

CHAPTER 5

An Undecided Future

June 1911 – June 1912

IN London, Kenyon reported to the Standing Committee of the British Museum Trustees that 'after consultation with Mr. Hogarth, he had come to the conclusion that enough had been done to show the general character of the Jerablus site, and that a discussion of the results was necessary before carrying the work further. He had accordingly instructed Mr. Thompson to wind up operations'.¹ In reality, Hogarth had not agreed to this, and he was very disappointed when Thompson closed down the dig so quickly. Later, he criticised Thompson for the decision, not least because the recent finds had been so interesting. They included 'limestone lined graves with bronze axeheads and scores of "champagne" cups'.²

On July 8th Thompson and Lawrence left Jerablus to spend a few days, on Hogarth's suggestion, at Tell Ahmar, a few hours' journey from Carchemish. Thompson later explained the purpose of this visit: 'Here, abutting on the river, was a mound a hundred yards long, running steeply down to the water, where an ancient ramp, cut into the conglomerate, marked the old Hittite staithe. Round this citadel, on the landward side, was an earth wall enclosing an area half a mile long by a quarter wide, and close outside this lay the pieces of the great basalt obelisk, inscribed in Hittite pictographs . . . This had been first noted by Hogarth . . . Miss Gertrude Bell later took a squeeze of it, from which a great cast was made for the Ashmolean Museum. In the north-east Gate lie the broken pieces of two Assyrian lions; Hogarth and Norton had taken squeezes of the cuneiform inscriptions on these, but the characters were so worn by the weather that Mr. L. W. King of the British Museum . . . could only make out the opening invocation to the gods. As everyone knows, it is far easier to read cuneiform from the original stone than from a squeeze; and as the two lions were inscribed in duplicate, I was able to make out most of the text'.³

Lawrence parted company with Thompson on July 12th, and was free to go looking for Crusader castles. He began a fortnight's tramp during which he examined the fortifications at Urfa, Harran, Birdjik, and Rum Kalaat. During the journey he kept a diary in which he wrote technical notes on their architecture.⁴ In the notebook which contains this diary there is the draft of a letter which he now sent anonymously to *The Times*. He had realised how successfully Hogarth was using that paper to promote interest in Carchemish,⁵ but it is hard to believe that Hogarth would have approved of this undiplomatic outburst:

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Sir, Everyone who has watched the wonderful strides that civilisation is making in the hands of the Young Turks will know of their continued efforts to clear from the country all signs of the evil of the past. They may not know, however, that this spirit is gaining ground in the provinces. All visitors to Aleppo will have seen the great castle that rules it from every part, with its ring of battlements and its

memories of prehistoric, Hittite, Assyrian, and Roman dominion. This great mass is now to be cleared away and levelled, and one of the prominent Levantine financiers of the town has the project of constructing there a new quarter for the poorest of the inhabitants on the lines of the London East End. The property will soon be put up to auction, and there are strong hopes that the end will be achieved.

The sister town of Urfa (Edessa) is not lagging behind. It also intends to sell its castle; but, as owing to its inaccessibility the site is useless, the stones will have to be sold for building material. A beginning has been made by the clearance of the old Greek town walls: as these were one of the largest as well as one of the most complete circuits in the Turkish Empire, there can be no two opinions as to the improvement effected.

The little town of Biredjik in the same province is faced with a difficulty. Its own great castle it is clearing away, and building a gaol with the proceeds, but there is a second of these monuments of oppression, Rum Kaleh, a day's journey up the river, with which it is beyond the present strength of the town to grapple. It is hoped that the coming of the Baghdad Railway may mean its final conversion to modern uses. If so, this will be the second benefit of the sort conferred by the railway, since the ruins of Carchemish are to provide materials for the approaches to the new iron girder bridge over the Euphrates.

Everybody will sympathise with these latest and most worthy efforts of the Constitutional Government to let a little light into its darker provinces. Yours, &c., Traveller'.⁶

The Times published the letter on August 9th, under the headline 'Vandalism in Upper Syria and Mesopotamia'. One reaction was a strong protest by the German Consul in Aleppo to his British counterpart about the reference to the Baghdad Railway Company. p. 93

This was the first time anything written by Lawrence had been published, apart from the contributions to his school magazine; but he had ambitions to write, and an essay from this period surviving in manuscript may also have been drafted with the idea of publication. Titled 'Mores Romanorum', it describes an event which had occurred at Jerablus in the middle of May. It is the earliest example of a 'literary' essay by Lawrence that has survived:

“Hoja [overseer], that man there with the shovel does no work.”

“No Sir.”

“We will send him off tonight.”

The Hoja's hand doubtfully touched his lips and forehead, “Yes sir, but... he is a son of Ibrahim Mul'Ali... the Moghreby (magician)...?”

“No matter, Hoja.”

Late in the afternoon we lay limply on our beds, listening gratefully for the dying away of the two-hour tumult always born of pay day, when on a sudden a new voice, surcharged with anger, took shrill mastery of the babble. It rose till it compelled all to a hush that stayed unbroken after itself had ceased. A minute later the Hoja intruded, white and trembling, crying out, “The Moghreby has

cursed the digging: we must not go on till you have taken back his son or death will come of it. O Sir what are we to do?"

"No matter, Hoja: do you not know we are greater magicians than he?"

The Hoja went out half-comforted, but we turned to one another and consulted what we might do. The crisis was grave, for if unallayed, fear of the magician would rob us of half our men next week. At last, "Haj Wahid", called my friend to our servant, a Kurd, proud of his fighting ancestry, "go out and bring us a hair of this fellow." "From his clothes, sir?" "No, from his head." In a few minutes a cry and a burst of excited query proclaimed the insult achieved. Haj Wahid returned in triumph with a short grey hair.

"From his beard, Khawaja", said he, expectantly. "Good: Haj Wahid, tell the people we are making a wax image, and in it we are putting this hair. Then when we drive a pin into the heart, the Moghreby will straightway drop dead. But if we melt it before your fire, his life will run away from him to Gehanum, even as the drops of hot wax fall into the fire and are consumed." Haj Wahid's eyes sparkled, and in a few minutes his kitchen was busy with the hum of voices, and loud expressive "*wallahs*" of amazement and delightful expectation.

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To watch the triumphal dying of the sun – radiating surges of unimaginable rose, blush-like, to the heart of the dust-clouds which ever in the evening whirl over those desolate plains of the upper Euphrates – I stood that evening in the door of the house, when a figure in dusky white rushed from behind a wall, and almost threw itself at my feet.

"Effendi, Effendi," gasped Mul'Ali, "they lied to you, indeed they did lie: I am a poor man, I said no harm of you: Effendi, dismiss all my sons if you will, only in the Name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate, give me back that hair!"

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On July 28th Lawrence returned to Jerablus, meaning to finish off one or two small jobs on the site. The next day however he became very ill with dysentery and noted in his diary: 'Cannot possibly continue tramp in this condition.'⁸ He was unable to look after himself and was taken in by Sheikh Hamoudi. Weakened by the privations of his walking tour, Lawrence remained in a serious condition for several days. He cannot have been comforted to know that Hamoudi was advised not to help such a sick man, for fear of blame if things turned out for the worst. Lawrence had to give Hamoudi a note absolving him from any responsibility.

Lawrence continued his diary throughout this illness, noting, for instance, on July 31st: 'The Hoja awfully good all these days, with me making quite unprecedented demands on his time and patience. But poor man, a most dreadful bore as well, does his best by five or six repeats to get every idea of his into my thick head, which usually understands before he speaks. In the evening tried a little *burghul* well-boiled in milk. Dahoum came to see me'.⁹

Dahoum had worked during the digging season as one of the expedition's donkey boys. He carried water and ran general errands for Thompson and Lawrence. In late June, Lawrence had described him in a

letter home as 'an interesting character: he can read a few words (the only man in the district except the liquorice-king) of Arabic, and altogether has more intelligence than the rank and file. He talks of going into Aleppo to school with the money he has made out of us. I will try and keep an eye on him, to see what happens. He would be better in the country, only for the hideous grind of the continual forced labour, and the low level of the village minds.

'Fortunately there is no foreign influence as yet in the district: if only you had seen the ruination caused by the French influence, and to a lesser degree by the American, you would never wish it extended. The perfectly hopeless vulgarity of the half-Europeanised Arab is appalling. Better a thousand times the Arab untouched. The foreigners come out here always to teach, whereas they had much better learn, for in everything but wits and knowledge the Arab is generally the better man of the two.'¹⁰

Lawrence's views were changing radically: just two years earlier he had sung the praises of the work being done by the American Mission Schools. It seems that Dahoum, a young Arab of fourteen or fifteen, personified all that Lawrence now admired in the native population. The romanticism in his outlook was common enough among Englishmen of that generation. Critics of Victorian achievement pointed out that the Industrial Revolution had been accompanied by a decline in social morality. It is clear from Lawrence's letters that he shared this view; for example he found Blackwood's *Centaur* 'very good, though not "all the way" enough for me: but at the same time more reasoned and definite as an attack on the modern world than anything I've read – bar Morris.'¹¹ Such attitudes had breathed new life into the philosophical concept of the 'noble savage', and it is clear that Lawrence thought the simple agricultural peasantry in Syria in some way untainted by the vices that had debased the poor in Britain.

Lawrence nonetheless encouraged Dahoum's efforts to educate himself, and wrote to the American Mission School at Jebail for help: 'He is beginning to use his reason as well as his instinct. He taught himself to read a little, so I had very exceptional material to work on but I made him read and write more than he ever did before. You know you cannot do much with a piece of stick and a scrap of dusty ground as materials. I am going to ask Miss Fareedeh for a few simple books, amusing, for him to begin on. Remember he is to be left a Moslem.'¹² A month later he amplified this request: 'What I wanted for the donkey boy was a history book or a geography which should be readable and yet Arab . . . nothing with a taste of "Frangi" shall enter Jerablus by my means. I have no wish to do more for the boy than give him a chance to help himself: "education" I have had so much of, and it is such rot: saving your presence! The only stuff worth having is what you work out yourself.'¹³ While helping Dahoum, Lawrence was able to improve his own knowledge of Arabic, and he was now planning to return to Jerablus in the winter, with the idea that while travelling 'the strongly-dialectical Arabic of the villages would be good as a disguise'.¹⁴

It is most unlikely that Dahoum shared Lawrence's romanticism. He saw education as a means to escape from the miserable poverty of the village peasantry, and Lawrence's interest in him must have seemed a miraculous opportunity. He would not have understood his benefactor's strange Victorian ideals. During the days Lawrence spent at Hamoudi's

house, when it was feared that he would die, Dahoum came to see him every evening. The care Lawrence received from these two villagers probably saved his life and he did not forget it. Two years later he would take them both to England as a reward and, from this time on, the references to Dahoum in Lawrence's letters show an almost fatherly concern.

On August 3rd, still very weak, Lawrence abandoned any plans for further tramping that summer and decided to return to England. He had found at Jerablus a letter from Hogarth sent on by Thompson which raised strong hopes of a second season. On the way home, therefore, Lawrence was already planning his return: 'I am coming out I hope again for the winter in Jerablus: not for the joy of fragments of antiquity (mostly reburied by us) but for the buying of the stolen ones, and the controlling the stone-loving instincts of the railway builders. If I can manage it not a cut stone of Carchemish shall decorate their embankments.'¹⁵

He also wrote enthusiastically from Aleppo to Hogarth: 'You emphasise the importance of the palace:— most certainly that is the place . . . we have there a great palace, most likely of Sangara [a king of Carchemish in the ninth century BC] for it is the last Hittite building in Carchemish (cp. pottery) not extending over much ground . . . not at all deep (about a 3m. max.) fairly well preserved, for there is a good height of wall . . . and with very interesting pottery. Try and get a look at the rough notes I made on the "Palace" pottery, the two or three photographs of it, and the coloured drawings Thompson made of some pieces . . . A second season would clear all the palace, and be a fairly satisfactory wind up to the digs. If they are left as at present it will only mean someone going on in a few years' time: and now I know three fifths of the pottery, and the men know their job and the railway has not come. Surely the ground plan of the palace of Sangara would be a tolerable result?'¹⁶

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When Lawrence reached Beirut in early August he was delighted to find that the poet James Elroy Flecker had been appointed to the British consulate. Flecker and his wife Hellé had just arrived, and on August 8th Lawrence wrote: 'I have been doing little but talk to them. I had to wait an extra day here because of things for me in the P.O. which was shut when I got there.'¹⁷ After a brief visit to Damascus, Lawrence sailed from Beirut on August 12th, travelling by sea to Marseilles and thence overland to England.

He spent the summer recuperating; it was to be several months before his strength fully returned. However, he had plenty to do. On the journey home he had told a friend: 'I have to write a specimen chapter of a book at Oxford if the publishers will accept my terms: so that I will be held there till mid-October.'¹⁸ This project was almost certainly *Crusader Castles*, the book he planned to make from an enlarged revision of the successful thesis. He now worked critically through its text. The special terms referred to, which seem to have prevented the scheme getting any further, related to the inclusion of a great many plans and photographs.¹⁹

Since the finds during the final month at Carchemish had been so encouraging, Hogarth wanted to resume the work for a short season. In terms of scholarship the excavations were clearly incomplete, and due to Thompson's hurried departure, a third of the £2,000 allocated remained unspent. The most compelling argument, however, was that Turkish law would allow the British Museum to excavate only one site at a time. The

Imperial Ottoman Museum, represented at the site by its Commissaire, Chap. 5
wrote to Kenyon on August 2nd expressing its hope that there would be
a second season. Clearly Hogarth would not be given permission to work
at Tell Ahmar or anywhere else in the Turkish Empire without a more
satisfactory ending at Carchemish. It was therefore decided to reopen the
excavations for two months in the spring of 1912.²⁰

Lawrence's letters suggest that he was told little of these deliberations,
though he knew that Hogarth felt that more work should be done. In late
August he told Vyvyan Richards with a certain pride that 'Hogarth is
pressing the British Museum for a second season at Carchemish as a result
of the wonderful pottery discoveries of the last two months . . . my star is
in the ascendant you may imagine. If he can overcome the reluctance of
the officials it will mean four months more joy next spring. We will see:
he vows to raise Hell if his wishes are not conceded: a very good man,
Hogarth.'²¹ At the end of September, when the decision had been made, p. 98
Lawrence wrote to a friend: 'Doctors dispute over my carcass: they seem
to agree that I mustn't go to [the] east again for three months: as a matter
of fact I am very busy, for it is the *pottery* (O the despised pottery!) which
is the reason of our second year's dig. I am in the seventh heaven or
thereabouts as a result.'²²

At this stage the British Museum's plans suffered a setback. Campbell
Thompson, now married, did not wish to return to Carchemish unless he
could be accompanied by his wife, and Kenyon refused to allow this. On
October 4th, however, Hogarth reported that Leonard Woolley had
agreed to take over. Woolley, then aged thirty-one, had worked as an
Assistant Keeper at the Ashmolean. He was about to take part in the
University's excavations in Nubia, but he would be free to go to
Carchemish at the end of February 1912. Hogarth had not been very
impressed with Thompson and felt that the change was no loss: 'we have
Lawrence, who knows place and people as well as Thompson.'²³ In the
meantime Petrie had agreed to take Lawrence at one of his Egyptian sites
during January.

In the autumn of 1911, though he was still unfit, Lawrence decided
that he should return to Jerablus and work on his Arabic. Also, Hogarth
had recommended building a house for the archaeologists near the site
and Lawrence was to supervise its construction before Woolley arrived.
His journey took on an additional urgency when Sir Louis Mallet at the
Foreign Office warned Kenyon that the Baghdad Railway, according to
rumours in Aleppo, 'was likely to traverse the precise spot at Jerablus
(Carchemish) where Dr Hogarth had lately been excavating, and . . . the
site itself was threatened with destruction.' Mallet recommended that
Hogarth should send someone out 'to protect any property from injury by
natives or other untoward incident.'²⁴

Lawrence left England at the end of November (he had chosen to
attend the Oxford degree-giving ceremony held on 11.11.'11, a unique
date which no doubt appealed to him). On his way to the coast he called
on Doughty to discuss the idea of travelling with the Soleyb. Doughty,
however, was critical of the scheme. Passing through Damascus not long
afterwards, Lawrence visited Haji Mohammed el Bessam, whose father
had known Doughty years before. Bessam too advised against the Soleyb
scheme and 'said that they did not go far enough into Arabia to please me.
Still he will be charmed to send me amongst his own people for a time, so

there is still hope! He said that the danger was nothing like as great as it was thirty years ago. In fact with a good servant, almost nothing at all.¹²⁵ Chap. 5

When Lawrence reached Aleppo he found that the German plans had been changed and there was no immediate danger to the site. In the near future the engineers would be busy building store-sheds, repair shops and accommodation. He learned that two bridges would be built, since a temporary structure would be necessary before the main work could begin. The only immediate concern was that the railway's projects would lead to a shortage of men and an increase in local wage levels. p. 96

Another pressing matter was the uncertainty as to who owned the Carchemish site. With the likelihood of continuing excavations and the possibility that part of the site might be bought for the railway, several local landowners were advancing claims to title. R. A. Fontana, the British Consul at Aleppo, suggested that Lawrence should go to Biridjik with the Consular dragoman to examine official records and find out who the owners really were. By the time Lawrence had done this and reported his findings to Hogarth, he had only been able to spend a few days studying Arabic at Jerablus.

He took a steamer to Egypt on 2nd January 1912, to join Petrie at Kafr Ammar some fifty miles up the Nile from Cairo. The site was a graveyard and Lawrence found the work repulsive: 'It is a strange sight to see the men forcing open a square wooden coffin, and taking out the painted anthropoid envelope within, and splitting this up also to drag out a mummy, not glorious in bright wrappings, but dark brown, fibrous, visibly rotting – and then the thing begins to come to pieces, and the men tear off its head, and bare the skull, and the vertebrae drop out, and the ribs, and legs, and perhaps only one poor amulet is the result: the smell and sights are horrible. Digging here is very unlike our Carchemish work – and very much easier. They have nothing of our complications of depth, or of levels, and fragmentary rests of cities or civilisations. I shall be glad to be back in Syria . . . Mr Hogarth was quite right in arranging for no longer: I'm no body snatcher, and we have a pile of skulls that would do credit to a follower of Jenghis Khan. These men are less squeamish than our fellows.'¹²⁶

After a week Lawrence had taken a dislike to both Egypt and the Egyptians, although happily the dig moved to earlier graves in which the bodies had not been mummified. He was nevertheless glad to work under Petrie: 'I like him exceedingly, but rather as one thinks of a cathedral or something immovable but by earthquake. He is a quite inspired archaeologist – and I am picking up hints of sorts all day long.'¹²⁷ Petrie was sufficiently impressed by Lawrence to offer him £700 towards the cost of two seasons' excavation in Bahrain and Lawrence later consulted Hogarth about this proposal: 'Prof. Petrie spoke to me two or three times in Egypt about the Persian gulf and south Arabia . . . he declared that he believed the early dynasties came round by sea from Elam or thereabout to Egypt: and that Bahrein was a stage of their going. Finally in my last week with him he suggested my going down there to dig, say next year, as a preliminary season, to be followed by a second on a larger scale, if it seemed promising. He said he could provide the funds. p. 100

'I told him I'd ask you about it: and that I'd rather you got what profits were going: he didn't seem to think the ideas were incompatible . . . Of course it could only be if Hittite were not going:– and on account of the

railway works I think you will certainly interrupt the Jerablus digs for a little: they must go on some day though. At the same time I would like to dig in the Persian gulf, and as Bahrein is nominally British, I suppose we might carry off the stuff.¹²⁸

Lawrence left Kafr Ammar on January 30th and sailed for Beirut on February 2nd. On the way he sent home a diatribe comparing the Egyptians very unfavourably with the men of Jerablus: 'The Egyptian people are horribly ugly, very dirty, dull, low-spirited, without any of the vigour or the self-confident independence of our men. Besides, the fanaticism of the country is deplorable, and the treatment of the women most un-European: most of the Petrie workmen have several wives, and have had many more, and one could not stand or work close to them for a few minutes without catching fleas or lice. Nor could one talk to them with the delicious free intimacy of the men of Carchemish. They either got surly, or took liberties. They were frenetic, and querulous, foul-mouthed, and fawning.'¹²⁹

Unknown to Lawrence, events were taking place in England which would greatly prolong the excavations at Carchemish. After giving a lecture about the site, Hogarth had quite unexpectedly received a cheque for £5,000 towards the cost of continuing work there. This had been sent by Walter Morrison, a wealthy businessman who practised philanthropy on a remarkable scale (for example, he made one of the largest single gifts ever received by the Bodleian Library). Morrison was deeply interested in archaeology; he had been a founder and the chief benefactor of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He met Hogarth regularly since they both served on the PEF committee.

The extent of Morrison's generosity never became public in his lifetime because most of his gifts were made under strict conditions of anonymity. He applied these conditions to the Carchemish donation and Hogarth was obliged to warn Kenyon: 'You may have guessed who he is. If so don't, please, communicate your guess to anyone at present.'¹³⁰ With funding assured, work would continue at Jerablus for several seasons, during which the British Museum would contribute a further £2,000, making £7,000 available in all.

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Although Lawrence was working for the British Museum at Carchemish he felt a personal loyalty to the Ashmolean. He often bought Hittite seals from dealers and villagers to add to Hogarth's collection in Oxford. On the way back from Egypt he called at Damascus to visit the dealers and bought a rare cylinder seal: 'The man came down gloriously from a lira to ten francs, in less than three hours:— and eventually (late this afternoon) I condescended to take it at that, with a little Hittite gable seal (not novel – two four-legged beasts) thrown in.'¹³¹

He reached Aleppo on February 8th expecting to find money there for building the expedition's house – but as the funds had not yet arrived he had to borrow from Fontana at the Consulate. A few days later he wrote to Flecker: 'Of course when I got to Aleppo I found that the British Museum idiots had sent me orders to buy the site and build the house, and had forgotten to provide the funds . . . Am sniffing at another glorious Cappadocian-Hittite cylinder, aspersing its rarity: have been doing this for a week with a 50% effect so far: if the funds hold off much longer, I'll be begged to take it *belash* [for nothing]. On the whole, to buy *antikas* is a sport, not commerce'.¹³² At last, on February 20th, £50 arrived from the

Museum, and Lawrence started for Jerablus the following day. Woolley, who was expected soon, had decided to bring two Egyptians with him to help with photography and making squeezes, 'leaving myself and Mr. Lawrence far more free for less mechanical work.'¹³³ When he heard this, Lawrence was disgusted: 'they will be rather a blot on the landscape,' he wrote to Hogarth, 'but I don't care, for the railway has brought a horrible crew – the sweepings of Aleppo – already . . . Woolley talked of bringing a gang another year!'¹³⁴

Lawrence and Woolley already knew each other slightly, having met at the Ashmolean some years before; but the circumstances of this new contact clearly gave scope for tension. Woolley, eight years older than Lawrence, was coming to take charge, and had greater experience of archaeological field-work. Lawrence, on the other hand, was already familiar with Carchemish and its workforce, and at that point knew much more about Hittite archaeology than Woolley.

When Lawrence reached Jerablus on February 24th he found that the Kaimmakam (Governor) of Biridjik would not give permission for their house to be built. Lawrence could do nothing except wait until the Turks received instructions from Constantinople. In the meantime, he made friends with the German railway engineers and agreed to let them clear away the heaps of stone spoil left on the site after the 1911 season. Since the Germans needed stone for buildings and embankments, and the spoil-heaps hampered the excavations, this arrangement suited both parties.

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Woolley arrived on March 13th, but the Turkish guard on the site refused to let him begin work. Woolley sent an urgent message to the Kaimmakam asking for permission to proceed, but this met with a curt refusal. It turned out that the Kaimmakam wanted a bribe, thinly disguised as salary for an unofficial Commissaire. To Lawrence's delight, Woolley took the law into his own hands and told the Kaimmakam that he intended to begin work: anyone who obstructed him would, if necessary, be shot. The Kaimmakam gave in, but other difficulties were quickly raised and Lawrence found himself being prosecuted for trespass by one of the people who claimed to own part of the site. The case went before a local Islamic court (which had in fact no jurisdiction over foreigners) and the digging permit was impounded. Woolley's high-handed methods secured its return, and earned Lawrence's admiration.

Lawrence recorded these incidents in letters to England, and they lost nothing in the telling. Woolley had become 'a most excellent person' in his eyes.³⁵ The Kaimmakam received an official rebuke from Constantinople and there were no further bureaucratic problems.

Woolley began the season with about a hundred men. His first objective was the long task of excavating the north end of the mound, where Thompson had made some promising finds. In the middle of April, however, strong winds made it impossible to work there, so Woolley looked for a more sheltered part of the site. He chose a place on the river bank where superficial ruins suggested that there might have been a water gate, and his hopes were quickly rewarded when the workmen uncovered a pair of finely carved lions, each more than three metres long, and the remains of a grand Hittite stairway which had once led to a landing place.

By the end of April the expedition house was finished and provided not merely accommodation but a photographic darkroom and archaeological store as well. The living quarters were soon decorated lavishly

with objects from the site and with a Roman mosaic floor rescued from a nearby field. Lawrence would now be able to live at Jerablus between digging seasons. However, lacking a publisher for his book, he seems to have lost interest in visiting castles in the area and instead planned to return with Woolley to England in mid-June. 'The only pity is my Arabic, which is going forward painfully . . . The break from season to season spells ruination to it, and it is a thing which I value as much as anything I'm doing. I manage an hour every day at it in the early morning with Dahoum and a dictionary.'¹³⁶

At the beginning of May Hogarth spent nine days at the dig, having travelled out via Constantinople. Soon after he arrived he wrote back to Kenyon that: 'Lawrence is even more useful this year than last, as he has now quite mastered the local Arabic and through his residence here after the dig last year has come to know all the villagers intimately.'¹³⁷

On the way out Hogarth had met the Kaiser, 'and got his explicit promise to make all right for us with the *Baghdadbahn* people, if there is any trouble. I showed him a few of the photos and he was immensely interested.'¹³⁸ As it happened, the railway company was giving valuable assistance. It had cleared away much of the first year's spoil, enabling Woolley to cut a wide trench from the staircase towards the newly found water gate, to see if there was a road connecting them. On May 9th, Hogarth reported, there 'appeared the finest Hittite inscription yet found, a sort of obelisk very finely engraved on two faces in relief. Also the upper part of a life-size head almost in the round.'¹³⁹ The work carried out by the railway to remove spoil had saved the expedition hundreds of pounds, and Hogarth told Kenyon with relief: 'The workshops, houses, hospital etc have greatly changed the place, but, as wages do not appear to have risen, the railway has so far been an unmingled benefit.'¹⁴⁰

He had now concluded that 'the lower levels of the citadel . . . and the "Lower Palace" contain the most important secrets of the site and no effort should be spared to explore them thoroughly. In both these regions the excavators will be working in the *interior* of Hittite buildings, instead of outside them as heretofore, and if they are ever to find archives, will find them . . . If the co-operation of the Baghdad Railway Engineers could be secured for removing the uppermost (mediaeval and Roman) layers of the citadel without expense to us, it would be a very good thing.'¹⁴¹ He commended Woolley for his work, and also Lawrence, 'who now knows the local people and their speech very well, and having had a longer training in Hittite things than Woolley, is an invaluable adjutant to the latter. Both ought, I think, to be secured for the remainder of the excavation.' He recommended that Woolley should be offered thirty shillings a day, and that Lawrence, having 'done an immense amount of work for you in these two seasons, ought also to begin to receive a salary.'¹⁴² He had evidently discussed this with Lawrence, and suggested the rate of fifteen shillings a day which was paid in subsequent seasons.

Lawrence's knowledge of Arabic was increasingly important. There was ample funding for the dig, but, if they were to continue on a larger scale, it would be necessary to supervise more men. His responsibility in this area was increasing: 'Woolley gets on well with the men, but so far as possible I take what I can of that from him and he runs the actual dig.'¹⁴³ For this, Lawrence needed to speak the local dialect fluently with a wide vocabulary, and Hogarth asked him to work at it. Lawrence wrote to his

friends at Jebail: 'Mr. Hogarth is very anxious to make me learn Arabic; and so I am going to stay here July and August alone.' He planned nevertheless to go home at Christmas 'and to carry Miss Fareedah [el Akle, who had taught him Arabic at the Jebail Mission School] away with me for six weeks in England. There will be more digs in February but all through January Miss Holmes [Principal of the School] will be bereft (*inshallah!*).'¹⁴⁴

Since Lawrence was staying on, Woolley asked him to spend some time working over the season's results and sorting pottery. More than a thousand fragments of carved and incised basalt had been recovered from the area at the foot of the stairway, and the task of fitting them together was very time-consuming. Lawrence was also to visit several villages where Hittite remains had been reported. 'From outside we hear of many carved and inscribed stones. After the digs I will load up a donkey with a squeeze-paper and camera and go and copy them. In my three months here I will have a good deal of leisure, though I have to cement the floors of two rooms, and repair the mosaic pavement, and tile the bathroom, and glaze and waterproof the roof of the dining room: not to mention fitting up pottery and stones.'¹⁴⁵ Woolley's two Egyptian boys had run away late in the season, so Lawrence was again responsible for photography. 'We have decided that we cannot do it all ourselves next year, and so I have the training of a boy – Dahoum of course – as well to see to. You have no idea how hard it is to instil elementary optics into his head in imperfect Arabic. He will put plates the wrong side out. However all these are little worries, which are working towards my improvement in Arabic: I hope to be fluent – though still incorrect – by Xmas.'¹⁴⁶

Woolley closed down the dig early in June. When the men had been paid off, he spent a few days with Lawrence excavating a Hittite cemetery five miles away. Later, having worked for another week clearing up loose ends at Jerablus, the two went to Alexandretta to arrange shipment of their various purchases. Woolley sailed for England on June 20th, confident after this first season together that he and Lawrence had formed a successful partnership.

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Notes for Chapter 5. An Undecided Future

June 1911 – June 1912

1. Minutes of the Standing Committee of the British Museum Trustees, 8.7.1911. BM/A.
2. R. C. Thompson to F. G. Kenyon 24.6.1911. BM/A.
3. R. C. Thompson: 'The Excavations at Carchemish: Second Report' in *The Times* (London) 9.10.1911.
4. Published as 'Diary of a Journey across the Euphrates' in *OA* pp. 5-62, where it is illustrated by Lawrence's photographs taken on this journey.
5. See D. G. Hogarth, 'The Excavations at Carchemish: First Report' in *The Times* (London) 1.7.1911, p. 5.
6. *The Times* (London) 9.8.1911.
7. T. E. Lawrence, 'Mores Romanorum'. Bodleian MS Res C13. Haj Wahid was an Arab, not a Kurd; Lawrence may have made this change to disguise the location of the incident, since he evidently

- intended to publish the story pseudonymously. The term ‘Moghreby’ means Moroccan, but may have the sense Lawrence attributes to it in northern Syria. For another account of this incident, see T. E. Lawrence to his mother 23.5.1911 *HL* p. 163.
8. T. E. Lawrence, diary entry for 29.7.1911 *OA* p. 46.
 9. T. E. Lawrence, diary entry for 31.7.1911 *OA* p. 48.
 10. T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.6.1911 *HL* pp. 173-4; *MB* pp. 39-40. Bodleian MS Res C13.
 11. T. E. Lawrence to his family 6.1.1912 *HL* p. 184. Bodleian MS Res C13. *The Centaur*, by A. Blackwood, concerned the progress of a city clerk to a mythical world untouched by the evils of human ‘civilisation’.
 12. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 4.7.1911 *DG* p. 115; *MB* p. 42.
 13. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 11.8.1911 *DG* p. 119; *MB* p. 42.
 14. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 24.6.1911 *DG* p. 114.
 15. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 11.8.1911 omitted from *DG* p. 119 and from *MB* p. 42. Lawrence papers, Bodleian R (transcript).
 16. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 6.8.1911 *DG* pp. 118-19.
 17. T. E. Lawrence to N. Rieder postmarked 12.8.1911 *DG* p. 120.
 18. T. E. Lawrence to F. el Akle 14.8.1911. Bodleian R (photocopy of original).
 19. See T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, with an Introduction and Notes by Denys Pringle (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988): ‘After the examination . . . one of the judges of the thesis urged the University Press to publish it in book form, saying however that not one of the illustrations could be spared; the cost was considered prohibitive’ (from the Foreword by A. W. Lawrence, p. vi).
 20. This account is based on correspondence in BM/A.
 21. T. E. Lawrence to V. W. Richards 26.8.1911 *DG* pp. 120-1.
 22. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 26.9.1911 *DG* p. 123.
 23. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 4.10.1911. BM/A.
 24. Sir L. du P. Mallet to F. G. Kenyon 21.11.1911. BM/A.
 25. T. E. Lawrence to C. M. Doughty 11.12.1911. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
 26. T. E. Lawrence to his family 11.1.1912 *HL* p. 185. Bodleian MS Res C13. In 1933 Lawrence told his biographer Liddell Hart that he had met Lord Kitchener in 1913, when Kitchener was British Agent in Egypt (also in 1914, presumably during the first months of the war when both were at the War Office in London). I have found no other evidence relating to the first of these meetings. It could have occurred during this 1912 visit to Egypt, or during a second brief visit made the following year. The dates given by Lawrence, so long after the event, are not necessarily reliable. The full text of his remarks about Kitchener, partially quoted in *B:LH* p. 55 is: ‘He was boss-eyed and wooden, and normally as dull as ditch water: but every now and then he would appear to have second-sight, and be quite dogmatic about something utterly problematical – and was then as often right as wrong. A very limited imagination, selfish, greedy: ignorant and sure of himself: not honest according to ordinary men’s codes. He inspired very little personal devotion.’ Bodleian R (transcript).
 27. T. E. Lawrence to his family 18.1.1912 *HL* p. 186. Bodleian MS Res

- C13.
28. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 12.2.1912. Bodleian R (transcript).
 29. T. E. Lawrence to his family 31.1.1912 *HL* pp. 190-1. This passage is one of several in Lawrence's letters which have lent themselves to misinterpretation through very abridged quotation. See, for example, J. E. Mack, *A Prince of our Disorder* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1976) p. 79.
 30. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 1.2.1912. BM/A. A number of recent biographers, seeking to show that the Carchemish excavations were in reality cover for a British Intelligence operation, have made much of the secrecy surrounding this funding. However this was Morrison's habitual practice, also adopted in many cases where there is no possibility of a connection with Intelligence.
 31. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 7.2.1912. *L-L* pp. 33-5. Leeds papers.
 32. T. E. Lawrence to J. E. Flecker 18.2.1912 *MB* p. 44. Houghton BMS Eng 1252 (7).
 33. C. L. Woolley, report, enclosed with his letter to F. G. Kenyon of 31.3.1912. BM/A.
 34. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 20.2.1912 *DG* p. 137.
 35. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 18.3.1912 *L-L* p. 39. Leeds papers. For Woolley's flamboyant account of these events see his *Dead Towns and Living Men* (London, OUP, 1920) pp. 151-76. For Lawrence's account see letters to his family of 25.2.1912 *HL* p. 195; 17.3.1912 *HL* p. 196; 20.3.1912 *HL* pp. 197-8, and 6.4.1912 *HL* p. 199. Bodleian MS Res C13. See also letters from T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds of 18.3.1912 and early April 1912 *L-L* pp. 39-43.
 36. T. E. Lawrence to his family 29.4.1912 *HL* p. 203. Bodleian MS Res C13.
 37. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 10.5.1912. BM/A.
 38. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 10.4.1912. BM/A.
 39. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 10.5.1912. BM/A.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 19.5.1912. BM/A.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. T. E. Lawrence to his family 2.6.1912 *HL* p. 211. Bodleian MS Res C13.
 44. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 20.5.1912 *DG* p. 139.
 45. T. E. Lawrence to his family June 1912 *HL* p. 212. Bodleian MS Res C13.
 46. *Ibid.* *HL* p. 213.