

CHAPTER 6

Learning from the Arabs

June 1912 – June 1913

WITH a sense of relief, Lawrence set off back to Carchemish, stopping at Aleppo on the way: 'There is a sort of feeling of blessed peace in the air at the ending of my immediate digging work. Woolley is off and I am my own master again, which is a position that speaks for itself and its goodness . . . I seem to have been months away from Jerablus, and am longing for its peace. You know there one says "I don't want to talk" and there is silence till you break it, or "I want to be alone" and twenty men post themselves around you out of sight that not even a hoopoe or an ant may cry out and break your rest . . . Really this country, for the foreigner, is too glorious for words: one is the baron of the feudal system.'¹

Lawrence planned to travel during the summer, taking Dahoum as a servant and companion. He had obtained official letters of introduction to the Governors of the towns he hoped to visit: 'the Vali [of Aleppo] described me as a Professor of the University of Oxford, who had made excavations at Jerablus, and was now travelling for pleasure: that I was an inestimable person, whose worth archaeologically and intellectually they (the Government) were quite unable to express in words . . . *Therefore* all Kaimmakams, Mutessarifs, Mirdirs and government officials are to see that I am well lodged, well fed, provided with transport, with guides, interpreters, and escorts, if I express a wish. If I desire to travel without these accompaniments I am to be permitted: and tidings are to be sent to Aleppo that I have arrived, that I am being entertained, and that I have departed satisfied.

'I cannot use these beautiful letters except upon need. I don't want to make a progress, but a tour. However I have also got the ordinary official recommendations, which all important travellers carry: and these I will present first and watch their operations. It is rather quaint that a person of my superlative attainments should travel with a donkey and a boy to push it.'²

During this holiday between digging seasons Lawrence occasionally wore Arab dress.³ His knowledge of the local dialect was strengthening daily: 'it is almost fluent when I am on ordinary ground: my grammar is atrocious (Arabic is exceeding difficult there) and I slur over all my inflections of necessity: with a larger vocabulary and a simpler grammatical scheme (i.e. a nearer approach toward the Bedouin Arabic) I'll get on easily in two years' time. And as Mr Hogarth said "One who knows Arabic is never at a loss".'⁴

These plans were threatened, however, by an epidemic of cholera in the villages around Aleppo. Lawrence feared that the Baghdad railway workers, who travelled frequently between Aleppo and Jerablus, would bring the disease to the village. He wrote to a doctor in England for medical advice, and prepared for the worst as the hot summer weather arrived. During the first half of July he was occupied making improvements to the house and finishing off some minor archaeological tasks. By the middle of the month he was ready to visit Seruj and Urfa where there

were reports of inscribed stones; but then several people fell ill at the same time, and the journey had to be postponed: 'First of all I had malaria – a short spell of the usual two-day sort. Mrs Haj Wahid got a new baby, and turned very ill. Haj's boy fell down and broke his head to pieces and had to be tied up; Haj himself went drinking and collapsed with internal troubles of sorts. So I brought in Dahoum to help Haj's mother in the kitchen, and he ungratefully produced malignant malaria . . . and raved his head off for three days until he nearly died. I had to sit on his chest half one night to keep him in bed. The little Armenian doctor did the main part of the work (he's our consulting physician) and now Haj and Dahoum are convalescent, and more trouble than ever. This morning, when I woke up, Dahoum (who can just stand) was trying to sweep out the big room . . . and Haj Wahid was feeding his donkey. I have to watch them all day to keep them in bed.'⁵

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When these patients had recovered, Lawrence went across to Biridjik, but there he felt feverish again. On his return to Jerablus he had a third attack of fever and 'judged it prudent, in view of the excavations to follow so close, if I rested a bit in the cool'.⁶ He had learned that construction work on the railway was going to halt for a month or two, so there seemed to be no threat of interference with the excavations. Therefore, at the beginning of August, he abandoned his plans to go on a trek and instead left with Dahoum for Beirut and Jebail, where he stayed at the American Mission School working on his Arabic. Both he and Dahoum were making some progress with writing the language, which was to prove very useful when Dahoum was sent to report on finds in the villages.

While staying in the Lebanon, Lawrence occasionally visited the Fleckers at their summer home in Areya. Hellé Flecker later recalled: 'my husband bore the heat very well, what he again missed was . . . intelligent society . . . [He] was delighted to be able to talk literature and Oxford again, and to hear of the "amazing boy's" astonishing adventures in Asia Minor'.⁷

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As always, Lawrence's letters referred to the books he was reading. Apart from the works he had brought from England, he had access to the Mission School library at Jebail, and well-read friends such as Flecker and Fontana helped to broaden his literary taste. That summer, as well as a Hewlett novel, he read Spenser, Catullus, Marot, the *Koran*, Simonides and Meleager. 'Parts of Simonides are very splendid: also Antipater of Sidon, Tyrtaeus, and Hipponax: all in Bergk and the *Anthology*. I got a Greek dictionary . . . in Beyrout, and have made great play with it'.⁸

Lawrence decided to return to Carchemish at the end of August, when he expected Woolley to arrive. Dahoum, who had now mastered simple photographic work, would henceforward rank with the expedition's Arab headmen. He had become 'very useful now, though a savage: however we are here in the feudal system, which gives the overlord great claims: so that I have no trouble with him'.⁹ As a field archaeologist, Lawrence would need a reliable assistant like Hogarth's Gregori. Dahoum was growing into this role, as was Hamoudi, who now worked increasingly with Woolley (he continued to do so for many years afterwards). Although Lawrence took a fatherly interest in Dahoum, the relationship was that between teacher and pupil, or master and trusted assistant. The notions which made Lawrence respect the young Arab's simplicity would also mean that he could never treat Dahoum as an equal.

Just as Lawrence was about to leave Jebail, he received a telegram from Haj Wahid, the expedition's cook and general factotum who was guarding the house at Carchemish. Instead of suspending operations, the railway engineers had tried to take advantage of Lawrence's absence by demolishing part of the ancient city wall of Carchemish, meaning to use the stone for a nearby embankment. Woolley had told their chief, Herr Contzen, that the railway could only take stone from the excavation spoil-heaps, but the nearby city wall had seemed to the engineers a much more convenient source.

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Lawrence travelled as quickly as possible to Aleppo and telegraphed the authorities while Haj Wahid kept armed guard over the disputed wall. Finally, to Contzen's dismay, Lawrence arrived with the Commissaire and the local Minister for Public Instruction, armed with orders from Constantinople forbidding the Germans to proceed.¹⁰ For a while after this the relationship between the English and German camps at Jerablus was very cool.

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There was now an outbreak of smallpox in the village. Lawrence must have sought medical advice about this unexpected threat because he gave all the children a crude form of inoculation. Most of the adults were resistant to the disease, having had it already. As a result, of two hundred people in the village, only two died. Lawrence was especially pleased that 'of the thirty to forty children down at once (!) not one is marked on the face. It would have made a row if anything had gone wrong: but it didn't, and a lot of people died in the district, which makes our record more creditable . . . Tell no one that I practise medicine without a licence!¹¹ His letters home mentioned the smallpox, against which he had presumably been vaccinated, but he did not say that cholera had also reached Jerablus. Luckily, there were few cases among the men who worked on the digs; the two that Lawrence looked after recovered.

Reading between the lines of his letters home, it is clear that Lawrence's parents would have liked him to return to work in Oxford. When they forwarded details of a vacant academic post, his reply was revealing: 'I am afraid no "open fellowship" for me: I don't think anyone who had tasted the East as I have would give it up half-way, for a seat at high table and a chair in the Bodleian. At any rate I won't . . . This summer has been one of the pleasantest I have ever had.¹² The previous day he had written to his brother Bob: 'you know after all, I feel very little lack of English scenery: we have too much greenery there, and one never feels the joy of a fertile place, as one does here when one finds a thorn-bush and green thistle. Here one learns an economy of beauty which is wonderful. England is fat – obese.'¹³

Woolley was now on his way back from England. Before he arrived, Lawrence amused himself decorating the lintel of the main doorway into the house: 'I have carved a great sun disk, with crescent moon, and wings, on our stone door-lintel – the dining room door that is. As I had no chisels I carved with a screw-driver and a knife. It is a Hittite design and use, and looks very fitting.'¹⁴ His delight with this joke would be renewed each time a visitor to the excavations paused to admire the forged Hittite relic.

By September 28th, when Woolley reached Aleppo, there was still no sign of the season's stores although they had been dispatched many weeks before. The cause of this delay was the disruption to shipping in the months leading up to the Balkan War, which finally broke out on October

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18th. For the next year communications between Carchemish and England were erratic, and since letters frequently went astray there were many problems. On this occasion Woolley and Lawrence had to spend three days in Aleppo buying sufficient stores to tide them over. There was, however, no longer any difficulty getting them to Jerablus, a journey which had hitherto involved a two-day carriage drive. The railway was running a goods train which took only seven hours, and passenger services between Aleppo and Jerablus were to begin on November 1st.

In addition to buying stores, Woolley and Lawrence spent nearly £200 on antiquities: 'Aleppo is very full of things:— and we are the first buyers for nearly six months. Woolley has brought out a deal of money to speculate in antiquities: and he is in a fair way of making about 300%. I am more modest, because I have still scruples about engaging in trade! Also I have little money to spend: somehow, the temptation to make money is so very nauseous! . . . now I am making fifteen shillings a day: a very curious feeling: I don't like that also, but I felt incapable of refusing what will make me semi-independent.'¹⁵

Woolley's recruiting for the season completed the humiliation of the German engineers. Lawrence wrote: 'The man in charge of the bridge works had assured me of the utter impossibility of our finding more than fifty local men (and those the wasters)'.¹⁶ But as Lawrence expected, the railway workforce applied *en masse* for jobs on the excavations, and Woolley recruited two hundred men without difficulty. The railway works had to be suspended while arrangements were made to bring labourers from Aleppo. Lawrence wrote home: 'I told you of my row with the chief engineer when he began to take away the walls of the *Kala'at*. Well, to return that compliment we took all his workmen, down to his grooms, his night-watchers and his carriage drivers and masons. Then we sent back those we found unsuitable. He was rather crushed.'¹⁷

Woolley had two main objectives in this third season. One was to excavate the north end of the acropolis and expose the foundations of an early building there, tentatively named 'Sargon's Fort'. The other was to dig trenches in the area still unexcavated at the foot of the Lower Palace stairway, in order to find out whether it would be worthwhile digging there in future.

Funds were to be a constant problem during the autumn. Because of the postal disruption no money had arrived when the excavations began, and Woolley was obliged to borrow large sums in Aleppo. Worse still, Kenyon in London had calculated the budget for the season's work on a completely different basis from that used by Woolley, who was expecting a much higher figure. As a result, Woolley would in due course find that he had insufficient funds. Lawrence once remarked with some justification in a letter to Hogarth: 'It's very unsatisfactory doing things by letter: you never seem to understand us — or the reverse'.¹⁸ The difficulty was exacerbated when letters went astray.

In the first fortnight of the dig there was a very satisfactory find when work on a room in the Lower Palace, only partly opened up by Hogarth the previous year, revealed a doorway with long and perfect Hittite inscriptions. 'After our great stone of the Hogarth period this is the best inscription yet discovered here, and we are correspondingly glad. Also to find them in place as door jambs is an important piece of evidence architecturally.'¹⁹

The light railways which Woolley had ordered from Europe were still held up in transit and he had, therefore, to modify his goals for the season. Big labour gangs were essential if much was to be achieved; yet for a time the workforce seemed to be under threat because the Turkish authorities were travelling through the countryside levying able-bodied men for the war. 'They visited the Euphrates bridge works and decimated the workmen, and entirely broke up the construction of the station: they have only old men and boys left. Thereupon we ventured a risk and forbade the police and soldiers to set foot in the *Kala'at*, offering our house as a temporary refuge for runaways among our men. So far we have not lost one, but it is not quite a secure game to play. We also recovered the village donkeys which had been impressed.'²⁰ Hogarth, viewing the worsening situation from England, was concerned that the season might have to be abandoned: 'I hope to goodness all this trouble in the Balkans is not making trouble for you,' he wrote to Woolley, 'but I greatly fear that labour, at any rate, will run short if there is conscription going on pretty generally.'²¹ In these disturbed times Lawrence learned a good deal more about the aspirations of the local people. He told his parents, 'I am gathering a store of Arab news and notions which some day will help me in giving vividness to what I write'.²²

In the autumn he did write, for the new *Jesus College Magazine*, an article describing his visit with Dahoum that summer to the ruined palace of Ibn Wardani. They had been shown the building by an old guide and his son, who had told them of the different scents in each room. The truth was probably more prosaic, for Lawrence told his parents that 'the palace of Ibn Wardani has many strange scents about it, as I wrote: it is famous all over north Syria, and my description is more like the rumour than the reality'.²³

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Towards the end of this essay Lawrence wrote with evident approval about Arab asceticism, describing for the first time an outlook which he would later refer to as 'the gospel of bareness in materials'.²⁴ This barren creed appealed to some fundamental element in his own nature, and it often recurs in his later writings: 'At last we came into a great hall, whose walls, pierced with many narrow windows, still stood to more than half their height. "This," said he, "is the *liwan of silence*: it has no taste," and by some crowning art it was as he had said. The mingled scents of all the palace here combined to slay each other, and all that one felt was the desert sharpness of the air as it swept off the huge uncontaminated plains. "Among us," said Dahoum, "we call this room the sweetest of them all," therein half-consciously sounding the ideal of the Arab creed, for generations stripping itself of all furniture in the working out of a gospel of simplicity'.²⁵

Apart from archaeological work, Lawrence occupied himself with furnishing the expedition house. 'I bought in Aleppo a very handsome beaten bronze plate in the manner of the Italian-Arab platters in the Fortnum room in the Ashmolean:— very good work, though worn. We are pleased with this in our living room: it, with the mosaic peacocks and gazelles, the Bokhara rugs, and a strange cement-and-Roman-pillar table that I made (and the copper-hooded fire) make a good beginning in the furnishing of our room: we hope to line it with Hittite bas-reliefs (trial casts!) and are buying any cheap (and pretty) Damascus tiles we find . . . we are building a store room, two stables, and a huge warehouse of

antiquities: so that before we leave here we will have a large colony of buildings under our care. We of course are architects and head masons: no one can complain of the monotony of our daily occupations: if only our stores had come and our light railway!¹²⁶ Chap. 6
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Lawrence's earlier comment about 'gathering a store of Arab news and notions' was a veiled allusion to something which he did his best to conceal from his parents. The Milli-Kurds, a nomadic people who roamed a large tract of land on the far side of the Euphrates (i.e. in Mesopotamia), had a long-standing feud with the Turkish Government. The distraction of the Balkan War seemed to offer them the chance to strike at their Turkish overlords, and Lawrence heard that they intended to sack Aleppo. As Woolley wrote later: 'The plan affected me closely, for the line of march proposed by the Kurds was through Jerablus, and as they had promised openly to cut the throats of all the Germans on the Baghdad line between Aleppo and the river, I felt that my own position might be none too secure.'¹²⁷ The two archaeologists did their best to cultivate the friendship of the local Kurdish leaders, which was not difficult because many Kurds were working on the dig. On November 1st, Woolley wrote to Kenyon: 'Here we are much in the dark as to what is going on in Turkey, but tonight news reaches us that the Bulgarians have advanced victoriously south of Adrianople. If Stamboul falls, it may be the signal for serious events out here – here perhaps more than in most parts of the Empire. Should a row come, we shall stop at Jerablus, as being the safest place; possibly we should be all right, but communication would be difficult and you must not, in that case, expect to hear from me.'¹²⁸ p. 113

A week later he suddenly discovered how little money Kenyon intended to provide that season. The situation was extremely embarrassing, since Woolley had decided to concentrate on expensive heavy work (despite their disagreements, the Germans helped throughout this season by removing spoil-heaps). With all this well in hand, Woolley now found that he was virtually bankrupt: 'The statement of my real allowance for the season comes at such a time that if I stop work altogether at the end of this week I shall not have quite sufficient in hand for travelling and salaries.'¹²⁹ For every reason, this was no moment to run out of funds. The war news was bad and there now seemed a real risk that Constantinople would fall. If the Kurds then advanced on Aleppo there might be a general massacre of foreigners. Woolley reported that Fontana was 'doubtful . . . whether either the travelling money or the salaries of Mr Lawrence and myself need be taken into serious consideration. Personally, I am more optimistic, and think that though the probable raid by the Hamdieh Kurds on Aleppo via Jerablus would mean a lot of damage, we shall ourselves be sheltered by the Arabs. But I must keep a good supply of cash in hand, as if trouble comes we shall depend largely on that.'¹³⁰ Without the assurance of further money, Woolley had no alternative but to reduce the scale of work much earlier than planned. Progress on the main site was halted, and with only a handful of men he excavated a nearby cemetery. Meanwhile he paid some of the season's expenses with a large cheque overdrawn on his personal account in England, appealing to Kenyon to arrange for it to be covered. Ironically, the season's stores arrived just as the main dig was closed down. Lawrence wrote: 'we have loganberry jam and wheatmeal biscuits and linen sheets and shortbread: and everything possible photographic and chocolate and asparagus and medicines to stock a ship: p. 114

not to mention the eleven pound tins of curry-powder in stock, which we feel to be a great stand-by.¹³¹

Woolley and Lawrence planned to work in the cemetery until late December and then return to England. The archaeologists' pay continued during the time they spent travelling to and from the site, but stopped between seasons. The journey to England and back was therefore worth making, even though Lawrence did not mean to stay there for more than a fortnight or so: 'Then out here again as quick as possible: you have no idea of how much there is to do here, with tombs being plundered and buildings destroyed every day in the districts round about.'¹³²

By mid-November work on the graveyard was finished, and so for the final week the remaining workmen were transferred to the North Gate of Carchemish. The existence of this gate had not previously been suspected, but indications on the surface suggested to Woolley that there might be something interesting underneath. When digging began it was soon obvious that the task would be a big one: 'even so,' Woolley reported, 'this season has given us the lie and to some extent the character of a whole range of masonry fortifications with gateway and projecting towers, resembling the defences of Sinjirli . . . certainly much work should yet be done on a part of the site where we had not expected to dig at all.'¹³³

The dig closed down at the Islamic festival of Bairam, and Woolley and Lawrence went to visit Busrawi Agha, an influential Kurdish chief, to plead for protection of their belongings if there was a revolt while they were away. The expedition house was to be kept under guard and, as an additional precaution, all the monuments that could not be removed from the site had been reburied. They returned to Carchemish for a final week to photograph objects and copy inscriptions, then left together at the end of November, arriving in England on December 17th. Lawrence had hoped to bring Fareedeh el Akle home that Christmas, but now had too little money to do so: 'it is no use to take her unless one can show her about.'¹³⁴

Kenyon had been increasingly concerned about the political situation and the lack of news. Before they reached England he had decided to send a cable to Jerablus instructing them to leave at once. Hogarth agreed, but was 'more inclined to expect serious trouble next spring than now. Kurds and Bedouin won't know the truth for some months. *Then* they'll move. And the Armenians will await the spring. Before that the Yemen will probably kick out the Turks, and so all too probably will the Hejaz.'¹³⁵

On their way home, Woolley and Lawrence had called as usual on F. Willoughby Smith, the American Vice-Consul at Beirut. Lawrence had come to know him through the American Mission School at Jebail and thought that he was very ill-informed about the local situation; he and Woolley now told him of their fears about the Kurds. p. 115

Willoughby Smith wrote up their news in a long report which his superior eventually transmitted to Washington. It gives a very detailed account of the history of Kurdish unrest and the nature of the threat to Aleppo, showing that Lawrence and Woolley, concerned primarily for their own safety, had learned a good deal about the Kurdish and Arab independence movements in the Turkish Empire. Within two years this knowledge would become a valuable asset to Lawrence and would influence his thinking during the early stages of the war. The report (printed in Appendix II), bears out Lawrence's later claim that: 'The

Armenian revolutionaries had come to [me] for help and advice, and [I] had dipped far into their councils. The opposition party of the Kurdish reactionaries against the Young Turks had encouraged [me] to ride in their ranks and seek opportunity in the Balkan crisis.¹³⁶ But his motive for these contacts was self-preservation and not, as some biographers have claimed, work for British Intelligence.

The British Museum was unwilling to let the digs resume unless the situation became more stable and, before allowing Lawrence and Woolley to return to Syria in January 1913, Hogarth discussed the outlook with them. Afterwards he wrote to Kenyon: 'They are so anxious to go on that they (especially Woolley) minimise risks of interruption. I told them that you will not let them start and incur the expense of journeys etc. in February unless there is a pretty clear prospect of their being able to do a decent spell of work. Lawrence says he is returning to Syria in January and on his report early in February and perhaps on one from Fontana, you must act.'¹³⁷ Kenyon also saw them, and noted that Lawrence seemed 'very confident that, if trouble came, they would, at the worst, be able to get away to the coast; and I have tried to impress on him that it is very desirable to avoid serious risk, not merely for their own sakes, but in the interest of the Museum, and indeed of the political situation generally. What I am most afraid of is an attack on the Germans which would give an excuse for German intervention, or compel the Turks to come down in force in order to meet such intervention. However, we can only wait and see what the next six weeks produce, before it is time for Woolley to start.'¹³⁸

During his meeting with Kenyon, Lawrence raised another matter: the principle originally suggested by Hogarth that the British Museum should have rights to any purchases made by the excavators within ten miles of Carchemish. The previous July, during the interval between digging seasons, Lawrence had bought a small tomb group from the railway workmen which he hoped might go to the Ashmolean. It had come from the British Museum's reserved area, but Lawrence argued that the ten-mile limit should only apply while the digs were in progress. Kenyon's position in the matter was very reasonable; he wrote to Hogarth: 'it seems to me that it is only fair to the Museum that it shall apply at all times. Otherwise, the area from which the Museum is entitled to draw would be liable to be milked dry between the seasons, when Lawrence is there with no excavations to occupy his time. And as the whole opportunity, both inside the limit and without, arises from the Museum excavations, I don't think the Museum can be called grasping if we adhere to the understanding as originally suggested by you. What do you think?'¹³⁹

Hogarth's reply was equally reasonable, and is interesting for its comments on Lawrence: 'To avoid possible misconception I had better say at once that the question is entirely of his raising not mine. Until the matter of the tomb group from the Railway cutting came up, no difficulty occurred . . . From what he tells me its component parts are very ordinary objects . . . quite plain vases and terracotta of the ordinary types: and I feel no burning desire for them. But (chiefly, I believe, because Lawrence carried out an elaborate scheme of deception with the co-operation of one of his dearest Jerablus boys, in order to get them) Lawrence has got the lot near his heart and makes this fuss about them being deposited at his own local museum with which he has been concerned since boyhood.' Among

the arguments for enforcing the limit at all times, Hogarth noted: 'Lawrence might "corner" things and have them kept for vacation, more especially since the natives deal more readily with him than with Woolley'. Also, 'Woolley has Lawrence buying [for the British Museum] while Woolley is there and [Lawrence's] only chance is vacation (This, by the way, is important, since Lawrence is the cheaper and better buyer).' Finally: 'There is, however, this on the other side, which is worth serious attention. Buying in this way is a matter of trouble, anxiety and some risk. Lawrence won't take nearly so much trouble if not buying *con amore ed entusiasmo*, and it will probably pay *you* best in the long run to let it be worth his while, even if you don't get *all* his spoil. As I have said, he is much the best buyer and the most likely to get at secrets.'⁴⁰

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Kenyon discussed the question with Hogarth when they next met, and later sent a résumé of their decision for the record: 'considering the amount of money which the Museum is spending on the work at Jerablus, it is fair that it should receive the finds proceeding from what may be called the sphere of influence of those diggings. Of course this would not preclude an amicable arrangement if more things of certain types appear than we require, but it would give us the first call within that area. The working of the alternative arrangement would be very precarious . . . I hope Lawrence has not found his employment under the Trustees so unsatisfactory as to make him unwilling to get things for the British Museum as well as for the Ashmolean.'⁴¹

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Lawrence left England on 9th January 1913 and travelled out to Syria via Calais, Marseilles and Port Said, where he broke the journey to revisit Petrie at Kafr Ammar. There was still a prospect of digging in Bahrain, and Lawrence reported to Hogarth that Petrie had agreed to let the Ashmolean have half the proceeds. Lawrence then went to Jerablus and found everything calm there; afterwards he returned to Aleppo to await political developments. He wrote to Woolley: 'The Kurds here are quiet, with no intention of doing anything unless matters get bad in Stamboul. They are then going all out, and the Arabs have promised to move with them (our men as well!). The richer Armenians in Aintab, Aleppo, etc. are leaving: some are in Beyrout, more in Egypt . . . Digging is quite possible if *Constantinople holds straight*. So it is your business to settle, upon what happens before this letter arrives. At present, latest news here is of the fall of the cabinet: how or why is not known: it sounds to me like war and the Young Turk party on top again: if so matters will hum. I am going to stay a few days in Aleppo, to learn what has happened.'⁴²

A week later Lawrence was still there, though he wanted to go up to Alexandretta and see to the shipment of some antiquities. He was still very apprehensive about the situation: 'Aleppo quiet politically, but as pessimistic as it can be: what a fortune one would make with a cargo of cheap rifles now! Armenians are arming frantically'.⁴³

He wrote to Hogarth: 'I rather hope you will decide to postpone digging till the Autumn: but really you will know what chance there is of a renewal of the war... One hears nothing in Aleppo.'⁴⁴ In England, however, Woolley was very keen to resume the digs. Eventually, as it seemed that the Turkish Government would hold out in Constantinople, Kenyon agreed to let work begin. Lawrence had returned to Carchemish, where he passed the time in various ways. Apart from working on his

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Arabic, he had made some repairs to the house. A Canadian canoe he had ordered from an Oxford boatyard arrived in February. It had a small motor and henceforward provided a lot of amusement.

The risk of a Kurdish rebellion gave Lawrence good reason to improve his skill with a rifle during these weeks. On February 22nd he wrote: 'this afternoon I put four shots out of five with a Mannlicher-Schönauer carbine into a six-gallon petrol tin at 400 yards... very good that.'⁴⁵ He had probably been given this rifle by Fontana, as thanks for helping the Royal Navy to smuggle firearms to the Aleppo consulate.⁴⁶

Shortly before Woolley arrived, Lawrence heard that natives had discovered an ancient cemetery at Deve Huyuk, a village on the railway between Aleppo and Jerablus. He first sent Dahoum across to find out what was happening, and then went himself. 'I spent about £10 there before Woolley came: though the people were only plundering, with no idea of what to keep or look for. So that my work there was educational for the more part.'⁴⁷ After his visit he wrote excitedly to Hogarth: 'The Hittite graves were full of great bronze spears and axes and swords, that the wretches have broken up and thrown away, because Madame Koch [an Aleppo dealer] . . . didn't buy such things. I got some good fibulae which are yours, and not Kenyon's this time at all events... (eighteen miles away) much better than the British Museum ones, some bracelets and ear-rings of bronze, a curious pot or two... and as a sideline, some Roman glazed bottles, with associated Greek pottery, and a pleasant little lot of miscellanea... tomorrow I return there to gather up, I hope, Hittite bronze weapons in sheaves:— unless the police get there first. It is exciting digging:— a plunge down a shaft at night, the smashing of a stone door, and the hasty shovelling of all objects into a bag by lamp-light. One has to pay tolerably highly for glazed pottery, so I will probably buy no more... glass is found, but very dear... bronze is thought nothing of.'⁴⁸ It turned out later that the weapons discarded by the villagers were made of iron not bronze.

When Woolley reached Aleppo on February 27th, Lawrence showed him samples of the finds. Woolley was impressed, and later reported to Kenyon that he had sent Hamoudi, the Carchemish foreman, 'to supervise the work, to preserve tomb-groups, and to keep off Aleppo dealers. On our way here we visited the village and spent a day and a night there, looking after the digging, taking proper notes and buying everything of value . . . We have secured a number of intact tomb-groups and a collection of picked specimens from the other graves. These include bronze bowls of various shapes, either plain or with repoussé and chased decoration in Phoenician style, iron spears and daggers, bronze arrow-heads and a bronze sword-shape finely decorated; glazed faience vessels of Graeco-Phoenician types resembling specimens from Cyprus, and glazed beads and amulets imitating the Egyptian; Greek black-figured vases, and plain pottery closely preserving middle-Hittite traditions; alabasters, fibulae and ear-rings; bronze horns from a head-dress of Hittite character, a few Phoenician seals and scarabs, and other small loot . . . Our visit was opportune, for on the same day three men had been sent out to the place by the agent for the Berlin museum in Aleppo; they were however intercepted by our cook [Haj Wahid] who by the use of his revolver persuaded them to take the next train home. We have arranged for any further objects of interest to be reserved for us.'⁴⁹ Phoenician

materials such as those found at Deve Huyuk are relatively rare, so Lawrence and Woolley were delighted. Chap. 6
Age 24

The fourth Carchemish season began on March 21st. Lawrence, with seventy men, started to clear the South Gate, and Woolley, with 130 men, tackled the Lower Palace area. The light railways had at last arrived, but Gregori was inexplicably absent (it turned out that the letter telling him of the new season had gone astray). Without him Woolley and Lawrence were kept extremely busy. Since the Baghdad Railway was now running a three-and-a-half-hour passenger service to Jerablus, they were constantly distracted. Lawrence wrote home: 'we dig furiously, and are inundated by visitors: it makes our day very difficult: we start in the morning early as usual, when it is too cold to do any writing of notes or planning or photography: and then about 10am. comes one batch of visitors, and about 3pm. a second. They are usually foreigners or distinguished people, or people with introductions:— and we have to show them all over: such a dull set!'¹⁵⁰

The problems of supervising two hundred men on such a large site were now considerable, and Woolley asked Kenyon to think of sending out a third Englishman in future seasons. An architect, skilled at making plans of buildings, would be ideal. Also, 'it would be a good thing if one or other of us were able to leave the site occasionally for a day or so at a time; a great deal of surreptitious digging is going on throughout the country and reports are constantly reaching us of finds which it would be worth while our going to see; but at present this is impossible, and a good many opportunities of securing objects for the Museum have to be passed over.'¹⁵¹ p. 120

The first month's work was very satisfactory, both at the South Gate and the Lower Palace. The digging provided a great deal of information about the Hittite buildings, and also some new sculptures. Woolley next decided to clear more ground at the sides of the great staircase, hoping to find the remains of Hittite buildings there. He set a second group to follow up a line of small carved reliefs uncovered in the course of work on the Lower Palace during March.

The political situation had calmed, almost to Lawrence's regret. He wrote to a friend at Jebail: 'down with the Turks! But I am afraid there is, not life, but stickiness in them yet. Their disappearance would mean a chance for the Arabs, who were at any rate once not incapable of good government.'¹⁵²

By the middle of April, the new wall of carved reliefs had proved to be a major discovery. Unlike the original Lower Palace wall, this series was in excellent condition. 'We have found more this year', Lawrence wrote, 'than we have ever found before.'¹⁵³

Elsewhere on the dig they were using dynamite to break up massive Roman concrete foundations. By the time he was twenty-five, Lawrence had learned a good deal about ways to demolish masonry with explosives. On April 26th he wrote home that fifteen new carved reliefs had been found during the month: 'Not bad that, especially as they seem to be working up to a great gate, and that the inner part of the palace is well preserved. Our digs are the richest British Museum dig since Layard's now....'¹⁵⁴

By the end of that month it was clear that the staircase work would

yield little more than a plan, though Woolley reported that 'at the top the numerous slabs and beams of polished basalt gave promise of a building of fine character lying outside the limit of this season's work.'⁵⁵ But any disappointment with the staircase dig was outweighed by the new sculptured wall, which showed a parade of soldiers and was now christened the 'Herald's Wall'. Even more important was the structure it led to, where the reliefs represented a royal family. This was dubbed the 'King's Gate': 'We called it the King's Gate (and it is apparently only a one-sided gate after all!) because it had to have a name, and we already have about four "palaces" running.'⁵⁶ Woolley noted that it was 'by far the finest monument yet discovered' at Carchemish. 'It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this gateway in its bearing upon our future work. We now know that outside the ruined area of the Lower Palace, in a part of the *Kalaat* where we had hardly expected to dig, there are buildings of the best period, rich in sculpture, and standing six feet high. Nothing before has promised so well for the site. Clearly our work will have to be extended in this direction'.⁵⁷

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Lawrence had an excellent visual memory. Woolley later recalled: 'He would look at a small fragment of a Hittite inscription which had just come to light and remark that it fitted on to an equally small piece found twelve months before, and although there were many hundreds of such in our store-room he was always right'.⁵⁸ In this way he had now succeeded in building up the longest linear inscription yet discovered. A piece of this had been found during March: 'Mr. Lawrence, who was copying this large fragment, was able to join it up with another large (but worn) fragment recovered by Mr. Thompson from a flourmill outside the *Kalaat*, and with smaller fragments found scattered over a wide area in 1911, in the spring and in the autumn seasons of 1912 and during the present season.'⁵⁹

When the harvest began in early May, many of the men left to work in their fields. Woolley gave up major excavations on the site and instead turned his attention to an area just north of Carchemish near the village of Yunus, which had been the ancient city's main graveyard. By excavating this cemetery he hoped to find Hittite and other artefacts in a historical sequence which would make it easier to date the various monuments at Carchemish. He wrote: 'now, when the success of our town digging is assured, seems the right moment for securing such information. The cemetery has probably been, to a large extent at least, plundered in antiquity, but I hope to secure inscribed grave stelae, pottery and bronzes covering a period from at least as early as Late Hittite I to the Babylonian conquest'.⁶⁰

The week before starting on the Yunus cemetery, Woolley cleared away a mound of earth that had been left between two excavated areas near the Lower Palace and discovered fragments of a great statue. Lawrence wrote: 'we have found a colossal face, which was hideous: the mouth was a pout with a cicatrice across the top:... the nose was gone (the only bright spot) the eyes were like a codfish's, the hair was like a braid. The ensemble we have called Hadad [a Hittite god] and feel revenged upon him: Woolley slept near it one night by accident in the court yard, and started up three times with evil dreams'.⁶¹

Lawrence was having equal success outside the dig. Quite apart from the important Deve Huyuk finds, he had bought a good collection of seals

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and other Hittite objects for the Ashmolean. Indeed, he had been so successful that he had outstripped Hogarth's purchasing grant, even though he often sold *antikas* to the Ashmolean for less than they had cost. His dedication to Hogarth's collection was not shared by Woolley, and they disagreed over the disposal of seals found in a second cemetery at Deve Huyuk. Lawrence wrote to Leeds: 'Woolley wants the whole Deve Huyuk collection to be *offered* to the British Museum and the Ashmolean to have the rest – the leavings, so to speak. That is all very well for the bronze bowl groups, where there are many duplicates of each thing, but it won't do for the cremation cemetery, since spheroids don't duplicate each other:– besides the only possible place for decent seals is in the Ashmolean. Therefore I have told Woolley, that I have given the seals to you, and have no intention of asking them back. He talked of writing to Hogarth on the matter, suggesting that the seals be kept neutral for the moment, and of course if Hogarth agreed to that I couldn't very well present them to you by force. Only I should be rather annoyed, because I want the Ashmolean to be the best collection of that sort in the running, and the seals are not part of any tomb-group, and don't help to date anything: each was found by itself in an urn of burnt bones. Therefore there can be no sort of objection to divorcing them from the London half of the collection, and I'll be glad if you will lump them into the register at once as purchased.'⁶²

The number of Hittite seals at Oxford was substantially increased by Lawrence's contributions. Ashmolean records show that between a third and a half of the remarkable collection assembled under Hogarth's direction before the First World War was purchased in the field by Lawrence. He also bought other kinds of *antikas* for the museum, often refusing payment.

Just as the spring 1913 season was ending, the Turkish Government asked whether Lawrence or Woolley would run a small excavation at Rakka, a medieval site a hundred miles down the Euphrates. At this stage it was not certain whether the necessary funding could be raised, and Lawrence told Leeds: 'I said that I would, but that to pay the salary which I at present enjoyed would double the cost of the dig: and they don't want to spend more than they can help. I suggested a gratification in a partshare of the objects found, which they accepted, and we are now discussing the amount of my share. If the thing comes off, it will be this summer, either July, or August. If I could get a decent collection of that Rakka ware (say a case) in the Ashmolean for no more expense than at present appears probable, I think both D.G.H. and Bell would be pleased.'⁶³

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Lawrence was planning only a short stay in England during the summer. When the graveyard digs were finished he would be busy for a while cataloguing and photographing the many objects found, and there were also the ancient sites at Abu Galgal and elsewhere that he had not been able to visit the previous year. His workload of pottery fragments was enormously increased during the last week of the digs when Woolley and Gregori 'wandered . . . almost to Yunus village, looking for something new, when all of a sudden we found that the surface pottery took a new aspect: we put twelve men on and have had two days' work as yet . . . we have got a pottery factory, with furnaces and wasters, of the latest neolithic period'.⁶⁴ Lawrence reported that: 'There are about 11,000 fragments, and there must be about twenty complete pots amongst that

lot: we collected together three or four such ourselves. It has, as you may imagine, kept us busy.⁶⁵

Chap. 6
Age 24

Woolley left Jerablus to return to England on June 14th, very happy with his season's work. Hogarth, who had seen the photographs of the Herald's Wall and King's Gate, had written that they were the best things found archaeologically for many years: 'Kenyon is lyrical'.⁶⁶ Lawrence stayed on at Carchemish for a while; he had thought of travelling in Asia Minor, but there was now too little time if he was to get back to England: 'next year we hope to make some arrangement with the British Museum about our travelling money. It is absurd that one should have to come home, to draw one's salary and keep for that fortnight.'⁶⁷ As it was, he had now cut his planned visit to England to ten days or so, having spent less than three weeks at home during the previous eighteen months. His parents must have feared that such a long period in Syria was beginning to affect his values. For example, in the first season Lawrence had told them that the men had chosen Sunday for their day of rest, 'though they are nominal Mahommedans'.⁶⁸ In March 1913, however, he had begun a letter home with the casual remark: 'Today is Friday, which is our Sunday'.⁶⁹ This comment (which reached his parents in Oxford a few days after Canon Christopher's death) drew a protest. Lawrence replied: 'You complain of our keeping Friday – but would it be quite considerate to make two hundred workmen miss their day for the sake of the two of us?'⁷⁰

It seems probable that he was already beginning to lose the evangelical fervour that he had learned at St Aldate's. Under the influence of the bedouin culture, his Christianity would be replaced during the next few years by something approaching agnosticism. There is evidence that by 1913 he had already begun to favour some bedouin attitudes. For example on June 15th he wrote home: 'As for a poor appetite, which in Arnie Father deplores, it is a thing to be above all thankful for. If it were himself who felt no desire to eat, would he not rejoice aloud. To escape the humiliation of loading in food, would bring one very near the angels. Why not let him copy that very sensible Arab habit, of putting off the chewing of bread till the moment that instinct makes it desirable. If we had no fixed meal-hours, and unprepared food, we would not fall into middle-age.'⁷¹

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Notes for Chapter 6. Learning from the Arabs

June 1912 – June 1913

1. T. E. Lawrence to his family 23.6.1912 *HL* pp. 215-17. Bodleian MS Res C13.
2. T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.6.1912 *HL* pp. 218-19. Bodleian MS Res C13.
3. See T. E. Lawrence to J. Buchan 20.6.1927: 'All my walking tours in Syria were done in European clothes; and four months was the longest. I only wore Arab kit on one or two short treks after forbidden antiquities.' (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.) He told Liddell Hart that disguise 'was easy in north Syria, where the racial admixture has produced many fair natives and many with only a broken knowledge of Arabic. I could never pass as an Arab – but easily as some other native speaking Arabic.' (*B:LH* p. 85).

It seems that on one of these journeys in Arab dress, his disguise was too successful, and he was arrested on suspicion of trying to evade Turkish military service. Little is known about this incident, but it appears that Lawrence was beaten up and had to be taken to hospital (see *SP* ch. LXXX p. 446: ‘myself . . . a timid recruit at Khalfati’, and *SP(O)* ch. 87: ‘myself in hospital at Khalfati’). Khalfati is between Aintab and Urfa, and this led D. Garnett to believe that Lawrence was referring to the occasion in 1909 when he was attacked during his first visit to Syria (see *DG* p. 80). Lawrence himself placed the incident in about 1912 (see *B:LH* p. 141).

4. T. E. Lawrence to his family 24.6.1912 *HL* p. 219. Bodleian MS Res C13.
5. T. E. Lawrence to his family 21.7.1912 *HL* pp. 223-4; omitted from *MB* p. 46. Bodleian MS Res C13.
6. T. E. Lawrence to his family 3.8.1912 *HL* p. 227. Bodleian MS Res C13.
7. H. Flecker (ed.), *Some Letters from Abroad of James Elroy Flecker* (London, William Heinemann, 1930) p. 59.
8. T. E. Lawrence to W. G. Lawrence 12.9.1912 *HL* p. 230. Bodleian MS Res C13.
9. *Ibid.* *HL* p. 229.
10. For an amusing but probably embellished account of this episode see C. L. Woolley, *Dead Towns and Living Men* (London, OUP, 1920) pp. 100-5.
11. T. E. Lawrence to M. R. Lawrence 12.9.1912 *HL* p. 231. Bodleian MS Res C13.
12. T. E. Lawrence to his family 13.9.1912 *HL* pp. 232-3. Bodleian MS Res C13.
13. T. E. Lawrence to M. R. Lawrence 12.9.1912 *HL* p. 230. Bodleian MS Res C13.
14. T. E. Lawrence to his family 18.9.1912 *HL* p. 233. Bodleian MS Res C13.
15. T. E. Lawrence to his family 2.10.1912 *HL* p. 235. Bodleian MS Res C13.
16. T. E. Lawrence to his family 8.10.1912 *HL* p. 236. Bodleian MS Res C13.
17. *Ibid.*
18. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 29.5.1913. BM/WAA.
19. T. E. Lawrence to his family 15.10.1912 *HL* p. 237. Bodleian MS Res C13.
20. *Ibid.*
21. D. G. Hogarth to C. L. Woolley 22.10.1912. BM/WAA.
22. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.10.1912 *HL* p. 239; omitted from *MB* p.47. Bodleian MS Res C13.
23. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.2.1913 *HL* p. 248. Bodleian MS Res C13.
24. T. E. Lawrence to V. W. Richards 15.7.1918 *DG* p. 244; *MB* p. 150.
25. ‘The Kaer of ibu Wardani’ [*sic*], by C.J.G. [pseud. of T. E. Lawrence] in *Jesus College Magazine* (Oxford) Vol. I, No. 2, January 1913, pp. 37-9. The title should have been printed: ‘The Kasr of Ibn Wardani’.
26. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.10.1912 *HL* pp. 239-40. Bodleian

MS Res C13.

27. C. L. Woolley (*op. cit.* note 10 above) p. 188.
28. C. L. Woolley to F. G. Kenyon 1.11.1912. BM/A.
29. C. L. Woolley to F. G. Kenyon 9.11.1912. BM/A.
30. *Ibid.*
31. T. E. Lawrence to his family 10.11.1912 *HL* pp. 242-3. Bodleian MS Res C13.
32. T. E. Lawrence to his family 14.11.1912 *HL* p. 243. Bodleian MS Res C13.
33. C. L. Woolley, report to the Trustees of the British Museum for November 1912. BM/A. Sinjirli, excavated by German archaeologists in 1882-92, is an important Hittite site at the foot of the Amanus mountains in Turkey.
34. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 7.1.1913. Bodleian R (transcript).
35. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 3.12.1912. BM/A.
36. T. E. Lawrence, note for inclusion in Liddell Hart's biography *B:LH* p. 87.
37. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 20.12.1912. BM/A.
38. F. G. Kenyon to D. G. Hogarth 27.12.1912. BM/WAA.
39. *Ibid.*
40. D. G. Hogarth to F. G. Kenyon 29.12.1912. BM/A.
41. F. G. Kenyon to D. G. Hogarth 10.1.1913. BM/A.
42. T. E. Lawrence to C. L. Woolley 25.1.1913. BM/A.
43. T. E. Lawrence to his family 2.2.1913 partially omitted from *HL* p. 245. Bodleian MS Res C13.
44. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 2.2.1913. Leeds papers.
45. T. E. Lawrence to his family 22.2.1913 *HL* p. 248; omitted from *MB* p. 47. Bodleian MS Res C13.
46. Lawrence wrote to his family on 22nd February 1913: 'At Aleppo I stayed five days more than I need[ed] entertaining two naval officers, who became partners in my iniquity of gun-running at Beyrout. The consular need of rifles involved myself, the Consul General at Beyrout, Flecker, the Admiral at Malta, our Ambassador at Stamboul, two captains, and two lieutenants, besides innumerable *cavasses*, in one common law-breaking. However Fontana got his stuff, and as he was too ill to entertain the porters, I had to trot them over Aleppo. And we did trot over it all, all day and all night, and out to Jerablus *en prince*, and back laded with Babylonian gems, and Greek coins, and Roman bronzes, and Persian carpets and Arab pottery... all going to a warship, a modern engine of efficiency and destruction... what will their captain say to their stuffed bags?' (Bodleian MS Res C13, omitted from *HL* p. 248; *MB* pp. 47-8). His parents must have been shocked by this dramatic account, because in a subsequent letter Lawrence wrote: 'About gun-running – it was ten rifles for the defence of the Aleppo consulate; sent up by the *Medea*. We are using both ships this week for the export of the first part of our Phoenician collection.' (28.3.1913. Bodleian MS Res C13, omitted from *HL* p. 252).

The circumstances of this gun-running expedition are explained in a letter from R. A. Fontana to Sir G. A. Lowther, British Ambassador in Constantinople, of 15.6.1913: 'I had exchanged correspondence between November and February with His

Majesty's Consul General at Beyrout with regard to the supply of rifles for this Consulate, but owing to apprehended difficulties with regard to landing the arms, the matter remained in abeyance. During February Mr. Lawrence, one of the excavators at Jerablus in the employ of the British Museum, passed through Aleppo on his way to Beyrout. Mr. Lawrence, who knows the country well, offered of his own accord to bring the rifles to Aleppo, provided they were landed at a sea-side house in the vicinity of Beyrout belonging to friends of his. And I gave him a letter in this sense to Mr. Consul General Cumberbatch. The Senior Naval Officer, after consulting with His Majesty's Consul General, who read him the letter, decided to land and forward the rifles in charge of two Naval Lieutenants accompanied by a Consular *Cavass* . . .

'In view of the extremely critical situation prevailing in this region subsequent to the outbreak of war with the Balkan States, owing to the imminent menace of a Kurdish rising accompanied by a wide Arab tribal movement . . . I thought it necessary that this Consulate should be provided with arms for its protection and for that of British Subjects who would take refuge therein in the event of an outbreak. Six Army rifles and twelve revolvers were supplied to the United States Consul, and rifles were also supplied to the Russian Consul at Aleppo by his Government previous to the war between Turkey and the Balkan States. This Consulate . . . is particularly exposed in situation and in construction to attack by a mob. And the presence of warships at Beyrout and Alexandretta, although a sure safeguard for those ports, cannot be considered as affording a guarantee for the safety of foreign subjects at Aleppo in exceptionally critical times.' (FO 371/1812, fos. 101-2).

47. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 25.5.1913 *L-L* p. 70. Leeds papers.
48. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth end of February 1913 *MB* pp. 48-9. BM/A.
49. C. L. Woolley to F. G. Kenyon 4.3.1913. BM/A.
50. T. E. Lawrence to his family 23.3.1913 *HL* p. 251. Bodleian MS Res C13.
51. C. L. Woolley, report to the Trustees of the British Museum for March 1913. BM/A.
52. T. E. Lawrence to Mrs Rieder 5.4.1913 *DG* p. 152.
53. T. E. Lawrence to F. Messham 18.4.1913 *DG* p. 153.
54. T. E. Lawrence to his family 26.4.1913 *HL* p. 254. Bodleian MS Res C13.
55. C. L. Woolley, report to the Trustees of the British Museum for April 1913. BM/A.
56. T. E. Lawrence to D. G. Hogarth 14.5.1913. BM/A.
57. C. L. Woolley, report to the Trustees of the British Museum for April 1913. BM/A.
58. C. L. Woolley in *Friends* p. 87.
59. C. L. Woolley, report to the Trustees of the British Museum for April 1913. BM/A.
60. *Ibid.*
61. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 13.5.1913 *L-L* pp. 68-9. Leeds papers.
62. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 15.5.1913 *L-L* p. 71. Leeds papers.
63. T. E. Lawrence to E. T. Leeds 1.6.1913 *L-L* p. 73. Leeds papers.

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64. C. L. Woolley to D. G. Hogarth 6.6.1913. BM/WAA.
65. T. E. Lawrence to his family 11.6.1913 *HL* p. 256 (where 'kept' is mistranscribed 'left'). Bodleian MS Res C13.
66. T. E. Lawrence to his family 15.6.1913 *HL* p. 257. Bodleian MS Res C13.
67. *Ibid.* *HL* p. 258.
68. T. E. Lawrence to his family 20.3.1911 *HL* p. 142. Bodleian MS Res C13.
69. T. E. Lawrence to his family 13.3.1913 *HL* p. 249. Bodleian MS Res C13.
70. T. E. Lawrence to his family 26.4.1913 *HL* p. 254. Bodleian MS Res C13.
71. T. E. Lawrence to his family 15.6.1913 *HL* p. 258. Bodleian MS Res C13. On this occasion his revulsion from food may have had a particular explanation. The following day he wrote to Leeds, 'A camel died next to our house last week, and the wind is setting in strongly from its remains'. (16.6.1913 *L-L* p. 74. Leeds papers).