T. S. Eliot, Dante, and the Idea of Europe
T. S. Eliot, Dante, and the Idea of Europe

Edited by

Paul Douglass
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GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS
USED IN CITATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in citing works of T. S. Eliot. Works not frequently cited are cited by title in parenthetical references and may be found in the "Works Cited" list at the end of the volume.


**NTDC**  *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*. London: Faber, 1948.


**TCC**  *To Criticize the Critic and other Writings*. London: Faber, 1978 [1965].

**UPUC**  *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism*. London: Faber, 1975 [1933].

A NOTE ON THE CITATION OF DANTE'S WORKS

In many cases, quotations from Dante are part of quotations from Eliot, and in those cases the reference is given to the appropriate passage in Eliot's Selected Essays. When Dante is quoted without reference to T. S. Eliot's work, the following translations are referenced, unless another reference is given in the parenthetical note. All works cited in this edition are included in the "Works Cited" list at the end of the volume.

INVOCATION:
AND MY GUIDE TOOK ME

RICHARD BERENGARTEN

And my guide took me by the hand and led me into a darkness that was not a darkness and into a silence that was not a silence and paused and said in a voice as quiet as running water You have come from a country where poetry is so trammelled up in clever elegance that only opacity is praised and prized but if you will listen and open up your hands I shall teach you a poetry transparent and pure as the wind and as impossible to pin down as light
INTRODUCTION

PAUL DOUGLASS

DANTE'S INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN LITERATURE was enhanced greatly by T. S. Eliot, who in a sense renovated Dante for modern literature. The essays in this volume explore Dante's influence through a focus on Eliot. In asking what Eliot made of Dante, and what Dante meant to Eliot, the writers here assess the legacy of Modernism by engaging its "classicist" roots, covering a wide spectrum of topics radiating from the central node of Dante's presence in the poetry and criticism of Eliot. The essays included reflect upon Eliot's aesthetic, philosophical, and religious convictions in relation to Dante, his influence upon literary Modernism through his embracing and championing of the Florentine, and his efforts to promote a strong sense of European unity founded upon a shared cultural past. The writers in the present volume offer a stimulating convergence of concisely-argued views on Dante's importance for Eliot, and the meaning of that connection for the poetry and criticism of his and our time.

There has been a continuing interest in this important topic from the 1930s, when Mario Praz published an essay in The Southern Review on Eliot and Dante. In addition to numerous articles, books written about Eliot's work have been obliged to mention Dante, and the subject has been approached from a great variety of angles in many essays in English and Italian letters, leading up to Steve Ellis's historical study, Dante and English Poetry: Shelley to T. S. Eliot (1983). Dominic Manganiello brought Ellis's and others' work into focus with his ambitious T. S. Eliot and Dante (1989), which has served as the foundation for further exploration. Examples of recent trends in this area of literary study include Brian Moloney's "T. S. Eliot's Dante" (1997), A. Walton Litz's "Dante, Pound, Eliot: The Visionary Company" (1998), James Wilhelm's "Two Visions of the Journey of Life: Dante as Guide for Eliot and Pound" (2004), and J. H. Copley's "Plurilingualism and the Mind of Europe in T. S. Eliot and Dante" (2005). Twenty years on from Manganiello's milestone work, it seems a good time for scholarship to confront new temporal and cultural challenges, especially T. S. Eliot's role in the formation of a "European Union," but also other issues, including Eliot as a postcolonial
writer in relation to Dante, and his influence upon his contemporaries and later-emerging writers not treated in previous waves of criticism.

The first section of this book deals with aesthetic and philosophical issues related to Eliot's engagement with Dante. Distinguished Eliot scholar and editor Jewel Spears Brooker focuses on Eliot's early struggle to decide between philosophy and poetry, a struggle personified in F. H. Bradley—whose philosophical work was the subject of Eliot's PhD thesis—and in Dante, whose work informed Eliot's earliest poetry. Eliot's most detailed discussion of the connection between philosophy and poetry is contained in his 1926 Clark Lectures at Cambridge University, published as Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry. Here he defines the "philosophic poet" in Bradleyean terms as one who "enlarges immediate experience" by "drawing within the orbit of feeling and sense what had existed only in thought" (VMP 55, 51). Brooker explores Eliot's linking of Bradley and Dante, his claims for Dante's verse, and his attempt to model his own verse after Dante's, taking special note of the fact that Eliot's Cambridge lectures occurred at a turning point in his life, immediately before his conversion to Anglo-Catholicism, an event pointing to his landmark essay on Dante and his openly Dantesque sequence in "Ash-Wednesday."

Viorica Patea follows Brooker with a discussion of Eliot's belief in a lost unity of "sensibility" and language in Europe, and how the work of Dante informs his poetics. Preoccupied with the nineteenth-century disjunction of thought from sense, and object from subject, Eliot's theory of a unified sensibility, Patea argues, is strikingly similar to Henri Corbin's "mundus imaginalis" and Jung's archetypal imagination—but owes most of all to Dante's visual and allegoric imagination. Eliot scholar Nancy Gish complements Patea's exploration of Eliot's idea of sensibility with an essay on "Altered Consciousness," building on the work of The Protean Self, by Robert J. Lifton, who defines the modern form of self as "fluid and many-sided." In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pierre Janet had defined this multiplicity as "désagrégation," translated as both "dissociation" and "disintegration." Eliot, who knew Janet's work, used both terms. In The Waste Land, he represents a fragmentation of consciousness so severe as to be disintegrative, and yet, paradoxically, to define a form of cohesion. Gish explores the importance of allusions to Dante in published and draft forms of "Gerontion," arguing that Gerontion is the epitome of a major figure of Eliot's earliest work: the mad old man, who represents what Eliot saw as the disintegration of European consciousness since Dante.
The last two essays of this first section deal with symbols of unity, eternity, and repleteness in Eliot's work from the perspective of Dante's practice and influence. P. S. Sri argues that Eliot often attempts an East-West ideo-synthesis, combining Dante's symbolism with that of Hindu-Buddhism. As Sri says, Eliot employs, on one hand, the Western single rose as a symbol of completion and unity, and on the other hand, the thousand-petalled lotus (*sahasrara*) of Eastern mysticism. Eliot's work should thus be credited as a true quest for the universal and eternal, common to both the East and the West. In a similar vein, Temur Kobakhidze depicts the recurring images and motifs of Eliot's major works as a quest for a "musical structure" based not only on the pattern of a rotating circle and a still point, but also on the corresponding numerical designation of the process of circulation and of the circle itself—the number four. Focusing particularly on *Four Quartets*, Kobakhidze suggests that images of quaternity and the square owe much to *Paradiso* 33, but that Eliot chooses a reverse way: for him the aspiration to grasp the inconceivable is movement towards the centre.

The second part of *Eliot, Dante, and the Idea of Europe* takes up the subject of Eliot's relation to and influence upon literary Modernism, including especially Ezra Pound. The first three essays trace the Dantesque legacy in Eliot's earliest and later periods. Arianna Antonielli traces the influence of Dante to Eliot's earliest poetical work in *Inventions of the March Hare*, juvenilia which nonetheless reflects Eliot's recurrent themes, symbols and images, already inspired by Dante's "clear visual images," by "the lucidity" of his style and "his extraordinary force of compression." David Summers believes that the trajectory of Eliot's major poems follows a distinctly Dantesque pattern. The earliest poems, especially "Prufrock" and *The Waste Land*, comprise variations on a Modernist *Inferno*. The poems that come after his conversion to Anglo-Catholicism, Summers argues, demonstrate an ardent search for a modern "purgatorial mode" of meditative poetry, but a *Paradiso* is distinctly lacking from Eliot's work. Summers explains Eliot's failure to write the obvious culmination to his poetic and spiritual pilgrimage as a feature of his membership in the Modernist movement, despite his overt commitment to a reactionary religious and political philosophy.

Andrija Matic also finds in Eliot's earlier and later poems a changing relation to Dante's legacy that is the product of his Modernist connections. He argues that in the early poems (up to "The Hollow Men"), almost all of Eliot's borrowings from or allusions to Dante have ironic purposes or dimensions which contribute to the polysemic structure of the poetry. In the period after Eliot's conversion to Anglo-Catholicism, the poems
(particularly "Animula," "Ash-Wednesday," and passages of *Four Quartets*) deal with religious and philosophical ideas, without apparent irony. Also interesting, Matic says, is the reduction or intertextual characteristics. Even so, the later works contain passages based on Dante's imagery that cannot be fully understood without appreciating Eliot's ironic juxtaposition of meanings. His ironic stance is yet another instance of his Modernist sensibility.

Ezra Pound is perhaps the epitome of the Modernist Dantesque voice, and the two essays that conclude this section deal with Eliot's relationship to Pound through Dante. Stefano Maria Casella argues that Dante emerges as one of the fundamental elements of Eliot's and Pound's creative activity, a fact exemplified in the second part of Eliot's "Little Gidding" and in Pound's Canto 72, in which each poet attempts writing "à la manière de" Dante. These two poems stand out as the longest and loftiest instances of Dantesque imitations, and different as they are (the former is written in English, the latter in Italian), they elicit a close comparison with their models, including mainly Dante, but also Virgil and Homer. Eliot and Pound both engaged in a strenuous effort to reassert Dante's unceasing modernity. For his part, Massimo Bacigalupo considers Pound's and Eliot's endeavors to "regain paradise" following in Dante's footsteps, and places their Dantesque project in the context of American modernism and more generally of America's peculiar relation to European literature and culture.

The final section of *T. S. Eliot, Dante, and the Idea of Europe* builds upon the preceding discussions to assess Eliot's role in the formation of a modern sense of European unity. It begins with Randy Malamud's "Dante as Guide to Eliot's Competing Traditions," which argues that Eliot valorizes Dante as the voice of Europe: Eliot's poetry "invites a reader-response approach: he who most clearly hears Dante amid the cacophony of voices in his poetry, and who chooses Dante as the guide through this terrain, will be the better reader." Exploring Eliot's extensive commentary on Dante and Shakespeare, Malamud says that Eliot engages his readers in an "overarching methodological exercise that involves detecting various traditions, learning how to appreciate these traditions, and finding guides who will help us navigate them." The tension between Dante and Shakespeare in Eliot's poetry and prose more generally plays out as Europe vs. England. When Margate failed to cure his emotional ailments, Eliot found refuge and healing in continental Europe; so, too, his poetry often dismisses Englishness in favor of European perspectives and experiences.
Paul Douglass's essay on Dante and Matthew Arnold argues that as Eliot sought to break in to the world of English letters, he followed Arnold by seeking to define himself as a European writer, one whose foundation was the multilingual literature of that continent—especially focusing on the work of Dante. Thus, despite his repeated rejection of much of Arnold's work, Eliot sought a modern expression of Dante's simplicity and profundity, the power of what Arnold called the "touchstone" line: "The accent of high seriousness, born of absolute sincerity..."—which is precisely what Eliot located in Dante. John Xiros Cooper deepens and complicates the sense of Eliot's desire to support an idea of European unity by taking up Eliot's three radio talks to Germany in the summer of 1945, published in German in 1946 and in English as an appendix to Notes Towards the Definition of Culture in 1948. As part of the wider denazification strategy after 1945, these talks have been read as simply meeting an ideological need at that historical juncture. But Cooper argues that they bear a clear connection to the rhetorical program of Four Quartets and to Eliot's activities as a European intellectual in the 1930s through his editorship of the Criterion. The three radio broadcasts look not only back in time, but forward to the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Eliot's radio talks were aimed primarily at a German intelligentsia traumatized by the barbarisms of war, but they also set down cultural conditions for the movement towards European integration and, eventually, the creation of the European Union. Eliot's particular contribution was to discuss the unity of European culture not simply as an abstract idea, but to begin to think of practical institutions to bring about the more pragmatic form of integration as a union of distinct cultures. The balance between region and nation, the local and the universal, was further developed in the closing chapters of Notes Towards the Definition of Culture. In this task, Dante was an important predecessor, a figure of European standing and the "least provincial" of poets, whose grounding in the local was nonetheless the foundation of his global influence.

Taking an entirely different view of Eliot's European identity, Mafruha Mohua argues that in 1925, when T. S. Eliot was invited to deliver the 1926 Clark Lectures at Trinity College, he was going through the "blackest moment of [his] life," a profound religious crisis, perceptible in the lectures as personal turmoil. Although the aim of the lectures was to present a theory of metaphysical poetry, Eliot also examines the idea of the European tradition, represented by Dante and the poets of the Italian Trecento, and the disintegration of that tradition, represented by Donne and the seventeenth century. Dante's generation, balancing the classical tradition of Plato and Aristotle and the Catholic tradition of St. Aquinas
and Richard of St. Victor, is portrayed by Eliot as representing the apex of European civilization. The seventeenth century, on the other hand, is presented as a chaotic period that marks the beginning of the disintegration of European civilization. What has not been noted is that this disintegration appears to be the result of a non-classical and non-European influence from the Islamic tradition of Al-Andalus. Mafruha shows that Eliot's conception of the superiority of Dante and the Trecento is derived from his belief in the importance of a unified and common religio-philosophical system which is wholly classical and, consequently, European. The seventeenth century, under the influence of the "Mohammedanized," and romantic, Society of Jesus, produced a generation of writers who, according to Eliot, colluded in the "destruction of European civilization." According to Mafruha, Eliot's approval of Dante and his disapproval of Donne reveal a politics of reading which exhibits a neo-imperialist attitude towards the "other" and the fear of a contamination of European culture through an Eastern strain.

While Mafruha sees Eliot's formation of a European identity as stemming from his reaction against perceived outside influences that would adulterate its culture, Patrick Query believes that Eliot's verse plays are equally an expression of this desire to form an idea of Europe, with full awareness of the problem of Otherness and diversity, though admittedly seen from within the fold of a Europe that has been insulated from Muslim influence. The lessons about the local and indigenous which Eliot seems to have learned from his study of Dante are visible behind his move toward becoming a writer for the stage. In the 1930s, although he continued to write poems, Eliot's great concerns were the search for a workable modern drama in verse and for a unified vision of European identity, and Query argues that as these two projects developed—and faltered—together, they brought Eliot as close to an articulation of the (then, as now) elusive unity in diversity as any modern European writer has come. The failure of either vision to materialize as Eliot hoped provides a small but useful point from which to reassess the relationship between literary expression and the European idea.

It is fitting that the last word in this volume should fall to the writer who brought the topic of T. S. Eliot and Dante to coalescence over twenty years ago in *T. S. Eliot and Dante* (1989). One of the most compelling responses to the Eliot-inspired embrace of Dante by twentieth-century writers has come recently from the pen of American writer Wendell Berry. The vital European tradition appears to form the core of Berry's contemporary American literary project. On receiving the T. S. Eliot Award for Creative Writing in 1994, Berry paid tribute to Eliot's
"pilgrimage of works" from "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" to *The Elder Statesman*. Eliot, according to Berry, presented "dismembered" personalities who move out of the shadows of the wasteland and into the light of what Berry calls "a love far greater... than their own." Manganiello argues that Berry's own fragmented figures in novels such as *Remembering* (1988) and *Jayber Crow* (2000) follow a similar trajectory to become transfigured pilgrims in a divine comedy. The exchanges of love and compassion that restore fractured family relationships in Eliot's *The Elder Statesman* are echoed in Berry's work, which Manganiello argues is founded on Dantesque themes that reaffirm the importance of "Europe's Epic" and therefore an "idea of Europe" propounded by Eliot.
PART I:

DANTE AND ELIOT—
AESTHETIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL
CONVERGENCES
CHAPTER ONE

ENLARGING IMMEDIATE EXPERIENCE:
BRADLEY AND DANTE IN ELIOT’S AESTHETIC

JEWEL SPEARS BROOKER

[A]n enlargement of immediate experience...is a general function of poetry.... [I]t elevates sense for a moment to regions ordinarily attainable only by abstract thought,...[it] clothes the abstract, for a moment, with all the painful delight of flesh.
—T. S. Eliot, Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry (54-55)

ON NEW YEAR’S EVE 1914, T. S. Eliot, a twenty-six year old American who had just finished his first term at Oxford University, found himself alone and depressed in the city of London. He was in the middle of a six-week Christmas break, the first part of which he had spent at the seashore. In a letter to his Harvard classmate and fellow poet Conrad Aiken, Eliot muses about the contrast between life in Oxford and in London.

In Oxford, I have the feeling that I am not quite alive—that my body is walking about with a bit of my brain inside it, and nothing else.... Oxford is very pretty, but I don’t like to be dead. I don’t think I should stay there another year...but I should not mind being in London.... How much more self-conscious one is in a big city!...Just at present this is an inconvenience, for I have been going through one of those nervous sexual attacks which I suffer from when alone in a city.... this is the worst since Paris.... One walks about the street with one’s desires, and one’s refinement rises up like a wall whenever opportunity approaches. (Letters 1:81-82)

This self-portrait includes a series of parallel binaries. In Oxford, he is a self-conscious robot with a brain; in London, a self-conscious animal filled with desire. In Oxford, dead; in London, alive. He is repelled by Oxford professors with their pregnant wives and book-lined rooms, but intrigued by London street people with their quirks and smirks. In Oxford, he is sexually numb; in London, sexually charged. In retrospect, this split between feeling and intellect, desire and refinement, can be seen as part of
his DNA. His family, one of America’s most distinguished, was self-consciously dynastic, enlightened, public-spirited, and respectable, all characteristics that facilitated a gap between surface and depth, public and private, self-discipline and promiscuity.

Painfully aware of his bifurcated self, Eliot longed for escape, a longing expressed in his poetry in two ways, the first a proclivity to descend beneath consciousness and the second a mystical longing to merge with the Absolute. The first can be seen in Prufrock’s identification with the lowest forms of life. “I should have been a pair of ragged claws / Scuttling across the floors of silent seas” (CPP 5). The second can be seen in his identification with saints and martyrs in early poems such as “The Love Song of St. Sebastian.” Eliot was an intelligent person pre-occupied with the intelligence trap, remembering with mixed feelings the irrecoverable pre-analytical moments in which he simply existed. He knew that intellect and feeling were incompatible bedfellows, but he also knew that rejecting either one made him less than human. He knew too that one cannot transcend duality by diving into the body in search of immediate experience. To be conscious of unity is to have lost it; to try to recover it is to transform it into its opposite, that is, into an idea.

The gap between body and brain in a major motif in the four great poems Eliot wrote between 1909 and 1911—“The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,” “Portrait of a Lady,” “Rhapsody on a Windy Night,” and “Preludes.” “Rhapsody on a Windy Night,” for example, consists of a Bergsonian dialogue between mind and matter, between images inside his head and images outside on the streets of Paris. The situation of the persona is strikingly similar to the one described in the New Year’s Eve letter to Aiken—i.e., a young man walking through the streets of a city between midnight and 4 am, tormented by memory and desire. Because the street lights are widely spaced, he moves in and out of darkness and light. As he walks through the dark, “Midnight shakes the memory / As a madman shakes a dead geranium” (CPP 14). As he enters illuminated areas, street lamps reveal prostitutes hesitating in doorways, cats flattening themselves in gutters. The poem ends not with any rapprochement between mind and world, but with a disturbing image of fatal severance—“The last twist of the knife” (CPP 16).

In a poignant letter to his brother, written in January 1936, Eliot looks back on the intellectual and spiritual journey that led him to the Church of England. He mentions his unsuccessful attempt to turn himself into a philosophy professor and adds that he now understands that his graduate
studies had been part of a “religious preoccupation.”1 The religious preoccupation, essentially a quest for wholeness, included the problem of the divided self. During his university years, the problem can be seen in the conflict between his attraction to poetry and to philosophy, a conflict exacerbated by a year in Paris during which he attended lectures by Henri Bergson. When Eliot returned to Harvard, he decided to focus on philosophy, a field preoccupied with a parallel problem, the limitations of dualism.2 As part of his Ph.D. project, he immersed himself in the ideas of F. H. Bradley, whose idealism promised transcendence of emotion and intellect in a more comprehensive complex of feeling. He discovered, however, that philosophy promised more than it could deliver, and so he abandoned it. With Dante as his guide, he returned to poetry. He did not toss out what he had gained from such mentors as Bradley, however, but garnered all of his resources in a renewed effort to achieve in poetry a unification of emotion and intellect. In 1926, in his Clark Lectures at Cambridge, he attempted to put his personal struggle into historical context and to formulate a theory that would integrate his philosophical and poetical studies. In discussing the function of art, he claimed that poetry, especially that of Dante, was more promising than philosophy, that poetry at its best could deliver an “enlargement of immediate experience” (VMP 54-55).

Eliot did not pick up the idea of “immediate experience” from literary criticism, but from philosophy. It refers to a major concept in the philosophy of Bradley, on whose work Eliot in 1914 decided to write his dissertation. Bradley offered a strenuous critique of dualism and a theory for overcoming it. He did so, first, by collapsing both subject and object into a larger whole he calls Experience; and second, by adding a third level to the process of knowing, an element that transcends subject and object, appearance and reality, by incorporating both into that larger whole. “There is but one Reality, and its being consists in experience. In this one whole all appearances come together” (Appearance and Reality 403). Bradley’s critique of dualism and his analysis of Experience is very helpful in understanding Eliot’s work as a poet. It illuminates his quest for wholeness, his dissatisfaction with the solutions offered by philosophy, and his return to poetry. Bradley’s notion of Experience is not something Eliot abandoned, but something he both critiqued and carried forward as a foundation for his appreciation of poetry.

2 For an exploration of this issue, see Arthur O. Lovejoy. The Revolt Against Dualism: An Inquiry Concerning the Existence of Ideas. 1929. (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 1955).
Bradley divides Experience into three categories: “immediate experience,” “intellectual experience,” and “transcendent experience,” the first two of which are almost identical to the body and mind facing off in Eliot’s early poems and letters, and the third of which tenuously suggests not only a truce, but a comprehensive peace. Immediate experience is experience that is not mediated through the intellect, a sensuous knowing and being in one which is prior to the development of logical or temporal or spatial categories. This is how Bradley defines it.

We in short have experience in which there is no distinction between my awareness and that of which it is aware. There is an immediate feeling, a knowing and being in one, with which knowledge begins; and, though this...is transcended, it nevertheless remains throughout as the present foundation of my known world. And if you remove this direct sense of my momentary contents and being, you bring down the whole of consciousness in one common wreck. For it is in the end ruin to divide experience into something on one side experienced as an object, and on the other side, something, not experienced at all. (Essays on Truth and Reality 159-60)

An example of immediate experience would be the ground swell of desire on the midnight street, desire in which, at first, there no distinction between self, on the one side, and the girl in the doorway, on the other. This directly experienced many-in-one is not the walker’s experience, for he as subject and girl as object do not yet exist. When he becomes aware of “his” desire and of her beckoning eye, then immediate experience has dissolved into the realm of self and not-self.

It is the nature of immediate experience to fall apart, to make way for perception in terms of self and not-self. Experience that is first mediated through the senses inexorably rises to consciousness. The intellect, which had existed heretofore as an undifferentiated part of pure experience, takes control and begins to direct the elements which, like itself, had been part of immediate experience. Reality can no longer be apprehended directly, as a unity; it can only be apprehended in terms of relations and must be approached through the tortuous streets of thought. This is the level of dualism—of self and other, knower and known, mind and matter. In Bradley’s view, all of these dualisms are abstractions from reality; all are unreal.

There is, in Bradley’s view, a third level, a transcendent experience, which permits a return of sorts to the wholeness and unity of immediate experience. Immediate experience exists before relations, but transcendent experience exists after or above relations. Immediate experience dissolves of itself into relational experience, but relational experience resists