

"To me it was only the relief of a personal and wholly insignificant grouse against life; it is just a piece of rhythmical grumbling" (*The Waste Land: Facsimile and Transcript of the Original Drafts . . .*, ed. Valerie Eliot, 1971).

THE WASTE LAND

'Nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent: Σίβυλλα τί θέλεις; respondebat illa: ἀποθανεῖν θέλω.⁷

FOR EZRA POUND
IL MIGLIOR FABBRO.⁸

I. *The Burial of the Dead*⁹

April is the cruellest month,¹ breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain.
Winter kept us warm, covering 5
Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
A little life with dried tubers.
Summer surprised us, coming over the Starnbergersee²
With a shower of rain; we stopped in the colonnade,
And went on in sunlight, into the Hofgarten, 10
And drank coffee, and talked for an hour.
Bin gar keine Russin, stamm' aus Litauen, echt deutsch.³
And when we were children, staying at the arch-duke's,
My cousin's, he took me out on a sled, 15
And I was frightened. He said, Marie,
Marie, hold on tight. And down we went.
In the mountains, there you feel free.
I read, much of the night, and go south in the winter.

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow 20
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,⁴
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,⁵

7. "For I saw with own my eyes the Sibyl hanging in a jar at Cumae, and when the acolytes said, 'Sibyl, what do you want?' she replied, 'I want to die'" (Petronius, *Satyricon*, ch. 48). Apollo had granted the Sibyl eternal life, but because she had forgotten to ask for eternal youth, her body shriveled up until she could be put in a bottle.

8. The better craftsman (Italian). The tribute in Dante's *Purgatorio* 26.117 to the twelfth-century Provençal poet Arnaut Daniel.

9. The title of the Anglican burial service.

1. Cf. Chaucer's "General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales*.

2. A lake near Munich; the Hofgarten (line 10) is a park in the city. According to Valerie Eliot, Eliot

based this passage on a conversation he had had with Countess Marie Larisch (lines 8–18). She published her reminiscences of Austrian nobility in *My Past* (1913).

3. I'm not a Russian woman at all; I come from Lithuania, a true German (German).

4. "Cf. Ezekiel II, i" [Eliot's note]: "Son of man stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee," God says to Ezekiel.

5. "Cf. Ecclesiastes XII, v" [Eliot's note], in which the preacher evokes the evil days "when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail."

And the dry stone no sound of water. Only
 There is shadow under this red rock,⁶
 (Come in under the shadow of this red rock),
 And I will show you something different from either
 Your shadow at morning striding behind you
 Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you;
 I will show you fear in a handful of dust.

*Frisch weht der Wind
 Der Heimat zu
 Mein Irisch Kind,
 Wo weilest du?*⁷

"You gave me hyacinths first a year ago;
 "They called me the hyacinth girl."
 —Yet when we came back, late from the hyacinth⁸ garden,
 Your arms full, and your hair wet, I could not
 Speak, and my eyes failed, I was neither
 Living nor dead, and I knew nothing,
 Looking into the heart of light, the silence.
*Oed' und leer das Meer.*⁹

Madame Sosostris,¹ famous clairvoyante,
 Had a bad cold, nevertheless
 Is known to be the wisest woman in Europe,
 With a wicked pack of cards.² Here, said she,
 Is your card, the drowned Phoenician Sailor,³
 (Those are pearls that were his eyes. Look!)⁴
 Here is Belladonna,⁵ the Lady of the Rocks,
 The lady of situations.
 Here is the man with three staves, and here the Wheel,⁶
 And here is the one-eyed merchant,⁷ and this card,
 Which is blank, is something he carries on his back,

6. Cf. Isaiah 32.2, which tells of a savior who "shall be . . . as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

7. "V. [see] *Tristan und Isolde*, I, verses 5–8" [Eliot's note]. In this opera, by German composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883), a sailor recalls the woman he has left behind: "Fresh blows the wind / To the homeland; / My Irish darling, / Where are you waiting?" Isolde overhears these verses on the ship taking her to marry her unloved fiancé, King Mark of Cornwall.

8. In Greek mythology, Apollo loved and accidentally killed Hyacinth; from his blood sprang the flower named for him, inscribed with "Al," a cry of grief.

9. "Id. [ibid] III, verse 24" [Eliot's note]. Desolate and empty is the sea (German); the second quotation from *Tristan und Isolde*. In this scene, the dying Tristan waits for Isolde to arrive by sea.

1. Name adapted from a fake fortune-teller in Aldous Huxley's novel *Crome Yellow* (1921).

2. Tarot cards, with their vestiges of ancient vegetation myth. Eliot notes: "I am not familiar with the exact constitution of the Tarot pack of cards, from which I have obviously departed to suit my own convenience. The Hanged Man, a member of the traditional pack, fits my purpose in two ways: because he is associated in my mind with the Hanged God of Frazer, and because I associate him with the hooded figure in the passage of the dis-

ciples to Emmaus in Part V. The Phoenician Sailor and the Merchant appear later; also the 'crowds of people,' and Death by Water is executed in Part IV. The Man with Three Staves (an authentic member of the Tarot pack) I associate, quite arbitrarily, with the Fisher King himself."

3. The Phoenicians were ancient seafaring merchants who spread fertility cults across the Mediterranean. The sailor reappears as Phlebas in part 4; cf. also Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant, in part 3.

4. From Ariel's song in Shakespeare's *Tempest* about Ferdinand's supposedly drowned father: "Full fathom five thy father lies. / Of his bones are coral made; / Those are pearls that were his eyes; / Nothing of him that doth fade / But doth suffer a sea-change / Into something rich and strange" (1.2.400–405).

5. Beautiful lady (Italian); also, the poisonous plant nightshade and a cosmetic. Calling her "the Lady of the Rocks" is an ironic allusion to Leonardo de Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks*, a picture of the Virgin Mary, and to his Mona Lisa, described in Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* (1893) as "older than the rocks among which she sits."

6. That is, the Wheel of Fortune.

7. Mr. Eugenides of part 3, "one-eyed" because seen in profile. This card, like those of Belladonna and of the drowned Phoenician sailor, is not part of the Tarot deck.

Which I am forbidden to see. I do not find
 The Hanged Man. Fear death by water. 55
 I see crowds of people, walking round in a ring.
 Thank you. If you see dear Mrs. Equitone,
 Tell her I bring the horoscope myself:
 One must be so careful these days.

Unreal City,⁸ 60
 Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
 A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
 I had not thought death had undone so many.⁹
 Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,¹
 And each man fixed his eyes before his feet. 65
 Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,
 To where Saint Mary Woolnoth kept the hours
 With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine.²
 There I saw one I knew, and stopped him, crying: "Stetson!
 "You who were with me in the ships at Mylae!³ 70
 "That corpse you planted last year in your garden,
 "Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?
 "Or has the sudden frost disturbed its bed?
 "O keep the Dog far hence, that's friend to men,
 "Or with his nails he'll dig it up again!⁴ 75
 "You! hypocrite lecteur!—mon semblable,—mon frère!"⁵

II. A Game of Chess⁶

The Chair she sat in, like a burnished throne,
 Glowed on the marble,⁷ where the glass
 Held up by standards wrought with fruited vines

8. "Cf. Baudelaire: 'Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves / Où le spectre en plein jour raccroche le passant'" [Eliot's note]. From the poem "Les Sept Vieillards" ("The Seven Old Men"), in *Les Fleurs du Mal* (*The Flowers of Evil*, 1857), by French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867): "Swarming city, city full of dreams, / Where the specter in full daylight accosts the passerby."

9. "Cf. *Inferno* III, 55–57 . . ." [Eliot's note]. At the gate of Hell, Dante describes souls in limbo as "So long a train of people / That I should never have believed / That death had undone so many." They are in limbo because they "lived without praise or blame" or did not know the faith.

1. "Cf. *Inferno* IV, 25–27 . . ." [Eliot's note]: "Here, so far as I could tell by listening, / There was no lamentation except sighs, / Which caused the eternal air to tremble." The sighs are uttered by the souls of the virtuous heathen who lived before Jesus.

2. "A phenomenon which I have often noticed" [Eliot's note]. The people cross London Bridge and pass St. Mary Woolnoth (at the corner of King William and Lombard Streets) on their way to the financial district of London, known as the City.

3. A battle in the first Punic War between Rome and Carthage. It merges with World War I. In the Bible, Jesus died at the ninth hour.

4. "Cf. the Dirge in Webster's *White Devil*" [Eliot's

note]: "But keep the wolf far thence, that's foe to man / Or with his nails he'll dig them up again." In John Webster's 1612 play, the dirge is sung by a woman to one of her sons, who has killed the other and is burying him. In fertility rituals, the death of the god heralds his rebirth, but here the burial follows a grim murder, and the dog, perhaps Anubis (the dog-headed Egyptian god of the underworld who helped Isis reassemble her dismembered brother Osiris), is to be kept away.

5. "V. Baudelaire, Preface to *Fleurs du Mal*" [Eliot's note]. This is the last line of "Au Lecteur" ("To the Reader"), the introductory poem of *Les Fleurs du Mal*. The poem describes ennui as the worst sin of humankind and well known to the reader: "Hypocrite reader!—my double—my brother!"

6. The title comes from Thomas Middleton's (c. 1570–1627) play *A Game of Chess* and refers particularly to another play by Middleton, *Women Beware Women*, in which a girl is seduced in one room while her mother-in-law is kept busy at a chess game in the next. The chess moves reflect the erotic maneuvers next door.

7. "Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, ii, l. 190" [Eliot's note]. An ironic adaptation of the famous description of Cleopatra by Enobarbus in Shakespeare's play.

55 From which a golden Cupidon peeped out
 (Another hid his eyes behind his wing) 80
 Doubled the flames of sevenbranched candelabra
 Reflecting light upon the table as
 The glitter of her jewels rose to meet it,
 From satin cases poured in rich profusion.
 In vials of ivory and coloured glass 85
 Unstoppered, lurked her strange synthetic perfumes,
 Unguent, powdered, or liquid—troubled, confused
 And drowned the sense in odours; stirred by the air
 That freshened from the window, these ascended 90
 In fattening the prolonged candle-flames,
 Flung their smoke into the laquearia,⁸
 Stirring the pattern on the coffered ceiling.
 Huge sea-wood fed with copper
 Burned green and orange, framed by the coloured stone,
 In which sad light a carved dolphin swam. 95
 Above the antique mantel was displayed
 As though a window gave upon the sylvan scene⁹
 The change of Philomel,¹ by the barbarous king
 So rudely forced;² yet there the nightingale
 Filled all the desert with inviolable voice 100
 And still she cried, and still the world pursues,
 "Jug Jug"³ to dirty ears.
 And other withered stumps of time
 Were told upon the walls; staring forms
 Leaned out, leaning, hushing the room enclosed. 105
 Footsteps shuffled on the stair.
 Under the firelight, under the brush, her hair
 Spread out in fiery points
 Glowed into words, then would be savagely still. 110

"My nerves are bad to-night. Yes, bad. Stay with me.
 "Speak to me. Why do you never speak. Speak.
 "What are you thinking of? What thinking? What?
 "I never know what you are thinking. Think."

I think we are in rats' alley⁴
 Where the dead men lost their bones. 115

"What is that noise?"
 The wind under the door.⁵

8. "Laquearia. V. *Aeneid*, I, 726 . . ." [Eliot's note]. The word means panelled ceiling, and Eliot refers to Virgil's description of the banquet given by the Carthaginian queen Dido for her lover Aeneas: "Burning lamps hang from the gold-panelled ceiling, / And torches dispel the night with their flames."
 9. "Sylvan scene. V. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 140" [Eliot's note]. The context is Satan's description of Eden.
 1. "V. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI, Philomela" [Eliot's note]. Philomela was changed into a night-

ingale after she was raped by her sister's husband, King Tereus.

2. "Cf. Part III, [line] 204" [Eliot's note].

3. Conventional representation of nightingale's song in Elizabethan poetry.

4. "Cf. Part III, [line] 195" [Eliot's note].

5. "Cf. Webster: 'Is the wind in that door still?'" [Eliot's note]. In Webster's *The Devil's Law Case*, a physician asks this question on finding that the victim of a murderous attack is still breathing, meaning "Is he still alive?"

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"What is that noise now? What is the wind doing?"
Nothing again nothing.

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"You know nothing? Do you see nothing? Do you remember
"Nothing?"

"Do

I remember

Those are pearls that were his eyes.

"Are you alive, or not? Is there nothing in your head?"

125

But

O O O O that Shakespherian Rag—

It's so elegant

So intelligent⁶

130

"What shall I do now? What shall I do?"

"I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street

"With my hair down, so. What shall we do tomorrow?

"What shall we ever do?"

The hot water at ten.

135

And if it rains, a closed car at four.

And we shall play a game of chess,⁷

Pressing lidless eyes and waiting for a knock upon the door.

When Lil's husband got demobbed,⁸ I said—

I didn't mince my words, I said to her myself,

HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME⁹

140

Now Albert's coming back, make yourself a bit smart.

He'll want to know what you done with that money he gave you

To get yourself some teeth. He did, I was there.

You have them all out, Lil, and get a nice set,

He said, I swear, I can't bear to look at you.

145

And no more can't I, I said, and think of poor Albert,

He's been in the army four years, he wants a good time,

And if you don't give it him, there's others will, I said.

Oh is there, she said. Something o' that, I said.

Then I'll know who to thank, she said, and give me a straight look.

150

HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME

If you don't like it you can get on with it, I said.

Others can pick and choose if you can't.

But if Albert makes off, it won't be for lack of telling.

You ought to be ashamed, I said, to look so antique.

155

(And her only thirty-one.)

I can't help it, she said, pulling a long face,

It's them pills I took, to bring it off, she said.

(She's had five already, and nearly died of young George.)

160

The chemist¹ said it would be all right, but I've never been the same.

6. Cf. "The Shakespearian Rag," a popular song from 1912; the chorus (lyrics by Gene Buck and Herman Ruby) is "That Shakespearian Rag, most intelligent, very elegant."

7. "Cf. the game of chess in Middleton's *Women beware Women*" [Eliot's note], described in note 4 at the beginning of part 2.

8. British slang for "demobilized" (discharged

from the armed services after World War I).

9. The bartender's routine call at closing time in an English pub. The following passage, according to Valerie Eliot's notes to the poem's manuscript, was based on a story told to the Eliots by their maid.

1. Pharmacist. *To bring it off*: to cause an abortion.

120 "Do
remember
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You are a proper fool, I said.
Well, if Albert won't leave you alone, there it is, I said,
What you get married for if you don't want children?
HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME 165
Well, that Sunday Albert was home, they had a hot gammon,²
And they asked me in to dinner, to get the beauty of it hot—
HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME
HURRY UP PLEASE ITS TIME
Goonight Bill. Goonight Lou. Goonight May. Goonight. 170
Ta ta. Goonight. Goonight.
Good night, ladies, good night, sweet ladies, good night, good night.³

III. The Fire Sermon⁴

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the door.
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The river's tent is broken; the last fingers of leaf
Clutch and sink into the wet bank. The wind
Crosses the brown land, unheard. The nymphs are departed. 175
Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song.⁵
The river bears no empty bottles, sandwich papers,
Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, cigarette ends
Or other testimony of summer nights. The nymphs are departed.
And their friends, the loitering heirs of City directors;
Departed, have left no addresses. 180
By the water of Leman I sat down and wept . . .⁶
Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song,
Sweet Thames, run softly, for I speak not loud or long.
But at my back in a cold blast I hear⁷ 185
The rattle of the bones, and chuckle spread from ear to ear.

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straight look.
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A rat crept softly through the vegetation
Dragging its slimy belly on the bank
While I was fishing in the dull canal
On a winter evening round behind the gashouse 190
Musing upon the king my brother's wreck⁸
And on the king my father's death before him.
White bodies naked on the low damp ground
And bones cast in a little low dry garret,
Rattled by the rat's foot only, year to year. 195
But at my back from time to time I hear⁹

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2. Ham or bacon.

3. In *Hamlet* 4.5, these words conclude Ophelia's mad speech before her drowning; cf. also the popular song lyric "Good night ladies, we're going to leave you now."

4. In the *Fire Sermon*, Buddha counsels his followers to conceive an aversion for the burning flames of passion and physical sensation and thus to live a holy life, attain freedom from earthly things, and finally leave the cycle of rebirth for Nirvana.

5. "V. Spenser, *Prothalamion*" [Eliot's note]. This line is the refrain of Elizabethan poet Edmund Spenser's marriage song, set along London's Thames River.

6. Cf. Psalm 137, in which the exiled Jews mourn for their homeland: "By the rivers of Babylon, there

we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion." *Leman*: the French name for Lake Geneva, near which, in Lausanne, Eliot was convalescing when he was completing *The Waste Land*; in Elizabethan and earlier English, *leman* meant a lover.

7. An ironic adaptation of "To His Coy Mistress," by Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), lines 21-22: "But at my back I always hear / Time's winged chariot hurrying near."

8. "Cf. *The Tempest*, I, ii" [Eliot's note]. Another allusion to Shakespeare's play. In lines 393-95, Prince Ferdinand, thinking his father dead, describes himself: "Sitting on a bank, / Weeping again the King my father's wreck, / This music crept by me upon the waters" (the music is Ariel's song "Full Fathom Five").

9. "Cf. Marvell, *To His Coy Mistress*" [Eliot's note].

The sound of horns and motors, which shall bring
 Sweeney to Mrs. Porter in the spring,¹
 O the moon shone bright on Mrs. Porter
 And on her daughter
 They wash their feet in soda water²
*Et O ces voix d'enfants, chantant dans la coupole!*³

200

Twit twit twit
 Jug jug jug jug jug jug
 So rudely forc'd.
 Tereu⁴

205

Unreal City
 Under the brown fog of a winter noon
 Mr. Eugenides, the Smyrna merchant
 Unshaven, with a pocket full of currants
 C.i.f. London: documents at sight,⁵
 Asked me in demotic French
 To luncheon at the Cannon Street Hotel
 Followed by a weekend at the Metropole.⁶

210

At the violet hour, when the eyes and back
 Turn upward from the desk, when the human engine waits
 Like a taxi throbbing waiting,
 I Tiresias,⁷ though blind, throbbing between two lives,

215

Tiresias

1. "Cf. Day, *Parliament of Bees*: 'When of the sudden, listening, you shall hear, / A noise of horns and hunting, which shall bring / Actaeon to Diana in the spring, / Where all shall see her naked skin . . .'" [Eliot's note]. Diana, the virgin goddess of the woods and hunting, was seen naked by Actaeon the hunter; she then changed him into a stag, to be hunted to death by his own dogs. John Day (1574–c. 1640), English poet.

2. "I do not know the origin of the ballad from which these lines are taken: it was reported to me from Sydney, Australia" [Eliot's note]. It was sung by Australian troops during the Dardanelles Campaign of World War I; a fuller version reads: "O the moon shone bright on Mrs. Porter / And on the daughter / Of Mrs. Porter. / They wash their feet in soda water / And so they oughter / To keep them clean."

3. "V. Verlaine, *Parsifal*" [Eliot's note]: "And O those children's voices singing in the dome!" The sonnet, by French poet Paul Verlaine (1844–1896), evokes Wagner's opera about the Grail quest. Parsifal has withstood the female enchanter's efforts to seduce him; humbled and purified, she washes his feet to prepare him to enter the Grail Castle, where he heals the Fisher King Amfortas and becomes king himself. The opera ends with the sound of children's voices singing Jesus' praise from the heights of the castle.

4. Another conventional representation of the nightingale's song, alluding to King Tereus and his brutality to Philomela. Cf. a song in John Lyle's play *Campaspe* (1584): "O 'tis the ravished nightingale. / Jug, jug, jug, jug, tereu! she cries."

5. "The currants were quoted at a price 'carriage and insurance free to London'; and the Bill of Lading etc. were to be handed to the buyer upon pay-

ment of the sight draft" [Eliot's note]. Another gloss of C.i.f. is "cost, insurance and freight." *Smyrna*: now Izmir, a seaport in western Turkey and the center of war between Turkey and Greece after World War I.

6. A luxurious hotel in the seaside resort of Brighton. Cannon Street Hotel, next to the City's Cannon Street Station, was used by business people going to or from the Continent by boat/train; it was also a locale for homosexual liaisons.

7. "Tiresias, although a mere spectator and not indeed a 'character,' is yet the most important personage in the poem, uniting all the rest. Just as the one-eyed merchant, seller of currants, melts into the Phoenician Sailor, and the latter is not wholly distinct from Ferdinand Prince of Naples [in *The Tempest*], so all the women are one woman, and the two sexes meet in Tiresias. What Tiresias sees, in fact, is the substance of the poem. The whole passage from Ovid is of great anthropological interest" [Eliot's note]. Eliot then quotes the Latin passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.316–38): "Jove [when drunk] said jokingly to Juno: 'You women have greater pleasure in love than that enjoyed by men.' She denied it. So they decided to refer the question to wise Tiresias who knew love from both points of view. For once, with a blow of his staff, he had separated two huge snakes who were copulating in the forest, and miraculously was changed instantly from a man into a woman and remained so for seven years. In the eighth year he saw the snakes again and said: 'If a blow against you is so powerful that it changes the sex of the author of it, now I shall strike you again.' With these words he struck them, and his former shape and masculinity were restored. As referee in the sportive quarrel, he supported Jove's claim. Juno,

Old man with wrinkled female breasts, can see
 At the violet hour, the evening hour that strives
 Homeward, and brings the sailor home from sea,⁸ 220
 The typist home at teatime, clears her breakfast, lights
 Her stove, and lays out food in tins.
 Out of the window perilously spread
 Her drying combinations⁹ touched by the sun's last rays, 225
 On the divan are piled (at night her bed)
 Stockings, slippers, camisoles, and stays.¹
 I Tiresias, old man with wrinkled dugs
 Perceived the scene, and foretold the rest—
 I too awaited the expected guest. 230
 He, the young man carbuncular,² arrives,
 A small house agent's clerk, with one bold stare,
 One of the low on whom assurance sits
 As a silk hat on a Bradford³ millionaire. 235
 The time is now propitious, as he guesses,
 The meal is ended, she is bored and tired,
 Endeavours to engage her in caresses
 Which still are unreproved, if undesired.
 Flushed and decided, he assaults at once;
 Exploring hands encounter no defence; 240
 His vanity requires no response,
 And makes a welcome of indifference.
 (And I Tiresias have foresuffered all
 Enacted on this same divan or bed;
 I who have sat by Thebes below the wall⁴
 And walked among the lowest of the dead.) 245
 Bestows one final patronising kiss,
 And gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit . . .

 She turns and looks a moment in the glass,
 Hardly aware of her departed lover;
 Her brain allows one half-formed thought to pass:
 "Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over."
 When lovely woman stoops to folly and
 Paces about her room again, alone,
 She smooths her hair with automatic hand,
 And puts a record on the gramophone.⁵ 255

overly upset by the decision, condemned the arbitrator to eternal blindness. But the all-powerful father (inasmuch as no god can undo what has been done by another god) gave him the power of prophecy, with this honor compensating him for the loss of sight."

8. "This may not appear as exact as Sappho's lines, but I had in mind the 'longshore' or 'dory' fisherman, who returns at nightfall" [Eliot's note]. In Fragment 149, Sappho writes, "Hesperus [the evening star], thou bringest home all things bright morning scattered: thou bringest the sheep, the goat, the child to the mother." Also echoed is "Home is the sailor, home from the sea," a line in "Requiem," by Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894).

9. Undergarments.

1. Corset.

2. Pimpily.

3. Manufacturing town in the north of England, where fortunes were made during World War I.

4. Tiresias, who prophesied in the marketplace by the wall of Thebes, foretold the fall of two Theban kings, Oedipus and Creon. After his death, he remained a prophet; Odysseus summoned him from Hades and was given advice to aid his voyage home.

5. "V. Goldsmith, the song in *The Vicar of Wakefield*" [Eliot's note]. In the 1766 novel by Oliver Goldsmith, the seduced Olivia sings, on returning to the scene of her seduction: "When lovely woman stoops to folly / And finds too late that men betray, / What charm can soothe her melancholy, / What art can wash her guilt away? /"

Eliot's note]. Another
 instance and freight."
 t in western Turkey
 n Turkey and Greece

aside resort of Bright-
 xt to the City's Canal
 l by business people
 t by boat-train; it was
 liaisons.

e spectator and not
 most important per-
 ll the rest. Just as the
 currants, melts into
 e latter is not wholly
 e of Naples [in *The*
 re one woman, and
 i. What Tiresias sees,
 e poem. The whole
 nthropological inter-
 quotes the Latin pas-
 s (3.316-38): "Jove
 o Juno: 'You women
 han that enjoyed by
 decided to refer the
 knew love from both
 a blow of his staff,
 akes who were cop-
 miraculously was
 into a woman and
 n the eighth year he
 d: 'If a blow against
 nges the sex of the
 ce you again.' With
 nd his former shape
 d. As referee in the
 l Jove's claim. Juno,

"This music crept by me upon the waters"⁶
 And along the Strand, up Queen Victoria Street.
 O City city, I can sometimes hear
 Beside a public bar in Lower Thames Street,
 The pleasant whining of a mandoline 260
 And a clatter and a chatter from within
 Where fishmen lounge at noon: where the walls
 Of Magnus Martyr⁷ hold
 Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold. 265

The river sweats⁸
 Oil and tar
 The barges drift
 With the turning tide
 Red sails
 Wide 270
 To leeward, swing on the heavy spar.
 The barges wash
 Drifting logs
 Down Greenwich reach
 Past the Isle of Dogs.⁹ 275
 Weialala leia
 Wallala leialala

Elizabeth and Leicester¹
 Beating oars
 The stern was formed 280
 A gilded shell
 Red and gold
 The brisk swell
 Rippled both shores
 Southwest wind 285
 Carried down stream
 The peal of bells
 White towers
 Weialala leia
 Wallala leialala 290

The only art her guilt to cover, / To hide her shame
 from every eye, / To give repentance to her lover /
 And wring his bosom—is to die."

6. "V. *The Tempest*, as above" [Eliot's note].

7. "The interior of St. Magnus Martyr is to my
 mind one of the finest among [Sir Christopher]
 Wren's interiors. See *The Proposed Demolition of
 Nineteen City Churches*: (P. S. King & Son, Ltd.)"
 [Eliot's note]. The church, built in 1676, still
 stands at the corner of Lower Thames and Fish
 Streets, between London Bridge and London's fish
 market.

8. "The Song of the (three) Thames-daughters
 begins here. From line 292 to 306 inclusive they
 speak in turn. V. *Götterdämmerung*, III, i: the
 Rhine-daughters" [Eliot's note]. In Wagner's opera
The Twilight of the Gods, the three Rhinemaidens
 try in vain to seduce and then frighten the hero
 Siegfried into returning their gold, which brings

both power and death to its possessor; since its
 theft, their river has lost its beauty. Lines 277–78
 quote the refrain of their song.

9. A peninsula in East London formed by a sharp
 bend in the Thames called Greenwich Reach;
 Greenwich is a borough on the south bank. Queen
 Elizabeth I was born in Greenwich House and
 entertained the Earl of Leicester there (lines 279–
 89).

1. "V. [J. A.] Froude, [*The Reign of Elizabeth*, Vol.
 I, ch. iv, letter of De Quadra [Spanish bishop and
 ambassador to England] to [King] Philip of Spain:
 'In the afternoon we were in a barge, watching the
 games on the river. (The queen) was alone with
 Lord Robert [Earl of Leicester] and myself on the
 poop, when they began to talk nonsense, and went
 so far that Lord Robert at last said, as I was on the
 spot there was no reason why they should not be
 married if the queen pleased'" [Eliot's note].

260 "Trams and dusty trees.
 Highbury bore me. Richmond and Kew
 Undid me.² By Richmond I raised my knees
 Supine on the floor of a narrow canoe." 295

265 "My feet are at Moorgate, and my heart
 Under my feet. After the event
 He wept. He promised 'a new start.'
 I made no comment. What should I resent?

270 "On Margate Sands.³
 I can connect
 Nothing with nothing.
 The broken fingernails of dirty hands.
 My people humble people who expect
 Nothing." 305

la la

275 To Carthage then I came⁴

Burning burning burning burning⁵
 O Lord Thou pluckest me out⁶
 O Lord Thou pluckest 310

280 burning

IV. *Death by Water*⁷

285 Phlebas the Phoenician, a fortnight dead,
 Forgot the cry of gulls, and the deep sea swell
 And the profit and loss.

A current under sea 315
 Picked his bones in whispers. As he rose and fell
 He passed the stages of his age and youth
 Entering the whirlpool.

290 Gentle or Jew
 O you who turn the wheel and look to windward, 320
 Consider Phlebas, who was once handsome and tall as you.

2. "Cf. *Purgatorio*, V, 133 . . ." [Eliot's note]. Dante meets the spirit of Pia de' Tolomei of Siena, who tells him: "Remember me, who am La Pia. Siena made me, Maremma unmade me," a reference to her violent death in Maremma at her husband's hands. Ezra Pound used this phrase in "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley" (see p. 358, note 3).
 3. Margate, and the other places mentioned above, are in or near London and the Thames.
 4. "V. St. Augustine's *Confessions*: 'to Carthage then I came, where a cauldron of unholy loves sang all about mine ears'" [Eliot's note].
 5. "The complete text of the Buddha's Fire Sermon (which corresponds in importance to the Sermon on the Mount), from which these words are taken, will be found translated in the late Henry Clarke Warren's *Buddhism in Translation* (Harvard

Oriental Series). Mr. Warren was one of the great pioneers of Buddhist studies in the Occident" [Eliot's note].

6. "From St. Augustine's *Confessions* again. The collocation of these two representatives of eastern and western asceticism, as the culmination of this part of the poem, is not an accident" [Eliot's note]. Augustine wrote, "I entangle my steps with these outward beauties, but Thou pluckest me out, O Lord, Thou pluckest me out."

7. Phlebas's drowning has been read as a sacrificial death before rebirth, as in the fertility rites, or as a sterile death without hope of resurrection. This section is a translation, somewhat modified, of the close of Eliot's French poem "Dans le Restaurant."

possessor; since its beauty. Lines 277-78

g.
 on formed by a sharp
 Greenwich Reach;
 e south bank. Queen
 Greenwich House and
 ater there (lines 279-

ign of] *Elizabeth*, Vol.
 [Spanish bishop and
 (ing) Philip of Spain:
 barge, watching the
 een) was alone with
 r] and myself on the
 nonsense, and went
 said, as I was on the
 y they should not be
 " [Eliot's note].

V. *What the Thunder Said*⁸

After the torchlight red on sweaty faces
 After the frosty silence in the gardens
 After the agony in stony places
 The shouting and the crying
 Prison and palace and reverberation 325
 Of thunder of spring over distant mountains
 He who was living is now dead⁹
 We who were living are now dying
 With a little patience 330

Here is no water but only rock
 Rock and no water and the sandy road
 The road winding above among the mountains
 Which are mountains of rock without water
 If there were water we should stop and drink 335
 Amongst the rock one cannot stop or think
 Sweat is dry and feet are in the sand
 If there were only water amongst the rock
 Dead mountain mouth of carious¹ teeth that cannot spit
 Here one can neither stand nor lie nor sit 340
 There is not even silence in the mountains
 But dry sterile thunder without rain
 There is not even solitude in the mountains
 But red sullen faces sneer and snarl
 From doors of mudcracked houses 345

If there were water

And no rock
 If there were rock
 And also water
 And water 350
 A spring
 A pool among the rock
 If there were the sound of water only
 Not the cicada²
 And dry grass singing
 But sound of water over a rock 355
 Where the hermit-thrush sings in the pine trees
 Drip drop drip drop drop drop³
 But there is no water

8. "In the first part of Part V three themes are employed: the journey to Emmaus, the approach to the Chapel Perilous (see Miss Weston's book) and the present decay of eastern Europe" [Eliot's note]. On the journey to Emmaus, the resurrected Jesus walks alongside and converses with two disciples, who think he is a stranger until he reveals his identity (Luke 24.13-14).

9. Allusions to Jesus' agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, his imprisonment, trial, and death on the cross.

1. Decayed.

2. Cf. Ecclesiastes' prophecy "the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail" (and also compare line 23 and its note).

3. "This is *Turdus aonalaschkae pallasii*, the hermit-thrush which I have heard in Quebec County. Chapman says (*Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America*) 'it is most at home in secluded woodland and thickety retreats. . . . Its notes are not remarkable for variety or volume, but in purity and sweetness of tone and exquisite modulation they are unequalled.' Its 'water-dripping song' is justly celebrated" [Eliot's note].

Who is the third who walks always beside you?⁴ 360
 When I count, there are only you and I together
 But when I look ahead up the white road
 There is always another one walking beside you
 Gliding wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded
 325 I do not know whether a man or a woman 365
 —But who is that on the other side of you?

What is that sound high in the air⁵
 330 Murmur of maternal lamentation
 Who are those hooded hordes swarming
 Over endless plains, stumbling in cracked earth 370
 Ringed by the flat horizon only
 What is the city over the mountains
 Cracks and reforms and bursts in the violet air
 Falling towers
 335 Jerusalem Athens Alexandria 375
 Vienna London
 Unreal

A woman drew her long black hair out tight
 340 And fiddled whisper music on those strings
 And bats with baby faces in the violet light 380
 Whistled, and beat their wings
 And crawled head downward down a blackened wall
 And upside down in air were towers
 345 Tolling reminiscent bells, that kept the hours
 And voices singing out of empty cisterns and exhausted wells 385

In this decayed hole among the mountains
 350 In the faint moonlight, the grass is singing
 Over the tumbled graves, above the chapel⁶
 There is the empty chapel, only the wind's home.
 It has no windows, and the door swings, 390
 Dry bones can harm no one.
 Only a cock stood on the rooftree
 355 Co co rico co co rico⁷
 In a flash of lightning. Then a damp gust
 Bringing rain 395

4. "The following lines were stimulated by the account of one of the Antarctic expeditions (I forget which, but I think one of Shackleton's): it was related that the party of explorers, at the extremity of their strength, had the constant delusion that there was one more member than could actually be counted" [Eliot's note]. The experience is associated with Jesus' unrecognized presence on the way to Emmaus.

5. Eliot's note for lines 367-77: "Cf. Hermann Hesse, *Blick ins Chaos* [A Glimpse into Chaos]: 'Already half of Europe, and at least half of Eastern Europe, is on the way to Chaos, travels drunk in

sacred madness along the brink of the abyss and moreover sings drunken hymns as Dmitri Karamazov sang [in *The Brothers Karamazov* (1882), by Fyodor Dostoyevsky]. The bourgeois, shocked, laughs at these songs: the saint and seer hear them with tears."

6. On his way to the Grail, the questing knight must enter the Chapel Perilous, where he is tested by strange voices and sights.

7. In folklore, the cock crows to announce the coming dawn and the departure of evil spirits; in Matthew 26.34 and 74, the cock crows after Peter betrays Jesus three times.

by "the grasshopper
 shall fail" (and also

kae pallasii, the herd
 in Quebec County.
Birds of Eastern North
 in secluded woodland
 notes are not remark-
 in purity and sweet-
 nodulation they are
 ng song' is justly cel-

Ganga⁸ was sunken, and the limp leaves
 Waited for rain, while the black clouds
 Gathered far distant, over Himavant.⁹
 The jungle crouched, humped in silence.
 Then spoke the thunder

DA¹

400

Datta: what have we given?
 My friend, blood shaking my heart
 The awful daring of a moment's surrender
 Which an age of prudence can never retract
 By this, and this only, we have existed
 Which is not to be found in our obituaries
 Or in memories draped by the beneficent spider²
 Or under seals broken by the lean solicitor³
 In our empty rooms

405

DA

410

Dayadhvam: I have heard the key
 Turn in the door once and turn once only⁴
 We think of the key, each in his prison
 Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison
 Only at nightfall, aethereal rumours
 Revive for a moment a broken Coriolanus⁵

415

DA

Damyata: The boat responded
 Gaily, to the hand expert with sail and oar
 The sea was calm, your heart would have responded
 Gaily, when invited, beating obedient
 To controlling hands

420

I sat upon the shore
 Fishing,⁶ with the arid plain behind me
 Shall I at least set my lands in order?⁷

425

8. The Sanskrit name for the major sacred river in India.

9. That is, snowy mountain (Sanskrit); usually applied to the Himalayas.

1. "Datta, dayadhvam, damyata" (Give, sympathise, control). The fable of the meaning of the Thunder is found in the *Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad*, 5, 1... [Eliot's note]. In the Old Indian fable *The Three Great Disciplines*, the Creator God utters the enigmatic syllable DA to three groups. Lesser gods, naturally unruly, interpret it as "Control yourselves" (*Damyata*); humans, naturally greedy, as "Give" (*Datta*); demons, naturally cruel, as "Be compassionate" (*Dayadhvam*): "That very thing is repeated even today by the heavenly voice, in the form of thunder as 'DA' 'DA' 'DA,' which means 'Control yourselves,' 'Give,' and 'Have compassion.' Therefore one should practice these three things: self-control, giving, and mercy." The Upanishads are ancient philosophical dialogues in Sanskrit. They are primary texts for an early form of Hinduism sometimes called Brahminism.

2. "Cf. Webster, *The White Devil*, V, vi: "... they'll remarry / Ere the worm pierce your winding-sheet, ere the spider / Make a thin curtain for

your epitaphs'" [Eliot's note].

3. Lawyer.

4. "Cf. *Inferno*, XXXIII, 46..." [Eliot's note]: "And below I heard them nailing shut the door / of the horrible tower." The traitor Ugolino tells Dante that his enemies imprisoned him and his children in a tower to die of starvation. Eliot continues: "Also F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 346. 'My external sensations are no less private to myself than are my thoughts or my feelings. In either case my experience falls within my own circle, a circle closed on the outside; and, with all its elements alike, every sphere is opaque to the others which surround it. . . . In brief, regarded as an existence which appears in a soul, the whole world for each is peculiar and private to that soul.'" Eliot wrote his doctoral thesis on Bradley's philosophy.

5. Roman general, the hero of a play by Shakespeare; exiled by the Roman people and driven by injured pride, he led the enemy against Rome.

6. "V. Weston: *From Ritual to Romance*; chapter on the Fisher King" [Eliot's note].

7. Cf. Isaiah 38, 1: "Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live."

London Bridge is falling down falling down falling down

*Poi s'ascose nel foco che gli affina*⁸

*Quando fiam uti chelidon*⁹—O swallow swallow¹

*Le Prince d'Aquitaine à la tour abolie*²

These fragments I have shored against my ruins

Why then Ile fit you. Hieronymo's mad againe.³

Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata.

Shantih shantih shantih⁴

430

1922

Journey of the Magi⁵

'A cold coming we had of it,

Just the worst time of the year

For a journey, and such a long journey:

The ways deep and the weather sharp,

The very dead of winter.⁶

And the camels galled, sore-footed, refractory,

Lying down in the melting snow.

There were times we regretted

The summer palaces on slopes, the terraces,

And the silken girls bringing sherbet.

Then the camel men cursing and grumbling

And running away, and wanting their liquor and women,

And the night-fires going out, and the lack of shelters,

And the cities hostile and the towns unfriendly

And the villages dirty and charging high prices:

A hard time we had of it.

At the end we preferred to travel all night,

Sleeping in snatches,

With the voices singing in our ears, saying

That this was all folly.

Then at dawn we came down to a temperate valley,

Wet, below the snow line, smelling of vegetation;

8. "V. *Purgatorio*, XXVI, 148 . . ." [Eliot's note]. In this passage, the soul of the poet Arnaut Daniel speaks to Dante: "Now I pray you, by the power / that guides you to the top of this staircase [out of Purgatory], / be mindful in time of my suffering." Dante continues with the line quoted in *The Waste Land*: "Then he hid himself in the refining fire."

9. "V. *Pervigilium Veneris*. Cf. Philomela in Parts II and III" [Eliot's note]. In the late Latin poem "The Vigil of Venus," Philomela asks, "When shall I be like the swallow," continuing, "that I may cease to be silent?"

1. Cf. A. C. Swinburne's "Itylus," which begins, "Swallow, my sister, O sister swallow, / How can thy heart be full of spring?" and Alfred, Lord Tennyson's "O Swallow, Swallow, flying, flying south."

2. "V. Gerard de Nerval, Sonnet *El Desdichado*" [Eliot's note]. From Nerval's poem "The Disinherited," in which the poet compares himself to "the

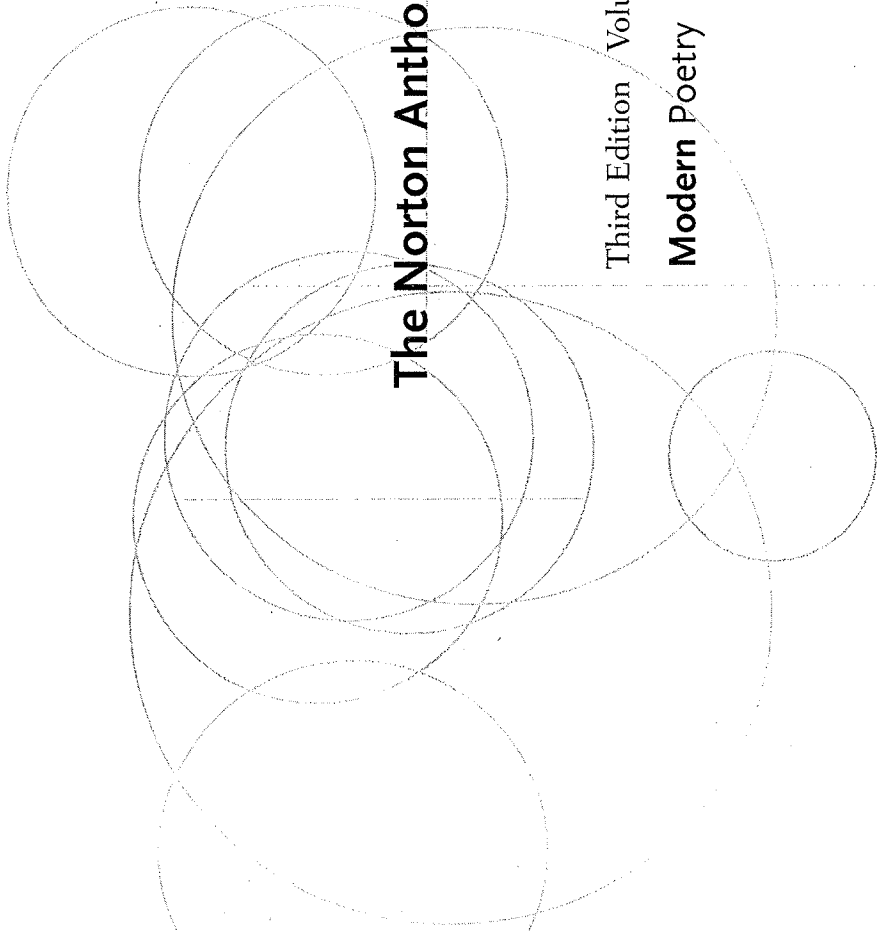
prince of Aquitaine at the ruined tower" (French).

3. "V. Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*" [Eliot's note]. The play's subtitle is *Hieronymo Is Mad Againe*; to avenge his son's murder, he feigns madness and writes a play in which, acting one of the parts, he kills the murderers. "Why then Ile fit you!" (that is, accommodate you) is his answer when asked to write the play.

4. "Repeated as here, a formal ending to an Upanishad. The Peace which passeth understanding is our equivalent to this word" [Eliot's note]. In another edition of this poem, Eliot phrased his note as "a feeble translation to this word." On the Upanishads, see note 1, line 401, above.

5. Matthew 2.1-12 describes the journey of the magi, or wise men, who followed a star to worship Jesus at his birth.

6. Adapted from the Christmas sermon preached in 1622 by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes.



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