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**Light and Mystical Writing:
T. S. Eliot's Poetic Practice in *Four Quartets***

On November 29th, 1939, soon after the composition of “Burnt Norton” and shortly before the completion of “East Coker,” T. S. Eliot wrote a confessional letter to John Davy Hayward, close friend and, to an extent, editor of *Four Quartets*. In this unpublished letter, we get a glimpse of Eliot’s cathartic wit: looking back on his life, he openly negates the lasting value of his written works, his importance as a writer, and the need for sleeping with women he actually cared for.¹ Eliot is quick to clarify that he feels free from any pangs of remorse, and that he has reached a certain detachment and release from these pressing worldly concerns.² He would have no trouble joining a monastery if only he were technically free to do so, and if cloistered life would not force upon him an abstinence from French tobacco.³ Although Eliot’s broodings over his own life in the late 1930s sound particularly pertinent and seem to be penned with a profound sense of exasperation, they are nevertheless seasoned with a good amount of irony. As is well known amongst readers and scholars of Eliot, his first wife Vivien was still alive when the letter was written, although the couple had formally separated. Upon reading this confession, one is left to wonder whether the only relevant impediment to Eliot’s monastic life—leaving aside the immensely important issue of Gauloises cigarettes—was rather his failed marriage.

Over the years, many scholars of *Four Quartets* have tried to unravel the complexities of Eliot’s religiosity, faith, and spiritual life.⁴ A recent contribution on the subject is Barbara Newman’s discovery of an account by Wallace Fowlie, a Harvard undergraduate at the time of Eliot’s Visiting Lectureship in 1932-33. Fowlie recalls how on one occasion, Eliot, whilst attending morning Mass at the monastery of the Cowley Fathers in Cambridge (MA), suddenly fell down with a thud, “flat on his face in the aisle, with his arms stretched out.”⁵ To Fowlie, the event (in all likelihood an act of prostration) was unequivocal: the poet swooned away due to “a mystical experience.”⁶ In the summer of 1933, Frank Morley, director of Faber & Faber and good friend of Eliot’s, hosted the poet at Pikes Farm, Surrey. In a later, undated essay, he would reminisce how that summer Eliot was ascending his own personal Mount of Purgatory while working on *The Rock*.⁷ Eliot’s spiritual journey proceeds in parallel with his writing and theorizing

on literature and religion. His literary and critical production of the 1930s and early 1940s leaves no doubt as to where his authorial preoccupations and concerns lay: his published works *Ash-Wednesday* (1930), *The Rock* (1934), *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935), his BBC broadcast “Building Up the Christian World” (1931), a talk entitled “The Bible as Scripture and as Literature” (1932), his series of lectures published in the volume *The Idea of a Christian Society* (1939), alongside the lesser-known essays “Religious Drama and the Church” (1934) and “Revival of Christian Imagination” (1941), are only some of the titles representing his favouring a literature focussed on Christianity and religious issues.

In his 1935 essay “Religion and Literature,” Eliot discusses the relationship between religion and literature in Western literary history, especially in the writing of his time. He draws a familiar conclusion: religious poetry is often perceived as aesthetically inferior, “a variety of *minor* poetry” (Eliot’s italics).⁸ Eliot famously stated:

the religious poet is not a poet who is treating the whole subject matter of poetry in a religious spirit, but a poet who is dealing with a confined part of this subject matter: who is leaving out what men consider their major passions, and thereby confessing his ignorance of them.⁹

Religious poetry is one engaging with topics and passions which are only proper of the religious person, such as, for example, Henry Vaughan, Robert Southwell, Richard Crashaw, George Herbert, and Gerard Manley Hopkins.¹⁰ For Eliot, the relationship between religion and literature is one where literature “should be *unconsciously*, rather than deliberately and defiantly, Christian” (Eliot’s italics).¹¹ Staying away from the psychoanalytical declinations of the “unconscious,” Eliot implies that poetry should be allusive and suggestive of Christian imagery and themes, quite far from religious propaganda.¹² In a *Religion & Literature* forum dedicated to Eliot, Dominic Manganiello and Craig Woelfel acknowledged the fact that this essay is “at its most elusive” precisely when it articulates its seemingly most “imperative” questions on the interrelationship between religion and literature.¹³ It is, however, in an untitled lecture he was scheduled to give in Italy in May 1940 – eventually canceled due to the war – that the poet picks up the conversation where he left it in 1935.¹⁴ The lecture offers Eliot a platform to discuss in greater detail the typologies of religious poetry in English, while allowing him to reflect on the current “direction” of his own poetry.¹⁵ After analysing poems by Southwell, Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, and Hopkins, Eliot concludes by saying he expects “the religious poetry of our time [to] be concerned primarily with giving poetic form to theological thought.”¹⁶ *Four Quartets*, then, which Eliot was writing at the time, ought to be understood as a practical demonstration of how theology and poetry should amalgamate. In a 1961 interview with Tom Greenwell for the *Yorkshire Post*, nearly thirty years later, Eliot reiterates this position, stating

unflatteringly he is “more interested in drama which has no conscious aim at anybody but which is just an ordinary play written by a believing Christian—[with] Christian assumptions in the background.”¹⁷ Eliot underscores the difference between his suggestively Christian plays, and those which are “pulpit oratory;” he even goes on to affirm that “a great work of art must have an inspiration which verges on religious insight.”¹⁸ Eliot’s meticulous choice of words in his later poetry mirrors his idea of a literature that should allude to Christian concepts, but never be “propagandist” of Christianity.¹⁹

These reflections concurrently indicate the poet’s consideration of words’ power; as earlier scholarship has demonstrated, the mystical element is perhaps the most blatant in *Four Quartets*. This article examines the intricacies of Eliot’s writing process when appropriating mystical content in his own poetry. Delving into his linguistic choices regarding mystical light and ascent mainly in “Burnt Norton” and “Little Gidding,” I demonstrate the different (at times, even oppositional) strategies Eliot employed to engage with mystical thought and appropriate mystical sources in his poetry. My analysis articulates three main strategies: the *domestication* of a Dantesque reference in “Burnt Norton;” the *avoidance* of an allusion to St John of the Cross in “Little Gidding;” and the *foreignizing* inclusion of the German word *Erhebung*, a direct borrowing from Meister Eckhart, again in “Burnt Norton.” Two of these terms, domestication and foreignization, are borrowed from translation theory to define Eliot’s strategies of translating mystical and theological concepts into poetry, and adapting them to the target language and his hypothetical target audience. Dante, St John, and Eckhart, while all associable with mysticism, are however very different theological writers: Dante, as a poet interested in mysticism, is the closest counterpart to Eliot; St John was for Eliot the only “mystic who was also a fine poet;” Eckhart was a mystic and a philosopher, never a poet.²⁰ Eliot’s predilection for such disparate writers mirrors his preoccupation with how exactly mystical ineffability should integrate with poetic language and form. Through these different examples, I intend to show how Eliot’s choice of particular words exposes a theologically astute and deeply conscious poetic practice which strives to appear, at crucial moments, “unconsciously” Christian.

I. DOMESTICATING MYSTICAL LANGUAGE WITH DANTE

The connections between Dante and T. S. Eliot have long been established by Dominic Manganiello, Steve Ellis, Ronald Schuchard, Erik Svarny, and Massimo Bacigalupo, amongst others.²¹ Bacigalupo especially came very close to suggesting a parallel between the three phases in Eliot’s oeuvre and the three canticles of the *Commedia*, with the clarification that, despite his intimate desire, “Eliot did not reach *Paradiso*.”²² Indeed, reaching the light of God, and so

Paradise, is the ultimate purpose for the mystic, rather than for the poet—religious or otherwise. Dante’s influence was, in Eliot’s own words, “the most persistent and deepest” on his poetry: in *Four Quartets*, Eliot follows closely Dante’s “masterly use of that light imagery which is in the form of certain types of mystical experience.”²³ By translating a light image from Dante, he domesticates it for the English language. While in his early poetry and in *The Waste Land*, Eliot had opted for “the exasperatedly foreign, whether in names or in words and phrases,” in “Burnt Norton” specifically Eliot more fully appropriates Dante’s lesson that poetry should act as an “intermediary between God and human kind,” thus seeking to domesticate mystical language for the reader.²⁴

Throughout *Paradiso*, Dante the pilgrim often comments about his inability to see the wonderful visions before him, and their ineffability: these are described as moments of high vision, and at the same time complete blindness. In *Paradiso* XXX, when Dante enters the Empyrean and looks at the river of light, the pure intellectual light of the Empyrean blurs his sight, in a mystical experience: “così mi circunfulse luce viva, | e lasciommi fasciato di tal velo | del suo fulgor, che nulla m’appariva.” (lines 49-51; So did living light shine about me; | And left me wrapt in such a veil of glory | That nothing was visible to me.).²⁵ This experience is the *excessus luminis* (excess of light) taking the mystic to the *excessus mentis* (excess of the mind, or “ecstasy”, “a carrying away of the mind”).²⁶ The pilgrim’s speechlessness and temporary blindness merge with the poet’s lack of appropriate words to describe the experience of God’s light. Eliot’s careful reading of Dante enabled him to ponder the notion of an “excess of light,” and re-propose it in “Burnt Norton”:

Dry the pool, dry concrete, brown edged,
And the pool was filled with water out of sunlight,
And the lotos rose, quietly, quietly,
The surface glittered out of heart of light,
And they were behind us, reflected in the pool.

(180, lines 34-38)

According to Paul Murray, Eliot initiates a number of “small verbal echoes” from Dante in *Four Quartets*, especially from *Paradiso* XXX (whose importance Eliot also discusses in his 1929 essay on Dante), but also from slightly lesser-known cantos, such as *Paradiso* XII, which are alluded to in this passage.²⁷ As Murray says, and as pointed out in the new commentary to *The Poems of T. S. Eliot*, in *Paradiso* XII we find the closest Italian phrase to Eliot’s “heart of light,” when Dante reaches the sphere of the Sun and watches the spirits standing and dancing, as if they were in a crown of lights; here, theologian Bonaventura da Bagnoregio addresses Dante, talking “del cor de l’una de le luci nuove” (*Pd* XII, line 28, 213; Out of the heart of one of the new lights, 400).²⁸

Dante cannot recognize Bonaventura, as visually he is at one with all the other lights, but at the same time he immediately understands that Bonaventura's voice originates from the deepest point in the crown of lights. In fact, the wise spirits' voices come from the "*abyssus luminis*," the abyss of light, as they proceed directly from God, the deepest of all lights.²⁹ Dante, then, intends the "heart of light" as the deepest concentration of lights in the crown of spirits.

Eliot domesticates Dante's concept of the heart of light translating it into plain English. This decision creates a cross-reference to *The Waste Land*, where he had already employed the exact same phrase. It is hard to imagine Eliot would have conceived them as distinct, or even as oppositional: the heart of light does not simply "surface" again in *Four Quartets*; the two moments must be interrelated, as noted by Lyndall Gordon and Donald J. Childs.³⁰ In the 1922 poem, Eliot combines the "heart of light" with silence: "Looking into the heart of light, the silence" (*P* 56, I, line 41).³¹ Apart from the obvious wordplay on Conrad's novel, the line is not, as Christopher Ricks argues, a "*Heart of Darkness* astonishingly flooded with light," but rather it reflects Dante's speechlessness and blindness after gazing directly at the light of God in the Empyrean.³² This surrender to silence is exemplified in *Paradiso* I when Dante describes the difficulty of relating what he has seen in the Empyrean to the readers:

Nel ciel che più de la sua luce prende
fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire
né sa né può chi di là sù discende;
perché appressando sé al suo desire,
nostro intelletto sì profonda tanto,
che dietro la memoria non può ire.

(*Pd* I, lines 4-9, pp. 11-12)

(I have been in the heaven which takes most of his light,
And I have seen things which cannot be told,
Possibly, by anyone who comes down from up there;
Because, approaching the object of its desires,
Our intellect is so deeply absorbed
That memory cannot follow it all the way. [p. 351])

The representational difficulty posed by the vision, too deep to be articulated in failing human words and to be recorded by human memory, afflicts Dante the poet. *Paradiso* I continues these preoccupations: "Trasumanar significar per verba | non si poria; però l'esempio basti | a cui esperienza grazia serba." (*Pd*, I, lines 70-72; To transcend humanity may not be told in words, wherefore let the instance suffice for him for whom that experience is reserved by Grace).³³ Yet, in his poetic practice, Dante "manages [...] to represent non-representation without falling either into unintelligibility or into silence," by way of an "accommodation" (sometimes an "approximation") of his experience related "per verba to us."³⁴ In *Paradiso*, Dante often bypasses the limitations of language by resorting to musical imagery and metaphors, so that, as Francesco

Ciabattoni explains it, “where words fail, [...] musical language [...] deliver[s] at least the sensation of the vision;” music thus allows Dante to partially “bridge the gap between the physical plane of his mortal limitedness and the metaphysical plane of his vision,” thus striking his own poetic compromise.³⁵ At other times, though, silence appears to initiate the vision in *Paradiso*, and aid Dante’s retrieval of language “in a sudden reversal of the silence.”³⁶

When we read Eliot alongside Dante’s *Paradiso*, it becomes apparent that the silence found in Eliot’s “heart of light” should be apprehended as a reflection on the ineffability of relating a religious experience. On the figurative level, it represents the mystic’s speechlessness and consequent devaluation of words after the vision; on the meta-poetic level, however, both Dante and Eliot urge us to reflect on the boundaries and obstacles created by language for the poet. Accordingly, Eliot’s choice of words about linguistic failure and ineffability in “The Burial of the Dead” (*P* 56, I, lines 38-41) shows how, even in the pre-conversion poetry of *The Waste Land*, his language is already, perhaps truly “unconsciously,” turning mystical. Using the same phrase in “Burnt Norton,” Eliot underscores the difficulty of condensing a mystical experience in succinct, intelligible, poetic terms. While Eliot’s mystical disposition allows him to construct the emptiness of the pools as fullness of pure light, his vision—soon to be interrupted by the cloud’s arrival over the garden—necessarily remains inferior to Dante’s splendid images of bright light throughout *Paradiso*. Eliot domesticates Dante’s words so that his “heart of light” is only suggestively mystical.

II. AVOIDING ST JOHN OF THE CROSS’S *ANTELUCANO*

In a 1930 radio broadcast for the BBC on seventeenth-century poetry, part of a wider series of lectures on English literature, Eliot noted the importance of light and dark imagery for some Christian mystical writers:

One of the frequent characteristics of Christian mysticism has been a use of various imageries of light and darkness, sometimes indeed of a light which is at the same time darkness; such imagery is used by John of the Cross, perhaps the greatest psychologist of all European mystics; it is used by Meister Eckhart and the German mystics. I do not know whether it has been remarked how many of Vaughan’s images are light images. He certainly did not borrow these from Donne. And very often Vaughan’s are images of transient light: he is struck by the spark, the meteor, the glow-worm and the firefly.³⁷

In a lecture otherwise fully dedicated to English religious poetry, Eliot’s digression on the use of light and dark imagery in St John of the Cross and Meister Eckhart unveils the names that were to inspire and develop his own mystical imagination in *Four Quartets*. Eliot perceptively recognizes the importance of “a light which is at the same time darkness,” a mystical concept adopted throughout *Four Quartets*, when explicating Vaughan’s metaphysical imagery of a

“transient light”.³⁸ The transience of light in fact pertains to St John of the Cross’s mysticism, denoting the mystic’s various degrees of spiritual proximity to God. In movement III of “Burnt Norton”, the “dim light” becomes a synonym for “a form of purgatory”: it is “neither daylight | Investing form with lucid stillness | [...] | Nor darkness to purify the soul” (182, lines 3-4, 7).³⁹ The dimness of the light exhibits a past and future which become mystically connoted: they are lived neither under God’s bright daylight, nor enveloped by God’s purifying darkness. Eliot borrows this pattern directly from St John of the Cross’s spiritual treatise *Subida del monte Carmelo* (*The Ascent of Mount Carmel*; written 1582-88, published posthumously 1618).

Eliot first came across St John of the Cross at Harvard when reading Dean Inge’s *Christian Mysticism*; consequently, he may have tried to access this text by St John of the Cross in the original, since he started learning Spanish in 1917.⁴⁰ In the 1930s, however, St John of the Cross was in vogue among the British and North American theologians because of a new English translation of his complete works by Edgar Allison Peers, Professor of Hispanic Studies at the University of Liverpool, published in 1935. This translation proclaimed to be the first to render the original Spanish text at a notably higher level of accuracy. Peers defined his work as a faithful translation from the Spanish (hence not a nineteenth-century-style compendium or paraphrase) of all the works attributable to St John.⁴¹ The publication of this new translation appeared just as Eliot was writing “Burnt Norton,” and he purchased it for his own library.⁴² The poet was also familiar with David Lewis’s translation of the *Ascent*, published by Thomas Baker in London in 1906, and with the abridged version *The Mystical Doctrine of St John of the Cross*, published by Sheed and Ward the year before Peers’ translation, in 1934.⁴³ The latter book was reviewed by Eliot (although the review was erroneously attributed to Thomas MacGreevy) in the *Criterion* that same year, where he recommended the title as “a convenient little book [that] can be slipped into the pocket when leaving for a weekend”, which would introduce the uninitiated to “the higher stages of the contemplative life”.⁴⁴

Eliot held St John of the Cross’s works in great esteem.⁴⁵ In his 1930 talk “Thinking in Verse: A Survey of Seventeenth-Century Poetry,” Eliot argues that through St John of the Cross, St Theresa of Ávila and St Ignatius of Loyola, “the Spanish imagination captured Europe”; to him, the greatest was St John, not so much in terms of his influence on later writers, but for the relevance of his work.⁴⁶ The influence of St John’s works (*Noche oscura del alma* [*Dark Night of the Soul*] and *Subida del monte Carmelo*) on Eliot is evident in *Four Quartets*. According to Ronald Schuchard, the importance of St John for Eliot’s spirituality as well as poetics paved the way for the “contemplative poetry” of *Four Quartets*.⁴⁷ In *Subida*, a book Eliot made “his handbook,” the

mystic directly connects the three different stages of mystical light with three different shades of light and darkness:⁴⁸

[La noche de la fe] para el alma, es más oscura que la primera y, en cierta manera, que la tercera, porque la primera, que es la del sentido, es comparada a la prima noche, que es cuando cesa la vista de todo objeto sensitivo, y así no está tan remota de la luz como la media noche; la tercera parte, que es el antelucano, que es ya lo que está próximo a la luz del día, no es tan oscuro como la media noche, pues ya está inmediata a la ilustración e información de la luz del día, y ésta es comparada a Dios.

(And thus we may say that [the night of faith] is darker for the soul either than the first part or, in a way, than the third; for the first part, which is that of sense, is compared to the beginning of night, or the time when sensible objects can no longer be seen, and thus it is not so far removed from light as is midnight. The third part, which is the period preceding the dawn, is quite close to the light of day, and it, too, therefore, is not so dark as midnight; for it is now close to the enlightenment and illumination of the light of day, which is compared to God.)⁴⁹

The first stage of expiation and purification, “la noche del sentido” (night of senses), would equal the very first moment after sunset and before the actual middle of the night, meaning that the mystic is still not very far from daylight or the sensual world. In this early stage of purification, everything carnal and temporal must be peremptorily left behind by the mystic, although the memory of sin and flesh is not totally forgotten. St John’s second stage, “la noche de la fe” (night of faith), corresponds to midnight, the darkest moment for the soul, equidistant from the sensual light of day and the sublime daylight of God’s pure light, which is to await the mystic at the end of the soul’s progress.⁵⁰ The third and final stage of purification, “la noche del alma” (night of the soul), corresponds for St John to “el antelucano,” which, stemming from the Latin *ante* + *lux* “before the light,” indicates the moment in the night already closer to dawn and daylight, and so to God’s perfection. The first and third phases of this mystical journey are thus perceived and represented as only relatively dark, while the second phase proves to be the darkest and so the hardest for the expiating soul.

This tripartite division of the soul’s mystical journey reverberates in Eliot’s close re-elaboration of St John’s ascent later in the same section of “Burnt Norton,” where the poet comments on the current spiritual condition of humanity and where he effectively turns St John’s theological prose into poetry. The lines “Dessication of the world of sense, | Evacuation of the world of fancy, | Inoperancy of the world of spirit;” (182, III, lines 28-32) are effectively a concise summary of the key points of St John’s negative theology, as “described in painful detail [in *Ascent to Mount Carmel*].”⁵¹ When glossing the first stanza of his song “En una noche oscura” (On a dark night) in *Noche oscura del alma* (*Dark Night of the Soul*), St John lists the three main enemies of the soul that must be necessarily mortified and defeated in the night of spiritual contemplation: “los tres enemigos [...] son mundo, demonio y carne” (183; the three enemies [...] are world, devil and flesh, 329). The parallel in Eliot’s repetition becomes immediately

apparent: detachment from the appetites of the flesh (*carne*) is translated in “Burnt Norton” as the “[d]esiccation of the world of sense,” from the appearances and pretences of the world (*mundo*) as the “[e]vacuation of the world of fancy,” and finally from the spiritual temptation of the devil (*demonio*) as the “[i]noperancy of the world of spirit.” All these attempts at detachment lead to a totalizing “stripping of self.”⁵²

Eliot’s moment before dawn is reminiscent of St John’s third night, the night of the soul, or “el antelucano,” according to his tripartite division of the dark night. The *antelucano* is the stage closest to light, God and truth. Eliot shows a particular sensitivity towards the transient light of dawn, with its metaphorical and temporal transition from night to day. In August 1942, Eliot was crafting section II of “Little Gidding,” which in its final version contains the lines “In the uncertain hour before the morning | Near the ending of interminable night | At the recurrent end of the unending” (203, II, lines 25-27), as well as the line “The first-met stranger in the waning dusk” (line 38), the prelude to the “compound ghost” episode, which has demanded, over the years, so many scholarly skills of poetic analysis and textual dissection.⁵³ In a letter to Hayward from the same month, Eliot was adamant that he wanted the compound ghost passage to resemble as much as possible a canto from Dante’s *Commedia*, and in particular one from *Purgatorio*. In this case, then, the choice of dusk (a transient light) is effectively the most consistent with Dante, as Dante visits Purgatory in the early morning, at morning dusk, whilst by the time he reaches Paradise light has become bright and still. In September 1942 Eliot confesses to his friend how “surprisingly difficult [it is] to find words for the shades before morning; we seem to be richer in words and phrases for the end of day. And I don’t want a phrase which might mean either.”⁵⁴ Eliot’s clear vision of the moment of the day and degree of light he aspired to express in this specific passage in “Little Gidding” is remarkable, and indeed this is the only instance of acute linguistic specificity to be documented so well in his letters and essays.

After a period of intense corresponding on possible linguistic alternatives to twilight before dawn, Eliot finally wrote back to Hayward triumphantly, believing he had finally reached a solution with the term “antelucan”:

I am still [...] wrestling with the demon of that precise degree of light as that precise time of day. I want something more *universal* than black-out (for even if the blackout goes on forever, I want something holding good for the past also – something as universal as Dante’s old tailor threading his needle)). On the other hand, any reference to the reverberes wd. take the mind directly to *pre-war* London, which would be unfortunate. It must therefore be a country image or a general one. I have been fiddling with something like this:

The stranger in the antelucan dusk

The stranger at the antelucan hour

Perhaps it is too self-conscious, and belongs rather to a Miltonic rather than a Dantesque passage?⁵⁵

Eliot's "fiddling" with "antelucan" betrays the tenor of his suggestive mystical poetics: the passage had to be "universal" enough to encompass various meanings and images, including the moment of closest spiritual proximity to God. On the other hand, Eliot's (and Hayward's) final choice to use "waning dusk" fails to render quite the same idea: "waning dusk" can be easily misinterpreted as the close of day, rather than its very first lights. Over ten years later, in 1952, during a lecture Eliot gave in Nice, entitled "Le Dilemme poétique [Charybde et Scylla]" (The Poetic Dilemma: Scylla and Charybdis), the poet returned to this particular dilemma, citing it as an example of a situation where he had to sacrifice sense to sound. Going over his attempts at finding the perfect single word to describe what precise degree of morning light he wanted the reader to be able to conjure up, he then decided to use the word "dusk" preceded by an adjective to "indicate which dusk [he] meant" (Eliot's emphasis).⁵⁶ For this reason, Eliot thought the adjective "antelucan" would be suitable for both meaning and musicality.⁵⁷ However, this "rare word" was only suitable for a poem written in "ornate style," whilst the particular passage of "Little Gidding" where Eliot wanted to use this adjective was written in "plain style," thus turning "waning dusk" into the preferred and final choice.⁵⁸

The interest stirred in Eliot by the choice of a specific word that was able to evoke the intended degree of light is remarkable. The spiritual relevance of morning twilight (not the same, for Eliot, as evening twilight) recedes to the background with the loss of "antelucan" and the gain of "waning dusk." Eliot's eventual decision for "[w]aning dusk" leaves the passage deliberately ambiguous, and devoid of its immediate mystical connotations, leaving us to wonder whether the passage should be interpreted as the beginning or the end of a mystical journey, if at all. Moreover, the inclusion of such a foreign-sounding word, and a rare term in English, would have caught the attention in a poem which, otherwise, only shows a moderate deployment of foreign words.⁵⁹ "[W]aning dusk" is by all means more neutral, both in a stylistic and religious sense. Choosing this phrase over "antelucan hour" shows Eliot's aim to create a poem which is only suggestively, or "unconsciously," religious. This example offers an insight not only into Eliot's poetic practice and search for the best word, but also into his attempt to avoid championing Christianity deliberately and defiantly, letting the reader focus instead on the visual power of the poetic word.

III. MEISTER ECKHART'S AND ELIOT'S *ERHEBUNG*: FOREIGNIZING MYSTICISM

Meister Eckhart has never been associated with Eliot's *Four Quartets*, yet his influence on Eliot deserves more attention. In the excerpt from his 1930 BBC broadcast, the poet mentions Eckhart with regard to the mystical concept of "a light which is at the same time darkness."⁶⁰ It is interesting that Eliot should mention Eckhart immediately after mentioning St John, as Eckhart is also one of the mystics Eliot first became familiar with at Harvard, through the works of William Ralph Inge and Evelyn Underhill. While reading Underhill's *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (1911), Eliot scribbled down in his notes the name of Eckhart with regard to his adoption of both emanation and immanence.⁶¹ Eliot's notes on Underhill display an interest in the doctrine of incarnation and the mystical phases of purgation, illumination and dark night of the soul. Her remark that the *Dark Night* is not negativity but rather a time of construction also caught the young poet's attention.⁶² Although Underhill never dedicated a whole book to the German mystic, most of her writing is consistently punctuated with references to Eckhart; *Mysticism* in particular incorporates many excerpts from Eckhart.

William Ralph Inge, whose books Eliot was also familiar with from Harvard University Library, contributed to the publisher Methuen's series 'The Library of Devotion' with an anthology of excerpts from German mystics in English translation, entitled *Light, Life and Love. Selections from the German Mystics of the Middle Ages* (1904). The anthology is preceded by an introduction, which aims to briefly contextualize the mystics for the general public, but most importantly it directs the reader's attention to the figure of Meister Eckhart by stressing his relevance for the "great [mystical] awakening of the thirteenth century."⁶³ Inge's introduction is effectively a self-standing theological introduction to Meister Eckhart, for only a disproportionately small number of pages are dedicated to other mystics of the Eckhart school, such as Tauler, Suso, and Ruysbroek. Here Inge focuses on certain mystical concepts as developed by Eckhart. Particularly, he glosses on the ideas of detachment, inaction, grace, and the "spark," which are all typically seen to represent Eckhart's theology and that of his followers. In his introduction, Inge highlights Eckhart's contempt for earthly things, which were central to the tradition of the *via negativa*:

The ethical aim is to be rid of "creatureliness," and so to be united to God. [...] On our side the process is a negative one. All our knowledge must be reduced to not-knowledge; our reason and will, as well as our lower faculties, must transcend themselves, must die to live. We must *detach* ourselves absolutely "even from God," he says. This state of spiritual nudity he calls "poverty." Then, when our house is empty of all else, God can dwell there: "He begets His Son in us."⁶⁴

While detachment from all things is a "[v]ery characteristic [...] doctrine" of mysticism, complete unity with God is, naturally, the final aim of all mystics.⁶⁵ However, Inge is keen to stress how

Eckhart's way of detachment can be, and has been, easily misunderstood as the "dreamy inactivity."⁶⁶ Instead, Inge explains, Eckhart's doctrine of detachment does not presuppose monastic reclusion. For Eckhart, contemplation is:

a means to activity; [...] Eckhart recognizes that it is a harder and a nobler task to preserve detachment in a crowd than in a cell; the little daily sacrifices of family life are often a greater trial than self-imposed mortifications.⁶⁷

It is easy to see how Eliot renders this very concept poetically in "East Coker" with references to everyday life (III, 188, lines 13-22). Paul Murray claims that in part III of "East Coker" Eliot deliberately avoids "explicit religious imagery," but rather opts for "three unexpected similes."⁶⁸ While the latter is true, I argue that Eliot is nevertheless appropriating Eckhart's lesson that spiritual detachment is "harder and nobler" to achieve in the frenzy of everyday life, rather than in the mystic's typical "dreamy inactivity." This unexpected focus on the everyday in "East Coker" enriches Eliot's poetry with unconventional religiosity.

In this regard, Inge's work played an important role in the shaping of Eliot's religious and poetic imagination. Inge singled out passages from Pfeiffer's edition of Eckhart's works (1857), which constitute the essentials of Eckhart's doctrine, and give a new dimension to Eliot's lines. Early on in his selection, Inge quotes Eckhart's words that "God is always ready, but we are very unready; God is near to us, but we are far from Him; God is within, but we are without; God is at home, but we are strangers."⁶⁹ In "East Coker," the darkness of God occurs in unexpected locations (underground, theater and hospital); the location of the mystical occurrence is irrelevant, whereas its focal point is the individual's readiness for spiritual transformation. In the section on detachment in Eckhart, Inge quotes a passage where the German mystic stresses how the man submitted to God will carry God with him always and everywhere. It is followed by a criticism of reclusive contemplation:

Some people pride themselves on their detachment from mankind, and are glad to be alone or in church; and therein lies their peace. But he who is truly in the right state, is so in all circumstances, and among all persons; he who is not in a good state, it is not right with him in all places and among all persons.⁷⁰

If God is everywhere, and always ready, what makes the real difference in achieving peace and unity with God is the disposition of the individual. Eckhart detects a problem in the general consideration of the mystic as a solitary job, detached from day-to-day reality. In *Four Quartets*, Eliot draws from Eckhart to recreate the mystical experience in everyday life by employing more relatable metaphors of the quotidian, such as a theatrical stage transformed by darkness like a mystic is transformed after the spiritual exercise. With the war literally at the poet's doorstep,

Eliot seeks emotional and spiritual detachment from worldly concerns in mystical writing. “East Coker” embodies Eliot’s poetic attempt at mystical detachment.

The mystical experience of detachment was something much sought for in the earlier quartet, too, although it always remained unrealized. In part II of “Burnt Norton,” the poet imagines an ascent without movement, which bears Eckhartian undertones:

The inner freedom from the practical desire,
The release from action and suffering, release from the inner
And the outer compulsion, yet surrounded
By a grace of sense, a white light still and moving,
Erhebung without motion, concentration
Without elimination, both a new world
And the old made explicit, understood
In the completion of its partial ecstasy,
The resolution of its partial horror.

(181, II, lines 23-31)

In these lines the German word *Erhebung* turns up unexpectedly, almost incoherently. The use of this word in this section is striking: foreign, italicized, and placed at the beginning of the line. Only a handful of Eliot scholars have wrestled with the term and, surprisingly, it has attracted no interest from the scholars focussing on Eliot’s connection with mystical literature. In German, *Erhebung* means a physical bump or a peak, but also the act of elevating oneself and, even, the contentment of the soul.⁷¹ In *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, Christopher Ricks cites the word as an example of Eliot’s ad hoc employment of foreign words in *Four Quartets*, which had by then become more refined than his exasperated use of foreign languages in the early poetry.⁷² Other Eliot scholars who have glossed this term and its employment in “Burnt Norton” have mainly related it to Eliot the philosopher, rather than Eliot the religious poet. The editors of the annotated *Poems of T. S. Eliot* (2015), for example, gloss the word as “Hegelian terminology” (917). Jūrātė Levina argues that *Erhebung* should be read as an allusion to “the Kantian elevation to the aesthetic sublime” (in German, *das Erhabene*), in the midst of a blessed feeling of “meaningfulness.”⁷³ Aakanksha Virkar-Yates proceeds in a similar direction by arguing that this German term should be interpreted in Schopenhauerian terms as, again, a variation on the “sublime,” the elevated, and that the second section in “Burnt Norton” could be understood as “a poetic rendition of Schopenhauer’s aesthetic philosophy” and of “the aesthetic moment as freedom and release.”⁷⁴ Drawing on Meister Eckhart enables us to re-think the connotations of *Erhebung* and its connection to elevation, as well as the thwarted mystical dimensions of Eliot’s lines.

Arthur Schopenhauer, who was crucial in understanding Eckhart as a philosopher as well as a mystic, famously compared Eckhart’s “quietist overcoming of the will” with the Indian

Buddhist Sakyamuni in *Welt als Wille und Vorstellung (World as Will and Representation)*.⁷⁵ Apart from drawing on the previously unexplored connections between German mysticism and Buddhism in its third edition (1859), Schopenhauer also dedicates a few words in praise of Pfeiffer's new edition of Eckhart's works (1857), as they make the "wundervolle Schriften" (wonderful writings) of the "großer Mystiker" (great mystic) finally available to the general public.⁷⁶ Schopenhauer then selects a passage by Eckhart, where the mystic quotes the Gospel of John and claims that the lifting of all things towards God, away from the mortality of the earth, is a necessary step towards union with Him:

»Ich bewähre dies mit Christo, da er sagt: wenn ich erhöht werde von der Erde, alle Dinge will ich nach mir ziehn (Joh. 12, 32). So soll der gute Mensch alle Dinge hinauftragen zu Gott, in ihren ersten Ursprung. Dies bewähren uns die Meister, daß alle Kreaturen sind gemacht um des Menschen Willen. Dies prüfet an allen Kreaturen, daß eine Kreatur die andere nützt: das Rind das Gras, der Fisch das Wasser, der Vogel die Luft, das Thier den Wald. So kommen alle Kreaturen dem guten Menschen zu Nutz: eine Kreatur in der andern trägt ein guter Mensch zu Gott.« (280)

[“I bear witness to the saying of Christ. I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things unto me (John xii. 31). So shall the good man draw all things up to God, to the source whence they first came. The Masters certify to us that all creatures are made for the sake of man. This is proved in all created things, by the fact that the one makes the use of the other; the ox makes use of the grass, the fish of the water, the bird of the air, the wild beast of the forest. Thus, all created things become of use to the good man. A good man brings to God the one created thing in the other.” (492).]

Schopenhauer uses this passage to introduce a point on spiritual poverty and detachment, and how closely they resemble each other in Christian and Buddhist asceticism. Interestingly, Schopenhauer is attracted to Eckhart's concept of spiritual elevation: in the text, *erhöhen*, a synonym of *erheben*, meaning “to make things higher, to elevate, to lift.” Detaching oneself from all earthly things and possessions is achieved by a movement of elevation towards God, our natural environment, like nature for the various animals inhabiting the Earth.

What Schopenhauer does not mention is how the removal of oneself from all things, towards God, is for Eckhart intrinsically connected with penance; Eckhart addresses this explicitly in his longest surviving treatise written in vernacular, *Reden der Unterweisung (The Talks of Instruction)*. The textual excerpt that follows is taken from Herman Büttner's 1903-1909 translation, which was the first major translation of Eckhart's works into modern High German, and remained in print until the late 1950s.⁷⁷ Almost certainly, Eliot would have accessed Eckhart's works through this edition:

Viele Leute halten dafür, daß sie schwierige Dinge anstellen müßten mit äußerem Gebaren; wir fasten, barfuß gehen und solcher Dinge mehr. Man nennt das: Pönitenzen.
Über die allerbeste Pönitenz — mit der man wirklich erheblich fördert — ist die, daß man sich zu einer vollständiger Abkehr entschlöße von allem, was nicht durchaus Gott und göttlich ist an uns und aller Welt;

und dafür eine volle und entschiedene Zukehr eintausche zu seinem lieben Gotte in unerschütterlicher Hingabe, derart, daß unser Gedenken und Gelüften groß sei zu ihm. [...] Dies die wahre Pönitenz. [...] [S]chlechthin Erhebung des Gemüts über alles Endliche, ein Aufgehen in Gott. Die Werke, bei denen dir das am besten gelingt, denen widme dich freien Muts.

[Many people think that they should do great things in external works, such as fasting, going barefoot, and other things of this kind, which are called works of penance. But true penance and the very best kind of all, which brings about the greatest improvement in one's life, consists in a man's final renunciation of everything in himself and the creatures that is not entirely God and divine. Let him have a full and perfect conversion to his dear God in unchanging love, in such a way that he has great devotion and longing for Him. [...] This is true penance, [...] simply the complete elevation of the mind from all things to God. In whatever works you can experience this most, do those works most freely.]⁷⁸

The best type of penitence is, according to Meister Eckhart, a complete elevation from all things ("Erhebung des Gemüts über alles Endliche," in the text), expanding and merging into God. All human energies, Eckhart insists, should be spent on this effort: all other types of penitence are not a deepening of the penitent's status, but rather a distraction from the focal point which is the union with God. Eliot's ponderings on penitence and purgation reach their climax here, and resonate with Eckhart's own stages of the soul's ascent. Eliot adopts the German mystic's term *Erhebung* to indicate a motionless elevation of the soul ascending towards the light of God. For Eckhart, the soul must first experience fear, hope, and desire, consequently detaching from (to use Eliot's word) "practical desire," then it must forget and stop considering all temporal things, to finally enable itself to "enter into God."⁷⁹ Detachment, or *Abgeschiedenheit*, becomes an active movement of dispossession of all temporal and sensual things, comparable to the dark night of the soul for St John of the Cross, and complemented by its passive counterpart, the abandonment or letting go of all things, *Gelassenheit*.⁸⁰ Eliot concentrates these two mystical concepts in the word "release:" setting free from all worldly worries and errors, liberating oneself from practical desires and delights. The surrounding of "grace" all around directs the reader's imagination to Divine Grace, all-embracing and inclusive of the souls coming towards God.

While giving Eckhart's dense prose a poetic form, Eliot's decision to keep the crucial word in German foreignizes the intended mystical content of the "Burnt Norton" passage. Like "waning dusk" in "Little Gidding," "elevation" would have made it more immediately comprehensible to the reader; instead, Eliot chooses *Erhebung* over its English correlative, not despite its foreignness, but by virtue of it. While using "elevation" would mean sacrificing theological precision for intelligibility, the incongruous original retains its conceptual, mystical significance. As readers, the foreign and typographically distinct *Erhebung* forces us to stumble and more carefully ponder the word's meaning and purpose. Through its elusiveness and foreignness, Eliot invites us to participate in his suggestively religious poetics.

CONCLUSION

In the *Yorkshire Post* interview mentioned at the beginning of this article, Eliot was rather abruptly asked whether he was “not, perhaps, a failed mystic.”⁸¹ Eliot naturally answered no, while readily acknowledging his long-term interest in mysticism.⁸² To him, being *both* a poet *and* a mystic was not a real possibility, since very few mystics were also “fine poet[s]” (except for St John of the Cross); he went on to add that “with [him], certainly, the poetic impulse is stronger than the mystical impulse.”⁸³ This statement vouches for poetry as Eliot’s ultimate aim, rather than mysticism; as a poet, his ultimate commitment is to words and aesthetic, rather than mystical, experience. Yet, in *Four Quartets*, Eliot strives for an amalgamation of the poetic with the mystical, of the ineffable and suggestively Christian with the more discernibly religious.

The lexical examples discussed in this article zoom in on this dynamics by closely analysing Eliot’s poetic practice in three distinct, lesser-studied cases. Each of these examples elucidates Eliot’s strategy of incorporating mystical imagery into his poetry. This is a twofold process of appropriation: an act of translation (from Italian, Spanish, or German) and subsequent poetic reformulation. Each of them also bears witness to Eliot’s careful chiselling of his poetry to strike a balance with the intended mystical allusion. In the first example, Eliot domesticates the more familiar mystical thought of Dante, a poet rather than a mystic, by translating and incorporating the “heart of light” twice into his own poetry, in “Burnt Norton,” and earlier in *The Waste Land*. In “Little Gidding,” despite other plain references to St John of the Cross, Eliot avoids the higher register, and subsequent theological density, of the phrase “antelucan dusk,” in what is possibly the best documented instance of Eliot’s discussion of his writing process. In the final example, again in “Burnt Norton,” Eliot, in contrast to the previous instances, opts for a radical foreignization. If *antelucan* was rejected for its stylistic incongruity, *Erhebung* was simply transferred into the passage of “Burnt Norton” that most resembles the style of Meister Eckhart’s mystical prose. By retaining the word in the original German, Eliot frustrates the readers’ immediate comprehension of the passage, while simultaneously preserving its conceptual exactness. Eliot is constantly at work manipulating the boundaries of poetic language and form to best accommodate mystical thought in his poetry: he is the very essence of the modern religious poet—not defiantly, but suggestively, so.

NOTES

¹ T. S. Eliot to John D. Hayward, The Hayward Bequest, HB/L/12/1/14, King’s College Archive, Cambridge.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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- ⁴ The bibliography on *Four Quartets* is extensive. For scholarship on religion and mysticism in *Four Quartets*, see especially Barry Spurr's *'Anglo-Catholic in Religion': T. S. Eliot and Christianity*, Sarah Kennedy's *T. S. Eliot and the Dynamic Imagination*, Paul Murray's *T. S. Eliot and Mysticism*, Eloise Knapp Hay's *T. S. Eliot's Negative Way*, and D. J. Childs's *T. S. Eliot: Mystic, Son, and Lover*, as well as the articles by Susan McCaslin, "Vision and Revision in *Four Quartets*: T. S. Eliot and Julian of Norwich," and by Barbara Newman, "Eliot's Affirmative Way: Julian of Norwich, Charles Williams, and Little Gidding."
- ⁵ Fowlie, *Journal of Rehearsals*, 138; Newman, "Eliot's Affirmative Way," 450.
- ⁶ Fowlie, 138; Newman, 451.
- ⁷ "A Few Recollections of Eliot. Typescript of Essay," Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, Berg Coll. MSS Morley no. 910431, New York Public Library.
- ⁸ *The Complete Prose: Volume 5*, 219.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 220.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 220.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 221. For more on the topic, see Eliot, "What is Minor Poetry?," *The Complete Prose: Volume 6*, 566-580.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 220.
- ¹³ Manganiello and Woelfel, "Introduction: 'In Our Beginning,'" 122.
- ¹⁴ The lecture was left untitled by Eliot but it has been archivally titled "[Types of English Religious Verse]" at King's College, Cambridge.
- ¹⁵ Murray, *T. S. Eliot and Mysticism*, 112.
- ¹⁶ *The Complete Prose: Volume 6*, 59.
- ¹⁷ Eliot, "Talking Freely."
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ Manganiello, *T. S. Eliot and Dante*; Ellis, *Dante and English Poetry*; Schuchard, *Eliot's Dark Angel*; Svarny, *The MEN of 1914*; Bacigalupo, "Dante."
- ²² Bacigalupo, "Dante," 185, 188.
- ²³ Eliot, "Talk on Dante," *The Complete Prose: Volume 7*, 482; Eliot, "Dante" (1929), *The Complete Prose: Volume 2*, 725.
- ²⁴ Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, 267; Boitani, "The Poetry and Poetics of Creation," 103.
- ²⁵ Dante, *Paradiso*, 536; *The Divine Comedy*, 367. Hereafter cited by line and page number in the text. For more on the intellectual light of the Empyrean, see Gilson, *Medieval Optics*, 250-1.
- ²⁶ Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision*, 166.
- ²⁷ Murray, *T. S. Eliot & Mysticism*, 245.
- ²⁸ *The Poems of T. S. Eliot: Volume 1*, 912. Hereafter cited by line and page number in the text.
- ²⁹ Ariani, *Lux Inaccessibilis*, 226.
- ³⁰ Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, 175; Childs, *T. S. Eliot: Mystic, Son, Lover*, 111. Childs directly compares the two garden moments in *The Waste Land* (the 'hyacinth girl') and "Burnt Norton," arguing the two draw on "very similar experience[s]."
- ³¹ See *The Poems of T. S. Eliot*, 609, for cross references of this phrase in Eliot's works.
- ³² Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, 175.
- ³³ English translation from Eliot, "Dante" (1929), *The Complete Prose: Volume 2*, 724.
- ³⁴ Freccero, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion*, 211, 223, 245.
- ³⁵ Ciabattini, *Dante's Journey to Polyphony*, 186, 155.
- ³⁶ Mazzotta, *Dante's Vision*, 164.
- ³⁷ Eliot, "Mystic and Politician as Poet: Vaughan, Traherne, Marvell, Milton," in *The Complete Prose: Volume 4*, 97. The lecture was aired on March 28, 1930, at 8.30pm (Greenwich time) and consequently published in *The Listener*, no. 3 (April 3, 1930).
- ³⁸ For more on Eliot and apophatic theology, see Eloise Knapp Hay, *T. S. Eliot's Negative Way*.
- ³⁹ Kennedy, *T. S. Eliot and the Dynamic Imagination*, 151.
- ⁴⁰ Spurr, *Anglo-Catholic in Religion*, 23; *The Complete Prose: Volume 4*, 54; *The Complete Prose: Volume 5*, 310.
- ⁴¹ Peers, "Translator's Preface," vii.
- ⁴² *The Complete Prose: Volume 5*, 108.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 108. From a 1930 letter to John Middleton Murry, we know that Eliot also owned a copy of two French texts on St John, Jean Baruzi's *Saint Jean de la Croix et la problème de l'expérience mystique* (1931) and Père Bruno de Jesus Marie's *S. Jean de la Croix* (1929); see *The Letters of T. S. Eliot: Volume 5*, 33.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.
- ⁴⁵ Schuchard, *Eliot's Dark Angel*, 174.
- ⁴⁶ *The Complete Prose: Volume 4*, 50.

- ⁴⁷ Both texts were indicated by Eliot as suitable reading for the audience of his 1930 BBC talk, later published in *The Listener*; see *The Complete Prose: Volume 4*, 50, *The Letters of T. S. Eliot: Volume 4*, 451, and Schuchard, *Eliot's Dark Angel*, 176.
- ⁴⁸ According to Schuchard, *Ascent of Mount Carmel* and George Herbert's *The Temple* had become Eliot's "handbooks" at this time (174).
- ⁴⁹ John of the Cross, *Subida del monte Carmelo y Noche oscura*, 34; *The Complete Works*, 65-66. Hereafter cited by page number.
- ⁵⁰ It is worth noting here that Knapp Hay, who writes extensively on St John of the Cross and *Four Quartets*, does not mention the night of faith as the second intermediary mystical stage.
- ⁵¹ Hay, *Negative Way*, 155; Knowles, *A Purgatorial Flame*, 120; Sharp, "The Unheard Music," 270. The parallel between these lines and a passage from *Dark Night of the Soul* is very briefly drawn by Ricks and McCue in *The Poems of T. S. Eliot: Volume I*, 919.
- ⁵² Sharp, "The Unheard Music," 270.
- ⁵³ See especially Manganiello on Eliot, Yeats, and the "compound ghost," and Kennedy's commentary on the same lines and correspondence between Eliot and Hayward, although she omits to comment on the word "antelucan."
- ⁵⁴ Quoted in Gardner, *The Composition of Four Quartets*, 177.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.
- ⁵⁶ *The Complete Prose: Volume 7*, 694.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 694.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 694.
- ⁵⁹ Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, 267.
- ⁶⁰ *The Complete Prose: Volume 4*, 97. Four years earlier, in 1926, Eliot had reviewed Maurice de Wulf's *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* (5th edition) for the *Times Literary Supplement*, expressing surprise for the inclusion of Eckhardt [sic] in the book as one of the "unorthodox figures," *The Complete Prose: Volume 2*, 871.
- ⁶¹ "Notes on Philosophy," T. S. Eliot Papers, 1878-1958, Ms Am 1691, 129, 1, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- ⁶² "Underhill," T. S. Eliot Papers, 1878-1958, Ms Am 1691, 129, 4, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- ⁶³ Inge, *Light, Life and Love*, x.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xxiii.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiv.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, xxix.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, xxx.
- ⁶⁸ Murray, *T. S. Eliot and Mysticism*, 74.
- ⁶⁹ Pfeiffer 223, quoted in Inge, *Light, Life and Love*, 3-4.
- ⁷⁰ Pfeiffer 547, quoted in Inge, 12.
- ⁷¹ *Duden Online Wörterbuch* <<http://www.duden.de>> accessed 16 May 2017.
- ⁷² Ricks, *T. S. Eliot and Prejudice*, 267.
- ⁷³ Levina, "Speaking the Unnamable," 207.
- ⁷⁴ Virkar-Yates, "Erhebung, Schopenhauer and T. S. Eliot's Burnt Norton," 126-127.
- ⁷⁵ Moran, "Meister Eckhart," 670. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*: see in particular Zweiter Band (Vol. II), *Ergänzungen zum vierten Buch* (Supplements to Book IV), §48, for a comparison of M. Eckhart with Sufism and Buddhism, and Sakyamuni, and §49 for a comparison with the Veda.
- ⁷⁶ Schopenhauer, *Die Welt*, I, IV, §68, 280; Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, I, IV, §68, 492. Hereafter cited by page number.
- ⁷⁷ For early bibliography of Meister Eckhart's works, see Largier, *Bibliographie zu Meister Eckhart*.
- ⁷⁸ Meister Eckhart, "Von rechter Pönitenz," 27; Meister Eckhart, "Of True Penance and the Heavenly Life," 84-85.
- ⁷⁹ Smith, *Meister Eckhart*, 130.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 115.
- ⁸¹ Eliot, "Talking Freely"; also Murray, *T. S. Eliot & Mysticism*, 1.
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*

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