

RENATA GADAMSKA-SERAFIN

## NORWID'S WAY TO HAFIZ

Although the word “Sufi” spread across Western Europe about a thousand years ago, the term “Sufism” was coined by Germans only in the Romantic period (in 1821)<sup>1</sup>. They considered it to be a Muslim form of pantheism. The reception of this mystical-ascetic current that had been developing in parallel to other hermetic, Pythagorean and Platonic currents in Europe for centuries, was very different, sometimes overt, and more often hidden, or even subconscious<sup>2</sup>. This problem has not been sufficiently examined and clearly described to this day. Experts on the subject believe that

Ideas, methods, stories, legends and even Sufi poetry can be found in the phenomenon of troubadours, in the Swiss legend of Wilhelm Tell, [...] in Shakespeare's works, [...] in Andersen's fairy tales [e.g. about an ugly duckling - R.G.-S.], in [...] the symbolism of the Rosicrucians and the Illuminatis, in many medieval scholars, [...] in the practices of the Templars, [...] in the works by Chaucer and Dante<sup>3</sup> [...]<sup>4</sup>.

However, works on Sufi influences in Europe were published already in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Paris<sup>5</sup>. The proximity of Sufism and Christianity (especially Catholi-

---

<sup>1</sup> See F.A.G. THÖLCK, *Ssufismus sive Theosophia Persarum pantheistica*, Berlin 1821; I. SHAH, *Zachodnie studia nad sufizmem*, [in:] IDEM, *Droga sufich*, transl. by T. Biedroń, Poznań 2009, pp. 12-48.

<sup>2</sup> These concepts came to Europe from, among others, Moorish Spain, where Sufi schools operated. See I. SHAH, *Zachodnie studia*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> M.A. Palacios wrote about Dante's relations with Islam (*La Escatologia Musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919).

<sup>4</sup> I. SHAH, *Zachodnie studia*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> See G. de TASSY, *Mantic Uttair (The Conference of the Birds)*, Paris 1864; IDEM, *Philosophical and Religious Poetry of the Persian*, Paris 1864.

Jean-Henri-Abdolonze Ubicini (1818-1884), quoted by Nerval in his *Voyage to the Orient*,

cism), its affinity to Christian mysticism, has made the former the subject of interest (growing from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present day) of many Catholic mystics and academics, as well as European writers and poets. Sir William Jones, an eminent British orientalist, translated Sufi poems which were then read as early as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Poles, inter alia, Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. The Sufi concepts has been disseminated in Europe, especially in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany and England, by a fairly large number of translations of Hafiz's texts. Poles came into contact with Sufism mainly in Turkey (through contact with dervishes). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Polish deportees to the Caucasus also became acquainted with Sufism (or more precisely with Miuridism) (Mateusz Gralewski wrote about it in the fifth part of his memoirs from the period of Caucasian captivity<sup>6</sup>).

The reception of Sufi concepts by Polish Romantics remains almost utterly unexplored. At first glance, it may even seem that this problem simply does not exist in the Polish literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, once we realise that classical *Sufi* texts are the highest literary form in Persian culture and the Romantic era was a time of intense exploration of the Eastern world (especially the Persian classics), we will quickly abandon this misconception.

For instance, a great interest in Sufism can be seen in Norwid's works. One of the aspects linking the Polish poet to this Muslim mysticism trend is his fascination with Hafiz's poetry<sup>7</sup>. However, Norwid's links to oriental literature, such as *The Book of the Thousand and One Nights*, the French works of Abd el-Kader<sup>8</sup> or the works by

---

well-known to Norwid, in his *Lettres sur la Turquie, ou Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc., de l'Empire ottoman, depuis le khatti-cherif de Gulkanè (1839)*, accompagné de pièces justificatives, vol. 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Paris 1853, wrote that Sufi ideas are identical to those proclaimed by Egyptian, Pythagorean and Platonic schools.

The interaction between Sufism and European culture is the subject of a book by an outstanding expert in this field, R.A. Nicholson (*The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/moi/moi.htm> [accessed 14 January 2017]).

<sup>6</sup> See M. GRALEWSKI, *Kaukaz. Wspomnienia z dwunastoletniej niewoli*, Lwów 1877, [http://www.kaukaz.net/cgi-bin/blosxom.cgi/polish/gralewski\\_rozdzialy/gralewski\\_kaukaz\\_rozdzial5](http://www.kaukaz.net/cgi-bin/blosxom.cgi/polish/gralewski_rozdzialy/gralewski_kaukaz_rozdzial5) [accessed 14 January 2017].

<sup>7</sup> See R. GADAMSKA-SERAFIN, *Ślady Hafiza w „Assuncie” Norwida*, [w:] *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. W poszukiwaniu źródeł i inspiracji*, eds. A. Bednarczyk, M. Kubarek, M. Szatkowski, Toruń 2016, pp. 325-344. Here I quote some preliminary findings from this publication.

<sup>8</sup> The author of this dissertation devoted the following publications to the subject of Norwid's oriental interests and inspirations: *Orient Norwida. Wybrane arabica/islamica literackie* ([in:] *Georomantyzm. Literatura-miejsce-środowisko*, eds. E. Dąbrowicz, M. Lul, K. Sawicka-Mierzyńska, D. Zawadzka, Białystok 2015, pp. 306-336); *Norwid o genezie islamu i historii relacji chrześcijańsko-muzułmańskich* ("Tematy i Konteksty", eds. M. Nalepa and G. Trościń-

Hafiz of Shiraz (Shamsuddin Mohammad Hafez Shirazi) – the Persian grandmaster of love (and mystical) lyricism, living at the same time as the great European writers eulogising over this subject – Dante and Petrarch<sup>9</sup>, have not been examined as such<sup>10</sup>. It may be astonishing that even in the very reliable studies on the literary tradition that inspired Norwid and in publications on Norwid's poems, these oriental inspirations have not been previously considered. The Hafiz's motifs were given the status of insignificant ornaments of Norwid's strophes. Perhaps such research was effectively discouraged by the orientalist themselves, questioning the possibility of Hafiz's lyric poetry exerting a deeper influence on European Romantics due to the fragmentary nature of translations and the accidental and, in fact, rather superficial nature of the fascination with this ideologically and formally distant work:

The few oriental literary masterpieces adopted in Europe gave a fragmentary, and even chaotic image of these literatures. Despite the desire of Romantic writers to learn about the oriental literary output from the most competent sources, i.e. through contact with professional orientalists, the fact that research in the field of oriental literature was still in its infancy at that time could not have led to a more prolonged, inspiring influence of these literatures on European literature in the Romantic era. [...] Another substantial important inhibitor [...] was the very specificity of oriental poetry. [...]

It is mainly for these reasons, that the Romantics' enthusiasm for the work of the outstanding Persian lyricist of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Hafiz, whose lyrical *Divan* was brought to Europe in 1813-14 with the prose translation made by the German orientalist J. Hammer-Purgstall, [...] could not stand the test of time and have a greater influence on the pan-European work of the Romanticism period. Furthermore, the conventional set of themes of Hafiz's ghazals, in which love, wine and nature were eulogised – albeit in a different way than in Europe – could not hold the charm of novelty for too long, and probably with its monotony bored the reader who could not appreciate the formal qualities of the original. What was the most “novel” in Hafiz's work for the Romantics was the colourful background [...] and intellectualism that dominated it, expressed in aphoristic reflectiveness,

---

ski, Rzeszów 2016, pp. 407-441); *Norwid a świat arabsko-muzułmański – inspiracje i źródła*, ([in:] *Kulturowy wymiar twórczości Norwida*, eds. J.C. Moryc, R. Zajączkowski, Lublin 2016, pp. 39-98); “*Ten sam jest Bóg*”. *Norwid - Abd el-Kader - Ibn 'Arabi* (“*Studia Norwidiana*”) 34: 2016, pp. 21-59, [http://www.kul.pl/files/667/studia\\_norwidiana\\_34.2016.pdf](http://www.kul.pl/files/667/studia_norwidiana_34.2016.pdf)) and *Norwid i Abd el-Kader; czyli o syntezy tradycji i nowoczesności* ([in:] *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. W poszukiwaniu źródeł i inspiracji*, eds. A. Bednarczyk, M. Kubarek, M. Szatkowski, Toruń 2016, pp. 373-40); *Ślady Hafiza w “Assuncie” Norwida*.

<sup>9</sup> Hafiz was called “Persian Anacreon” (the name given to him by Pietro della Valle). However, his poetry has more sincere passion, suffering and sensuality than the works by the Greek master of ancient eroticism.

<sup>10</sup> The exceptions, of course, are the following publications: Z. DAMBEK, *Norwid i Chińczycy*, [in:] *O historyczności*, eds. K. Meller, K. Trybuś, Poznań 2006, pp. 269-277 and K.A. JEŻEWSKI, *Cyprian Norwid a myśl i poetyka Kraju Środka*, Warszawa 2011.

encompassing rebellious humanism and philosophical optimism. [...] for Romanticism, the literary output of the Orient could not have had an analogous meaning [to ancient literature – R.G.-S.].

[...] This dominant element of oriental, and above all Persian and Arab lyricism [...] was brought out and transformed in the works by the great Romantics: Goethe, Byron, Mickiewicz, and the inspiring role of the Orient in the Romanticism period is limited to their orientalisating works<sup>11</sup>.

Although we should definitely agree with the claim about the randomness and freedom of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century translations of Hafiz's work (but certainly not on the German ground!<sup>12</sup>), it is difficult to accept the rather a priori assumption about the impossibility of a deeper influence of this poetry on the Romantic poetry of the Occident<sup>13</sup>. Norwid's case also forces a disagreement to limit the group of

---

<sup>11</sup> B. MAJEWSKA, *Z zainteresowania Romantyków polskich literaturą Perską*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. J. Reychman, Warszawa 1966, pp. 122-124. At the same time, B. Majewska aptly notices that Norwid was the only poet who managed with great success to imitate the style of Hafiz's poetry.

<sup>12</sup> The Germans had full translations of *Divan* as early as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis. Der Diwan*, vols. I-II, Verlag J.G. Cotta, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1812-1813; *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis*, vols. I-III, transl. by V. Rosenzweig Schwannau, Verlag K. u. K. Staats- und Verlagsdruckerei, Wien 1858-1864. Purgstall translated Hafiz's work into German on the basis of two Turkish translations he came across in the library of Sultan Abd-al-Ḥamid in Istanbul.

<sup>13</sup> This claim is contradicted in numerous studies on the influence of Hafiz's work on the European and American literature of the Romanticism period; see, inter alia, E. Nilchian, *Sufi – Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry* (doctoral dissertation, University of Leicester, 2011, [https://ira.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/9909/1/Nilchian\\_PhD%20Thesis\\_2011.pdf](https://ira.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/9909/1/Nilchian_PhD%20Thesis_2011.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016]); B.M. FOMESHI, A. KHOJASTEHPUR, *A Poet Builds a Nation: Hafiz as a Catalyst in Emerson's Process of Developing American Literature*, ("Kata" 2014, vol. 16, no. 2, Petra Christian University, <http://puslit2.petra.ac.id/ejournal/index.php/ing/article/view/19378> [accessed 20 August 2016]); J. BAILDAM, *Paradisal Love: Johann Gottfried Herder and the Song of Songs* (Sheffield Academic Press 1999, p. 131); H. JAVADI, *Persian Literary Influence on English Literature: With Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century* (Mazda Publishers, California 2005); J. EINBODEN, *Islam and Romanticism: Muslim Currents from Goethe to Emerson* (London 2014, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=FlrIBAAAQBAJ&pg=PT207&lpg=PT207&dq=H.+Javadi,+Persian+Literary+Influence+on+English+Literature:+With+Special+Reference+to+the+Nineteenth+Century&source=bl&ots=uo\\_jZySQeJ&sig=iIkIooxNBN8iFpQu7B5NhUoKJk&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiT6PCKsqnLAhWkJJoKHSsID2cQ6AEILDAD#v=onepage&q=H.%20Javadi%2C%20Persian%20Literary%20Influence%20on%20English%20Literature%3A%20With%20Special%20Reference%20to%20the%20Nineteenth%20Century&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=FlrIBAAAQBAJ&pg=PT207&lpg=PT207&dq=H.+Javadi,+Persian+Literary+Influence+on+English+Literature:+With+Special+Reference+to+the+Nineteenth+Century&source=bl&ots=uo_jZySQeJ&sig=iIkIooxNBN8iFpQu7B5NhUoKJk&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiT6PCKsqnLAhWkJJoKHSsID2cQ6AEILDAD#v=onepage&q=H.%20Javadi%2C%20Persian%20Literary%20Influence%20on%20English%20Literature%3A%20With%20Special%20Reference%20to%20the%20Nineteenth%20Century&f=false) [accessed 20 August 2016]); M. SHARAFUDDIN, *Islam and Romanticism: A Study of Orientalism in English Verse Narrative, 1798-1817* (University of York 1988); M. SHARAFUDDIN, *Islam and romantic orientalism: literary encounters with the Orient* (Tauris-London 1994) and many others.

“great Romantics”, whose works draw the inspiration from the Orient, to only three names. Ananiasz Zajązkowski was also not entirely right when he wrote about the completely isolated case of Hafiz’s translators from Vilnius against the background of the entire Polish literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century:

The attempts to make the Polish reader familiar with Hafiz’s work from the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were not continued either in the second half of that century or even at the beginning of our century [i.e. 20<sup>th</sup> c. – R. G-S.]<sup>14</sup>.

Norwid’s poems *Assunta* and *Emil na Gozdawiu* [*Emil in Gozdawa*], with motifs taken from Hafiz’s ghazals<sup>15</sup>, as well as the mention of Hafiz in *A Dorio ad Phrygium*, a result of reflection on the content and language of this oriental poetry, undermine both of the above statements. The Parisian recluse shared the Romantic admiration for the creator of *Divan* and in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century he was a continuator of the aforementioned process of adapting his work in Polish – however, only to a limited extent as a translator, as he translated only two fragments (at least that much has survived to this day), much more clearly as an author of lyrics and poems, remaining in the circle of Hafiz’s imagination - very subtle, mystical and sensual.

Of course, the motif of Hafiz is not very broad in Norwid’s *opus magnum*, because direct references to the Persian poet, left in the preserved writings of the Parisian recluse, can actually be counted on the fingers of one hand – but it is clearly present, and also interesting in all respects. The poems *Assunta* and *Emil na Gozdawiu*, and perhaps already even *Promethidion* and Norwid’s love lyric poetry are noteworthy items in the history of Polish and European reception of Hafiz’s works in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> A. ZAJĄZKOWSKI, *Z dziejów orientalizmu polskiego doby mickiewiczowskiej*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. S. Strelcyn, Warszawa: PWN 1957, p. 154.

<sup>15</sup> M. Woźniewska-Działak comments on Norwid’s reference to Hafiz in *Assunta* in the following way: “the epigraph from Hafiz [...] is a proof of the assimilation in the area of love poetry of motifs from Eastern lyricism”. Then she adds: “The quote from Hafiz preceding *Assunta* could [...] have been surprising if it had not been for the fact that, as we read in the studies of Persian literature, «love in all its manifestations, as well as in itself, represents almost an ideal for which the poet has decided to strive all his life; [...] this is the way – *tariqat* [...], it is the only one that leads to purity and at the end of which we will certainly find God’s mercy»”. M. WOŹNIEWSKA-DZIAŁAK, *Poematy narracyjne Cyprian Norwida: konteksty literacko-kulturalne, estetyka, myśl*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka 2014, p. 175, <http://naukairozwoj.uksw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/Doctoralthesis1-23.02-pdf.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of Hafiz’s probable influence on the shape of Norwid’s *Assunta*, see R. GADAMSKA-SERAFIN, *Ślady Hafiza w “Assuncie” Cypriana Norwida*.

In *Pisma wszystkie* Hafiz is mentioned five times<sup>17</sup>: twice in letters (the first mention comes from 1856 – Letter to Maria Trębicka, PWSz, VIII, 281; and the second from 1879 – Letter to S. Duchńska, PWSz, X, 131) and three times in poems (the epigraph in *Assunta*, PWSz, III, 265; the epigraph in *Emil na Gozdawiu*<sup>18</sup>; and the mention of the Persian master's name in the text of *A Dorio ad Phrygium*, PWSz, III, 321). However, the modest number of mentions and allusions does not fully reflect the significance that the author of *Assunta* attributed to the works of the master from Shiraz, or to the power of his poetry's influence on the works of the Polish post-Romanticist.

It is worth considering how Norwid's path to Hafiz's poetry looked like and checking which texts of the Persian mystic poet became a direct source of inspiration for him. This issue has not been clarified to this day<sup>19</sup>.

The author of *Vade-mecum* was a Romantic *homo legens*; he owed his astonishing erudition to his intense intellectual work and extensive reading experience, which successfully substituted his university studies in several faculties. He had never been to Persia, he knew the oriental lands only from the accounts of acquainted travellers, works of orientalist and dissertations written by old and modern historians<sup>20</sup>. He certainly became familiarised to some extent with works by Hafiz already in his youth, before leaving the country<sup>21</sup>, although the Polish

<sup>17</sup> In fact, there could have been many more references, as a large part of Norwid's legacy disappeared after the poet's death in the Parisian poorhouse, and later in the uprising and war turmoil.

<sup>18</sup> Although Hafiz's name is not mentioned here (as in the epigraph to *Assunta*), A. Zajączkowski and J.W. Gomulicki were convinced that the mentioned "Persian poet", whose poem Norwid paraphrases, refers exactly to him. This will be discussed later in this article.

<sup>19</sup> I already mentioned the Persian prototype of the epigraph to *Assunta* in my sketch *Ślady Hafiza w "Assuncie" Norwida*, however, at that time I did not elaborate in detail on the source (French?) from which Norwid drew this couplet.

<sup>20</sup> See R. GADAMSKA-SERAFIN, *Świat arabsko-muzułmański w dziełach Norwida*.

<sup>21</sup> Hafiz's texts were read by Polish *hommes de lettres* as early as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although at that time the knowledge of Persian literature was limited to an elite, narrow circle. The Latin translation by the Hungarian orientalist Prince Carl Emmerich de Reviczky (1739-1793) was owned by Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, who was also in contact with the prominent German translator of Persian texts Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and the British orientalist William Jones. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the interest in Persian literature and culture among the Polish elite was generated by the French diplomat Pierre Amédée Jaubert, Napoleon's envoy to Persia and future professor of Persian literature at Collège de France, who was staying in Warsaw in 1806 and 1818.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Bishop Ignacy Krasicki mentioned Hafiz in *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabety ułożonych* and in the dissertation *O rymotwórstwie i rymotwórcach*. However, in an encyclopaedia dedicated to king Stanisław August Poniatowski, he wrote just a few sentences about the Persian poet:

achievements in translating and analysing this oriental poetry were very modest at that time. The first translations of three ghazals by a Shirazi lyricist appeared in the Philomath Society of Vilnius – the work of Józef Sękowski<sup>22</sup>, published in 1820 by “Dziennik Wileński” [“Vilnius Daily”]<sup>23</sup>. Four other ghazals translated by Jan Nepomucen Wiernikowski<sup>24</sup>, Mickiewicz’s friend, appeared in the Vilnius magazine “Biruta”<sup>25</sup>. In the 1930s, the St Petersburg press (inter alia, “Tygod-

---

“Hafiz Effendi, a poet whose odes written in Persian are held in great respect by the Turks. His lustful words of a man with corrupt heart, gained him the name of a saint. The Turks believe that his exaltation of wine and women always refers to God.” I. KRASICKI, *Hafiz*, [in:] IDEM, *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabety ułożonych*, Warszawa, Lwów 1781, vol. I, p. 346, <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=267389&from=publication&showContent=true> [accessed 15 July 2017].

Between 1818 and 1826, the Jagiellonian University had the Department of Oriental Languages, headed by Prof. Wilhelm Münnich, who among others spoke Persian and later moved to Vilnius (see V.G. MÜNNICH, *De poesia Persica*, “Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim połączonego” 1825, vol. 10, pp. 35-84; IDEM, *O poezji Perskiej: Rozprawa Doktora Wilhelm Münnicha*, transl. from Latin by A. Groza, “Dziennik Wileński” 1829, vol. 8, pp. 3-32). It was the University of Vilnius that in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century became the main centre of oriental research on Polish lands (cf. J. REYCHMAN, *Zainteresowania orientalistyczne w środowisku mickiewiczowskim w Wilnie i Petersburgu*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, eds. S. Strelcyn, J. Reychman, vol. I, Warszawa 1957, pp. 69-94; A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Z dziejów orientalizmu polskiego doby mickiewiczowskiej*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, pp. 95-156). It brought together many eminent persons interested in the Orient (Joachim Lelewel, Gotfryd Ernest Groddeck, Michał Bobrowski, Józef Sękowski, Aleksander Chodźko, Ludwik Spitznagel, Ignacy Pietraszewski). However, the tsar’s order after the fall of the November Uprising, putting an end to the existence of the university thwarted the plans related to the development of this research field (some students and lecturers continued their work at Russian universities in Saint Petersburg and Kazan). See A. KRASNOWOLSKA, *Iranian Studies in Poland*, “Iranian Studies” 1987, vol. 20/2-4, pp. 179-221.

<sup>22</sup> See J. SĘKOWSKI, *Eastern Literature: Literatura Wschodnia: Diwani Chodża Hafyz Szirazi: Zbiór poezji Chodży Hafyza z Szyrazu, sławnego rymotwórcy perskiego*, “Dziennik Wileński” 1820, vol. 1/1, pp. 257-72; see also IDEM, *Niektóre szczegóły o dzisiejszym stanie i zasadach wewnętrznego sprawowania potężnego państwa Iranu*, “Dziennik Wileński” 1820, vol. 2, pp. 26-35.

<sup>23</sup> A. Zajączkowski wrote in great detail about Polish Romantic translations of Hafiz’s works, including these translations in his dissertation (“*Pieśni Hafiza*”, [in:] IDEM, *Z dziejów orientalizmu polskiego doby mickiewiczowskiej*, pp. 122-156). He noted that “a deeper interest in Hafiz, combined with the first attempts at translating his works into Polish, had to be brought by a new generation of «orientalising» Romantics” (ibid., p. 124).

<sup>24</sup> See B. MAJEWSKA, *Gazele Hafiza w nieopublikowanym przekładzie Wiernikowskiego*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 1960, vol. 33, pp. 39-68.

<sup>25</sup> See J.N. WIERNIKOWSKI, *Gazele perskiego poety Hafiza (wolny przekład z perskiego)*, “Biruta”, part 2, Vilnius 1838, pp. 41-49, [http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248\\_6557\\_P-I-650\\_biruta-1838\\_o.pdf](http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248_6557_P-I-650_biruta-1838_o.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016].

nik Petersburski” [“St Petersburg Weekly”]) and the Poznań press (“Przegląd Poznański” [“Poznań Review”]) published the works of another former philomath and promising orientalist, who read the dissertations by William Jones<sup>26</sup>, de Sacy, Herbelot, and German translations of Hafiz’s works, Aleksander Chodźko<sup>27</sup> (also a friend of Mickiewicz), with whom Norwid’s paths would cross in the future in Paris<sup>28</sup>. In the youthful collection of Chodźko’s poetry, published in Saint Petersburg and reprinted a few years later in Poznań, there were Persian elegies (*Gdy po niebie noc cicha...* [When a silent night...], *Zamyślona* [Ruminative], *Widziałem – młodziutka róża...* [I have seen – a young rose]) and songs (*Jeśli wiosnę chcesz zobaczyć* [If you want to see the spring]) as well as an Eastern novel in two qasidahs entitled *Derar*, inspired by both Arabic poetry and Hafiz’s love ghazals<sup>29</sup>, the alterations or translations of which were included in the text (“this entire elegy is sewn together from various fragments of Persian poetry”<sup>30</sup>). Hafiz was even honoured with a separate fragment in *Derar*:

<sup>26</sup> William Jones (1746-1794) – British lawyer, eminent 18<sup>th</sup>-century linguist and orientalist, author of the seminal *Grammar of the Persian Language* (the first English textbook on the Persian language), translator of Persian and Indian literature, founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His publications were source of inspiration for Byron, Shelley and poets of European Romanticism.

<sup>27</sup> In 1830 “Tygodnik Petersburski” published Chodźko’s travel reports from Azerbaijan, and in 1835 “Przegląd Poznański” published his report on his expedition to the Alamut mountain fortress.

See A. KRASNOWOLSKA, *Aleksander Chodźko (1804-1891) and His ‘Oriental’ Poems*, “Folia Orientalia” 2003, vol. 39, pp. 71-81; EADEM, *Aleksander Chodźko’s Reports on the Peoples of North Iran*, [in:] *Poland and Persia: Pages from the History of Polish-Persian Relations*, Tehran [Polish Embassy] 2009, pp. 24-32; B. MAJEWSKA, *Relacja A. Chodźki o świątyni ognia atezkade czyli ogniach samorodnych i hinduskim kulcie Dżaoli na Półwyspie Apszerońskim*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 1976/3, vol. 99, pp. 273-279; R. GADAMSKA-SERAFIN, *Aleksander Chodźko – romantyk i uczony*, [in:] *Romantyzm uniwersytecki*, ed. E. Dąbrowicz, Białystok (in preparation).

<sup>28</sup> The poet’s contact with Aleksander Chodźko will be discussed later in this dissertation.

<sup>29</sup> In the poet’s explanations we read: “In Persian and Turkish poetry, ghazal is a name given to small poems similar to our anacreontic, or rather elegy; its usual subject is love and wine, whether in normal or mystical sense, i.e. the term *lover* refers to God as the subject of love of his worshippers, while *wine* is their love; to get drunk with it is to experience the highest mental pleasure and ecstasy, which only those living in the Lord will experience. Hafiz, who devoted his genius exclusively to ghazals, is an example of both of them”. A. CHODŹKO, *Poezje*, Saint Petersburg 1829 (Poznań 1833; reprinted by St. Petersburg publishing: Paris 1836), pp. 184-185, <https://polona.pl/item/11039793/200/> [accessed 15 July 2017]. A. Chodźko offered his Saint Petersburg collection to Adam Mickiewicz.

<sup>30</sup> A. CHODŹKO, *Poezje*, p. 179. For the sake of precision, it should be added that this poetry is influenced by several poets of the Orient: Hafiz, Saadi, Nizami, Jāmi and Al-Mutanabbi (“Homer of Arab poets”).

[...] lubię ja koni Iranu,  
 Woń jego kwiatów, jasność jego nieba,  
 Ach! lecz nade wszystko lubię jego pieśni.  
 Jak słodka miłość Hafiza i wino!  
 Nie, nikt tak bosko o miłości nie śni.  
 Komu w tęsknocie powiernika trzeba,  
 Komu od bólów serdecznych łzy płyną,  
 Czytaj Hafiza –<sup>31</sup>

[[...] I like the horses of Iran,  
 The smell of its flowers, the brightness of its sky,  
 Ah! but above all, I like its songs.  
 How sweet is Hafiz's love and wine!  
 No, nobody dreams so divinely of love.  
 When you need a confidant in your longing,  
 When tears flow from your warm pains,  
 Read Hafiz –]

It is rather doubtful, however, that in his Warsaw period Cyprian Norwid became acquainted with philaretic translations of Hafiz or St. Petersburg and Polish publications by Chodźko from the 1830s. Unfortunately, due to the loss of the Polish oriental research centre in Vilnius (closed by the tsar after the fall of the November Uprising), German and English pre-Romantics and Romantics played a more important role in familiarising Polish Romantics of the second generation with Hafiz than philomaths and already at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought Persian literature<sup>32</sup> closer to Europe.

In particular, the name of the poet from Shiraz was made famous by Goethe, who had been interested in the East and Islam since his youth, and in his mature age<sup>33</sup> he devoted himself to the study of oriental poetry (especially Persian po-

<sup>31</sup> A. CHODŹKO, *Derar*, [in:] IDEM, *Poezje*, p. 154.

<sup>32</sup> Of course, Europeans were interested in Persian poetry much earlier. An Italian traveller and orientalist, Pietro della Valle, who visited Shiraz several times, was an admirer and populariser of Hafiz's work in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. The scope of this "promotion", however, was quite limited in comparison with the extensive influence that it had on the minds of later generations, e.g. Goethe's works. See F. BERTOTTI, *Un viaggiatore romano e un poeta persiano. Pietro della Valle estimatore e divulgatore di Hafiz*, "Islam. Storia e Civiltà" 31(1990), pp. 121-27; J. GURNEY, *Pietro della Valle*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/della-valle> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>33</sup> For instance, see SHAYKH ABDALQADIR AL-MURABIT, *Was Goethe a Muslim?*, [http://www.themodernreligion.com/convert/convert\\_goethe.htm](http://www.themodernreligion.com/convert/convert_goethe.htm) and GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG von (1749-1832), *the most renowned poet of German literature, interested in the East and in Islam*,

etry) with all his passion. Fascinated by the work of Hafiz, with whom he became acquainted owing to the comprehensive translation of *Divan* by the Austrian orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), he dedicated to this Persian artist the entire book of his *West-East Divan* (1819) – *Hafis Nameh* (German: *Das Buch Hafis*)<sup>34</sup>. In it, he followed closely the themes and atmosphere of Hafiz's works, drawing extensively from his *imagination* and *lexis*. Also from him, he learned the *finesse* of the changeability of moods – from irony, clownery, masquerade to reverie and seriousness. Of course, not only this book, but the whole collection of Goethe's poems was inspired by the poetry of Hafiz<sup>35</sup>, which was the strongest stimulus for the Weimar classic to make an

[in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/goethe> [accessed 15 July 2017]; H. BROMS, *Two Studies at the Relations of Hāfiz and the West*, "Studia Orientalia" 39(1968) [Helsinki], pp. 34-105.

Already as a young man Goethe intended to write a drama about Muhammad (his poem *Mahomets-Gesang* [Song of Muhammad] 1772/1773 hints at this intention). He considered language and religion studies to be the best way to learn oriental culture, which is why he even started learning Arabic. In the years 1814-1827 he focused his interest on Persian literature, especially Hafiz. In the spring of 1814, at the age of 65, he received a two-volume German translation of Hafiz's *Divan* by Purgstall, which played a significant role in familiarising Germans with the world of the Orient. He also studied the works of such travellers to the East as Marco Polo, Pietro della Valle, Adam Olearius, he became acquainted with the translation of *Gulistan* [The Rose Garden] by Saadi of Shiraz and the works of various orientalists (e.g. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien* 1813-15 by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez), with "Mines d'Orient" ["Fundgruben des Orients"/"Fontes Rerum Orientalium"], a journal published in Vienna in the years 1809-1820, founded by Waclaw Rzewuski, and with the Hammer's work *Geschichte der Schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818). The poetic fruit of these readings was a collection with the oriental name *West-östlicher Divan* [West-East Carpet] (1819), full of Persian words and metaphors.

<sup>34</sup> Each book of *Divan* had a double title – in Persian and German (Pers. *nāma*)/Germ. Buch), similarly to Saadi's *Gulistan*.

<sup>35</sup> The name of the Persian poet is also often cited in *Buch des Sängers*. In another book, *Saki Nameh/Das Schenkenbuch*, Goethe imitated the anacreontic tone of Hafiz's love poetry. In *Noten und Abhandlungen* he expressed his appreciation for several other Persian poets: Ferdowsi, Anvari, Nezāmi, Rumi, Saadi and Jāmi, but he dedicated an entire separate book only to Hafiz. He also tried to imitate the form of Hafiz's ghazal (*Buch Suleika*), among others by introducing its characteristic structural elements (such as *taḳallosā*). Even in books where the name of the Persian master is not directly evoked, we can feel his influence owing to numerous allusions and suggestions. One of the common motifs of the poetry by Hafiz and Goethe was the theme of "poetic frenzy" (*furor poeticus*). Other common elements included panegyric, anacreontic, mystical and love motifs and the tendency to use irony. However, Goethe somewhat restrained Hafiz's liberalism (*rendi*). The power of Hafiz's authority in Goethe's poetry is evidenced by the fact that the German author sometimes bestows on him the name *heiliger Hafis* or *Meister*. According to critics, after putting on the mask of Hafiz, Goethe could express his critical attitude towards contemporary moral and political issues. The meeting of the German poet from Weimar with the poetry of the creator from Shiraz is considered to be one of the most important events in the history of German

*imaginary journey to the East. Because Goethe's work was one of the most important sources of "international literature"<sup>36</sup> in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is easy to guess that for Norwid (like many other artists of that century) it was the first and most important opportunity to meet the exotic and fascinating lyric poetry of old Persia.*

The opportunity to become better familiar with it occurred to Norwid in 1846 during his stay in Berlin, where he was doing diligent research in the University Library<sup>37</sup>, focused – as he himself says – on the study of the East:

Mam tu w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej takie dzieła, których trudno jest znaleźć i które bardzo są kosztowne – nie tyle co do estetyki we właściwym znaczeniu tego słowa, bo wszystko to powszechnie systematycznością niemiecką jest skrzywione – ile co do historii, a mianowicie *Wschodu*, i co do mych *Etrusków* (DW X, 71).

[I have here in the University Library works which are difficult to find and which are very valuable – not so much for their aesthetics in the proper sense of the word, because all this is distorted by the general German systematicity – as for history, namely that of the *East*, and for my *Etruscans*].

Berlin was a great place to learn about Persian literature and culture. Here, Norwid could not only read the original orientalisising German Romantic poetry (in great variety), but also see beautifully illuminated old manuscripts with the text of Hafiz's *Divan* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (one from 1516, the other from 1587), but also from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>38</sup>. In the Royal Library in Berlin Norwid could also see a valuable collection of iranic works that belonged to Heinrich Friedrich von Diez<sup>39</sup>, the Prussian ambassador to the Ottoman court in Istanbul.

---

and European literature, initiating a new and important stage in the development of Romantic lyric poetry. See H. TAFAZOLI, *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/goethe> [accessed 15 July 2017]; J.Ch. BÜRCEL, *Goethe und Hafis*, [in:] *Drei Hafis Studien*, Bern 1975, pp. 5-42; A. RADJAEI, *Das profan-mystische Ghasel des Hafis in Rückerts Übersetzungen und in Goethes "Divan"*, Würzburg 1998; A. MITROVIĆ, *Hafiz i Gete: zbornik radova*, Beograd 2003; M. FALAKI, *Goethe und Hafis: Verstehen und Missverstehen in der Wechselbeziehung deutscher und persischer Kultur*, Berlin 2013; S. SHAMEL, *Goethe and Hafiz: poetry and history in the "West-östlicher Divan"*, Oxford 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Of course, Hafiz was also popularised by the English, especially Shelley and Byron, who knew his work owing to the excellent translations by W. Jones.

<sup>37</sup> Norwid had good command of German, sufficient to read and understand poetic texts, although, as he admitted himself, he spoke French and Italian much more fluently.

<sup>38</sup> He certainly could not read them in the original, because he did not speak Persian. Norwid's studies on the languages of the East came later in his life. See PWSz X, 81.

<sup>39</sup> Diez was a member of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Goethe's friend and advisor on Arab-Turkish issues. His collection included Persian albums, manuscripts, miniatures,

Germans were European leaders in translating Hafiz<sup>40</sup>; between 1800 and 1880 as many as nine translations of his poetry were published there<sup>41</sup>. These were done

drawings and pieces of calligraphy (about 450 works of art). To this day it is one of the largest and most valuable collections of Persian and Mongolian art in the world (comparable only to the collection stored in the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul). See <http://www.smb.museum/en/exhibitions/detail/meisterwerke-aus-dem-serail.html> [accessed 20 July 2016]. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Professor W. Münnich wanted to publish some of the manuscripts from this collection, but he did not obtain permission from the authorities of the Jagiellonian University to go to Berlin.

<sup>40</sup> See, inter alia, K. TORMA, *European translations of Hâfez from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, Budapest 2013, <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/lit/tormakatalin/thesis.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2016]. It discusses the following European translations of Hafiz's works: K. REVICZKY, *Specimen poeseos Persicae: sive Muhammedis Schems-eddini notioris agnomine Haphyzi Ghazelae, sive odae sexdecim ex initio Divani depromptae: nunc primum latiniate donatae, cum metaphrasi ligata & soluta, paraphrasi item ac notis*, Vienna 1771; J. RICHARDSON, *A Specimen of Persian Poetry; or Odes of Hafez: with an English Translation and Paraphrase. Chiefly from the Specimen Poeseos Persicae os Baron Revizky, envoy from the Emperor of Germany to the Court of Poland. With storical and Grammatical Illustrations, and a Complete Analysis, for the Assistance of those who wish to study the Persian language*, London 1774 (new edition S. Rousseau, London 1802); W. JONES, *Histoire de Nader Chah, connusous le nom de Thahmas Kuli Khan, empereur de Perse, Traduite d'un manuscrit persan, par ordre de sa majesté, Le Roi de Dannemark, avec des notes chronologiques, historiques, géographiques et un Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*, vol. II., London, 1770; W. JONES, J. RICHARDSON, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, London 1771; W. JONES, *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages, to which are added two essays, I. On the poetry of the Eastern Nations, II. On the arts, commonly called Imitative*, Oxford 1772, [https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:vaVCZ7bHkngJ:https://opus.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/opus4/files/1284/Jones\\_Poems\\_Beck\\_Edition.pdf+&cd=4&hl=pl&ct=clnk&gl=pl](https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:vaVCZ7bHkngJ:https://opus.bibliothek.uni-augsburg.de/opus4/files/1284/Jones_Poems_Beck_Edition.pdf+&cd=4&hl=pl&ct=clnk&gl=pl) [accessed 15 July 2017]; IDEM, *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum Libri Sex, cum Appendice, sublicitur Limon seu miscellaneorum liber*, London 1774, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101065185504;view=1up;seq=14> [accessed 15 July 2017]; J. NOTT, *Select Odes from the Persian Poet Hafez, translated into English verse with notes critical and explanatory by John Nott*, London 1787, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 July 2017]; J.H. HINDLEY, *Persian Lyrics or Scattered Poems from The Diwan-i-Hafiz, with paraphrases in verse and prose, a catalogue of the gazels as arranged in a manuscript of the works of Hafiz in the Chetham Library at Manchester, and other illustrations*, London 1800, <https://archive.org/details/persianlyricsors00hafi> [accessed 15 July 2017]; S. ROUSSEAU (ed.), *The Flowers of Persian Literature containing extracts from the most celebrated authors, in prose and verse; with a translation into English, being intended as a companion to Sir William Jones's Persian Grammar to which is prefixed an essay on the language and literature of Persia*, London 1805, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101077701736;view=1up;seq=8> [accessed 15 July 2017]; G. FÁBIÁN, *Hafiz Persa Költő' Divánjából Ghazelák's Töredékek*, Pest 1824.

<sup>41</sup> See H. TAFAZOLI, *Hafez. Translations of Hafez in German*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-xi> [accessed 15 July 2017].

by, among others, August von Platen<sup>42</sup>, who beautifully rendered the multi-layer character and depth of Persian lyricism, Herman Brockhaus – professor of Indo-Iranian languages in Leipzig<sup>43</sup>, Vincenz von Rosenzweig<sup>44</sup>, Friedrich Rückert (first translation in 1877), who masterfully extracted the art and elegance of Hafiz's texts, and the poet and philosopher Georg Friedrich Daumer<sup>45</sup> – his translation was one of the most popular and the most frequently reissued editions of *Divan* in Germany (Daumer's own poems also referred to it stylistically and thematically). Norwid could become familiar with it in 1846, almost immediately after the book left the printing press<sup>46</sup>.

The fact that Norwid become familiar with Hafiz's works through German sources could be indicated by the first preserved mention of this Persian poet in a letter to Maria Trębicka from August 1856. In the letter Norwid provides the following review of Heinrich Heine's work:

[...] któż nie zna *Heinego*? Otóż – proszę wziąć 3-cią część Spinozy, ¼ Joba, ¼ Hafiza, ½ Byrona, ½ niemieckiego studenta, a wypadnie całość, która da coś tak równego Heine-mu, że jeżeli to on nie będzie, to sprzeciwi się temu ta tylko cząsteczka mała, *która nim jest i powinna była być* (DW XI, 105).

[Who doesn't know *Heine*? Take the third part of Spinoza, ¼ of Job, ¼ of Hafiz, ½ of Byron, ½ of a German student, and the whole would give something so equal to Heine, that if it is not him, only the small particle *which is and should have been* him could oppose it].

<sup>42</sup> See A. von PLATEN, *Nachbildungen aus dem Diwan des Hafis*, [in:] IDEM, *Gesammelte Werke in fünf Bänden*, vol. II, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1853, pp. 334-355.

<sup>43</sup> See *Die Lieder des Hafis, persisch, mit dem Commentare des Sudi Bosnevi, herausgegeben von Hermann Brockhaus*, vols. I-III, F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1854-1860. It was the edition in the original language (Persian), preceded by a short introduction, see <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nncl.cu58919295;view=1up;seq=963> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>44</sup> See *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis im persischen Original herausgegeben, ins Deutsche metrisch übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, vols. I-III, transl. by V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau, Wien 1858-1864. The edition includes the original text in Persian. For the digital version, see <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001725689> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>45</sup> See *Liederblüten des Hafis*, Hamburg 1846; *Hafis: eine Sammlung persischer Gedichte*, Hamburg 1846 (consecutive editions in 1852, 1856).

<sup>46</sup> In the 1860s and 1870s the following German translations of Hafiz's works were published, inter alia, by G.H.F. Nesselmann (*The Divan of Schems-eddin Muhammed Hafis aus Schiras*, Berlin 1865) and F.M. von Bodenstedt (*Der Sänger von Schiras. Hafisische Lieder*, Berlin 1877; *Der Stinger von Schiras, Hafisische Lieder*, Berlin 1880).

Norwid rightly pointed to the aesthetic relationship between the texts of both poets: Hafiz was mentioned in Heine's *Buch der Lieder* [*Book of Songs*], and the world of Hafiz's ghazals became an important part of his oriental imagination<sup>47</sup>.

The Berlin library also offered its readers works by an outstanding expert on the subject and the first translator of Hafiz's works into European languages, the orientalist Baron Karl Emmerich A. Reviczky von Revisnye<sup>48</sup>. The young Norwid might have come across his famous 18<sup>th</sup>-century work in Latin *Specimen Poeseos Persicæ* (Vindobonae 1771) or its English translation by a philologist-orientalist (and the author of the first Persian-Arab-English dictionary from 1778-1780) John Richardson<sup>49</sup>. In the catalogue of the Berlin library there was also a translation (from 1770) of the famous *Histoire de Nader Chah, connu sous le nom de Thahmas Kuli Khan, empereur de Perse...*<sup>50</sup> – the history of the “Per-

---

<sup>47</sup> Heine was also inspired by the works of another Persian poet, the author of the national epic in Persian *Shahnameh* – Ferdowsi, to whom he even dedicated a ballad, *Der Dichter Firdusi* in the orientalisising cycle *Romanzero* (Hamburg 1851). See [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Der\\_Dichter\\_Firdusi](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Der_Dichter_Firdusi) [accessed 15 July 2017]; also M. BIRKENBIHL, *Die orientalischen Elemente in der Poesie Heinrich Heines*, [in:] *Analecta Germanica für Hermann Paul*, Amberg 1906, pp. 261-322; M. PERRAUDIN, *Heine: Poetry in Context: a Study of “Buch der Lieder”*, Berg 1989.

<sup>48</sup> Reviczky translated 16 lyrics by Hafiz into Latin and provided them with a commentary. See <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85e.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>49</sup> See *A specimen of Persian poetry, or odes of Hafez, with an Engl. transl. and paraphrase: Chiefly from the specimen poeseos Persicæ of Baron Revizky / With hist. and gramm. ill. and a compl. analysis...* by John Richardson, London 1774, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Richardson\\_%28orientalist%29](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Richardson_%28orientalist%29) [accessed 20 August 2016].

By contrast, *A Specimen...* was translated into German by Johann Friedrich Unger (*Fragmente über die Literaturgeschichte der Perser*) and published in Vienna in 1783.

For the history of English translations of Hafiz's poetry see, inter alia, A.J. Arberry (*Hafiz*, [in:] IDEM, *Classical Persian Literature*, London 1958, pp. 329-335). Cf. also *Nouvelle biographie générale: depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, XXIII. Haag-Hennequin, Paris 1854-1866, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6306643m/f48.item.r=Emerson%20Essay%20on%20Persian%20Poetry.zoom> [accessed 20 August 2016]. For instance, in London a translation by Samuel Rousseau, William Jones and John Richardson was published, entitled *The Flowers of Persian Literature: Containing Extracts from the Most Celebrated Authors, in Prose and Verse; with a Translation into English: Being Intended as a Companion to Sir William Jones's Persian Grammar, to which is Prefixed an Essay on the Language and Literature of Persia* (London 1805, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=rVZeAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=rVZeAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 August 2016]).

<sup>50</sup> See *Histoire de Nader Chah, connu sous le nom de Thahmas Kuli Khan, empereur de Perse. Traduit d'un manuscrit persan, par ordre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Dannemark. Avec des notes chronologique, historiques, géographiques. Et un traité sur la poésie orientale par Mr Jones, member du college de l'Université a Oxford*, London 1770.

sian Napoleon”, founder of the Afsharid dynasty and Iranian shah Nader (*Nader Shah*). The author of the translation, William Jones, an eminent orientalist and British linguist who inspired 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe with Persia, added to the work a treatise on oriental poetry: *Traité sur la poésie orientale par Mr William Jones*<sup>51</sup>. This work would certainly be of great interest to Norwid and it is possible that our poet might have had it in his hand in Berlin.

Jones believed that love is the greatest power of oriental poetry, he skilfully catalogued the permanent elements of its imagery (lovers' sorrows, sensual descriptions of the lovers' beauty, reminiscent of those from the Biblical *Song of*

---

Nader Shah ruled Iran at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. He created a mighty empire reaching to the Caucasus in the north, India in the west and the ends of the Arabian Peninsula in the south.

<sup>51</sup> At the outset, the excellent author encouraged reading Eastern poetry and drawing on its patterns (he also postulated including lectures on this subject in European university programmes!):

“Oriental poetry abounds in strong expressions, bold metaphors, passionate feelings, in descriptions full of most vivid colours. Although these truths are generally known, this sublime and elevated poetry has found critics – both unjust and harsh. [...] the experts agree that the works of Asian authors are often stunning, the effort to look for their real beauty [...] is necessary in this treatise. [...].

The Persian language is filled with sweetness and harmony; to the richness of its essence it adds the richness of the many words that it has received from Arabic [...]. [...] Generally speaking, no idiom/expression can compare with Persian in terms of subtlety and diversity of compounds [...].

[...] The second thing we may learn from Asian authors to become good poets is the ease and variety of metres they use in their poems. [...]

We have observed [...] that the fertility of the imagination and fire of the genius of oriental poets must be partly attributed to the beauty and fertility of the region they inhabit. This opinion was confirmed by Greek poets [...].[...].

If the precious volumes of the Orient in the invaluable libraries of Paris, Leiden, Oxford, Vienna and Madrid were published with footnotes and explanations, if oriental languages were taught at our universities instead of useless arts [...], a new field for our contemplation would open up, we could explore the history of the human heart better, our mind would see a new kind of images and comparisons; as a consequence, we would see many wonderful compositions on which future critics could practice and which poets of the future could imitate.” W. JONES, *Traité sur la poésie orientale par Mr Jones, member du college de l'Université a Oxford*, London 1770, pp. 231-246.

Apart from the general, very enthusiastic description of Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry (including, among others, prosody, richness and beauty of images, metaphors, allegory, links between the imagination of poets of the Orient and the natural environment etc.), the dissertation also included chapters on oriental heroic poetry (the Persian national epic *Shahname* by Ferdowsi), love poetry (*De leurs poésie amoureuse, de leursodes*), elegiac, moral, satirical and panegyric poetry. A popular reading in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe was the collective edition of Jones' works, including translations of ghazals (see *The Works of Sir William Jones*, vols. I-VI, London 1799) and *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (London 1806), which were read, among others, by Byron.

*Songs*, descriptions of feasts and pleasures, comparisons of the beloved one to a gazelle etc.), he also noticed some similarities between Persian and Greek love poems. He wrote about Hafiz:

[...] this poet has all the beauty and spontaneity of Anacreon and the delicacy and charm of Sappho. In general, these kinds of poetry praise love and pleasure, they are a mixture of reflections on the changeability of fate and the futility of human desires, they are called ghazals, they rarely contain less than five strophes each or more than six<sup>52</sup>.

Significantly, the appendix to this pioneering study of oriental love poetry was Hafiz's 13 "odes" in French translation (it was mentioned that there are nearly 600 similar works and all are characterised by the same beauty of imagery and charm of expression).

Certainly, such was Norwid's first encounter with Hafiz' works already in the 1840s (or in 1850s at the latest). From the lectures *On Juliusz Słowacki* (PWsz VI, 426) we learn that a decade later, in America, Cyprian was devoted to reading the works by Ralph Waldo Emerson, probably mainly his poetry as well as philosophical and political writings, which could be an encouragement to follow also later publications of this outstanding American thinker and writer. This is all the more important as in 1858 Emerson (who, together with Goethe and Edward Fitzgerald, contributed the most to the dissemination of Persian poetry in the West<sup>53</sup>) published his *Essay on Persian Poetry*, accompanied with translations (from German) of Hafiz's works<sup>54</sup>. The strong influence of the Persian classic was

---

<sup>52</sup> W. JONES, *Traité sur la poésie orientale*, [in:] IDEM, *The Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. V, p. 463.

<sup>53</sup> See J.D. YOHANNAN, *Emerson Ralf Waldo*, [in:] *Encyclopedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/emerson> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>54</sup> See <http://www.bartleby.com/90/0808.html> [accessed 15 July 2017].

Emerson read *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemseddin Hafiz* (Stuttgart and Tübingen 1812-1813) translated by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna, 1818). Hafiz's work appeared on the list of readings by the American transcendentalist as early as in 1841; he also often referred to the Persian poet in his writings. Emerson's first collection of poetry from 1847 contained two translations of Hafiz's works, and several other translations were published in 1851 in *The Liberty Bell*. In total, Emerson translated about 700 verses of Persian poetry, not counting paraphrases in prose, scattered in his *Journals* and *Works*. He considered Hafiz to be more original than English poets. He valued his intellectual freedom, emphasised the almost feminine charm of his lyrics, their enormous emotional range and the beauty of the images of nature contained in them. He wrote about him:

"He is restless, inquisitive, thousand-eyed, insatiable and as like a nightingale intoxicated with his own music; never was the privilege of poetry more haughtily used" (R.W. EMERSON, *The Complete Works*, vol. VII, Boston 1903-1904, p. 417);

visible even in the sphere of poetics and thought of the American transcendentalist (he was influenced not only by Platonic concepts, but also by some elements of the mystical, idealistic Sufi thought). It was him, apart from Goethe, who might have been the next link between Norwid and Hafiz. However, we cannot know this for sure.

The stay in the French capital was conducive to the Polish poet's exploration of the Persian themes. Years of Parisian emigration gave him many new opportunities to deepen his knowledge of the literature and culture of this oriental country. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the interest of Europeans in oriental poetry was gradually growing, and the number of translations of Hafiz into European languages, especially German, English and French,<sup>55</sup> was also increasing. In addition, many scholarly papers on his work were written (e.g. Charles Defrémery's *Coup d'oeuil sur la vie et les récits de Hafiz*, Paris 1858). France had a long history of diplomatic, political and cultural relations with Persia (the French translation of Saadi's *Gulistan*, accounts of travellers and missionaries, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* etc.)<sup>56</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>-century Paris was inhabited by a small community of Persian students, intellectuals and diplomats, and in the middle of the century even something similar to an exchange of students between these two countries was organised (by the way, the invited Persian students were supervised by Professor Aleksander Chodźko). Two visits of the Persian shah to France took place in the 1870s, and in the 1880s the French were already carrying out advanced archaeological works in Persia<sup>57</sup>. With the advent of the Third Republic, i.e. from 1871,

---

"Hafiz is the prince of Persian poets, and in his extraordinary gifts adds to some of the attributes of Pindar, Anacreon, Horace and Burns, the insight of a mystic, that sometimes affords a deeper glance at Nature than belongs to either of these bards. He accosts all topics with an easy audacity". R.W. EMERSON, *Essay on Persian Poetry*, <http://www.bartleby.com/90/0808.html> [accessed 15 July 2017].

J.D. YOHANNAN, *Emerson, Ralph Waldo*; IDEM, *Emerson's Translations of Persian Poetry from German Sources*, "American Literature" 1943, vol. 14/4, pp. 407-420; IDEM, *The Influence of Persian Poetry upon Emerson's Work*, "American Literature" 1943, vol. 15/1, pp. 25-41.

<sup>55</sup> See A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Hafiz w Europie*, [in:] *Gazete wybrane Hafiza*, transl. IDEM, A. Zajączkowski, Warszawa 1957, pp. 72-93.

<sup>56</sup> See V. HACHARD, B. HOURCADE, *France XII(A). Iranian Studies In France: Overview*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/france-xiia-iranian-studies-in-france-overview-> [accessed 15. July 2017].

<sup>57</sup> Valuable translations of Persian texts were also created (the books of *Avesta* translated by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron in 1760). The French Bibliothèque du Roi (the future Bibliothèque Nationale) as well as private persons (e.g. Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin) have been collecting Persian manuscripts since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1795-1893) there also operated in Paris École spéciale des langues orientales (based in the Bibliothèque nationale

this research was based on broad institutional and scientific cooperation (focused mainly on the history of ancient Persia, archaeology, linguistics and classical literature). In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, École des langues orientales had a magnificent Persian library. Charles Scheffer, a diplomat and orientalist (appointed by Napoleon III in 1867 as the administrative director of the school) had been teaching there from the 1850s. He gathered a magnificent collection of oriental manuscripts, including Persian (276 items) that were deposited later (in part) in Bibliothèque nationale<sup>58</sup> (among others, it was him that served as an advisor to Jerzy Adam Czartoryski during his acquisition of oriental manuscripts<sup>59</sup>). Despite the active cultural exchange between France and Persia, the issue of translations of the lyricist from Shiraz did not look as impressively as in Germany. The presence of Hafiz's traces in 19<sup>th</sup>-century French literature was also smaller than one would have expected from the country that was then the leader in oriental research and colonial conquests of the East<sup>60</sup>.

In the first decade of the century, the French relied mainly on German (Purgstall/Goethe) and English (Jones<sup>61</sup>) translations of Hafiz. Their own translation was not published until 1813-1814 (De Grangeret Lagrange – 11 ghazals)<sup>62</sup>. After

---

building), which is the main pillar of oriental research in France. It survived the French Revolution and was later incorporated into the Collège Royal de Louis-le-Grand (1820-1868). Since 1773 in Collège de France there has been the Department of the Persian Language. Antoine Isaac Sylvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) and Jules Mohl (1801-52) rendered special contributions to the development of Iranian studies. Mohl translated the Persian epic *Schahname* by Ferowsi (1826), which was later read and commented on by, inter alia, Victor Hugo, Jules Michelet, Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (professor of Persian at Collège de France and president of Société Asiatique).

<sup>58</sup> Scheffer published – however, already after Norwid's death – a two-volume anthology of Persian literature (10<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries, vol. I – 1883, vol. II – 1885) with French commentary and indices (Persian poetry was included in vol. II).

<sup>59</sup> See *The Czartoryski Family and the Beginning of Polish Persian Art Connoisseurship*, [in:] *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, eds. Y. Kadoi, I. Szántó, Cambridge 2013, p. 56, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=X9YxBwAAQBAJ&pg=PA52&lpg=PA52&dq=Manuscript+Of+A+Divan+Of+Haiz+in+Poland&source=bl&ots=Hvwxw1zDVOQ&sig=FRcwXU5LVvkPu3Kfbpt11xhEyGg&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiPh5CH1aLLAhWGYJoKHVIGCdcQ6AEIMzAC#v=onepage&q=Manuscript%20of%20A%20Divan%20of%20Hafiz%20in%20Poland&f=false> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>60</sup> See Z. SHAMS-YADOLAH, *Hâfez et la Perse dans la littérature française aux XVIII<sup>e</sup>, XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles*, [in:] EADEM, *Le retentissement de la poésie de Hâfez en France – réception et traduction*, Uppsala 2002, pp. 45-55; K. HAYATI ASHTIANI, *Les relations littéraires entre la France et la Perse de 1826 à 1897*, Lyon 2004.

<sup>61</sup> It should be remembered, however, that Jones translated Hafiz also into French (13 works).

<sup>62</sup> Earlier, in 1806, a small booklet was published on Hafiz by Auguste F.-J Herbin, entitled *Notice sur Khauljah Hhafiz Al-Chyrazy*, a printed version of a lecture by its author, de-

a long break in the second half of that century three more (only!) translations appeared: one by Servan de Sugny in 1852 (3 ghazals)<sup>63</sup>, one by Defrémery in 1858 (5 ghazals)<sup>64</sup> and one by Nicolas in 1898 (13 ghazals)<sup>65</sup>, which in total gave only 32 lyrics until Norwid's death. However, many French poets quoted Hafiz or referred to him in their works, thus contributing to the spread of his fame in France<sup>66</sup>. The poetic world of Hafiz corresponded to Romantic ideas; the common domain included topics such as religion, the search for infinity, the idea of the elusiveness of time etc.<sup>67</sup>.

This does not change the fact that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the French had only a fraction of *Divan*, and their translational achievements certainly did not allow

---

livered at the Parisian Société des sciences, lettres et arts (see [https://books.google.pl/books?id=Fqbw00PkBGwC&pg=PA520&lpg=PA520&dq=Notice+sur+Hafiz&source=bl&ots=vIri6ktJ01&sig=gMdIgN7znFNkE1gwVWK3I-8A9fw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahU\\_UKE-wiguOLm\\_afLAhWCYzoKHQJ7BgYQ6AEIQzAI#v=onepage&q=Notice%20sur%20Hafiz&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=Fqbw00PkBGwC&pg=PA520&lpg=PA520&dq=Notice+sur+Hafiz&source=bl&ots=vIri6ktJ01&sig=gMdIgN7znFNkE1gwVWK3I-8A9fw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahU_UKE-wiguOLm_afLAhWCYzoKHQJ7BgYQ6AEIQzAI#v=onepage&q=Notice%20sur%20Hafiz&f=false)) [accessed 15 July 2017]. This publication is a 'white raven' today, because it was distributed by the author only among his friends and acquaintances. The lecture included French translations of 4 ghazals by Hafiz. In 1807, A.L. Chezy translated one ode (*Ode d'Hafiz*, [in:] *Medjnoun et Leila*, Paris 1807, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85f.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017]).

Lagrange's translation has been published in journals dealing with foreign literature: *Littérature persane. Poésies d'Hâfiz*, "Mercure Étranger" vol. 7, Langues orientales, Vol. II, Paris 1813, pp. 135-141, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85d.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

Most of the mentioned 19<sup>th</sup>-century translations of Hafiz's works rendered into French by W. Jones, Lagrange, de Chezy, Ch. Defrémery and A.L.M. Nicolas can be found on the website: <http://www.notesdumontroyal.com/note/85> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>63</sup> See E. SERVAN DE SUGNY, *Étude orientale, ou trois odes de Hafiz et une élégie de Saadi, poètes persans, traduits en vers français... suivies de notes et éclaircissement*, Geneva 1852, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=nhVnyk1KzSsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=nhVnyk1KzSsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>64</sup> Defrémery's translations appeared in "Journal Asiatique" (published by Société Asiatique), p. V, vol. XI, Paris 1858, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85a.pdf>.

<sup>65</sup> See *Quelques odes de Hafiz traduites pour la première fois en français par A. L.-M. Nicolas*, Paris 1898, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85b.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>66</sup> This was done, for example, by Victor Hugo, who was fascinated with the East, and Teofil Gautier, well acquainted with Persian art and poetry, who in 1852 referred to the master from Shiraz in his *Enamels and Cameos* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1872). There he emphatically called Persians "the Italians of Asia", praised their "rich, harmonious and sweet" language as well as their enormous emotionality and innate artistic taste. See Z. SHAMS-YADOLAH, *Le retentissement de la poésie de Hâfêz en France – réception et traduction*, p. 55.

<sup>67</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 53.

for an in-depth study of Hafiz's world<sup>68</sup>. It can therefore be assumed that more thorough German sources played a primary role in Norwid's introduction into the arcana of Persian poetry. As it will turn out in the further part of this contribution, the work of Wiliam Jones, who not only translated the entire Hafiz ghazals but also quoted their fragments in his dissertations on the grammar of the Persian language, also played an important role<sup>69</sup>.

Speaking about the origin of Norwid's fascination with Hafiz, one cannot forget about the research achievements of Polish Iranian/oriental scholars living in exile in the French capital. Among them there was Aleksander Chodźko<sup>70</sup>, Norwid's outstanding compatriot, who had "an admirable knowledge of the Persian language and literature"<sup>71</sup>, orientalist, one of the pioneers of Iranian Studies conducted by Poles, but, at the same time, diplomat and poet, the already mentioned friend of Mickiewicz from his Vilnius years. In 1857 Chodźko took over the Chair

---

<sup>68</sup> The full French translation of Hafiz's *Divan* appeared only in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Paris 2006). Its author is Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, lecturer of Persian language and literature at INALCO (l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales). See HĀFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Le Divân. Oeuvre lyrique d'un spirituel en Perse au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, Paris: Editions Verdier 2006.

<sup>69</sup> In England, the oldest was the mentioned translation by W. Jones, *The Persian Song* (London 1771); W. JONES, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, Oxford, 1771; IDEM, *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages. To which are added two essays*, Oxford, 1772; J. NOTT, *Selected Odes from the Persian poet Hafez, translated into English verse, with notes critical and explanatory*, by John Nott, London 1787. In 1800 there appeared *Persian lyrics, or Scattered poems, from the Diwan-i-Hafiz, with paraphrases in verse and prose, a catalogue of the gazels as arranged in manuscript of the works of Hafiz, in the Chetham library at Manchester* (London 1800). In the 1850s Hafiz's works were translated by E.B. Cowell (Anon) ("Fraser's Magazine" 1854, vol. 50, pp. 288-295). There were also translations in E. Fitzgerald's correspondence, *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*, eds. A.M. Terhune and A.B. Terhune, 4 vols., Princeton 1980. Vol. 2 encompassing letters from 1851-1866, includes also the correspondence between Cowell and Fitzgerald on translations of Hafiz, featuring many quotes from his poems.

The next stage of assimilation of this Persian poetry in English-speaking countries came in the 1870s (but it was already after Norwid had written the poems mentioned). The following works were published then: *Hafiz of Shiraz: Selections from his Poems, translated from Persian* (transl. by Herman Bicknell, London 1875); S. ROBINSON, *A Century of the Ghazels, or a Hundred Odes, Selected and Translated from the Diwan of Hafiz*, London 1875. At the end of the century two more translations were published: H.W. CLARKE, *The Divān, ... Ḥāfiẓ-i-Shīrāzī*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1891; J. HUNTLY MC CARTHY, *Ghazels from the Divan of Hafiz done into English*, London 1893.

<sup>70</sup> See J. REYCHMAN, *Aleksander Chodźko, wielki orientalista polski (1804-1891)*, "Problemy" 1956, vol. 5, pp. 353-355.

<sup>71</sup> The words of Louis Léger on A. Chodźko, quoted after J. CALMARD, *Chodźko Aleksander Borejko*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/chodzko-aleksander-borejko> [accessed 20 August 2016].

of Slavic Literature at Collège de France (earlier he made unsuccessful efforts to take the Chair of the Persian Language at Parisian École des langues orientales). He studied oriental languages in Saint Petersburg (1824-1830)<sup>72</sup>, then worked for 11 years in Russian diplomacy in Persia – as a translator and consul in Tehran and Rašt (1830-1841)<sup>73</sup>. In 1842 he joined the Polish community in exile in Paris and in the years 1852-1855 he worked in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an expert on Eastern affairs. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and the French Société de Linguistique, and a correspondent of the Academy of Sciences in Kraków<sup>74</sup>. His publications were published in the French press (“*Le Correspondant*”, “*Le Moniteur Universel*”, “*La Revue Indépendante*”), which, as we know, Norwid eagerly bought and read, as well as in specialised journals dedicated to the topics related to the Orient (“*La Revue Orientale et Algérienne*”, “*La Revue de l’Orient, de l’Algérie et des colonies*”, “*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*”).

Norwid’s letters allow us to conclude that his and Chodźko’s paths have crossed many times in Paris. The prominent expert on Persia was, inter alia, the president of the Society of Educational Aid Committee, which in 1868 examined Norwid’s proposal to give lectures on the freedom of speech (in return for a loan). The applicant summoned by the Committee had to meet with Chodźko at least on this occasion<sup>75</sup>. Norwid’s curiosity and diligence allow us to guess that at least a certain

<sup>72</sup> To be exact, in the Eastern Institute at the Asian Department of the Russian College for Foreign Affairs in Saint Petersburg.

<sup>73</sup> This service in Russian diplomacy was a cause of remorse and deep moral anxiety of the former philomath. He confessed to these feelings in a letter to A. Mickiewicz, see [http://bazhum.muzhp.en/media/files/Pamietnik\\_Literacki\\_czasopismo\\_kwartalne\\_poswiecone\\_historii\\_i\\_krytyce\\_literatury\\_polskiej-r1962-t53-n3-s253-294/Pamietnik\\_Literacki\\_Literacki\\_czasopismo\\_kwartalne\\_poswiecone\\_historii\\_i\\_Krytyce\\_literatury\\_polskiej-r1962-t53-n3-s253-294.pdf](http://bazhum.muzhp.en/media/files/Pamietnik_Literacki_czasopismo_kwartalne_poswiecone_historii_i_krytyce_literatury_polskiej-r1962-t53-n3-s253-294/Pamietnik_Literacki_Literacki_czasopismo_kwartalne_poswiecone_historii_i_Krytyce_literatury_polskiej-r1962-t53-n3-s253-294.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>74</sup> Apart from his youthful poetry inspired by Hafiz, Chodźko was also an author of scientifically valuable dissertations on oriental philology (linguistics, literature, theatre) and ethnography of the Middle East, as well as translations from Persian (among others, the novel *Padyszach i czterech derwiszów*, Kraków 1859). His translations of Persian literature had a significant impact on the increased interest of Poles – mainly Parisian emigration – in Persian culture and literature and contributed to the development of Polish iranic research. See A. CHODŹKO, *Popular Poetry of Persia. Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia, orally collected and translated with philological and historical notes*, London 1842; IDEM, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia*, London 1842 (partly translated into French by G. Sand); IDEM, *Le Ghilan, ou les marais Caspiens*, Paris, 1850; IDEM, *Grammaire persane, ou, Principes de l’Iranien moderne; accompagnés de fac-simile pour servir de modèles d’écriture et de style pour la correspondance diplomatique et familière*, Paris 1852 (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.); IDEM, *Theatre persan: choix de téaziés ou drames*, Paris 1878.

<sup>75</sup> See Z. TROJANOWICZOWA, E. LJEWSKA, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cyprian Norwid*, vol. II: 1861-1883, Poznań 2007, p. 364.

part of the “Persian” works of the former philomath must have been known to the author of *Rzecz o wolności słowa* [*On the Freedom of Speech*].

In the circle of the Czartoryski<sup>76</sup> and Działyński families, with whom Norwid had quite close relations while in exile (at least for some time), there was also Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski<sup>77</sup> – orientalist, traveller to Persia, translator of the *Quran* into French (Paris 1841) and Persian literature (inter alia, *Divan* by Manuĉehri Dāmġāni and *Gulistan* by Saadi, Paris 1876)<sup>78</sup>. He purchased manu-

---

Ludwik Nabelak, a friend of Norwid, the addressee of his letters and a diligent reader of his works, was the Vice-President of the Society. His cooperation with Aleksander Chodźko made the latter a person closer to Norwid. There were many opportunities for meetings and contact between Norwid and Chodźko, for example, the celebration of important national events in exile, such as the anniversary of the Lublin Union, which Norwid honoured with a project of a commemorative medal, and the Galician celebrations, from which Reitenheim wrote a report in form of a letter sent to Nabelak. A. Chodźko might have recommended Norwid to Edward Marbeau, a senator and historian, who in 1882, while working on *Slaves et Teurons* sought the poet’s opinion. Thus, Norwid stayed relatively close to A. Chodźko from the 1960s to the 1980s, although in the preserved writings there are no traces of their close or friendly relations. Nonetheless, the figure and probably also the scientific achievements of the Polish orientalist had to be known to the poet.

<sup>76</sup> The Czartoryski Library in Kraków still contains a valuable manuscript of Hafiz’s *Divan* (cat. no. 3458). Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski corresponded with W. Jones himself. The Persian collection was also owned by Adam Jerzy Czartoryski’s son-in-law, Stanisław Zamoyski. See M. GINTER-FROLOW, *From armchair literates to art historians: the Polish collections of Persian manuscripts*, [in:] *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, Cambridge 2013, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=X9YxBWAQBAJ&pg=PA52&lpg=PA52&dq=Manuscript+Of+Af+Divan+Of+Hafiz+in+Poland&source=bl&ots=Hvxw1zDVOQ&sig=FRcwXU5LVvkPu3Kfbpt11xhEyGg&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEWiPh5CH1aLLAhWGYJoKHVIGCdcQ6AEIMzAC#v=onepage&q=Manuscript%20Of%20A%20Divan%20Of%20Hafiz%20in%20Poland&f=false> [accessed 20 August 2016]. See also: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/poland-ii-persian-art-in> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>77</sup> See I. TUROWSKA-BAROWA, *Zapomniani orientalista polski*, Kraków 1937.

In the 1820s, while still in Poland, Kazimirski remained under the patronage of Tytus Działyński. In exile, he cooperated scientifically with Joachim Lelewel, who tried to persuade him to translate the *Quran* into Polish. He intended to write down the history of Islam, he was also fascinated by the culture and literature of India. He was a librarian at the Parisian Asian Society, the author of an Arab-French dictionary. In the 1860s, he was one of three Poles (along with Aleksander Chodźko and Michał Kleczkowski) who were translators at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>78</sup> See W. BIBERSTEIN-KAZIMIRSKI, *Gulistan to jest Ogród Różany Sa'dego z Szyrazu*, Paris 1876; IDEM, *Spécimen du Divan (Recueil de poésies) de Menoutchehri, poète persan de V<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire*, text, translation and notes, Versailles 1876; *Dialogues français-persans precedes d'un précis de la grammaire persane et suivis d'un vocabulaire français-persans par A. de Biberstein Kazimirski*, Paris 1883; IDEM, *Menoutchehri poète person du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*, text, translation, notes and historical introduction, Paris 1887.

scripts for the eastern collections of these aristocratic families and served them with his expertise in the field of oriental studies<sup>79</sup>. Although Norwid's correspondence does not mention Kazimirski's name, this man must have been known to him, not only from Hôtel Lambert, but also as a friend of Aleksander Chodźko, and a diplomat working with the poet's cousin – Michał Kleczkowski (and Chodźko) in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, in the poet's emigration circle and among his friends, there were people who could provide him with interesting stimuli to follow in the footsteps of Hafiz<sup>80</sup>.

In a letter from 1876, Norwid told Kraszewski about his knowledge of different Eastern languages: Hebrew, Semitic (Arabic?), "Algo-Chinese" (Letter to J. I. Kraszewski PWSz, X, 81). In his correspondence with Edward Jaksa Bykowski, he mentioned the Persian etymology of the French word *paradis* (PWSz X, 198),

<sup>79</sup> See A. KRASNOWOLSKA, *Iranian Studies in Poland*, [in:] *Encyklopedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/poland-iii-iranian-studies> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>80</sup> The list does not end with these two names; Albert Szeliga Potocki, exiled to Caucasus, also translated from Persian. Norwid honoured him with the poem *Pamięci Alberta Szeligi Hrabiego Potockiego – pułkownika – zmarłego na Kaukazie* [*In memory of Albert Szeliga Count Potocki – Colonel – who died in the Caucasus*]. See FET-ALI-SHAH, *Wieniec władzy*, transl. by A. Szeliga-Potocki, [in:] *Dywan perski, Antologia arcydzieł dawnej poezji perskiej*, compiled by A. Lange, Sandomierz 2010, p. 61. Moreover, in the 1860s, already in Poland, a compendium (for junior high school students) by Józef Szujski (who used German translations of Hafiz prepared by Daumer) was published - *Rys dziejów piśmiennictwa świata niechrześcijańskiego: Chiny i rasy niekaukazkie, Indye, Persya, Babilon, Assyrya, Egipt, Fenicya, Hebreja, Hellada, Rzym, Keltowie, Germanie, Słowianie, Arabowie i Turcy, Żydzi w rozproszeniu* (Kraków 1867). The fifth chapter of this monograph was devoted to Persian literature. Szujski presented Hafiz and his work as follows:

"In his youth Hafiz was a mystic at Dszelaeddin's school; only at an older age did he start breaking with his past, developing a contempt for dervishes and *sufis*, devoted to contemplation, and thus becoming Anacreon of the East. He is a kind of Muslim Voltair, with whom Muslim orthodoxy dealt in an original way – instead of condemning Hafiz, they attributed a mystical meaning to his erotic songs, calling him the sun of faith and the custodian of the *Quran*. For us, he is only a poet of love and it is not an easy task for the western muse to keep up with his passion". J. SZUJSKI, *Rys dziejów*, pp. 105-106, <http://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=36315&from=publication> [accessed 20 August 2016].

There appeared also Polish translations (but only indirect, via German translation) of several fragments of the Persian epic *Shahnameh* [*The Book of Kings*] prepared by Lucjan Siemieński (1855), the editor of the Kraków based magazine "Czas", with whom Norwid maintained contact in the 1850s (see *Biszen i Menisze. Ustęp z Firdussiego poematu: Szach-namech*, transl. by L. Siemieński, Warszawa 1855) and by the already mentioned J. Szujski, who included fragments of the epic in his aforementioned dissertation on non-Christian literature. It is likely that the news about this Polish research, translation or collection activities reached Norwid (at least some of them did).

so he probably also studied Persian<sup>81</sup>, but we do not know the scope or the level of his studies in this area.

Norwid's way to Hafiz was therefore a long one. This is also testified by the chronological range of Norwid's works mentioning Hafiz. The Polish poet certainly knew the translations of ghazals into several European languages, and eventually he also undertook some translation work.

Norwid's fascination with Hafiz's poetry reached its zenith in the 1870s, thus it was his mature and even late phase of artistic creation (similarly to Goethe's case). It seems that this maturity, manifesting itself in erudition and diversity of life experiences, favoured a better and deeper penetration of intricate and very sublime oriental lyricism and the ability to creatively transfer its fine imagery and linguistic structures into his own texts. However, it cannot be ruled out that already while working on *Promethidion* (1851) – the dialogue devoted to transcendental elements, especially beauty and love – Norwid drew from the poetic imagination of Hafiz<sup>82</sup>, who, after all, remains one of the leading troubadours worldwide. It would be completely natural, because in Hafiz's works, the poetic expression of love reached its culmination.

Persian literature, the richest among the Eastern literatures in the Middle Ages<sup>83</sup>, was considered an unsurpassable model of subtle expression of feelings, and technically one of the most beautiful in the world. In the Persian rhetoric tradition, the word *ghazal* meant “an expression full of love and gallantry” (although apart from love, this genre could also feature moral, philosophical, mystical and other content)<sup>84</sup>. The poem, characterised by finesse of thought, melodious style, lyricism, softness, delicacy and sweetness, imposed on the reader's mind “a specific aesthetic vision”<sup>85</sup> and was ideally suited to describe the richness of love impulses – from admiration, desire, longing, suffering due to separation, to ecstasy and mystical euphoria.

---

<sup>81</sup> It is possible, however, that the source of this observation was different – the famous work of Bishop Agostino Steuco (Steuchus Eugubinus) on the Old Testament (*Veteris testamenti ad Hebraicam veritatem recognitio*, Lyon 1531) or a compendium of Christian knowledge (encyclopaedia, dictionary) referring to it, because it was this author who first drew attention to the old-Iranian etymology of the Greek word *paradeisos* (Latin *paradisus*). He noticed here an important “geolinguistic” fact, helpful in locating the earthly Paradise on the world map. See J. DELUMEAU, *Historia Raju. Ogród rozkoszy*, transl. by E. Bąkowska, Warszawa 1996, p. 150.

<sup>82</sup> See SHAMS-YADDOLAH, *L'Imagination poétique dans l'oeuvre lyrique de Hâfez*, doctoral thesis, Strasbourg 1980.

<sup>83</sup> See A. LANGE, *Introduction*, [in:] *Dywan perski*, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> SHAMS-YADDOLAH, *L'Imagination poétique dans l'oeuvre lyrique de Hâfez*, p. 20.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

Much evidence seems to indicate Hafiz's influence on *Promethidion*. In this dialogue by Norwid, referring to the biblical *Canticae Canticorum*, Plato's *Symposium* and Paul's *Hymn to Love*, there appear some elements resembling the leitmotifs of Hafiz's ghazals, especially the main motif of the "paradisal breeze", carrying the smell of female hair, the image of "musky plaits" or "ambergris plaits" (*Wilgotny, krwi spragniony*, PmH, 132-133<sup>86</sup>):

– Kto kocha – widzieć chce oczyma w oczy,  
Czuć choćby powiew jedwabnych warkoczy<sup>87</sup>;  
(DW IV, 112)

[– The one who loves – wants to see eyes into eyes,  
To feel at least a breeze of the silk plaits;]

In the sensual, delicate and, at the same time, extremely fragile matter of *Divan*, the wind, especially the zephyr, associated with highly emotional moments, is a constant, repetitive element of the poetic imagery. It has a symbolic and allegorical meaning, it carries the sensual aroma of female curls and is a messenger of love:

Zapach twych włosów  
Świat mój uczynił zdrożnym.

(*Mówię: boleję za tobą*, PmH, 47)

[The smell of your hair  
Made my world indecent.]

---

<sup>86</sup> HAFIZ, *Ej, przynieś nam, saki, wina*, [in:] *Pieśni miłosne Hafiza*, selected and translated by W. Dulęba, Kraków 1973, p. 33. Unless stated otherwise, quotes from Hafiz will be given from this edition (abbreviation of the title of the collection – PmH, title of the work and page number). Of course, Norwid's context of the reception of Hafiz's works would require quoting the 19<sup>th</sup>-century translations of *Divan*, but due to the fragmentary nature of the French translations that the Polish poet might have used and the final uncertainty as to what versions (French, English or German) of ghazals Norwid knew, as well as the enormous confusion in their numbering in different 19<sup>th</sup>-century editions, this article exceptionally refers to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>-century Polish (and foreign) translations of Hafiz's lyric poems.

<sup>87</sup> The motif of the smell of woman's hair also plays a main role in the final fragment of the ghazal *Kiedy blask wina...* (HAFIZ, *Kiedy blask wina...*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez10.html> [accessed 15 July 2016]), translated by Norwid (around 1870). It was used as an epigraph in *Assunta*, and we will return to it in the further part of this article.

Na każdej z dróg mego życia  
Widzę twoje uroki,  
Powiew od twoich włosów  
Sięga po moje zmysły.

(*Na każdej z dróg mego życia...*, PmH, 49)

[On each of the ways of my life  
I see your charms,  
The waft of your hair  
Reaches my senses.]

Woń jaśminowa twych włosów  
Uderza w serce rozkoszą.

(*O, cały twój kształt jest wdziękiem*, PmH, 61)

[The jasmine smell of your hair  
Hits the heart with delight.]

Z sidła twoich loków  
Nikt się nie wyplącze

(*Z sidła twoich loków...* PmH, 136)

[No one will escape  
The snares of your curls]

Gdyby mnie każdy powiew  
nie darzył twoim zapachem,  
każdej godziny bym z bólu  
odzierał się z szat — jak róża<sup>88</sup>.

Teraz, gdy powiew poranny  
burzy warkocze piżmowe,  
jakżeż od mrocznych twych splotów  
krew uderza nam w serca!<sup>89</sup>

Nie trzeba tu wonności,  
bo dla mojej duszy  
każde tchnienie twych włosów  
jest rozkosznym zapachem<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> IDEM, *Chociażby wrogów tysiące*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Chociazby-wrogow-tysiace.php> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>89</sup> IDEM, *Ej, przynieś nam, saki, wina*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Ej-przynies-nam-saki-wina.php> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>90</sup> IDEM, *W piersi kwiat, w dłoni wino*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/W-piersi-kwiat-w-dloni-wino.php> [accessed 20 August 2016].

[Chcę znaleźć skarbnicę piżma  
w warkoczach bogiń cudownych<sup>91</sup>.  
Życie minęło już, odkąd  
doszedł mnie zapach twych włosów,  
a jednak w moim sercu  
wciąż trwają jego czary<sup>92</sup>.

If every puff did not  
give me your smell,  
in pain every hour  
I would strip my robes off – like a rose.

Now that the morning breeze  
ruffles the musky braids,  
from your dark plaits  
blood hits our hearts!

No need for a fragrance here,  
because for my soul  
every waft of your hair  
brings a delicious scent.

I want to find a treasury of musk  
in the braids of beautiful goddesses.  
The life has passed since  
the smell of your hair reached me,  
and yet in my heart  
its magic is still present.]

More similar Persian reminiscences can be found in *Promethidion*. For example, they seem to be present in this masterful rendering of subtle love desires, longing for the physical presence of the beloved and the satisfaction of feelings:

Kto kocha, widzieć chce choć cień obrazu,  
Choć ślad do łubej wiodący mieszkania.  
[...]  
– Kto kocha – widzieć chce oczyma w oczy,  
(*Promethidion*, DW IV, 111-112)

<sup>91</sup> IDEM, *Widzę w ruinach magów*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Widze-widze-w-ruinach-magow.php> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>92</sup> IDEM, *Zdaję się tylko na łaskę*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Zdajw-sie-solesole-na-laske.php> [accessed 20 August 2016].

[The one who loves, wants to see at least a shadow of the image,  
At least a trace leading to the beloved's door.

[...]

– The one who loves – wants to see eyes into eyes,]

In Hafiz we read:

Do twego obrazu  
niech wiedzie mnie droga mych oczu

(*Mówię: boleję za tobą*, PmH, 47)

[To your image  
Let the path of my eyes guide me]

This motif actually appears in many of his other poems:

Mówilem: „Oczy wypatrywałem na drodze, co do ciebie wiedzie”.

Odparła mi wnet: „Ślepemu ślady drogi wiatr także rozwieje”<sup>93</sup>.

[I said: “I was looking out with my eyes, on the road that leads to you”.

Soon she replied to me: “For the blind the wind will also blow away the traces of the road”.]

Przynieś mi, wietrze, zapach  
z dobrze ci znanej ulicy,  
przynieś ulgę mej duszy —  
osłabłem od smutku i płaczu.

W serce bezradne moje  
wlej upragnione wonności —  
przynieś mi znak, o wietrze,  
choć pył od drzwi ukochanej<sup>94</sup>.

---

<sup>93</sup> IDEM, *Gazela XXXIX*, transl. by J. Krzyżowski, <http://literatura.wywrota.pl/wiersz-klasyka/35514-hafiz-gazela-xxxix.html> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>94</sup> IDEM, *Przynieś mi, wietrze, zapach*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/poems/Hafiz/Przynies-mi-wietrze-zapach.php> [accessed 20 August 2016]. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century French translation of this ghazal (done by de Sugny) reads as follows:

“Zéphir, si tu vasauprès de mon amant,  
Rapporte-moi de l’odeur de ses cheveux ambrés. [...]  
Dépose ici du moins un peu de la poussière  
Que fait voler son pied divin”.

*Etude orientale, ou Trois odes de Hafiz et Une élégie de Saadi: poètes persans*, E. S. de Sugny, Paris 1852, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=nhVnykIKzSsC&printsec=front>

[Wind, bring me the smell  
from a well-known street,  
Bring relief to my soul –  
I am weakened by sadness and crying.]

Pour the desired fragrances  
in my helpless heart –  
Bring me a sign, oh wind,  
be it even the dust from my beloved's door.]

In *Divan*, a special place takes the motif of a woman's glance; in the Islamic world, in the female silhouette, tightly wrapped in robes, only the eyes are usually uncovered and are not a taboo subject. Seeing, touching with eyes becomes the only available form of sensual contact with the subject of feelings. The concentration of all impressions and unspoken words in this exchange of glances makes it extremely exciting and suggestive:

Nie było dane Twych rzęs strzałom śmierć zadać mnie marnemu:  
Inaczej, czyżbym mógł ujść cało – Twoich oczu spojrzeniu?<sup>95</sup>

[It was not meant for the arrows of your eyelashes to take my miserable life:  
Otherwise, could I have emerged unscathed from the glance of your eyes?]

However, not only the surface layer of *Promethidion*, those images emanating with sophisticated sensuality and simultaneously extraordinary subtlety, that seem to betray the influence of the poet who achieved “the ultimate level in the field of mysticism and sensuality”<sup>96</sup>. The similarity also lies in the elevating, idealistic concept of love, which appears both in Platonic philosophy (which guided Norwid) and in mystical Sufi concepts.

Hafiz spiritualised love, he considered it to be an ideal accompanying people on their earthly path (“We are wanderers, towards love we steer”)<sup>97</sup>, “The Way of

---

cover&hl=pl&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=Demeure&f=false [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>95</sup> IDEM, *Gazel XXIV*, [in:] IDEM, *Gazele*, transl. by T. Filip, Kraków: Oficyna Literacka 1991, p. 34.

<sup>96</sup> J. SZUJSKI, *Rys dziejów piśmienictwa świata niechrześcijańskiego*, p. 108.

<sup>97</sup> IDEM, *Dla czezej sławy...*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez28.html> [accessed 20 August 2016].

Love is a way that has no end”<sup>98</sup>). He sought it not only for a temporary, passing carnal thrill, but also for the reflection of transcendence, a trace of the Divine appearance. He treated it as a kind of moral stimulator, awakening the exaltation of the soul and allowing to open the veil of the hidden, extra-sensual reality<sup>99</sup>. At the same time, this poetry completely eliminated the boundary between earthly and divine love, treating it as a ray of the same universal power. For *Sufi* mystics, the love for people was a preparation for the love for God. Speaking of the latter, Hafiz used images taken from the human world. In his poetry the noun *jar* meant both “beloved” (male or female) and “Beloved”, i.e. the Creator (Allah)<sup>100</sup>. The desire to achieve the ecstasy of human love was tantamount to a fervent desire to experience the love of the Creator himself. This unity of love was also emphasised in Norwid’s poem:

Kto kocha – widzieć chce choć cień postaci,  
I tak się kocha Matkę – Ojca – braci –  
Kochankę – Boga nawet...  
(DW IV, 110)

[The one who loves – wants to see at least a shadow of a person,  
And so one loves Mother – Father – brothers –  
Lover – even God...]

Both in Hafiz’s works and in *Promethidion*, one can admire the perfect correspondence between rhyme and thought, imagination and philosophy. It should be remembered that the *ghazal* emerged in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Persia as the fruit of a natural relationship between poetry and philosophy – a similar combination of literature and philosophy resulted in Platonic dialogues, to the tradition of which referred Norwid. Both works are part of the same tradition, although written for two voices – East and West, the tradition of searching for truth and encapsulating the philosophical thought in charming literary forms.

Therefore, it seems that already in the 1840s, during Norwid’s journey across Europe, Hafiz might have become his teacher of philosophising, mysticising love poetry (there were no obstacles to that) and certainly remained one until the last years of the Parisian recluse, providing patronage particularly for the ethereal poem *Assunta*. This is already indicated by the aforementioned quatrain “from the Per-

---

<sup>98</sup> IDEM, *Droga Miłości jest drogą, która końca nie ma*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez25.html> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>99</sup> See Z. SHAMS-YADDOLAH, *Le ressentiment de la poésie de Hâfez en France*.

<sup>100</sup> See *ibid.*

sian poet” on its title page. Undoubtedly, it was these lines that must have aroused Norwid’s greatest admiration, and hence they were chosen by him from among hundreds of other strophes:

Gdyby powiew, co z włosy twojémi  
 Igra – powiał choć chwilę,  
 Na Hafiza mogile,  
 Tysiąc kwiatów wyrosłoby z ziemi!  
*Z perskiego poety* – C. N.  
 (DW III, 321)

[If the breeze that is playing around with  
 Your hair – blew even for a moment,  
 Over Hafiz’s grave,  
 A thousand flowers would spring from the earth!  
*From the Persian poet* – C. N.]

As it was established by Ananiasz Zajączkowski<sup>101</sup>, this passage comes from a ghazal which in Rosenzweig’s German edition is included in vol. I on p. 513, no. 82<sup>102</sup>. However, in the German version this strophe has a slightly different wording than in Norwid’s (the German version emphasises the role of God’s grace, there is also no mention of flowers springing from a grave):

Weht der Ost wind deiner Gnade  
 An Hafisens Grab vorbei,  
  
 Töntaus seines Körpers Staube  
 Hundert tausend mal Juchhei!<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, Warszawa 1957, p. 257.

<sup>102</sup> The original can be found on p. 512, the German translation on p. 513. The motif of flowers growing out of the poet’s grave at the smell of his beloved’s hair or at the sight of her face appears more than once in *Divan*. We can also come across it in a ghazal, which in the contemporary French translation by Fouchécour bears no. 408:

“Le jour où quitterai le monde, par l’amour que j’ai de Ton visage,  
 La rose rouge poussera de ma tombe en place de l’herbe”.  
 HÁFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Ghazal 408*, [in:] IDEM, *Le Divân*, p. 1014.

<sup>103</sup> *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis*, transl. by V. Rosenzweig Schwannau, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044055032056;view=1up;seq=531;size=125> [accessed 20 August 2016].

This lyric also looks different in the rendering of the English translator John Nott (1787):

Should the sweet gales, as o'er thy tomb they play,  
The fragrance of the nymph's lov'd tresses bring;  
Then, Hafez, shall new life inspire thy clay,  
And ceaseless notes of rapture shalt thou sing<sup>104</sup>.

The ghazal in question was also translated into Polish in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the philomath Jan Wiernikowski (*W ogrodzie lica lubej*):

Hafizie! Gdy nad grobem twym, trafem przemienie  
Zefir, co z włosów lubej zapachy wysączy,  
Z ziemi, którą polot jego przemienie rączy,  
Tysiąc się tulipanów nad tobą wywinie!<sup>105</sup>

Wiernikowski's translation was accompanied by information: "free translation from Persian, while Norwid's rendition was assessed by the orientalist

<sup>104</sup> HAFIZ, *Ode V*, [in:] *Kitāb-i Lālehzār, az Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ. Select Odes from the Persian poet Hafez...*, transl. by J. Nott, London 1787, p. 39, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=nepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=nepage&q&f=false) [accessed 20 August 2016].

Nott admired the extreme gallantry of this couplet, emphasising the man's great fascination with the tresses of his beloved (the very smell of the hair wafting over his grave could bring him back to life).

<sup>105</sup> HAFIZ, *W ogrodzie lica lubej*, transl. by J. Wiernikowski, "Biruta" part 2, Vilnius 1838, p. 48. [http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248\\_6557\\_P-I-650\\_biruta-1838\\_o.pdf](http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248_6557_P-I-650_biruta-1838_o.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016].

In contemporary translations (Polish and French), the quatrain reads as follows:

"Hafizie, gdy woń Jego loków – przewionie nad twym grobem,  
Powstań, by prochem się na drogę – owej Wonności rzucić".

HAFIZ, *Gazel XXVI*, [in:] IDEM, *Gazele*, transl. by T. Filip, p. 36.

„Gdy twoimi warkoczami zapachnie nad Hafeza grobem, z prochu jego ciała sto tysięcy tulipanów wyrośnie”.

HAFIZ, *Kiedy blask wina*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez10.html> [accessed 20 August 2016];

"Si la brise au parfum d'union à Toi passe par la tombe de Hâfez,  
Cent mille tulips lèveront de la poussière de son corps”.

HÂFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Ghazal 230*, [in:] IDEM, *Le Divân*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, p. 622.

Ananiasz Zajączkowski as very close to the Persian original<sup>106</sup>. Juliusz Wiktor Gomulicki, following Zajączkowski's opinion, recognised that Norwid translated the excerpt using some French translation (PWsz, III, 742)<sup>107</sup>, which seemed almost certain due to the poet's Parisian residence. The editors of the new edition of Norwid's *Poematy* also quoted Gomulicki's former statement<sup>108</sup>. However, the problem is that in the small group of French translations of Hafiz's lyrics available in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (until the end of the 1870s), there is no such work!<sup>109</sup> Where, then, could Norwid find this excerpt? Or maybe he did not use a French source at all, but a German or English one? This, however, seems to be contradicted by the discrepancies between Norwid's version of the text and the others mentioned above.

Finding the answers to these questions was not easy and took a lot of time. It turns out that the English translation of the examined quatrain was included in the popular work by William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, among the examples of irregular Persian syntax (by contrast, the lyric is not included in Jones's translations of whole ghazals):

If the gale shall waft the fragrance of thy locks over the tomb of Hafiz,  
A hundred thousand flowers will spring from the earth that hides his corse<sup>110</sup>.

The popular dissertation by Jones was translated into French by Garcin de Tassy<sup>111</sup> in 1845, and thus the quoted strophe was popularised in French. All signs

<sup>106</sup> A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI, *Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, p. 257.

<sup>107</sup> See J.W. GOMULICKI, *Metryki i objaśnienia*, PWsz III, 742.

<sup>108</sup> "'From the Persian poet' – this refers to the famous lyrical poet Hafiz (ca. 1320-1390), mentioned in the quotation; the quatrain used by Norwid as an epigraph, translated – as Ananiasz Zajączkowski (*Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, p. 257) believes – probably from French, is the final fragment of one of his 'ghazals' (a lyrically themed work with a specific rhyme aa, ba, ca)". See *Objaśnienia*, [in:] C. NORWID, *Poematy*, vol. I, compiled by S. Sawicki, A. Cedro, Lublin 2009, p. 570.

<sup>109</sup> However, it was included in the first French translation of *Divan* in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, made by Charles Henri de Fouchécour. HÂFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Ghazal 230*, [in:] IDEM, *Le Divân*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, p. 622. Fouchécour provided the ghazal with the following explanation: "Still in his tomb, recalling the unity with the Beloved (*l'Aimé*) will cause a thousand tulips [...] rise from his body [i.e. the poet, the lyrical subject – R.G.-S.], the tulips referred to in the first verse, the tulips whose colour is modelled after the colour of the cheeks of the one serving the wine (*l'Echanson*). The breeze evokes the smell of the Beloved; he makes the flowers jealous, makes their head bow when the smell of the Beloved awakens in the garden [...]" Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> W. JONES, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, [in:] IDEM, *The Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. II, London 1799, p. 218.

<sup>111</sup> See Z. SHAMS-YADDOLAH, *Le ressentiment de la poésie de Hâfez en France – réception et traduction*, p. 73.

seem to indicate that Norwid came across the poem by Hafiz while reading the works of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century British orientalist, when he studied the nuances of Persian grammar. In any case, the translations made by Jones and Norwid are very similar to each other.

*Assunta* is undoubtedly Norwid's most Hafiz-influenced work<sup>112</sup>. In this case, the love theme of the work made the Persian master a completely natural source of inspiration. However, reading Hafiz as a master of love lyricism, Norwid would not go beyond the European standard; the West considered *Divan* to be, first and foremost, the pinnacle of oriental love poem and this claim usually exhausted the range of – as Barbara Majewska<sup>113</sup> rightly pointed out – rather superficial modern interpretations of this Persian masterpiece.

In most cases, the reception of Shirazi ghazals was limited to what was foregrounded, obvious in them, what was in line with the convention. Their typical motifs and themes such as love, wine and gardens were exploited and imitated. In the minds of the readers there were sometimes only two attributes of this Eastern poetry: a rose and a nightingale, often placed on the covers of European editions of *Divan*. The elements that were noticed included the increased sensualism of ghazals, the Eastern nature dazzling with its richness of colours and smells, the author's fondness of wine (which sparked outrage among Orthodox Muslims), while the reception of the Sufi mysticism inscribed in these poems brimming with sensuality, developed much more reluctantly. Meanwhile, we can stumble upon it in Norwid's work:

Czymże byłby dla mnie Raj Twój cały,  
Nieustannych uradowań łożę,  
Gdzie wesela czarowne by brzmiały?  
– Ale Ciebie nie byłoby: Boże!  
(*Z perskiego poety*)

(DW III, 359)

[What would Your whole Paradise be for me,  
The bed of never ceasing pleasure,  
Where enchanted revels would resound freely?  
– If You would not be there: o Master!  
(*From a Persian poet*)]<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> See R. GADAMSKA-SERAFIN, *Ślady Hafiza w „Assuncie” Norwida*.

<sup>113</sup> See B. MAJEWSKA, *Z zainteresowania Romantyków polskich literaturą perską*.

<sup>114</sup> English translation by M. MIKOŚ, *Polish Romantic Literature. An Anthology*, Bloomington: Slavica Publishers Indiana University, 2002, p. 147.

The fragment taken “from the Persian poet” and selected by Norwid as the epigraph to his poem *Emil na Gozdawiu* poses considerable problems with its identification. Among several hundred poems by Hafiz, it is difficult to point with utter certainty to the one that became a source of inspiration for the Polish poet. Neither Zajączkowski nor Gomulicki found the exact location of the original. The latter only stated that the text of the epigraph is not a “faithful translation from Hafiz, but only a paraphrase of one of Hafiz’s «ghazals»” (PWsz III, 748)<sup>115</sup>.

It cannot be ruled out that Norwid’s paraphrase was based on a ghazal translated by Jones and placed in his *Treatise on Oriental Poetry as Ode V*:

En vain aux plaisirs tout convie,  
Les Danses, le Vin coloré,  
Les Roses, tout est préparé,  
Sans toi qu’imparfaite est la vie!  
Où te chercher, Object chéri!<sup>116</sup>

The contemporary French translation seems to be closer to Norwid’s version:

Le vin, le ménestrel, la rose, tout est prêt, mais,  
Sans le Compagnon, la douce vie ne le sera pas. Où est  
Le Compagnon?<sup>117</sup>

The whole ghazal *C’est à toi, Matineux Zéphire...* (in Fouchécour’s contemporary translation: *Ô brise de l’aube, où repose le Compagnon?*) is a question without an answer, a question about the great absence of the Beloved (both the man and God). It is also a poem about the cruelty of absence, about the fact that everything on earth is fragile and subject to destruction. In a world where everything is a question, people do not own meaning. The only knowledge available is encapsulated in the order of love. After a subtle and pictorial

<sup>115</sup> In 2009 the editors of *Poematy* by Norwid repeated this statement after Gomulicki: “From the Persian poet – this refers to the famous lyrical poet Hafiz (ca. 1320-1390); the text of the epigraph is not a faithful translation from Hafiz, but only a paraphrase of one of Hafiz’s ‘ghazals’ (PWsz III 748)”.

*Objaśnienia*, [in:] DW III, p. 578.

<sup>116</sup> W. JONES, *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*, [in:] IDEM, *The works of Sir William Jones*, vol. V, p. 495, <https://archive.org/details/worksofsirwillia05jone> [accessed 20 August 2016].

<sup>117</sup> HÂFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Ghazal 27*, [in:] IDEM, *Le Divân. Oeuvre lyrique d’un spirituel en Perse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, p. 179. Although this lyric seems to match the text of Norwid’s epigraph to *Emil na Gozdawiu*, due to the repetitiveness of the motifs in *Divan*, it is still necessary to carefully review all (several hundred!) ghazals by Hafiz.

confession that even every hair of a loving person is connected by an infinite number of matters (“*mille et mille choses à faire*”) with the Beloved, the quoted *beit* 7 there is a reflection on a comfortable life, passing in prosperity and happiness. Even if these conditions are fulfilled, if this life seems seemingly “easily digestible” and bearable, in reality it is marked by a lack: it has everything but what constitutes the essence. In a word: what is life without the Beloved (read: without God)?

It seems that 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe did not remember the *beit* of the *ghazal* to which Norwid (probably) drew his attention, highlighting it in his poem, but rather the last line that was taken out of context: “there’s no rose without a thorn” (“*où y a-t-il une rose sans épine?*”<sup>118</sup>). Few in the West considered the creator of *Divan* a deeply religious poet (he was rather regarded as a hedonist and libertarian, Goethe even called him a “Persian Voltaire”<sup>119</sup>!). Only few European translators and readers passed through the gates of religious mysteries in his texts. Even Jones did not write too much about Hafiz’s spirituality, unambiguously linking his name with the subject of love<sup>120</sup>. In addition, not everyone noticed the specific duality of the addressee of his lyrics; in *Divan* “Toi”, “l’Être”, “l’Aimé” is simultaneously a human being (sometimes female, sometimes male) and the Absolute<sup>121</sup>.

Norwid proceeded in his customary manner – he abandoned the path proposed by the mainstream reception of Eastern literature at that time and reached for the religious dimension of the Sufi heritage, making this aspect of Persian poetry a subject of attention and reflection. This fact testifies to Norwid’s belonging to a rather elite group of those 19<sup>th</sup>-century erudite persons who discovered other Hafiz – a deeply religious poet with a deeply rooted worldview, living in a spiritual and mystical environment. After all, even the moniker of the Persian artist (*Hafiz*) was an honorary title given to people who knew the *Quran*<sup>122</sup> by heart and

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> See R. LAFFONT, V. BOMPIANI, *Hafiz*, [in:] EIDEM, *Dictionnaire biographique des auteurs de tous les temps et tous les pays*, vol. I: A-K, Paris 1957, p. 617.

<sup>120</sup> See W. JONES, *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*.

<sup>121</sup> The Persian language is characterised by great semantic richness and multidimensionality: “One word can express a whole lot of meanings and nuances. However, the greatest charm of Persian poetry [...] is contained in its symbolism. Much of Persian poetry is written using a symbolic code”. D. and S. FIDELER, *Język perskiej poezji mistycznej*, [in:] *Alchemia miłości. Wybór myśli sufickich*, compiled by D. and S. Fidler, transl. by B. Gałkowski, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Barbelo 2012, pp. XIV-XVIII.

<sup>122</sup> See K. SKARZYŃSKA-BOCHEŃSKA, *Hafiz*, [in:] *Mały słownik kultury świata arabskiego*, ed. J. Bielawski, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna 1971, p. 183.

kept it there. In Persia he was called a “heavenly poet”, and the mystical dimension of his poems was the reason why the entire collection in the East was given the name of the “secret speech” – *Lisan el-Ghajn*. The word “God” (and its synonyms) is *explicitly* mentioned in ghazals almost 90 times<sup>123</sup>, but even regardless of the statistics, the reality of *sacrum* is the foundation of the entire collection. Some of the lyrics are entirely dedicated to Sufi initiation, for example, ghazal 478 (according to Fouchécour’s numbering<sup>124</sup>), which is a great record of Hafiz’s spiritual teaching<sup>125</sup>.

The inhabitants of the Orient, reciting the verses of the *Quran* since childhood, instantly understood that religion constitutes one of the most important topics in *Divan*, that ghazals repeatedly recall the text of the holy book of Islam and other Muslim religious texts (although, at the same time, they denounce hypocrisy and false piety). For the post-Enlightened Occident it was not as clear and obvious.

Already this first observation makes it possible to classify Norwid’s reception of Hafiz as unusual, testifying to his deep reading into the oriental text, to the penetration into its depths. Only another brilliant poet could read the great poet in this way.

Norwid came up with yet another idea, equally unusual in the context of his time – to support the religious content, in fact even the ideological discussion with atheism and a secular model of upbringing<sup>126</sup> with an epigraph taken from a poem by a Sufi, Muslim (and not Christian!) poet; to contrast the secularised European mentality with the deep, unshakeable religious sense of the Orient (and even to combine it with the Polish myth of the countryside – beyond history, creating an asylum for authentic and true life!). Of course, this was not Norwid’s first such move<sup>127</sup>. Let us recall that modern European authorities (Gibbon, Renan)

<sup>123</sup> In Fouchécour’s translation. See *Dieu*, [in:] *Index Thématique* to: Hâfiez de Chiraz, *Le Divân. Oeuvre lyrique d’un spirituel en Perse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, pp. 1199-1200.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1159-1160.

<sup>125</sup> It is a poem about a radical, spiritual transformation of personality under the influence of knowledge flowing not from science, but from the “register” of love. The discovery of the philosopher’s stone is the discovery of God’s love, the immersion in the ocean of God’s love. This love is the light that enlightens the human heart and soul. The lyric also contains a description of a mystical experience.

<sup>126</sup> See M. WOŹNIEWSKA-DZIAŁAK, *Poematy narracyjne*, p. 224f., <http://naukairozwoj.uksw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/dissertation%20doktorska1-23.02-pdf.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>127</sup> The first was the ode *Do Emira Abd el-Kadera w Damaszku* [*To Emir Abd el-Kader in Damascus*] (PWsz, I, 326), in which he honoured a Muslim who performed an evangelical act of mercy, saving thousands of innocent lives from cruel martyrdom (while European powers, formally Christian, remained totally indifferent). The worlds of the West and the East are also contrasted with

strengthened the perception of Islam as a “religion without miracles”, implementing the deistic ideal of a “natural religion”, proudly opposed to irrational and “reactionary” Christianity. Norwid remained completely indifferent to such “scientific” ideas. Showing the “morally ruined society”<sup>128</sup>, writing his fragmentary “epic of the secularised world, illustrating the descent of the sacred to the status of an anonymous reality”<sup>129</sup>, he reached for an example from the Islamic cultural area precisely for the purpose of polemically addressing post-Enlightened Rousseauism (the title of the poem *Emil na Gozdawiu* contains a clear allusion to the work by Rousseau *Emile, or On Education*).

However, Hafiz’s trail in Norwid’s writings does not end at this point. In *A Dorio ad Phrygium* (1872) – where the poet with great talent combined Doricism and Phrygianism, subtlety and crudeness as well as the epic and non-epic<sup>130</sup>, the name of the Persian master was mentioned in the context of the portrait of Róża – the niece of the owner of the town of Sieronice (where “nothing” is “serious”):

Córki nie ma – jeno siostrzenicę.  
 Tej ja postać i urok wiewnej postaci  
 Opiewałbym, gdybym był poetą –  
 Opiewałbym rymem Virgiliusa,  
 Danta rymem jej oczy – Hafiza zwrotką  
 Drżący jej włos na czole....  
 ...zwano ją Różą –  
 Iż trzeba było nazwać...  
 ... byłaż nazwana?

(DW III, 379)

[He doesn’t have a daughter – only a niece.  
 I would extol her ethereal figure and charm  
 If I were a poet –  
 I would extol her with Virgil’s rhyme,  
 Her eyes with Dante’s rhyme – with Hafiz’s strophe  
 Hair flickering on her forehead.....  
 ...she was called Rose –  
 Because she should bear a name....  
 ... was she really named?]

---

each other in the lyric poem *Stolica* from the *Vade-mecum* cycle [*Capital*] (PWsz, II, 38-39) and in the aphoristic parable *Modlitwa* [*Prayer*] written in 1882 (PWsz, VI, 645).

<sup>128</sup> M. WOŹNIEWSKA-DZIAŁAK, *Poematy narracyjne*, p. 226.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp. 227-230.

Hafiz was placed here next to Virgil and Dante, among the world's masters capable of rendering the most subtle feminine charms. And the feminine beauty was glorified using "Hafiz's strophe", for example:

Dwoje twych oczu zalotnych  
 rujnuje Etiopię i Chotan,  
 wielkie Chiny składają  
 daninę splotom twych włosów.

Białość twoich policzków  
 jest jak wysłannik jutrzeńki,  
 czerń twoich mrocznych warkoczy  
 ciemniejsza niż dno studni życia.

Słodsze są miodne twe usta  
 od Chizra wód nieśmiertelnych,  
 słodsze od trzciny egipskiej  
 są twoje wargi jak cukier<sup>131</sup>.

[Two of your flirtatious eyes  
 crushes Ethiopia and Hotan,  
 great China pays  
 tribute to the plait of your hair.

The whiteness of your cheeks  
 is like an envoy of the dawn,  
 the black of your dark braids  
 darker than the bottom of the well of life.

Your lips like honey are sweeter  
 than Chizra's immortal waters,  
 sweeter than Egyptian cane  
 are your lips like sugar.]

Wilgotny, krwi spragniony  
 jest rubin ust ukochanych.  
 Gdy widzę je, moją rzeczą  
 już tylko oddać im duszę.

Niech wstydzi się oczu tych czarnych  
 i rzęs tych długich każdy,

---

<sup>131</sup> HAFIZ, *Tyś nad wszystkie piękności*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Tys-over-all-bake.php> [accessed 15 July 2017].

kto widział, jak zagarniają  
serca, a przeczy mym słowom<sup>132</sup>.

[Moist, blood thirsty  
is the ruby of the beloved's lips.  
When I see them, my only thing  
is to give them my soul.

Ahamed by these black eyes  
and long eyelashes shall be anyone  
who has seen how they seize  
hearts, and yet they contradict my words.]

Preserving the stylistic continuity, in the further part of the poem Norwid distinguished himself with a series of poetic images displaying Hafiz's influence. Perhaps this fascination with the oriental poet inspired the lyric *Jak...* [*Just as ...*], written as early as in the 1860s and later incorporated into *A Dorio ad Phrygium*. In this lyric, words and actions are replaced by subtle gestures, glances, sublime sounds, fleeting fragrances, ethereal light, disintegrating flowers, whitened images and elliptical statements:

Jak gdy kto ciśnie w oczy człowiekowi  
Garścią fiołków i nic mu nie powie...

\*

Jak gdy akacją z wolna zakolysze,  
By woń, podobna jutrzennemu ranu,  
Z kwiaty białymi – na białe klawisze  
Otworzonego padła fortepianu...

\*

Jak gdy stojącej na ganku  
Daleki księżyc wpląta się we włosy,  
Na pałającym układając wianku  
Czoło – lub w srebrne ubiera je kłosy...

\*

---

<sup>132</sup> IDEM, *Wilgotny, krwi spragniony*, transl. by W. Duleba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Wilgotny-krwi-spragniony.php> [accessed 15 July 2017].

Jak z nią rozmowa, gdy nic nieznacząca,  
 Bywa podobną do jaskółek lotu,  
 Który ma cel swój, acz o wszystko trąca,  
 Przyjście letniego prorokując grzmotu,  
 Nim błyskawica uprzedziła tętno –  
 Tak!...

(DW III, 379-380)

[Just as one throws a bunch of violets  
 Into another's eyes without a word....

\*

Just as one slowly sways an acacia,  
 So its aroma falls like an early dawn,  
 With its white bloom, onto the white keys  
 Of an opened piano....

\*

Just as the distant moon weaves  
 Through her hair, as she stands on the porch,  
 Arranging into its glowing wreath  
 Her brow – or adorning it with silver sheaf....

\*

Just as a talk with her – devoid of meaning,  
 Is like the swallows' flight,  
 Which has an aim, but collides into all,  
 Foretells the arrival of the thunder,  
 Before the lightning forestalls its beat –  
 So...]<sup>133</sup>

Woven of the “satin of flowers”, moonlight, gusts of wind and swallow's anxiety, the poem approaches the original sensual and mystical Persian poetry, in which flowers are a fixed element, in particular the rose – the most famous (to this day) flower of Shiraz (roses were even planted around the mausoleum of Hafiz in this city). The name of the heroine of *A Dorio*... (Róża [Rose]) seems not to be accidental; although it belongs to the Polish onomastic tradition and landed culture, it might also have been “inspired” by the strophes of the Persian *Divan*.

<sup>133</sup> English translation by D. BORCHARD in collaboration with A. BRAJERSKA-MAZUR, [in:] C. NORWID, *Poems*, New York: Archipelago Books, 2011, p. 49.

Therefore, the world of Norwid's "Serionice" seems to be spiritually indolent, barren, immersed in stillness that does not bring anything good. The "faded" figures of its non-heroic heroes are very characteristic<sup>134</sup>. However, this axiological emptiness "based on privilege and a distorted ethos"<sup>135</sup> is torn apart by the flash of Norwid's great talent, showing through the portrait of Róża, painted with the most sensitive and subtle strokes – like in Hafiz's *Divan*.

The most important common motif of the poem *Jak...* and the Persian poetry is the image of a captivating woman's glance (in Norwid's work "violet"), which is very characteristic (for social and cultural reasons) of Eastern literature, and it has already been mentioned above twice. As Gérard de Nerval, the author of *Voyage to the Orient* and the Romantic expert on the Orient, wrote: "The eyes of women are more eloquent here than in any other country – this is the only thing that can be seen"<sup>136</sup>. In Hafiz's ghazals, the woman's glance has endless fascinating variants:

Niech spłynie sto błogosławieństw na twoje czarne oczy,  
co błogosławionym czarem uwodzą zakochanych.  
Jakże opisać zdołam te oczy twoje, w których  
ukrywa się łuk wymierzony do wytoczenia krwi mojej?<sup>137</sup>

[Let a hundred blessings fall on your black eyes  
which seduce lovers with the blessed spell.  
How can I describe those eyes of yours, in which  
there hides a bow aimed at my heart?]

Cudowne jest upojenie  
oczami najczulszej kochanki,  
dlatego zdałem się cały  
na łaskę rozkosznych upojeń<sup>138</sup>.

[Marvellous is the intoxication  
with the eyes of the most sensitive lover,  
that's why I surrendered my whole  
to the mercy of delightful ecstasy.]

<sup>134</sup> See M. WOŹNIEWSKA-DZIAŁAK, *Poematy narracyjne*, p. 230.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>136</sup> G. de NERVAL, *Podróż na Wschód*, transl. by J. Dmochowska, Warszawa 1967, p. 333.

<sup>137</sup> HAFIZ, *Gazal I*, <http://peperonity.com/sites/hafez/14501384.jsessionid=4E20F7332E7B8DB2DAE0562AB9DE2B56.cdb04> [accessed 15 July 2017].

<sup>138</sup> IDEM, *Saki, płomieniem wina*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <http://milosc.info/wiersze/Hafiz/Saki-plomieniem-wina.php> [accessed 15 July 2017].

W niewolę twych oczu pijanych  
wpadają koronowani,  
wino twoich rubinów  
i najtrzeźwiejszych powali. [...]

Spod rozburzonych włosów  
spójrzysz, kiedy przechodzisz,  
jaki niepokój się budzi  
z lewej i prawej twojej strony.

Przejdź po fiołkowej grzędzie,  
jak wiatr poranny, i zobacz,  
jakie przemoc twych loków  
nieszczęścia wokół szerzy.

*(W niewolę twych oczu palących, PmH, 112)*

[The crowned fall into the captivity  
of your drunken eyes,  
the wine of your rubies  
will strike down the most sober. [...]

Look from under your ruffled hair  
when you pass,  
what kind of anxiety you arouse  
on your left and right.

Walk along the violet bed,  
like the morning wind, and see,  
what kind of disaster causes  
the power of your tresses.]

In the Persian poetry, the woman's eyebrows are often compared to a bow and the eyelashes are compared to arrows, while the glance is a shot (from this bow), which pierces the man's heart:

Serce, które strzały twoich rzęs raniły do krwi,  
jeszcze raz zapragnęło zobaczyć łuk twoich brwi. [...]  
Świat nie wiedział o zamęcie, jaki stwarza Miłość,  
a to twoje zalotne spojrzenie ten zamęt wzbudziło<sup>139</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> IDEM, *Wczorajszej nocy mówiliśmy*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literatura.perska.com/hafez/hafez11.html> [accessed 15 July 2017].

[The heart that shed blood, shot by the arrows of your eyelashes,  
once again felt the desire to see the bow of your eyebrows. [...] ]  
The world did not know about the havoc wreaked by Love,  
and it was your flirtatious glance that caused this havoc.]

Jeśli mieczem mnie tniesz, nie będę bronił się  
i wdzięczny będę ci, gdy strzałą trafisz mnie.  
Z łuku swoich brwi wystrzel strzałę we mnie,  
abym martwy przed tobą osunął się na ziemię<sup>140</sup>.

[If you cut me with a sword, I will not defend myself  
and I will be grateful to you when you hit me with an arrow.  
Shoot an arrow at me from the bow of your eyebrows,  
so that in front of you I may fall dead to the ground.]

An echo of Norwid's late reflections on the texts of the Shirazi lyricist can still be found in a letter to Seweryna Duchńska from 1879, in which the poet reported to the addressee on his recent visit to the Parisian Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation (located near St Casimir's poorhouse), during which he visited his favourite African gazelles "from the coast of Senegal", known in Latin as *Gazella dama permista*. Enchanted with the extraordinary charm of the animal, its subtlety, slenderness and finesse, he wrote down with a hint of delicate humour:

[...] poszedłem ponieść ciastka Damie, którą czasem nawiedzam (Linneusz zwie ją – „Dama”). Śliczniejszej osoby zaiste dawno nie widziałem! Jest ona znad brzegów Senegalu – z profilów warg jej widać, że pijała wodę ze zdrojów, które mają złota czystego blachy na dnie. Stąpa jak zaczarowana księżna, lecz że murawę ma równą i czystą jak dywan, szuka miejsca po deszczu błotnego i umyślnie tam stawia i głębi nóżki swoje ulotne jak trzcina... Kaprys ten pełniąc poogląda oczyma, które doprawdy Hafiz jeden opisać zdołałby – takie pełne głębokiego pokoju a rozjaśnione iskrą wewnętrzną spojrzenie. Tylko że iskrą nieznanego nam ognia i światła, jak gdyby nie z naszego tu słonecznego systematu. W toku szyi i profilach-czoła pewien rodzaju nieumyślnej pogardy dla otaczającej zewnętrzności... Dziwnie piękna postać (PWsz X, 131).

[[...] I went to bring cakes to the Lady, whom I sometimes visit (Linnaeus calls her "Dama"). I haven't seen a more beautiful person for a long time! She comes from the coasts of Senegal – from the profile of her lips it can be seen that she was drinking water from the springs that have pure gold sheets at the bottom. She walks like an enchanted duchess, but since the grass is as even and clean as a carpet, she is searching for a place

---

<sup>140</sup> IDEM, *Jeśli mieczem mnie tniesz*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez37.html> [accessed 15 July 2017].

after the mud rain and is deliberately placing there her ephemeral feet like reeds... While performing this caprice, she is looking up with her eyes, a glance which only Hafiz could describe – so deeply peaceful and yet lightened with an inner spark. But the spark is of an unknown fire and light, as if not from our own solar system. In the neck and in the profile of the forehead there is some kind of unintentional contempt for the surrounding exterior... [A strangely beautiful creature].

This humorous concept, intended to suggest to the addressee that her correspondent was absent from his Parisian apartment due to a visit to a beautiful lady, shows Norwid's cordial intimacy with the poetry of Hafiz, a great sense of its climate and specificity:

Hej, wietrze-zefirze, Powiedz  
Owej wysmukłej gazeli<sup>141</sup>

[Hey, wind-Zephyr, Tell  
This slim gazelle]

Na krok twój drobny, chód ten na kształt  
stąpań przepióreczki,  
Na grę zalotną oczu sarny  
czy gazeli trwożnej!<sup>142</sup>

[On your tiny step, the walking manner similar to  
Steps made by the quail,  
On the flirtatious game of the roe deer's eyes  
or the tremulous gazelle!]

The innate dexterity, refinement and delicacy made the gazelle a mystical symbol of beauty in the Sufi treatises:

O Boże, kim jest ta dusza, która mną zawładnęła?  
Jest to piękno w swojej dziewiczej formie.  
O piękna i dostojna gazelo, gasisz pragnienie w źródle upojenia!<sup>143</sup>

[O God, who is this soul that has taken over me?

<sup>141</sup> IDEM, *Gazel XVI*, [in:] IDEM, *Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, transl. by A. Zajączkowski, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> IDEM, *Gazel XXVI*, [in:] IDEM, *Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, transl. by A. Zajączkowski, op. cit., p. 154.

<sup>143</sup> IBN 'ARABI, *Traktat o miłości*, transl. by J. Wronecka, Warszawa 2010, p. 15.

It is the beauty in its pristine form.  
O beautiful and dignified gazelle, you quench thirst in the spring of ecstasy!]

Also in Eastern love poetry, the image of this animal was a constant element of comparisons and metaphors:

Images taken from nature are the most important ornament of poetry. [...] In the East there are more plants and animals, which in our climate can only be seen in gardens of curiosities and in royal collections, such as [...] antelopes, whose large and shiny eyes often become an element of comparisons and allusions made by Asian poets<sup>144</sup>.

In a letter to Duchińska, Norwid very skilfully imitates Hafiz's technique of description, focusing on individual parts of the body of a sublime, filigree "figure" from the zoo – the gleam of her delicate lips, legs "fleeting like reeds", the flash of light in the moist eye, the dignity of a subtle step. The statement "only Hafiz could describe her" also brings out the essence of Norwid's reception of *Divan*: according to the Polish poet, Hafiz's domain is sophistication and fragility, grace and fire, gentleness and sensuality, sensual hypersensitivity and beauty in the highest form. Also in the indicated works by Norwid, sensuality and sublimation were shifted towards their ultimate limits, towards the zenith.

In the light of the above considerations, the Persian classic appears surprisingly close to Norwid as a poet. Their works are connected by a thread of similar sensual sensitivity. It is even more obvious that they are linked by the common focus on transcendence. Hafiz's blue plafond bears the "verses of Beauty", talking about the permanence and perpetuality of what is rooted in the sphere of *constance*:

Ton beau visage nous a révélé un verset de la Bonté,  
Aussi, en notre exégèse il n'y a que bonté et beauté<sup>145</sup>.

Similar statements can be found in Norwid's *Promethidion* and in the later, testamentary confession from the poem *Do Bronisława Z.* [*To Bronisław Z.*]:

Z rzeczy świata tego zostaną tylko dwie,  
Dwie tylko: poezja i dobroć... i więcej nic...  
(PWsz II, 238)

---

<sup>144</sup> W. JONES, *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*, p. 238.

<sup>145</sup> HĀFEZ, *Ghazal 10*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécourt, p. 116. Typically of Hafiz's works, the face referred to in the couplet is both the face of the beloved and the face of the Creator.

[Of the things of this world only two will remain,  
Two only: poetry and kindness.... and nothing else....]<sup>146</sup>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alchemia miłości. Wybór myśli sufickich*, compiled by D. and S. Fideler, transl. by B. Gałkowski, Warszawa 2012, pp. XIV-XVIII.
- AL-MURABIT S.A., *Was Goethe a Muslim?*, [http://www.themodernreligion.com/convert/convert\\_goethe.htm](http://www.themodernreligion.com/convert/convert_goethe.htm) [accessed 15 July 2017].
- ARBERRY A.J. *Hafiz*, [in:] IDEM, *Classical Persian Literature*, London 1958, pp. 329-335.
- BAILDAM J.D., *Paradisal Love: Johann Gottfried Herder and the Song of Songs*, Sheffield 1999.
- BIRKENBICHL M., *Die orientalischen Elemente in der Poesie Heinrich Heines'*, [in:] *Analecta Germanica für Hermann Paul*, Amberg 1906, pp. 261-322.
- BORCHARD D. in collaboration with A. BRAJERSKA-MAZUR, [in:] C. NORWID, *Poems*, New York: Archipelago Books, 2011.
- BROMS H., *Two Studies at the Relations of Hāfiz and the West*, "Studia Orientalia" 39(1968), [Helsinki], pp. 34-105.
- BÜRCEL J. Ch., *Goethe und Hafis*, [in:] *Drei Hafis Studien*, Bern 1975, pp. 5-42.
- CHEZY A.L., *Ode d'Hafiz*, [in:] *Medjnoun et Leila*, Paris 1807, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85f.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- CHODŹKO A., *Poezje*, St. Petersburg 1829, <https://polona.pl/item/11039793/200/> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- CHODŹKO A., *Popular Poetry of Persia. Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia, orally collected and translated with philological and historical notes*, London 1842.
- CZERNIAWSKI A., [in:] C. NORWID, *Selected Poems*, London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2004.
- Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis*, vols. I-III, transl. by V. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, Wien 1858-1864.
- Der Diwan des Schems-eddin Muhammed Hafis aus Schiras*, transl. by G.H.F. Nesselmann, Berlin 1865.
- Der Sänger von Schiras. Hafisische Lieder*, transl. by F. M. von Bodenstedt, Berlin 1877.
- Der Stinger von Schiras, Hafisische Lieder*, Berlin 1880.
- Die Lieder des Hafis, persisch, mit dem Commentare des Sudi Bosnevi, herausgegeben von Hermann Brockhaus*, vols. I-III, published by F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1854-1860, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nnc1.cu58919295;view=1up;seq=963> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- Dywan perski, Antologia arcydzieł dawnej poezji perskiej*, compiled by A. Lange, Sandomierz 2010.
- EINBODEN J., *Islam and Romanticism: Muslim Currents from Goethe to Emerson*, London 2014, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=FlrIBAAAQBAJ&pg=PT207&lpg=PT207&dq=H.+Javadi,+Persian+Literary+Influence+on+English+Literature:+With+Special+Refe>

<sup>146</sup> English translation by A. CZERNIAWSKI, [in:] C. NORWID, *Selected Poems*, London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2004, p. 92.

- rence+to+the+nineteenth+Century&source=bl&ots=uo\_jZySQeJ&sig=iIikIooxNBN8iFpQu7B5NhUoKJk&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiT6PCKsqnLAhWkJJoKHSsID2cQ6AEILDAD#v=onepage&q=H.%20Javadi%2C%20Persian%20Literary%20Influence%20on%20English%20Literature%3A%20With%20Special%20Reference%20to%20the%20Nineteenth%20Century&f=false [accessed 20 August 2016].
- EMERSON R.W., *Essay on Persian Poetry*, <http://www.bartleby.com/90/0808.html> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- Encyclopaedia iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- FALAKI M., *Goethe und Hafis: Verstehen und Missverstehen in der Wechselbeziehung deutscher und persischer Kultur*, Berlin 2013.
- FITZGERALD E.E., *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*, eds. A.M. Terhune and A.B. Terhune, 4 vols., Princeton 1980.
- FOMESHI B.M., KHOJASTEHPOUR, A., *A Poet Builds a Nation: Hafez as a Catalyst in Emerson's Process of Developing American Literature*, "Kata" 2014, vol. 16, no. 2, Petra Christian University, <http://puslit2.petra.ac.id/ejournal/index.php/ing/article/view/19378> [accessed 20 August 2016].
- GADAMSKA-SERAFIN R., *Norwid a świat arabsko-muzułmański – inspiracje i źródła*, [in:] *Kulturowy wymiar twórczości Norwida*, eds. J.C. Moryc, R. Zajączkowski, Lublin 2016, pp. 39-98.
- GADAMSKA-SERAFIN R., *Norwid o genezie islamu i historii relacji chrześcijańsko-muzułmańskich*, eds. M. Nalepa, G. Trościński, Rzeszów 2016, pp. 407-441.
- GADAMSKA-SERAFIN R., *Orient Norwida. Wybrane arabica/islamica literackie*, [in:] *Georomanizm. Literatura-miejsce-środowisko*, eds. E. Dąbrowicz, M. Lul, K. Sawicka-Mierzyńska, D. Zawadzka, Białystok 2015, pp. 306-336.
- GADAMSKA-SERAFIN R., *Ślady Hafiza w "Assuncie" Norwida*, [in:] *Między Wschodem a Zachodem. W poszukiwaniu źródeł i inspiracji*, eds. A. Bednarczyk, M. Kubarek, M. Szatkowski, Toruń 2016, pp. 325-344.
- Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, transl. by A. Zajączkowski, Warszawa 1957.
- GINTER-FROLOW M., *From armchair literates to art historians: the Polish collections of Persian manuscripts*, [in:] *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, Cambridge 2013, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=X9YxBwAAQBAJ&pg=PA52&lpg=PA52&dq=Manuscript+Of+A+Divan+Of+Hafiz+in+Poland&source=bl&ots=Hvxw1zDVOQ&sig=FRcwXU5LVvkPu3Kfbpt11xhEyGg&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiPh5CH1aLLAhWGYJoKHVIGCdcQ6AEIMzAC#v=onepage&q=Manuscript%20Of%20A%20Divan%20Of%20Hafiz%20in%20Poland&f=false> [accessed 20 August 2016].
- HÂFEZ DE CHIRAZ, *Le Divân, Le Divân. Oeuvre lyrique d'un spirituel en Perse au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, transl. by Ch.-H. de Fouchécour, Paris 2006.
- HAFIZ Z SZIRAZU, *Wiersze*, transl. by A. Kwiatkowski, <http://www.literaturaperska.com/hafez/hafez10.html> [accessed 15 July 2016].
- Hafis: eine Sammlung persischer Gedichte*, Hamburg 1846.
- HAFIZ, *Gazele*, transl. by T. Filip, Kraków 1991.
- HAFIZ OF SHIRAZ, *Selections from his Poems, translated from Persian*, transl. by H. Bicknell, London 1875.
- HAFIZ, *Wiersze*, transl. by J. Krzyżowski, <http://literatura.wywrota.pl/hafiz/Hafiz> [accessed 20 August 2016].

- HAFIZ, *Wiersze miłosne*, transl. by W. Dulęba, <https://milosc.info/hafiz/> [accessed 20 August 2016].
- HAYATI ASHTIANI K., *Les relations littéraires entre la France et la Perse de 1826 à 1897*, Lyon 2004.
- HERBIN A. F.-J., *Notice sur Khaujeh Hhafiz Al-Chyrazy*, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=Fqbw00PkBGwC&pg=PA520&lpg=PA520&dq=Notice+sur+Hafiz&source=bl&ots=vIri6ktJ01&sig=gMdIgN7znFNkE1gwVWK3I-8A9fw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiguOLm\\_afLAhWCYZoKHQJ7BgYQ6AEIQzAI#v=onepage&q=Notice%20sur%20Hafiz&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=Fqbw00PkBGwC&pg=PA520&lpg=PA520&dq=Notice+sur+Hafiz&source=bl&ots=vIri6ktJ01&sig=gMdIgN7znFNkE1gwVWK3I-8A9fw&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiguOLm_afLAhWCYZoKHQJ7BgYQ6AEIQzAI#v=onepage&q=Notice%20sur%20Hafiz&f=false) [accessed 15 July 2017].
- HINDLEY J.H., *Persian Lyrics or Scattered Poems from The Diwan-i-Hafiz, with paraphrases in verse and prose, a catalogue of the gazels as arranged in a manuscript of the works of Hafiz in the Chetham Library at Manchester; and other illustrations*, London 1800, <https://archive.org/details/persianlyricsors00hafi> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- IBN 'ARABI, *Traktat o miłości*, transl. by J. Wronecka, Warszawa 2010.
- JAVADI H., *Persian Literary Influence on English Literature: With Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century*, Mazda Publishers, California 2005.
- JONES W., *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, Oxford 1771.
- JONES W., *Histoire de Nader Chah, connusous le nom de Thahmas Kuli Khan, empereur de Perse, Traduited'un manuscript persan, par ordre de sa majesté, Le Roi de Dannemark, avec des notes chronologiques, historiques, géographiques et un Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*, vol. II, London 1770.
- JONES W., *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages. To which are added two essays*, Oxford 1772.
- JONES W., *The Persian Song*, London 1771.
- JONES W., *Traité sur la poésie orientale par Mr Jones, member du college de l'Université a Oxford*, Londre 1770.
- KRASICKI I., *Hafiz*, [in:] IDEM, *Zbiór potrzebniejszych wiadomości, porządkiem alfabetu ułożonych*, vol. I, Warszawa–Lwów 1781, p. 346, <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadat?id=267389&from=publication&showContent=true> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- KRASNOWOLSKA A., *Aleksander Chodźko (1804-1891) and His 'Oriental' Poems*, "Folia Orientalia" 39(2003), pp. 71-81.
- KRASNOWOLSKA A., *Iranian Studies in Poland*, "Iranian Studies" 1987, vol. 20/2-4, pp. 179-221.
- Liederblüten des Hafis*, Hamburg 1846.
- Littérature persane. Poésies d'Hâfiz*, transl. by J.B. Grangeret de Lagrange, "Mercure Étranger" no. 7, Langues orientales, vol. II, Paris 1813, pp. 135-141, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85d.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- MAJEWSKA B., *Gazele Hafiza w nieopublikowanym przekładzie Wiernikowskiego*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1960, vol. 33, pp. 39-68.
- MAJEWSKA B., *Z zainteresowań romantyków polskich literaturą perską*, [in:] *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. J. Reychman, Warszawa 1966, pp. 122-124.
- MIKOŚ M., *Polish Romantic Literature. An Anthology*, Bloomington: Slavica Publishers Indiana University, 2002.
- MÜNNICH W.G., *De poesia Persica*, "Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim połączonego" 1825, vol. 10, pp. 35-84 (Polish translation: *O poezji perskiej: Ro-*

- zprawa Doktora Wilhelma Münnicha, transl. from Latin by A. Groza, "Dziennik Wileński" 1829, vol. 8, pp. 3-32).
- NICHOLSON R.A., *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/isl/moi/moi.htm> [accessed 14 January 2017].
- NILCHIAN E., *Sufi – Romantic Self Loss: The Study of the Influence of Persian Sufism on English Romantic Poetry*, University of Leicester 2011, [https://lra.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/9909/1/Nilchian\\_PhD%20Thesis\\_2011.pdf](https://lra.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/9909/1/Nilchian_PhD%20Thesis_2011.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016].
- NORWID C., *Pisma wszystkie*, vols. I-XI, compiled by J.W. Gomulicki, Warszawa 1971.
- NORWID C., *Poematy*, vol. I, compiled by S. Sawicki, A. Cedro, Lublin 2009.
- NOTT J., *Select Odes from the Persian Poet Hafez, translated into English verse with notes critical and explanatory by John Nott*, London 1787, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=twleAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 July 2017].
- PERRAUDIN M., *Heinrich Heine: Poetry in Context: a Study of "Buch der Lieder"*, Berg 1989. *Persian lyrics, or Scattered poems, from the Diwan-i-Hafiz, with paraphrases in verse and prose, a catalogue of the gazels as arranged in manuscript of the works of Hafiz, in the Chetham library at Manchester*, London 1800.
- Pieśni miłosne Hafiza*, selected and transl. by W. Dulęba, Kraków 1973.
- PLATEN A. von, *Nach bildungenaus dem Diwan des Hafis*, [in:] IDEM, *Gesammelte Werke in fünf Bänden*, Stuttgart–Tübingen 1853, vol. II, pp. 334-355.
- Quelques odes de Hafiz traduites pour la première fois en français par A. L.-M. Nicolas*, Paris 1898, <http://cdn.notesdumontroyal.com/document/85b.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- RADJAE A., *Das profan-mystische Ghasel des Hafis in Rückerts Übersetzungen und in Goethes "Divan"*, Würzburg 1998.
- REVICZKY K., *Specimen poeseos Persicae: sive Muhammedis Schems-eddini notioris agnomine Haphyzi Ghazelae, sive odae sexdecim ex initio Divani depromptae: nunc primum latiniate donatae, cum metaphrasi ligata & soluta, paraphrasi item ac notis*, Vienna 1771.
- RICHARDSON J., *A Specimen of Persian Poetry; or Odes of Hafez: with an English Translation and Paraphrase. Chiefly from the Specimen Poeseos Persicae os Baron Revizky, envoy from the Emperor of Germany to the Court of Poland. With storical and Grammatical Illustrations, and a Complete Analysis, for the Assistance of those who wish to study the Persian language*, London 1774, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Richardson\\_%28orientalist%29](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Richardson_%28orientalist%29) [accessed 20 August 2016].
- REYCHMAN J., *Aleksander Chodźko, wielki orientalista polski (1804-1891)*, "Problemy" 1956, vol. 5, pp. 353-355.
- ROBINSON S., *A Century of the Ghazels, or a Hundred Odes, Selected and Translated from the Diwan of Hafiz*, London 1875.
- SCHEMSED-DIN HAFIS M., *Der Diwan*, vols. I-II, transl. by J. von Hammer-Purgstall, Verlag J.G. Cotta, Stuttgart–Tübingen 1812-1813.
- SERVAN DE SUGNY E., *Étude orientale, ou trois odes de Hafiz et une élégie de Saadi, poètes persans, traduites en vers français... suivies de notes et éclaircissement*, Genève 1852, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=nhVnyk1KzSsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=nhVnyk1KzSsC&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 July 2017].
- SĘKOWSKI J., *Literatura Wschodnia: Diwani Chodźa Hafyz Szirazi: Zbiór poezji Chodźy Hafyza z Szyrazu, sławnego rymotwórcy perskiego*, "Dziennik Wileński" 1820, vol. 1/1, pp. 257-272.

- SĘKOWSKI J., *Niektóre szczegóły o dzisiejszym stanie i zasadach wewnętrznego sprawowania potężnego państwa Iranu*, "Dziennik Wileński" 1820, vol. 2, pp. 26-35.
- SHAH I., *Droga sufich*, transl. by T. Biedroń, Poznań 2009.
- SHAMEL S., *Goethe and Hafiz: poetry and history in the "West-östlicher Divan"*, Oxford 2013. London 1994.
- SHAMS-YADDOLAH Z., *Le retentissement de la poésie de Hâfêz en France – réception et traduction*, Uppsala 2002, pp. 45-55 [a list of French translations of Hafiz's works from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries].
- SHAMS-YADDOLAH Z., *L'imagination poétique dans l'oeuvre lyrique de Hâfêz*, thèse de doctorat, STRASBOURG 1980.
- SHARAFUDDIN M., *Islam and romantic orientalism: literary encounters with the Orient*, Tauris, SKARŻYŃSKA-BOCHEŃSKA K., *Hafiz*, [in:] *Mały słownik kultury świata arabskiego*, ed. J. Bielawski, Warszawa 1971, p. 183.
- SHARAFUDDIN M.A., *Islam and Romanticism: A Study of Orientalism in English Verse Narrative, 1798-1817*, University of York 1988.
- Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki*, ed. S. Strelcyn, Warszawa: PWN, 1957.
- SZUJSKI J., *Rys dziejów piśmiennictwa świata niechrześcijańskiego: Chiny i rasy niekaukazkie, Indye, Persya, Babilon, Assyrya, Egipt, Fenicya, Hebreja, Hellada, Rzym, Keltowie, Germanie, Słowianie, Arabowie i Turcy, Żydzi w rozproszeniu*, Kraków 1867. *The Czartoryski Family and the Beginning of Polish Persian Art Connoisseurship*, [in:] *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*, eds. Y. Kadoi, I. Szántó, Cambridge 2013, p. 56, <https://books.google.pl/books?id=X9YxBwAAQBAJ&pg=PA52&lpg=PA52&dq=Manuscript+Of+A+Divan+Of+Hafiz+in+Poland&source=bl&ots=Hvxw1zDVOQ&sig=FRcwXU5LVvkPu3Kfbpt11xhEyGg&hl=pl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiPh5CH1aLLAhWGYJoKHVIGCdcQ6AEIMzAC#v=onepage&q=Manuscript%20Of%20Divan%20Of%20Hafiz%20in%20Poland&f=false> [accessed 15 July 2017].
- The Flowers of Persian Literature: Containing Extracts from the Most Celebrated Authors, in Prose and Verse; with a Translation into English: Being Intended as a Companion to Sir William Jones's Persian Grammar, to which is Prefixed an Essay on the Language and Literature of Persia*, London 1805, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=rvZeAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=rvZeAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=pl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false) [accessed 15 August 2016].
- THÖLCK F.A.G., *Ssufismus sive Theosophia Persarum pantheistica*, Berlin 1821.
- TORMA K., *European translations of Hâfêz from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, Budapest 2013, <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/lit/tormakatalin/thesis.pdf> [accessed 20 August 2016].
- TROJANOWICZOWA Z., LIJEWSKA E., *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Cypriana Norwida*, vol. II: 1861-1883, Poznań 2007.
- TUROWSKA-BAROWA I., *Zapomniany orientalista polski*, Kraków 1937.
- UBICINI J.-H.-A., *Lettres sur la Turquie, ou Tableau statistique, religieux, politique, administratif, militaire, commercial, etc., de l'Empire ottoman, depuis le khatti-cherif de Gulkanè (1839)*, accompagné de pièces justificatives, 2 vols., 2<sup>ème</sup> édit., Paris 1853.
- WIERNIKOWSKI J.N., *Gazele perskiego poety Hafiza* (free translation from Persian), "BIRUTA", PART 2, Wilno 1838, pp. 41-49, [http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248\\_6557\\_P-I-650\\_biruta-1838\\_o.pdf](http://rcin.org.pl/Content/1090/WA248_6557_P-I-650_biruta-1838_o.pdf) [accessed 20 August 2016].

WOŹNIEWSKA-DZIAŁAK M., *Poematy narracyjne Cypriana Norwida: konteksty literacko-kulturalne, estetyka, myśl*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka 2014, p. 175, <http://naukairozwoj.uksw.edu.pl/sites/default/files/rozprawa%20doktorska1-23.02-pdf.pdf> [accessed 15 July 2017].

YOHANNAN J.D., *Emerson's Translations of Persian Poetry from German Sources*, "American Literature" 1943, vol. 14/4, pp. 407-420.

YOHANNAN J.D., *The Influence of Persian Poetry upon Emerson's Work*, "American Literature" 1943, vol. 15/1, pp. 25-41.

ZAJĄCZKOWSKI A., *Hafiz w Europie*, [in:] *Gazele wybrane Hafiza*, transl. by A. Zajączkowski, Warszawa 1957, pp. 72-93.

A website with hyperlinks to French translations of poetry by Hafiz (18<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century): <http://www.notesdumontroyal.com/note/85> [accessed 15 July 2017].

## NORWIDA DROGA DO HAFIZA

### S t r e s z c z e n i e

W twórczości Norwida odnaleźć można dalekie echa koncepcji sufickich. Jedną z nici wiążących tego polskiego poetę z nurtem muzułmańskiego mistycyzmu jest manifestująca się w *Pismach wszystkich* fascynacja *Dywanem* Hafiza (drugą – osobą Abd el-Kadera). Perski poeta-mystyk jest wspomniany w dziełach polskiego autora pięć razy (dwa razy w listach oraz trzy razy w poematach: *Assunta*, *Emil na Gozdawiu* oraz *A Dorio ad Phrygium*).

Jest dość wątpliwe, by w okresie przedemigracyjnym (warszawskim) Norwid zapoznał się z filareckimi przekładami gazelów Hafiza (Sękowski, Wiernikowski, Chodźko). Bramy do świata Hafizowskiego otworzyły przed nim raczej dopiero pełne niemieckie tłumaczenia *Dywanu* (Purgstall i inni) oraz liczne nawiązania tematyczne w utworach niemieckich romantyków (Goethe, Heine). Okazją do zetknięcia z nimi był pobyt Norwida w Berlinie w roku 1846 i kwerendy w tamtejszej Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej. Niewykluczone, że rolę bodźca odegrała też amerykańska (i późniejsza) lektura dzieł Emersona. Świat liryki Hafizowskiej otwierały przed autorem *Assunty* także przekłady francuskie, choć tym przypaść musiała raczej rola drugorzędna, gdyż w wieku XIX były one stosunkowo nieliczne (przełożono zaledwie 32 utwory do śmierci Norwida).

Lata emigracji paryskiej dostarczyły wielu nowych okazji, by pogłębić wiedzę o literaturze i kulturze Persji. Sprzyjał temu nie tylko sam pobyt w Paryżu, ale i obecność w gronie polskich emigrantów, wybitnych iranologów, z którymi Norwid się stykał: Aleksandra Chodźki i Wojciecha Biberstein-Kazimirskiego (ten pracował z kuzynem Norwida – Michałem Kleczkowskim we francuskim MSZ).

Apogeum fascynacji Norwida Hafizem przypadło na lata 70., choć wiele poszlak zdaje się wskazywać na Hafizowski patronat już nad *Promethidionem*. Suficka „alchemia miłości”, przenikająca strofy *Dywanu* Hafiza, znalazła odbłask przede wszystkim w *Assuncie*. Motto do tego poematu zaczerpnął Norwid zapewne z francuskiego przekładu *A Grammar of the Persian Language* Williama Jonesa (tłum. Garciana de Tassy z 1845 r.), w której dwuwierszów znalazł się pośród przykładów perskiej składni (gazel, z którego pochodzi ów dystych, nie był jeszcze wówczas w całości przetłumaczony na francuski). Z kolei motto do *Emila na*

*Gozdawiu* jest prawdopodobnie parafrazą gazelu przełożonego na język francuski przez tegoż Jonesa i zamieszczonego w jego *Traktacie o poezji orientalnej* jako *Oda V*. Wybór motto do *Emila*... świadczy o przynależności Norwida do elitarnej grupy XIX-wiecznych erudytów, którzy umieli dotrzeć do religijnego wymiaru poezji Hafiza, uykającego na ogół ówczesnym europejskim czytelnikom *Dywanu*. Szczególnie oryginalnym pomysłem polskiego poety było przywołanie tekstu z obszaru kulturowego islamu (a nie chrześcijaństwa!) dla potrzeb polemiki z russowskim laickim modelem wychowania oraz przeciwstawienie zsekularyzowanej mentalności europejskiej głębokiego, niewzruszonego zmysłu religijnego Orientu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Norwid; *Assunta*; Hafiz; sufizm; poezja perska, recepcja Hafiza w Polsce; Polska i Persja.

## NORWID'S WAY TO HAFIZ

### S u m m a r y

In Norwid's works one can find distant echoes of the Sufi concepts. One of the threads linking this Polish poet to the current of Muslim mysticism is his fascination with Hafiz's *Divan* (and secondly – the person of Abd el-Kader) manifesting itself in *Pisma wszystkie*. The Persian poet and mystic is mentioned in the works of the Polish author five times (twice in letters and three times in poems: *Assunta*, *Emil na Gozdawiu* and *A Dorio ad Phrygium*).

It is quite doubtful that Norwid became acquainted with philarete's translations of Hafiz's ghazals (Sękowski, Wiernikowski, Chodźko) in his pre-emigration (Warsaw) period. It was rather the full German translations of *Divan* (Purgstall and others) and numerous thematic references in the works of German Romantics (Goethe, Heine) that opened to him the gates to Hafiz's world. Norwid could have been exposed to these during his stay in Berlin in 1846 while attending a query at the University Library there. It cannot be ruled out that also the reading of Emerson's works during his American period (and later) could be his source of inspiration. The world of Hafiz's lyric poetry could also spread open before Norwid owing to French translations, although their role was rather secondary, since in the 19<sup>th</sup> century they were relatively few (only 32 works were translated before Norwid's death).

The years of Parisian emigration provided many new opportunities to advance the knowledge of Persian literature and culture. This was favoured not only by Norwid's stay in Paris, but also by the presence, among Polish emigrants, of eminent iranologists with whom Norwid was in touch: Aleksander Chodźko and Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski (he worked together with Norwid's cousin Michał Kleczkowski at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

The height of Norwid's fascination with Hafiz was in the 1870s, although many facts indicate that *Promethidion* might already have been inspired by Hafiz. The Sufi "alchemy of love" permeating the stanzas of Hafiz's *Divan* found its reflection primarily in *Assunta*. Norwid took the motto for this poem probably from the French translation of *A Grammar of the Persian Language* by William Jones (translated by Garcin de Tassy in 1845), in which the couplet was among the examples of Persian syntax (the ghazal in which this couplet originated, was still not fully translated into French). In turn, the epigraph for *Emil na Gozdawiu* is probably a paraphrase of the ghazal translated into French by the same Jones and included in his *Treatise on Oriental Poetry* as *Ode V*. The choice of the epigraph to *Emil*... testifies to Norwid's affiliation with an elite group of 19<sup>th</sup>-century erudite people who were able to get access to the religious

dimension of the poetry by Hafiz, which generally remained hidden for the European readers of *Divan* at that time. A particularly original idea of the Polish poet was the evocation of a text from the area of cultural Islam (and not Christianity!) for polemics with the Rousseauian secular model of upbringing, and the juxtaposition of the secularised European mentality with the deep, unshakable religious sense of the Orient.

**Key words:** Norwid; *Assunta*; Hafiz; Sufism; Persian poetry, Hafiz's reception in Poland; Poland and Persia

*Translated by Rafał Augustyn*

RENATA GADAMSKA-SERAFIN – PhD in humanities, lecturer at Jagiellonian University; e-mail: renata.gadamska@gmail.com