

## Who was Homer's Daughter?: Robert Graves and T.E. Lawrence

What is history but a fable agreed upon?<sup>1</sup>  
- Napoleon Bonaparte

In his 1955 novel, *Homer's Daughter*,<sup>2</sup> Robert Graves patterned his heroine-first person narrator after Col. Thomas Edward Lawrence of Arabia (d. 1935). The thesis of *Homer's Daughter* itself is that *The Odyssey* was composed by a woman on Sicily named Nausicca. She portrayed herself as the character Nausicca in *The Odyssey*, as she eventually passed it off under Homer's name. This Sicilian-female author theory had been posited by the translator of *The Odyssey* Samuel Butler.<sup>3</sup> It had been readvanced by Farrington in 1929.<sup>4</sup>

T.E. Lawrence (as "T.E. Shaw") himself translated *The Odyssey*.<sup>5</sup> Graves, with Lawrence's help, had been a Lawrence biographer. Evidence internal to *Homer's Daughter* circumstantially substantiates the argument that Lawrence was an inspiration for Graves. (Graves portrayed Lawrence, at least partially, in the person of Germanicus in Graves' *I, Claudius*.<sup>6</sup>) The bibliographies of Lawrence<sup>7</sup> and of Graves<sup>8</sup> hint that a deeper investigation of the matter is called for than yet might have been achieved.

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator traces her patrilineal descent from the hero Aegestus, who led his people to Western Sicily "some four hundred years ago." They settled there thanks to the local king.<sup>9</sup> And not dissimilarly Lawrence had written to Graves: "My father's family were Co. Meath in Ireland. A Leicester squire-root, which got a huge grant from Q. Elizabeth, by favour of W. Raleigh, their cousin."<sup>10</sup>

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator recounts: "We Elymans pride ourselves on being the remotest nation of the civilized world; though this is, indeed, to disregard certain flourishing Greek colonies planted in Spain, and Mauretania since we first made the boast — ...."<sup>11</sup> The Elymans are characterized by Aethon (the *Homer's Daughter* Odysseus-figure) as "the most westerly of civilized nations."<sup>12</sup> Here Graves follows Homer.<sup>13</sup>

Graves, like B.H. Liddell Hart a biographer of Lawrence, emphasized Lawrence's Irishness:

...Irish he undoubtedly was: of those Plantation settlers who became (as Geraldus Cambrensis once noted of the English who went over with Strongbow) more Irish than the Irish. He had all the marks of the Irishman: the rhetoric of freedom, the rhetoric of chastity, the rhetoric of honour, the power to excite sudden deep affections, loyalty to the long-buried past, high aims qualified by too

mocking a sense of humour, serenity clouded by petulance and broken by occasional black despairs, playboy charm and theatricality, imagination that over-runs itself and tires, extreme generosity, serpent cunning, lion courage, diabolic intuition, and the curse of self-doubt which becomes enmity to self and sometimes renouncement of all that is most loved and esteemed.<sup>14</sup>

And the Irish long were the most westerly of Christian nations, if one disregards certain Norse colonies subsequently planted in Iceland and Greenland.

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator identifies herself: "As for my condition and lineage: I am a princess of the Elymans, a mixed race...."<sup>15</sup> And biographer Graves wrote not dissimilarly of T.E. Lawrence, with Lawrence's own corrections: "He was born in 1888 in North Wales, of mixed blood, none of it Welsh; it is Irish, Spanish, Isle of Skye [Hebridean], Dutch and Swedish [Norse]. Mixed blood has meant for Lawrence a natural gift for learning foreign languages, ...."<sup>16</sup>

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator tells Aethon: "A young woman's reputation for chastity is of the utmost value to her, and I have always been at pains to keep mine irreproachable; moreover, if I am ever lucky enough to bear a daughter, she will have to do the same, or forfeit my love."<sup>17</sup>

But the *Homer's Daughter* narrator Nausicca's reference to a mother demanding chastity of a daughter is Graves' own interjection into Homer's words of Nausicca to Odysseus in Book VI of *The Odyssey*:

...I too would blame another girl who did such things as consort with men before she had come to public marriage, against the will of her friends while her father and mother were still alive.<sup>18</sup>  
(Lawrence)

...I should be scandalized myself if I saw any girl going with a stranger, while her father and mother were yet alive, without being married to him in the face of all the world.<sup>19</sup> (Butler)

And I myself should hold it shame  
for any girl to flout her own dear parents,  
taking up with a man, before her marriage.<sup>20</sup>  
(Robert Fitzgerald)

Indeed, I should not approve of any girl who did such a thing, flying in the face of her friends, with

her father and mother to teach her better, if she has anything to do with men before it comes to marriage open and above-board.<sup>21</sup> (W.D.H. Rouse)

One of Lawrence's major concerns about an independent biographer was exposure of Lawrence's illegitimacy.<sup>22</sup> Graves, fortunately, was a friend of T.E. and in Lawrence's debt.<sup>23</sup> Lawrence told Graves of Lawrence's illegitimacy, although not for publication.<sup>24</sup> And Lawrence's mother was herself illegitimate.<sup>25</sup>

And T.E., like Nausicca, kept irreproachable his own reputation for chastity. Lawrence in 1928 wrote Graves that Lawrence, born in 1888, remained a virgin.<sup>26</sup>

The mother of the *Homer's Daughter* narrator bore four sons and a daughter. That daughter, who thus had four brothers, proved Graves' author of "Homer's" *Odyssey*.<sup>27</sup> And Lawrence of Arabia's parents had five sons and no daughters.<sup>28</sup> Son T.E., who thus had four brothers, proved a translator of Homer's *Odyssey*.

But here *Homer's Daughter* departs from Book VI of *The Odyssey*. Homer's Nausicaa, unlike Graves' Nausicaa and unlike T.E. Lawrence, had at least five (not four) brothers.<sup>29</sup> When Graves rejects his Homeric fictional model, Graves turns toward the facts of T.E. Lawrence.

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator is not tall.<sup>30</sup> This is the case throughout Graves' novel, when his narrator Nausicca is about sixteen years of age.<sup>31</sup> She is pallid,<sup>32</sup> and does not walk like a princess.<sup>33</sup> And Graves not dissimilarly records Lawrence as "short (five feet, five and a half inches)",<sup>34</sup> not having grown since the age of sixteen.<sup>35</sup> Lawrence's complexion was fair.<sup>36</sup> He carried his head a tilt, with his gaze to the ground.<sup>37</sup>

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator recounts that the overseas warrior-hero Aethon's "legs were a trifle short in proportion to his muscular body."<sup>38</sup> Here novelist Graves departs from Homer's Book VI:

When he had so thoroughly washed and anointed himself smoothly and put on the clothes given him by the girl, then did Athene daughter of Zeus contrive to make him seem taller and stronger, ....<sup>39</sup> (Lawrence)

When Ulysses had done washing, Minerva made him look much grander and more imposing, ....<sup>40</sup> (Butler)

And now Odysseus, dousing in the river, scrubbed the coat of brine from back and shoulders and rinsed the clot of sea-spume from his hair; got himself all rubbed down, from head to foot, then he put on the clothes the princess gave him. Athena lent a hand, making him seem taller, and massive too, ....<sup>41</sup> (Robert Fitzgerald)

When he had washed all clean and rubbed himself with oil, and put on the clothes which the princess had provided, Athenaia daughter of Zeus made him taller and stronger to look at, ....<sup>42</sup> (W.D.H. Rouse)

And not dissimilarly Graves' overseas war hero Lawrence (unlike Homer's Odysseus) presented a "body long, I should judge, in proportion to his legs, for he is more impressive seated than standing."<sup>43</sup> Novelist Graves departs from Homer to describe instead an adventurer resembling Lawrence of Arabia.

Early in Graves' novel, the *Homer's Daughter* narrator describes the feast of her suitors:

In a half circle around the old man, at a decent distance, were ranged a score of beechwood trestle tables, waxed and polished, each supporting a great dish of well-scrubbed copper, on which lay steaming joints of mutton, pork and beef. Once again it occurred to me: how disgustingly men eat, hacking off strips of meat with daggers, and cramming them into their mouths until the juice runs down wrists and chins! A few used bread to wipe themselves clean; the remainder did not trouble.<sup>44</sup>

After the men had acknowledged themselves defeated by the plenty set before them, slaves went around carrying towels, sponges, and basins of warm water, into which a little vinegar had been poured, to wash the guests' hands; ....<sup>45</sup>

But novelist Graves' "great dish of well-scrubbed copper" diverges from Homer's Book I:

The suitors swaggered in. One after the other they seated themselves on the thrones and long chairs. Their retainers poured water for their hands, and the maids of the house heaped loaves of bread in each man's table-basket while the serving lads brimmed the wine-cisterns with drink. Every hand went out to the abundance so laid ready.<sup>46</sup> (Lawrence)

Meanwhile the suitors came trooping into the sheltered cloisters that ran round the inner court; here, according to their wont, they feasted; and when they had done eating they compelled Phemius, a famous bard, to sing to them.<sup>47</sup> (Butler)

Now came the suitors, young bloods trooping in to their own seats on thrones or easy chairs. Attendants poured water over their fingers, while the maids piled baskets full of brown loaves near at hand,

and houseboys brimmed the bowls with wine. Now they laid hands upon the ready feast and thought of nothing more.<sup>48</sup> (Robert Fitzgerald)

In came the gallants, full of pride. They flung themselves down at once into chairs or settles, one after another, and the orderlies poured water over their hands, while the women piled up heaps of rolls in the baskets, and the boys filled the mixing-bowls with drink to the brim. Then they put out their hands to take the good things that lay ready.<sup>49</sup> (W.D.H. Rouse)

Whence derives novelist Graves' great dish of copper?

Biographer Graves not dissimilarly describes Lawrence's wartime feasting with the Arabs:

Every morning they had to go to a different guest-tent and eat an enormous meal. About fifty men were present at each of these feasts and the food was always served on the same enormous copper dish, five feet across, which was lent from host to host and belonged really to Auda.<sup>50</sup>

....  
Taking their time from Nasir, the most honourable man of the company, they rolled up their right sleeves, said grace and dipped together with their fingers. Only the right hand might be used, for good manners. Lawrence always dipped cautiously; his fingers could hardly bear the hot fat. Nobody was allowed to talk, for it was an insult to the host not to appear to be very hungry indeed, eating at top speed. The host himself stood by and encouraged their appetites as they dipped, tore and gobbled. At last eating gradually slackened and each man crouched with his elbow on his knee, the hand hanging down from the wrist to drip over the edge of the tray.<sup>51</sup>

....  
The more dainty eaters wiped the grease off their hands on a flap of the roof-cloth intended for this purpose. Then sighingly all sat down on carpets, while slaves splashed water over their hands and the tribal cake of soap went round.<sup>52</sup>

Lawrence of Arabia dined *en masse* from an enormous copper dish, the many male guests gobbling breakfast before being washed by slaves. Where Graves diverges from the fiction of Homer, Graves follows the history of Lawrence ("enormous copper dish").

A semibarbarian teenager most improbably would be squeamish about the public table manners of her neighbors. On the other hand, Graves recorded of T.E.: "It is his

opinion that feeding is a very intimate performance and should be done in a small room behind locked doors."<sup>53</sup>

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator recalls considering being raped in the course of a revolt: "My contention was that it would be almost impossible for a man to violate a determined woman against her will, unless he first knocked her insensible."<sup>54</sup> This *dictum* is unnecessary to the novelist's story, which witnesses no rape. But in chapter 80 of his military memoirs, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, Lawrence alleged a homosexual attack upon himself as a prisoner in the course of a revolt.<sup>55</sup> Of that night Lawrence wrote Charlotte Shaw: "For fear of being hurt, or rather to earn five minutes respite from a pain which drove me mad, I gave away the only possession we are born into the world with — our bodily integrity."<sup>56</sup>

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator describes the hut of the swineherd Eumaeus:

The cottage was a dark, smelly, windowless place, unfurnished except for a trestle table, a stool, and two large wooden boxes on the floor, strewn with straw, which served as beds. Eumaeus's wife had died giving birth to his only son — the boy who used to drive the hogs down to us — and no touch of a woman's hand was to be seen anywhere. It occurred to me that the Greek camp before Troy must have been in a pretty filthy condition by the tenth year, unless the women captives taken in raids set themselves to improve it —....<sup>57</sup>

But Graves' source, Book XIV of *The Odyssey*, makes no comparable reference to the lack of a woman's homemaking touch.

And Robert Graves had visited barrackroom veteran<sup>58</sup> ("the Greek camp before Troy") T.E. Lawrence's own country cottage,<sup>59</sup> Clouds Hill.<sup>60</sup> Here are several later biographers' accounts of Clouds Hill:

With a bachelor's instinct for lessening chores, he examined the whole ritual of housekeeping. Much earlier he had decided that beds were unnecessary and instead had two sleeping bags, one for himself and one for when he had a visitor. He did away with socks to avoid washing them and wore instead a pair of high sheepskin slippers with rubber soles. Washing up was done by placing the dishes in a sloping brick bath and pouring boiling water on them. Meals were like picnics, often eaten straight from tins.<sup>61</sup> (*Philip Knightley and Colin Simpson*)

Cloud's Hill was redesigned to need a minimum of upkeep. Apart from a mass of books, a gramophone and a large collection of records, there was little furniture. Lawrence slept in a sleeping-

bag to avoid using sheets (he required two sleeping-bags, one marked "meum", the other "teum"). He never built a kitchen but water could be boiled and bread toasted over the cottage's open fire; his preferred foods involved no preparation; he would often eat directly from the cans because the containers could be thrown away after use.<sup>62</sup> (Michael Yardley)

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator describes, at the close of her story, the corpses of her suitors: "Being our fellow countrymen, they were not despoiled, but propped in neat rows against the porch of the main gateway."<sup>63</sup> But novelist Graves here parts company from Homer (Book XXII):

First they bore out the dead and laid them in heaps along the portico of the walled court — ....<sup>64</sup> (Lawrence)

First they carried the dead bodies out, and propped them against one another in the gatehouse of the outer court.<sup>65</sup> (Butler)

They fell to work to lug the corpses out into the courtyard under the gateway, propping one against another as Odysseus ordered, for he himself stood over them.<sup>66</sup> (Robert Fitzgerald)

First they had to carry out the dead bodies, and lay them along the courtyard wall, packed close together under the gallery.<sup>67</sup> (W.D.H. Rouse)

Novelist Graves' dead, *Homer's Daughter* defeated suitors are deployed "in neat rows." However, the dead suitors in *The Odyssey* are heaped about one another. Why this revision?

Memoirist T.E. Lawrence himself recalled the corpses of defeated Turks in a well-known incident from chapter 54 of his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*:<sup>68</sup> "The corpses seemed flung so pitifully on the ground, huddled anyhow in low heaps. Surely if straightened they would be comfortable at last. So I put them all in order, one by one, very wearied myself, and longing to be of these quiet ones, ...."<sup>69</sup> (Roughly three-quarters of Graves' biography of Lawrence paraphrases *Seven Pillars*.<sup>70</sup>) Graves finds corpses in Homer, as Lawrence found corpses of his foes, in low heaps. Both the novelist's characters and the memoirist himself straighten them neatly.

The *Homer's Daughter* narrator recites of the models for characters which she inserted into her original manuscript passed off as Homer's *Odyssey*: "...I have consigned to oblivion all the names of my living characters, giving them pseudonyms — as I do here...."<sup>71</sup> Observe the double pseudonymity. And T.E. Lawrence on June 28, 1927, wrote not dissimilarly of double pseudonymity to

biographer Graves: "The names of the 'unhistorical' people, the small fry, English, Arab and Turk in the *Seven Pillars* were fictitious in the MS. and were again changed for the printed text. So they are doubly unrecognisable."<sup>72</sup>

Novelist Graves explains in his prefatory Historical Note that "while working on an explanatory dictionary of Greek myths, I found Butler's arguments for a Western Sicilian setting and for a female authorship irrefutable."<sup>73</sup> T.E. Lawrence himself had recalled, for Charlotte Shaw, Butler's speculation that *The Odyssey's* author was a woman.<sup>74</sup> On July 30, 1929, Lawrence had written Bruce Rogers: "The feminine authorship is a possibility: either an unsexed woman or an unsexed man. My feelings are for the second, as I can't see a woman drawing Penelope so meanly."<sup>75</sup> And Lawrence on August 20, 1933, had told Liddell Hart (as Hart recited in a nonfiction book issued with Graves years before the latter penned *Homer's Daughter*) of Lawrence's "'sexlessness', and the fact that his senses were quite different to those of most people."<sup>76</sup>

Before T.E. had completed his *Odyssey* translation,<sup>77</sup> T.E. wrote a piece of pure science fiction<sup>78</sup> at the request of Graves and Laura Riding<sup>79</sup> for their burlesque novel<sup>80</sup> *No Decency Left*.<sup>81</sup> Their request had been for T.E.'s description of a fantastic autogiro of the future.<sup>82</sup> Lawrence complied.<sup>83</sup> Apprehend the gender which Lawrence proposes for his autogiro's creator: "The designer should be a Spanish lady, I think; the aircraft trade being by 2000 A.D. entirely in the hands of modistes: or is your hero a strong silent man?"<sup>84</sup>

By mid-July 1931 Graves' unsatisfactory initial draft of *No Decency Left* had been rewritten almost completely by Riding.<sup>85</sup> It was to be published under the pseudonym Barbara Rich.<sup>86</sup> This gender transposition concealed the sex of both male contributors Graves and Lawrence — as Graves' *Homer's Daughter* narrator disguises the sex of Graves' model, T.E.

The name Barbara is suggestive of "barbarian". In the ancient world, the name meant someone who did not speak Greek. This further masked the *No Decency Left* contributor Lawrence, who was translating Homer. T.E. so informed Graves contemporaneously.<sup>87</sup>

The legendary Lawrence of Arabia as model for Graves' supposed authoress ("unsexed man") of the text of *The Odyssey* went unremarked in various reviews of *Homer's Daughter*.<sup>88</sup> It was passed over even by such reviewers as Rex Warner.<sup>89</sup> Seymour Krim,<sup>90</sup> and Maurice Richardson.<sup>91</sup> Wrote Thomas Caldecot Chubb of *Homer's Daughter*:

It is also a sharp psychological study of the Author with a capital A. It shows how he looks at the scene around him (whether he is James Branch Cabell or a half-barbaric princess) and without conscience helps himself to what he needs. It thus has an especial attraction for those who want to know about the genus *homo scribens*.<sup>92</sup>

Indeed it is, but more profoundly than Chubb guessed. *Homer's Daughter* shows how Graves looked at the scene about him and without conscience helped himself to Lawrence. The joke is that Graves purports to spin a yarn about how Homer's Nausicca is actually Graves' Nausicca, when in turn Graves knew that Graves' Nausicca was actually Lawrence. Such is the genus *homo scribens*.

Brandeis University's Henry Popkin offered: "In fact, the crowning irony of this novel is the fiction that *Homer's Daughter* is a memoir from the same pen that composed the *Odyssey*."<sup>93</sup> But the true crowning irony is that *Homer's*

*Daughter* is a novel of a real life authoress (Graves' narrator) inserting herself into a fiction (*Homer's Odyssey*), when Graves knew his narrator herself constituted insertion of a real life third party (Lawrence) into *Homer's Daughter*. Graves must have found delicious the publication in London of the unsuspecting Warner's review on a page facing J. Maclaren Ross's review<sup>94</sup> of *The Mint*<sup>95</sup> — by T.E. Lawrence!<sup>96</sup>

## Notes

1. *The Great Quotations* 477 (New York: Pocket Books, 1967) (George Seldes, compiler) (attributed to Napoleon). "History is a fraud, agreed upon." *Ibid.*, at 476.
2. Robert Graves, *Homer's Daughter* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Edition, 1987).
3. Samuel Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1967).
4. B. Farrington, *Samuel Butler and The Odyssey*, (Folcroft Library Editions, 1974).
5. T.E. Lawrence, *The Odyssey of Homer: Newly Translated into English Prose* (N.Y.: Oxford U. Press, 1991).
6. Richard Perceval Graves, *Robert Graves: The Years with Laura, 1926-1940*, 231 (N.Y.: Viking Penguin, 1990). And Germanicus was, all agree, my father's very image in feature, body (but for his thin legs), courage, intellect and nobility; so I readily combine them in my mind as a single character.
7. Philip M. O'Brien, *T.E. Lawrence: A Bibliography* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1988); Jeffrey Meyers, *T.E. Lawrence: A Bibliography* (N.Y.: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974); Frank Clements, *T.E. Lawrence: A Reader's Guide* (Hamden, Conn.: Archen Books, 1973).
8. Fred H. Higginson, *A Bibliography of the Writings of Robert Graves* (Winchester, England: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1987) (2d ed. rev. by William Proctor Williams).
9. Robert Graves, 18-19.
- ++10. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *T.E. Lawrence to His Biographers* 48 (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1963) (letter of June 28, 1927, from T.E. Lawrence to Robert Graves). Cf. *Ibid.* at 67 (talk of May 27, 1933, of T.E. Lawrence with Liddell Hart).
11. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 17-18.
12. *Ibid.* at 110. "[T]he Elymans, who live at the far western fringe of the civilized world; ...." *Ibid.* at 278-79 (words of the *Homer's Daughter* narrator).
13. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 90.
14. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 186-87.
15. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 17. "Our blood is therefore mixed." *Ibid.* at 22.
16. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 60.
17. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 112.
18. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 92.
19. Samuel Butler, *supra* note 3, at 33.
20. Homer, *The Odyssey* 107 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1963) (Robert Fitzgerald, trans.).
21. Homer, *The Odyssey: The Story of Odysseus* 79 (N.Y.: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1964) (W.D.H. Rouse, trans.). Four Books were published in the *New English Weekly* (1935), for which I thank the Editor, Mr. P. Mairet. To guard against possible mistakes I add that the translation was made before T.E. Lawrence's *Odyssey* was published. *Ibid.* at v.
22. Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorized Biography* (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1990).
23. *Ibid.* "When I told you that I might be short of money at Clouds Hill I had completely forgotten — as for years I have forgotten it — how long ago I was able to help you when you were in difficulties." *T.E. Lawrence: The Selected Letters*, 519 (N.Y.: Paragon House, 1992) (Malcolm Brown, ed.) (letter of February 4, 1935, of T.E. Lawrence to Robert Graves).
24. Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 795.

25. *Ibid.* at 31.
26. T.E. Lawrence: *The Selected Letters*, *supra* note 26, at 389 (letter of November 6, 1928, of T.E. Lawrence to Robert Graves).
27. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 25. Cf. *Ibid.* at 45.
28. Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 31.
29. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 85.
30. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 40 and 106.
31. *Ibid.* at 44.
32. *Ibid.* at 240.
33. *Ibid.* at 125.
34. Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 41.
35. *Ibid.* at 14; Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 61.
36. Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 41.
37. *Ibid.* at 42 and 57.
38. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 110.
39. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 90.
40. Samuel Butler, *supra* note 3, at 33.
41. Homer, *supra* note 23, at 105.
42. Homer, *supra* note 24, at 78.
43. Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 41. Cf. the "thin legs" of Germanicus, as quoted in note 7, *supra*.
44. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 51.
45. *Ibid.* at 52.
46. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 4-5.
47. Samuel Butler, *supra* note 3, at 19.
48. Homer, *supra* note 23, at 6.
49. Homer, *supra* note 24, at 14.
50. Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 179.
51. *Ibid.* at 179-80.
52. *Ibid.* at 180.
53. *Ibid.* at 43.
54. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 90.
55. T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* 450-55 (N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1982). This episode is the natural focal point for researching the psychology of Lawrence. See, e.g., Lawrence James, *The Golden Warrior: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* 209-221 (N.Y.: Paragon House, 1993); Philip Knightley and Colin Simpson, *The Secret Lives of Lawrence of Arabia* 235-56 (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970); John E. Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder: The Life of T.E. Lawrence* 415-41 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976).
56. T.E. Lawrence: *The Selected Letters*, *supra* note 26, at 261-62 (letter of March 26, 1924, of T.E. Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw).
57. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 177.
58. T.E. Lawrence, *The Mint* (N.Y.: The Norton Library, 1963).
59. Late in 1923, he found himself a new base, a dilapidated cottage at Cloud's Hill, Dorset, conveniently close to Bovington, where he was then stationed, and to Thomas Hardy's house at Max Gate, where he was a frequent visitor from April 1924 onwards. Lawrence James, *supra* note 58, at 341.
60. T.E. Lawrence: *The Selected Letters*, *supra* note 26, at 419 (letter of March 27, 1929, of T.E. Lawrence to A.E. (Jock) Chambers).
61. Phillip Knightley and Colin Simpson, *supra* note 58, at 308.
62. Michael Yardley, *T.E. Lawrence* 190 (Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.: Stein and Day, Pubs., 1985).
63. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 269.
64. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 5, at 303.
65. Samuel Butler, *supra* note 3, at 95.
66. Homer, *supra* note 23, at 423.
67. Homer, *supra* note 24, at 251.
68. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 58.
69. *Ibid.* at 315. That night Lawrence experienced the shameful reaction after the victory: he went walking among the plundered dead with a sick mind; his thoughts were painful, emotional and shallow. Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 209.

70. Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 796.
71. Robert Graves, *supra* note 2, at 280.
72. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 55.
73. *Ibid.* at 9.
74. Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 829.
75. Harold Orlans, ed. *Lawrence of Arabia, Strange Man of Letters: The Literary Criticism and Correspondence of T.E. Lawrence* 188 (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1993) (letter of July 30, 1929, of T.E. Lawrence to Bruce Rogers).
76. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 163.
77. *Ibid.* at 167.
78. Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 884.
79. *Ibid.*; Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 167.
80. John E. Mack, *supra* note 58, at 389.
81. Barbara Rich [pseud. of Robert Graves and Laura Riding], *No Decency Left* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), cited in Jeremy Wilson, *supra* note 25, at 1150 n. 12. The latest biography of Laura Riding is Deborah Baker, *In Extremis: The Life of Laura Riding* (Grove Press, 1993).
82. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 167.
83. *Ibid.* at 167-68.
84. *Ibid.* at 168.
85. Richard Perceval Graves, *supra* note 7, at 161.
86. *Ibid.* "[T]he novel, published in 1932 under a pseudonym that was also the name of the main character, was not what Cape had in mind." Deborah Baker, *In Extremis: The Life of Laura Riding* 276 (New York: Grove Press, 1993).
87. Robert Graves and Liddell Hart, *supra* note 13, at 167.
88. See, e.g., *New Yorker*, March 12, 1955, at 365; Booklist, March 15, 1955, at 297.
89. Rex Warner, *London Magazine*, July 1955, at 75.
90. Seymour Krim, *Robert Graves' Odyssey of a Greek Princess*, *The Commonweal*, March 18, 1955, at 636.
91. Maurice Richardson, *New Novels*, *The New Statesman and Nation*, March 5, 1955, at 333.
92. Thomas Caldecot Chubb, *Lifblood for Legend*, *Saturday Review*, February 26, 1955, at 11.
93. Henry Popkin, *An Authoress for "The Odyssey"*, *New Republic*, April 11, 1955, at 26, 27.
94. J. Maclaren-Ross, *London Magazine*, July 1955, at 71-74.
95. T.E. Lawrence, *supra* note 61.
96. Biographer Graves' hero bore a large head of the Norse type, with blue-gray eyes, was fair of complexion and hair (not blond), able to go unshaven without showing it longer than most men, Robert Graves, *supra* note 6, at 41, walked with his eyes to the ground, *Ibid.* at 42, ate each meal (at irregular intervals) in five minutes, hating to wait more than two minutes for a meal, *Ibid.* at 43, and cherished sleep, *Ibid.* at 437, although sleeping irregular hours. *Ibid.* at 44. His hero was Jesuit-schooled, *Ibid.* at 13, read widely and speedily, *Ibid.* at 14 and 17, often eighteen hours daily, *Ibid.* at 25, often nightlong, to sleep in the morning, *Ibid.* at 15-16, working always along personal lines, finding college lectures profitless, *Ibid.* at 16, and dispensing with unneeded information, such as involved mathematics. *Ibid.* at 24. This partially-Irish hero discerned no superiority in the English, *Ibid.* at 12, and disliked mass warfare wherein the individual is swallowed up. *Ibid.* at 417. But this sounds incredible. Where will one find such a man?

George Steven Swan  
N.C. A&T State University  
Greensboro, NC