will get any better on acquaintance. He is quite in earnest about the printing: just as I am. I fancy we each of us trust the other entirely in that, without any

great love, personally. But he will do his best for the press, and I also, so that only a little *savoir vivre* is necessary to make a very satisfactory partnership. I am most fortunate to have found a man of tremendous gifts, to whom craftsmanship is at once a dream and an inspiration . . . I think even Mr. Jane would be satisfied if our association produced the best book of modern times . . . To do the best of anything (or to try to do it) is not waste of opportunity:— and to be keeper of a museum would not be my best, any more than to teach history: I want something in which I can use all these things instead of being used by one of them.¹³⁸

Richards' homosexual feelings had no place in Lawrence's emotional life; while still an undergraduate he had fallen in love with a girl he had known since childhood. His affection for her was noted by close friends such as E. F. Hall, who often saw them together.

Lawrence and Janet Laurie had played together at Langley Lodge when he was six or seven. The two families had become close friends and after 1899, when Janet went to boarding school in Oxford, she had been a regular visitor to the house in Polstead Road. In 1901 her father had died, and she had been obliged to return home, but she was always welcomed by the Lawrences in Oxford and continued to see the boys quite often.

These visits were encouraged; Janet was much the same age as Bob, and Mrs Lawrence hoped that they would marry.³⁹ Janet liked all the boys but had no strong feelings for Bob, who was 'so terribly good'.⁴⁰ However, her company had always been enjoyable and she laughed readily; now she had grown into a good-looking if slightly tomboyish young lady. Both Lawrence and his brother Will found her very attractive. She visited Lawrence at Jesus College, and he often saw her at his home.

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According to her own account, one evening after dinner when the two had remained behind at table, he bolted the dining room door and asked her quite unexpectedly if she would marry him. Like many of his contemporaries he was deeply secretive about his personal feelings and had an extremely inhibited attitude towards courtship. The depth of his affection now came as a complete surprise to her; she had never thought of him as a husband, and moreover was attracted to his tall and handsome brother Will. She realised that Lawrence was perfectly serious, but in her embarrassment laughed off the proposal. Although he often saw her afterwards he never mentioned the incident again. Some years later however he would prove the strength of his loyalty to her by an act of extraordinary generosity.

On 28th July 1910 the results of the Honour School of Modern History were published in Oxford. Lawrence and nine other candidates had been awarded First Class Honours. As his tutors had hoped, the thesis had been a remarkable success. The research in Syria had made an original contribution to knowledge. He later wrote to his brother Will that, in future, 'I fully expect Theses will be frowned upon: partly my fault, in straining the statute far beyond what ever was intended. Simple pieces of secondary work were supposed. Yet there will always be room for a good Thesis: though they will be less essential to a good degree than was prophesied my year.'⁴¹

L. C. Jane later told Robert Graves that Lawrence 'took a most brilliant First Class, so much so that Mr R. L. Poole (his tutor at Jesus) gave a dinner to the examiners to celebrate it.'⁴² C. T. Atkinson, one of the

examiners, was probably more objective than Jane: 'The thesis was an excellent piece of work and just "made" what was otherwise a not very exciting First: "safe but rather slight".'¹⁴³ Another of the examiners, W. H. Hutton, wrote to Robert Graves in 1927: 'I have just looked up his marks. There were ten papers, and a translation paper, and a thesis. His thesis was marked "most excellent", but it was not that which won him his first class, but the other papers which were all good and some very good.'¹⁴⁴ Ernest Barker, a Fellow of St John's who had given Lawrence tutorials on the Crusades, concluded: 'I should doubt if Lawrence ever was, or ever wished to be, an "historical scholar" in the ordinary sense of the word. He was not interested in historic fact just for its own sake. He took the Oxford History School because it came in his way, and because it was a hurdle to be jumped . . . he made it interesting to himself by doing something of his own free choice, and by doing it on the spot: but when the History School was past – well, it was past, and history had served its turn.'¹⁴⁵

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The result was very satisfactory, especially since the thesis had shown that Lawrence had an aptitude for research. Before he could begin post-graduate work, however, he needed finance. This problem would have to be resolved before the next academic year began in October, but first he took a well-earned holiday, cycling for a month in France, accompanied for part of the time by his younger brother Frank.¹⁴⁶

Frank, then seventeen, did not entirely share Lawrence's enthusiasm for castles and literature ('Ned is rejoicing over some books he has discovered at the price of a franc. Each time I have a bath he goes and buys a book instead.'¹⁴⁷) But Frank enjoyed adventurous exploration, for instance at Coucy, where 'Ned and I, evading the *gardien*, went over the rest of the castle by ourselves, and by dint of forcing locks and climbing over doors and up walls succeeded in getting into every part of it. There are some very fine cellars under parts of the castle . . . When we had got to one end Ned felt himself slipping down into a pit, and got rather a shock as we could not see in the least how deep it was. However he saved himself, and, coming back later with a few matches, we found it was only six feet deep. We went quite a long way in the cellars . . . though until you got used to the light (it was almost pitch dark) it was very hard to see where you were going. Several times I walked straight into pillars . . . We went round the bottom of the moat (which is nearly thirty feet deep, now quite dry), wading waist deep through a fertile crop of nettles . . . When we at last came out we had to climb over the entrance gate to get out, as it was locked.'¹⁴⁸

Lawrence's hope of returning to Syria to study Crusader castles was evidently still alive. In late August he told his parents: 'I have met a man who has told me how to get the Syrian camera I may want half price or so, secondhand. Which is useful.'¹⁴⁹ When Frank bought a traditional flint and steel ('not a curiosity, it is meant for work'), Lawrence learned how to use it 'for his next Syrian trip. He lit a person's cigarette with it this evening, but failed to get the candle to light.'¹⁵⁰

During this holiday Lawrence bought *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, a fifteenth-century novel of knightly manners, and other French works including two volumes of Montaigne, de Nerval, a version of *Tristan and Iseult* and a French anthology. But he also wrote asking Vyvyan Richards to find out how much a copy of Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* would cost in London, and if possible to obtain Hogarth's *Wandering*

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Scholar in the Levant, 'one of the best travel books ever written.'⁵¹

Lawrence was back in England by the middle of September and found that Jesus College was willing to give him money for postgraduate work. The College Minute Book records, under an entry dated 15th October: 'Mr Lawrence's exhibition for the current academical year is made into a grant of £50 to help him pursue his studies abroad (if necessary) with a view to the degree of B. Litt.'⁵² On 19th October a further entry records that 'Mr Lawrence who took a first class in the History School last summer is granted the privileges of a Scholar and his exhibition for the present academical year is converted into a grant of £50 with a view to his being free to study his research subject in continental museums.'⁵³ Lawrence also tried for one of the two research fellowships offered by All Souls College to the best candidates in a competitive examination, which took place on October 25th-27th, but he was not successful.

The subject of his B. Litt. research was to be 'Mediaeval Lead-Glazed Pottery from the 11th to the 16th Centuries.'⁵⁴ C. F. Bell of the Ashmolean later wrote: 'I certainly must have had something to do with the choice of this theme, as it had long been one of my favourite problems.'⁵⁵ The project was formally accepted by the University on November 1st. Lawrence travelled that night to Rouen and from there wrote to Leeds: 'I hope . . . that you are aware of your new dignities. You are appointed (with the Regius Professor of Modern History, who was once Mr Oman) to supervise my researches into the origin and intentions of Mediaeval Pottery of the XIth – XVth [*sic*] Cents: (especially grotesque): and if you get back to Oxford by when I return, I must call on you in cap and gown and receive instruction . . . The greatest and purest joy will be if you are set up at a huge table to *viva* me solemnly on what we have discussed and discovered together.

'It should create a good impression on your mind to know that I am in Rouen looking at medieval pots: Mr Bell got me letters from Mr Salomon Reinach [Keeper of National Museums in France] that make me out to be a sort of god: and they all rush about the museum here offering me keys and cupboards and cups of coffee: the last rather a bore.'⁵⁶

Lawrence's letter from Rouen contains the earliest known reference to a dramatic change in his plans (though the news will have come as no surprise to Leeds): 'Mr Hogarth is going digging', Lawrence wrote, 'and I am going out to Syria in a fortnight to make plain the valleys and level the mountains for his feet:– also to learn Arabic. The two occupations fit into one another splendidly.'⁵⁷

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The sudden decision to join Hogarth's excavations at Carchemish in Syria was a turning-point in Lawrence's life.⁵⁸ On October 23rd Hogarth had returned to Oxford from Turkey, where he had finalised official arrangements for the new dig. It is unlikely that Lawrence had known very much about Carchemish before this, although he had passed close to it during his 1909 walking tour. He would now have learned that the significance of the site had long been recognised by archaeologists. As the excavations were to be an important stage in Lawrence's career something must be said about the background to this expedition.

English scholars had known of an ancient site at Jerablus on the Euphrates since the early eighteenth century, when Henry Maundrell, in his book *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*,⁵⁹ described a visit he had made there in April 1699.

By 1872 the ruins at Jerablus had been identified as Carchemish, capital city of the Syrian Hittites. Four years later George Smith, a British Museum Assyriologist, visited the site. He was impressed by what he found and made detailed notes and sketches; but he fell ill and died on the journey back to England. Eventually his papers reached the Museum, which could scarcely ignore his summary of Jerablus: 'Grand site: vast walls and palace mounds: 8,000 feet round: many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions: site of Karchemish.'⁶⁰

The following year the archaeologist Sir Henry Layard became British Minister at Constantinople, and he applied for a *firman* [permit] to excavate at the site. In December 1878, therefore, the British Consul at Aleppo, Patrick Henderson, began the first investigation of Carchemish on the British Museum's behalf. In the spring of 1879 the ruins were visited and surveyed by Lieutenant Herbert Chermiside, who was instructed to estimate the cost of thorough excavations. Meanwhile Henderson started negotiations to buy an interest in the site.

In the first year Henderson's work showed great promise. Part of a great stairway bordered with carved reliefs was uncovered, and investigation confirmed that the mound was not a natural feature. Despite great difficulties, seven large stones and some smaller fragments were shipped back to London. There, the carvings and hieroglyphics were conclusively identified as Hittite.

This early fieldwork was not properly supervised, and the excavations were carried out unscientifically without adequate records. Henderson himself was not free to spend much time at the dig, where work was directed by one of his employees. Thus in September 1880 he wrote to the Museum: 'I regret exceedingly that the great pressure of my other duties at present is such as to preclude my giving the time and attention to the excavation I would wish. I am obliged to trust a great deal to a native overseer as I can only spare a few days now and then to ride out to the excavations, which are at a distance of about ninety miles from Aleppo, over a dreary and desolate waste.'⁶¹ This arrangement was so unsatisfactory that in 1881 the work was abandoned.

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Twenty-six years elapsed before the British Museum found itself in a position to undertake proper excavations at Carchemish; but it did not lose interest in the site, of which it remained part-owner. In the autumn of 1907 Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, then Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, invited Dr E. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Department of Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, to put forward proposals for some Hittite excavations. It was felt that the Museum should 'contribute to the solution of the Hittite problem, which had recently been illuminated by Dr Hugo Winckler's discoveries at Boghaz Keui.'⁶²

D. G. Hogarth was asked to visit northern Syria in 1908 and inspect alternative sites. Even before he left, Budge thought that Carchemish would be the best choice. An internal memorandum dated 1st February 1908 states: 'There are certainly antiquities to be found at Jerablus, for Dr Budge himself saw several reliefs projecting from the smaller mound in 1888, and Henderson, Smith, Hanbury, Wright and others have obtained antiquities – both Hittite and Assyrian – from that site. The larger mound Dr Budge believes to have remained untouched, and he thinks it most important that Mr Hogarth should make maps and plans of it, and of all the portions of the smaller mound which await excavation . . . It is of

importance to obtain permission to excavate at Jerablus, for whether it be the site of the ancient city of Carkemish or not, the small mound has yielded many monuments. Moreover the Americans are anxious for a *firman* to excavate it'.⁶³ Chap. 3

Hogarth had travelled for more than two months in Syria in the spring of 1908 making a long circuit during which he visited alternative Hittite sites such as Tell Basher and Tell Ahmar. He concluded that Carchemish, despite the earlier excavations and some damage done at various times to its visible monuments, still probably 'contained more than the other sites and represented a more important Hittite centre'.⁶⁴ One of the chief inducements to dig there was the hope of finding a bilingual text, equivalent to the Rosetta Stone, which would enable scholars to decipher Hittite script and understand the Hittite language. The Euphrates at Carchemish had been the boundary between the Hittite and Assyrian empires, and therefore between the unknown Hittite language and Assyrian (written in cuneiform) which archaeologists could understand. 'Where more likely', Hogarth asked, 'to find monuments set up in two systems of writing for the edification of two neighbouring races?'⁶⁵ p. 72

Accordingly, on 18th June 1908 the British Museum had applied for permission to dig at Jerablus. The Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, which controlled such permissions, had acknowledged the request; but that month had seen the first of a series of rebellions in the Turkish empire which culminated in the overthrow of Sultan Abdul-Hamid in 1909. The British Museum had heard nothing more of its request for two years, but it had not pressed the matter. At the best of times anti-Christian sentiment could lead to violence in the Syrian provinces, and it would have been foolish to risk excavations there during such a period of unrest.

By the spring of 1910 the situation was much calmer and the Museum had decided that it would probably be safe to begin work at Carchemish in January or February 1911. There was no commitment at this stage to a long-term excavation. The Museum was planning a single trial season, in the hope that this would establish whether the site was worthy of more extensive works. In March 1910, therefore, Frederic Kenyon, who had taken over as the Museum's Director and Principal Librarian, had written to the British Ambassador in Constantinople asking him to raise the matter of the permit. This move had produced the desired result and in May the Museum had learned that permission for a two-year excavation would be given to Hogarth, who had been nominated by the Museum to direct the work.

There were several conditions attached to this permit, which had finally been issued on 13th September 1910. All antiquities discovered were to be the property of the Imperial Ottoman Museum (although these objects could be photographed and casts taken). All objects found had to be deposited in a store controlled by the Turkish authorities, and the expedition had to pay the salary of a Turkish Commissaire who would oversee the dig on behalf of the Imperial Ottoman Museum. The administrative clauses stated that the permit was valid for two years, that it was not transferable, and that it would be void unless excavations began within three months of the date of issue.

Since Hogarth was not planning to begin work until February 1911 he could not comply with the last of these requirements. To avoid dif- p. 73

facilities, therefore, he had gone to Constantinople in October 1910 and arranged for the starting date to be deferred until February. While there he had raised the problem of safety at Jerablus with the Embassy staff. They were rather pessimistic about the region and had recommended applying for a temporary police post at the site.

Lawrence seems to have heard about the purpose of this visit to Constantinople while Hogarth was still away. Seeing an enviable opportunity to return to Syria, Lawrence went to see E. T. Leeds at the Ashmolean, who later recalled that Lawrence had unexpectedly asked him whether there were any digs in prospect 'in the Near East or elsewhere' which he might join. Leeds knew a good deal about Hogarth's Carchemish plans and had replied, 'Why on earth didn't you speak sooner?'⁶⁶ He thought the arrangements were probably too far advanced, as R. Campbell Thompson had already been nominated as Hogarth's assistant. It also seemed unlikely that the British Museum would pay the cost of sending an inexperienced archaeologist to the site. When Hogarth returned to England, however, he was asked whether Lawrence could join the dig. Hogarth did not know Lawrence well at this time, but he had been impressed a year earlier by the Syrian walking tour. Bell and Leeds were confident that Lawrence would make a good archaeologist, and his personality must have seemed to Hogarth well fitted for this career. 'Your true antiquary', Hogarth had written not long before, 'is born, not made. Sometimes an infirmity or awkwardness of body, which has disposed a boy to shun the pursuits of his fellows, may help to detach the man for the study of forgotten far off things; but it is essential that there be inborn in him the type of mind which is more curious of the past than the present, loves detail for its own sake, and cares less for ends than means.'⁶⁷

Hogarth agreed to take Lawrence, but the British Museum could hardly be asked to finance this addition to the party, and absence abroad on work which had nothing to do with the proposed B.Litt. would disqualify Lawrence from the Jesus College scholarship. So Lawrence was now awarded, 'entirely through Hogarth's initiative and whole-hearted advocacy,'⁶⁸ a Senior Demyship at Magdalen College, Oxford. The award, in effect a junior research fellowship, was announced on 14th December 1910. It could run until the summer of 1914 and was worth £100 a year. This meant that if Lawrence went to Carchemish the Museum would not need to pay more than his on-site living expenses.

The dig, however, might not last more than four months, while the award was for four years. To qualify for it Lawrence gave as a research subject 'Norman Castles in the Levant'; additional fieldwork in Syria and Palestine would enable him to expand his B.A. thesis into a book. Most of his time would nevertheless be spent in Oxford, and the project could run in parallel with his B.Litt. research on medieval pottery.

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Lawrence now had two reasons for returning to Syria and for both of them he would need to improve his Arabic. He therefore arranged to spend the first two months of 1911 at the American Mission School in Jebail which he had visited during his 1909 walking tour. He also began to study Assyrian grammar and cuneiform, which would prove useful if Assyrian inscriptions were found at Carchemish.

He had more distant projects as well. One was for an academic book (or possibly two) which he sometimes referred to as 'my monumental work on the Crusades',⁶⁹ and elsewhere as *Richard*.⁷⁰ There are also

references (in letters written many years later) to his having considered writing an account of the background of Christ: 'Galilee and Syria, social, intellectual and artistic, of 40 B.C. It would make an interesting book.'⁷¹ Chap. 3
As a diversion from these serious plans he thought of writing a travel book which would recount 'adventures in seven type-cities of the East (Cairo, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Damascus etc.)' and arrange 'their characters into a descending cadence: a moral symphony.'⁷² Even before starting to write the book he had decided on a title. It was derived from *Proverbs* (ix.1): 'Wisdom hath builded a house: she hath hewn out her seven pillars'.⁷³ But 'Seven Pillars of Wisdom' was also a deliberate echo of Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and there was a clear analogy between the structure of Ruskin's book and the idea behind Lawrence's project. This analogy was of course lost when he later used the title for his book about the Arab Revolt.

The money from Magdalen would allow Lawrence to advance another of his plans. Before leaving England he talked to Vyvyan Richards, who had now taken a teaching post at Chingford on the border of Epping Forest. They agreed to form a loose business partnership and began to make plans for setting up the press. Before anything could be printed, Richards was to design a new typeface based on the rounded script of the *Book of Kells*, and also to build a neo-medieval hall to house the press machinery. This hall would incorporate roof-beams from an old building in Oxford to be demolished by Jesus College. Lawrence's contribution would be to finance the scheme, but he had no means to do this without help. He hoped that his father would buy a site for the press and lease it to Richards, and would also provide a loan to pay for the building. In the early stages at least, both the partners would earn their livings in other ways: 'Richards and I decided . . . that he would continue teaching for the present . . . we thought it would be wiser, since my power of earning the demyship depends on my health, and my ability to spend it on the press depends on my getting a salary, digging, next year and the year after . . . It is a great battle of the wits, creative, on his side, for he is doing the work, and utilitarian on mine, for I am to provide the materials beyond his keep. It will be a comfort when we get through into smoother water with the whole thing.'⁷⁴ p. 75

Lawrence left for Syria expecting his father to settle the financial arrangements with Richards, who could then put the building work in hand. He seems not to have foreseen his father's lack of enthusiasm for helping Vyvyan Richards, especially in a scheme which owed so much to romantic idealism and so little to commercial sense.

Notes for Chapter 3. First Steps in the East

June 1909 – December 1910

1. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 'about' 6.7.1909 *HL* p. 86. Bodleian MS Res C13.
2. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 2.8.1909 *HL* p. 94. Bodleian MS Res C13.
3. *Ibid.* *HL* p. 97.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.* *HL* pp. 98-9.

6. *Ibid.* *HL* p. 89.
7. *Ibid.* *HL* pp. 91-2.
8. T. E. Lawrence to his family 13.8.1909 *HL* p. 102; *MB* p. 18. Bodleian MS Res C13.
9. *Ibid.* omitted from *MB* p. 18.
10. T. E. Lawrence to his father 15.8.1909 *HL* p. 103. Bodleian MS Res C13.
11. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 29.8.1909 *HL* p. 105; *MB* p. 19. Bodleian MS Res C13.
12. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 7.9.1909 *HL* p. 107. Bodleian MS Res C13.
13. *Ibid.*
14. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 29.8.1909 *HL* p. 105; *MB* p. 20. Bodleian MS Res C13.
15. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 7.9.1909 *HL* p. 106. Bodleian MS Res C13.
16. *Ibid.*
17. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 19.9.1909 *L-L* pp. 5-7. In ignorance of this letter, first published in 1988, some of Lawrence's biographers have suggested that during the final stage of his Syrian tour he was carrying out secret Intelligence work. See, for example, D. Stewart, *T. E. Lawrence* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1977) p. 46: 'This third phase was fogged from beginning to end with the mystery that still hangs around the clandestine activities controlled by Hogarth.'
For a note on Hogarth's alleged 'clandestine activities', see chapter 5 note 30 and chapter 10 note 96.
18. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.9.1909 *HL* pp. 107-8; *MB* p. 20. Bodleian MS Res C13.
19. T. E. Lawrence to Sir John Rhys 24.9.1909 *DG* p. 81.
20. T. E. Lawrence to his father 15.8.1909 *HL* p. 103. Bodleian MS Res C13.
21. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.9.1909 *HL* p. 108. Bodleian MS Res C13.
22. This account of Lawrence's expenses is included in a letter to his mother of 9.10.1909 omitted from *HL* p. 109 but published in *MB* pp. 21-2. It does not refer to any *baksheesh* paid out after he was attacked and robbed while collecting Hittite seal stones (see p. 61). It seems likely that he replaced this money by working for a few days in Port Said on the return journey. Many years later Lawrence told Liddell Hart that he had worked there briefly as a coal checker in about 1909 (see *B:LH* pp. 84, 166). Lawrence also sold his Mauser for £5 in Beirut when leaving Syria, making a small profit. The account gives additional information about the third stage in his Syrian journey and further refutes the suggestions made by biographers such as Desmond Stewart (see note 17 above).
23. T. E. Lawrence to his mother 9.10.1909 omitted from *HL* p. 109; *MB* p. 22. Bodleian MS Res C13.
24. *Ibid.*
25. After Lawrence's death his college friend Vyvyan Richards wrote that the head had been found 'in a rubbish heap in Italy', and that Lawrence thought it 'so precious that it travelled in his bunk while he himself slept on deck. It was . . . twin almost to that in the British

Museum; indeed he was asked to exchange them as his seemed the more perfect. But it was found after to be a reproduction'. (*Portrait of T. E. Lawrence*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1936, pp. 23-4). This kind of yarn casts doubt on much that Richards wrote about Lawrence. I have been told by A. W. Lawrence that his brother's Hypnos appeared to have been cast from a free-hand copy of the British Museum example, and was not identical. Its present location is not recorded.

26. T. E. Lawrence to C. F. Shaw 12.5.1927. BL Add. MS 45903.
27. T. E. Lawrence to his family 16.3.1916 *HL* p. 315.
28. L. C. Jane to R. R. Graves 26.7.1927. Lawrence papers, Bodleian R.
29. T. E. Lawrence to his mother late August 1910 *HL* pp. 110-11. Bodleian MS Res C13.
30. Relatively few of the drawings that illustrate Lawrence's BA thesis were his own work. He was very short of time when preparing the final draft of the thesis and Beeson helped with the illustrations. Beeson and Lawrence searched through a number of sources for drawings to copy. The majority came from M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française du XIe au XVIe Siècle* (10 vols, Paris, B. Bance, 1858-68). Others, however, came from sources such as *A Little Tour in France* by Henry James (London, Heinemann, 1900, illus. by Joseph Pennell). Beeson pointed out to me that his version of the illustration on p.183 of this latter work is reproduced as Lawrence's sketch in *HL* p. 65. The two drawings reproduced in *A Touch of Genius, the Life of T. E. Lawrence* by M. Brown and J. Cave (London, Dent, 1988, pp. 24-5) as examples of Lawrence's work were copied by Beeson from Viollet-le-Duc.
31. There was no undergraduate course in archaeology at Oxford. Many students undertaking postgraduate archaeological studies at the university had graduated in history or classics.
32. T. E. Lawrence to V. W. Richards 10.12.1913 *DG* pp. 160-1.
33. T. E. Lawrence to C. M. Doughty 30.11.1909 *DG* p. 82. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
34. T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.1.1911 *HL* pp. 129-30; partly quoted in *MB* pp. 28-9. Bodleian MS Res C13.
35. V. W. Richards, *Portrait of T. E. Lawrence* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1936) p. 20.
36. Quoted in P. G. Knightley and C. Simpson, *The Secret Lives of Lawrence of Arabia* (London, Nelson, 1969) p. 29.
37. V. W. Richards in *Friends* p. 383.
38. T. E. Lawrence to his family 31.1.1911 *HL* pp. 131-2. Bodleian MS Res C13.
39. Cf. R. R. Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1927) p. 13: '[Mrs Lawrence] told me once: "We could never be bothered with girls in our house".' This statement should be regarded with some caution: Graves had been irritated by Mrs Lawrence, who had not co-operated with his research for a popular biography of her son.
40. Quoted in J. E. Mack, *A Prince of our Disorder* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1976) p. 65. The information given here about Lawrence's friendship with Janet Laurie is based on Mack's interview with her

on 25.3.1965. I did not myself meet her, but a number of people who knew her well have suggested to me that her story of a proposal may be exaggerated. There is, however, no doubt that Lawrence was strongly attracted to her and spent time in her company while at Oxford, since this was observed independently by his friend E. F. Hall.

41. T. E. Lawrence to W. G. Lawrence 11.5.1911 *HL* p. 207 (printed out of sequence with a wrongly inferred date of 11.5.1912). Bodleian MS Res C13.
42. L. C. Jane to R. R. Graves 26.7.1927. Bodleian R.
43. C. T. Atkinson to the President of Magdalen College, Oxford 18.6.1935. Liddell Hart papers 9/13/33, KCL.
44. W. H. Hutton to R. R. Graves 21.11.1927. Bodleian R.
45. E. Barker in *Friends* p. 62.
46. Lawrence attended the Oxford University OTC summer camp (23 officers and 441 men) which was held on Farnborough Common, June 20th-July 2nd 1910. Regular reports of its activities (which included a mock battle against Cambridge University OTC) were published in *The Times*.

In *DG* p. 84, David Garnett states that Lawrence paid *three* visits to France during the summer of 1910. However, his only evidence for the first of these is an undated postcard of Beauvais Cathedral. According to Garnett, the postmark on this reads 19.6.1910. There is no other evidence whatsoever for a visit to France at this time, and I believe that the postmark date must in reality be 19.8.1910, when Lawrence was certainly at Beauvais (see F. H. Lawrence to M. R. Lawrence 19.8.1910 *HL* p. 598).
47. F. H. Lawrence to M. R. Lawrence 19.8.1910 *HL* p. 601.
48. F. H. Lawrence to F. Messham 25.8.1910 *HL* pp. 604-5.
49. T. E. Lawrence to his mother, late August 1910 omitted from *HL* p. 109. Bodleian MS Res C13.
50. F. H. Lawrence to F. Messham 25.8.1910 *HL* p. 606.
51. T. E. Lawrence to V. W. Richards 29.8.1911 *DG* p. 87.
52. Jesus College, Oxford, Minute Book, 15.10.1910.
53. Jesus College, Oxford, Minute Book, 19.10.1910.
54. A meeting of the Modern History Faculty on 28.10.1910 received a report from the sub-committee on B. Litt. approvals in which Lawrence's thesis title was accepted as a subject for a B. Litt. thesis. Oxford University Archives.
55. C. F. Bell, notes on LH:TEL. BL Add. MS 63549.
56. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 2.11.1910 *L-L* p. 12. Leeds papers. The scope of the thesis is misstated in this letter, presumably due to a slip of the pen. The thesis title he had registered included pottery of the 16th century.
57. *Ibid.*
58. J. E. Mack (*op. cit.* note 40 above) p. 67, suggests that Janet Laurie's rejection of Lawrence's proposal of marriage had something to do with his change of plans in the autumn of 1910: 'I am of the impression that this disappointment played a significant part in Lawrence's turning to Syria and to Carchemish, where a congenial life among men, the archaeologist's world of the dig, the camp and the campfire, without the need to relate seriously to women, provided

what Lawrence claims were the pleasantest years of his life.’ However, Lawrence had expressed his hope of returning to Syria ever since first going there in 1909. Also, the two events linked by Mack were separated by some months: her rejection (if it occurred: see note 40 above) seems to have taken place between October 1909 and June 1910, whereas Lawrence’s request to go to Carchemish dates from late October 1910. At that point Lawrence could not, of course, have known that the excavations at Carchemish would last for a long time, since only a single season was planned.

59. H. Maundrell: *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, supplement to the third edition titled: ‘An Account of the Author’s Journey to the River Euphrates, the City Beer, and to Mesopotamia’, p. 3 (Oxford, printed at the Theater, 1699).
60. Quoted in D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish* Vol. I (London, The British Museum, 1914) p. 6.
61. P. Henderson to E. A. Bond 4.9.1880. BM/A.
62. D. G. Hogarth, ‘The Excavations at Carchemish: First Report’ in *The Times* (London) 1.7.1911, p. 5.
63. E. Wallis Budge, British Museum internal memorandum 1.2.1908. BM/A.
64. D. G. Hogarth, *op. cit.* note 60 above, p. 12.
65. D. G. Hogarth: ‘The Excavations at Carchemish: First Report’ in *The Times* (London) 1.7.1911, p. 5.
66. E. T. Leeds, ‘Recollections of T. E. Lawrence’ (p. 82 of manuscript), see *L-L* p. 11. Leeds papers.
67. D. G. Hogarth, *Accidents of an Antiquary’s Life* (London, Macmillan, 1910) p. 1.
68. C. F. Bell, notes on LH:TEL. BL Add. MS 63549. Both Bell and Hogarth were Fellows of Magdalen College at the time.
69. T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.1.1911 *HL* p. 130; *MB* p. 29. Bodleian MS Res C13.
70. T. E. Lawrence to his family 14.1.1911 *HL* p. 126. Bodleian MS Res C13.
71. T. E. Lawrence to Herbert Baker 20.1.1928 *DG* p. 568.
72. See T. E. Lawrence to R. V. Buxton 22.9.1923 *DG* p. 431; *MB* p. 245. Jesus College, Oxford.
73. The first reference to this title is in a letter from T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.1.1911 *HL* p. 130; *MB* p. 29. Bodleian MS Res C13.
74. T. E. Lawrence to his family 14.1.1911 *HL* p. 126. Bodleian MS Res C13.