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The Intercultural Relationship between Persian and English Literature: A Translational Perspective

(With Emphasis on the Role of Sir William Jones)

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Abstract

This PhD dissertation scrutinizes some of Edward Said's notions concerning Western imperialism and colonialism as the hidden targets of Orientalism, presented in his celebrated book, *Orientalism*. It also demonstrates that Said's political ideas have prevented him from conceiving the literary and cultural bonds which were created between the Orient and the Occident via the endeavors of the Orientalists.

In a historical context, this study explores the influence of Persian literature on the development of English poetry particularly during the Romantic Period. It also designates that German Romanticism and American Transcendentalism were inspired by Oriental literature and philosophy, conveyed to them through the translated works. Accordingly, the significance of translation in transmitting literature and culture between nations is examined.

Focusing on Sir William Jones as the counterexample of Said's prototype of Orientalists, the study investigates the influence of Jones' translations on European literary works during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England. This dissertation concludes that literature is man's universal and immortal legacy which is improbable to be colonized, contrary to Said' hypothesis. It also proves that some Orientalists devoted their life to transfer the literature and culture of the Oriental lands to the world, not to dominate them, but based on love and enthusiasm.

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Preface

In spite of the significance of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, some notions in his work, concerning imperialism and colonialism can be questioned on a close inspection. In his book Said considers Orientalism as "a rationalization of colonial rule,"¹ an obscure field with political intentions through which Europeans could dominate Oriental lands. This study, in five sections, is expected to reveal the process of English knowledge about the Oriental literature, exclusively Persian literature, through translation by eminent Orientalists such as Sir William Jones whose enthusiasm for the literature and culture of the Oriental lands calls Said's claim into question. Accordingly, it will demonstrate that the Orientalists were not all the representatives of Colonialism; rather, some of them were the agents upon whom a bridge was made between the cultures and nations.

The first chapter deals with Orientalism, and Edward Said's conception on it. It concisely reviews Said's main concerns in *Orientalism*, then discusses the limitations of his hypotheses, which consist of his neglecting a significant part of the Orient, Persia, and considering the Orientalists in search of domination over the East with colonial perceptions. In order to illustrate the limits of Said's *Orientalism* and the significant role of the Oriental literature, in the development of English literature, this study reconsiders the historical events. It elucidates the initial images of Persia depicted by Herodotus and other historians, the travelers' accounts, and English literary works from medieval period to the eighteenth century, the age of emerging Orientalism and the presence of English Orientalists in India.

The second chapter commences with a short history of Persian studies in the West to discern Sir William Jones as the initial point of eighteenth-century Oriental studies in England who had an effective role in translating and introducing Persian

¹ Edward Said's *Orientalism*, p. 39.

Literature to the English readers. After a biography, his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, as one of his distinguished works in teaching Persian Grammar is discussed. Also, some extracts from this book and his famous translation of one of Hafiz's ghazals, is analyzed based on the theories of translation accompanied by references to linguistic, literary and cultural complications which Jones faced in translating Persian poetry.

The third chapter is an overview of the ways in which Oriental literature in general and Persian literature in particular affected a considerable part of English Romantic literature through Sir William Jones' essays and translations and other Oriental literary works such as *The Arabian Nights*. It considers some specimens from the works of the principal authors of the period, from William Blake to John Keats, to find traces of Oriental literature and philosophy in their works. The implication of Oriental images, themes, and settings is argued in different literary works of the period and the way the authors were inspired by them. The chapter ends with different translations of Hafiz after Sir William Jones and the vision of the Orient at the culminating years of the eighteenth century.

The fourth chapter focuses on the Victorian conception of the Orient. It discusses the influence of the Oriental literature on the Victorian poets in England comprising Alfred Lord Tennyson, Mathew Arnold and Edward FitzGerald and shows that Jones' translations were stimulating in developing the poetic career of the mentioned authors. Gertrude Bell's translations of Hafiz will be commented in the final part of the chapter.

The importance of Oriental literature and religion in the development of the nineteenth century American Transcendentalism is argued in the last chapter. The Oriental Renaissance, which was initiated in England by Jones and other Orientalists, influenced German Romanticism, and American Transcendentalism reflected in the works of the authors such as Thoreau, Whitman and Emerson.

Through some occasional allusions to Edward Said and Raymond Schwab, this study tries to conclude that the works of literature as the dynamic representative of cultures cannot be colonized. They signify the universal concepts and affect one

another. However, according to the discrepancy among the languages, the fundamental role of translation in connecting the cultures and literary works is conspicuous.

Numerous books and articles have been written anent separate topics in this study. Said's *Orientalism* has been reviewed by several critics approving or opposing his ideas. There are also quite a few endeavors concerning the influence of the Oriental literary works, particularly Persian literature on English writings. Also, Jones, as an Orientalist, has been discussed by some remarkable authors. Yet, no comprehensive work has been done to cover the intercultural relationship between the Orient and the Occident based on translation and the outstanding role of Jones in introducing Orient to Occident. Also, no scholarly endeavors have been made on his *Grammar of the Persian Language* according to the principles of translation.

Chapter 1

Orient and Orientalism

1.1. Background

The Orient-Occident dichotomy goes back to the concepts standing behind the geographical ones. Geographically, the term "Eastern" refers to the Eastern Hemisphere, the half of the Earth, which is east of the Prime Meridian, crossing Greenwich, England, and west of 180 degrees longitude, antemeridian, crossing the Pacific Ocean and a small zone from pole to pole. Accordingly, Africa, Asia and Europe are located in the Eastern Hemisphere, while the Western Hemisphere includes mainly North and South America.

Scholars such as Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen² consider the geographical divisions between the 'East' and the 'West' (that have been taken for granted as precise for centuries) as political rather than historical or geographical. According to this political conception, the Orient or the Eastern world includes large parts of the continent of Asia (the regions extending from the Middle East to sub-continental India to Indo-China). In the same way, "Oriental", a traditional description, generally means "Eastern" and refers to whatever relates to the Orient or the East, including cultures, peoples, countries, and properties from the Orient.

Orientalism, based on its dictionary meaning (in the Merriam Webster Dictionary), signifies "scholarship, learning, or study in Asian subjects or languages", a term used by cultural, literary and historical studies scholars, for representation or imitation of characteristics that existed in the Eastern world by Western artists and authors, which is "now often used with negative connotations of a Colonialist bias underlying and reinforced by such scholarship". Oriental studies cover a combination of

² Lewis, Martin W. and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

different areas of scholarship such as linguistics, philology, cultural studies, ethnography and social interpretations based on the study or translation of oriental texts.

Some scholars trace back the origins of Orientalism to ancient Greece, while others date it back to Napoleon's conquest of Egypt, in 1789, the period of European Imperialism. Ibn Warraq, in his *Defending the West*, considers "the Greek historians before Herodotus who wrote those works on Persia, later called *Persica*, to be the first Orientalists. Such works were attributed to Dionysius of Miletus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, and Charon of Lampsacus."³ Donzé-Magnier believes the origins of Orientalism to be found in the Middle Ages and Renaissance in the communications between Europe and the Orient, "through the first European explorations and crusades and was used as an artistic influence in currents such as Baroque and Rococo until the end of the XVIIIth century."⁴ Raymond Schwab, in his *La Renaissance Orientale (The Oriental Renaissance, 1950)*, argues that the early stages of Orientalism should be traced back to the late eighteenth century. He believes that the word "Orientalist", referring to Oriental languages and literatures, entered the English language as early as the eighteenth century.⁵ He uses the term "Renaissance" as rebirth or revival of learning concerning the Orient (principally India) in Europe. Schwab describes the process of discovery of the Orient and the way in which the materials of this discovery were received by the Occident. "Orientalism and the ensuing wave of anti-Orientalism", as Lewis states, are "obviously deeply influenced by a reading of Schwab's book."⁶

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "the Orient" was used to refer to the Near East and Ottoman North Africa, rather than Asia. The modern Orientalism, according to Urs App, whose *The Birth of Orientalism* presented a new picture of the

³ Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2007. p. 75.

⁴ Donzé-Magnier, Mahault. "Edward Said: Orientalism", Geonum Ed.: ISRN GEONUM-NST-2017. p.2 [file:///C:/Users/GSS/Downloads/Mahault_Donze_EdwardSaidOrientalism_2017%20\(3\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/GSS/Downloads/Mahault_Donze_EdwardSaidOrientalism_2017%20(3).pdf)

⁵ Schwab, Raymond, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, trans. by Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking, foreword by Edward Said. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. Passim.

⁶ Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993. p. 110.

Western encounter with Asia, did not take place within a definite date, rather, it was the consequence of a time-consuming procedure that formed a change in Western attitudes towards the East by the turn of the eighteenth century. The growth of Orientalism was accompanied by "Europe's discovery of Asian religions"⁷. Europe's knowledge about the Eastern languages such as Hebrew and Arabic seems to be much older than the eighteenth century. However, not only Western colonial domination in Asia came to be noticeable in the eighteenth century, but also, as App states, the eighteenth century showed a new horizon of Orientalism, "less shackled by theology, Bible studies, the frontiers of the Middle East, and Europe's time-honored Judeo-Christian worldview". An increasing interest in India as "the cradle of civilization" prepared the path for "modern" Orientalism, which was stimulated by Voltaire in his "quest to denigrate the Bible and destabilize Christianity."⁸

The last decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century were considered as the golden age of Orientalism during which Asia, its culture and its literature were studied in different Western congresses frequently from 1873 to 1912. After World War I, however, according to the changes in international political ontology, the notion was hardly noticed. After World War II, along with the appearance of anti-colonial movements leading to political independence in Asia, objections to Orientalism began to take shape in the early 1960s, generally formulated by educated Asians living in the West. Their criticisms changed the connotation of Orientalism so that it no longer was accepted as a term in the field of humanities. Rather, it became synonymous with Colonialism and misuse of power along with the perception of the Eastern societies as inert and undeveloped.

Muhammad Kurd Ali (1876–1953), a Syrian scholar, historian and literary critic, was among the first protestors of Orientalism and, according to Irwin, challenged the "intellectual hegemony of the Orientalists"⁹ in 1931. Although he did not write a book

⁷ App, Urs. *The Birth of Orientalism*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. p. xiii.

⁸ Ibid, p. xii.

⁹ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 297.

devoted exclusively to Orientalism, in the first volume of his *Al-Islam wa al-Hadara al-Arabiya* (Islam and Arab civilization) (2 volumes), he tried to correct the misapprehensions and deleterious interpretations of the Orientalists and to portray a truthful presentation of Islam and Muslims. He, as Irwin puts it, denounced "the triumphalism of the West and declared the European conquest of America to be a great crime."¹⁰ Anouar Abdel-Malek, an Egyptian philosopher at the University of Sorbonne in Paris, with his article "Orientalism in Crisis" (1962) and A.L. Tibawi, the Palestinian historian at the University of London, with his articles "English-speaking Orientalists" (1964) and "A Second Critique of English-speaking Orientalists"(1979), were other pioneers in the study of Orientalism and Edward Said mentions them in his "Orientalism Reconsidered". Abdel-Malek blamed the Orientalists, as Windschuttle states, of being "Europocentric, of failing to pay enough attention to Arab scholars, of being obsessed with the past, and of stamping all Orientals with 'a constitutive otherness, of an essentialist character'."¹¹ He stated that the Orientalists considered Asia, the Asians and Islam as passive objects to be dominated by the West in the guise of civilization and advancement. Tibawi, on the other hand, criticized the religious hostility according to which Islam and the Arab community were revealed negatively by the Western Orientalists. Among other critics of Orientalism were Talal Asad (b. 1932), Syed Hussein Alatas (1928-2007), Romila Thapar (b. 1931), and Abdallah Laroui (b. 1933), who, as Said puts it later in his "Orientalism Reconsidered", underwent the devastations of "imperialism and colonialism", and "who, in challenging the authority, provenance, and institutions of the science that represented them to Europe, were also understanding themselves as something more than what this science said they were."¹²

1.2. Edward Said and His *Orientalism*

Among the most significant objections to Orientalism is that of the Americano-Palestinian literary historian Edward Said, Professor of English and Comparative

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 298.

¹¹ Windschuttle, Keith. "Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited." *Quadrant* 44.1-2 (January-February 2000), p. 22.

¹² Said, Edward W. "Orientalism Reconsidered". *Cultural Critique*, No. 1 (Autumn, 1985), p. 93.

Literature at Columbia University in New York since the 1960s. Influenced by Post-structuralism, Feminism and Marxism, Said criticizes Orientalism in his revolutionary work *Orientalism*. He was inspired not only by the ideas of preceding critics of Orientalism such as Abdel-Malek and Tibawi, but also by those of Michel Foucault.

Few books have given rise to more controversies in their production and reception than Said's *Orientalism*, whose first publication in 1978 led to numerous disagreements and debates over the use of the term "Orientalism" since the conventions of preceding oriental studies, and the method of depicting the Orient and the Occident were both criticized. *Orientalism*, considered as the culmination of Said's apprenticeship and the most significant of the twenty books he wrote during his productive career, has been praised by many scholars both politically and academically and to quote Viswanathan, is known for his "passionate humanism, his cultivation and erudition, his provocative views, and his unswerving commitment to the cause of Palestinian self-determination."¹³ His outlook toward Orientalism demonstrates a new attitude toward the relationship between the East and the West and his *Orientalism* is considered as the formation manifesto of Postcolonial Studies and turned out to be an ideological landmark.

Although in anti-Orientalist essays by Arab writers such as Abdel Malek, Tibawi, Laroui and others, Orientalism was already an acknowledged concept, indicating European interest in the Orient, Said changed the perception of Orientalism by declaring the Orient a "European invention,"¹⁴ originating in literary texts, employed by "Chaucer and Mandeville, by Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, and Byron", designating "Asia or the East, geographically, morally, culturally,"¹⁵ and continuing to be used for centuries. Said's "Orient" does not indicate the non-western regions, but, as he explains, "the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of

¹³ Said, Edward W. *Power, Politics, and Culture*. New York: Random House Inc. (Vintage Books), 2001. Introduction by Gauri Viswanathan, pp. xi–xii.

¹⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 1.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

the Other,"¹⁶ and which has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience."¹⁷ His *Orientalism* criticizes the way of introducing the East and the Islamic Middle East in Western texts throughout history, particularly in the nineteenth century, the peak of Imperialism.

Influenced by Foucault, Said borrows the concept of "discourse" as "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient"¹⁸ and articulates Orientalism as an Occidental post-colonial discourse, a Western style for dominance over the Orient, connected entirely with the concept of power, to show how the ideological and cultural frameworks of the colonial countries could influence the attitude of the indigenous peoples of the colonized countries towards their own identity. The concept of knowledge, in Said's view, was what Foucault called another form of power when he declared that academic disciplines not only produce knowledge but also create power. In his view, texts provide knowledge about something unfamiliar and textual knowledge can create "not only knowledge but also the very reality it appears to describe", or "discourse."¹⁹ By borrowing Foucault's thought, Edward Said is trying to deconstruct the image of the West about the East to identify Orientalism: "No more glaring parallel exists", Said states, "between power and knowledge in the modern history of philology than in the case of Orientalism."²⁰ Doubting the anthropology of Orientalists, Said believes that anthropology has always been suffering from a kind of colonial past. That was why Orientalists generally casted an object-oriented look at what they called the East and European governments, mainly for their abusing purposes in the colonies, strengthened this field of study and provided extensive research fields in the mid-nineteenth century.

To prepare historical evidence for *Orientalism* and the early conception of domination during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he refers to the first Orientalists such as Arthur James Balfour and Lord Cromer, emphasizing that

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 1.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 3.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 94.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 344-5.

knowledge and power have made it possible to manage the oriental countries and to construct the foundation for future colonialism, considered as "we" contrasted with "they", founded by those who have been in power, or have created knowledge. Then, he speaks of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt as an example for domination of the West over the oriental lands based on knowledge. Napoleon was accompanied by the expeditionary force, among which there were about 122 scientists, intellectuals and qualified Orientalists. Napoleon's and de Lesseps's treatment of the Orient relied on what they had read about Orient: "Everything they knew, more or less, about the Orient came from books written in the tradition of Orientalism."²¹ So, their behavior in confronting the Orient as a "fierce lion"²², originated from the scripts they had read concerning the Orient and the way to interact with it.

Said defines Orientalism as a system of representations that has been combined by several powers and has led the East into the knowledge and recognition of the West, and, eventually, the Western empire.²³ He criticizes the contradictory worldview of Orientalism, which has believed in a fundamental difference between the cultures and people of the East and the West. He shows that this production of the Western mind has dominated Orientalist writings for centuries so that the dichotomy of the East and the West has been a discourse of Western people for ages.

In Said's view, all European writings have implied a "discourse of power,"²⁴ for imperialistic purposes, often reflected in works of art, literature, travelogues and historiography and, as Windschuttle states, in spite of their claim to be "an objective, disinterested, and rather esoteric field, in fact functioned to serve political ends."²⁵ Based on the colonial ideology in these European writings, the East (non-European regions) has been represented in a sort of contrast; the "Other", deserving be colonized, while the West, as "Self", being the center of goodness and comprehensiveness, was defined as superior to the "Other". Consequently, as Said demonstrates, Orientalism

²¹ Ibid, p. 94.

²² Ibid, p. 94.

²³ Ibid, Chapter One, Passim.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 347.

²⁵ Windschuttle, Keith. "Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited." *Quadrant* 44.1-2 (January-February 2000), p. 22.

has directed the West to perceive the East, in general, and Islamic cultures, in particular, as passive, primitive, and weak, "eternal, uniform, and incapable of defining itself."²⁶ This provided the West with a sense of cultural and intellectual superiority since "the West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor". Thus the West considered itself as a dynamic, pioneering, "the spectator, the judge and jury of every facet of Oriental behavior."²⁷

As Said further explains, "the essence of Orientalism is the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority."²⁸ Such a representation of Western societies of the East and the existing dichotomy between the East and the West are not based on reality, but on the mental perceptions of superiority of the West over its prior colonies and "exotic" cultures, which leads to the domination of the West over the East; the subjugation of the East that has happened for a long time, from the Enlightenment to the present day "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period."²⁹

Said discusses the way English, French and, later, American scholars approached the Arab communities in the Middle East and, as it was not possible for them to define the essential qualities of Arab and Islamic culture, these qualities were seen in negative terms, so, Orientalism created an incorrect account of Islamic culture; "For Orientalism, Islam had a meaning which, if one were to look for its most succinct formulation, could be found in Renan's first treatise: in order best to be understood Islam had to be reduced to 'tent and tribe.'"³⁰ In Said's view, Western Orientalists have defined the Orient as an isolated zone away from, and inferior to, the West in different fields of human progression. That is why "its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habit of inaccuracy, its backwardness" became the essential ideas about the Orient.³¹

²⁶ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 301.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 109.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 42.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 105.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 205.

Said tries to clarify that the set of ideas in the world has been Europe-centered and Europe has managed to become the hegemonic dominant force. Said's goal is to prove that any Oriental activity, whether historical or artistic, has been a tool in the hands of colonialism and at the service of imperialism. His main argument in presenting his Orientalist theory is that Orientalist texts could not only create knowledge, but also create the reality that they supposedly describe. What the Orientalists have revealed about the Orient, in Said's view, "is not the Orient as it is, but the Orient as it has been Orientalized" which is passive, weak, barbarian, and needs to be civilized.³² His central concern is to demonstrate that the image of the Orient created by Cultural-Academic Orientalism, as Al-Azm stated, was "shot through and through with racist assumptions, barely camouflaged mercenary interests, reductionistic explanations and anti-human prejudices."³³

Said ties the spread of Orientalism to the expansion of European colonialism. He believes that along with the study of language, anthropology, history and geography, and all the other various effects of the Orient, a network of knowledge has depicted the Orient to the Western mind. It is formed by power, after crossing the limits of knowledge and power in the Western mind:

Orientalism, therefore, is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, an accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied—indeed, made truly productive—the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture.³⁴

From Said's viewpoint, Orientalism is the sum of misconceptions that has influenced Western thought concerning the East among which the threat of Islam was influential in shaping the initial attitudes of orientalists. Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, according to Said, designates Islam as "heresy". Along with him, the

³² Ibid, p. 104.

³³ Al-Azm , Sadiq Jalal. "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse." Printed in Alexander Lyon Macfi. Ed. *Orientalism: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.p. 218.

³⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 6.

introduction of the recent *Cambridge History of Islam* considers the *Bibliothèque*, and George Sale's preliminary discourse to his translation of the Koran (1734), were "highly important" in widening "the new understanding of Islam" and conveying it "to a less academic readership."³⁵

To follow the backgrounds of the modern imperialism, in a journey through history, Said figures out that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Orientalism changed from a religious foundation to a secular one, as a result of the progression "beyond the Islamic lands" and "European exploration of the rest of the world" leading to "imperialism" and "colonialism".³⁶ Then, in the second chapter, he discusses two distinguished figures as instrumental in shaping Orientalism and responsible in transforming Orientalism into a secular field; Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) and Ernest Renan (1823–92). Silvestre de Sacy, a French linguist and Orientalist, an eminent scholar of classical Arabic in the early nineteenth century, who, according to Said, trained many of Bonaparte's Arabic interpreters and held the idea of this leading Orientalist's involvement in the Egyptian plot and affected French and German Orientalism. De Sacy was attracted by Persian literature and worked on the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Sassanid kings, published his collection of extracts in 1806, based on the pre-Islamic proverbs, the Qur'an, *Kalila wa-Dimna* (a mirror for princes in the form of beast fables) and his *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* in 1838 as a combination of Greek and Persian philosophy. He not only was a researcher in Arabic texts, but also published his works about the pre-Islamic antiquities of Persia, Persian grammar, the poems of Attar, the Persian mystic poet.

Edward Said refers to De Sacy as the inventor of the first "systematic body of texts" whose name, according to Said, "is associated with the beginning of modern Orientalism..."³⁷ and "Every major Arabist in Europe during the nineteenth century traced his intellectual authority back to him."³⁸ He designed some principles in teaching

³⁵ Ibid, pp. 63-4.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 116-7.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 124.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 129.

his students and his focus was "the anthology, the chrestomathy, the tableau, the survey of general principles, in which a relatively small set of powerful examples delivers the Orient to the student."³⁹ Chrestomathy, which is referred by Said, is the anthology of literary passages, used in learning a foreign language which is also the title of his Arabic textbook *Chrestomathie arabe* (3 vols., 1806).

The other Orientalist, discussed by Said, is Ernest Renan (1823–92), a French scholar devoted to studying Middle Eastern ancient civilizations and languages such as the Semitic languages, and who was recognized for his significant historical works concerning the origins of Early Christianity and political theories about Nationalism. He took advantage of Sacy's works and associated Orientalist studies to philology. Said refers to Renan's works as racist and considers him as influential in the discourse of Orientalism, as he writes, "[Renan] did not really speak as one man to all men but rather as a reflective, specialised voice that took, as he put it in the 1890 preface [of *L'Avenir de la science: Pensees de 1848*], the inequality of races and the necessary domination of the many by the few for granted as an antidemocratic law of nature and society."⁴⁰ However, Ibn Warraq in his *Defending the West* discusses that Said's argument concerning Renan is exaggeration and shows that Renan's impact on Orientalism was limited because he was criticized by other Orientalists such as Ignaz Goldziher, Heinrich Ewald, and Max Muller for his radical ideas about Islam.⁴¹

Renan considered Semitic languages like Arabic as inferior to Indo-European languages because those languages were of "divine origin" and are "unregenerative".⁴² Therefore, "Semitic was not fully a natural object" as a result of Renan's unreceptive ideas, "nor fully an unnatural or a divine object, as it had once been considered".⁴³ According to Renan, Orientalism as a science was related to philology: "This was

³⁹ Ibid, p. 125.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 133.

⁴¹ Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2007. Pps. 53-55.

⁴² Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 143.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 141.

Renan's accomplishment: to have associated the Orient with the most recent comparative disciplines, of which philology was one of the most eminent."⁴⁴

Said discusses the mentioned Orientalists to signify that during history, a religious approach to Orientalism has been altered to systematic dispute leading to the persistence of traditional Oriental patterns and the consequent imperial and colonial policies. However, according to Said, in order to construct a sense of understanding, Renan and Sacy tried to "reduce the Orient to a kind of human flatness, which exposed its characteristics easily to scrutiny and removed from it its complicating humanity."⁴⁵

In the last chapter of his *Orientalism*, "Orientalism Now", Said considers modern Orientalism as a product of "certain political forces and activities" and a "school of interpretation whose material happens to be the Orient, its civilizations, peoples, and localities."⁴⁶ Dividing Orientalism into two subcategories of "latent" and "manifest", Said defines "latent" Orientalism as the basis and background of Orientalism articulated in the 18th and 19th centuries which has remained the same through ages, integrated into modern Oriental policy by the changeable details such as "the various stated views about Oriental society, languages, literatures, history, sociology" ("manifest Orientalism")⁴⁷ arranged for political purposes, so that the modern orientalism is the outcome of developing "latent inferiority"⁴⁸. That is why, according to "latent Orientalism", the British and the French "saw the Orientals a geographical [...] entity over whose destiny they believed themselves to have traditional entitlement."⁴⁹

In the final chapter of the book, once more, Said raises the concept of "knowledge as power" and "other". Referring to "Kipling's White Man" who had "responsibility towards the colored races"⁵⁰ to help them, Said defines him as powerful over the Orientals because of his knowledge and maintains that this "knowledge" concerning the Orient was transformed into colonialism and the previous Orientalists turned to be

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.130.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 150.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 203.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 206.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 208.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 221.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 226.

"imperial agents" at the beginning of the twentieth century. He maintains that although the Orient shifted from its supposed "need of Western enlightenment" and "domination"⁵¹ to the call for independence after the World Wars, Orientalism was in a "retrogressive position when compared with the other human sciences"⁵² and "Oriental representation" still exists because of new reasons such as the fear of Islam and continues its presence in the world in different new forms. In Said's words, although "the old Orientalism was broken into many parts; yet all of them still served the traditional Orientalist dogmas."⁵³

In the final pages of his book, Said shifts from England and France to America as the major Orientalist power after World War II, during which the Orient turned to be significant for America politically. He believes that during that period, the West felt more threats from the Orient (Arab and Muslim nations) and was afraid that "the Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world."⁵⁴ He then repeats what he says from the beginning of the book, indicating that the West, with its Orientalist ideology, has sought to keep its authority over the East, and thereby control it. The East, according to him, was made by the Western mind and helped define Europe's self-image and recognize itself to provide a justification for its domination and hegemony over the East.

According to Said, as "the development and maintenance of every culture require the existence of another different and competing *alter ego* [...], the construction of identity [universally] involves establishing opposites and 'Others',"⁵⁵ so that each age and society reproduces its "Others". Orientalism is a knowledge that has grown under the umbrella of colonialism. In other words, Orientalism has been the beginning of a power discourse that sought to justify the domination of the Westerns over the Easterns, a process that from the initial point of Orientalism up to his time (and present

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 257.

⁵² Ibid, p. 261.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 284.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 287.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 332.

time?), has considered the Orient as object to be ruled. Finally, he says: "Orientalism failed to identify with human experience, failed also to see it as human experience."⁵⁶

Later, in his 1985 essay, "Orientalism Reconsidered", he responds to the critics' misinterpretation of *Orientalism* in detail and repeats the central ideas behind Orientalism e.g. in answer to "the claims made by Dennis Porter" who accused Said of being "ahistorical and inconsistent", Said refers to the 4000 years of historical and cultural relationship between Europe and Asia, asserting that "the Orient and the Occident are facts produced by human beings."⁵⁷ In his view, Orientalism is prejudiced because it has produced an "imaginative geography"⁵⁸ through which the world has been divided into two man-made parts "Orient" and "Occident" which must be studied as "integral components of the social, and not the divine or natural world."⁵⁹ And because the social world consists of "the person or subject doing the studying as well as the object or realm being studied, it is imperative to include them both in any consideration of Orientalism", because "there could be no Orientalism without, on the one hand, the Orientalists, and on the other, the Orientals."⁶⁰

The next point that Said discusses in response to the critics who negated the inferiority view of the Westerns, is concerned with the treatment of "literary texts" which are treated similarly, from an orientalist perspective:

The point I am making here is a rudimentary one: that even so relatively inert an object as a literary text is commonly supposed to gain some of its identity from its historical moment interacting with the attentions, judgements, scholarship, and performances of its readers. But, I discovered, this privilege was rarely allowed the Orient, the Arabs, or Islam, which separately or together were supposed by mainstream academic thought to be confined to the fixed status of an object frozen once and for all in time by the gaze of western percipients.⁶¹

Said criticizes Orientalism as a "science of imperialism" in response to Bernard Lewis, who referred to Orientalism a pure science based on the "Western quest for

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 328.

⁵⁷ Said, Edward W. "Orientalism Reconsidered". *Cultural Critique*, No. 1 (Autumn, 1985), p. 90.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 90.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 90.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 92.

knowledge about other societies" motivated by "pure curiosity". Lewis's arguments, according to Said, are presented as "emanating exclusively from the scholar's apolitical impartiality, whereas at the same time he has become an authority drawn on for anti-Islamic, anti-Arab, Zionist, and Cold War crusades" and supported by a "zealotry covered with a veneer of urbanity that has very little in common with the "science" and learning Lewis purports to be upholding".⁶²

Criticism concerning Said's *Orientalism* is not limited to the above-mentioned examples. The impact of Said's work has been immense, and too much has been written for and against Said's *Orientalism* to be covered here. However, at the beginning of the new century, the ideas presented in the book were criticized. Robert Irwin, Ibn Warraq, and Daniel Martin Varisco, App, Suzanne Marchand, Sadeq Jalal Al-Azm and Bernard Lewis were among the critics of Said's *Orientalism*.

1.3. The Limits of Said's *Orientalism*

Sadeq Jalal Al-Azm, a Syrian thinker, in his article entitled "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse" (1980), believes that Said's *Orientalism* is "Orientalism in Reverse", following the same logic of Orientalism that Said condemns, since by generalizations concerning Western culture, Said has opposed himself. Said, according to Al-Azm, has repeated the Orientalists' dichotomy with reversed principles, according to which the "Arab mind" or the Orient is considered to be superior to the West. Said's method of interpreting the origins of Orientalism, Al-Azm argues, "lends strength to the essentialistic categories of 'Orient' and 'Occident', representing the ineradicable distinction between East and West, which Said's book is ostensibly set on demolishing".⁶³ In Al-Azm's view, Said's *Orientalism*, greatly influenced the cultural situation of the Arabs, and, by provoking them to a prejudiced position against the West, achieved the same goal he had attributed to the West. Al-Azm states that Orientalism was not a new notion discovered by Said, rather "in an act of retrospective historical

⁶² Ibid, p. 96.

⁶³ Al-Azm, Sadiq Jalal. "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse." Printed in Alexander Lyon Macfi. Ed. *Orientalism: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. p. 219.

projection", he found Said "tracing the origins of Orientalism all the way back to Homer, Aeschylus, Euripides and Dante".⁶⁴ So, Orientalism is "the natural product of an ancient and almost irresistible European bent of mind to misrepresent the realities of other cultures, peoples, and their languages, in favor of Occidental self-affirmation, domination and ascendancy. Here the author seems to be saying that the 'European mind', from Homer to Karl Marx and A.H.R. Gibb, is inherently bent on distorting all human realities other than its own and for the sake of its own aggrandizement."⁶⁵

Bernard Lewis, an eminent American historian of the Middle East from Princeton, is criticized by Said as a leading example of Orientalism. In his *Islam and the West* (1994), which is a study concerning European outlooks toward Islam since the Middle Ages, Lewis considers Said's *Orientalism* to be largely ideological, accusing him of introducing politics into academic literature. He accepts that some Orientalists have had an imperialist purpose, but Said is not accurate in categorizing all Oriental thinkers in one group. In Lewis's view, near the end of the eighteenth century, the study of Islam was recognized as an academic subject and Europe's early religious and racial prejudices were mostly overcome: "The Muslims were no longer seen purely in ethnic terms as hostile tribes, but as the carriers of a distinctive religion and civilization".⁶⁶

To defend his ideas concerning colonializing the Orient, Said emphasizes that Orientalism has been the discourse of England, France and the United States with a history of imperialism and colonialism. He also presents his opinion concerning the reciprocal relationship between the development of Arabic studies in those countries and the colonial domination of England and France over the Arab lands. He ignores Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain and the other European countries which had studied the East, with no colonial history. To defend this idea, he says:

I believe that the sheer quality, consistency, and mass of British, French, and American writing on the Orient lifts it above the doubtless crucial work done in Germany, Italy, Russia, and elsewhere. But I think it is also true that the major steps in Oriental scholarship were first

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 219.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 219.

⁶⁶ Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993. p. 94.

taken in either Britain and France [sic], then elaborated upon by Germans...⁶⁷

What German Oriental scholarship did was to refine and elaborate techniques whose application was to texts, myths, ideas, and languages almost literally gathered from the Orient by imperial Britain and France.⁶⁸

One of the complications anent Said's critical views in his book is restricting orientalism to Arabic and Islamic studies, whereas a global perspective is required. He concentrates on a theory that, in his words, "Orientalism derives from a particular closeness experienced between Britain and France and the Orient, which until the early nineteenth century had really meant only India and the Bible lands."⁶⁹ So, in order to show the validity of his theory, he limits his scope of inquiry to a part of the Arab community in the Middle East and Near East excluding south Asian countries such as China and Japan while, as Lewis comments, "Orientalists in Europe and America have dealt with all the cultures of Asia—China and Japan, India and Indonesia; and in the Middle East their studies are by no means limited to the Arabs but have included the Turks and Persians as well as the ancient cultures of the region."⁷⁰

One significant point which comes to be the subject of argument for Said is the matter of Islam and how it has been portrayed with an inferior outlook by the West. Said's *Orientalism* finds the West and its history blameworthy for the problems of the Muslim community, and rationalizes the possible hostility of the Muslims toward the West and as Ibn Warraq in his article "The Sins of Edward Said" puts it, "introduced the Arab world to the art and science of victimology" and "taught them the Western art of wallowing in self-pity over one's victimhood."⁷¹ In Said's view, the Orient has been a permanent victim of Western imperialism and the decline of original magnificence of Islam, according to him, has been the result of imperialism produced under the mask of Orientalism. He even criticizes Dante's *The Divine Comedy* for insulting Islam and its Prophet Muhammad because of Dante's portrayal of Muhammad in Hell: "Dante's verse

⁶⁷ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 17-18

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993. p. 115.

⁷¹ Ibn Warraq "The Sins of Edward Said". <https://www.writersreps.com/feature.aspx?FeatureID=20>

at this point spares the reader none of the eschatological detail that so vivid a punishment entails: Muhammed 's entrails and his excrement are described with unflinching accuracy."⁷² He then adds that "Even though the Koran specifies Jesus as a prophet, Dante chooses to consider the great Muslim philosophers and king as having been fundamentally ignorant of Christianity."⁷³ This assertion has no validity since according to Ibn Warraq, "Dante and his contemporaries in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century had only the vaguest idea about the history and theology of Islam and its founder" and Dante thought "Muhammad was originally a Christian and a cardinal who wanted to become a pope."⁷⁴

Islam, which according to Crone, "came upon the world as a totally unexpected development"⁷⁵, turned out to be a new world religion only about a few decades after the death of its Prophet, Muhammad, "claiming to supersede Christianity and all other faiths and appealing to all mankind."⁷⁶ It spread its domination over the world during the first two centuries of the Muslim era (7th-8th centuries A.D.) so that empires of Byzantium and Persia, called the Middle East today, were conquered to form a new empire. Islamic territories were expanded extensively during the Middle Ages so that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there existed great Muslim empires such as Mughal India, Safavid Persia, Mamluk Egypt, Syria, and Ottoman Turkey. In 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman Turks, followed by more Turkish subjugations of Greek and Balkan regions. These Muslim advances and arrests especially in Europe were not only hazards for western political and military power and identity, but also seemed to threaten Christianity. For almost a thousand years, in Lewis' words, "from the first Moorish landing in Spain to the second Turkish siege of Vienna, Europe was under constant threat from Islam."⁷⁷ Thus, as Irwin writes in his *For Lust of Knowing*, "it was natural for Christian thinkers to interpret the unacquainted and unexpected

⁷² Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 68.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 69.

⁷⁴ Ibn Warraq "The Sins of Edward Said". <https://www.writersreps.com/feature.aspx?FeatureID=20>

⁷⁵ Patricia Crone, "The Rise of Islam in the World", in Francis Robinson (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World*. Cambridge, 1996, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993. p. 9.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 13.

phenomenon of Islam in terms of what was familiar to them already".⁷⁸ Consequently, they presented Islam "not as a new religion, but rather, as the variant of an old heresy"⁷⁹ trying to get the mastery of the world. During the Middle Ages, Christianity, Trinity and some other beliefs concerning the religion were doubted, criticized or even denied by Muslims. The Christians, who felt their faith under threat, in a reciprocal way, presented their disapproval of the new religion by criticizing and mocking the doctrines and principles of Islam. It was not easy for the Christians to live under the rules of the new religion, let alone when they had to replace their own language with Arabic or when they were mistreated in the territories under the rule of Muslims so that in Spain and in Sicily, according to Lewis, "Muslim faith and Arab culture exercised a powerful attraction, and even those who remained faithful to the Christian religion often adopted the Arabic language."⁸⁰

Soon the insults and supports concerning the doctrines of each religion made their way to texts such as Al-Kindi's *Risala*, written in the form of an epistolary exchange between a Christian and a Muslim in which the doctrine of the Trinity was defended. Therefore, Islamic studies, which began in the west during the Middle Ages, as Lewis argues, "had a practical purpose, it was defensive and not aggressive: the defense of a beleaguered Christendom against the Saracen, the Turk, and the Tatar."⁸¹ This defensive determination was the foundation of Orientalism in Europe; they not only translated religious texts including the Qur'an, but also learned Arabic to defend Christianity and Christians against the hazards of the new religion and its followers. This is the fear that Said criticizes: "For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma"⁸², "the very epitome of an outsider against which the whole of European civilization from the Middle Ages on was founded."⁸³ Identifying Orient with Islam, he adds "...the European

⁷⁸ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 26

⁸⁰ Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993. p. 13.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁸² Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 59.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 70.

representation of the Muslim, Ottoman, or Arab was always a way of controlling the redoubtable Orient".⁸⁴

Said acknowledges the beneficial role of some Orientalists in Oriental studies, but he still considers all Western studies to be colonial. He believes that the West, with its political motives, has been trying to present a passionate image of the East in order to colonize it. So, post-colonial discourse neglects the cultural endeavors done by the Orientalists. Furthermore, Said's scope of reference is limited to the works of those concerned with the works of "Orientalist scholarship in helping to manage the Empire,"⁸⁵ such as Lord Cromer, Arthur Balfour, and Lord Curzon, whose references belong to the works written after the culmination of imperialism in Britain, between 1908 and 1912. Also, Said offers no support or proof for his argument that "colonial rule was justified in advance by Orientalism."⁸⁶

Another important objection to Said's *Orientalism* is that all Orientalists who studied and explicated the culture of the East have not sought to conquer or dominate the East, but, on the contrary, some, similar to the Western traditionalists, were fascinated by Eastern civilization and culture. Many writings of the West have been fraught with astounding admiration of Oriental culture. Although there have also been works that confirm the post-Orientalist discourse of Said, it is distant from reality to believe that all Western writers and scholars used "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient"⁸⁷ and were in the service of imperialism and trying to destroy the development of Oriental lands.

Edward Said considers "the demarcation between Orient and West" which "already seems bold by the time of the *Iliad*."⁸⁸ He believes that whatever related to Western identity such as culture, language and mentality were, in Al-Azm's words, "supposed to be essentially and inherently superior to the Eastern ones"⁸⁹. Said

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 60.

⁸⁵ Windschuttle, Keith. "Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited." *Quadrant* 44.1-2 (January-February 2000).p. 23.

⁸⁶ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 39.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 56.

⁸⁹ Al-Azm, Sadiq Jalal. "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse." In Macfie, Alexander Lyon. Ed. *Orientalism: A Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. p. 218.

supports his theory and the concept of "Other" by referring to Aeschylus's play *The Persians* where "the Orient is transformed from a very far distant and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar (in Aeschylus's case, grieving Asiatic women)."⁹⁰ Also, then, he adds: "Aeschylus *represents* Asia, makes her speak in the person of the aged Persian queen, Xerxes' mother. It is Europe that articulates the Orient."⁹¹

Said's "arbitrary rearrangement of the historical background and the capricious choice of countries, persons, and writings,"⁹² as Lewis believes, makes him neglect the areas that have been traditionally included in the field of Oriental studies such as Persian, Turkish, Indian and Far Eastern cultures, in spite of their significance. Since the focus of this study is specifically on Persian literature and its intercultural relationship with English literature, this is a significant flaw in Said's study. To begin the discussion, it is worth stressing that Said rarely refers to Persian civilization, culture or literature in his Orientalist studies. As Irwin points out, Orientalism in the view point of the authors like A. J. Arberry was related to the "scholars who travelled in or wrote about Arabia, Persia, India, Indonesia and the Far East", while for Said it changed its meaning to refer to "those who travelled, studied or wrote about the Arab world."⁹³

1. 3.1. Persia, the Lost Piece in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Up to the 18th Century)

Persia, which is almost dropped from Said's argument, has been a well-known land during history and numerous historians have written about its history and culture. For several decades it has also been considered as the land of poetry and imagination. Herodotus, who is nowadays considered as 'father of history', had travelled to Asia Minor, Scythia, Egypt, and Babylon and gathered his information and historical records

⁹⁰ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 21.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁹² Lewis, Bernard. *Islam and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1993.p. 112.

⁹³ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 13.

about Persia from Greek armed forces who had served in the Persian armies with no racial prejudice. He described "Persian customs, many of which he finds admirable even when they differ from the Greeks."⁹⁴ His *Histories*, the first European prose literature, was one of the first historical records that went back to the fifth century BC and referred to the rise of the Persian Empire, the Persian kings, the legendary origins of the hostility between the Europeans and the Asiatics and the origins of the Greco-Persian Wars, about which Voltaire believed that "history began with Herodotus's history of the Greco-Persian war".⁹⁵

Herodotus wrote his historical records of the Persian War, Arberry declares, "with the same admirable detachment as did Homer his account of the contest between Hector and Achilles", and devotedly referred to "many good qualities of the Persians, while by no means glossing over their defects".⁹⁶ Although Herodotus revealed the defeat of the Persians in the great battles of "Marathon, Salamis, and Flataea", they were, as "Herodotus admits and Aeschylus implies, 'no whit inferior to the Greeks \ in valour'. Their failure was due not to lack of courage, but \ to inferior weapons, no armour, and inadequate training".⁹⁷ Contrary to what Said declares, Herodotus did not signify any form of Otherness in depicting the Persians as the representation of Eastern culture, although he pointed to differences between the Persians and the Greeks. Rather he admitted Greece's numerous "debts to other cultures, particularly those of Egypt and Phoenicia".⁹⁸ The Orient (and Persia as a part of it) was not therefore "conquered by Herodotus"⁹⁹ as Said believes; rather, Herodotus visited the Orient and wrote about it as a historian free from the sense of superiority of the West over the East.

Said does not refer to some other historical records such as *Persica*, or *History of Persia*. It was written in twenty-three books, by Ctesias of Cnidus in the fourth century

⁹⁴ Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2007. p. 76.

⁹⁵ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 19.

⁹⁶ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953. p. 321.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 322.

⁹⁸ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 21.

⁹⁹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 58.

BC, based on his personal observation of the Persian court. He was a prominent doctor who worked in the Persian court of the Achaemenid monarchs and was aware of Persian court life. In 472 BC, Aeschylus, the ancient Greek playwright, affected by the significance of the Greco-Persian wars, produced *The Persians*, a tragedy as the second part of a lost trilogy which is considered today as the earliest surviving play in the history of Western theatre. It is also considered as the only remaining Greek tragedy centered on contemporary events, featuring Persians as characters and recent history rather than the happenings from the ancient period of mythical heroes. It narrates the Persian reaction to the news of their military defeat in one of the crucial events in the ongoing Greco-Persian Wars, seven years after the defeat of the Persian army by Greece at the Battle of Salamis under Xerxes, in 480 BC. Aeschylus and his audience were well aware of that war and took part in it, and even his brother was killed there.

In depicting the first encounter between the Orient and the West, Said believes that from its beginnings, in Windchuttle's words, "the West's self-concept was defined by its opposition to Asia,"¹⁰⁰ an opposition, that according to Said, has continued up to his present period. Said considers Aeschylus as an Orientalist, and believes that Aeschylus in his *The Persians* attributed to Asia "the feelings of emptiness, loss and disaster... also the lament that in some glorious past Asia fared better, was itself victorious over Europe".¹⁰¹ In his view, Asia "speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination, which is depicted as victorious over Asia, that hostile 'other' world beyond the seas."¹⁰² Lewis, from a different point of view, praises the play and argues that "there is nothing elsewhere to compare with the sympathetic portrayal by the Greek dramatist Aeschylus – himself a veteran of the Persian wars – of the sufferings of the vanquished Persians".¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Windschuttle, Keith. "Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited." *Quadrant* 44.1-2 (January-February 2000).p. 24.

¹⁰¹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 56.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 56.

¹⁰³ Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day* London, 1995, p. 32.

Said makes the same mistake that he criticizes in the last chapter of his book by using the concept of "essentialism."¹⁰⁴ Here, in his view, this "Otherness", this superiority of the West has a long history of hundreds of years, so from its beginnings, since ancient Greece, the West's identity was described through hostility to Asia that has remained up to the present time:

The two aspects of the Orient that set it off from the West in this pair of plays will remain essential motifs of European imaginative geography. A line is drawn between two continents. Europe is powerful and articulate; Asia is defeated and distant.¹⁰⁵

Considering *The Persians*, Aeschylus depicted the victory of Greek forces, which happened not because of Greek's superiority, but due to the fall of Fortune. Although his play memorialized the triumph of the Greek army over very superior forces, there existed no sign of belittling them and as Irwin states, "it is important to bear in mind that the play really is a tragedy, even though the Greeks are not its victims"¹⁰⁶ and it tries to do this "from the Persian point of view."¹⁰⁷ For Aeschylus the foreigners are not "Oriental stereotypes drawn with contempt but rather as particular humans subject to flaws, and hence eminently suitable subjects for tragedy"¹⁰⁸ with all the qualities needed by the genre to arouse sympathy for the defeated noble enemy.

While Arberry believes that the grandeur of Persia "evoked the praise of Herodotus and the admiration of Aeschylus, and provided both these masters with a subject for dramas which are among our most prized relics of the ancient world,"¹⁰⁹ Aeschylus, according to Said, depicts "the sense of disaster overcoming the Persians when they learn that their armies, led by King Xerxes, have been destroyed by the Greeks."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 240.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2007. p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953. p.16.

¹¹⁰ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 56.

Around 370 BC, Xenophon (b. 430-25 BC, d. after 356 BC), the Athenian gentleman disciple of Socrates, soldier, writer, and a historian, wrote *Cyropaedia* (Gr. *Kúrou paideía*, The Education of Cyrus), a fictional biography of Cyrus the Great (559-29 BC), who was the organizer of the ancient Persian kingdom, the Achaemenid Empire, son of King Darius II, whose name is alluded to in *The Old Testament* referring to his generosity towards the Jews in saving them from Babylonian captivity. Xenophon, who was in the army of the Persian prince Cyrus, offered a perfect portrait of the Persian king, Persia and Persian customs, in *The Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*. *The Cyropaedia*, "a mixture of political treatise and historical novel,"¹¹¹ gave the ancient Persian Empire, as Grogan believes, "a particularly compelling origin story centered on the heroic acts of Cyrus leading an unprepossessing 'barbarian' people to great wealth and an empire stretching east from the Lydian shores of the Mediterranean to the farther stretches of Assyria, across to Babylon and eventually (under Cyrus's son, Cambyses) to Egypt".¹¹²

The concept of the "barbarian" which Said refers to frequently in his book to prove the validity of his theory concerning Orientalism and "Otherness", came from the Greek classics. In Said's view, from the ancient times, the concept of "Others" and disparaging the Oriental people have existed by calling them "barbers": "A fifth-century Athenian was very likely to feel himself to be nonbarbarian as much as he positively felt himself to be Athenian."¹¹³ From then onwards, the Orient frequently "appeared lamentably underhumanized, antidemocratic, backward, barbaric, and so forth"¹¹⁴ so that during the nineteenth century in the works of British and French authors there was an inclination to demonstrate that "an Oriental man was first an Oriental and only second a man."¹¹⁵ Irwin defines the term "Barbarian" as "a linguistic concept" which was initially applied to "all non-Greek-speaking peoples...both civilized and uncivilized

¹¹¹ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 23.

¹¹² Grogan, Jane. *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549–1622*. UK; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. p. 3.

¹¹³ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 54.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 150.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 231.

peoples. Thus the Greeks considered the Persians to be 'barbarians', but hardly uncouth or uncultured".¹¹⁶

According to what have been discussed, it is not precise to consider the above-mentioned classic historians and authors as Orientalists with imperialistic intention, just because they, in Said's term, "accepted the basic distinction between East and West."¹¹⁷ They did not reveal any sort of racism, colonialism, imperialism or even superiority, rather, their works, display admiration for the lands they travelled to. This is what Lisa Lowe criticizes in her *Critical Terrains*, when she refers to the notion of discourse in Said's thesis in defining Orientalism as the expression of European imperialism:

To allegorize the meaning of the representation of the Orient as if it were exclusively and always an expression of European colonialism is to analyze the relation between text and context in terms of a homology, a determination of meaning such that every signifier must have one signified and every narrative one interpretation. Such a totalizing logic represses the heterologic possibilities that texts are not simple reproductions of context-indeed, that context is plural, unfixed, unrepresentable and that orientalism may well be an apparatus through which a variety of concerns with difference is figured.¹¹⁸

Also, Said's claim, that Europeans have obtained their identity or "self" from comparing themselves to other nations or cultures based on geographical borders,¹¹⁹ does not seem valid. Rather, as Windschuttle comments, they "identify themselves as joint heirs of classical Greece and Christianity, each tempered by the fluxes of medieval scholasticism, the Renaissance, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Enlightenment, and modernism."¹²⁰

During the Medieval period European nations became aware of the oriental lands through Biblical stories, as well as Patristic (the Writings of the Ancient Church) and Classical sources. Also, translations from Arabic sources began in the Middle Ages (Following the Arab conquest of Iran in 651 A.D., the official language of Persia was

¹¹⁶ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 18.

¹¹⁷ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. P. 2.

¹¹⁸ Lowe, Lisa. *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*. Cornell University Press, 1991. p. 8.

¹¹⁹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. Passim.

¹²⁰ Windschuttle, Keith. "Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited." *Quadrant* 44.1-2 (January-February 2000), p. 25.

imposed to be changed to Arabic), which generally consisted of the works related to branches of science, medicine, and philosophy. It was in 1143 that Robert of Ketton, an Englishman, translated the Qur'an into Latin (which was a Christian language) for the first time in order to help ministers to negate it. In 1210 Mark of Toledo, translated it once more. However, these translations were not welcomed until about four hundred years later in the sixteenth century. Translation of Arabic scripts was not restricted to religious books. In different branches of science Arabic works were translated, even, as Irwin states, "Scholars in Paris, Oxford, Bologna and elsewhere became acquainted with the works of Aristotle mostly via translations from the Arabic."¹²¹ It was near the end of the twelfth century that Ibn Sina's (Avicenna) comprehensive book, *al-Qanun fi al-Tibb (The Canon of Medicine)* was translated into Latin and became a basis for medical education at the universities of Europe until the end of the seventeenth century. In his numerous works, Ibn Sina tried to reconcile Greek philosophy with Islamic theology, and that was to affect the progress of European scholasticism. Alongside Ibn Sina's, the Latin translation of Ibn Rushd presented Greek philosophy to the Western world. Medieval writing, according to Grogan, "had followed alternative cues from the classical tradition (such as Horace's Ode 1.38) and provided a fairly exuberantly fictionalized view of Persia, painting it as a place of luxury, pride and effeminacy."¹²² This view continued to be found in medieval and Charlemagne romances such as *Huon of Bordeaux*, and other similar literary works of the age with their reference to Persian names and remote eastern places belonging to Persia with no reference to the supposed superiority of the West over the East or Orientalism as a colonial form of understanding.

Knowledge from classical scripts increased from the second half of the fourteenth century. In his *Confessio Amantis* ("The Lover's Confession"), which demonstrates the medieval life and conventions of love, John Gower (1330-1408) refers to Persia, the Sultans of Persia, king Cyrus and *Daryus* (Darius) several

¹²¹ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 35.

¹²² Grogan, Jane. *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549–1622*. UK; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. p. 4.

times. Following the medieval understanding of the world empires which were traditionally associated with the precious metals, Gower considers the silver kingdom, "a world of lasse worth" (636), to be the Persian Empire, and the bronze, "werse world" (638), as the Greek empire of Alexander. Zoroaster is also referred to as the first experimenter in the art of magic (Bk. VI. 2368-2380). Gower's friend, Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400), influenced by Herodotus' *The Histories* concerning the Greco-Persian Wars, in "The Monk's Tale" of his *Canterbury Tales* refers to Persian kings and characters.¹²³

Up to the end of the seventeenth century, as Shoberl believes, little was written to make the western world "acquainted with a country with the name of which all that is most attractive, elegant and tender, in oriental literature, romance and poetry, is intimately associated."¹²⁴ The primary source of information about ancient Persia for Renaissance readers was allocated to Cyrus. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and the Persian Empire he had described, was considered as a perfect state whose instructions would be valuable both for subjects and kings. During this period, some travelers went to Persia and shared their account of the exotic land. Marco Polo (1254-1324) was among the first visitors of Persia who presented a complete account of the ancient land and the life of Asian people in his *The Travels of Marco Polo*. It was he, who, according to Arberry, "threw the first real light on Persia for many centuries [and] changed Persia from a mere name into a reality. Through him, Europe at last learnt something of that country, its cities, and its people."¹²⁵ In Arberry's view, what Marco Polo showed to the West was "*inter alia*, that the sturdy Persian peasant could, under certain conditions, rise to great heights of heroism."¹²⁶ Later on, Odoric of Pordenone, (1286–1331) a Franciscan clergy man and a preacher from northeastern Italy whose visit throughout

¹²³ The Monk conveys a series of little tragedies, all of which deal with the role of Fortune in the abovementioned people's lives, those who were once favored by fortune but in due course abandoned by it. He refers to characters such as Lucifer, Adam, Hercules, Samson, and Nero, Persians, Shapur king of Persia, Zenobia "Of the king's blood of Persia is she descended". (l.2252)

¹²⁴ Shoberl, Frederick. *Persia, Containing a Description of the Country with an account of its Government, Laws and Religion*. Philadelphia; Published by John Grigg, 1828.p. vii.

¹²⁵ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953.p. 341.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 341.

the East, produced a significant Western account of life and culture in Asian countries such as Iran, India, China, Indonesia, Nepal, and Russia. Clavijo, the Spanish Ambassador, reported his accounts of travelling to the religious holy place in Meshed, Persia, and the religious beliefs of the Shi'a. During this period some missionary agents went to Asia under the command of Pope John XXII during whose pontificate, missionary activities in Asia were supported, resulting in establishment of Catholic bishoprics in Anatolia, Armenia, India, and Iran. Meanwhile, there were some recorded documents by Italian traders who went there among whom one can mention Signor Francis Pegolotti, whose *The Practice of Commerce* was a travel guide for merchants. By the mid-fourteenth century, Higden, affected by Greek and Latin historians, portrayed Persia and the Persian Wars in his *Polychronicon*. A while later, in 1356 or 1357, Sir John Mandeville collected a travel book, "as a reliable guide to pilgrims going to the Holy Land,"¹²⁷ where he pictured an Orient which, according to Arberry, was "at one moment Cathay, at another Persia, a Persia which stretched beyond Arabia, beyond Abyssinia, and even to the 'londe of Inde'."¹²⁸ The Persia that Mandeville portrayed was "an earthly paradise, the cradle of Biblical story, bounded by one of the four rivers that came out of the Garden of Eden"¹²⁹. It was a golden land, a "country of luxury, light, and colour, of gardens sunlit and scented, murmurous with bird song and the sound of running water."¹³⁰ Emphasizing on the common points between Islam and Christianity, Mandeville praised the Muslims there as "very devout and honest in their law, keeping well the commandments of the Koran, which God sent them by his messenger Muhammad".¹³¹

An immense source of knowledge about the Orient was related to Arabic studies, which according to Irwin, initiated with "Postel, Pococke, Erpenius, Golius and Marracci" in the early seventeenth century. Mandeville's interest for Asia's wonders was

¹²⁷ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 55.

¹²⁸ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953. p. 360.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 361.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 361.

¹³¹ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. p. 107.

reflected in the writings of Guillaume Postel (c. 1510–81), considered as "Europe's first great Orientalist".¹³² He believed in the primacy of Hebrew over the other languages and considered it as "*via veritas perdit*a, 'the lost way of truth'".¹³³ Having learned Arabic, Postel published *Grammatica Arabica*, in 1543, which was considered as the first grammar book of classical Arabic in Europe. Later he went to the Near East, admired both Ottoman and Arabic culture and wrote about "the history of Islam, the Arabic language, as well as the religion, laws, customs of the Ottoman Turks"¹³⁴ by publishing *De la république des Turcs, et là ou l'occasion s'offera, des meurs et loys de tous Muhamedistes* in 1559.

John Greaves (1602–52), a Professor of Astronomy and mathematician, who believed in the significance of classical and Oriental manuscripts, was interested in Arabic and Persian writers on astronomy. In the field of Persian language, he published *Elementa Linguae Persicae*, a Persian grammar. Among the other notable orientalists of the age Abraham Wheelocke, Edmund Castell, Thomas Hyde and Thomas Greaves (John's brother) could be mentioned.

It was at about the end of the sixteenth century when Elizabeth I (1533-1603) sent agents to Iran, officially, based on commercial and political considerations, to shape trading relations. According to Grogan, Anthony Jenkinson was the first English ambassador who went on a visit to the Safavid capital Qazvin in 1561, and carried to Shah Tahmasp, as described in *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* by Anthony Jenkinson and other Englishmen, as "the Great Sophie, Emperour of Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Carmanarians, Margians" (112-113) a letter from his own monarch seeking help for his "honest intent to establish trade of merchandise with your subjects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes in Persia."¹³⁵ Considering the significance of ancient Persia and the glory of Cyrus and Darius, Queen Elizabeth

¹³² Ibid, p. 57.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 71.

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 71.

¹³⁵ Grogan, Jane. *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549–1622*. UK; Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Introduction, p. 1.

called Shah Tahmasp the "Sophy" and compared his reign to his illustrious predecessors, particularly the Achaemenids. Some evidence supporting these views can be found in words of Minadoi, the Italian scholar, who wrote that Safavid Persia "is at last so encreased & enlarged by Ismahel the Saha and Sofi, that vnder his gouernment Persia seemed to enuy the glory of Cyrus & Darius."¹³⁶ Queen Elizabeth's letter showed that Persia seemed to find its significance once more when Europeans looked for political and economic opportunities during the sixteenth century. Accordingly, because of the conflict between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the tolerance of the Persia and its Sophy court towards the Christians and their opposition towards the Turks and Ottoman Empire as the common foe, Europe followed trade and exchange with the Persians, regardless of ideological differences. So, the beginning of the seventeenth century was what Savory stated as "a unique experiment in Anglo-Iranian cooperation."¹³⁷ During the same period, as Matar believed "there was relatively little English interaction with the language and civilization of Safavid Persia"¹³⁸ in comparison to the Ottoman Empire.

The accounts of the travelers to the East were significant sources of knowledge for the Renaissance age. What they depicted was a picturesque and fantastic view of a wealthy land. The discovery of America, as a New World, raised interest for travel writings. Although, as Irwin comments, "curiously, people were far more interested in reading about the Islamic lands and the lands yet further east than they were in reading about the New World."¹³⁹ The travel books which were written about the East were generally mixed with imagination and wonder about this exotic land as for example was Giambattista Ramusio's *Racolta de Navigazioni et viaggi*, (Venice, 1550–59), a collection of travel narratives.

One of the premium works of early Western scholarship on Persia and the Near East is attributed to *The Travels of Sir John Chardin*. Sir John Chardin (1643-1713), who

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Savory, Roger. *Iran under the Safavids*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.p. 118.

¹³⁸ Matar, Nabil. *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.p. 3.

¹³⁹ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. p. 66.

was very fond of Persia and Persian language, spent about 10 years in Persia, between 1665 and 1677, and gave a realistic and detailed account of what he witnessed in his voyages to Persia. His accounts were praised by many future writers, including Montesquieu and Sir William Jones so that he was labeled as "the merchant of the King of Persia". Later on some other diplomats and agents such as Sir Gore Ouseley, (1770-1844), Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833), James Justinian Morier (1780-1849), Edward Scott Waring (1747-1819), and Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842) wrote significant travel books and texts about Persia, replete with admiration with the least sign of superiority or prejudice.

Commercial exchange between Persia under the rule of Shaah Abbas and the English traders, the publication of travel books on the Orient such as the *Adventures of the Shirley brothers* (which formed a play called *The Travels of the Three English Brothers, 1607*), the accounts of travellers such as Ralph Fitch [*Account of the Voyage of Ralph Fitch, Merchant of London, (1550 – 1611)*], Thomas Herbert's *Travels in Persia (1627-29)*, and oral transmission of stories about Persia presented a favorable account of the Persians and made the authors and dramatists familiar with its culture and enabled them to mention Persia in their works.¹⁴⁰ Because of commercial relation with the East, awareness about Persia increased and it was not restricted to the Classical and Biblical sources. It was also the age of influence of the Islamic culture in Europe. However, as the consequence of Persians' friendly associations with Europe, and curiosity toward the East, which was not restricted to Britain, there were signs of Orientalism (interest for Asian realms) in the other European countries so that some agents were sent to the East for commercial purposes, as well.

Soon the fervor for the East found its way into literary works, as well. Persia, its culture and costumes appeared on the London stage. Renaissance playwrights tried their hands in writing about the ancient and contemporary history of Persia. Shakespeare referred to Persia as the court of the Grand Sophy in his plays *The*

¹⁴⁰ Thomas, David and John A. Chesworth. *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History. Northern and Eastern Europe (1600-1700)*. Volume 8. E books, Brill Publishers, 2016. Passim. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004326637>

Merchant of Venice (II. i.) and *Twelfth Night* [(II. v.) and (III. iv.)]. There were some other allusions to Persian court and kings in *King Lear* (III. vi.), *King Henry VI* [(I. Vi.) and (II. ii.)] and *King Henry IV* (II. iv.). Sophy or Sofi, was an allusion to the monarchs of the Safavid dynasty of Iran (1501–1736). There were some other references to the Orient and oriental pearls in Shakespeare's plays in which Persia was portrayed as a rich country with expensive garments, carpets, and silk. *King Lear* says to Edgar: "Only I do not like the fashion of your garments. You will say they are Persian attire; but let them be changed." (III. vi.). The remark of the Second Merchant to Angelo, in *Comedy of Errors* "I am bound for Persia, and want guilders for my voyage" (IV, i) conveys another example.

Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587-88) whose "plot is laid by Persian" (Part One, I, i) opens in Persepolis with the Persian king Mycetes as the chief character and his brother Cosroe (an allusion to the pre-Islamic Sassanian king of Persia from the 6th century AD). It has several mentions to Persia, which "...in former age/ Hast been the seat of mighty conquerors/ That in their prowess and their policies/ Have triumphed over Afric, and the bounds Of Europe/ where the sun dares scarce appear/ For freezing meteors and congealèd cold (*Tamburlaine I*, I.i. 27). However, because of the weakness of the king and treachery of his brother Tamburlaine has won victory over the Persian army. Also, in *The Jew of Malta* there are references to "Persian silks, of gold, and orient pearl" (I, i).

Although both Shakespeare and Marlow referred to Persia, Persian Kings, and Sophy, their references were partly based on imagination rather than historical facts. *Tamburlaine* alters history by making Cosroe a contemporary of the fourteenth century Central-Asian conqueror. In the same way, no Sophy of Persia was identified to have been killed on a battlefield in the sixteenth century. However, these alterations of history did not reduce the grandeur of the land.

In Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* Sir Epicure Mammon dreams of the Persian costume (II, ii) and in his *Volpone*, when Volpone tries to seduce Celia with a passionate speech, he promises to dress her like "the Persian Sophy's wife" (III, vii).

Among the other plays of this era whose plots refer to Persia and its classical antiquity, one can refer to Fulke Greville's *Alaham* (the approximate date is between 1586 and 1600), Samuel Daniel's *The Tragedie of Philotas* (1605) and William Alexander's four *Monarchick Tragedies* (1602-7). Sir John Denham's *The Sophy* (1642) and Robert Baron's *Mirza* (1647), a tragedy whose story is the same as Sir John Denham's *Sophy*, but their plots are different.

All the above-mentioned plays, and some later plays such as Thomas Southerne's *The Loyal Brother, or The Persian Prince* (1682), were composed based on the records derived from historical or travel books by which knowledge about the Orient was transferred to the West. However, in spite of their knowledge about Persia and its history, the above-mentioned authors seemed to have no knowledge about Persian Literature, which was rich at that time. Except for some slight references to Persian poetry such as George Puttenham's "*The Arte of English Poesie*" (1589), no knowledge of the literature of Persian people was evident in the European literary works.¹⁴¹

Familiarity with Persian Literature began in the seventeenth century when there were works of literature included numerous references to Persia, its history, science, astronomy and even its literature. There were also Zoroastrian and pre-Islamic Persian studies. It was Adam Olearius (1599 –1671) who introduced Persian Literature to the world for the first time.¹⁴² As a German Scholar, he became an administrator to the emissary sent by Frederick III, Duke of Holstein to the Shah of Safavid Persia. He later published two books about his experiences during his travels. He also presented examples of Persian poetry and compared Persian and French literature. He introduced Sa'di to Europe and published a German translation of the *Gulistan and Bustan*, which affected Goethe and some other authors. Sir John Chardin, who was mentioned before, also devoted a large part of his *Travels* to Persia and Persian literature with some translations of Sa'di and Hafiz which affected Addison (1672-1719) and Sir William Jones (1746- 1794).¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Javadi, Hasan. *Persian Literary Influence On English Literature*. Mazda Publishers, 2005. p. 29.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 43.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 43.

Although during the previous centuries some Oriental tales were known to the West, it was in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that folk-literature of the Middle East found its way into England, became popular and turned out to be a source of information about the East. These tales had Chinese, Turkish, Persian, and Tartarian origins and were translated into French and English. *The Arabian Nights*, or *One Thousand and One Nights* was a collection of folk tales about the Middle East, collected in Arabic, translated into English in 1706 which opened a prospect into the Eastern world. This masterpiece of folk literature was the outcome of the experience of various authors, translators, and scholars in the East over many centuries depicting the details of life in Eastern nations through mystery and magic. The tales in the collection are narrated by Scheherazade (Shahrazad) as entertainment for her jealous and cruel husband, in order to keep herself alive. Most of its adventures take place in Baghdad and Iran, and its stories are from the Iranian roots translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi. The tales cover different scopes of life such as love, hatred and death. In the same way, the publication of d'Herbelot's encyclopedic *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697), in French, posthumously, focused on Arabic, Persian and Turkish culture, increased interest in Oriental culture, literature and history of the Arabs, Persians and Turks.

William Collins in his *Persian Eclogues* (1742), based on the Oriental fables, refers to Persia and Safavid kings, presents the Orient as an ideal land and paves the way for other Romantic authors to wish for an imaginative land in the Orient. Collins's eclogues, which as Eversole says, "are wrapped in an elaborate textual fiction" and "are presented as genuine artifacts of Persia—about Persia, by a Persian, and for Persians,"¹⁴⁴ denote Collins' knowledge about historical sources. The preface points out that the four eclogues reveal "a cycle of contrasting experiences, a cycle of the miseries and inconveniencies, as well as the felicities, that attend one of the finest countries in the East."¹⁴⁵ Later on, John Scott's imitation of Persian *Eclogues* produced *Oriental*

¹⁴⁴ Eversole, Richard. "Collins and the End of the Shepherd Pastoral" in Thomas, David and John Cheswort. Ed. *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. (Vol. 13, Western Europe). Leiden, Boston: Brill Publications, 2019. p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 26.

Eclogues (1782) depicting the behaviors of the Asiatic people, and the style of their literature, which was pursued later by the Romantics.

The outcome of the travellers' records about the East, the translation of *The Arabian Nights* and other Oriental tales was the increased interest in the Oriental countries. Meanwhile numerous imitations of Oriental tales came into existence among which Dr. John Langhorne's *Solyman and Almena* (1762) and William Beckford's *Vathek* can be mentioned. They not only imitated the names but the places, events and religious notions found in the Oriental tales. Although the Oriental scenes, and manners described in these stories, gave it a realistic color, the picture they portrayed in their tales was partly based on imagination derived from ancient, historical or travel sources.

It was at the end of the eighteenth century that an increasing intimacy took shape between the East and England following the many travel accounts about the East, and the presence of Britain in India. Orientalist portrayal of the Orient, according to Said, was advanced by these travel accounts concerning the Orient. During this period, Orientalists dominated the government of India. The English became interested in the patronage of native cultures. The study of Persian was encouraged by the East India Company. So the Oriental movement accorded with a growing interest in the Middle East accepting the significance of some non-Western cultures and literatures. Oriental studies, which began in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, reached its peak in the eighteenth century, with Sir William Jones (1746– 94), also known as "Oriental Jones" (he will be fully discussed in the next chapter) whose deep enthusiasm for Oriental studies put Said's Orientalist theory under question.

Said identifies Jones as one of the first organized Orientalists who, according to Betty Joseph, "revealed the extraordinary riches of Sanskrit, Indian religion, and Indian history to Europe."¹⁴⁶ While considering Jones's endeavors and significance as a classic poet, Said refers to him as a typical model of Orientalism: "To rule and to learn, then to compare Orient with Occident: these were Jones's goals"¹⁴⁷ for whom "the Orient was

¹⁴⁶ Betty Joseph "Dredging Orientalism." *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 38:2 (Spring 2014). p. 120.

¹⁴⁷ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 78.

defined by material possession."¹⁴⁸ Jones, based on Said's view, is considered among "medical men with strong missionary leanings" who, like them, was "imbued with the dual purpose of investigating the sciences and the arts of Asia, with the hope of facilitating ameliorations there and of advancing knowledge and improving the arts at home."¹⁴⁹ Michael J. Franklin is among the scholars who consider Jones as a counterexample to Said's general "indictment" of Orientalists.¹⁵⁰ In his *Orientalist Jones*, he, not only criticizes Said's totalizing theoretical discourse in portraying the West as "producing the knowledge and the East as the passive object of knowledge,"¹⁵¹ but also states that Jones's familiarity and translation of Sufi poetry such as Hafiz's and Sa'di's into English had shaped an image of physical and spiritual reconciliation, "reconciliation and synthesis between Asia and Europe, between America and Britain" in order to heal the gap with America and to "restore the broken harmony of our limited republic."¹⁵²

Oriental literature owes much of its significance, in the Western world, to Jones. Jones tried to introduce Persian Classical literature into English, so he directed Europe's attention to Asia for getting new inspiration from the old land. He was fluent in the Persian language, not as a means to colonize the East, but following his ardent interest in Persian studies. Although Persian was the language of the Indian courts at that time, it did not result in any interest in Persian studies in England before Jones. His interest in the Persian language rooted in his enthusiasm rather than political reasons. Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language*, with numerous citations from the famous medieval Persian poets, was indeed, as Irwin asserts, "of more use to poets than to imperial administrators", also, he was more involved in "introducing Persian poets to a European audience than he was in producing a crib for merchants and administrators working in exotic parts."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 169.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 79.

¹⁵⁰ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones*. The United States; Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2011.p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 226.

¹⁵² Ibid, p. 176.

¹⁵³ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. pp. 122-3.

Jones's studies of Persian poetry had convinced him to announce, in his "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", that "Asiaticks excel the inhabitants of colder regions in the liveliness of their fancy, and the richness of their invention."¹⁵⁴ Thanks to his devotion to oriental studies, he found extensive similarity in Western and Eastern literature so that in his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, he came to the idea that "There is scarce a lesson of morality or a tender sentiment in any European language to which a parallel may not be brought from the poets of Asia."¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, he compared Firdawsi to Homer; "Both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them only by reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, the likeness of a likeness; and both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative invention, which is the very soul of poetry"¹⁵⁶ and similarly he compared Hafiz to Petrarch and Shakespeare. He added: "I may confidently affirm that few odes of the Greeks or Romans upon similar subjects are more finely polished than the songs of these Persian poets".¹⁵⁷

In 1784 Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal through which he stimulated world-wide interest in India and the Orient. Through this establishment, of which he remained president until his death, he wanted to encourage Oriental studies, spread by his love for India, Eastern people, oriental society and culture. Meanwhile, he was opposed to any form of oppression and tyranny that were the outcomes of imperialism and colonialism. He aimed to make Oriental studies available and attractive for western people and to prepare ways to understand Oriental culture, literature and law better. Accordingly, he learnt Sanskrit to understand Hindu and Muslim law and culture better, and to prepare himself for a wide study in the field of Hindu and Muslim law. It was in 1786 that Jones declared that Sanskrit, Greek and Latin had a common origin and were linked to one another. Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and German, according

¹⁵⁴ Jones, Sir William. "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", Sir William Jones. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. M DCC LXXII. p. 181.

¹⁵⁵ Jones, Sir William, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 4th edn, London, 1797, p. 126.

¹⁵⁶ Jones, Sir William. "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", Sir William Jones. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*. p. 195. Also quoted in Javadi, Hasan. *Persian Literary Influence On English Literature*. Mazda Publishers, 2005. p. 55.

¹⁵⁷ Jones, Sir William, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 4th edn, London, 1797, p. 126.

to Jones, belonged to one family; the Indo-European, and had common points with each other. Soon in a discourse addressing the Royal Asiatic Society in 1786, he announced that Sanskrit, as an oriental language, was "more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either". Said criticizes this remarkable idea of Jones about Sanskrit and its affinities to Greek and Latin and disparages the "goal" of oriental studies by restricting it to finding an Oriental source for European languages while grounding the European languages in Oriental sources was neither a goal for Jones nor for the other Orientalists, contrary to what Said claimed:

His most famous pronouncement indicates the extent to which modern Orientalism, even in its philosophical beginnings, was a comparative discipline having for its principal goal the grounding of the European languages in a distant, and harmless, Oriental source: "The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source."¹⁵⁸

The formation of an Indo-Aryan family of languages, which was initiated by Jones and followed by other orientalists, is opposed by Said and he questions the validity of his ideas. Likewise, Said criticizes Friedrich Schlegel, the German Romantic scholar, for persisting in his belief that "Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand and Greek and German on the other had more affinities with each other than with the Semitic, Chinese, American or African languages."¹⁵⁹ However Schlegel was right to connect Sanskrit, Persian, Greek and German. These languages, according to Ibn Warraq, "all belong to the same family, the Indo-European, and have more in common with each other than any of them do with Semitic, Chinese, American or African, languages that belong to other families."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 78-9.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 98.

¹⁶⁰ Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2007. p. 4.

Although other orientalists did much in the field, Jones remained as a supreme figure since much of the interest in Oriental studies in the West was due to his primary works. At that time Persian poetry received considerable attention and numerous oriental works were translated into European languages among which the following works were remarkable. *The Seventy Tales of a Parrot*, a cycle of stories in classical Sanskrit literature, was translated by Rev. B. Gerrans (1792) and Francis Gladwin (in 1801). In 1812 Henry Weber produced an encyclopedic collection of Oriental tales. In 1771, Count Reviczki published a selection of Hafiz's odes and their Latin translation. In 1777 John Richardson (1740/41–1795) edited the first Persian-Arabic-English dictionary. Hafiz's *Ghazals* were versified and published in two volumes as *Select Odes* (1787) and *Persian Lyrics* (1800) by John Nott and J. H. Hindley. In 1785 Joseph Champion condensed initial parts of *Shah Nameh* into English verse from which later in 1814, J. A. Atkinson translated the initial episode of "Soohrab".

A contemporary of Jones was Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731-1805), the French Orientalist, whose field of scholarship was the origins of ancient religions in Asia. Discussing the birth of Orientalism in the eighteenth century, Raymond Schwab refers to him as one among the leading French orientalists in India. Said, too, considers him among the first orientalists and believes that "it was after William Jones and Anquetil-Duperron, and after Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, Europe came to know the Orient more scientifically, to live in it with greater authority and discipline than ever before"¹⁶¹ and they were able "intelligibly to reveal the extraordinary riches of Avestan and Sanskrit."¹⁶² He was the first European who translated and published an edition of the Zoroastrian *Zend-Avesta* (1781) including the religious and moral ideas of Zoroaster, the ancient prophet of pre-Islamic Persia. He was the first to attract the attention of European scholars to an ancient oriental sacred text apart from and independent of the Bible, when they still believed the Hebrew scriptures to be the most ancient religious manuscript.

¹⁶¹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 22.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 51.

He was unreceptive to the depiction of Oriental despotism by the West and believed that such a portrait of Asian society would lead to oppression over the Oriental peoples. He referred, as McCabe puts it, to "the formation of a tradition, a European canon, through which Asia had been falsely defined."¹⁶³ The formation of this false literary canon is what Edward Said expresses in his *Orientalism* two centuries later. He was anti-imperialist and could not accept the representation of tyranny and oppression in the oriental regions. Irwin describes him as an anti-imperialist who had the fear that "the concept of Oriental despotism had been summoned up by certain Western thinkers in order to justify the oppressive rule of Europeans over Asia."¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, by publishing a narrative of his travels, he created an archetype of the Orientalist adventurer which lasted more than two centuries.

It was in 1800 that the College of Fort William was established in Calcutta at which different languages such as Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu were taught. However, because of the Orientalists' rejection of the missionary doings in India, it was doomed to be closed later. The writings of James Mill and Lord Macaulay were examples of these anti-orientalist reactions. Said might have these examples of opposition in mind when he refers to "Self and "Other": "For every idea about 'our' art spoken for by Arnold, Ruskin, Mill, Newman, Carlyle, Renan, Gobineau, or Comte, another link in the chain binding 'us' together was formed while another outsider was banished."¹⁶⁵ However, later on, the objections were answered by Orientalist scholars like Sir Richard Burton and Edward Byles Cowell.

Sir William Jones was the eminent developer of Indian and Persian studies, as Schwab declares, while his main successors in the field of oriental studies were French and German scholars among whom Jean Pierre Abel Remusat, August Wilhelm Schlegel, Eugene Burnouf and Max Muller can be mentioned.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ McCabe, Ina Baghdiantz. *Orientalism in Early Modern France Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime*. USA, New York; Berg Editorial offices, 2008.p. 284.

¹⁶⁴ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* .p. 126.

¹⁶⁵ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 228.

¹⁶⁶ Schwab, Raymond, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, trans. by Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking, foreword by Edward Said. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. Passim.

1.4. Orientalism Today

There is no doubt that Said's *Orientalism* has been one of the most influential works during the postwar period, based on numerous scholarly and literary texts, a historical study, an expression of "power-knowledge" discourse, indicating the way through which the Arab-Islamic world have been demonstrated by the west throughout ages which has led to different critical encounters. Focusing on the Middle East and South Asia as the representative of Orient, he proclaims that every demonstration of the East in the dedicated scholarships has been political and based on imperialist and colonialist agenda, the aim of which has been to deconstruct the Orient as the Occident has desired. He, also, criticizes the image of the Arab-Muslim in the Western's mind which has been tied to terror and peculiarity and that of the Orient to mystery. He takes the reader to the depth of history to clarify the story of domination beginning from the Middle ages to the date of his book composition.

Edward Said's argument in his *Orientalism* indicates the reciprocal relation between knowledge and power. Since the initial point of human communities, power, as the heart of policy, has possessed a fundamental place in human relations, either national or international and consequently, an instrument to dominate others. Morgenthau, in his *Politics Among Nations*, believes that power may "comprise anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man [...], over the minds and actions of other men. It covers all social relationships which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another." Political power, from his viewpoint, maintains "mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority."¹⁶⁷ Power might be derived from knowledge (producing technology), economy, military forces and ideology in diplomatic relations, applied for National security, maintaining or changing status quo to improve the condition or to

¹⁶⁷ Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics among Nations; The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. p. 13.

follow the imperialist policy. Both Orientalism and "Orientalism in reverse", as Al-Azm calls, follow the concept of power and supremacy. In other words, no matter who has been in power, it has turned out to be an instrument to dominate the others during man's history. The imbalance of power and the dichotomy between the powerful and the powerless still create oppression in favor of the former and has become a part of man's political unconsciousness, not only between the Orient and the Occident, but also in the lands where people are divided to "us" and "them" by their own dictator governments. Whenever and wherever man has been deprived of democracy, freedom, equal citizenship rights, and the rule of law, he has been colonized by the oppressing power.

More than forty years have passed since the first publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. There have been significant changes in the world since then, socially, politically and technologically. Following extensive migrations from the Middle East to the United States and Europe throughout the previous and recent centuries, and thanks to technology; the internet, virtual world, and the concept of "Global Village", the once taken for granted imaginary categories of East and West or borders between races and nations are not easily possible to be imagined anymore. Yet, debates over the notion of Orientalism still exist in other shapes and forms. The nature of Orientalism has not changed much, albeit based on the frequent changes, its quality has differed. Subsequently, Edward Said's notions about Orientalism need to be reconsidered.

Alongside the publication of Said's challenging book, *Orientalism*, the world 1978-9 witnessed concurrent seminal events related to the Orient, directly or indirectly. It was in 1978 that the Camp David Accords, a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, was signed in order to terminate the state of war that had existed between the two countries and to establish peace in the Middle East. However, as the consequence, Egypt was ostracized by most Arab countries. During the same year, the revolution of the Iranian masses resulted in the dethroning of the monarchy and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran (Feb. 1979). Also, in the neighborhood, Afghanistan was raided by the Soviet Union following the expansion of Islamic armed

rebellion against the left-wing dictatorship in 1979. It was in this period that anti-Western Islamic studies raised even in the Western countries. Under the influence of the Iranian revolutionary process, a "revisionist Arab line of political thought" appeared according to whose view, as Achcar says, the "national salvation so eagerly sought by the Arabs since the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt is to be found neither in secular nationalism (be it radical, conservative or liberal) nor in revolutionary communism, socialism or what have you, but in a return to the authenticity of what they call 'popular political Islam'."¹⁶⁸

The chaotic present condition in the Middle East, the terrorist devastation in the United States on September 11, and the increasing terrorism suspects in Europe, have increased cynicism about Islam and the Orient during the years after *Orientalism*. The way both the East and the West acquire and broadcast information about one another is not objective, rather is the outcome of a process that follows certain political or ideological interests. Today, they behold one another as they did formerly; following a mental background of "Orientalism", the West considers the East as inferior, as an object to be dominated and the East perceives the West with the suspicion.

Islamophobia has turned to be a prevalent conception in the western territories, which, according to Mayurakshi Dev, may stem from years of "polarised media representation of the Arabs as violent, warring, anarchists, and belonging to a religion and society which necessarily does not identify with western progressive sensibilities."¹⁶⁹ Yet, turning back to the idea of power and Orientalism in reverse, the West in general and the United States in particular are cynical about the Muslims of what Karsh calls Islamic Imperialism.

Efraim Karsh in his *Islamic Imperialism* reconsiders the old concept of the Middle East and challenges Edward Said's ideas in his *Orientalism*. He rejects the traditional Western opinion concerning Middle Eastern studies which "views the region's history as an offshoot of global power politics" and believes that "the Middle East's experience

¹⁶⁸ Achcar, Gilbert. *Marxism, Orientalism, Cosmopolitanism*. London: Saqi books, 2013. p. 23.

¹⁶⁹ Mayurakshi Dev. "Said's Orientalism in Today's Society". p. 4.

file:///C:/Users/GSS/Downloads/Saids_Orientalism_in_Todays_Society.pdf.pdf

is the culmination of long-existing indigenous trends, passions, and patterns of behavior, first and foremost the region's millenarian imperial tradition."¹⁷⁰ He believes that "imperialist dreams" have always been part of the history of the Middle East so that "from the first Arab-Islamic Empire of the mid-seventh century to the Ottomans, the last great Muslim empire, the story of the Middle East has been the story of the rise and fall of universal empires and, no less important, of imperialist dreams."¹⁷¹ The birth of Islam, according to him, "was inextricably linked with the creation of a world empire and its universalism was inherently imperialist."¹⁷²

Karsh starts a journey from the emergence of Islam and its "conquest of much of the ancient world,"¹⁷³ and archetypal Islamic leaders (ancient and modern), to the present century 9/11 terrorist attacks and those responsible for the massacre, such as Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda terrorist organization in their self-assumed Holy War, holy because according the Qur'anic revelations, "exertion in the path of Allah"¹⁷⁴, Jihad, is holy to be rewarded in the Heaven: "Those killed in the course of the jihad should not be mourned as dead as they have made their contract with Allah,"¹⁷⁵ referring to the Qur'an "Allah has bought from the believers their soul and their possessions against the gift of Paradise; they fight in the path of Allah; they kill and are killed . . . and who fulfills his covenant truer than Allah? So rejoice in the bargain you have made with Him; that is the mighty triumph."¹⁷⁶

By presenting Islam as an opponent to Christianity and Western civilization Karsh warns against the possible imperialist dream of Muslims and their ambition for power to reshape and rule the world based on their religious law (Shari'a). Discussing the history of Islam, he argues that the Arabs justified their conquests by means of religion and the approval of God. He warns against a similar incident in the present century or future resulting in reviving Islamic imperialism.

¹⁷⁰ Karsh, Efraim. *Islamic Imperialism; A History*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁷² Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁷³ Ibid, p. 23.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 20.

¹⁷⁶ The Qur'an, Sura 9.111.

Orientalism and Orientalism in reverse or Islamic imperialism are all the outcomes of war for power and ideology. They are still alive in today's history and will be alive in future unless there is a balance of power; it will be with us till race, religion, border and space do not lead to hegemony. What is broadcast from the mass media depicts a hectic world full of hostilities, hazard, terror, and inequality; today the Middle East is an accident prone. Many people are victimized in Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc. every day because of their improper governments. Iran is under the threat of war according to its nuclear ambition. But this is not the whole story; on the other part of the world, in the heart of Europe, people are at times under terrorist threats. The drastic point is that, ordinary people are wounded by the power which is at the service of leaders and politicians.

However, during history, out of the ashes of antagonisms, Orientalism, and imperialism, cultures and civilizations have raised their heads. Their power is everlasting albeit in different forms, and to quote Bove, "cultures have differing powers; they tell their tales better or worse or simply differently. And these differences have profound consequences in the secular movement of history".¹⁷⁷ Art and literature, as the representatives of cultures, have proved to pass all borders, to shine eternally in the sky of man's history.

¹⁷⁷ Bove, Paul A. *Edward Said And The Work Of The Critic: Speaking Truth To Power*. Durham and London; Duke University Press, 2000. p. 2.

Chapter 2

Sir William Jones, Persia's Bridge to the West

2. 1. Background

It is not possible to say for certain who made the West acquainted with Persian literature; it was transmitted to English readers by means of the intervening languages long before the emergence of modern translation. Translations of Persian poetry, notably Hafiz, first appeared in Latin, by the leading English orientalists to make the ancient Orient and its boundless literary resources known to the West. The accounts of travellers such as Sir Thomas Herbert's (1606–1682) *A Description of the Persian Monarchy* (1634) were worthy sources of knowledge to introduce the eastern culture and literature to the west.

Sa'di's *Gulistan* or *The rose garden* was presented to the West in French translation by André du Ryer in (1634). Two years later, Friedrich Ochsenbach, based on Ryer's translation, translated it into German and, in 1651 Georgius Gentius produced its Latin version. Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski (1623–1698) a Polish linguist, expert on Middle Eastern languages, a grammarian and a lexicographer, in his *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, (involving a dictionary of Turkish, Arabic and Persian vocabulary translated into and explained in Latin, 4 vols., 1680), and Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), the Laudian Professor of Arabic and Regius chair of Hebrew, in his *Syntagma Dissertationum* (published posthumously in 1768) translated Hafiz's first ode and some quatrains of Omar Khayyam. However, the study of ancient Persian literature in the West, formally, began in the eighteenth century.

The English people became familiar with Sa'di's *Gulistan* by Stephen Sullivan's translation of the work entitled *The Select Fables from Gulistan or Bed of Roses* in

1774.¹⁷⁸ Anquetil Duperron, the French scholar, was also among the first scholars who translated the Zoroastrian texts such as *Vendidad* in 1759. Nevertheless, the first English translation of Hafiz's poetry, entitled "A Persian Song", is attributed to Sir William Jones, published both in his *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771) and in his *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages* (1772) and became a precedent for later translators.¹⁷⁹ In her *Fabulous Orientals_ Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*, Ros Ballaster¹⁸⁰ declares:

Not until the 1780s with the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal headed by the Sanskrit scholar and Supreme Court Judge, William Jones, did European (and especially British) writers turn to the translation of major works of Indian literature other than those derived from this cycle of tales. It may not be an exaggeration, therefore, to claim that until the 1780s, 'Indian' [Oriental] literature in Europe was represented exclusively by the moral, often animal, fable deployed to instruct the prince.

In his *Oriental Essays*, A. J. Arberry says that "It is not an exaggeration to say that he [Jones] altered our [Europe's] whole conception of the Eastern world. If we were compiling a thesis on the influence of Jones, we could collect most of our material from footnotes, ranging from Gibbon to Tennyson".¹⁸¹ It was after Jones's translations that Europe considered the Orient as a rich fountain of cultural and literary resources and took the next steps in Oriental studies to affect other distinguished authors such as Thoreau, Goethe, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Except for John Nott (1751-1825) whose *Select Odes from Hafiz*, was a verse translation (1787), there rarely appeared distinguished translations of Hafiz during the rest of the eighteenth century, although some other less significant translations were made by John Richardson, Thomas Law, and H. H. which are mentioned in Professor Arberry's *Classical Persian Literature* and *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*¹⁸². Accordingly, by the

¹⁷⁸ Javadi, Hasan. *Persian Literary Influence On English Literature*. Mazda Publishers, 2005.p. 52.

¹⁷⁹ Cannon, Garland. *Oriental Jones; A Biography of Sir William Jones (1746-1794)*. India: Asia Publishing House, 1960. Passim.

¹⁸⁰ Ballaster, Ros. *Fabulous Orientals_ Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*. New York; Oxford University Press, 2005. p. 347.

¹⁸¹ Arberry, A. J. *Oriental Essays*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997.p. 76.

¹⁸² In his *Fifty Poems of Hafiz* (p.34), Arberry refers to the translations of Hafiz during the eighteenth century as:

beginning of the nineteenth century Hafiz was well known in the West and became the most translated among the Persian poets.

2. 2. Biographical Facts

As Chaucer is known as the father of English poetry, it is not exaggerated to consider Sir William Jones as the father of Orientalism and Persian studies. Arberry, in his *British Orientalists*, considers him as a "universal linguist par excellence ... William Jones lives in the annals of fame: he was truly the father of British Orientalism".¹⁸³ William Jones has had numerous titles among which "Persian Jones"¹⁸⁴ and "Harmonious Jones"¹⁸⁵ can be mentioned. He has been known not only as a pioneer in oriental studies, but also adroit in fields such as literature, linguistics, history, archaeology, and law. He also tried to demonstrate the genetic relation between the Indo-European languages. Although other orientalists have done much in the field of Oriental studies, Jones is a supreme star since much of the interest in Oriental studies in the West was due to his pioneering works. Through his translations and literary works, as Hewitt declares, he "takes every opportunity not only to associate the East and the West, but also to praise the Eastern literature. He compares Firdusi with Homer, Hafez with Petrarch and Shakespeare"¹⁸⁶ and considers Sa'di's verses to be "worthy of our most spirited writers".¹⁸⁷

Being a pioneer in the study of comparative languages and religions, Sir William Jones has remained one of the great figures in Orientalism whose endeavors along with those of his contemporary Orientalists, in rewriting the Orient for the Occident, led to what Raymond Schwab entitled "La Renaissance Orientale". Not only he studied the

1771. William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*.

1774. John Richardson, *A Specimen of Persian Poetry*.

1785. Thomas Law in *Asiatick Miscellany*, vol. 1. Calcutta.

1786. H. H. in *Asiatick Miscellany*, vol. 11. Calcutta.

1787. John Nott, *Select Odes from the Persian poet Hafez*.

1800. John Haddon Hindley, *Persian Lyrics; or, scattered poems from the Diwan-i-Hafiz*

¹⁸³ Arberry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London MCMXXXIII, 1943. p. 30.

¹⁸⁴ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. P. 43

¹⁸⁵ Hewitt R. M. "Harmonious Jones", *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*. 28. 42-59. 1942.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 53.

¹⁸⁷ Jones, Sir William. "Poetry of the Eastern Nations", *The Poems and Life of Sir William Jones*. 1818.p. 254.

Oriental works, but also his translations became a source of knowledge and inspiration for literary men. Jones was one of the first Englishmen to master Sanskrit and Persian. Through his outstanding translations, he improved the West's understanding of the Orient, introduced Oriental literature to the West and, as Garland Cannon believes, provided "the key to Western understanding and appreciation of Oriental literary and philosophical achievements".¹⁸⁸

Sir William Jones was born in London in 1746. His father, William Jones (1675–1749) was a mathematician and a friend of Sir Isaac Newton, famous for introducing the use of the symbol π . William's father died when he was only three years old. His mother, Mary Nix Jones, who was an educated woman and a teacher, raised him and tried her best for her son's education. William Jones was seven when he could attend Harrow School, an eminent institution at which numerous distinguished people were trained. There, alongside his studying, Jones developed his multi-linguistic skills and showed great talent in learning Oriental languages, Hebrew, French, Arabic, and Italian.¹⁸⁹

After Harrow, William Jones went to University College, Oxford, in 1764, where he continued to study Oriental literature, practiced Arabic and Persian, and increased his knowledge of Middle Eastern studies, philosophy, Oriental literature, Greek and Hebrew. By the time Jones got his bachelor of arts degree (in 1768), he had already turned out to be a well-known Orientalist. That same year, Jones was asked by The Duke of Grafton to translate a Persian historical manuscript about the life of Nadir Shah into French for the Danish king, Christian VII, who had brought the manuscript with him on a visit to England and was keen to know about the content but did not know Persian. The Persian manuscript, which was originally written by Mirza Mehdi Khan Astarabadi (Nader Shah's secretary), was a difficult task for the young scholar and Jones had to interrupt his postgraduate studies for a while to complete the translation.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952.p. xvi.

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/language-and-linguistics-biographies/sir-william-jones>

¹⁹⁰ Encyclopedia Iranica. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jones-sir-william>

The French translation of the work was published in 1770 as *Histoire de Nader Chah*, with an appendage describing Asia and a short history of Persia, including "Un Traite sur la poesie orientale" (*Treatise on Oriental Poetry*) in seven sections in French and a concluding section concerning the excellency of Persian and Arabic poetry with a number of Hafiz's odes. Although it was the first of his numerous works concerning the Middle East, the publication of this translation brought him fame as the most distinguished translator and linguist of the era. When Jones found out that a more financially rewarding profession was needed to support himself, the same year he went to the Middle Temple to study law. Jones' reputation as a scholar helped him to be elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in April 1772 and was called to the bar in 1774. During this period Jones did not abandon his interest in Oriental studies. His other publications followed, including the *Grammar of the Persian Language* in 1771, a volume of poetry and "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" in 1772 and the *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry* in 1774, which definitely confirmed his authority as an Oriental scholar. In 1774 he published *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum Libri Sex*, by which he presented an elaborate argument concerning different Arabic meters with several examples of the different types of the Asiatic poetry in Latin or Greek.

Jones published his *Grammar of the Persian Language* under the pen-name Youns Uksfardi (Jones of Oxford). This book, that went through nine English editions by 1828, two French ones by 1845, and a German translation in 1773, was immensely influential for a long time as an introduction to Persian literature and, in Cannon's words, "showed him to be the best Persian scholar in the country".¹⁹¹ In his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, in addition to the grammar of Persian and Arabic languages, Jones has translated several extracts from Persian poems throughout the book and his "Persian Song" of Hafiz and a Fable at the final part. Edward Fitzgerald became familiar with Persian language and literature by reading Jones's *Grammar of Persian Language* and later he used Jones's style in his translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*.

¹⁹¹ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.p. 65.

Jones also tried his hand in writing poetry. He wrote an unfinished epic entitled "Britain Discovered" (in twelve books) in 1770. His *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatic Languages*, published eleven years before his trip to India (in 1772), offered a sort of comparison between the Asiatic (Oriental) poetry (Persian, Turkish, Indian and Arabian) and European poetry (chiefly embodied in Italian poetry) on the one hand, and amid the Middle Eastern themes and imagery and classical poetic conventions, on the other.¹⁹² Except for two important essays by Jones entitled "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" and "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative" the volume contains a number of poems, five of which were composed by Jones himself. One is a narrative poem entitled "The Seven Fountains; An Eastern Allegory", to which William Beckford's *Vathek* owes its descriptions of Oriental scenes. There are also translations including some poems of Petrarch, a "Turkish Ode" by the Ottoman poet Mesihî, and "A Persian Song" of Hafiz, which was included in *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century Verse* and later became the source of inspiration for the Romantic poets and Goethe.

William Jones received his Master of Arts degree from Oxford University on June 18, 1773. Up to this time, his published literary and educational productions provided him with important social relations. Consequently he found his way to the Royal Society and was elected to Dr. Samuel Johnson's famous literary group, the Club in 1773. In this way, he was in close connection with distinguished members such as, Edmund Burke, Thomas Percy, James Boswell and Adam Smith.

While he was studying law in London's Middle Temple, Jones continued working on translations. He studied not only the technicalities, but also the philosophy of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1774, and became a political intellectual and a patron of American independence. During his legal career, Jones became a noted legal scholar and proved a deep desire for social righteousness, pro-American compassions, and contempt for tyrannical governmental strategies.

Jones's selection as a distinguished official in bankruptcy in 1776 and his consistent presence at Westminster resulted in his most celebrated legal document, *An*

¹⁹² Ibid, passim.

Essay on the Law of Bailments, in 1781. This valuable literary production which was a coherent work that compared English bailments with other legal systems showed Jones' ability and knowledge of law in different regions such as Hindu, Roman and Greek law and was admired as an artistic legal work. This work, which enjoyed a high reputation both in England and America went through several editions and became a standard textbook for English and American lawyers. His other work was the translation of *The Speeches of Isaeus* (1779), which dealt with the Athenian right of inheritance.

From 1780 to 1783, William Jones wrote four political tracts, the most notable of which was "An Inquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots, with a Constitutional Plan of Future Defence" (1780). The others included "A Speech on the Nomination of Candidates to Represent the County of Middlesex" (1780), "A Speech to the Assembled Inhabitants of the Counties of Middlesex and Surry" (1782), and "A Letter to a Patriot Senator" (1783). His "The Principles of Government; in a dialogue between a scholar and a peasant" (1783) was published anonymously at first. It was written in Socratic dialogue in French. After its translation, it resulted in the famous libel case causing important improvements toward freedom of the press in Great Britain.¹⁹³

In the meantime, Jones continued writing poetry including remarkable political poems in admiration and defense of America. His most eminent political poems were "*Julii Melesigoni ad Libertatum Carmen*" (1780), criticizing Britain's war against America; "The Muse Recalled" (1781), on protection of America; "An Ode in Imitation of Alcaeus" (1781), his supreme political poem, demonstrating his ideas concerning government and ethical principles; and "An Ode in Imitation of Callistratus" (1782), praising the rise of Whig administration.

It was in 1782 that Jones published and introduced to the British community his translation of seven famous pre-Islamic Arabian odes called *The Moallakát* which publicized the classical Arabic tradition. Its powerful beauty affected Alfred Lord Tennyson and other poets including Walter Savage Landor and Robert Browning.

¹⁹³ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/language-and-linguistics-biographies/sir-william-jones>, also referred in <https://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-FI-Ka/Jones-William.html>

William Jones was knighted, became Sir William Jones and sailed for Calcutta as a Supreme Court Judgeship in 1783 to live there until his death in 1794. Jones was accompanied by his wife, Anna Maria Shipley, to whom he was engaged in 1778 and got married in March 1783. During the next year (1784) Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal through which he stimulated world-wide interest in India and the Orient and, as Cannon believes, became "the mother of other Asiatic Societies around the world".¹⁹⁴ Also, Arberrry, in his *British Orientalists*, refers to it as the most significant experience of the eighteenth century from the Orientalist perspective: "an event of capital importance, for here we find the first beginnings of a scientific movement which was destined to spread to all parts of the world".¹⁹⁵ Through this establishment, of which he remained president until his death, he wanted to encourage Oriental studies, spread by his love for India, Eastern people, oriental society and culture. Meanwhile, he was opposed to any form of oppression and tyranny that were the outcomes of imperialism and colonialism. He aimed to make Oriental studies available and attractive for Western people and to prepare ways to understand Oriental culture, literature and law better. Accordingly he learnt Sanskrit to understand Hindu and Muslim law and culture better and to prepare himself for a wide study in the field. However, according to Ballaster, very soon, he "came to see its discovery as a new 'classical' Renaissance for Europe, equivalent in importance to the Greek heritage".¹⁹⁶

While studying Sanskrit, Jones established his greatest success by assuming the common origin of Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. In *The Sanscrit Language*, published in 1786, Jones declared that not only Sanskrit had a strong similarity to Greek and Latin and they had a common root, but also they were related to the Gothic, Celtic, and Persian languages. This hypothesis provided the motivation for the development of comparative linguistics in the early 19th century.

¹⁹⁴ Cannon, Garland. "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society". *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, tome 6, fascicule 2, 1984.p. 83.

¹⁹⁵ Arberrry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London MCMXXXIII, 1943.p. 30.

¹⁹⁶ Ballaster, Ros. *Fabulous Orient_ Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*. New York; Oxford University Press, 2005.p. 363.

Jones completed his translation of *Sakuntala*, Kalidasa's most famous drama, and the *Hitopadesa*, a collection of fables in 1789. He also translated the *Ritusamhara* into the original Sanskrit in 1792. Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe were among those who were deeply affected by the translation of *Sakuntala* (as translated into German by Georg Forster).

Living in the Indian climate was not easy for Jones and his wife. In November of 1793, Anna Jones went back to England to improve her health. Despite his illness, Jones remained in India in order to collect a complete abridgment and translation of Hindu and Mohammedan laws in order that the Indian people might be able to rule themselves by their own laws and customs though he was not successful and it was Henry Colebrooke who finished this task.

On April 27, 1794, Jones died in Calcutta from inflammation of the liver caused by hard work. Although he published numerous works about India, including Indian law, art, music, literature, and geography, his last task was so vast that he was unable to complete it before his death. His *Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinances of Menu* was published in 1794 and his *Muhammedan Law of Inheritance* and *Mohammedan Law of Succession to Property of Intestates* in 1792.¹⁹⁷

Although this "final project was left incomplete, Jones has left behind a rich heritage" of art consisting of poetry, translation, philology, Orientalism and political leaflets.¹⁹⁸ He developed the system of translation and translated numerous works into English through which he introduced the rich legacy of the Middle East to the West and influenced some famous poets and writers particularly during the Romantic Movement in England. Among them we can count Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley and Lord Byron. He also affected Matthew Arnold, Rudyard Kipling, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Goethe, and T.S. Eliot. Besides, Comparative linguistics

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/language-and-linguistics-biographies/sir-william-jones>, also in <https://www.notablebiographies.com/supp/Supplement-FI-Ka/Jones-William.html>

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

is indebted to his realization concerning the affinity between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar and their common source.¹⁹⁹

Jones's oriental efforts added interest to the East not only in Europe but also among the Indian people about their own rich national tradition and literary heritage. Furthermore, according to his democratic principles, contrary to what Edward Said believed, he considered Indians to be equal under the law with Europeans. Consequently, he helped determine the course of Indian jurisprudence to maintain the rights of Indian citizens. He published several works concerning Persian and Hindu literature to the Western audience to portray the magnificence of the Oriental literature and culture and to convey the Orient's civilization equality with that of the Western's.

2. 3. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*²⁰⁰

In his *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study*, Gernot Windfuhr believes that European attempts on writing about the Persian grammar began with Raymundus (d. 1614) of Cremona, who "had been in the Orient" and probably collected his grammar in 1601. Although no copy of his work has been found, the "existence of his grammar can be inferred from various manuscript catalogues".²⁰¹ The first Persian grammar published in Europe was the Latin grammar of Louis (Ludovicus) De Dieu (1590-1642), a Dutch Orientalist; an elementary grammar, *Rudimenta linguae Persicae (The Rudiments of the Persian Language, 1639)*, on the basic morphological rules and the elements of the Persian language; a grammar which, according to Windfuhr, "influenced several subsequent studies".²⁰² Another distinguished book on Persian grammar, according to Windfuhr, "even compared with many modern textbooks", was published by Joseph Labrosse, later Pater, later Angelus a Sancto Josepho, (1648) in Amsterdam,

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ The citations related to Jones' *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, have been taken from its ninth edition, 1828.

²⁰¹ Windfuhr, Gernot L. *Persian Grammar: History and State of its Study*. Germany: Mouton Publishers, 1979. p. 13.

²⁰² Ibid, p. 13.

entitled *Exercitatio in controversiam maximam cum Persiis, Turciis de Divinitate Christi*, for missionaries, language professors, merchants and others.²⁰³

Jones' *Grammar of the Persian Language* (1771), which, according to Franklin, "illuminated by Hafiz, had initiated Romantic Orientalism,"²⁰⁴ together with his "Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", were written before 1772, thirteen years earlier than his journey to India. It has been considered the first comprehensive Persian grammar book in English and one of the best and most famous grammar texts ever published about applied linguistics and an oriental language, until then unknown and unusual to the people in the Western countries, so that several other scholars tried to follow Jones in making Persian language and literature known to the West. Jones' *Grammar* was, as Cannon in his article "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society" states, designed "for language instruction, edification and entertainment of European administration and army personnel going to India" with a "self-teaching method specified simultaneous work with a native informant"²⁰⁵ because a knowledge of Persian "has become a major qualification for a European colonial administrator or merchant"²⁰⁶ when Persian was the language of "diplomacy, governmental administration, and fashion".²⁰⁷ However as Robert Irwin, in his *For Lust of Knowing*, states:

Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language* [...] was really of more use to poets than to imperial administrators [...] he was more interested in introducing Persian poets to a European audience than he was in producing a crib for merchants and administrators working in exotic parts. The *Grammar* is full of extracts from the famous medieval Persian poets.²⁰⁸

Jones' desire for the Westerns to learn Persian was not to make them ready for administration of the Orient, rather, as he declares, his purpose in writing his *Grammar*

²⁰³ Ibid, p. 14.

²⁰⁴ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.p. 260.

²⁰⁵ Cannon, Garland. "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society". *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, tome 6, fascicule 2, 1984.p. 83.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 85.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 87.

²⁰⁸ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 123.

was "to facilitate the progress of this branch of literature"²⁰⁹ so that the Oriental literature would be appreciated better. He desired a more comprehensive contact with the Eastern literature so that the Europeans would acquire a new insight:

A new and ample field would be opened for speculation; we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind, we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate.²¹⁰

Jones is fascinated by Persian poetry and, in Cannon's words, its "new meter, themes, and plots of which might provide the means to rejuvenate the jaded neoclassical traditions of Europe, in a practical application of language findings".²¹¹ His deep interest in the language and literature of the Asiatic lands is manifested in the opening lines of the "preface" to his *Grammar of the Persian Language*:

The Persian language is rich, melodious, and elegant ; it has been spoken for many ages by the greatest princes in the politest courts of Asia; and a number of admirable works have been written in it by historians, philosophers, and poets, Avho found it capable of expressing with equal advantage, the most beautiful and the most elevated sentiments.²¹²

His "preface" is considered by Arberry, in his *Asiatic Jones*, as "the most informed and eloquent apologia pro litteris orientalibus which had yet been penned, perhaps that has ever been penned,"²¹³ in which he considers the significance of the writings of the Persians equal to that of Greece and Rome in ancient history. Considering himself as the leading advocate of Oriental studies, he complains that while the Greek and Roman literature are studied by "every man of a liberal education", the works of the Persians, "are either wholly unknown to us or considered as entirely destitute of taste and

²⁰⁹ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. (The Ninth Edition), p. vii.

²¹⁰ "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Volume X.(in 13 vols.), 1807.pp. 559-60.

²¹¹ Cannon, Garland. "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society" *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, tome 6, fascicule 2, 1984.p. 84.

²¹² Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. (The Ninth Edition). p. i.

²¹³ Arberry, A. J. *Asiatic Jones: The Life and Influence of Sir William Jones (1746- 1794) Pioneer of Indian Studies*. London: Longmans, Green & Colt., 1946.p. 33.

invention".²¹⁴ He believes that "interest" is the only stimulating factor, the "charm which gave the languages of the East a real and solid importance"²¹⁵ as Persian was the major language of colonial India.

Sir William Jones puts emphasis on the requirement of Arabic knowledge to gain proficiency in Persian. So, his book not only includes the morphology and syntax of the Persian language, but also contains Arabic grammar since there is affinity between the two languages and many words and some grammatical rules in Persian language are derived from Arabic. Alongside with clarifying the foremost instructions in learning the Persian language, he relies on grammatical evidence; he picks out his specimens from the poems of distinguished poets, primarily from Hafiz, and "quote[s] a few Persian couplets, as examples of the principal rules in this Grammar", because, in his opinion, such quotations "will give some variety to a subject naturally barren and unpleasant,— will serve as a specimen of the Oriental style,—and will be more easily retained in the memory than rules delivered in mere prose."²¹⁶ Accordingly, the language learning approach seems to be easier based on the clarity of the rules so that, "whoever will study the Persian language according to my plan, will in less than a year be able to translate and to answer any letter from an Indian prince, and to converse with the natives of India, not only with fluency, but with elegance".²¹⁷ However, in reading Jones' *Grammar*, the modern reader notices some changes in spelling, pronunciation and meaning of some words occurred as the consequence of decades passing by. Also, some words have become either obsolete or rarely used nowadays.

The first section of Jones' *Grammar* deals with the Persian graphemes; their numbers of thirty two characters, forms, and pronunciations, accompanied by examples. He classifies the letters based on Persian and Arabic roots. Then he discusses the consonants, the vowels (motions) and diphthongs. What Jones tries to represent is the pronunciation of the Persian letters in Roman characters, so that the English reader

²¹⁴ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. p. ii.

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. vi.

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 24.

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. xii.

may apprehend, because, as he says, "the true pronunciation of these letters can be learned only from the mouth of a Persian or an Indian."²¹⁸ Although Persian letters, which are dissimilar in form from the Roman ones, are similar in sound, Jones finds no equivalent for the pronunciation of some letters in English which "is formed in the throat, and produces that kind of inarticulate vibration which is made in preparing to expectorate", so he searches for similarity in other languages: "the Germans have the sound, and express it by *ch*; we use *kh* as its substitute".²¹⁹ After the Alphabets, without which the learner would not be able to use the book, he defines the grammar; gender and occasion of nouns, common articles, plurals, and pronouns. Then, verbs including "active", "neuter" "derivative" (causal) verbs and passive voice are thoroughly examined.²²⁰ He goes on with the irregular verbs, Persian infinitives, and tenses. In his explanations, at times, he also makes use of Meninski's *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* (Vienna, 1680-87).

The next points discussed in Jones' *Grammar* are the morphology of Persian language, "derivation of words" and the use of compound adjectives, which he considers as "one of the chief beauties of the Persian language" and makes it "surpasses not only the German and English, but even the Greek."²²¹ These compounds are formed "either by a noun and the contracted participle; as دل فریب /delfarib/ heart-deceiving; or by prefixing an adjective to a noun; as خوشبوی /khoshbuy/ sweet-smelling; or lastly, by placing one substantive before another; as گل‌عذار /golozaar/ rose-cheeked".²²² Considering the infinite number of epithets that "may be compounded after these three forms", and those epithets "which are used for substantives without a noun being expressed", Jones concludes that "the Persian language is one of the richest in the world".²²³

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 4.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 6.

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 41-2.

²²¹ Ibid, p. 74.

²²² Ibid, p. 74.

²²³ Ibid, p. 79.

Jones, then, discusses the syntax of the Persian language according to subject and predicate. He believes that since the Persian language has "no terminations to mark the gender or case of nouns, and is sparing in the use of articles, it is sometimes difficult to determine which is the subject, and which the predicate".²²⁴ He offers some rules according to which the learner can overcome the ambiguities with several samples. Except for the translation of Hafiz's ghazal, Shirazi Turk, at the final section, "The Gardener and the Nightingale" a moral fable, is presented, first in Persian (some parts in prose and some in verse), and then in its translated form.

Jones's Grammar, according to Cannon, "made practical applications of language study, particularly through language-teaching works, texts, and translations, in an early, philosophically based conception of applied linguistics". Jones has offered the world "the value of language study, either as an individual scholar or as a recipient of a linguist's work in providing instruction, edification, and entertainment. His language-based career was widely held up as a model for Americans and Europeans until deep in the nineteenth century".²²⁵

After the alphabets, Jones presents the pronunciation of Hafiz's "the Persian song" with both Persian and English characters without translation. There are some nuances of differences in the pronunciation of the European characters and Asiatic ones among which the combination of two words in the place of one, is visible. Jones explains the cause of some of the contractions; for example "و" /va/ is often pronounced "in connection with the preceding word, as *سمرقند و* samarkan-do; for which, perhaps, no better reason can be given than, that facility of pronunciation requires it to be so".²²⁶ However, he does not present any reason when he applies "sabraz " (one word) for "صبر از" /sabr az/(two words),²²⁷ "Hadithaz" for "حديث از" /hadith az/, "kihaz" for "که از" /kih az/, and other analogous specimens until APPENDIX II, The Persian Prosody (pp.

²²⁴ Ibid, p. 112.

²²⁵ Cannon, Garland. "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society" *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, tome 6, fascicule 2, 1984.pp. 92-3.

²²⁶ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. p. 20.

²²⁷ Ibid, p. 18.

192-201) ,when he discusses the quantity of syllables and how to read the poems based on scansion. He refers to Mr. Gladwin's dissertation on the Rhetoric and Prosody of the Persians and the Grammar attached to the King of Oude's Persian Dictionary to "discuss different measures" and the examples for scansion.

In addition to the grammatical and lexical significance of Jones' book, his translations of the selected poems, after finishing the Alphabets, are remarkable. He tries to fascinate the reader by attractive examples of Persian poetry and reduce the possible dullness of grammar.

It goes without saying that poetry translation is a complex and extensive task and translators of poetry experience a cultural communication. Poems, as Francis R. Jones in his *Poetry Translating as Expert Action* states, have some "regular linguistic patterning; they exploit the sounds, semantic nuances or associations of words, and not just semantic meanings; they convey meanings beyond the 'propositional content' of the words and grammar; they can give intense emotional, spiritual or philosophical experience to their readers and listeners; and they have high social and cultural status".²²⁸

Some scholars believe that precise alternative words do rarely exist between languages; idioms or expressions contain perplexing concepts and literal translation departs from the intended meaning of the SL poet so that Daniel Weissbort, in his edition of *Translating Poetry*, denotes that "from an absolutist standpoint, the poetic translation of poetry is an impossible task".²²⁹ Similarly for Jakobson, poetry, due to its unity of form and sense and because "phonemic similarity is sensed as semantic relationship", is considered "untranslatable" and needs "creative transposition" and recreation.²³⁰

There is no doubt that Jones' translations are considered among the foremost and the distinguished ones. The extracts selected as examples for discussing the Persian

²²⁸ Jones, Francis R. *Poetry Translating as Expert Action*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1955.p. 2.

²²⁹ Weissbort Daniel. *Translating Poetry; The Double Labyrinth*. London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1989. Preface, p. xii.

²³⁰ Munday, Jeremy. *Introducing Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 61.

grammar, and the other translated poems by him, have generally been translated based on maintaining the integrity of the lexical components and semantic similarity, the "appropriate relation of relevant similarity" between the original text and the target text, what Andrew Chesterman considers as crucial in translation.²³¹ However, in translation of poetry, with its figurative language and aesthetic value, the process of translation might face linguistic, literary and cultural incongruity.

2. 3. 1. Linguistic and literary Complications in Translating Poetry

The linguistic complications, according to Varsha Singh, comprise not only "the words and meaning", but also what produces music, rhyme, "the flow and rhythm" in the poem, which are generally lost in translation because the words and the notions that they describe, do not rhyme in the translated languages. The words and meaning, according to Singh, "embody certain issues related to the images, similes, metaphors, culture-specific words, phrasal verbs, idioms, punned expressions, enjambment and grammar of both the TL text and the SL text".²³² In the process of translation, the collocations (words which generally come together), and obscurities (hidden syntactic structures) are considered in linguistic category, which accompanied by idioms and phrasal verbs, create confusion in translation; they consist of expressions or collections of words found in every language whose implications are different from the meanings of their separate parts.

On the other hand, word order and sounds, in a translated poem, convey the aesthetic values whose significances depend on different types of meaning in the text. The aesthetic values in translating poetry, according to Peter Newmark in his *Approaches to Translation* (1981), are related to the structure, metaphor, and sound. Poetic structure, in his view, includes "the plan of the text (original poem) as a whole and the shape and the balance of individual sentence" in each line. Metaphor consists of "the visual images which may also evoke sound, touch, smell and taste". Also, sound

²³¹ Chesterman, Andrew. *Memes of Translation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997.p. 69.

²³² Singh, Varsha. "Problems in Translating Poetry : Some Structural, Textural and Cultural Issue". p.2.
file:///C:/Users/GSS/Downloads/Problems_in_Translating_Poetry_Some_Stru.pdf

includes "alliteration, assonance, rhythm, onomatopoeia, meter and rhyme" which may exist abundantly in one language, while absent or rare in another. A translator, according to Newmark, cannot ignore any of these features "although he may order [them], giving priority to cognitive meaning".²³³ He then refers to the relationship between the aesthetic values and semantic truth in the way of priority of structure and metaphor to the sound and says: "In a significant text, semantic truth is cardinal, whilst of the three aesthetic factors, sound (e.g. alliteration or rhyme) is likely to recede in importance __ rhyme is perhaps the most likely factor to 'give' __ rhyming is difficult and artificial enough in one language, reproducing line is sometimes doubly so."²³⁴

By considering the translated poems and extracts by Jones, one can realize that the presence of the first factor, structure; the outline of individual sentence or of each line. In most of the cases he has maintained the original structure of the individual lines of the poems. He has preserved his translations of the words, objects, images and the metaphors, almost as close as possible to the concepts of the original text by attention to details and creating the same image in the TL. Also, the aesthetic values in Jones' translations of the extracts are conveyed through his loyalty to the word order and his selection of proper words. However, because of literal translation or no proper replacement, some incongruities have taken place which are considered subsequently.

Lexical-Semantic Problems, which are related to words or vocabulary and their meanings, also, cover a wide range, such as lexical replacements, contextual synonyms and antonyms, collocations, lexical ambiguities, etc. among which some can be resolved by checking dictionaries or other sources of information about words and their meanings, and some depend on the context to determine the nearest meanings, while some need thorough understanding of the SL.

Jones' translations of some words or expressions are not in accordance with their meanings in the SL context because of their being homonyms; when the translator faces possible multiple meanings for one single word or phrase:

²³³ Newmark, Peter. *Approaches to Translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981. p. 65.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 67.

In the following example, گلستان /gulistan/ means "rose-garden" and at the same time, it alludes to the poet's masterpiece with the same name *Gulistan*. The translator has translated the extract based on its apparent meaning and fails to get the allusion to the book:

به چه کار آیدت ز گلِ طَبَقِی
از گلستانِ مَن بَرِ وَرَقِی

For what purpose comes to thee a basket of roses?
From my rose-garden bear (away) one leaf. (102)²³⁵

In some examples for homonyms, there are two probable translations, both correct and meaningful, one mentioned by the translator. همسری /hamsari/ in the following example has two meanings, both probable. One means "equality" and the other one refers to marriage and choosing a partner or spouse.

با کوچکترِ خود همسری نباید کرد.

With one less than self it is improper to institute equality. (108)

Jones has chosen "to institute equality" for the word, while the extract can also be translated as "With one less than (inferior to) oneself it is improper to choose a partner".

Likewise:

و شعله ء فراقِ گل.... داغِ دِ گَرَشِ بَرِ سَرِ آن داغِ نهاد.

And the flame of the separation of the rose, placed him another scar upon the head of that scar²³⁶. (214)

داغ /daaq/ with the same pronunciation, has different meanings such as "adjective: burning, fascinating, noun: sign, scar, agony, sorrow, etc." which is translated as "scar", while another correct translation is "grief or sorrow", caused by the separation of the nightingale from the rose. Besides, بَرِ سَرِ /bar sare/, similarly, both means "on the head of

²³⁵ Sa'di, *Gulistan*, Preface.

²³⁶ "The Gardener and the Nightingale", a moral Fable taken from the Anwar Suhail of Husain Vatii, Jones' *Grammar of the Persian Language*, 202-228.

" and "on", which has been translated as "upon the head of ", which is not to the point. Thus, it is more precise to say:

And the flame of the separation of the rose, added another grief to his previous one.

Also:

ای عزیز مرا بچه مُوجبِ حبس کرده ء

O sir, for what reason have you imprisoned me? (217)

Here, although عزیز /aziz/ commonly means "dear", it has also been used for respect, and both meanings are possible.

The possible semantic discrepancy, for homonyms, in translation is either revealed based on the individual meaning of the word or its meaning in the context, but when there is no context, and the word as a homonym, has several meanings, it can be estimated based on the connotation of the word or the expression in the SL culture. Among the examples that Jones applies for discussion on the section entitled "Of Nouns Qualifying One Another"(107), he translates درویشی مُجرَد /darvishi mojarad/ as "naked Darvesh". Although one of the meaning of the word is "naked", Dervish or Darvish in Islamic culture, refers to a Sufi who has chosen worldly (material) poverty in order to gain divine prosperity. He is addressed in most of the Sufi poetry as a Sufi who endeavors to approach God by taking a vow of poverty and sacrificing this material world for attaining the heaven and satisfaction of God.²³⁷ Such a sacred character in mystic literature is scarce to be mentioned as "naked Darvesh", unless the context signifies that meaning. Anyway, when there is no context to judge, it is better to translate the expressions based on the cultural background with other possible translations for the word, such as "alone, unmarried, dissociable, one who has left the material world", etc. Quite probably, Jones has taken the combination of درویشی مُجرَد /darvishi mojarad/ from Sa'di's *Gulistan* (Chapter 1, Tale 28), in which the expression signifies one who keeps himself away from all material interests.

²³⁷ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/dervish>, also in <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dervish>

Translating heteronyms makes the translator face confusion, as well. This happens when the words are spelled the same, but sound different and have different meanings:

دردِ عشقی کشیده ام که مپرس

زهرِ هجری چشیده ام که مپرس

I have drained the dregs of one love; ask not whose;
I have tasted the poison of one absence: ask not whose.²³⁸ (60)

With the same spelling درد has two pronunciations and two consequent meanings. If it is pronounced درد /Dard/, it means pain, agony, ache, affliction, etc. On the other hand, if it is pronounced دُرد /Dord/, it means dreg, useless part remained, sediment, etc. The speaker of the above-mentioned ghazal describes his sufferings in love; he wants the addressee not to ask about the sorrows he has endured for the sake of love (because they are beyond description). In the second line of the couplet, once more, he wants the addressee not to ask about the taste of his separation from the beloved since it has been as bitter and fatal as poison. It is clear that the mentioned word is درد /Dard/ (pain, agony) that the speaker has suffered for the sake of his love and separation from the beloved and Jones has mistaken it for a word with the same spelling, different in meaning.

The next point in the same couplet is the use of "whose" at the end of the lines. In the original extract, ام /am/ is the rhyme (ghafieh) repeated at the end of the line, as the indicator of the first person present perfect tense. که مپرس /ke mapors/ "don't ask about it", is a sort of rhythm (Radif), a repeated phrase comes after each repetition of end rhyme, in the first line and all the subsequent even lines (English poetry does not have this feature). The repeated expression که مپرس /ke mapors/ means "Don't ask about it",

²³⁸ Hafiz's *Divan*, sonnet No. 270

because the described situation of the speaker, in each couplet, is beyond the power of words to describe. So the existence of "whose" in Jones' translation is not justified.

Also, in the following example, homonyms and heteronyms, have created a phrase in which the author of the SL text, plays with words skillfully, while, the translation is led to incongruity;

و من هم درد هجران کشیده و درد فراق جانان چشیده.

And I also, drawing out the dregs of desertion, and tasting the pain of separation (from my) beloved. (221)

The phrase is composed of two sentences, both of which contain two heteronyms, which are translated inversely;

The first part, *و من هم درد هجران کشیده*, has been translated as "And I also, drawing out the dregs of desertion", in which the translator has mistaken *درد* /dard/ "agony, pain, for *درد* /dord/ "dreg". Moreover, *کشیده* /keshide/, derived from verb *کشیدن* /keshidan/, with the same pronunciation, both means "to draw", and "to tolerate or to endure". It is obvious that for pain, the later meaning should be applied, while it has been translated "draw". Accordingly, the translation of the first part of the phrase, is supposed to be: "And I also, enduring the pain of desertion".

The second part of the above-mentioned phrase, *و درد فراق جانان چشیده* has been translated as "and tasting the pain of separation (from my) beloved". Here, because of the verb *چشیده* /cheshide/, derived from the verb *چشیدن* /cheshidan/ "to taste", *درد* is better to be pronounced /dord/, to mean "the dreg or sediment", which is the bottom, the deposit, the worst part of wine, to taste, because the author refers to separation from the beloved, as bitter and unpleasant as dreg.

Another example for homonymy (this time in verbs) is the following extract that Jones has selected to discuss when "the letter *ب* prefixed to the aorist, restrains it to the future tense; as, *برسم* /beresam/ I will, would, or may arrive". It has been taken from

Nakhshebi 's *The Tales of a Parrot*, Night 35:

نخشبی جَد و جَهد باید کرد
 چونکه مَرَدَمِ بَیَارِ خود بَرَسَد
 هر که در کارها کند جَهدی
 عاقبت بر مُرادِ خود بَرَسَد

Nakhshebi! When men would arrive at their beloved, it becomes (them) to make effort and endeavour. Everyone who makes an effort in (his) affairs, will arrive at last at his object. (64-65)

In his translation of the extract, which is done word-for-word, he has mistaken the verb رسیدن /residan/ (برسد /beresad/ is the third person singular conjugation of the verb), for "arrival". While, in Persian, the verb is also used for the reunion (unification) of a lover and beloved after separation. So it is more to the point if the quatrain were translated as:

Nakhshebi! Effort and endeavor should be made,
 If men (people) want to get unified with their beloved
 Everyone who makes an effort in (his) affairs,
 Will eventually achieve his goal.

In the category of linguistic factors, collocations may lead to more extensive confusions, since in different languages they are likely to be different. Some example from Jones' translations, done based on the meaning of separate parts, come as follow:

شب تاریک و بیم موج و گردابی چنین هایل
 کجا دانند حال ما سبکباران ساحلها

The night is dark; the fear of the waves, and a whirlpool, so dreadful!
 How should those, who bear light burdens on the shore, know our situation?²³⁹ (30)

Translating سبکباران /sabokbaaraan/ as "light burdens" creates a peculiar collocation.

سبک/sabok/ "light" + بار /baar/ "burden" + ان /aan/ "one of the suffixes which make nouns plural". The collocation signifies those who have reached serenity, like the one who is on the shore and has no fear of the darkness, waves and tempestuous whirlpool. The same couplet has been translated by Gertrude Bell as "light-freighted vessels (ships)":

²³⁹ Hafiz's *Divan*, sonnet No. 1

The waves run high, night is clouded with fears, And eddying whirlpools clash and roar;
How shall my drowning voice strike their ears Whose light-freighted vessels have
reached the shore?²⁴⁰ (67)

Interpretations of Hafiz suggest that the mentioned expression connotes either those lovers who are unified, or those who died with the purgation of souls, without bearing the heavy burden of sins. Both have no fear of the storm, like the people on the shore.

In the next poem, again a Persian collocation has lost its original meaning in translation based on the word-for-word translation:

میخواره و سرگشته و رندیم و نظرباز
و آنکس که چنین نیست در این شهر، کدامست

Wine-bibers, wanton and dissolute are we, and with open eyes / but,
who is that person in this city, who is not so?²⁴¹ (41)

Although the expression *نظرباز* /nazar baaz/ is comprised of *نظر* /nazar/(eye, sight) and *باز* /baaz/ (adjective: open, verb: to play, noun: hawk, adverb: anew), in Persian literature, the combination *نظرباز* /nazar baaz/ refers to an ogler, a person who enjoys watching beautiful women. Jones has translated the expression as "with open eyes" without considering the idiomatic combination in the source language.

Also, in the list he prepares concerning the "adjectives compounded of nouns and participles" when he write "of the Composition and Derivation of Words" (75-79) , he makes similar mistakes in translating the collocates that are different in SL and TL:

The Adjectives Compounded	Nouns	participles	Meaning after combination in SL	Translation in TL
<i>تن پَرور</i> /tanparvar/ /	<i>تن</i> /tan/ (body)	<i>پَرور</i> /parvar/ (nourish) The root of the verb (پَروردن)	lazy or a person who cares about himself (negative connotation)	nourishing the body (77)
<i>عشق باز</i>	<i>عشق</i> /eshq/	<i>باز</i> /baaz/	lover or a person who makes love	sporting with love

²⁴⁰ *Poems From The Divan of Hafiz*, Translated By Gertrude Lowthian Bell, London: William Heinemann, 1897.

²⁴¹ Hafiz's *Divan*, sonnet No. 46

/eshqbaaz/	(love)	(to play)		(77)
دلسوز /delsuz/	دل /del/ (heart)	سوز /suz/ (flaming)	compassionate or sympathetic	inflaming the heart (77)
جگر گداز /jegargodaaz/	جگر /jegar/ (liver)	گداز /godaaz/ (melting)	being painful or oppressive	melting the heart (78)
ویرانه نشین /viraneneshin/	ویرانه /viraane/ (ruins)	نشین /neshin/ (inhabitant)	inhabitant the ruins of destroyed buildings	inhabiting a desert (78)
شیرین دهن /shirindahan/	شیرین /shirin/ (sweet)	دهن /dahan/ (mouth)	1.with beautiful mouth and lips 2. a person telling sweet words and speeches	with a sweet mouth (79)
شیردل /shirdel/	شیر /shir/ (lion)	دل /del/ (heart)	brave (like a lion)	with the heart of a lion (79)

In the referred specimens, the translations have been done literally, which do not carry the equivalent meaning in the target language. Some other examples of these literal translations of the collocations can be found in the selected extracts such as:

شاخهای دامن گیر خارستان بیداد را تند باد سیاست او از بیخ بنیاد برانداختی... ..

... branches laying hold of the skirt of the thorn-forest of injustice, the strong gale of his government would constantly throw down from the (very) root of the foundation... (129)

In the above extract, دامن گیر /daaman-gir/, the combination of دامن /daaman/ (skirt) and گیر /gir/ (hold), is translated as "laying hold of the skirt". While, the expression means "to act like an obstacle". So, cumbersome branches of the thorn-forest of injustice... is nearer to the original meaning.

Another example is:

بلبل بیدل طوطی وار زبان بگشاد و گفت

The heartless nightingale opened his mouth like a parrot, and said²⁴². (216)

²⁴² "The Gardener and the Nightingale", a moral Fable, Jones' *Grammar of the Persian Language*, 1828. P. 202-228.

بیدل /bidel/, combination of بی /bi/ (without) and دل /del/ (heart) has been translated as "heartless", but its meaning in Persian is "lovelorn".

And:

فکرِ مَعْقُولِ بَفَرْمَا گُلِ بِي خَارِ کُجَاسْت

Command (or deign to afford) the consideration of the intelligent; where is the rose without a thorn?²⁴³ (91)

Although بَفَرْمَا /befarmaa/ by itself, means "command", the combination of بَفَرْمَا /befarmaa/ with فِکْر /fekr/ (thought, idea, opinion, etc.) means "think!" or "Consider!" in imperative form. So the imperative sentence فِکْرِ مَعْقُولِ بَفَرْمَا means "think considerately";

Think considerately (with consideration); where is the rose without a thorn?

And also:

حَافِظِ وَصَالِ گُلِ طَلَبِي هَمچُو بَلْبَلَان

جانِ کُنِ فِدَائِي خَاکِ رَوِ بَاغْبَانِ گُلِ

O Hafiz, thou desirest, like the nightingales, the enjoyment of the rose:
Make (thy) soul the ransom of the dust of the path of the garden-keeper of the rose. (24)

Here "dust of the path" presents an unfamiliar combination, since the target language has no equivalent for it. "Rose" is a metaphor for the beautiful mistress and the speaker, in a conditional sentence says that if you want togetherness with the beloved, you should sacrifice your life for the one keeping the rose (garden-keeper). Additionally, the above-mentioned couplet has semantic dissimilarity with the original text; وَصَل

/vasl/ or وَصَالِ /vesaal/ in Persian connotes unification or togetherness between the lover and the beloved, (contrary to فِرَاقِ /feragh/ which implies absence or separation)

has been translated as "the enjoyment" that is the consequence of this togetherness.

In the subsequent quatrain, وَصَالِ /vesaal/ has also been translated as "enjoyment" in contrast with فِرَاقِ /feragh/ which has been translated as "absence":

دِيروزِ چِنَانِ وَصَالِ جانِ آفِرُوزِي

اِمروزِ چِنينِ فِرَاقِ عَالَمِ سُوَزِي

²⁴³ Hafiz's *Divan*, sonnet No. 19

آفسوس که در دفترِ عُمرم ایام
آن را روزی نویسد این را روزی

Yesterday, such a soul-delighting enjoyment! and today, such a world-inflaming absence ! alas ! that time upon the register of my life, writes that one day, this one (another) day!

However, the same word, *وَصَل* /vasl/, in the next couplet has been translated as

"meeting":

یادِ وَصَلی که دل از هجرِ خبردار نبود
در میانِ این تنِ ویران شده دیوار نبود

The remembrance of such a meeting, (or of the meeting is such) that the heart has been unmindful of absence : between this desolated body, the wall (of partition) remained not.²⁴⁴ (26-7)

Furthermore, in his literal translations, whenever he finds no equivalent, Jones translates the metaphors with the same images in the TL, while, sometimes, the image does not have equivalent frequency in the TL and the translation turns to become unfamiliar or odd for the TL readers. As an example:

گریبانِ شکیبایی بدستِ اضطراب چاک زد.

He tore the collar of patience with the hand of distress. (213)

"He tore the collar of patience" means "he lost his temper".

Or

وَدَامَنِ دَلَشِ بَخارِ جگرِ دوزِ بیقراری در آویخت.

And suspended the skirt of his heart upon the liver-piercing thorn of instability. (213)

The whole sentence indicates that the gardener became restless.

Semantic differences, in Jones' translations, are generally trivial so that the TL reader will discern the meaning of the extract and the intention of the SL author:

شبی در بَرَتِ گَرِ بر آسودمی
سَرِ فخرِ بر آسمانِ سودمی

Could I rest one night in thy bosom, / I should (seem to) touch the sky with my delighted head.²⁴⁵ (50)

²⁴⁴ Hazin Lahiji *Sonnets*

²⁴⁵ Attributed to Firdausi

فخر /Faxr/ signifies pride and arrogance, while it has been translated as "delighted".

However it has not damaged the meaning as a whole.

Or:

ای دریغا وای دریغا وای دریغ
کانچنان ماهی نِهان شد زیرِ میغ

Alas! Alas! Alas! / That such a moon should be hidden under the cloud!²⁴⁶ (98)

The verb نِهان شد /Nehaan shod/ means "was hidden", not "should be hidden", as it has been translated.

گلستانی چو گلزارِ جوانی
گلش سیراب ز آبِ زندگانی

A rose garden like the rose bed of youth.
Its rose (is) moistened with the water of life. (208)

سیراب /sirab/ means "satiated" while it has been translated to "moistened", which can convey the meaning, but does not bear the significance of "satisfied for drinking water after thirst".

In the following extract;

باغبان روزی بر عادتِ معهود بتماشای گل آمد.

the gardener, (upon) a day, by established custom, came to see the rose. (211)

In the mentioned sentence, "stipulated custom" is a closer translation for عادتِ معهود /aadata mahud/ than "established custom" and "behold" is more proper for تماشا /tamaasha/ than "see", because it signifies a deliberate action while "see" is done unconsciously.

گل بزیر لب، نمیدانم چه میگوید.

(As to) the rose, I know not what he is saying under the lip (imperceptibly).

The English equivalent for بزیر لب /be zire lab/ is muttering "under the breath" not "under the lip" as it has been translated.

²⁴⁶ From Rumi.

And:

گر به دریا رُخ بشوید آن مه پیمانۀ نوش
خانهء عطار گردد کلبهء ماهی فروش

If that destructive beauty should wash the cheek in the sea,
The fisherman's boat would become (sweet as) a perfumer's shop. (113)

Here, Jones has translated آن مه /aan mahe / that moon face (whose beauty is like the moon) as "that destructive beauty" and has omitted پیمانۀ نوش /peimane nush/ (wine drinker)

Also:

دِهقان گُفت تا کی آزاری مَرا یارب نمانی ای رقیب

The husbandman said, how long do you injure me? O Lord! Remain not, O rival! (219)
In the mentioned example, the closer meaning to آزار /azaar/ is "vex" or "annoy", not

"injure". Probably, Jones has selected "injure" to intensify the hurt from the rival.

Besides, the translation for the second part of the line: "O Lord! Remain not, O rival!

"یارب نمانی ای رقیب" is better to be as:

May Lord not let you remain (live), O rival!

And:

و مَرا بمفارقتِ یارِ نازنین چند بار آزرده ء

And how often you have injured me by a separation from my amiable friend? (220)

Except for آزرده /azorde/ "annoyed" which has been intensified in translation by the translator's selection of "injured", چند بار /chand baar/ in an interrogative sentence, precisely means "how many times" which has been translated as "how often". Also, the closest translation for یار /yaar/ is "sweetheart" or "mistress", not "friend", though it is not incorrect. The context, also, indicates the meaning of "sweetheart" or "beloved" because the nightingale, is talking about the sorrows of separation from the beloved, "the rose".

که تو از یار و دیار محروم مانده و از تفرج و تماشا مهجور شده.

That you, remaining excluded from friend and country, and being separated from pleasure and show. (221)

In the above-mentioned extract, both translations "beloved" and "friend" are equally correct for یار /yaar/ which the latter has been selected by Jones. Moreover, "homeland" is a closer translation for دیار /diar/ than "country". Similarly, "sightseeing" is a better replacement for تماشا /tamaasha/ which has been translated "show".

In some other occasions, the discrepancy between the original text and the translated text is more distinguishable;

هَوایِ آن نَسیمِ بهار را اعتدالِ بخشیدی

The air of it equalized the gale of the spring. (207)

"Gale" denotes a strong wind which is semantically different from نَسیمِ /nasim/ (breeze), also "it" is better to be replaced with "which" to signify the possessive purpose:

The air of which equalized the breeze (gentle wind) of the spring.

نَوایِ عندلیبِشِ عِشرتِ انگیز
نَسیمِ عطرِ سایشِ راحتِ آمیز

The modulation of its nightingales exciting delight;
Its odour-like gale mixing tranquility. (209)

In the above couplet, "gale" is again used for its opposite "breeze". Besides, عطر /etr/ signifies perfume and good smelling. Having negative connotation, "odour" refers to an unpleasant smell. So, it is preferable to be replaced with "scent". Also, راحتِ آمیز /raahat aamiz/ (mixed with tranquility, with comfort), a combination of راحت /raahat/ (comfort) and suffix آمیز /aamiz/ (accompanied by, with), has been translated as "mixing tranquility". Accordingly, the couplet is better to be translated as:

The modulation of its nightingales exciting delight;
Its scent-like breeze mixing with tranquility.

There are some other specimens in which the translated text has some discrepancy to the original one by translating specific object instead of the general object.

فرو مانند پری رویان ز آن عارض
خجل گشتند سمن بویان ز آن کاگل

(The damsels with) faces like fairies, are dejected at that cheek; the jessamine-scented (nymphs) were disconcerted at that curl. (34)

In the original text, the Poet has applied *عارض* /aarez/ to mean "face", while Jones has used synecdoche by replacing "face" with "cheek". Substituting "cheek" for "face" happens in other occasions in the chosen extracts:

گل رنگین چون عذارِ دلفریبانِ نازکِ خوی و رُخسارِ سمنبرانِ یاسمین بویِ بشگفتی

A coloured rose, like the cheek of heart-deceiving damsels of gracious disposition, or (like) the cheek of the jessamine-bosomed scented with jessamine, blossomed. (210)

عذار /ezaar/ and *رُخسار* /roxsaar/ both mean "face", which are translated as "cheek". In the above line, there are some other deviations from the original text. The noun "rose" is a definite noun which has been mentioned before in the text, with no signs of indefinite nouns (in Persian grammar, final *ی* or initial *یک*), while it has been translated as "a rose". Furthermore, the syntax of the translated sentence has followed the Persian grammar to put the verb "blossomed" at the end of the sentence. Besides, *دلفریبان* /delfaribaan/, a combination of *دل* /del/ (heart) + *فرب* /farib/ (deceive) + *ان* /aan/ (suffix for making plural) is translated as "heart-deceiving damsels" while the collocation in Persian means "ravishing damsels".

Syntactic differences are seen in some of his translations, as well, so that there are alterations in the tenses:

تعالی الله چه دولت دارم امشب
که آمد ناگهان دلدارم امشب

May God be exalted! What fortune have I tonight! for this night is my beloved come unexpectedly ! (39)

The verb tense in the second line of the couplet in the original text is past tense (آمد /aamad/ came, or has come) while it has been translated as "is come".

Another example for change of tense is:

گفتم مگر صبا ز چمن رسید
یا کاروان مُشک ز راه ختن رسید

I said, but the zephyr is arrived from the garden, or the caravan of musk has come from the road of Khoten. (49)

رسید /resid/ (came, arrived) is the past form of the verb رسیدن /residan/ (to come, to arrive), repeated in both lines of the couplet, translated as "is arrived" and "has come". The latter is more applicable because it connotes the idea of past tense, as well.

In the following sentence,

از چه سبب بعقوبت من مائل شده ء

For what reason have you been inclined to punish me? (217)

Syntactically, the translated sentence is passive, based on Persian grammar; so, "been" is better to be omitted to retain its English syntax.

2. 3. 2. Cultural Complications in Translating Poetry

The concept of difference in translation, not only covers the lexical- semantic differences between the two languages, but also indicates the two cultures from which those languages have been rooted.

The translated extracts in Jones' *Persian Grammar* are generally meta-phrases and semantically faithful to the original text. What Jones mostly faces, in his translations, are the cultural complications. The difference between cultures is what Mildred Larson calls "one of the most difficult challenges" in translating literary texts since the viewpoints of different people vary based on their cultures. Larson notes:

...Different cultures have different focuses [...] Some societies are more technical and other less technical. This difference is reflected in the amount of vocabulary which is available to talk about a particular topic. [...] When the cultures are similar there is less difficulty in translating. This is because both languages will probably have terms that are more

or less equivalent for the various aspects of the culture. When the cultures are very different, it is often difficult to find equivalent lexical items.²⁴⁷

Accordingly, a text with cultural significance for the Persian audience may turn to have little or no implication for the target language community after translation, especially when there is word-for-word translation, so, it may prevent the TL audience to get the gist of the original text.

Cultural complications happen when words or expressions in the SL relate to culturally-bound concepts, principles, values and behaviors which are unknown or partly known by the TL readers, and create Lexical gaps in translation as there is no direct lexeme in TL for the concept in SL. The existence of Sufism and mystical devotion in an extensive part of classical Persian poetry is an instance, by which every reference to earthly objects is viewed in a spiritual manner, about which a Western reader has no preconception. Husayn Ilahi-Ghomshei, in his article "The Principles of the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry", denotes that classical Persian poetry is "normally filled with extravagant praise for the cupbearer (*sāqī*), goblet (*sāghar*), wine-vat (*khum*) and drunkenness (*mastī*), winehouse (*maykhāna*), tavern (*kharābāt*), tavern-master (*pīr-i kharābāt*), and so on"²⁴⁸ which have made the translators face several ambiguities as the consequence of the mysterious language, widely led to translation through loan words, though the loan words do not always propose acceptable equivalent terms in the TL.

In translating these culturally-bound items, Jones has the aesthetic elements of a poem in mind and tries to find the cultural equivalent or the nearest term. Whenever he finds no proper cultural equivalent, either he repeats the word or he replaces it with a combination of words to make the concept familiar for the reader. As it follows, in the succeeding lines /saaqi/ is translated as "Cupbearer" because Jones has tried to find the cultural equivalent word of the SL term, and Darvesh is repeated with no change, since

²⁴⁷ Larson, Mildred L. *Meaning-based Translation: A Guide to Cross-Language Equivalence*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998. pp. 149-50.

²⁴⁸ Ilahi-Ghomshei, Husayn. "The Principles of the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry". In Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: 2010. p. 96.

there is no culturally-equivalent replacement for it , so Jones applies a "loan word" in the TL .

ساقی بیار باده که آمد زمان گل

Cupbearer, bring the wine, for the season of the rose is come. (24)

ساقیا ساغر شراب بیار

Cupbearer, bring a cup of wine (60)

درویشی به مقامی رسید...درویش راه بیابان قطع کرد

A certain Darvesh arrived at a place ...the Darvesh having traversed the way of the desert. (25)

In medieval Persian culture, "Saghi" or "Saki" was referred to one who poured wine and handed it to the friends in an intimate gathering or in a Traven. He might either be the host, one of the guests, or a person working in that role, whose implication was totally different from barman or bartender. Having elevated connotation, symbolizing spiritual master, he helped the guests in getting intoxicated (physically or metaphorically), whose significance is not easy to understand for the TL audience without the further explanation of the translator.

Similarly, (baade) or (mey) "wine" has been used by numerous mystic and non-mystic poetry. One of the probable reasons for relating wine to metaphorical and metaphysical concepts in Persian poetry goes back to religious restrictions, as Mamkhezri, Pashae-Fakhri, and Aadelzadeh in their shared article "Persian Poetry and Wine in its Place" hypothesize that "experts in poetry, usually tend to justify and explain this issue, in order to exempt the great literary figures from the charge of "drinking wine" and preventing from their notoriety in the Islamic society".²⁴⁹ The concept of "wine" might be applied metaphorically in Hafiz's ghazals and other mystical poetries to refer to attaining knowledge and perception about God and brings about union with the heavenly beloved, as Ilahi-Ghomshei puts it, "the theophany of beauty in the raiment of

²⁴⁹ Mamkhezri, Ali. , Kamran Pashae-Fakhri & Parvaneh Aadelzadeh . "Persian Poetry and Wine in its Place". International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature, 2017. Volume: 6 Issue: 7, p. 36.

mortal beings".²⁵⁰ This referred wine in the mystical poetry is able to improve the insight and reveal the unknowns in order to support the drinker in his journey toward the Divine supremacy. Peter Avery in his article, "Hafiz of Shiraz", proposes different possibilities for interpreting the concept of wine. He refers to Margaret Smith who says: "For His lovers, God pours out a draught from the cup of His love, and by that draught they are intoxicated, rapt away from themselves", to conclude that wine alludes to "service to God, spiritual devotion". On the other hand, he challenges the idea by hypnotizing that "it might be supposed that Hafiz had, among other considerations, real wine in mind."²⁵¹

What is difficult to understand (and also to translate) is the way, through which, metaphorically or symbolically, the poet associates the concepts like wine or tavern to the old Magian ("pireh Moghan") or "Darvish" with the spiritual conceptions and mystical devotion or how Sāqī or Saaki (cupbearer), in several occasions, make allusions to the spiritual guide. Besides, the Western reader does not believe such an extreme degree of overstatement in the description of the beloved and understatement for the lover in Persian poetry. These exaggerations and idealization of the emotions and situations, which are the characteristics of panegyric poetry, are normal in Persian lyrical poetry but odd for the Western readers. Dick Davis, in his article entitled "On Not Translating Hafez", refers to the cultural differences as an impediment in the way of translation and says:

A subdivision of mystical problem is the set of ideas metaphorically expressed in Persian poetry by wine, drunkenness, the opposition of the *rend* (approximately "libertine") and the *zahed* ("ascetic"), and so forth. None of these notions have any force whatsoever in the Western literary tradition. It would never occur to a Western poet to express the forbidden intoxications of mysticism by alluding to the forbidden intoxications of wine, for the simple fact that the intoxications of wine have never (if we exclude the brief and local moment of prohibition in the United States) been forbidden in the West. The whole topos of winebibbing and the flouting of sober outward convention, so dear to

²⁵⁰ Ilahi-Ghomshei, Husayn. "The Principles of the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry". In Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: 2010.p. 84.

²⁵¹ Avery, Peter. "Hafiz of Shiraz", in Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage FoundationPublished, 2010. p. ix.

Persian Sufi poetry[...] the deeper resonances of the topos are not obvious for a Western audience: they have to be explained.²⁵²

Love, as the main ingredient in the medieval ghazals, leads to cultural dissimilarity in translation; a peculiar, Platonic, one-sided and unreciprocated love, which idealizes the beloved and the lover's feelings for her as appealing and sublime. It might be surprising for the Western reader that the beloved, in Persian poetry, is not accessible to the lover, and unification is a far-fetched dream. Poetry has always been the chief vehicle of social and cultural expression and the existence of such concepts has been the product of a traditional society, in which love, before marriage, was forbidden and the future spouse, mainly for girls, was determined by one's family, ignoring the feelings of the lovers. This love between a man and a woman, was referred to as virtual or earthly love /Eshghe Majaazi/ (in contrast with the real love for God /Eshghe Haghghi/). This love resulted in a deep anguish and limitless desire of the lover as the consequence of his separation from the beloved, so that he could find no pleasure in his life except for reunion with the beloved. The extremity of this fervent love is hard to be translated because it is deeply related to the culture's folkloric sentiments. That is why Jones, in his *Grammar*, cannot find any proper replacement for *وَصَل*/vasl/ (unification between the lovers) and translates it to "enjoyment" (24, 99) or "meeting"(26), which were discussed earlier.

On the other hand, mystical conceptions have been defined through the same poetic form; Sufis' deep affection for God, and their spiritual love for the Divine power, considered as the real or true form of love, was described in the same way as the sensual love between a man and a woman. So, the identity of the beloved (either human, divine or both) is not generally apparent for even the Persian reader. Love, in this form, as well, expressed the agonies of separation from the Divine entity, and the lover, Sufi, longing to get reunion with God.

²⁵² Davis, Dick. "On Not Translating Hafez". *The New England Review*, 25,1-2 (2004), p. 2.

Accordingly, some ghazals can be interpreted based on the two aspects of love, with metaphorical connotations for material and worldly conceptions; for example, the beauty of the beloved reveals the beauty of God, Saqi is identified as a mediator who connects man to God with heavenly wine, which is the symbol of knowledge and divine intoxication. These double layers of meaning cause difficulties in understanding and consequent ambiguities in translating medieval lyrical poetry.

Religious concepts are among cultural-specific notions which create lexical gap and discrepancy between the SL text and the TL text, since SL text may indicate a religious conception unknown or less known in the TL culture. What Jones does in translating these notions is applying literal translation together with finding cultural equivalent and (in some cases) reduction of the ambiguous words or expressions:

ماه كنعان من مسند مصر آن تو شد.

Moon of Canaan! (O Joseph), the throne of Egypt is thine!²⁵³ (40)

ماه كنعان من /maahe kanaane man/ "My Moon of Canaan!" has lost its possessive adjective من /man/ "my" in Jones' translation to make it more understandable. Then Jones has added "Joseph" to refer to cultural equivalency, because of the similar cultural background for "Joseph" in Christianity and "Yousef" in Islam, who is alluded as "Moon of Canaan", Canaan, the birthplace of Yousef (Joseph) based on Quran.

Yet, Jones' translations, sometimes, are not entirely accurate, because of the probable cultural and religious ignorance, or culturally-bound terms, some of which are mentioned in the following examples.

Jones refers to عيد صيام /Eide Siam/ as "holy-day of the fast" in the subsequent couplet:

روز عیش و طرب و عید صیامت امروز

کام دل حاصل و ایام بکامست امروز

A day of mirth and joy and the holy-day of the fast is this day:
The desire of the heart (is) obtained; and times are to (my) wish
to-day.²⁵⁴ (40)

²⁵³ Hafiz's *Divan*, Sonnet No. 9

²⁵⁴ Khajooye Kermani's *Sonnets*

The jubilee of breaking the Fast is the first day in the month of Shawwal (the Arabic month after Ramadan based on the lunar Hijri Calander), a day on which Muslims celebrate the completion of Ramadan, the Islamic holy month of fasting. عيدِ صيام Eid-al-Siam is an obsolete expression for Eid al-Fitr as the holy-day that marks the end of Ramadan, not "holy-day of the fast" as it has been translated. Similarly, in the following couplet:

آنِ اِمامانی که کردند اِجتِهَاد
رَحْمَتِ حَقِّ بر روانِ جُمْلَه باد

Upon the whole of those (particular, or great), Imams, who carried on religious warfare, may the mercy of the true (God) flow.²⁵⁵ (27)

Based on homophony, according to which two words sound alike with different spellings and different meanings, Jones has mistaken اِجتِهَاد /ejtehaad/, meaning "endeavor, effort, search for the right idea", for جِهَاد /jihaad/ or /jehaad/ meaning "religious war". In religious contexts, اِجتِهَاد (ejtehaad) may also mean "derivation of religious issues from sacred books, Hadith or the speeches of sacred men" which is in contrast with Jones' translation, as well.

In the following couplet:

به می سجاده رنگین کن، گرت پیرِ مُغان گوید
که سالکِ بی خبر نبود ز راه و رسم منزلها

Tinge the sacred carpet with wine, if the senior of the magicians bid thee; for the traveller should not be ignorant of the rule and custom of the inns.²⁵⁶ (37)

پیرِ مُغان Pir-i-Moghan refers to the senior or the old man of the Magians, the Zoroastrian clergymen, the perfect Murshid in Sufism, that Jones has translated as "senior of the magicians". Here in this couplet, "traveler" is a Sufi or Aref who knows the way to the salvation. Gertrude Bell, in her translation of *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* discusses the title Pir-i-Moghan as follows:

²⁵⁵ Attaar, *Pandname*

²⁵⁶ Hafiz' *Divan*, sonnet No. 1

The history of this title is an epitome of the history of Persian faiths. It indicated primarily the priest of the first of Persian religions, that of Zoroaster. When the Mahommadans invaded Persia, and the preachers of the Prophet supplanted the priests of Zoroaster, their title fell into disrepute, and was degraded so far that it came to mean only the keeper of a tavern or *cara-vanserai*. But in this sense it gradually regained the honour- able place from which it had fallen; for the keepers of such places of resort were, for the most part, men well acquainted with the "ways of the road and the hostelry." In their time they may themselves have served travellers upon their journey; they had heard and learnt much from the wayfarers who stopped at their gates, and they were able to guide others upon their journey, sending them forth refreshed and comforted in body. And here the Sufis took up the ancient name and used it to mean that wise old man who supplied weary travellers upon life's road with the spiritual draught of Sufi doctrine which refreshes and comforts the soul.²⁵⁷

Jones was aware of the cultural connotations of Persian language and literature, and, in Franklin's word, his "fascination with Sufism was at least as old as his love for Haifiz."²⁵⁸ So, this mistake in confusing "magian" and "magician" very probably was the result of a typing error.

Although Jones' *Persian Grammar* was published almost at the beginning of his career as a translator, critics contemporary to him, as Cannon records, celebrated the book "as a work of real scholarship" whose author turned to be one of the most eminent Persian scholars in Europe. His "A Persian Song", published in anthologies, "was almost sufficient to insure Jones a place in Chalmers' *The Works of the English Poets*". His "preface" was considered as "his most masterly, spirited, and elegant philological composition" and after several editions, in 1946, Jones' *Persian Grammar* was called the "veritable turning point in the history of humane studies".²⁵⁹

With the publication of his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, according to Michael Franklin in his *Orientalist Jones*, Yunus Uksfurdi (Oxford Jones in Persian) "produced not only a Shakaristan (a chest of sugar), as the grammar was titled in Persian, but a gulistan (bower of roses), replete with the beauties of 'the Persian

²⁵⁷ Bell, Gertrude Lowthian. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1897. p. 67.

²⁵⁸ Franklin, Michael J. "I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz". *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 56, No. 227 (Nov., 2005), p. 755.

²⁵⁹ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 11.

Anacreon' Hafiz, a ruba'i (quatrain) and a half by Omar Khayyam, and the love-songs of Firdausi".²⁶⁰

Sir William Jones was a philologist who tried to bridge the Orient and the Occident through translation, so that "men of taste. . .will undoubtedly be pleased to unlock the stores of native genius, and to gather the flowers of unrestrained and luxuriant fancy."²⁶¹ Jones' purpose in his *Persian Grammar*, as Cannon declares, was "the same as in the *Treatise* and *Commentaries* to stimulate translation of Oriental manuscripts, with notes and explanations, so that one day English poets might enlarge their field of allusion by reference to Oriental writing."²⁶² His *Persian Grammar* was accompanied by "the principal rules" which he gathered for learning the Persian language; "but rules alone will avail but little, unless the learner will exemplify them in his own researches: the only office of a grammarian is to open the mine of literature, but they who wish to poses the gems must endeavour to find them by their own labours".²⁶³

Jones' *Persian Grammar* influenced the publication of several other books among which, in Cannon's account, one can mention to John Richardson's *Grammar of the Arabie language* (London, 1776) and *A dictionary, Persian, Arabie, and English* (Oxford, 1777). Also, Captain George Hadley's *Grammatical remarks on the practical and vulgar dialect of the Indostan language* (London, 1772) owes much to Jones' book.²⁶⁴ The poems and extracts selected in the book, similarly, affected numerous authors, contemporary to Jones and in the next century, so that Franklin calls Jones and his book the harbinger of a novel literary school; "Thus Romantic Orientalism is born, not in scented seraglio sheets or amidst the petals of a Turkish rose bed, but within the pages of a London Welshman's Persian grammar".²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Joes, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 71.

²⁶¹ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. (The Ninth Edition).p. xiii.

²⁶² Cannon, Garland. *Sir William jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952.p. 9.

²⁶³ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1823. (The Eighth Edition), p. 135.

²⁶⁴ Cannon, Garland. "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society". *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, tome 6, fascicule 2, 1984. Genèse du comparatisme indo-européen. P. 86

²⁶⁵ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.p. 72.

2.4. "The Persian Song" of Hafiz; A Review According to the Theories of Translation

Hafiz, according to Arberry, "has had many admiring interpreters in English, more than any other Persian poet"²⁶⁶ and is considered "by universal consent the supreme master of the art of the Persian *ghazal*".²⁶⁷ In the "Preface" to his *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* Jones considers Hafiz as a conventional lyricist similar to European love poets such as Petrarch, whose tradition is followed by Jones's translation by choosing the stanza form.²⁶⁸

Hwajah Shams al-Din Muhammad Shirazi, (1315–1389), known by his pen-name as Hafiz or Hafiz Shirazi ("Shirazi" in his name refers to the poet's birthplace, Shiraz, the capital of the province of Fars in Iran), is considered as one of the most celebrated and popular Persian poets whose exclusive fame is due to his Ghazals (also Gazel); a form of short subjective lyric poetry, similar to sonnet, originated from Arabic prosody in the seventh century dealing with topics such as hedonism, mysticism, and a fervent love for a divine or earthly beloved.²⁶⁹ The first known Persian poet who tried his hand in ghazal style was Sana'ii who used it in mystical poetry. After him, according to Arberry in his *The Legacy of Persia*, the ghazal "established itself as the prime favourite in Persian poetry. Polished and refined successively by Attar (d. 1230), Rumi (d. 1273), and Sa'di (d. 1291), it was brought to miraculous perfection by the incomparable Hafiz (d. 1389) following whom its greatest master among very many was Jami (d. 1492)".²⁷⁰ Ainsworth R. Spofford in his article "Characteristics of Persian Poetry" refers to Hafiz as the "prince of the poets of good cheer" whose lively fancy embellishes "the wine-cup with all the flowers of song" and a word of whose *Divan* is "equivalent to anthology". Hafiz, according to Spofford, is "as sententious as Horace, as hilarious as Anacreon, as

²⁶⁶ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 34.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 1.

²⁶⁸ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009.p. xii.

²⁶⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ghazal>

²⁷⁰ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953. pp. 210-11.

tender as Theocritus, [whose] poems are as full of felicities as of melodies." His ghazals have a "high reach of thought, and are full of every-day wisdom, [...] many of them are devoted to love and pleasure, but others are full of lofty moralizings".²⁷¹

The rhyme of the ghazal is a single rhyme while the meters may vary; the ghazals usually include seven to nine couplets, however, sometimes extended to fifteen couplets, each of which signifies a comprehensive poem in itself, with, what Pritchett, in his article "Orient Pearls Unstrung", refers to as "a number of extremely varied topics, moods, images, and figures" that appear to be "atomistic or molecular with many of its small verse-units seemingly held together by their formal connections alone, like pearls on a string."²⁷² In ghazals, the first and the second lines of the first couplet are end-rhymed and so are the second line of each following couplet (a a, b a, c a, etc.). Furthermore, both lines of each couplet have the same meter with an unavoidable end rhyming (gafiya), and a refrain of repeated words (radif), may develop. Conventionally, the poet refers to his pen-name in the last couplet. Hyperbole is one of the conventions of Ghazals, particularly in description of the beloved, through which the speaker considers himself inferior than his worldly or divine beloved.

It is not easy to interpret Hafiz's ghazals or, as Paul Smith puts, the "essence of Hafiz,"²⁷³ according to the metaphor he dealt in, so many Persian scholars discern multiple layers of meaning and implied mystical or allegorical references in his poetry in relation to Sufism, which make it difficult to translate. His poems, may be considered to echo a lover longing for his beloved or a Sufi who believes in the manifestation of God in human form. In his essay "On The Mystical Poetry of The Persians And Hindus", Jones introduces Hafiz as a mystical poet and refers to mystical poetry as:

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia; particularly among the Persian theists, both ancient ... and modern Súfis, ... and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical,

²⁷¹ Spofford, Ainsworth R. "Characteristics of Persian Poetry". University of Northern Iowa: The North American Review, Vol. 140, No. 341 (Apr., 1885), p. 335.

²⁷² Pritchett, Frances W. "Orient Pearls Unstrung: The Quest for Unity in the Ghazals". U S A: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993. p. 119.

²⁷³ Smith, Paul. "Hafiz and His Translator, Sufism and God". Mehregan-Hafiz. p. 80.

theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of old Academicks.
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Arberry believes that "the Persians have always been mystics, sceptical, individualists and interested in the content and objectives of life,"²⁷⁵ so the mystical principles have been reflected in the classical Persian poems of eminent poets such as Hafiz, Sa'di, Jami and Khayyam, which are also noticeable in English literature, in the works of Donne, Blake, Wordsworth and Shelley.

Love is inseparably tied to most of Hafiz's ghazals. The agony of loss and the beauty of love in spite of that torture are both displayed in this highly idealistic love, whose structure and themes are reminiscent of Petrarchan sonnets. However, they may also be analyzed philosophically according to Sufism, mysticism and religious interpretation; on the one hand, he is the poet of sensual love, damsels, wine, on the other hand, he becomes the representative of Divine Love, Sufism, the ecstasy of contemplation, and devoted faith.

Among Hafiz's ghazals, "A Persian Song" became one of the most familiar translated ghazals of Hafiz, turned out to be popular with the Romantic poets and motivated Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan*. It was also republished in *The Oxford Book of Eighteenth Century English Verse* of 1926. In the preface to his *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues*, Jones has included a Petrarchan ode along with his translation of Hafiz's ghazal to show the similarity between the two. He declares his approach in translation by comparing the Asiatic poems with Italian ones and says:

...the reader might compare the manner of the Asiatick poets with that of the Italians, many of whom have written in the true spirit of the Easterns; some of the Persian songs have a striking resemblance to the sonnets of Petrarch.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ *The Works of Sir William Jones*, 1794. p. 445.

²⁷⁵ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953.p. 15.

²⁷⁶ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. Preface, p. xi.

Jones's "immortal version" of translation of this song, as Arberry calls it²⁷⁷, shows this parallel; following Petrarch's conception of his beloved, Laura, Jones portrays a beautiful beloved whose cruelty and coldness tortures the lover.

Jones was so delighted by the "wildness and simplicity" of this ghazal, that he versified and recreated it in English as "A Persian Song" of Hafiz. He, then, apologized the reader for "the singularity of the measure" which might be found in his translation:

I have endeavoured, as far I was able, to give my translation the easy turn of the original ; and I have, as nearly as possible, imitated the cadence and accent of the Persian measure; from which every reader, who understands music, will perceive that the Asiatic numbers are capable of as regular a melody as any air in Metastasio.²⁷⁸

In his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, in addition to the verse translation, Jones includes the literal translation of the same song in which the sense of the poem is more accurately represented and he is not restricted by rhyme and meter. However, it is a word-for-word translation with some limitations that changes the original poem significantly and creates ambiguity in the imagery of the original poem.

To analyze Sir William Jones' translation of this "Ghazal" of Hafiz, one ought to consider that, as Baker says, "A certain amount of loss, addition, or skewing of meaning is often unavoidable in translation; [because] language systems tend to be too different to produce exact replicas in most cases".²⁷⁹ In a similar comment, Bassnett states that equivalence in translation "should not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two TL versions of the same text, let alone between the SL and the TL version".²⁸⁰

Although fidelity to the source text is important in translation, the use of the target language common expressions plays an important role in understanding the text by the target language readers. Also, translation of idioms, metaphors, and other figures of speech may involve what Bassnett points as "discarding the basic linguistic elements

²⁷⁷ *Classical Persian Literature*, p. 298

²⁷⁸ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. (The Ninth Edition), p. 133.

²⁷⁹ Baker, Mona. *In Other Words; A coursebook on translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. p. 57.

²⁸⁰ Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 37-8.

of the SL text" to "achieve 'expressive identity' between the SL and TL texts".²⁸¹ Moreover, after the seventeenth century, according to Munday, "fidelity had come to be generally identified with faithfulness to the meaning rather than the words of the author".²⁸² Consequently, in Jones's translation of this song, one should not expect to find the same words and ideas to be found in two different texts. Since, if he stuck to the individual words of the original text, the English translation would inevitably turn to be odd according to cultural-bound terms. Instead, he follows the rule of "loss and gain" by which Jones does several additions and omissions. Defending the process, Bassnett states that "the translator can at times enrich or clarify the SL text as a direct result of the translation process." Since "what is often seen as 'lost' from the SL context may be replaced in the TL context".²⁸³

The "loss and gain" process, that Jones applies, is what is needed in translating poetry to make it more beautiful, because as Peter Newmark, in his *A Textbook of Translation*, discusses, in translating poetry "there is often a conflict between the expressive and the aesthetic function ('truth' and 'beauty') - the poles of ugly literal translation and beautiful free translation."²⁸⁴ Jones, as a translator of poetry, as Sri Aurobindo states, has two choices; "one to keep it strictly to the manner and turn of the original, (and) the other is to take its spirit, sense and imagery and produce them freely so as to suit the new language."²⁸⁵

In translating this ghazal, Jones applies the second method, which Aurobindo prefers, a more dynamic translation, though a more difficult one. Jones's translation is similar to what Sir Thomas Wyatt does in translating Petrarch's sonnets; he nationalizes the sonnets based on English taste. And so does Jones in his translation of Hafiz as a song with idioms and concepts based on the taste of his eighteenth century English readers. He localizes the culturally-specific terms in order to make them

²⁸¹ Ibid, p. 34.

²⁸² Munday, Jeremy. *Introducing Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 41.

²⁸³ Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 38.

²⁸⁴ Newmark, Peter. *A Textbook of Translation*, Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall International Ltd, 1988.p. 42.

²⁸⁵ *Studies in Translation*, edited by Ed. Mohit K. Ray, chapter 6, "Problems of Translation", Bijay Kumar Das.p.63

appealing and understandable for his readers. So, while, it is not fully loyal to the original poem, it provides the reader with analogous beauty resulted from the similar form and content of Hafiz's poem.

[P. 59] A PERSIAN SONG OF H A F I Z

S W E E T maid, if thou would'st charm my sight,
 And bid these arms thy neck infold;
 That rosy cheek, that lily hand,
 Would give thy poet more delight
 Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
 Than all the gems of Samarcand.

G A Z E L.

EGHER an Turki Shirazi
 Bedest ared dili mara,
 Be khali hinduish bakhshem
 Samarcand u Bckharara,

As it can be noticed, the Persian poem reveals a quantitative tetrameter, a less regular accentual pentameter, and a rhyme scheme of a a, b a, c a, d a, etc. In his translation, Jones has transformed the form of Hafiz's ghazal into a poem consisting of nine stanzas; each couplet (Bayt) of Hafiz's ghazal has been transformed into a six-line stanza rhyming "a b c a b c". Jones's verse translation is free and descriptive or, as Lefevere calls it, an "Interpretation Translation" in which the content of the source language text survives, but the form is changed, so he produces "a poem of his own which has 'only title and point of departure, if those, in common with the source text'."²⁸⁶ Through omissions and additions, Jones reproduces a new rhymed stanzaic

²⁸⁶ Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 87.

poetry in the target language and instead of the exact translation of the words or phrases, he tries to convey meaning with extra explanation or creation outside the source text. His translation is what Francis Jones calls "creative"; as he concerns that "reproducing all the semantic content and poetic features in a source poem is impossible, or that doing so might confuse the messages being signalled in the poem", he is paraphrasing the poem through "altering, adding or deleting certain elements, or by changing their relative emphasis", he convey something "novel to the translated poem."²⁸⁷

Jones begins his translation by apostrophizing the beloved as "sweet maid" in the place of "Turki Shirazi". The phrase "Turki Shirazi", according to Arberry, "was obviously borrowed from a line of Sa'di:

No one suffers such cruelty at the hand of a Turk of Cathay
As I suffer at the hand of the Turk of Shiraz."²⁸⁸

Hafiz, "the heir to a great poetic tradition", as Peter Avery states, calls his beloved as Shirazi Turk. This allusion to Sa'di's ghazal, according to Avery, is "one of the more obvious quarryings in the mines of poetic conventions" in which "poets are constantly producing variations on themes suggested by their forerunners... Sa'di gives us to infer that the Shirazi Turk's cruelty was far in excess of that experienced from the Cathayan Turk".²⁸⁹ So, the speaker's beloved, the Shirazi Turk, is the embodiment of cruelty and beauty, whose care and affection are not easily attracted. Jones addresses the beloved as if she were present, while Hafiz refers to the beloved as the third person in a conditional sentence to show that he has not been successful in his desire to attract the attention of his beloved, who is a member of the tribe of Turks living in Shiraz.

In translating the epithet "Shirazi Turk," Jones faces what Baker calls "non-equivalency at word level" by which she means that "the target language has no direct equivalent for a word which occurs in the source text". This generally happens because

²⁸⁷ Jones, Francis R. *Poetry Translating as Expert Action*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1955.p. 38.

²⁸⁸ Arberry, A. J. *Classical Persian Literature*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958.p. 355.

²⁸⁹ *Hafiz And the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*, "Foreword: Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz". p. xv.

of culturally-specific concepts when "the source-language word may express a concept which is totally unknown in the target culture" or " the source-language concept is not lexicalized in the target language ". It may also happen when "the target language lacks a specific term (hyponym)" for a specific word in the source language.²⁹⁰ Accordingly, Jones does not find a proper and understandable equivalent for "Turki Shirazi", so he uses what Baker refers to as "cultural substitution" by "replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target-language item which does not have the same propositional meaning but is likely to have a similar impact on the target reader".²⁹¹ Therefore, he replaces it with "Sweet Maid" to create a familiar concept for his readers.

In the first line of the first couplet the lover wishes that the "Shirazi Turk", the representative of a beautiful lady pays attention to his feelings (heart). In a conditional sentence he says if that lovely Shirazi maid cares for his feelings, he will trade the most famous cities of ancient Turkestan, Samarcand and Bocara (and bestow them), for a trivial part of her beauty (embodied in her Indian Mole, although the black mole is in contrast with her beauty, it makes her look more beautiful), while in Jones's translation the conditional sentence seems to get a different meaning and the lover expects the beloved to "charm [his] sight". In translating the second line of the first couplet, although Samarcand and Bocara have been used in a sort of hyperbole as they exist in Hafiz's poem, there is no reference to gem or gold in those areas in Hafez's song and their importance as wealthy areas is understood implicitly. The probable ignorance of Jones's readers about these two cities makes him refer to their wealth explicitly by "gem" and "gold". "Khali Hindu" meaning "Indian mole" (a metonymy of beauty) has also been deleted in Jones's translation of the couplet according to the differences in the criteria based on which beauty has been measured in East and West.

In his "literal translation of the song" Jones has translated the same couplet as: "If that (Turk, marauding) maid of Shiraz would bear my heart in (her) hand, / For her black mole I would give Samarkand and Bukhara". "Literal translation", as Bassnett

²⁹⁰ Baker, Mona. *In Other Words; A coursebook on translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. pp. 20-22.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, p, 31.

says, because of the "emphasis on word-for-word translation distorts the sense and the syntax of the original [text]"²⁹² and Jones, according to Baker, "gets quite engrossed in the source text" and has produced an odd "collocation in the target language for no justifiable reason."²⁹³ Consequently, he has translated word-for-word translation without considering the collocation in the source and target languages. "(Turk, marauding) maid of Shiraz" and "Bearing heart in hand" make odd collocations and differ from what Hafiz means. The second line has been translated based on the source poem except for "black mole" for "Indian mole" to make it comprehensible for his English readers.

Jones translates the second couplet as follows:

[P. 60] Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
 And bid thy pensive heart be glad,
 Whate'er the frowning zealots say:
 Tell them, their Eden cannot show
 A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
 A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

Bedeh, saki, mei baki,
 Ke der jennet nekhahi yaft
 Kunari abi Rocnabad,
 Ve gulgeshti Mosellara.

Here, in the verse translation, he translates "Saki" or "Saghi" as "Boy" and translates it as "cup-bearer" in the literal one: "Give, cup-bearer, the remaining wine, for in Paradise you will not find,/ The water-banks of Ruknabad, nor the rose-beds of Musalla". He refers to "ruby" as a metaphor for wine because of its resemblance to the

²⁹² Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 87.

²⁹³ Baker, Mona. *In Other Words; A coursebook on translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. p. 54.

color of red wine. The collocation "mei baki" is a pun in Persian which may refer both to the remaining of the wine (as Jones translates in his literal translation) or to the wine that connects the speaker to the eternal world. Puns, according to Bassnett, "are culture bounds" and the translator faces difficulties in finding equivalence for them.²⁹⁴ That is why Jones just considers the lexical meaning of the collocation. He adds some other sentences in addressing the cup bearing "Boy" and "And bid thy pensive heart be glad,/ Whate'er the frowning zealots say", which are not found in Hafiz's poem. Rocnabad and Mosellay were two beautiful visiting points in Shiraz when the poem was composed. The collocation "abi Rocnabad" refers to the stream that passed Rocnabad and "gulgeshti Mosellara" was the name of a flower garden in Shiraz. The poet compares the beauty of those sites to that of Heaven and believes the former are more beautiful.

[P.60] O! When these fair perfidious maids,
Whose eyes our secret haunts infest,
Their dear destructive charms display;
Each glance my tender breast invades,
And robs my wounded soul of rest,
As Tartars seize their destin'd prey,

Fugan kein luliani shokh
I shiringari shehrashob
Chunan berdendi sabr az dil
Ke Turcan khani yagmara.

The third couplet implies a comparison between losing patience in the presence of the beautiful beloved and at the banquet for hungry people. The poet denotes that as the hungry Tatars (Turks) cannot control themselves in robbing the meals away from the banquet, he is impatient in facing the beauty of the beloved expressed in

²⁹⁴ Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002. p. 32.

consonance and repetition of the "sh" sound with juxtaposed adjectives such as "luli" (gipsy/ rude/ a group of gipsies famous for their beautiful eyes), "shokh" (impolite/ humorist/ warm-blooded), "Shiringar" (funny/ humorist) and "Shehrashob" (one who disturbs the city because of tremendous beauty, one who sets the town in chaos by provoking astonishment in everyone for her beauty). As such adjectives have no parallels in English, Jones replaces them with "perfidious", "infest", "destructive", which imply the negative connotation of an unfaithful woman who betrays the lover. Hafiz's mistress is cruel but is not deceitful or dishonest. She disturbs the city by her beauty but she is not base. Jones either tries to decrease that negativity or to imitate those juxtaposed adjectives by using oxymoron "fair perfidious" and "dear destructive". In his literal translation "Alas, that these tender, sprightly, delicate, city-disturbing (beauties)/ Should so bear away patience from the heart, as the Turks (do) the tray of plunder." The collocation "tray of plunder", that has been translated word-for-word, creates a peculiar expression that does not make sense in the target language, as it did in the source language.

In the next couplet Hafiz emphasizes the perfectness of the beloved and says that the perfect beauty of the beloved is independent of the lover's affection and his love does not increase any beauty to her, in the same way that a beautiful face does not need cosmetics and false colors:

[P. 61] In vain with love our bosoms glow:

Can all our tears, can all our sighs,

New lustre to those charms impart?

Can cheeks, where living roses blow,

Where nature spreads her richest dyes,

Require the borrow'd gloss of art ?

Ze eshki na temami ma

Jamali yari mustagnist ;

Be ab u reng u khal u khatt

Che hajet ruyi zibara.

In the translation of the first line of this couplet, instead of considering the perfectness of her beauty, Jones chooses what Anoushiravani calls "a self-pitying tone" and "attracts the attention of the readers to his own pains rather than the beauty of the beloved".²⁹⁵ The reader of Jones's translation may deduce that the lover is disillusioned with love because almost no satisfaction is implied in the first three lines. In the literal translation of the couplet, "Of our imperfect love, the beauty of the beloved has no necessity; / For, of wash, and paint, and patch, and line, what need to a beautiful face?" In "our imperfect love", a word-for-word translation, "our" does not show the possession of first person plural "we", since in old Persian it was common to refer to oneself as "we". Thus, the lover refers to his imperfect love. The expression "mustagnist" rooted from "istigna" denotes what Arberry calls "self-sufficiency" and is the representative of the "Divine beauty" found in the Creator. The couplet may also connote what Arberry believes, that "God does not require our love, yet it is our overpowering need that we should love Him."²⁹⁶

In the fifth couplet, Hafiz suggests that it is better to talk about Mutreb (a musician who plays or sings hilarious songs in feasts or wedding celebrations) and wine rather than to investigate the secret of the Universe, because nobody, according to man's limitations, has ever been able to discover that mystery:

[P.61] Speak not of fate: ah! Change the theme,

And talk of odours, talk of wine,

Talk of the flowers that round us bloom:

'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream;

To love and joy thy thoughts confine,

²⁹⁵ Anoushiravani, Alireza. & Atashi, Laleh. "Cultural Translation: A Critical Analysis of William Jones's Translation of Hafez", 2013.p. 10.

²⁹⁶ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.p. 142.

Nor hope to pierce the sacred gloom.

Hadis az mutreb u mei gu,
 Va razi dehri kemter ju,
 Ke kes nekshud u nekshaied
 Be hikmet ein moammara,

In his translation, Jones advises the addressee to "Speak not of fate", he then adds "ah!" to show the topic as a monotonous one and wants his addressee to "change the theme". "Mutreb" has been omitted in this translation and some other concepts such as "odours" and "flowers that round us bloom" are added. Jones considers the mysteries of the universe by referring to them as "cloud" and "dream" while there is no reference to them in the Persian text. Then he summarizes the couplet and suggests the addressee to restrict her thought to "love and joy" because there is no "hope to pierce the sacred gloom". This *carpe diem* theme is present in Hafiz's couplet while referring to "mutreb" and "mei" (wine). Wine, in Hafiz's poetry, according to Arberry, is a way to "cheer the heart of man" in the same way that love "comfort[s] his soul", as "he walks the dark corridor between annihilation and annihilation—the philosophy of Umar, Hafiz's doctrine of unreason the *carpe diem* of all who have ever loved the beauty of the world and known it to be swiftly perishing, like the spring's carpet of flowers spread in a Persian desert."²⁹⁷ In his literal translation of the couplet, "mutreb" is translated to "the musician" and "razi dehr" (mystery of universe) has been translated as "secret of time": "Tell the story of the musician and the wine, but the secret of time seek less,/ For no one has opened, or shall open, by science this enigma".

The sixth couplet of Hafez's ghazal is an allusion to the story of Yusef (Joseph) and Zuleikha in the Quoran (and also in the Bible):

²⁹⁷ Arberry, A. J. Ed. *The legacy of Persia*. Bombay Calcutta Madras; Oxford University Press, 1953.pp. 227-8.

[P.62] Beauty has such resistless power,
 That even the chaste Egyptian dame
 Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy;
 For her how fatal was the hour,
 When to the banks of Nilus came
 A youth so lovely and so coy !

Men az an husni ruzafzun
 Ke Yusuf dashti danestem
 Ke eshk az perdei ismet
 Berun ared Zuleikhara.

Yusuf (Joseph), the youngest son of Jacob, who was betrayed and thrown into a well by his elder brothers as a result of their jealousy, was found by some travelling merchants and sold to one of Pharaoh's officials, Potiphar, as a slave. He eventually caught the attention of Potiphar's wife. She attempted to seduce him several times, but Joseph continually refused. Consequently, Joseph was imprisoned and remained there for some years, because Zuleikha accused him of treachery and rape.²⁹⁸

In his translation, Jones does not refer to the names of the two figures in the original poem. Rather he uses "Egyptian dame" for "Zuleikha" and "Hebrew boy" for "Yusuf". In the *Genesis* Yusuf (Joseph) has been mentioned as "Hebrew" and "Hebrew slave" (39:11-20). So Jones's translation of his name is based on cultural differences in order to create a more accurate and familiar vision for the Christian reader. Nonetheless, he adds some characteristics to Joseph that do not exist in Hafiz's poem; he considers Joseph as a "blooming boy" and "a youth so lovely and so coy" to demonstrate the "husni ruzafzun" (enhancing beauty) of Joseph, although the adjectives are attributed to women. These adjectives may relate to the "Hebrew slave" image of Joseph in the Bible.

²⁹⁸ https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Joseph,_son_of_Jacob, also in <https://enacademic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/123538>

In his literal translation, he uses the names of Joseph and Zulikha: "I have known of that daily-increasing beauty which Joseph possessed, / (And) that love, from (behind) the curtain of chastity, brings out Zulikha," although the collocation of "daily-increasing" and "curtain of chastity" produce odd expressions in the target language.

In the next couplet Hafiz advises the addressee (whose gender or identity is not clear because in Persian grammar there are no gender-specific pronouns) to pay attention to the recommendations because in his view point exultant youths are those who heed the advice of experienced people:

[P.62] But ah! Sweet maid, my counsel hear:
 (Youth should attend when those advise
 Whom long experience renders sage):
 While musick charms the ravish'd ear;
 While sparkling cups delight our eyes,
 Be gay; and scorn the frowns of age.

Nasihet goshi kun jana,
 Ke az jan dostiter darend
 Juvanani saadetmend
 I pendi peeri danara.

The addressee in Hafiz's poetry is not definitely referred to as a female while Jones refers to the addressee as a "Sweet maid". He also begins with "but", while there is no existence of that word in the original poem. The last three lines in Jones's translation have not been mentioned in the source poem. Jones may add them to fill the gap of cultural differences and to make it more familiar for the English readers by adding lines containing the familiar carpe diem theme. The literal translation of this couplet presents a word-for-word translation which does not seem normal for English

readers: "Give the ear of counsel, (my) life! for more beloved than the soul, hold/ Happy young men, the advice of a learned old man". "Give the ear" equals to "pay attention" or "heed" in English and the rest of the line "for more beloved than the soul, hold" makes a peculiar sentence in the target language.

In the next couplet Hafiz speaks to the addressee that although she has been cruel toward him by telling improper words, he is content and wishes blessings for her, described in an Arabic collocation "Afac alla" (God bless you). He then asks a rhetorical question conveying that it is not proper for sweet lips to utter bitter answers:

[P.63] What cruel answer have I heard!

And yet, by heaven, I love thee still;

Can aught be cruel from thy lip?

Yet say, how fell that bitter word

From lips which streams of sweetness fill,

Which nought but drops of honey lip?

Bedem gufti, va khursendam,

Afac alla, neku gufti,

Jawabi telkhi mizeibed

Lebi lali sheker khara.

Although, as usual, there are some omissions and additions for keeping the rhyme and the stanza form, Jones has been able to transfer the content of the source poem. He does not mention the Arabic collocation and its meaning; instead, he replaces it with "by Heaven". The speaker's love in this couplet is implied because in spite of the beloved's cruelty, he describes his satisfaction and wishes blessing for her, while Jones, in his translation, explicitly says that "I love thee still". Furthermore, Jones does not translate "Lebi lali" (ruby lips, lips like rubies) and just refers to the sweetness of the lips with exaggerated metaphors. This expression has been mentioned in the literal translation of the couplet: "Thou hast called me bad, and I am content: God forgive thee,

thou hast well spoken; / (Yet) does the bitter answer become the ruby-sugar-eating lip?"

Based on a Persian poetic convention, Hafiz addresses himself and refers to his name in the last couplet. He admires his skill in composing a rhythmic sonnet and compares it to piercing a pearl full of art and aesthetic talent so that he (as a poet) is worthy to be rewarded a necklace made of the cluster of stars of "the Pleiades" (Suraia) by heaven:

[P.63] Go boldly forth, my simple lay,
Whose accents flow with artless ease,
Like orient pearls at random strung:
Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say;
But O! Far sweeter, if they please
The nymph for whom these notes are sung.

Gazel gufti vedurr sufti,
Bea vakhosh bukhan Hafiz,
Ke ber nazmi to afshaned
Felek ikdi suriara.

In his translation, Jones omits the name of Hafiz. He, then, addresses the poet or Hafiz as "my simple lay" and wants him to "go boldly forth" because his "accents flow with artless ease/ Like orient pearls at random strung". These lines are in contrast with what Hafiz takes pride in as his art and compares it to jewel making (piercing the pearl). The expression "orient pearls at random strung" was criticized in Arthur J. Arberry's 1943 article of the same name discussing that the idea of stringing pearls "at random" implies Hafiz's inability to unite his poetry:

Like Orient Pearls at *random* strung! An unfortunate, a most regrettable translator's gloss... Hafiz, who was using a most apt and happy (and

indeed, most customary) image to describe his own meticulous craftsmanship, was by Jones misrepresented as confessing himself a casual, careless jeweler of words...the accusation once made, was never afterward repelled.²⁹⁹

Furthermore, Jones's three next lines are added and are not found in the source poem. He summarizes that "the notes" are "sweet" if they can please the nymphs "for whom these notes are sung" while Hafiz praises his song as if it is worthy of the heaven's reward of stars. His literal translation indicates more fidelity to Hafiz's poem while a ghazel (ghazal) is composed not pronounced: "Thou hast pronounced a ghazel, and hast pierced a pearl. Come and sweetly sing (it), O Hafiz!/ For upon thy string (of pearls,) do the heavens diffuse the knot of the Pleiades". Also, "nazm" refers to verse or rhythmic poem while it has been translated as "string". "Piercing a pearl" in Persian is a culture-specific idiom which means "to utter beautiful and meaningful words" while it may seem a strange collocation in English because either the literal translation misses the idiomatic meaning or a similar expression is not available in the target language.

One notable point in both verse and literal translation of this ghazal, is "cultural untranslatability" of some collocations in the target language. This untranslatability, as Catford believes, happens "due to the absence in the TL culture of a relevant situational feature for the SL text."³⁰⁰ That is why Jones does not find any proper replacement for "Turki Shirazi" in the target language and changes it to "Sweet maid"; simply there is no equivalence for "Turki Shirazi", "khali Hindu"(Indian mole), "khani yagma" (translated as "destin'd prey" and "tray of plunder") and other culturally-specific terms in English.

The "ultimate aim of a translator, in most cases," according to Baker, "is to achieve a measure of equivalence at text level, rather than at word or phrase level."³⁰¹ House also thinks that in literary texts "equivalence cannot be sought at the level of the individual text function since the discourse worlds in which ST and TT operate are different."³⁰² Abraham Cowley (1618–1667), even goes further in his preface to

²⁹⁹ Arberry, A. J. "Orient Pearls at Random Strung". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11, 1943. p. 703.

³⁰⁰ Bassnett, Susan. *Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2002 .p. 39.

³⁰¹ Baker, Mona. *In Other Words; A coursebook on translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.p. 112.

³⁰² Munday, Jeremy. *Introducing Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 148.

Pindaric Odes (1640), by criticizing a poem which is "converted faithfully and word-for-word into". He believes that since unavoidable loss of beauty happens in translation, it is necessary to use "our wit or invention" to create new beauty. Additionally, Cowley declares that he has "taken, left out and added what I please" to the *Odes* to reproduce the "spirit" of the SL in its best way.³⁰³

Subsequently, Jones seems to be noticeably successful in portraying a vision of poetry understandable for the English people of the eighteenth century; in other words, the sense or content of the source text has been translated successfully. He, based on Venuti's ideas about translation, has translated the poem "fluently" into the target language in order to create a natural and "readable" target text, and to produce an "illusion of transparency". What seems to be a problem and a misconception according to the differences between cultures, in Venuti's idea, is judged acceptable by readers when it is read fluently;

when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it [a translated text] seem transparent, giving the appearance that it reflects the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the "original".³⁰⁴

Jones's verse translation contains what Francis Jones calls the "maximum equivalence at all levels of poetically relevant meaning"³⁰⁵ and what Nida calls "dynamic equivalence" whose goal is to seek "the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message". For Nida, the success of the translation depends "on achieving equivalent effect or response."³⁰⁶ In his translation, Jones follows the same theme of love and *carpe diem* in Hafiz's ghazal. Furthermore, the effect of Jones's translation on the contemporary and succeeding poets shows his success in introducing Persian literature to his English readers because it has the qualities Nida considers for a successful translation as "making sense", "conveying "the spirit and manner of the

³⁰³ Ibid, p. 42.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 225.

³⁰⁵ Jones, Francis R. *Poetry Translating as Expert Action*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1955. p. 102.

³⁰⁶ Munday, Jeremy. *Introducing Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 68.

original", "having a natural and easy form of expression" and "producing a similar response [in the readers]".³⁰⁷ Jones's faithfulness is not applied to individual words or sentence structures but to the concept and the meaning of the poem in its relationship to its target language readers.

Jones's literal (word-for-word) translation of the same ghazal, on the other hand, even though is a more precise duplication of the source text (poem), as Jerome pinpoints: "by following so closely the form of the ST, it produces an absurd translation, cloaking the sense of the original".³⁰⁸ This form of translation, by depending on the source language text lexis and syntax, makes an obscure combination of words in the target language. Although word-for-word translation is the only valid method of translation in a non-literary text, in a literary text in general and in poetry in particular, literal translation does not make the proper sense that the source language author has in mind and seems odd for the target language receiver.

Praising Jones and his translation of the ghazal, Michael Franklin asserts: "Balancing familiarity of poetic diction with the 'singularity of the measure' (a b c a b c), Jones navigates artfully between Persian and English cultural traditions, between comforting similitude and exciting difference, and between poem and translation, to produce a triumph of acculturation."³⁰⁹ Jones, was not just a translator, but, in Fulford's words, "a pioneering cultural historian and one, moreover, determined to show his British readers that Middle Eastern poetry was the product of skill and sophistication rather than simply the spontaneous overflow of noble primitives."³¹⁰

O. P. Kejariwal in an article entitled "William Jones: The Copernicus of History", refers to the similarities between Jones and the great astronomer Copernicus, and believes that "Jones was to the world of letters what Copernicus was to astronomy"; like Copernicus, who broadened man's knowledge of the universe, Jones "made the West aware of a new, vast field of literature, philosophy, arts, and even science". He attracted

³⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 68.

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 32.

³⁰⁹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.p. 72.

³¹⁰ Fulford, Tim. "Poetic flowers/Indian bowers" Chapter 5 of . Michael J. Franklin, ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*, 2006.p. 116.

the attention of the West concerning the Oriental studies, when "the center of all thought and studies--secular or religious--was basically European", so his formation of the Asiatic Society was "no less a revolution in the world of human thought and history than was the Copernican revolution in galactic principles."³¹¹

Jones had a productive mind, voracious for knowledge; he was of incredible aptitude and efficiency in several fields, a polymath who could act as a poet, a lawyer, a translator, a grammarian, and a philologist. Being a fount of knowledge, he, as Kejariwal puts, was also able "to shed ideas of racial superiority and is prepared to see the family of man as one."³¹² Although, as Franklin asserts, he was known for acquainting Europe with the classical India "as the fons et origo of world understanding, Persia had been his first love, and it remained a focal point of his linguistic and ethnological investigations" until his death. Jones "had long rejected, together with the term "Oriental" as a merely relative epithet, any simple binarism of East and West. His life and intellectual career had been decidedly anti-Eurocentric, but it would seem that at the heart of his Orientalism lay a pluralistic but profoundly Persian-centered vision."³¹³

Whether we call him "Sir William Jones", "Oriental Jones", "Asiatic Jones" or "Persian Jones", Jones' heart was filled with love for the Orient in general and Persia in particular so that in his "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", states that "Persia has produced more writers of every kind, and chiefly poets, than all Europe together."³¹⁴ Through his translations, he linked the Orient to the Occident and opened a window to the unknown horizon so that his succeeding authors would perceive what had been remained anonymous for centuries. Consequent to his translations of Persian and Sanskrit texts, several authors were profoundly influenced that will be discussed as far as possible in the subsequent sections.

³¹¹ Kejariwal, O. P. "William Jones: The Copernicus of History". *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*. Ed. Lawrence J. Trudeau. Vol. 191. Detroit: Gale. From *Literature Resource Center*. . pp. 109-111.

³¹² Ibid, pp. 109-111.

³¹³ Franklin, Michael J. "I Burn with a Desire of Seeing Shiraz". *The Review of English Studies, New Series*, Vol. 56, No. 227 (Nov., 2005), p. 754.

³¹⁴ Jones, Sir William. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Volume X(13 vols.) London, 1807.p. 349.

Chapter 3

Romantic Oriental Renaissance

3.1. The Footprints of Jones on Romantic Poetry

Like the appearance of Greek and Roman manuscripts leading to the Renaissance, the European Oriental Renaissance, as Raymond Schwab entitled it, initiated with the West's recognition of Asian culture, language, and literature, which had a crucial function in the imagination of nineteenth-century Europe and turned out to be a source of inspiration for the Romantics. Considering the Orient as the "alter ego to the Occident,"³¹⁵ Schwab, whose theory centered on the finding of Sanskrit and ancient Indian religious scripts, in his *The Oriental Renaissance* (1950), traces the foundations of the Oriental impact on European thinking to the span between 1771 and 1786,³¹⁶ and to the translations of the French Orientalist, Anquetil Duperron (1731-1805), of ancient religious scripts such as the *Upanishads*³¹⁷ and the *Zend Avesta*.³¹⁸

However, in England, the first sparkles of the "Oriental Renaissance" were lit by Sir William Jones, whose scholarly translations of Oriental works and whose foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), paved the way for the Occident's understanding about the Orient, and developed the scholarly interest for the Orient in the Romantic period. Jones collected comprehensive oriental knowledge for his countrymen; his

³¹⁵ Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and The East* trans. Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. p. 4

³¹⁶ Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and The East*. p. 24.

³¹⁷ The *Upanishads* are Ancient Sanskrit texts concerning significant philosophical ideas of Hinduism. Anquetil Duperron's Latin retranslation and explanatory notes of the Persian translation of *Upanishads* (1796) were significant successes by him as the first European language translation of a Hindu text.

³¹⁸ The *Avesta* is the principal collection of religious texts of Zoroastrianism.

translations, poetries and essays, according to Ferguson, "were seized upon by the romantics interested in creating exotic, oriental settings".³¹⁹ Possessing the Romantic potentials such as emotion, subjectivity, and sporadic designations, his "Persian Song of Hafiz" not only became very popular in the era, but also turned out to be one of the primary sources of inspiration for Romantic poets whose desire was to depict the imaginary Oriental visions. Jones' essays also helped to shape the philosophies of English people. In *Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance*, David Weir states that "the Sanskrit texts brought to light by William Jones in the service of the East India Company in Bengal occupy a place of importance equivalent to the Greek texts translated by Marsilio Ficino for the Medicis in Florence".³²⁰ However, as presented in the first chapter, this was criticized by Said in his *Orientalism*; because, as the consequence of Orientalists' writings, "Europe came to know the Orient more scientifically, to live with it with greater authority and discipline than ever before".³²¹ Furthermore, according to him, the description and interpretation of the Western authors concerning the described cultures might be inaccurate with the hidden aim of dominating those cultures:

Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.³²²

But as Weir suggests,

For all the Sultanized Englishmen in India, there were a few who had become 'Brahmanized' instead; some of the Asiatic Society members were so receptive to and respectful of native traditions that they were, in effect, culturally colonized by the very society they had been sent by "Rintrah" to regulate and, to some extent, put aside their own "Abstract Philosophy" for "Brama." This generous reading of British imperialism is, to be sure, limited to only a few enlightened scholars, but certainly

³¹⁹ Ferguson, Robert A. "The Emulation of Sir William Jones in the Early Republic". *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Mar., 1979), pp. 3-26. (p. 6)

³²⁰ Weir, David. *Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003. p. 3.

³²¹ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 22.

³²² *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 3.

the interests of William Jones and Charles Wilkins went beyond the purely commercial concerns of most members of the East India Company".³²³

Garland Cannon, in the introduction to his *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, refers to Edward Said's *Orientalism* as "the major modern negative note" which challenged "the virtues of Orientalism for Arabs". In Cannon's view, Said's rejection of Orientalism was primarily based on the threat of "too close a relationship between the scholar and the state", but, "unfortunately, Said pays comparatively little attention to India and Jones, particularly the vast influence that Jones's 1786 Calcutta lecture had on comparative linguistics in Europe as a whole". Cannon states that he does not intend to defend Orientalism, but he tries to present an explanation of "Jones's actions and ideas, which stand for themselves and show that he always resisted any political aspects of scholarship".³²⁴

In any case, due to the efforts of Jones (who proved to be a counterexample of Said's thesis) and his contemporary Orientalists in understanding and appreciating Oriental literature, and the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, numerous classic Asiatic works were known to the West through translations, what according to Schwab made the world turn out to be complete:

With the establishment of oriental studies an entirely new meaning was introduced for the word 'mankind'. We can hardly imagine that the acquired meaning, which we take for granted, has not always been present in humanity's consciousness. Nevertheless, it is a young idea. Anquetil's arrival in India in 1754 and that of William Jones in 1783 seem unimportant events; yet because of these events the bases for many judgements became something they had never been before. Suddenly the partial humanism of the classics became the integral humanism that today seems natural to us.³²⁵

Jones respected the culture and literature originated from the East and devoted his life to Asiatic studies in order to direct Europe's attention to Asia when "some men never heard of the Asiatic writings, and others will not be convinced that there is

³²³ Weir, David. *Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance*. p. 21

³²⁴ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.p. xv.

³²⁵ Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Discovery of India and The East*. p. 4.

anything valuable in them."³²⁶ To mention a familiar conception, he compared Persian poets to Greek and English ones; he considered Firdausi's epic, the *Shahnama*, similar to "the spirit of our Dryden and the sweetness of Pope."³²⁷ He observed similarities between Homer and Firdausi, also, in Hafiz, as he mentioned in his "Traite Sur La Poesie Orientale", he found "la vivacité d'Anacréon, avec la douceur et les charmes de Sapho".³²⁸ Jones advises the readers of his *Grammar of the Persian Language* to read *the Gulistan* or *Bed of Roses* as the first book that he would recommend to be read; "a work which is highly esteemed in the East, and of which there are several translations in the languages of Europe".³²⁹ Although in "these praises on the writings of Asia", as he declares in his *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues*, he does not mean to "derogate from the merit of the Greek and Latin poems, which have justly been admired in every age", in his view, European poetry "has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables: and it has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth".³³⁰ He believed that European literature should be free from traditional rules in order to gain the liveliness existing in Oriental literature: "Asiatiks excel the inhabitants of colder regions in the liveliness of their fancy, and the richness of their invention."³³¹

Through his scholarship in Asiatic studies, Jones could fascinate the West to read Eastern literature. Soon the aesthetic echoes from Oriental literature were found in the poetry of the era and affected the development of Romanticism, not only in England but also among German writers. The Romantic generation, according to Siraj Ahmed was "only too ready to embrace Jones' mythic dissimulations and far-fetched etymologie";³³² they accepted "Jones' claims without hesitation. Offering the possibility of a different

³²⁶ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. Preface, p.i.

³²⁷ "The History of the Persian Language", *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. 5, p. 424.

³²⁸ Sir William Jones, *Works*, VI, p. 463.

³²⁹ Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. Preface, p.x.

³³⁰ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. p. 85.

³³¹ Jones, Sir William. 'An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations', *The Works of Sir William Jones*, (London, 1807), vol. 10, pp. 329–38.

³³² Carey, Daniel & Festa, Lynn. Editors. *The Postcolonial Enlightenment*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2009. Chapter 5, Siraj Ahmed. "Orientalism and the Permanent Fix of War". p. 186.

world historical origin, Jones' Orientalism authorized their ambition to create a radically new aesthetic".³³³ Furthermore, since the Romantic Movement was a "return to the inner self, the exotic and the supernatural", the mysterious Arcadian world, pictured by Orientalists like Jones in their literary works and translations, similar to "the Middle East of the Arabian Nights was an inexhaustible treasure-house of the esoteric, the mystical, the exotic and the superhuman".³³⁴ Accordingly, in the pattern of what Schwab calls "Oriental Renaissance", Orient and Oriental literature affected Romantic authors such as Blake, Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Keats, William Cowper, William Beckford, Walter Savage Landor, Thomas Moore, and others. Even the British Indologist, Edward Moor (1771–1848) in his *Hindu Pantheon* (London, 1810), an explanation of the religion iconography of India, states that he was dependent on Jones' "Hymns", and his essays such as "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus" and "On the Philosophy of the Asiatics".³³⁵

Jones not only introduced the Oriental literature and culture through his translations, but also familiarized his readers with the Oriental devotions such as Sufism, a sort of mysticism, and one of the features of the Oriental religion and philosophy, which was introduced through translations of Oriental literature. Sufism, whose foundation was based on the rejection of the material world and the criticism of the taken for granted relationship between man and God, was welcomed by the Romantic philosophy, since like Romanticism, Sufism was also "a revolt against the dominant ideology of the time"³³⁶ aiming to make the world as an ideal place for man. Mustapha Bala Ruma in his article, "Crossing Frontiers: English Romanticism and Sufism as Literary Movements", believes in the interwoven relationship between Sufism and Romanticism, and refers to Sufism as a transformer of human thought "by liberalizing the relationship between Allah and the individual. Instead of learning about

³³³ Ibid, p. 185.

³³⁴ Malik, Ihsan-ur-Rahim. "The Image of India in Shelley". *The Criterion: An International Journal in English*. Vol.6, Issue 1, February 2015. P.2

³³⁵ Passim

³³⁶ Sharmani Patricia Gabriel & Nicholas O. Pagan. Editors. *Literature, Memory, Hegemony; East/West Crossings*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. p. 6.

Him as taught by Orthodox Islam, Sufism teaches that individuals can indeed experience Allah and even have a direct communion with Him."³³⁷ According to Sufism, God is not a removed or metaphysical entity, rather, Sufis believe that "through a vigorous spiritual struggle and honest desire, one can experience God and even be at one with Him, [...] the route to follow [...] is mysticism, involving the supreme yearning for union with God through contemplation, meditation, and self-surrender".³³⁸

This alteration in man's insight concerning God and the World, and seeking for the Love Divine, similar to Pantheism, found its voice in medieval Persian mystical poetry such as the works of Hafiz, Rumi, Attar, Ibn Arabi and others, and, through translations, affected Western Romantic thinking, so that the traces of this influence can be found in the poetry of the era. On the other hand, one of the features of Romantic period is the perception of reformation that leads to an ideal society. So, like Sufis' attempt to revolt against the doctrines of the established religion, English Romanticism, in Bala Ruma's view, was affected "by the desire to challenge the hegemony of 'reason and rationality' in human affairs in general and the primacy of 'order and perfection' in poetic compositions in particular [... in order] to free poetic space from the dictatorship of neo-classicism".³³⁹ However, this trend, was not limited to England, but was to be found in several parts of the world, a flow that was to be continued later, in the form of the American Transcendental Movement.

In his essay "Correspondences Between English Romantic and Persian Sufi Poets", Leonard Lewisohn discusses another form of similarity between Romantic and Persian Sufi poetry:

[the Persian Sufi poets'] anagogic conception of carpe diem is expressed in almost precisely the same way as it is by the English Romantics Blake and Shelley, or for that matter, in exactly the same way that Ralph Waldo Emerson approached the songs of Hafiz which he translated (albeit from the German) in a manner that has been accurately described by one commentator as a 'spiritual carpe diem' [...what] the Sufis celebrate, that spiritual carpe diem, which is the knowledge or gnosis of time, called waqt-shinasi, as Hafiz expounds in

³³⁷ Ibid, p. 38.

³³⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 38.

the verse 'Rise and come! Those cognizant of time, earth and heaven
sell freely/ For an idol's company and a cup of drossless wine'.³⁴⁰

Along with Sufism, Jones' *Hindu Hymns* and translations of Hindu scripts familiarized the Romantics with Hindu and Buddhism so that they mirrored these philosophies in their works. Jones, accompanied by his fellow Orientalists, prepared a mine of knowledge for the West, the outcomes of which are actually far more extensive than what can be included in this discussion. What they left as a heritage for the world, became a background of understanding for the Romantics, without which the thesaurus of the world literature would have certainly changed. Romantic poets welcomed the heralds of the new regions and reflected their voices in their literary works as will be considered briefly.

3.1.1. William Blake (1757–1827)

One of the first poets of the age, receptive to the outcomes of the Oriental Renaissance and affected by Jones' demonstrations of Oriental literature, specifically Hinduism and Sufi love or Sufi mysticism, was the visionary, prophetic poet, William Blake. He became aware of Hinduism and was inspired by it, both through Jones's *Asiatick Researches or transactions of the Society* (1788), and Edward Moor's *The Hindu Pantheon* (1810), through which he received new images from their studies concerning India's art, literature, mythology and philosophy to integrate Hinduism with mythology in his art and poetry. Besides, *The Analytical Review*, a periodical, notorious for publishing the works of radical thinkers and religious dissenters with Joseph Johnson (1738-1809) as the main publisher, was another source of knowledge for Blake, connecting him to Indian culture and literature. It was produced by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, discussing the translation of Hindu myths, through which, as Weir believes, probably

³⁴⁰ Lewisohn, Leonard. "Correspondences Between English Romantic and Persian Sufi Poets – An Essay in Analogic Criticism". *Temenos Academy Review* 12 (2009). pp. 185-226. (p. 198-201)

"the mythology of India conveyed to Blake".³⁴¹ According to Weir, Blake was an ardent reader of that radical periodical.³⁴²

Blake's religious thinking, articulated in his visionary art, was similar to the outlooks of Sufis, who believed in the existence of a boundless mystical reality, a union with the Divine, beyond the material world. Blake, who chose religion as one of the prime themes of his poetic works, in an era replete with scholarly accounts of the Orient, was probably acquainted with Hinduism through the first volume of Jones' *Asiatick Researches*, in which Jones displayed India and the religion of Hinduism in an essay entitled "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India" based on Greek and Roman mythology. Referring to the review of the First volume, Weir believes that *Asiatick Researches* was almost undoubtedly "a direct source for Blake's ruminations about the philosophy of the East in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*"³⁴³, which might encourage him to magnify the oldness of Hinduism in comparison to the Western church. In Weir's view, Jones's essay, similar to plate 11 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "is concerned mainly with the origins of religion";³⁴⁴ both Blake and Jones were eager "to locate the origins of religion outside the Bible. Jones describes a myth that antedates the Bible, and Blake creates one".³⁴⁵ Blake's visions concerning religion were more liberal than what Christianity presented; he, who did not agree to take the restriction of the church, considered Jesus as an inspired artist rather than a divine prophet.

Kathryn Sullivan Kruger, in her article "Blake's Bowers of Bliss: *The Gitagovinda*, *The Four Zoas*, and Two Illustrations for L'Allegro", discusses the traditions of Indian art to prove William Jones' influence on Blake's inspiration. Blake, according to Kruger, "perceived the fantastic power of this 'new' art and poetry, unabashedly instilling many Eastern themes and ideas into his own oeuvre".³⁴⁶ Blake, on the word of

³⁴¹ Weir, David. *Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003. p. 36.

³⁴² Ibid, Passim.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 42.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 41.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 41-2.

³⁴⁶ Bruder, Helen P. & Connolly, Tristanne. Eds. *Sexy Blake*. Kathryn Sullivan Kruger, "Blake's Bowers of Bliss: *The Gitagovinda*, *The Four Zoas*, and Two Illustrations for L'Allegro". USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. (chapter 9), p. 141.

Kruger, might be influenced by Jones' notions "when he created, among other things, the unique facets of the Zoas and the universal character of Albion, and when he described an alternative notion of time".³⁴⁷ Also, the sixth Volume of Jones' *Asiatick Researches* (1799), as stated by Kruger, affected Blake 's art of carving, when he was introduced to "a suite of evocative figures in the engravings that accompany the chapter 'Description of the Caves' east of Ellora".³⁴⁸

Jones' translation of the sacred poem, *The Gitagovinda: or, the Songs of Jayadeva*, celebrating the marriage of the soul with God, symbolically associated with the soul's unification, separation and eventual reunification with the beloved or God, in the form of the love of Krishna for Radha, his infidelity and consequent return to her, described in a language uncommon for the eighteenth century English reader, contrary to sacred language of Hindu poetry, was published in the third Volume of his *Asiatick Researches* (1792). Comparing the love story of Laili and Majnun to that of Krishna and Radha, Jones believes that these Sufi loves were parallels to "God's love for 'the soul of man, or rather to the whole assemblage of created souls, between whom and the benevolent creator they suppose that reciprocal love ... which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically shadowed in the song of Solomon'"³⁴⁹

Jones' translation of this poem, with the theme of the divine marriage, inspired Blake in composing *Vala or The Four Zoas* (1796 to 1807), with the theme of union and separation, similar to the theme of Sufi poetry, concerning the four different aspects of humanity as Reason, Emotion, Senses, and Energy, awareness of which led to the fall of man. While, according to Kruger, Blake does not directly follow the *Gitagovinda* in *The Four Zoas*, "his exploration of such themes as the 'fall into Division' via the analogy of sexual love and jealousy, and the 'Resurrection to Unity' through sacrifice of self-love, suggests a correlation".³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 141.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 142.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 156.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 144.

Michael J. Franklin, likewise, in his *Orientalist Jones*, finds affinities between the ideas of Jones and Blake. In his view, both Jones and Blake "were to prove mythographers, energizing Enlightenment projects with a Romantic vision of radical realignment. The divide between them was purely social".³⁵¹ According to Franklin, Blake's book *All Religions are One* (1788), which discusses religions as "reflecting culture-specific 'reception of the Poetic Genius', [...] has special relevance to Jones's fourth stanza [of "kneel to the Goddess"]³⁵² to convey the message in both as "the Blakean lessons that 'All Religions are One', and that 'There is no Natural Religion'"³⁵³:

When dark visag'd Bramins obsequiously bow
 To the rock whence old Ganges redundantly gushes,
 They feign that they bend to the form of a cow,
 And save by this fiction the fair maiden's blushes;
 But from Sanscritan Vedes
 The discov'ry proceeds
 That her aid, whom we honor, e'en Bramin implores;
 Like us wildly they dance,
 Like us lightly advance,
 And kneel to the Goddess whom all men adore.³⁵⁴
 (ll. 31–40)

In his "There is no Natural Religion", Blake repeatedly refers to "poetic genius", similar to Sufis' visions, as the "spirit of prophecy" from which "all sects of philosophy" originate, and "the religions of all nations are derived from each nation's different reception of the poetic genius".³⁵⁵ In his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he refers to the "poetic genius" as "the first principle" without which receiving "the voice of God" is not possible.³⁵⁶ This is what Halligan considers as "the human faculty of imagination for Self-revelation, entering human consciousness through the 'door' of imaginative

³⁵¹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 169.

³⁵² Ibid, p. 108.

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 174.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 108.

³⁵⁵ Blake, William. *Collected Poems*. Edited by W. B. Yeats. London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002. p. 237.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 162-178.

processes."³⁵⁷ For Sufis, the "active Imagination is situated metaphorically at the organ of the heart"³⁵⁸ by which one can be united with God.

There also exist some affinities between Blake's *The Book of Thel* and Jones' translation of *Sacontalá* or *Sakuntala* (1789-90), widely respected in the West and affecting German Romantics such as Goethe. Blake's *The Song of Los* (1795) contains his reference to Hinduism. In *Milton*, Blake also applies comparable mythological imagery as Jones' *Brahmānda*. Kurt Andrew Johnson, in his doctoral thesis, states that "like Jones does in 'On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India' and 'On the Hindus', Blake traces Classical artistic inspiration back to Oriental antecedents." Nevertheless, he could not find Classical Greek and Rome as the proper specimens "from which to build a spiritual aesthetic; [...] originality and antiquity – as found in Hindu and Egyptian apotheosis – are, and thereby form the basis of Blake's Imaginative principles."³⁵⁹

The land depicted in his *Songs of Innocence*, juxtaposed to the setting of his *Songs of Experience*, might be the vision he had of the Orient, free from modernity, industrialization, and various forms of social and religious boundaries with simple primitive people, children, lambs, sheep, birds, and natural beauties such as plants, trees, and flowers, a land that he knew and was attracted to via Jones and other Orientalists of his day.

3. 1. 2. William Wordsworth (1770–1850)

Along with Jones' free translation of Hafiz's ghazal as "the Persian Song of Hafiz", which had all the characteristics to make Jones a Romantic poet, Jones' two essays, "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" and "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative", published in his *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772), eleven years before his residence in India (1783-94), can be considered among

³⁵⁷ Halligan, Frederica R. "The Creative Imagination of the Sufi Mystic, Ibn 'Arabi." *Journal of Religion and Health* 40.2 (2001), p.277.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 276.

³⁵⁹ Johnson, Kurt Andrew. *Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry, 1784-1812*. University of York, Department of English and Related Literature, September 2010. (Chapter III: 'The Authority of the Ancients': William Blake and the 'Philosophy of the east'). Doctoral Dissertation. p. 123.

the first treatises influential in the emergence of Romantic movement. These two essays, according to Cannon, are "the neoclassical and exotic amalgamation characterizing pre-Romanticism".³⁶⁰ In his "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", in an effort to stimulate classicism with Arabian pastoral, he defines his opinions based on his experiences in Eastern lands inspiring him to study Eastern poetry. In this essay, Jones considers poetry as the product of culture and environment; he believes that the beauty of the Eastern lands and natural images has been a leading factor in creation of beautiful Eastern poetry. Considering this essay as "a major precursor of the Romantics", Franklin asserts that in this essay, "[Jones'] desire to revive the pastoral involves not Arcadian shepherds, or even the pallid Arabism of 'Solima', but full-blooded Bedouin, and in his attempt to inject energy and reality into the genre he anticipates Wordsworth's 1800 Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*",³⁶¹ since what Jones portrays of the colorful natural setting, later finds voice in Wordsworth and other poets of the first generation of Romantic poets, known as the prophets of nature. Also, "the pantheistic hedonism" of a lyric such as "The Damsels of Cardigan" (1779), as Cannon and Franklin discuss in their shared article on Jones, "anticipates Wordsworthian themes:

Leave Year-books and parchments to grey-bearded sages,
Be Nature our law, and fair woman our book. (ll. 48-9)"³⁶²

It seems that Wordsworth's first encounter with the East was through *The Arabian Nights*, to which he refers in his *Prelude*:

A precious treasure I have long possessed,
Little yellow, canvas-covered book
A slender abstract of the Arabian tales.³⁶³

Besides, what Wordsworth proclaims, in the *Lyrical Ballads*, that "the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and permanent forms of nature"³⁶⁴ can be the

³⁶⁰ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 50.

³⁶¹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. P. 82.

³⁶² Cannon, Garland and Michael J. Franklin. "A Cymmrodor claims kin in Calcutta: an assessment of Sir William Jones as philologist, polymath, and pluralist". *Welsh Journals. THSC, Volume: N.S. 11, 2005 (50 – 69)*. P. 54.

³⁶³ Gill, Stephen, editor. *William Wordsworth's Prelude: A Casebook*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Book V p. 82. Line 462-464

reminiscent of Jones' idea, who believes that the Arabs' familiarity with "sublime, and beautiful" natural objects, lead to beautiful pictures in their poetry:

If we allow the natural objects, with which the Arabs are perpetually conversant, to be sublime, and beautiful, our next step must be, to confess that their comparisons, metaphors, and allegories are so likewise; for an allegory is only a string of metaphors, a metaphor is a short simile, and the finest similes are drawn from natural objects... This way of considering their poetical figures will give many of them a grace, which they would not have in our languages: so, when they compare the foreheads of their mistresses to the morning, their locks to the night, their faces to the sun, to the moon, or the blossoms of jasmine, their cheeks to roses or ripe fruit, their teeth to pearls, hail-stones, and snow-drops, their eyes to the flowers of the narcissus, their curled hair to black scorpions, and to hyacinths, their lips to rubies or wine, the form of their breasts to pomegranates, and the colour of them to snow, their shape to that of a pine-tree, and their stature to that of a cypress, a palm-tree, or a javelin...³⁶⁵ (76)

Jones' debate concerning the privilege of pastoral life of the Arabs "who dwell in the plains and woods" and in the garden of nature, in comparison to "the inhabitants of cities"³⁶⁶ anticipates Wordsworth's indication concerning living in nature. Jones found "the pastoral bliss witnessed by the Ancient Greeks"³⁶⁷ in the Oriental lands, in Yemen and in Arabic poetry; For Jones, "the exquisite 'comparisons, metaphors, and allegories' of the Arab poets must have derived from the 'sublime and beautiful' 'natural objects' with which they were 'perpetually conversant'".³⁶⁸

Jones' second essay, "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative", asserts that lyric poetry has little to do with imitation. Jones defines poetry as "originally no more than a strong, and animated expression of the human passions, of joy and grief, love and hate, admiration and anger, sometimes pure and unmixed, sometimes variously modified and combined"³⁶⁹. Being contrary to poetic mimesis, Jones maintains that those emotions

³⁶⁴ Brett, R.L. and A.R. Jones, editors. *Lyrical Ballads; Wordsworth and Coleridge*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005. P. 236.

³⁶⁵ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, p.76.

³⁶⁷ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. p.116.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. p. 86.

which are stimulated by poetry are similar to the ones created by nature. So, in his view, poetry can perform "a kind of substitution, that is, by raising in our minds, affections, or sentiments, analogous to those, which arise in us, when the respective objects in nature are presented to our senses,"³⁷⁰ similar to what Wordsworth defines later in his famous definition in the preface to *Lyrical Ballads* as "poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility."³⁷¹ However, in his *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*, Cannon indicates that although Jones' views concerning "poetry, nature, and simplicity are quite similar to some of the ones Wordsworth later used in his famous Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*", there is "no definite proof that Wordsworth used Jones's 'On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative' as a source".³⁷² Yet, in an essay entitled "The Literary Place of Sir William Jones", once more, Cannon accepts Wordsworth's knowledge of Jones:

Certainly it is difficult to read 'On the Arts Commonly Called Imitative' without the realization that Jones's definition of poetry, the idea of poetry as the voice of nature, and the view of a deliberately simple style as the means to the expression of man's sympathy and passions are points essential to Wordsworth's Preface to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*.³⁷³

In "On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative", Jones discusses the relation between music and poetry, whose unification, can not only imitate nature, but also be a manifestation of nature itself:

...if the same [Sapphic] ode with all its natural accents, were expressed in a musical voice (that is, in sounds accompanied with their Harmonicks), if it were sung in due time and measure, in a simple and pleasing tune, that added force to the words without stifling them, it would then be pure and original musick... not an imitation of nature but the voice of nature herself.³⁷⁴

³⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 92.

³⁷¹ Brett, R.L. and A.R. Jones, editors. *Lyrical Ballads; Wordsworth and Coleridge*. London & New York: Routledge, 2005. p. 251.

³⁷² Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 24.

³⁷³ Garland Cannon, "The Literary Place of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, London, 1960, II, No. 1. p. 55.

³⁷⁴ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. p. 88.

It is the voice of nature, not an imitation of it, since the power of nature is adopted by the poet to be transferred to the reader. So, the greatest effect of poetry and music is achieved not in imitation of nature, but in adopting the power of nature; "thus will each artist gain his end, not by *imitating* the works of nature, but by assuming her power, and causing the same effect upon the imagination".³⁷⁵

Accordingly, Jones, as Cannon theorizes, "rejects Aristotle's supposed doctrine that all poetry consists of imitation. The artist achieves great effects by capturing the spirit of the piece in a beautiful simplicity, not by painting minute details in a gaudy composition",³⁷⁶ because simple and natural style is accepted globally. The existence of these new and original ideas, which questions the validity of the previous principles about art's imitation from nature, as cannon believe, "anticipates and probably influenced the views of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley".³⁷⁷ Abrams, in his *The Mirror and the Lamp*, considers Jones' essay as a combination of several elements; "the ideas drawn from Longinus, the old doctrine of poetic inspiration, recent theories of the emotional and imaginative origin of poetry, and a major emphasis on the lyric form and on the supposedly primitive and spontaneous poetry of Oriental nations". Abrams considers Jones as the first English writer "to weave these threads into an explicit and orderly reformulation of the nature and criteria of poetry and of the poetic genres."³⁷⁸

A similar Romantic tendency, can be discerned in Jones' other poems such as "To the Nymph of the Spring" or "The damsels of Cardigan". Franklin believes:

...the refreshing hedonism of 'Damsels of Cardigan' (1779), sung to the popular tune of 'Rural Felicity', reveals Jones at his most relaxed, its lines flowing gently as the waves of Tivy. Its music and its message link Celtic past and Romantic future, reflecting Lewis Morris's celebration of the natural in Welsh poetry...and anticipating the Rousseauistic themes of Wordsworth's 'Expostulation and Reply' and 'The Tables Turned'.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 92.

³⁷⁶ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 51.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 51.

³⁷⁸ M. H. Abrams. *The Mirror and the Lamp*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971. p. 97. Referred in Sitter, Zak. "William Jones, 'Eastern' Poetry, and the Problem of Imitation". *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Volume 50, Number 4, Winter 2008, p. 385.

³⁷⁹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 106.

Garland Canon, in his *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*, discusses the poems published in Jones' *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues*, to conclude that they are a "successful fusion of classical conventions with Middle Eastern themes and images, producing poetry as innovative in its limited way as is Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*".³⁸⁰

3. 1. 3. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772 –1834)

Rejecting the boundaries of Neo-classical poetry, the Orient became a new source of inspiration, providing new subject matter, for Romantic poets. As one of the significant poets of the Romantic era, Coleridge produced a number of poems in which the existence of Oriental content is recognizable, among which "Kubla Khan" and "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" are the most famous. Coleridge's early knowledge of the Orient was taken from Jones' works. Drew maintains that "Coleridge's earliest work as a writer was included or reviewed in periodicals which were paying tribute to and disseminating the work of Jones and his 'disciples'".³⁸¹

Jones's hypothetical scholarship "on the origins of European mythologies and religions, as well as languages, were among the influences on Coleridge's critical comparisons of Hinduism with Neo-Platonism."³⁸² Coleridge was aware of Jones' description of Sufism and Eastern mystical theology, "a form of pantheism professed by many Persians and Hindus in terms that strikingly recall the philosophy of Plotinus [which] was carried in part into Greece."³⁸³ Also, according to several critics, Coleridge respected the Oriental works of Sir William Jones and Jones's notions concerning the Oriental impact on ancient Greek thought were in harmony with "Coleridge's visions of the Orient as unifying the concrete and visionary."³⁸⁴

³⁸⁰ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 50.

³⁸¹ Drew, John. *India and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. p. 192.

³⁸² Vallins, David, Kaz Oishi, and Seamus Perry. Editors. *Coleridge, Romanticism and the Orient: Cultural Negotiations*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2013. p. 2.

³⁸³ Ibid, pp.120-1.

³⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 14.

While some scholars find the roots of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" (1799) in travel accounts such as Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*, and Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, some others point to the significance of Jones' translations and find evidences that show traces of these translations in "Kubla Khan". Based on what he says in his last major unpublished prose writings, *Opus Maximum*, Coleridge was familiar with Sir William Jones, his works and Hindu mythology:

It would be more than we are entitled to expect of the human mind, if Sir W. Jones, Mr. Wilkins, etc., great and good as we know them to have been, had not overrated the merit of works, the power of understanding which, is of such rare occurrence, and so difficultly attained...³⁸⁵

Robert Irwin, in his *For Lust of Knowing*, denotes that Purchas's travel book, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all the Ages* (1613) and "the account given by Purchas of Xanadu was to inspire Coleridge's famous poem."³⁸⁶ Franklin, on the other hand, in his edition of *Romantic Representations of British India*, indicates that Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" is a poem "made possible by Jones's transformation of traditional Orientalism"³⁸⁷. He refers to Fulford who has suggested that "Coleridge's dream-vision of a paradise garden in 'Kubla Khan', might reflect aspects of Jones's 'The Palace of Fortune: An Indian Tale' (1772)."³⁸⁸

Franklin considers Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" as a "second kind of Orientalist poem", either under the direct influence of, and next to, Jones' "reworking of Oriental gardens in the light of his study of Arabic and Persian poetry,"³⁸⁹ or the indirect influence of Jones by way of Southey's *Thalaba*, a "volume of Poems from the Arabic and Persian".³⁹⁰ *Thalaba* was a new form of romance poem in twelve-books, in which "the exhausted European epic genre would be reinvigorated by the poetry and culture of the

³⁸⁵ McFarland, Thomas, editor. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge; Opus Maximum, Volume 15*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002. p. 281.

³⁸⁶ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 67.

³⁸⁷ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. P. 117

³⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 24

³⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 114

³⁹⁰ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), pp. 137-160 (p. 154)

East, a thoroughly Jonesian poem" based on "Jones's translations of Hafiz"³⁹¹ and his essay, "Poetry of the Eastern Nations", accompanied by D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Champion's translation of Firdausi's the *Shahnameh* and Marigny's *History of the Arabians*.

The charm of the pastoral elements and Oriental settings along with man's intense relation to nature and love for his fellowmen in *Thalaba* attracted Coleridge, so that he reflected those Oriental sceneries in his work. Southey's allusion to Jones's translations of Hafiz in the notes, choosing his Arab hero, Thalaba, as an "uncorrupted rustic whose responses to nature are powerful because they are deep and sincere"³⁹², creates an incarnation of the rustic qualities found both in "Yemeni shepherds" and in *Lyrical Ballads*. Thalaba lives in the pastoral setting, previously described by Jones, and "speaks, as Jones's Arabian peasants did, in a language informed by an intense relationship with nature – a primitive, rural, poetic language, of the kind that Wordsworth called 'the best part of language'"³⁹³. Southey's *Thalaba*, is replete with Oriental images, names, settings, customs and ideas, several of which mentioned in Persian poems translated by Jones or his contemporary Orientalists. Thalaba's description, in the passage "the bowers of Irem", where "an ancient grove / Trees of whose giant size / The happy hills of Yemen could not boast", and "Where high in air a stately palace rose", surrounded by "the garden's copious springs" (Thalaba, 11, 9 MS variant, 14), according to Fulford, are "derived from d'Herbelot, Jones, and the *Bahar-Danush*"³⁹⁴.³⁹⁵ Thalaba 's search for Simorg, Persian equivalent for phoenix, on the mountain Kaf or Ghaf, is mentioned in numerous Persian poems including Firdausi's *Shahnameh* and Hafiz's poems. What Jones depicts as the pastoral sceneries in Yemen, is

³⁹¹ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. P. 117.

³⁹² Ibid. p. 117.

³⁹³ Ibid. p. 117.

³⁹⁴ *The Bahar-Danush or Garden of Knowledge* is a collection of Persian tales, translated by Jonathan Scott in 1799.

³⁹⁵ Makdisi, Saree & Felicity Nussbaum (Editors). *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 228. (Tim Fulford 's "Coleridge and the Oriental Tale").

reflected in Southey's imaginary Eden, and then in describing the illusionary picture, and sublimity of nature, designed by Coleridge in "Kubla Khan".

The Palace of Fortune, An Indian Tale, written in 1769, an Oriental dream-vision allegory, was first published in Jones's *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages* (1772).³⁹⁶ Jones, as he says, took "the hint" of this poem from "an Indian tale, translated a few years ago from the *Persian*³⁹⁷ by a very ingenious gentleman in the service of the *India-company*, [...] several descriptions, and episodes, from other *Eastern* writers, have given a different moral to the whole piece, and have made some other alterations in it."³⁹⁸ The tale is about Maia, an Indian girl, who desires a more approving atmosphere as the consequence of the monotony of her present condition in a rural cell. The goddess Fortune commands and Maia is taken to a heavenly palace, by the celestial spirits, to see dream-visions which imply the human fancies. This paradise garden, seen in the dream vision, is repeated once more in Coleridge's "Kubla Khan", when "the fantasy garden disappears, lost in the poet's broken dream"³⁹⁹. The scenery described in this poem by Jones may anticipate the scenery that Coleridge pictures:

...Soon she beheld where through an op'ning glade
A spacious lake its clear expanse display'd;
In mazy curls the flowing jasper wav'd
O'er its smooth bed with polish'd agate pav'd;
And on a rock of ice by magick rais'd
High in the midst a gorgeous palace blaz'd...⁴⁰⁰

Coleridge's "Kubla Khan", the representation of a fantastic imagination, is abundant with references to Oriental lands and images, with "many verbal similarities to the palace of fortune that Jones has his Indian heroine visit"⁴⁰¹. Xanadu was the residence of the Mongol ruler of China, during the reign of Kublai Khan (1260 to 1294).

³⁹⁶ https://wnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_4/jones1.htm

³⁹⁷ The story is taken from Alexander Dow's *Tales Translated from the Persian of Inatulla of Delhi* (1768)

³⁹⁸ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. pp. 3-4.

³⁹⁹ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. p. 118.

⁴⁰⁰ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. pp. 3-4

⁴⁰¹ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. p. 118.

Coleridge's poem, according to Franklin, is a "magic mirror in which the dreaming poet, half believing in the reality of the Orient he dreams, discovers what kind of dreamer he is – a khan, a demon lover, an inspired bard. The Orientalist exterior uncovers an occidental and psychological interior"⁴⁰². The speaker visualizes Kubla Khan ordering a "stately pleasure-dome" to be built in Xanadu, close to the river, a beautiful background, where Alph, the sacred river, ran "through caverns measureless to man / Down to a sunless sea." The barriers nearby were raised up "twice five miles of fertile ground", filled with gorgeous gardens and forests "ancient as the hills". In his article, "The 'dark tide of time': Coleridge and William Hodges' India", Deirdre Coleman follows the origin of "Kubla Khan" in Jones:

Jones's imagery of 'primeval fountains', together with the frank admission that, given the lapse of time, it was impossible to know the original from its copy – the real from its shadow – were unpalatable to Coleridge. [...] The Emperor Kubla Khan was fascinating in his guise as the fountainhead of a civilization can be seen in the name of the river Alph, and Coleridge's note (from Jones's 'Essay on the Tartars') that 'Kublai Khan ordered letters to be invented for his people'.⁴⁰³

What Jones presents in his essay "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", in his description of *Yemen*, similar to Milton's portrayal of Eden, as the embodiment of a virgin, exotic pastoral landscape may find reflection in Coleridge's "Kubla Khan":

Yemen, seems to be the only country in the world, in which we can properly lay the scene of pastoral poetry; because no nation at this day can vie with the *Arabians* in the delightfulness of their climate, and the simplicity of their manners... the beauties of *Yemen* are proved by the concurrent testimony of all travellers, by the descriptions of it in all the writings of *Asia*, and by the nature and situation of the country itself, which lies between the eleventh and fifteenth degrees of northern latitude, under a serene sky, and exposed to the most favourable influence of the sun; it is enclosed on one side by vast rocks and deserts, and defended on the other by a tempestuous sea, so that it seems to have been designed by providence for the most secure, as well as the most beautiful, region of the East.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Ibid, p. 118.

⁴⁰³ Vallins, David, Kaz Oishi, and Seamus Perry. Editors. *Coleridge, Romanticism and the Orient: Cultural Negotiations*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2013. p.53.

⁴⁰⁴ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. p. 74

Except for what was mentioned above, Jones' "A Hymn to Ganga", and "Hymn to Surya" have been considered as other sources for "Kubla Khan". Jones composed nine hymns to Hindu Deities, addressed to "Camdeo", "Prakriti", "Indra", "Surya", "Lakshmi", "Narayana", "Saraswati" and "Ganga", in order to introduce the Hindu pantheon to Europe and to present an accessible version of Hindu Mythology in English poetry for his Western audiences. These Hymns, according to Garland Cannon, were "highly praised by critics of the time [as] Jones's best poems. ...Though Jones today is considered a very minor poet, Pinto in 1946 said that these nine odes were probably the most successful of their kind in England between Gray and Wordsworth".⁴⁰⁵ Jones' translations of the hymns not only demonstrate Jones' heartfelt interest in the Oriental culture and literature, but also indicate his effort in restructuring the hymns based on European literary form and content.

Cannon, in his article "The Literary Place of Sir William Jones (1746-1794)", argues about the probability of the origin of Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" in Jones's "Hymn to Ganga" by presenting the "flow of magical river from its Eastern source to its eventual merging with the ocean" as the "unifying theme" in both poems:

The river passes through an Oriental scene described in sensuous language. Coleridge's language is never close enough to that of Jones to prove parallels in vocabulary and ideas; on the other hand, the similarities in vocabulary and constructions in both poems cannot be casually dismissed as the coincidence of an Oriental richness of style. Their very number strongly indicates that "A Hymn to Ganga" was a source for 'Kubla Khan'.⁴⁰⁶

In any account, it seems that Buddhism and Hinduism were known to Coleridge through Jones' translations of the hymns and Indian mythologies, which, along with his compositions, affected Coleridge's views concerning the imagination, so that Coleridge, according to Kurt Johnson, "romanticises the imagination to be like the Hindu mythological cycle of creation (and destruction)".⁴⁰⁷ Even in his love poem, "Lewti"⁴⁰⁸, or

⁴⁰⁵ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 70.

⁴⁰⁶ Cannon, Garland. "The Literary Place of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*,), II, No. 1. 1960, London. pp. 55-56

⁴⁰⁷ Johnson, Kurt Andrew. *Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry, 1784-1812*.

the Circassian⁴⁰⁹ Love-Chaunt (First published in *the Morning Post* under the signature Nicias Erythraeus, April 13, 1798), there are traces of Jones' influence. The poem, according to Coleridge, "was to have been included in the Lyrical Ballads of 1798, but at the last moment the sheets containing it were cancelled and "The Nightingale" substituted."⁴¹⁰ This poem of hopeless love ("Lewti") reveals some derivations from Jones's prose translation of the Arabic odes, *Moallakat*⁴¹¹ (1780-81), for example in both Jones' translation and Coleridge's poem, there exist similarities between the settings and the lovers visit their beloveds secretly in fragrant bowers during the midnight. Moreover, the descriptions of Middle East with its extraordinary beauty and magnificence, in Beckford's *Vathek*, affected by Jones and *The Arabian Nights*, might be considered as another source for Coleridge in composing his opium dreams vision. Later, according to Meester, "many of the beauties of Kubla Khan have in their turn become sources of inspiration for later poets, e. g. Shelley and Keats".⁴¹²

Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", published in *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), with an "Ancient Mariner", or an old sailor, as its principal figure, and a plot of crime and punishment, signifies a perfect myth affected by the Orient. The Ancient Mariner, with "long grey beard and glittering eyes", recounts his voyage to unknown lands, to the wedding guests he encounters; his story contains his ship's involvement in the storm, its movement toward the south pole, the crew's undergoing a curse and numerous anguishes following his crime against Nature of shooting an albatross, "the pious bird of good omen" (l. 79), and their final return.

2010. University of York, Department of English and Related Literature. PhD dissertation. p. 10.

⁴⁰⁸ The title of the poem "Lewti" does not seem to have any antecedents. It might be fabricated based on Coleridge's imagination.

⁴⁰⁹ Circassia is a region in the North Caucasus on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.

⁴¹⁰ Coleridge, Ernest Hartley. Editor. *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. London: Oxford University Press, 1957. Vol. I (In Two Vols.)

⁴¹¹ *Moallakat* or *the Seven Arabian Poems* are related to poets before Islam, comprising love complaints uttered by lovers to their beloveds.

⁴¹² De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 23.

In addition to moral and religious inferences, and "Gothic supernaturalism"⁴¹³, Coleridge's ballad reveals the exotic atmosphere, with remote Eastern settings, reminiscent of the *Arabian Nights*, for this "anecdote presents us with a series of encounters: between genie and merchant; a genie's son and a date shell; an individual and an invisible moral system; an ancient mariner and a youthful listener; an aging poet and a youthful poem".⁴¹⁴ In his article, "Coleridge and the Oriental Tale", Tim Fulford considers the Oriental tales such as the *Arabian Nights* as a model for inspiring Coleridge and states:

Like the *Nights*, it [Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner"] not only has a frame narrative and a story-within-a-story but also focuses on the power of the recited tale to arrest people in their course of action. For Coleridge then, Oriental tales provided a model for poetry that is concerned with, and itself exploits, the power of its own fictional world to intervene in the real world of its audience.⁴¹⁵

The Arabian Nights with a wide range of tales "from Baghdad in the mid-eighth century, Persia in the ninth century, and Cairo in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries...derived from various sources, including almost certainly oral transmission"⁴¹⁶ has been an inspiring source not only for Coleridge, but also for most of the Romantic poets. Coleridge, according to Fulford, "followed F. W. von Schlegel, viewing the *Nights* as essentially Persian rather than Arabian in origin. The *Nights* echoed Greek tales, Coleridge thought, because the 'attribution of fixed moral qualities to the supernatural agents'.⁴¹⁷

Besides, the main occurrence in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", the theme of the killing of an albatross and its aftermath, according to the British Library, was proposed by William Wordsworth, "who had recently read George Shelvocke's [1675-1742] biographical *Voyage Round the World by way of the Great South*

⁴¹³ Vallins, David, Kaz Oishi, and Seamus Perry. Editors. *Coleridge, Romanticism and the Orient: Cultural Negotiations*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc., 2013. p.87.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, p.116.

⁴¹⁵ Makdisi, Saree & Felicity Nussbaum (Editors). *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p.223.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p. 13-14

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, p. 216. (Tim Fulford. "Coleridge and the Oriental Tale")

Sea (1726)" in which a black albatross had been shot by Simon Hatley, the second captain.⁴¹⁸

3. 1. 4. George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788 –1824)

Byron seems to have had access to abundant sources to inspire him in composing his poems with allusions to Persian literature. According to Peter Cochran, he was greatly influenced by Sir William Jones and his translations of Eastern literatures. It was through Jones' works that Byron, as Cochran declares, "claimed to have become early familiar with such poets as Sa'di, Ferdausi and Hafiz. Jones combined encyclopaedic oriental knowledge".⁴¹⁹

Byron became acquainted with the Persian poets and the love concepts of classical Sufism through his readings of Sir William Jones' translations and his journeys to the East, so that there exist several references to Persian poets, particularly Hafiz, in Byron's writing as the poet effective in promoting oriental literature:

"Ferdausi, author of the Shah Nameh the Persian Iliad, Sadi, and Hafiz, the immortal Hafiz the oriental Anacreon. The last is revered beyond any hard of ancient or modern times by the Persians, who resort to his tomb near Shiraz, to celebrate his memory. A splendid copy of his works is chained to his monument. "⁴²⁰

However, except for Jones, there were some other available sources of Orientalism to influence Byron among which, according to his explanations on the footnotes or letters, Barthélemy D'herbelot's (1625-1695) *Oriental Bibliothéque*, George Sale's (1697–1736) translation of the *Qur'an* into English (1734), William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), Jonathan Scott's (1754–1829) edition of *The Arabian Nights*

⁴¹⁸ British Library (Online), Romantic and Collection Items, Voyage Round the World. <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/voyage-round-the-world#>. There are some other references to this work, as a source, in *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Edited by Saree Makdisi, and Felicity Nussbaum, 2008.

⁴¹⁹ Cochran, Peter. Ed. *Byron and orientalism*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006. p. 6.

⁴²⁰ Byron, George Gordon. *Works: In Verse and Prose, Including His Letters, Journals, Etc.* New York: George Dearborn Publisher, 1835. p. 263.

Entertainments (1811), Southey's Oriental romances and travellers' works of the period, should all be mentioned.

The collection and analysis of the origins of Byron's Eastern attitudes in his poetry, according to Peter Cochran, were "begun in 1940 by Harold Wiener in his essay 'Byron and the East: Literary Sources of the Turkish Tales'"⁴²¹ in which he discusses Byron's width of his oriental reading, with reference to Sir William Jones as one of the sources important in stimulating the young poet. Cochran quotes Wiener's assertion that Byron knew Hafiz and Firdausi well:

In all probability he had not read the poems themselves, but had read what Jones had to say about Eastern poetry and forthwith accepted the scholar's critiques as his own ... When we find him saying that he had perused some of the Asiatic works "either in the original or translations," we are free to substitute "none in the original and few in translation."⁴²²

Byron's understanding of the significant Persian poets can be traced in several parts of his journals and letters. In his letter to Mr. Dallas, Byron refers to an excerpt taken from Jones' "Persian Song" and writes: "As Gifford has been ever my 'Magnus Apollo', any approbation, such as you mentioned, would, of course, be more welcome than 'all Bocara's vaunted gold, than all the gems of Samarcand.'"⁴²³ In his early poem "Remind me not" (1809), a collection of memories from the speaker's perspective, concerning the unforgettable moments he had with his beloved with representation of her eyes and her glance as the symbols of her beauty, Byron tries to follow Jones' "Persian Song" by composing:

REMIND me not, remind me not,
Of those beloved, those vanish'd hours,
When all my soul was given to thee;
Hours that may never be forgot,
Till time unnerves our vital powers,
And thou and I shall cease to be.

⁴²¹ Cochran, Peter. Ed. *Byron and orientalism*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006. p. 67

⁴²² *Ibid*, p. 68

⁴²³ Moore, Thomas. Ed. *The Life of Lord Byron: With his Letters and Journals*, London: John Murray, 1847. p. 136. Letter 66, written on 7 September 1811.

Can I forget canst thou forget,
 When playing with thy golden hair,
 How quick thy fluttering heart did move?
 Oh ! by my soul, I see thee yet,
 With eyes so languid, breast so fair,
 And lips, though silent, breathing love.⁴²⁴ (lines 1-12)

Byron's parody of Jones' "Persian Song" (1811) entitled "The Barmaid", first published in Jerome McGann's edition of Byron's *Complete Poetical Works*, in 1980.⁴²⁵ Byron's imitation is very similar to Jones' translation of the famous ghazal, in which Jones' "sweet maid" has been turned to "Barmaid":

Bar Maid, if for this shilling white,
 Thou'dst let me love, nor scratch or scold,
 That ruddy cheek and ruddier hand
 Would give my Bardship more delight
 Than all the ale that e'er was sold,
 Than even a pot of 'Cyder-And' (lines 1-6)

Loloi defines the imitation as "a witty exercise in burlesque which merits detailed comparison with 'A Persian Song'". She calls Byron's burlesque as the "precise reworking of Jones' translation [of the ghazal]" in which Byron "makes an effort to retain not just Jones' rhyme pattern, but many of his rhyme sounds [and the abcabc rhyme pattern] and in several places, the very same words".⁴²⁶ Implying the stimulating effect of "A Persian Song of Hafiz" on numerous poets, Cannon asserts that Byron "undoubtedly was familiar with the poem, for not only did he parody it in 'The Barmaid', but he also included it casually in a letter of September 7, 1811. He even imitated the rhyme scheme (a b c a b c) in an early lyric 'Remind Me Not'."⁴²⁷

Contrary to the other Romantic authors of the era, whose knowledge about the Orient was exclusively based on the books they read, Byron had a firsthand interaction with the East by visiting some oriental countries and taking advantage of his travels in composing his literary works. Lord Byron applies numerous allegorical images based on

⁴²⁴ *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. p. 152

⁴²⁵ Loloi, Parvin. *Hafiz, Master of Persian Poetry: A Critical Bibliography*. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2004. p. 60.

⁴²⁶ Loloi, Parvin. *Hafiz, Master of Persian Poetry: A Critical Bibliography*. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2004. pp. 62-3.

⁴²⁷ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p.21-22.

his broad awareness of Oriental literature. He, according to Loloï, is "the only poet of this period who had first-hand experience of the Sufis in his travels in the Levant."⁴²⁸

The significant point in Byron's poetry is the existence of an Oriental setting in most of his poems. This interest for Oriental scenes is either the consequence of his travels or of his studying of travel books or accounts. Byron applies numerous references to Oriental and Islamic conventions in his poetry to enhance the Oriental setting. He even employs some specific Islamic words and expressions to intensify the oriental local color. His characters are cast according to Oriental names and titles; behave as the representations of that culture and utter ethnic expressions common in that oriental zone.

It is believed that Byron's autobiographical poem "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage" (1812-19), a narrative poem in four parts, is among his first oriental poems containing detailed traces of his voyages. Byron composed the first canto of this long poem in 1812, after traveling to different regions such as Spain, Portugal, Albania, Malta, Greece and the Aegean with unfulfilled plans to visit Persia and India. Accordingly, the first two cantos deal with Byron's portrayal of those lands he visited and the last two cantos present a more mature Byron poetically. "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", with a topographical depiction, depicts the journeys of a melancholic disillusioned young man, named Harold, who intends to escape the society and his past, and whose wandering is similar to that of Byron's. Harold is disappointed by his sinful life, looking for an alternative in distant domains including parts of the Oriental lands. The first two cantos of the poem indicate more references to the oriental elements and Byron's direct allusion to Persia and Hafiz indicates his understanding about Hafiz and his poetry, as in the following lines concerning love, where similar to Jones and his disciples, Byron refers to both Hafiz and the classical poet Anacreon, "the Teian", for moral support:

It is not that yon hoary lengthening beard
Ill suits the passions which belong to youth:

⁴²⁸ Loloï, Parvin. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry". *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. Edited by Leonard Lewisohn. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. p. 284.

Love conquers age—so Hafiz hath averred,
 So sings the Teian, and he sings in sooth—
 But crimes that scorn the tender voice of Ruth,
 Beseeming all men ill, but most the man
 In years, have marked him with a tyger's tooth;
 Blood follows blood, and through their mortal span,
 In bloodier acts conclude those who with blood began.⁴²⁹
 (lines 559-567)

Harold is no epic hero, but introduces a new form of masculinity, a Byronic hero with characteristics in contrast with the Romantic hero archetype in the literature prior to him; he is handsome, an outlaw, emotionally conflicted, and a melancholic individual who behaves against the societal norms and whose character has the power to seduce and attract women.

Focusing on the Oriental themes, Byron began composing some Oriental narrative poems called "Tales chiefly Oriental" among which five "Turkish tales" in verse including *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *The Corsair*, *Lara* and *The Siege of Corinth* deal with Turkish settings. Byron's selection of an Oriental subject and content resulted in depicting different scopes of the oriental society; the tales, not only denote Byron's desire for exotic adventure, but also portray customs, ideas and cultures of the places Byron visited or read about. The tales present social conventions such as love, fidelity, and ethics based on Eastern principles, with humble women who are generally sacrificed in a patriarchal culture and rebellious heroes who represent Byron himself, socially outcast. What put the tales in one category are the common Oriental features such as the background, the characters, images and customs taken from Turkish, Persian and Arabic culture and literature, transmitted through the medium of language to English poetry.

For example, in Persian poetry, the Nightingale is the symbol of a lover who sings the melancholic songs of love for his beloved, embodied in the Rose. In addition to Jones' translations of ghazals of Hafiz which are replete with the symbolic references to the Nightingale and the Rose, Jones' translation of the Persian fable, "The Gardener and

⁴²⁹ "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. CANTO THE SECOND, LXIII. p. 29.

the Nightingale" in the final part of his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, indicates several references to the love between the Nightingale and the Rose. Also, Jones' translation of "A Turkish Ode of Mesihî", published in his *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772), contains allusions to nightingale as the harbinger of the spring, in which as Cannon notes, the poet "celebrates the return of spring in thirty-three closed couplets" and the last stanza "introduces Europeans to the Persian fable of the nightingale's attachment to the rose, a fable that was one of Jones's favorites"⁴³⁰:

May this rude lay from age to age remain,
 A true memorial of this lovely train.
 Come, charming maid, and hear thy poet sing,
 Thyself the rose, and He the bird of spring:
 Love bids him sing, and Love will be obey'd.
 Be gay: too soon the flow'rs of Spring will fade.⁴³¹

Byron, affected by Jones' translations or other translations of his age and the Eastern legends of love, alludes to these familiar Persian motifs of the extreme affection between the lover and the beloved by alluding to the rose (gul) and the nightingale (bulbul) in his poetry, in agreement with the Persian tradition. As, in his heroic poem, *The Bride of Abydos* (1813), a Turkish tale, similar to *Hamlet* in its plot, with an Islamic cast of characters, and the love story of Zuleika, the beautiful daughter of the Giaffir, and Selim, the son of her father's brother Abdallah, several specimens can be found about nightingale and rose:

Know ye the land of the cedar and vine,
 Where the flowers ever blossom, the beams ever shine;
 Where the light wings of Zephyr, oppressed with perfume,
 Wax faint o'er the gardens of Gul in her bloom;
 Where the citron and olive are fairest of fruit,
 And the voice of the nightingale never is mute. (lines 5-10)

Or:

She snatched the urn wherein was mixed
 The Persian Atar-gul's perfume,
 And sprinkled all its odours o'er

⁴³⁰ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 49.

⁴³¹ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. Last Stanza, p. 50.

The pictured roof and marble floor (lines 269-272)

Also:

This rose to calm my brother's cares
 A message from the Bulbul bears;
 It says to-night he will prolong
 For Selim's ear his sweetest song
 And though his note is somewhat sad,
 He'll try for once a strain more glad, (lines 287-292)

And:

A Bird unseen – but not remote:
 Invisible his airy wings,
 But soft as harp that Houri strings
 His long entrancing note!
 It were the Bulbul; but his throat,
 Though mournful, pours not such a strain; (lines 1172-1177)

In this poem, Byron's reference to Persian myths such as casting the female character as Zuleika⁴³², the tragic love story of "Mejnoun" and "Leila"⁴³³, similar to Western Romeo and Juliet, and allusion to Sadi (Sa'di) indicates his familiarity with Persian literature:

There lingered we, beguiled too long
 With Mejnoun's tale, or Sadi's song,
 Till I, who heard the deep tambour
 Beat thy Divan's approaching hour (71-74)

Byron's knowledge concerning the legend of *Mejnoun and Leila*, in his *Bride of Abydos*, came from Sir William Jones' presentation of Nezami (1141–1209), the greatest Persian romantic epic poet, to his English countrymen, in numerous publications. Several poets imitated Nezami's romance by the time Jones published a Persian edition of Hatefi's (d. 1520) romance *Leyli o Majnun* in 1788, popular in India at that time, which later inspired Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848) to write an English version entitled *The Loves of Mejnoun and Leila* (1797), which was an indirect adaptation of Nezami's *Leili and Majnun*. *Layli o Majnun* or *Leila and Majnun* is the story of unfulfilled love between

⁴³² The name Zuleika has been taken from a story in the Quran and Genesis relating to Yousef (Joseph) the prophet and Zuleika, which was alluded in Hafiz's famous ghazal "Shirazi Turk", translated by Jones. See Chapter 2.

⁴³³ Among Nezami's most significant works, *Makhzan al-Asrar* (The Treasury of Mysteries)(1163), *Khosrow o Shirin* (Khosrow and Shirin)(1177–1180), *Layli o Majnun* (Layla and Majnun) (1192), *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Figures) (1197), *Eskandar Nameh* (The Book of Alexander) (1196–1202) can be mentioned.

Qays and Leila, whom were prevented from marrying each other by Leila's father. This resulted in the madness of Qays (that was why he was called Majnoun, an Arabic adjective for an insane person) and the tragic death of both lovers as the consequence of the excessive grief for their separation. The tragic death of Byron's Zuleika is analogous to that of the tragic heroes of those Persian legends. In his article, "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus" (1793), in addition to Sa'di and Hafiz, Jones refers to some of the other Sufi poets such as "Sa'ib, Orfi, Mi'r Khosrau, Ja'mi, Hazi'n, and Sa'bik, who are next in beauty of composition to Hafiz and Sadi".⁴³⁴ Meanwhile, he refers to "the beautiful poem on the loves of Laili and Majnun by the inimitable Niza'mi [which] is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on divine love; and the name of Laili seems to be used in the *Masnavi* and the odes of Hafiz for the omnipresent spirit of God".⁴³⁵

Byron's understanding of Persian literature is evident in his letters, too. In a letter to Mr. Murray on November 13, 1813, Byron refers to the legend of *Yusuf and Zuleika* and says: "you know that Zuleika is the Persian poetical name for Potiphar's wife, on whom and Joseph there is a long poem⁴³⁶, in the Persian".⁴³⁷ This knowledge, according to Jonathan D. Gross, was acquired by Byron's reading of "several translations of Jami, Hafiz, and Sadi [which] were readily available by 1813":

Persian poetry, like travel literature, had become a "fad" when Byron wrote "The Bride of Abydos". William Jones translated "An Ode of Jami, in the Persian Form and Measure" and "A Song, from Persia"; he also wrote a preface to his own translation of "Laila and Majnun" by Abdullah, surnamed Hatifi, nephew of Jami (or Nurudin). Asiatic Researches (vols. 1-10) and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society also provided a wealth of information on Eastern verse that was available to Byron. Volumes 3, 6, and 7 of Asiatic Research contain articles bearing on Jami. In a letter to Charles Reviczky, Jones singled out Jami's poem for special praise, though he never published it. "One I like especially is

⁴³⁴ Jones, Sir William. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. I, p. 460.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, p. 452.

⁴³⁶ Here, Byron refers to the epic poem by the Persian poet, Jami (1414-1492), whose poetry was affected by Sufism, the ghazals of Hafiz and Nezami's poetry. He composed a long epic poem by the same title, *Yusuf and Zulaikha*, in his *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones).

⁴³⁷ Moore, Thomas. Ed. *The Life of Lord Byron: With his Letters and Journals*, London: John Murray, 1847. p.220.

Jami's poem called Yusef va Zulaikha. Each couplet of the poem, which has about 4,070 of them, has pure brilliance of a little star.⁴³⁸

In a similar way, Byron's allusion to the geographical zones, such as "Istakar" in the following lines, indicates his understanding of the Oriental lands. "Istakar" was the ancient Persepolis, and capital of Persia, near Shiraz, the hometown of Hafiz. It was the first capital and the principal city of the Sasanian Empire (from 224 to 226 AD).

I would not wrong the slenderest hair
That clusters round thy forehead fair,
For all the treasures buried far
Within the caves of Istakar. (355-8)

It is noteworthy that the above-mentioned excerpt is very similar to the introductory stanza of "A Persian Song of Hafiz", in Jones's famous translation, and might be considered as a source for these lines. Byron, also, refers to Shiraz, in another part of his poem, where *atar-gul* (line 270) is produced and carpets are woven:

And round her lamp of fretted gold
Bloom flowers in urns of China's mould;
The richest work of Iran's loom,
And Sheeraz' tribute of perfume;
All that can eye or sense delight
Are gathered in that gorgeous room –
But yet it hath an air of gloom. –
She, of this Peri⁴³⁹ cell the sprite,
What doth she hence, and on so rude a night? (lines 560-8)

The concepts like rose, nightingale and garden of love which Hafiz has applied in his poems are echoed in different poems of Byron.⁴⁴⁰ Byron's *The Giaour; A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (1813), with "a great variety of untranslated words"⁴⁴¹, is a tale of love,

⁴³⁸ Gross, Jonathan David. *Byron: The Erotic Liberal*. United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001. p. 57-8.

⁴³⁹ In the above excerpt, Peri (Pari) is a Persian replacement for "fairy" or "a beautiful creature".

⁴⁴⁰ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), passim.

⁴⁴¹ Yohannan, in his article "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825", refers to *Edinburgh Review* and states: "The *Giaour* had fooled the *Edinburgh Review*. Jeffrey wrote: "The Turkish original of the tale is attested to all but the bolder skeptics of literature by the great variety of untranslated words." Jeffrey must have had in mind "kiosk," "muezzin," "palampore," and "ataghan." Such words Byron would have encountered on his Eastern voyage". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1952). p. 157.

revenge and remorse, a narrative poem fabricated upon a doomed love triangle, the Giaour (a Turkish word for an infidel or nonbeliever) who is an unknown Christian, Hassan and one of his wives, Leila, ending in Leila's death by Hassan, Giaour's revenge by killing Hassan, and Giaour's self-expelling to a convent.⁴⁴² The plot of the poem was affected by what Byron witnessed in his expedition to the Orient, of the drowning of a Turkish girl into the sea as a consequence of her prohibited love affair.

Except for the vampire features and the Turkish settings, this poem indicates Byron's knowledge of Persia's history and the mysticism existing in Hafiz's poetry, so that he defines Leila by using Oriental images such as "the Rose", "Gul"(rose in Persian), "Sultana of the Nightingale", "the jewel of Giamschid", "Gazelle"'s eyes (for her "eye's dark charm"), the "young pomegranate's blossom" (for the "blush of her cheek"), etc. to intensify the oriental atmosphere:

Her eye's dark charm 't were vain to tell,
But gaze on that Gazelle,
It will assist thy fancy well;
As large, as languishingly dark,
But Soul beam'd forth in every spark
That darted from beneath the lid,
Bright as the jewel of Giamschid ... (lines 473-9)

On her might Muftis gaze, and own
That through her eye the immortal shone;
On her fair cheek's unfading hue
The young pomegranate's blossoms strew
Their bloom in blushes ever new;
Her hair in hyacinthine flow,
When left to roll its folds below⁴⁴³ ... (lines 491-7)

In the notes to the expression "Sultana of the Nightingale" in the following extract of the poem *The Giaour*, referring to his allusion to "nightingale" and "rose", Byron reveals his knowledge of Persian literature by declaring that "the attachment of the nightingale to the rose is a well-known Persian fable. If I mistake not, the 'Bulbul of a thousand tales' is one of his appellations"⁴⁴⁴:

⁴⁴² https://wnorton.com/college/english/nael/romantic/topic_4/byron.htm

⁴⁴³ *The Giaour, The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. p. 315.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*, Notes, p. 1023.

For there the Rose o'er crag or vale,
 Sultana of the Nightingale,
 The maid for whom his melody-
 His thousand songs are heard on high,
 Blooms blushing to her lover's tale ;
 His queen, the garden queen, his Rose (lines 21-6)

These images, used to intensify the Oriental setting of the poem, are reminiscent of Jones' translations. Comparing these lines to Jones' translations, Loloi believes that:

[In Byron's poem] we have the comparison of the Beloved's eyes to a gazelle's dark eyes. In Persian mystical poetry the gazelle is 'shy and fugitive'; it 'escapes every attempt at capture and yet can easily catch the heart of ... the lover'. *Jām-i Jam* (Byron's 'jewel of Giamschid') is commonly known in Persian mystical poetry as 'a symbol of esoteric knowledge ... and it came to represent the glass of enlightenment'.⁴⁴⁵

Also, being influenced by Beckford's *Vathek*, a Gothic novel (English translation, 1786) with its satanic protagonist resembling a Byronic hero and its oriental settings, Byron follows the model of Eblis, an Arabic word meaning Satan or Lucifer, in the creation of his Byronic heroes. In his *The Giaour*, Byron alludes to it, as well:

But thou, false Infidel! shalt writhe
 Beneath avenging Monkir's scythe;
 And from its torment 'scape alone
 To wander round lost Eblis' throne;
 And, fire unquenchd, unquenchable,
 Around, within, thy heart shall dwell;
 Nor ear can hear nor tongue can tell
 The tortures of that inward hell⁴⁴⁶ (lines 747-754)

Numerous details concerning Oriental customs were added to Byron's understanding of the East through *Vathek*, so that the traces of Beckford's work are also visible in Byron's *Childe Harold*, *Manfred*, *The Siege of Corinth* and some other works. This indebtedness to *Vathek* was not restricted to Byron. Southey was among those who were influenced by the work and Bryan Waller Procter's (1787–1874) blank verse poem "The Hall of Eblis" closely paraphrased *Vathek* with its setting located in Persia, Persepolis (Istakar). However, it is noteworthy that William Beckford's *Vathek*

⁴⁴⁵ Loloi, Parvin. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry". *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. Edited by Leonard Lewisohn. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co. Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. P. 285.

⁴⁴⁶ *The Giaour, The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. p. 317

is indebted to Sir William Jones' narrative poem "The Seven Fountains" for some of its images of the Oriental setting. Jones' poem portrays a wandering youth in a palace of pleasures who prefers divine insight to the existing pleasures. In his *Vathek*, Beckford follows Jones' explanation of the Oriental setting and chooses the Oriental pleasure palace as the background for his novel. It is also remarkable that Jones's images in this poem, as he says in the Preface to *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772), have been derived from Eastern sources such as Nezami, Ebn Arabshah and *The Arabian Nights*:

I have taken a still greater liberty with the moral allegory, which, in imitation of the *Persian* poet *Nezami*, I have entitled *The Seven Fountains*: the general subject of it was borrowed from a story in a collection of tales by *Ebn Arabshah*, a native of *Damascus*, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and wrote several other works in a very polished style, the most celebrated of which is *An history of the life of Tamerlane*: but I have ingrafted, upon the principal allegory, an episode from the *Arabian* tales of *A thousand and one nights*, a copy of which work in *Arabick* was procured for me by a learned friend at *Aleppo*.⁴⁴⁷

Byron's other "Oriental Tales" are *The Corsair* and *Lara*, both published in 1814, and in both of which Byron's characters, settings, customs, and images depict the Orient. In these two poems, he gives a picture of his first-hand personal experience concerning the East and less dependency on the Oriental literature. Dedicated to Thomas Moore, *The Corsair: A Tale*, an autobiographical work, over ten thousand copies of which were sold on its first day of publication, February 1, 1814. The tale recounts the story of the corsair (a pirate or privateer) Conrad, rejected in his youth by his society, like other Byronic heroes, with courteous attitudes towards women. Conrad's combat against the Pacha Seyd, who was about to descend upon his island, leads to his imprisonment and death of Pacha by a slave in his harem, Gulnar, who feels attracted to Conrad. When they head to the pirate island, after escaping, they find Conrad's wife, Medora, dead because of Conrad's absence. Conrad leaves Gulnar and the island alone:

He left a Corsair's name to other times,

⁴⁴⁷ Jones, Sir William. *Poems, Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Tongues* (1772). Edited by Rudolf Beck. Augsburg: Universitat Augsburg, 2009. p. 4.

Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes⁴⁴⁸. (lines 695-6)

Byron's next tale, which "may be regarded as a sequel to *The Corsair*"⁴⁴⁹, is *Lara*. The poem narrates the mysterious Count Lara's (who resembles Conrad in *The Corsair*) reappearance in his country after years spent in the Orient and his rebellious ventures. The story deals with Lara's complicated relation with his fellow men, and includes duels and fights over which Lara succeeds, until the final fight, in which he is mortally wounded to death.

The Siege of Corinth (1816), Byron's rhymed tragic poem, has been composed based on the historical event, of the Ottoman massacre of the Venetians, in 1715, their patriotic resistance and their subsequent conquest over the Turks. The narrator describes what occurred a century earlier.

The same year (1816), Byron composed his satirical prose fiction, *The Tale of Calil*, which was not published until 1985. Its subject matter is similar to *Don Juan*, while the setting, Samarkand, as Almeida and Giplin discuss, has "few resemblance to the actual Central Asia past or present" and several references to Tamerlane⁴⁵⁰, his life, his heroic acts and his brutality. Almeida and Giplin consider the culture of the tale "vaguely Arabic or Persian; the political plot of the story, meanwhile, can be traced to contemporary accounts of decadent Moghul princes in India, and to Timur, their Mongol ancestor".⁴⁵¹ Drummond Bone believes that *The Tale of Calil* to be successful in revealing the Oriental reality, "not because it is the lengthiest of his fictional writings, but because he achieves that necessary self-abstracted distance – that withdrawal of self from self – securely enough to invest his creative 'self' in the 'other'".⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ *The Corsair: A Tale. The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. p. 366.

⁴⁴⁹ *The Poetical Works of Lord Byron*. 1905. p. 309.

⁴⁵⁰ Tamerlane (1336–1405), the aggressive founder of the Timurid empire of Central Asia, ruling much of Europe and Asia.

⁴⁵¹ Almeida, Hermione de, and George H. Giplin. *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India*. Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2005. p. 55

⁴⁵² Bone, Drummond. *The Cambridge Companion to Byron (Cambridge Companions to Literature)*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. p. 188

Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-23), a satiric poem (or as Byron calls it, "Epic Satire"⁴⁵³) deals with the adventures of a shipwrecked youth, released by a pirate's daughter, and sold to a sultana who falls in love with him. It is also considered as one of the Oriental works of Byron, which contains several descriptions of the Orient,⁴⁵⁴ with "a Western character encountering the East"⁴⁵⁵ with "Orientalist fantasy – exotic virgins; daring escapes; pirates – while surreptitiously uncovering the grounds of those fantasies."⁴⁵⁶

Similar to Byron's previous works, *Don Juan* involves Oriental names (such as Gulbeyaz (meaning White rose), sultan's fourth wife and Leila, the orphaned Muslim girl), Oriental images (such as rose and nightingale), references to Persian "song, dance, wine, music, storie"⁴⁵⁷, oriental settings and Turkish harems with the description of "lines from Persian poets which he saw written in beautiful manu-scripts remained for him"⁴⁵⁸:

Soft Persian sentences, in lilac letters,
From poets, or the moralists their betters.⁴⁵⁹

Byron refers to "Nadir Shah"⁴⁶⁰, as "costive sophy"⁴⁶¹ and to Cyrus as the "best of kings", based on whose "mode" in the "antique" Persia, the Persians "taught" their children based on "three useful things,/ To draw the bow, to ride, and speak the truth"⁴⁶².⁴⁶³

Also, when Byron describes Lord Henry's character and verdict, he associates them with the decrees of the Persians:

In judging men - when once his judgment was
Determined, right or wrong, on friend or foe,
Had all the pertinacity pride has,
Which knows no ebb to its imperious flow,

⁴⁵³ *Don Juan*, c. xiv. st. 99.

⁴⁵⁴ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/literature-and-arts/classical-literature-mythology-and-folklore/folklore-and-mythology/don-juan>

⁴⁵⁵ Warren, Andrew. *The Orient and the Young Romantics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.p.108.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 237.

⁴⁵⁷ *Don Juan*, c. III. st. 35.

⁴⁵⁸ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1952), p. 159.

⁴⁵⁹ *Don Juan*, c. iii, st.64.

⁴⁶⁰ Nadir Shah was one of the most powerful Persian kings who ruled the country from 1736 to 1747.

⁴⁶¹ *Don Juan*, c. ix. st. 33.

⁴⁶² Honesty is one of the significant doctrines in Zoroastrianism, the religion of Persian people before the invasion of the Arabs.

⁴⁶³ *Don Juan*, c. xvi. st. 1.

And loves or hates, disdain to be guided,
 Because its own good pleasure hath decided.
 His friendships, therefore, and no less aversions,
 Though oft well founded, which confirm'd but more
 His prepossessions, like the laws of Persians
 And Medes, would ne'er revoke what went before.
 His feelings had not those strange fits, like tertians,
 Of common likings, which make some deplore
 What they should laugh at - the mere ague still
 Of men's regard, the fever or the chill.⁴⁶⁴

Like the other Romantic poets, Byron stages a broad part of his poetry in the Oriental settings, names his characters by Oriental designations, alludes to Oriental religions (such as Islam and Zoroastrianism⁴⁶⁵), in order to provide a way from ignorance to knowledge about the Orient, not only for his heroes, in their adventurous voyages to the East, but also for his readers, in their virtual expeditions to the mysterious exotic lands.

3. 1. 5. Thomas Moore (1779 –1852)

Thomas Moor, was an Irish poet and lyricist, who is best known today for his lyrics of "The Minstrel Boy", "The Last Rose of Summer", "Gazel" (similar to a Persian ghazal), "Cashmerian", "Ode to the Sublime Porte", and his narrative poem, *Lalla Rookh, An Oriental Romance* or "fanciful Romance"⁴⁶⁶, winning an extraordinary success and popularity (1817). In his article, "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825", Yohannan Calls his *Lalla Rookh* as "the example par excellence of the pseudo-Oriental poem in English literature" in which "the sentiments [...] are genuinely Irish", mixed with the Persian features and "allusions to typical Persian themes".⁴⁶⁷

Like most of the Romantic poets, Moore was interested in the Orient and acquired knowledge about it through books among which, what he read of Jones' works and translations, was especially influential in his career as a poet. In illustrating his

⁴⁶⁴ *Don Juan*, c. xiii, st. 17.

⁴⁶⁵ There are several allusions to Zoroastrianism in *Manfred*, Byron's poetic drama (1817).

⁴⁶⁶ Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers. 1891. p.16 (Preface)

⁴⁶⁷ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), pp. 137-160.(p. 155)

Lalla Rookh, he made use of the works of oriental scholars, translations from Asiatic poetry, explanations and quotations from different sources such as Richard Knolle's *The General Historie of the Turks* (1603), Barthélemy D'Herbolet's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697), Alexander Dow's *The History of Hindostan* (1772), Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), translation of the *Shahnameh* (either by Jones or Joseph Champion),⁴⁶⁸ Anquetil Dupperon on the *Zend-Avesta* (1771), travelers' accounts such as James Morier's and George Keppel's, the works and translations of Sir William Jones and in brief, what (Oriental works or translations) published up to that time.

The Persian expression (laaleh Rox لاله رُخ), consisting of Lalla (tulip) and Rookh (face), whose combination indicates a "rosy face" or "beautiful face with blushing cheeks such as tulip", has been used frequently in Persian ghazals, including Hafiz, as an epithet to signify the beauty of the beloved. The plot of the romance comprises princess's (Lalla Rookh, the daughter of Aurangzeb) journey from Delhi to Cashmere (Kashmire) to meet her affianced, in a prose narrative, joining four highly imaginative tales⁴⁶⁹. The narrative denotes Lalla Rookh's journey, distracted by the four verse tales sung by the Persian poet, Feramorz, the young king of Bucharria (Bukhara), her husband-to-be in disguise, in a job to entertain the princess, and the one Lalla Rookh falls in love with. According to Moor, in his preface, the theme signifies "the cause of tolerance [...]; the spirit that had spoken in the melodies of Ireland soon found itself at home in the East"⁴⁷⁰. However, some parts of the romance, such as the first two tales, are tragic poems with fierce rebellion as their central theme and are considered as political allegories concerned with the French Revolution, liberty and oppression and Irish liberation in the disguise of an Eastern tale to portray Ireland's subjection to British rule. This subjugation is depicted through different layers of political metaphors,

⁴⁶⁸ Sir William Jones was the first European scholar who translated few parts from the *Shahnameh* (1774) and compared Firdausi with Homer. Joseph Champion translated a section of the *Shahnameh* as "The Poems of Firdausi" (1785), printed in Calcutta by John Hay.

⁴⁶⁹ The tales consist of "The Story of the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan", "The Story of Paradise and the Peri", "The Story of the Fire-Worshippers", and "The Story of the Light of the Haram".

⁴⁷⁰ Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers. 1891. p. 14.

such as presenting the cultures and nations by seducible and suppressed female characters, weaker than the masculine ones and dominated by them.

The first and longest tale, is founded on the adventures of that "Veiled Prophet of Khorassan",⁴⁷¹ "Al Mokanna"⁴⁷² of Khorassan, named based of the veil he wore by which he covered his dreadful vileness, that seemed first to keep his subjects from the stunning brilliance of his visage:

The Great MOKANNA. O'er his features hung
The Veil, the Silver Veil, which he had flung
In mercy there, to hide from mortal sight
His dazzling brow, till man could bear its light.⁴⁷³

Mokanna's rebellion against the government of the Calif Al Mahdi and his mottos for "Freedom for the World" attracted many people including Azim, a Muslim soldier, and his beloved Zelica. However, they finally realize that Mokanna's real intention in revolting has been his thirst for power and dominance. He, who symbolizes dictatorship, later reveals his real wicked identity as the "Veil'd demon"⁴⁷⁴ with satanic traits and hatred for mankind:

Upon that mocking Fiend, whose Veil, now rais'd,
Show'd them, as in death's agony they gazed,
Not the long promis'd light, the brow, whose beaming
Was to come forth, all conquering, all redeeming,
But features horribler than Hell e'er trac'd...⁴⁷⁵

The love story of Azim and Zelica is revealed as the subplot in the first tale. Azim, deceived by Mokanna's slogans, follows his nationalistic sense to leave Zelica to join Mokanna's armies until he recognizes Mokanna's real villain nature. He joins the opposite army of Al-Mahadi to attack Mokanna's palace or "Divan". There, he finds the Zelica, dead and spends the rest of his life praying for the redemption of Zelica's soul.

⁴⁷¹ Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers. 1891. p. 26

⁴⁷² Al Mokanna means "the veiled one," a name given to Hakim ben Allah, who wore a veil to hide the loss of an eye; he professed to be an incarnation of the Deity and to work miracles; found followers; founded a sect at Khorassan; seized some fortresses, but was overthrown at Kash A.D. 780, whereupon he took poison. (<https://www.definitions.net/definition/mokanna%2C+al>)

⁴⁷³ Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers. 1891. p.27.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 88.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 90.

"Paradise and the Peri" and "The Light of the Harem" are the shorter tales, with the themes of love and devotion compared to "The Story of the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan" and "The Story of the Fire-Worshippers", dealing with rebellion and violence. In the second tale of the poem, "The Paradise and the Peri", a beautiful spirit, Peri (Peri or Pari in Persian language, means fairy or spirit), who lives on "Isles of Perfume"⁴⁷⁶, seeks to enter "Paradise" since "The Peri yet may be forgiven/ Who brings to this Eternal gate / The Gift that is most dear to Heaven!"⁴⁷⁷ She tries two other ways to get into Paradise, but end in failure, except for the third one which is to present "the tear that, warm and meek, Dew'd that repentant sinner's cheek"⁴⁷⁸ making the gate open: " Joy, joy forever ! my task is done/ The Gates are pass'd, and Heaven is won! / Oh ! am I not happy ? I am, I am".⁴⁷⁹

Being a political allegory, the third tale of *Lalla Rookh*, "The Fire Worshippers", like the first tale has a fierce revolution as its main theme, based on the conflicts between Irish nationalism and British Colonialism, Islamic features have been used to express the political ideas of the poet. The struggle of the Persians against the Muslim invaders forms a political allegory for the Irish Catholics against the colonizing English government. The setting of this tale is Persia, the seventh century, when Ormus was conquered by the Arabs and ruled by Al Hassan, a merciless Arab ruler, and father of Hinda, a beautiful girl, who falls in love with Hafed, the leader of Persian oppositions, the Fire Worshippers, fighting against the oppressor. When Hafed's identity is revealed, by a devious member of the Persian revolutionaries, Hinda's father sends her back to Arabia. Arresting her ship, Hafed takes her to "their high rocky fortress". In spite of her warnings and insistence, Hafed does not accept to escape with her. Finally, Hafed's group is overcome and he chooses "martyrdom" to be free from "the oppressor's crimes". Observing Hafed's death from her ship, Hinda, throws herself into the sea.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 105.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 104.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, p.118.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, p.118.

The last tale of the Romance, "The Light of the Haram", included a collection of songs with charming descriptive scenes, set in the valley of Cashmere, deals with the argument between Selim and his young wife, Noormahal and their final reconciliation and the prose narrative, joining the poems, concludes the book.

The tales of *Lalla Rookh* reflect numerous details about the Oriental Culture and literature, in whose composition, based on numerous evidences, Thomas Moor was inspired by the Persian and Indian Literature, including Firdausi, Hafiz and Sa'di . The selection of conventional Persian images such as "rose" and "nightingale" in different occasions , the Persian names for characters, the historical events, the Persian settings and the local colors, the characters' Oriental details of life (such as Zelica 's Oriental makeup), and all the "purely Oriental"⁴⁸⁰ illustrations in his *Lalla Rookh*, were the result of Moor's desperate knowledge and understanding of Islam, the Quran, Zoroastrianism, the Oriental and Persian literature and culture, partly acquired from Jones, since in different parts of his work, his illustrations comprise his adaptations from Jones. Moore's explanations in his endnotes demonstrate his thorough knowledge of his selected materials. He frequently refers to Jones as his source of adaptation. For example, in explaining "Khorassan", as the "old Persian language, Province or Region of the Sun", he refers to "Sir W. Jones" to verify his illustration⁴⁸¹ or in another note for the sentence "He [Crishna] was a youth about LALLA KOOKH'S own age, and graceful as that idol of women"⁴⁸², he illuminates his allusion to Crishna based on Jones' explanations:

Crishna, The Indian Apollo. " He and the three Ramas are described as youths of perfect beauty; and the princesses of Hindustan were all passionately in love with Chrishna, who continues to this hour the darling God of the Indian women." (Sir W. Jones, *On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*)⁴⁸³

Or in describing this line: "Fill'd with the stems - that bloom on IRAN'S rivers"⁴⁸⁴, he again demonstrates that he based it on the quotation from Jones:

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, p.14.

⁴⁸¹ Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers. 1891. p. 238, Note 25.

⁴⁸² Ibid, p.25.

⁴⁸³ Ibid, p. 238, Note 22.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid, p.28.

The Persians call this plant Gaz. The celebrated shaft of Is- fendiar, one of their ancient heroes, was made of it. "Nothing can be more beautiful than the appearance of this plant in flower during the rains on the banks of rivers, where it is usually inter- woven with a lovely twining asepias." (Sir W. Jones, *Botanical Select Indian Plants*.)⁴⁸⁵

Also:

Every precious flower was there to be found that poetry, or love, or religion has ever consecrated; from the dark hyacinth, to which Hafez compares his mistress's hair, to the Camalata, by whose, rosy blossoms the heaven of Indra is scented.⁴⁸⁶

In illustrating the aforementioned lines, Moor applies Jones' illustrations again:

The Camalata (called by Linnaeus, Iponuea) is the most beautiful of its order, both in the color and form of its leaves and flowers; its elegant blossoms are 'celestial rosy red, Love's proper hue,' and have justly procured it the name of Camalata, or Love's Creeper." Sir W. Jones. "Camalata may also mean a mythological plant by which all desires are granted to such as inhabit the heaven of Indra; and if ever flower was worthy of Paradise, it is our charming Ipomoea." Sir W. Jones.⁴⁸⁷ (258)

The above-mentioned specimens are a few among several ones, by which Moor clarifies the ambiguous points and images used in the romance and shows his indebtedness to Jones and other sources of inspiration in composing his *Oriental Romance*.

Moreover, Moor's allusions to some names indicates his knowledge of Persian poetry, such as Zuleika in the following lines, which based on his illustration in the endnote concerning the origin of the name, he refers to the translation of Hafiz and Jami's legend of *Yusuf and Zuleika*:

Here fond Zuleika woos with open arms
The Hebrew boy, who flies from her young charms,
Yet, flying, turns to gaze, and, half undone,
Wishes that Heaven and she could both be won.⁴⁸⁸

Similarly there are allusions to Shirin and Leila, the heroines of Nezami's love legends, *Khosrow o Shirin* (Khosrow and Shirin), and *Layli o Majnun* (Layla and

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 239, Note 33.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 101

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 258, Note 157.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 63.

Majnun), indicating that Lalla Rookh is "a Princess described by the Poets of her time as more beautiful than Leila, Shirin, or any of those heroines whose names and loves embellish the songs of Persia and Hindostan."⁴⁸⁹ Also, there are several direct references to Persian poets, praising them as "copious flow of Ferdosi, the sweetness of Hafez, [and] the sententious march of Sadi"⁴⁹⁰. Moor describes Fadladeen, chamberlain of the harem and a typical Oriental courtier, by alluding to Sa'di's poem, declaring his attitude, behavior and his "political conduct and opinions" as "Should the Prince at noon-day say, It is night, declare that you behold the moon and stars."⁴⁹¹ In another allusion to Sadi, Moor mentions the lines from his *Bustan*, or, in Moor's words, *Garden of Sadi* : "Many, like me, have viewed this fountain, but they are gone, and their eyes are closed forever!"⁴⁹²

Moor mentions cities of Persia frequently; Shiraz, Ispahan, Khorassan,. In the preface to *Lalla Rookh*, he refers to what he has heard about the reputation of his poetry:

I have also heard, and need hardly add, with some pride and pleasure, that parts of this work have been rendered into Persian, and have found their way to Ispahan. To this fact, as I am willing to think it, allusion is made in some lively verses, written many years since, by my friend Mr. Luttrell : -

" I'm told, dear Moore, your lays are sung,
(Can it be true, you lucky man ?)
By moonlight, in the Persian tongue,
Along the streets of Ispahan."⁴⁹³

Although Moor never visited the Oriental lands, according to what he read, his *Lalla Rookh* turns out to be an anthology of the Persian images, allusions to Persian poets, quotations from significant poetical works, Oriental places, Persian names, and Oriental illustrations, connecting together in an exotic Oriental setting.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 21.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 99.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, p. 23.

⁴⁹² Ibid, p. 100.

⁴⁹³ Ibid, p. 16.

3. 1. 6. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822)

Like the other Romantic poets, Percy Bysshe Shelley was remarkably influenced by the Oriental thought and mysticism, through his studying of the works of the English Orientalists, including Sir William Jones, whether by reading Jones' poetry and translations directly or through reading the works of other scholarly members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal such as the work of Captain Francis Wilford, "a fellow member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who represented the most extravagant development of Jones's linguistic research"⁴⁹⁴ or other contemporary literary works affected by Jones such as Southey's *Thalaba*, which demonstrated to be influential not only for Shelley, but also for some other writers of the period.

It was through readings of Sir William Jones, that most of the English Romantics, including Shelley, came to understand the theories of love in Sufism, so that the origin of Shelley's Platonism, according to Franklin, can be followed in "a purer Vedantic source, in Jones's 'Hymns to Hindu Deities'".⁴⁹⁵ Drew, also, believes that Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" was written based on the influence of Jones' hymns to deities by stating that in Shelley's Hymn, 'Platonism had been absorbed by the Indian Vedanta tradition' taken from Jones' "Hymns".⁴⁹⁶ Referring to Jones' hymn addressed to "Lakshmi" from "Nine Hymns to Hindu Deities", Cannon, similarly, considers the referred hymn as one of the possible sources of Shelley's philosophy and declares that "The fourteen eighteen-line stanzas to Lakshmi were principally inspired by the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Foreshadowing Shelley, the hymn allegorizes Lakshmi's qualities as the world's great mother and preserving power of nature".⁴⁹⁷

According to numerous sources, both Shelley and Byron owned Jones' complete *Works* and Shelley's philosophy, according to Art Young, was indebted to his reading of Sir William Jones's works and "Hindu philosophical ideas, as interpreted by Jones,

⁴⁹⁴ Khan, Jalal Uddin. "Shelley's Orientalia: Indian Elements in his Poetry". *ATLANTIS. Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*. 30.1 (June 2008): 35–51. p. 45.

⁴⁹⁵ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. p.25.

⁴⁹⁶ Drew, John. *India and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. p. 234.

⁴⁹⁷ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 236

enabled Shelley to break with the Deistic tradition of the eighteenth century."⁴⁹⁸ Young refers to Swaminathan, who concludes that Jones' essay "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus" (1793) and his translation of mystical and Sufi works, was reflected in Shelley's poetry, so that as it is not difficult for the critics "to discern the similarity between Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and Jones's *Hymn to Narayana* or to recognize the close verbal and thematic affinity between Shelley's *Hymn to Apollo* and Jones's *Hymn to Surya*"⁴⁹⁹. Furthermore, Jones, as Cannon states, "through his Hymns, exerted by far his greatest, influence on Shelley". Cannon quotes Pinto, who has declared that "there is little doubt that Shelley's transition from his early atheistic materialism to the mystical pantheism of his mature works was largely due to a study of Jones's writings".⁵⁰⁰

Shelley, affected by Oriental mystical tradition, revealed exoticism and indebtedness to the Orient in most of his narrative poetry, including "The Indian Serenade" (1811), "Zeinab and Kathema" (1811) *Queen Mab* (1813), *Alastor* (1816) *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) and *Prometheus Unbound* (1820). This indebtedness has not been restricted to the subject matter or the content of his poems; sometimes he followed the form and conventions of Persian poetry. For instance, he adopted the Persian convention of referring to the name of the poet at the end of the ghazals, like what was mentioned in the previous chapter concerning Hafiz's ghazal. In a similar way, in his poem "To Jane: The Recollection", Shelley has used the device by referring to his name at the final lines of the poem:

Though thou art ever fair and kind,
The forests ever green,
Less oft is peace in Shelley's Mind,
Than calm in waters, seen.⁵⁰¹ (ll. 85 -88)

Demonstrating Shelley's interest in the philosophy of the East and Islam, and his inspiration based on Arabic and Persian mystic literature, Nilchian, in her article

⁴⁹⁸ Young, Art. *Shelley and nonviolence*. Netherlands: Mouton & Co. N.V. Publishers, 1975. p. 20

⁴⁹⁹ Malik, Ihsan-ur-Rahim. "The Image of India in Shelley". *The Criterion: An International Journal in English*. Vol.6, Issue 1, February 2015.

⁵⁰⁰ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 70.

⁵⁰¹ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. "To Jane: The Recollection", *Poetical Works* p. 670.

"Shelley's Quest for Persian love", refers to Hewitt who points out the device used by Shelley, and says:

Yohannan remarks that "[w]hether accidental or intentional, this verse has the poet's pen-name woven into the last couplet of the *ghazal*." In Persian poetry it is often common for the poet to insert a *nom de plume* (*takhallos*), usually in the final couplet of the poem. *Takhallos* in Persian poetry is implemented in ghazals more than in any other type of poetry. Hafez, Nezami, Sa' di, and Jami, for instance, are all the pen names of the poets.⁵⁰²

Shelley had an innovative understanding of the love philosophy of Sufism through reading Sir William Jones' translations. Although in his philosophy of Love he was also affected by German neo-Platonists and transcendentalists, his poetry shows clear reflections of Jones' translations of Hafiz and Persian mysticism.

Shelley, according to Loloi, was "a Platonist like his American counterpart Emerson". Critics agree on his debt to Sir William Jones, and Loloi refers to John Holloway who has argued for "the Persian influence on [Shelley's] the early poems such as 'The Indian Serenade' and 'From the Arabic'." Loloi also mentions Sataya S. Pachori, who believes that "'The Indian Serenade' is an imitation of one of Hafiz's poems which Shelley was familiar with, and that in the poem 'Shelley may have borrowed the idea of the mystical unity in lovers from Hafiz and Jones. In order to achieve the divine unity, the Shelleyan serenader has to renounce his phenomenal self and retain the noumenal one'."⁵⁰³ Loloi discusses that Shelley's philosophy of Love, "though steeped in neo-Platonism, also reflects his immersion in Jones' translations of Hafiz and writings on Persian mysticism, and his cognizance and versification of the doctrines of Sufism in his own work."⁵⁰⁴

"The Indian Serenade" is a three stanza lyrical love poem told from the outlook of a desperate lover. In this poem, Shelley denotes the Orient by referring to "Champak", a sweet smelling evergreen Oriental tree. The word was used in Jones' "A Hymn to

⁵⁰² Nilchian, Elham. "Shelley's Quest for Persian Love". *The Comparatist*, Volume 40, October 2016, p.235

⁵⁰³ Loloi, Parvin. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry". *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. Edited by Leonard Lewisohn. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co, Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. P. 285.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. xxv

Indra", in 1785, where he writes: "To banks of Marjoram and Champac shades"⁵⁰⁵ in a "vision the poet sees Indra (king of Immortals) and his "empyrean train . . . mounted on the sun's bright beam," and he sings of Indra's wonders. (Shelley later uses the "Champak" odors derived from the Hymn for his 'Indian Serenade.)"⁵⁰⁶. Parvin Loloï, refers to Shelley's letters and several critical ideas concerning this work and states:

We know that Shelley read Jones' *Works*. He ordered them when he was residing in Italy. Almost all Shelley critics acknowledge his debt to Sir William Jones. John Holloway has suggested that there was Persian influence on the early poems such as 'The Indian Serenade' and 'From the Arabic'. Sataya S. Pachori argues that 'The Indian Serenade' is an imitation of one of Hafiz's poems which Shelley was familiar with, and that in the poem 'Shelley ... may have borrowed the idea of the mystical unity in lovers from Hafiz and Jones. In order to achieve the divine unity, the Shelleyan serenader has to renounce his phenomenal self and retain the noumenal one.'⁵⁰⁷

Shelley's poem opens with the lover-speaker waking up from a dream, in which he has been dreaming of his "Sweet", and then a spirit guides him to "thy chamber window, Sweet". There, he designates that all the attractions of the world such as "The wandering airs", the "silent streams" and the sweet smelling of "Champak" trees cannot wake him from the dream of the beloved. So, since she does not have the same feelings, it is better to "die upon her heart". Shelley's reference to the nightingale reminds the reader of the conventional legend of the nightingale and rose in Persian love poetry:

The wandering airs they faint
On the dark, the silent stream—
The Champak odours fail
Like sweet thoughts in a dream;
The Nightingale's complaint,
It dies upon her heart;—
As I must on thine,
Oh, beloved as thou art!⁵⁰⁸ (lines 9-16)

Likewise, in his "Zeinab and Kathema"(1811), as Franklin asserts, Shelley "preoccupied with India throughout his poetic career, the influence of Jones is apparent

⁵⁰⁵ Jones, Sir William. *Works*. 1807, XIII, p. 273. (Lines 337-44)

⁵⁰⁶ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. P. 69.

⁵⁰⁷ Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry" by Parvin Loloï, pp. 279-292.

⁵⁰⁸ Hutchinson, Thomas. Ed. *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. London, 1956, p. 580.

in Shelley's subject matter, imagery, and poetic style"⁵⁰⁹. "Zeinab and Kathema", Shelley's early appeal to India, designates the story of Zeinab, a Kashmiri maiden, kidnaped from her family by "Christian murderers" and dispatched to England where she becomes a prostitute and agitator. Kathema, her childhood lover, travels Britain to find Zeinab, "a dead and naked female form", hanging "from a gibbet high", sentenced for her prostitution and offenses. In anguish, Kathema joins her by hanging himself beside her as "corruption's prey or Heaven's happy guest". The poem, according to Kurt Andrew Johnson, indicates not only Shelley's "similar engagement with Indian religions (Zoroastrianism and Hinduism) as these later works, but also his engagement with the Jonesian syncretism Drew finds abundantly evident in those late works as well."⁵¹⁰

The connections between Sir William Jones' *The Palace of Fortune, An Indian Tale* (1769) and Shelley's philosophical poem, *Queen Mab* (1813), have been debated by several critics. Franklin is among the ones who believes that Shelley "was indebted to Jones's poem for the whole framework of *Queen Mab*".⁵¹¹ Jones' description of the Tibetan Maiden, Maia, her dissatisfaction about her fate, the descending of Fortune, a goddess, who takes Maia to her fairy palace, after the girl's falling asleep and her magnificent journey in Jones's *The Palace of Fortune*, are echoed in Shelley's *Queen Mab*, a dream vision, similar to the Medieval allegories, in which, as Jalal Uddin Khan discusses, a "human protagonist finds himself magically transported to a celestial fairy world where he observes the constant internal struggle of mind in human history between the bodily pleasures and the demands of duty".⁵¹²

The common images of the aerial car, or the golden chariot, drawn by peacocks which transports Maia to a paradisiacal palace (from which she inspects the Earth), by the celestial spirits at the command of the goddess Fortune, are repeated in *Queen Mab*

⁵⁰⁹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

⁵¹⁰ Johnson, Kurt Andrew. *Sir William Jones and Representations of Hinduism in British Poetry, 1784-1812*. 2010. University of York, Department of English and Related Literature. PhD dissertation. p. 220.

⁵¹¹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 78.

⁵¹² Khan, Jalal Uddin. *Readings in Oriental Literature: Arabian, Indian, and Islamic*. UK: Cambridge scholars publishing, 2105. p.387.

in the descending of the Queen of Spirits in her shining car. Also, the Oriental palace in Jones' poem has affinities with Queen Mab's palace. Koeppel⁵¹³ deliberates the similarities between the two works, in thought and expression, and believes that Shelley was surely influenced by Jones's poem, especially in selecting his two female figures, Ianthe and Queen Mab, based on Jones' Maia and Fortune. Garland Cannon, in his *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*, discusses Jones' *The Palace of Fortune* as follows:

According to Jones, "The Palace of Fortune" (written in 1769) is taken from "Roshanara," an Indian tale by Inatullah, to which Jones adds descriptions and episodes from other Eastern authors whom he does not name. He changes the moral of the tale so that a discontented maid — after seeing that Pleasure, Glory, Riches, and Knowledge, when granted their wishes, are destroyed by them — realizes that human wishes are empty and useless.⁵¹⁴

Then, referring to Marie de Meester and her ideas in comparing Jones' work and Shelley's poem, Cannon concludes that Shelley's *Queen Mab* has been deeply affected by Jones' work:

Many similarities [exist] between *Queen Mab* and Jones's poem; both poems tell of a sleeping maiden (Maia and Ianthe) who is taken up to a fairy court by a supernatural figure (the goddess Fortune and the Queen of Spirits) and who is shown realistic visions, both Fortune and Queen Mab know all the thoughts of mankind...Shelley undoubtedly appropriated the idea for his two women in *Queen Mab* from Jones's poem. These and other striking similarities between the two poems in expression and thought, had been earlier discussed by E Koeppel.⁵¹⁵

Also, Jalal Uddin Khan, in his *Perspectives: Romantic, Victorian, and Modern Literature*, refers to the similarities between the two works and confirms the influence of Jones on Shelley's poem:

Shelley must have read Jones' *The Palace of Fortune* before writing the description of Queen Mab's Palace (ll. 29-39). In a letter to Elizabeth Hitchener, dated June 11, 1811, Shelley referred to "the true style of Hindoostanish devotion", alluding to Jones' poem. Eric Koeppel and Marie Meester⁵¹⁶ remarked on the similarities between *The Palace of*

⁵¹³ Koeppel, Eric. "Shelley's *Queen Mab* und Sir W. Jones's *Palace of Fortune*": *Englische Studien* 28 (1900) 33: pp. 43-53.

⁵¹⁴ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 20.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 20-1.

⁵¹⁶ Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg:

Fortune and *Queen Mab*: both poems tell of a sleeping maiden (Ianthe in *QM*), who is taken up to a fairy-court by a supernatural figure (the goddess Fortune in Jones' poem; the queen of spirits Queen Mab in Shelley's poem) and who is shown realistic visions by the supernatural figure, who seems to be knowing all about the mankind. Both critics claim that Shelley took the idea of his two women, Ianthe and Queen Mab from Jones' poem and explain the similarities in thought and expression.⁵¹⁷

Queen Mab, as Meester points out, "in her turn may have, and probably has, inspired Dante Gabriel Rossetti for his *Blessed Damosel*, and so we see the chain of influence continued through the century."⁵¹⁸

Shelley's *Alastor or The Spirit of Solitude* (1816), written in blank verse, set in Kashmir, based on Indian music, designates a Romantic quest for the supernatural spirit that surpasses earthly principles to seek a new ideal, similar to Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Shelley's solitary poet, follows "the winding of the cavern"⁵¹⁹ downstream to the sea, the ending point of his life. *Alastor*, as Shelley demonstrates in his Preface to the poem, "re-presents a youth of uncorrupted feelings and adventurous genius led forth by an imagination inflamed and purified through familiarity with all that is excellent and majestic, to the contemplation of the universe."⁵²⁰ Shelley's poet-protagonist, whose solitude is the outcome of his vision, visits the ruins of the East, where an Arab maiden falls in love with him. But he passes on "through Arabie, and Persia, and the wild Carmanian waste" (ll. 140-141) and arrives at the vale of Cashmire, lies down to sleep, "images to himself the Being whom he loves... [and] the vision in which he embodies his own imaginations unites all of wonderful, or wise, or beautiful, which the poet, the philosopher, or the lover could depicture".⁵²¹ Finding himself unaccompanied after awakening from his dream vision, without the imaginary perfection, he began his endeavor in finding the ideal image of the veiled maid, a

Carl Winter University, 1915.

⁵¹⁷ Khan, Jalal Uddin. *Perspectives: Romantic, Victorian, and Modern Literature*. UK: Cambridge scholars publishing, 2105. p. 150

⁵¹⁸ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 39-40.

⁵¹⁹ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Alastor or The Spirit of Solitude*. Edited by Bertram Dobell. London: Reeves And Turner, 1886. p. 26.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid*, p. iii.

⁵²¹ *Ibid*, p. iv

conscious rejection of reality in order to be seduced by a vision in a dream, in an ideal world.

The *Alastor* poet, like Coleridge's *Mariner*, is first unaware of his need for love; he is a portrait of an idealistic poet who has cut himself off the love of mankind, follows "Nature's most secret steps" (l. 82), and continues his way "in joy and exultation" (l. 144) until he comes to a "bower" where he is awakened to the conception that he has been ignoring love. The vision has been sent by "the spirit of sweet human love" to a poet who has previously "spurned her choicest gift" (ll. 203-205), and the veiled Maiden's theme is "knowledge and truth and virtue . . . / And lofty hopes of divine liberty" (ll. 158-59).

Jalal Uddin Khan, in his article "Shelley's Orientalia: Indian Elements in his Poetry", considers Shelley's *Alastor* along with Goethe's *Faust* among the Romantic works that were influenced profoundly "by Jones's translation, in 1790, of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, the most famous specimen of dramatic literature from classical India"⁵²². Similar to *Queen Mab*, *Alastor* indicates the protagonist's search for an ideal place. *Alastor*, a Romantic solitary quest, portrays the journey of its protagonist back through human history, to the depth of the past, from the western Mediterranean to the Eastern countries; to Arabia, Persia, Kashmir, to Egypt and Ethiopia, "over the Hindu Kush mountains, which form the Indian Caucasus extending from Afghanistan to Kashmir in north-west India to 'the thrilling secrets of the birth of time' (l. 128)"⁵²³ and then imagined the veiled maid. Shelley's protagonist in search for the unattained ideal starts his lonely journey through an immense geographical path from Europe toward the East, to Kashmir, in quest of self-understanding; with the desire to search for a vision, to "seek strange truths in undiscovered lands".⁵²⁴

In his imaginative impressive expedition to the East, in search of "strange truths", Shelley's protagonist is seeking to see the undiscovered lands. The

⁵²² Khan, Jalal Uddin. "Shelley's Orientalia: Indian Elements in his Poetry". *ATLANTIS. Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*. 30.1 (June 2008): 35–51. p. 45.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* p. 47

⁵²⁴ Shelley's *Alastor*, line 77

manifestation of the veiled maid is the representation of the Eastern undiscovered secrets. In his article, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz (2 – The Mystical Milieu: Hafiz Erotic Spirituality)", *Leonard Lewisohn* compares Hafiz and Shelley and believes that comparable to "Ahasureus, the mysterious Wandering Jew in Shelley's epic poem *Hellas*, Hafiz's *rind* is transported in ecstasy beyond time, space and place, gaining control by relinquishing control, acquiring power through detachment"⁵²⁵. The idea can be applied for *Alastor* poet-protagonist, too. He, who wanders in search of truth, is the reminiscent of *Rend* in Persian mystical poetry who wanders in the world to find the truth in his real or imaginary world. These wandering figures exist not only in Persian Sufi literature, but echoed in numerous Romantic poems such as "The young Wordsworth of *The Prelude*, Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, the Poet in Shelley's *Alastor*, Keats's *Endymion*, and Byron's *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan*, whether they move in an internalized landscape of the mind or in a rural part of Britain or a distant land, wander through a culturally charged space"⁵²⁶.

Several works have been discussed as the possible sources of *Alastor*. In addition to Wordsworth's and Coleridge's poetry, some critics believe that, in composing this poem, Shelley was deeply influenced by Robert Southey's *Thalaba the Destroyer*. Michael O'Neill, in his *Shelleyan Reimaginings and Influence*, refers to the effect of Southey on Shelley's works and asserts that *Alastor* "inaugurates, by way of its creative debt to Southey, a tradition of the metapoetic boat-voyage that reaches its climax in poems by Baudelaire and Rimbaud"⁵²⁷. In both *Thalaba* and *Alastor*, the protagonists perceive a vision and a little boat carry them to the end of their journey. Likewise, Michael Franklin refers to *Thalaba* as an inspiring source for composing both *Alastor* and the fragmentary romance, *The Assassins* (1814) concerning "Indian music and its relationship to enchantment" and Mary Shelley's notes on *Alastor* (in the posthumous

⁵²⁵ Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz (2 – The Mystical Milieu: Hafiz Erotic Spirituality)" by *Leonard Lewisohn* pp. 37-8.

⁵²⁶ Miyamoto, Nahoko. "*Strange Truths in Undiscovered Lands*": *Shelley's Poetic Development and Romantic Geography*. 1999. University of Toronto. PhD Dissertation. p.6.

⁵²⁷ O'Neill, Michael. *Shelleyan Reimaginings and Influence: New Relations*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2019. p.142.

version of Shelley's works), who called *Thalaba* as "Shelley's 'favourite poem' and that he was particularly taken with the description there of a river voyage much like the ones that feature prominently in *Alastor*".⁵²⁸ Similarly, Meester, connects the Arab maiden in *Alastor* to *Thalaba's* Oneiza, and discuss the similarities between the two works in details.⁵²⁹

Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" (1816) concerns the "Spirit of Beauty", "The awful shadow of some unseen Power/ Floats through unseen among us" (ll.1-2) which cannot be perceived, but felt by those affected by the spirit whose origin is in beauty.

Indicating Shelley's debt to Jones in composing "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty", the book entitled *Tropic Crucible: Self and Theory in Language and Literature*, refers to R. M. Hewitt⁵³⁰, who argues that Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" is indebted for "its tone and sensibility to Jones' 'Ode to Narayena'". The book also designates that in "Sir William Jones and English Literature," *Bulletin of SOAS*,⁵³¹ De Sola Pinto states his opinion that "Shelley can be traced everywhere in Jones's snow".⁵³² In the same way, Garland Cannon points out the similarity between Jones' and Shelley's works:

A Hymn to Narayena", written in 1794, is probably Jones's best-known Hymn. In the first stanza Jones describes the most divine attributes of the Supreme Being and His three clearest forms. In the second he describes the Indian and Egyptian doctrines of the Divine Essence and Archetypal Ideas. The third and fourth are concerned with Manu and Vyasa. In the fifth Jones gives Narayena's chief epithets. In the last two Jones discusses the perception of primary and secondary qualities. (The form of the Hymn led Shelley to the style and measure of "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty).. [Jones' Hymns] exerted by far his greatest influence on Shelley. Pinto says that there is little doubt that Shelley's transition from his early atheistic materialism to the mystical

⁵²⁸ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. p.185.

⁵²⁹ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. p. 40.

⁵³⁰ Hewitt, R.M. "Harmonious Jones", *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXVIII (1942), pp.42-59.

⁵³¹ Sir William Jones and English Literature', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI (1943-6), p. 686-694.

⁵³² Chatterjee, Ranjit & Colin Nicholson. Editors. *Tropic Crucible: Self and Theory in Language and Literature*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1984. p. 241.

pantheism of his mature works was largely due to a study of Jones's writings.⁵³³

The Revolt of Islam (1818), Shelley's longest poem in Spenserian stanzas, first appearing as *Laon and Cythna* (1817), is related to the theme of liberty, set in Argolis, under the Turkish domination. Conveying Shelley's opinions about the English society, the inevitability of reform, accompanied by some recommendations to have the revolution altruistically without violence, it reveals an ideal outlook to the historical circumstances of political struggle in the early 19th century. Shelley takes the reader to a visionary realm, an Arcadia of peace, beauty and splendor similar to the domain of Kubla Khan and the romantic landscape of Xanadu in which the characters, Laon and Cythna, represent justice, truth and love, stand against the tyrannical Othman and sacrifice themselves to dominate liberty.

The Revolt of Islam is an allegory, some of whose pagan mythology, according to Baker, has been derived from Jones;⁵³⁴ an epic, in which human beings struggle against powerful social forces and tyrannies and, consequently, gain a moral triumph through martyrdom. The hero and heroine, Laon and Cythna, based on Baker's idea, represent "human passion in its most universal character by typifying the indomitable human spirit which aspires after excellence and is devoted to the love of mankind."⁵³⁵ They are ideal characters, reflecting the counterparts of Shelley's mind and desire; Laon is an idealistic and Platonic lover and Cythna is an ideal soul-mate symbolizing the Ideal Beauty. They struggle against tyranny that is manifested in Othman who represents a man-made institution and superstitions, the evil of established power.

With its oriental background and local color, the poem possesses the characteristic of an oriental poem and reflects Shelley's interest in the Orient, however, Meester believes that "these are merely external facts, for neither the local colouring nor the spirit of the poem is oriental"⁵³⁶.

⁵³³ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 69-70.

⁵³⁴ Baker, Carlos. *Shelley's Major Poetry: The Fabric of a Vision*. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1961. P. 65.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 63.

⁵³⁶ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*.

Shelley's "From the Arabic: An Imitation" (1820), indicates the influence of the Oriental Literature and sentiment on his poetry, which, according to Meester, is "directly influenced by the Orient", an "adaptation of a passage in *Antar*, a Bedoween Romance, by Terrick Hamilton", an abridged translation of an extensive romance, *Sirat Antar*, based on the adventures of the sixth century Arabian poet, Antara Ibn Shaddad.⁵³⁷ The main poem is referred to in the *Moallakat*, which was translated by Jones as *The Moallakat: or seven Arabian poems, which were suspended on the temple at Mecca; with a translation, and arguments* (1783).

Hewitt relates "the extension of the first rhyme" and "genuine Persian accent"⁵³⁸ of Shelley's poem to Jones's translation of "The Muse Recalled: An Ode of Jami".⁵³⁹ Similarly, Yohannan considers the poem as a probable imitation of Jones and the structure of ghazal:

[Shelley's] "From the Arabic" is more likely an imitation of the translations of Jones. Nevertheless, with its combination of rhyme and refrain, it closely approximates the *ghazal* form in its opening lines:

My faint spirit was sitting in the light
Of thy looks, my love;
It panted for thee like the hind at noon
For the brooks, my love.⁵⁴⁰

Like *Alastor*, Shelley sets his greatest idealistic poem, *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), a lyrical closet drama in four acts, in an Oriental background, in the valley of Kashmir. Its plot is based on Aeschylus's lost version of the legend of the liberation of Prometheus, who, in Greek mythology, appears as Man's savior and benefactor, for which he is punished by Zeus. Prometheus was destined to eternal suffering for incurring the wrath of Zeus and Zeus had him chained to a rock in the Caucasus, the same setting in *Alastor*, where Prometheus remains, at the end of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*, keeping a secret, that if Zeus and Thetis should marry, their son

Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 41.

⁵³⁷ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. p.41.

⁵³⁸ Hewitt, R.M. "Harmonious Jones", *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XXVIII (1942). p. 53

⁵³⁹ Nilchian, Elham. "Shelley's Quest for Persian Love". *The Comparatist*, Volume 40, 2016. p. 233.

⁵⁴⁰ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1952), p. 152.

would dethrone his father, Zeus. Unless he reveals the secret, Prometheus is condemned to remain in chains. In *Prometheus Unbound*, now lost, Prometheus was saved by Hercules. In Shelley's drama, Prometheus remains in pain until Demogorgon, the destined son of Zeus and Thetis, overthrows his father and then Prometheus is unbound by Hercules.⁵⁴¹

Cannon believes that Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* has been influenced by Jones' "A Hymn to Kamdeo" (1787), which according to Jones was "the only correct specimen of Hindu mythology that had yet appeared in general translations"⁵⁴²:

In the prose argument he praises the strikingly new and beautiful allegories of the Indian Cupid. In the Hymn Jones describes Kamdeo's bow of sugar cane or flowers, with its string of bees, and his five arrows that are pointed with Indian blossoms of a heating quality. Jones also describes Kamdeo's attempt to wound Mahadeo, for which he was reduced to a mental essence. (Shelley's "planet-crested shape" of Love with "the lightning braided pinions" in *Prometheus Unbound* is much like Jones's "starry-crown'd" ' Kamdeo with "locks in braids ethereal streaming.")⁵⁴³

What is significant in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, is the concept of love; the love between Prometheus and Asia which spreads throughout the world and rectifies conceivable ills; it is the birth of love, after the death of hatred, the surviving element that liberates Prometheus.

In his preface to *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley proclaims that his purpose in writing the poem is "to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealism of moral excellence". He then adds, "until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope, and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness".⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴¹ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prometheus_Unbound_\(Shelley\)#cite_ref-1](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prometheus_Unbound_(Shelley)#cite_ref-1)

⁵⁴² Cannon has adopted this citation from Jones' *Memoirs*, p 245.

⁵⁴³ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 69.

⁵⁴⁴ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Prometheus Unbound* (A Variorum Edition). Edited by Lawrence John Zillman. Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1960. p. 127.

Shelley creates a new myth from the old one whose subject, to quote Wheatley, is "the transition of Prometheus from a state of suffering to the state of happiness; together with a corresponding change in the situation of mankind".⁵⁴⁵ Shelley chooses the old passive machinery of the Greek myth and turns it to a dynamic drama in which the protagonist is no longer a passive sufferer. He takes human mind beyond the actual world to dream of an ideal world, an Arcadia in which love and justice dominate.

As "the merest spirit of ideal poetry"⁵⁴⁶, *Prometheus Unbound* presents an idealistic vision of a future Arcadia ruled by love as the dominant force and the most powerful weapon by which man can face any possible evil. So, Shelley becomes the architect of a universe idealized by love, peace and harmony with no conflict and incongruousness. His *Prometheus Unbound* harbingers a future in which his dreams are fulfilled, and, as Baker says, is "one of those dreams of what ought to be or may be in the distant future".⁵⁴⁷ The play demonstrates Shelley's idea in his *Defence of Poetry* when he describes the poet as a prophet "who beholds the future in the present".⁵⁴⁸

"The whole of the poem", says Baker, "is the biography of an hour"⁵⁴⁹ and Prometheus is waiting for its arrival: the hour of man's redemption. This hour in which Prometheus repents his three-thousand-year curse upon Jupiter, and Jupiter is dragged down from his throne, an hour that arrives after thirty centuries at the moment of the action's opening. Thus, Shelley portrays an Arcadia in which evil loses its power and can "torment no more" (I, 820), where man is no longer moved by hatred. Shelley, like Sufis, places love in a realm that transcends earth, time, and death. He believes that the only way to man's salvation is through admitting love and sympathy and erasing hatred from his mind. Shelley, according to Pierce, considers love not only as a "remedy for personal suffering", but also as a "force for social cohesion",⁵⁵⁰ like Sufis who believe that with the

⁵⁴⁵ Wheatley, Kim. *Shelley and His Readers: Beyond Paranoid Politics*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. p.114.

⁵⁴⁶ Solve, Melvin T. *Shelley: His Theory of Poetry*. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1964. p.107.

⁵⁴⁷ Baker, Carlos. *Shelley's Major Poetry: The Fabric of a Vision*. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1961. p. 113.

⁵⁴⁸ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *A Defence of Poetry and Other Essays*. Biblioteca Virtual Universal, 2008. p. 43.

⁵⁴⁹ Baker, Carlos. *Shelley's Major Poetry: The Fabric of a Vision*. p.96.

⁵⁵⁰ Pierce, John B. "'Mont Blanc' and Prometheus Unbound: Shelley's Use of the Rhetoric of Silence." *Keats-Shelley Journal* 38(1989): 103-126.

power of love it is possible to overcome everything. Shelley believes in a kind of sympathetic and idealistic vision of love. In his *Defence of Poetry* he declares that:

The great secret of morals is love; or a going out of our nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasure of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination.⁵⁵¹

Shelley's philosophy of Love, in Lolo'i's words, is "influenced by Neo-Platonism, and is essentially an explanation of the doctrine of emanation which is shared between Sufism and Platonic ideals. Shelley, like Emerson, sought Ideal Beauty and the Universal Soul, and many of his poems reflect and record such a search".⁵⁵² This love, according to Lolo'i, is a significant motif in most of Shelley's poems including *"Alastor, Prometheus Unbound, Adonis* and the *locus classicus* of his poetry of Divine Love, *Epipsychidion*".⁵⁵³ Shelley's principle of thinking, according to her, is similar to Sufism, based on their common origin in Greek philosophy; "Jones compares Hafiz's poetry to Spenser's neo-Platonic poem *An Hymn in Honour of Love*; likewise, Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* has been compared to Spenser's *Hymn*".⁵⁵⁴

Like previous works by Shelley, his deep concern for "Jonesian-rendered Hinduism is evident throughout *Prometheus Unbound*".⁵⁵⁵ In addition to oriental and Indian music, opera and Italian music were effective in shaping Shelley's "structure and compositions of poems including *The Triumph of Life* (1822) and *Prometheus Unbound* (1819)".⁵⁵⁶

In *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley deals with the doctrines of ideal beauty and divine love, similar to what exists in Persian Sufi poetry. Cannon discusses that Shelley's

⁵⁵¹ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *A Defence of Poetry and Other Essays*. Biblioteca Virtual Universal, 2008. p. 6.

⁵⁵² Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry" by Parvin Lolo'i, (279-292) p. 286.

⁵⁵³ Ibid. p. 286.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 286.

⁵⁵⁵ Franklin, Michael J. Ed. *Romantic Representations of British India*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006. p. 128.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 180.

"'planet-crested shape' of Love with 'the lightning braided pinions' in Prometheus Unbound is much like Jones's 'starry-crown'd' Kamdeo with 'locks in braids ethereal streaming.'"⁵⁵⁷

Shelley's Prometheus is an image of the mind of man in its universal aspect, and the negation of the principle of authority. He represents humanity and the liberation of the mind of Man; and this liberation is symbolic of man's dignity. He is the ideal vision of man, an imaginative abstraction of earthly man and his ideals. He is a typical, immortal, and mythological figure rather than a realistic one, an exclusively positive model, representing contemplation, philosophy, and wisdom and, as Shelley says in his Preface to Prometheus Unbound, he is "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends,"⁵⁵⁸ like a Sufi who acquires the highest perfection as the negation of self and unification with his eternal and divine beloved .

3. 1. 7. John Keats (1795 –1821)

Although Keats's references to the Orient are less prominent than those of other Romantic poets, reviewers, in Warren's words, "label Keats's style as simultaneously luxuriant and 'Oriental,' even when little or no explicit reference to the East appeared in the poetry itself"⁵⁵⁹. His Orient, according to Warren, is interlaced with "an explicit theorization of two already interrelated subjects: modernity's belatedness to Greek antiquity, and the poetic imagination".⁵⁶⁰

Keats was introduced to the circle of literary men of his era, including Shelley and Wordsworth, through Hunt, resulting in the production of his first volume of *Poems by John Keats* in 1817. By that time, the influences of Persian literature, emerged from Sir William Jones and followed by his adherents, reached the point that oriental literature and significant Persian poets were almost familiar to the

⁵⁵⁷ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 69

⁵⁵⁸ Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Prometheus Unbound* (A Variorum Edition). Edited by Lawrence John Zillman. Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1960. p. 97.

⁵⁵⁹ Warren, Andrew. *The Orient and the Young Romantics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. p. 231.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 232.

English literary men. Like his precedent Romantic poets, through his readings of Sir William Jones and other Orientalists of the age, along with Beckford's *Vathek* and the *Arabian Nights*, Keats developed his understanding of the Orient; "the impacts of Jones' discoveries in India", as Cannon states, "paved the way for the new way of thinking and feeling, that we associate with the mystical visions of William Blake and the poetry of Keats and Wordsworth".⁵⁶¹

While Shelley propounded the idea of moral goodness in considering "the pains and pleasure of his species" as "his own" with the "great instrument of imagination,"⁵⁶² Keats brings up the notion of "negative capability", as a requirement for art. In a letter to his brothers in 1817, Keats presented his idea of "negative capability" as he talks over Shakespeare's creativity:

...At once it struck me, what quality went to form a Man of Achievement, especially in literature, and which Shakespeare possessed so enormously —I mean Negative Capability, that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason...⁵⁶³

According to what Keats discusses, the poet becomes a selfless entity who devotes his own self to signify others, similar to Shelley's explanation of moral goodness. This conception of negation of self is comparable to what Sufis experience, a sort of devotion for love. Tracing the mutual origins for Sufism and Keats' philosophy in human heart, Rodriguez states:

Love is the heart's experience and the heart is the center of 'mystic physiology', as Sufis call it, known as an 'eye' whose supreme vision is of the divine form. In short, the power of the heart, its love, is a secret force or energy which perceives and knows purely; in its unveiled state the heart is like a mirror in which the divine is reflected. This power is called *himmā* by Sufis, *enthymesis* by Gnostics, and Negative Capability by Keats.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶¹ Cannon, Garland and Kevin Brine. Editors. *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1995. p. 17.

⁵⁶² Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *A Defence of Poetry and Other Essays*. Biblioteca Virtual Universal, 2008. p. 6.

⁵⁶³ Keats, John. *The Complete Poetical Works and Letters of John Keats*, Cambridge Edition. Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1899. p. 277.

⁵⁶⁴ Rodriguez, Andres. *Book of the Heart: The Poetics, Letters, and Life of John Keats*. New York: Lindisfarne Press, 1993. p. 46.

Persian mystical poetry, or Sufi poetry, features the loss or negation of self or "Negative capability" as one of its prominent themes. Through the poet's "Negative Capability", self-loss and participation in the objects, he can identify himself with them so that he can be united with God. Klancher believes that Keats and Shelley were recognized for their talent to make senses into "intimations of transcendence", by which the origin of everything, for the poet, goes back to the senses, "after which the senses can be played with, jumbled together in kinesthesia, set against or with each other in visionary correspondences, associated with a godly voice."⁵⁶⁵

Bishnu Charan Dash, in an article entitled "The metaphysics of pain: Troubadours, Catharism, Buddhism and John Keats", has reconsidered the poetry of John Keats based on the Buddhism and Troubadourian aestheticism. He considers the initial point of "Indian Renaissance in England" subsequent to publication of the English translations of Sanskrit scripts by Orientalists like Charles Wilkins, Edward Moor, Thomas Maurice, Alexander Dow and "monumental translations of various Sanskrit texts besides very many Asiatic research papers contributed by the famous Orientalist Sir William Jones" who "opened a 'mine' for the romantic poets."⁵⁶⁶ Keats's acquaintance with Indian (Vedic) mythology and Buddhist philosophy, according to Dash, took place through reading "Maurice, Coleridge and Jones, who wrote series of hymns to Vedic gods and goddesses in form of translation". Also, Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty", "under the impact of Jones' nine hymns to deities like Narayan, Surya, Gayatri, Savitri, Durga, Kamadeva, Indra, Lakshmi and Bhavani", has been discussed by Dash as another source of inspiration for Keats in composing mystical poetry.⁵⁶⁷ Subsequently, Keats becomes so fervent about the Orient and India that he not only wants to visit that region personally, but also alludes to India in his poetry; for example, in the "Song of the Indian Maid" in *Endymion* (1V.33), Keats applies the invocation of " 'Indian Bliss', 'Indian maid', 'My sweetest Indian' and the 'Ganges,' the

⁵⁶⁵ Klancher, Jon. Ed. *A Concise Companion to the Romantic Age*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.p. 19.

⁵⁶⁶ Bishnu Charan Dash. " The metaphysics of pain: Troubadours, Catharism, Buddhism and John Keats". *Journal of Comparative Literature and Aesthetics*. 37.1-2 (Annual 2014). p.4.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid

most sacred river of India".⁵⁶⁸ Nigel Leask believes in the influence of Shelley on Keats in composing *Endymion* and identifies Keats' "Indian Maid" with Shelley's "Arab Maid" in *Alastor*.⁵⁶⁹

Endymion (1818), an extended narrative poem, in four books, deals with the title-character's archetypal quest for identity and the source of the joy, whose story has been taken from the Greek mythology that Keats read in Chapman's Homer, blended with his knowledge about the Orient. Endymion decides to search for the ethereal maiden he has viewed in a dream. In Book IV of this poetic romance, Keats epitomizes the Orient in the form of "an Indian Maid". The Indian maid appears as the embodiment of the Orient, with her "dark eyes" (IV. l. 505), reminiscent of Shelley's Arab Maiden in *Alastor*, "in search of pleasure throughout every clime" (l. 275). The poem which has been initiated based on Endymion's impossible wish to catch the love of the goddess Diana/ Cynthia, is concluded when he realizes the mortal Indian maiden he loved, returns in the ethereal form as the goddess, Diana, while "her long black hair swell'd ampler, in display / Full golden; in her eyes a brighter day / Dawn'd blue and full of love" (ll. 984–6).

Endymion is based on Keats' celebrated theme of his "Ode on a Grecian Urn", that "beauty is truth, truth beauty". The beauty of Endymion's vision in his dream, leads him in a quest for constant pleasure of that splendor, like the opening line of the first book: "A thing of beauty is a joy forever". The beautiful apparition vanishes, declines, and dies, but he never stops his affection for the beauty he witnessed, till he observes the immortal goddess, embodied in the mortal maiden.

Keats' idealism is a visionary one, similar to Shelley's, achieved in the ideal world of imagination. His desire for the Orient can be figured even from his early poems. His Petrarchan sonnet, "To the Nile" (1818), reveals this concern for the Orient, embodied in the Nile River in Egypt. He addresses the Nile as the "Son of the old Moon-

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid

⁵⁶⁹ Nigel Leask. *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. p. 125.

mountains African" and the "Chief of the Pyramid and Crocodile"(1-2), initiating with "pleasant sunrise" (13).

Keats' *Hyperion* (1819) deals with the anguish of the Titans after their fall to the Olympians, according to Greek mythology. Charan Dash believes that Keats has been influenced by Buddhist philosophy of "pleasant pain" and the "principle of pity and compassion" in composing the poem, though apparently the poem is based on Greek mythology:

In a poem like *Hyperion* which was supposed to be written as an escape into the remote world of Greek mythology from the misery of nursing the poet's dying brother, Keats tended to express an experience of agony and suffering relished by Saturn and raised the perennial question of how such unhappiness and agony were to be endured by immortals. Keatsian aesthetic in *Hyperion* reveals his deeper insight into the tragic aspects of life. Beauty is not only the fountain-source of 'joy' and 'truth' forever, it is also intertwined with pain and suffering. An experience bereft of sadness belongs to an inferior order of beauty, and as such a true votary of beauty, should search the 'most-soul searching sorrow' in the very 'Temple of Delight'. The path to real beauty lies therefore through the realm of sorrow. And obviously in *Hyperion*, beauty is perfectly blended with sorrow in the picture of Thea.⁵⁷⁰

On the other hand, Sir William Jones' hymns, which according to Schwab, stimulated "a passion for Asia among the poets of the Lake School"⁵⁷¹ and the German Romantics, was influential for Keats, too. His "A Hymn to Narayena"⁵⁷² (1785), in Pindaric odes, considered as Jones's best-known hymn and his finest trial in composing lyrical poetry, except for Wordsworth and Shelley, according to Cannon, was an influence on Keats. Cannon considers Jones's "description of the remote, primeval deity" in his "A Hymn to Narayena," as the possible source of inspiration for Keats's opening lines in *Hyperion*.⁵⁷³

Keats, like the other poets of the second generation, was the architect of beauty, and applied his imagination to shape an idealistic world ruled by man's inner self, love

⁵⁷⁰ Dash, Bishnu Charan. "The metaphysics of pain: Troubadours, Catharism, Buddhism and John Keats". *Journal of Comparative Literature and Aesthetics*. 37.1-2 (Annual 2014). pp.7-8.

⁵⁷¹ Schwab, Raymond, *The Oriental Renaissance*, p. 195.

⁵⁷² It was published in the first issue of *Asiatick Miscellany* in Calcutta.

⁵⁷³ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 70.

and beauty. He is the poet of *Hyperion*⁵⁷⁴ and *Endymion*,⁵⁷⁵ on whose death, Shelley evokes Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, and the representative of heavenly and spiritual love and the inspiration of the highest poetry, to mourn for Adonais.⁵⁷⁶

3. 2. The Translations of Hafiz after Sir William Jones

It was in 1801 that S. Rousseau prepared *The Flowers of Persian Literature*, an anthology "containing extracts from the most celebrated authors in prose and verse with a translation into English: being a companion to Sir William Jones's *Persian Grammar* to which is prefixed an essay on the Language of Persia", as printed on its cover. It provided several English translations of the Persian texts, in verse and prose by different Orientalists, including Jones. Some other translators of the era translated some parts of Firdausi's the *Shahnameh*; Joseph Champion (who translated some parts into English verse in 1785), and J. A. Atkinson (who tried his hand in a poetic translation of "Soohrab" in 1814), deserve to be mentioned here. Also, there were some periodicals such as the *Asiatic Journal*, in which Persian literary works were translated and analyzed by well-known Orientalists.

Hafiz enjoyed a significant popularity during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century. According to Arberry, Sir William Jones "had already printed in 1770 thirteen poems of Hafiz done into French rhyme; he also made versions in Latin and Greek verse".⁵⁷⁷ After Jones, some attempts took place to translate Hafiz. Translating Persian poetry into English verse, during the era, according to Arberry, became "a fashionable and admired exercise and Hafez became as much a household name as Horace. This was the age of Joseph Champion, John Richardson, John Nott, John Haddon Hindley; it was the age of Goethe and *The West-*

⁵⁷⁴ In Greek myth Hyperion was the name of a Titan who fathered of the Sun god (Helios), the Moon goddess (Selene), and the Dawn goddess (Eos).

⁵⁷⁵ In Greek mythology, Endymion was an Aeolian mortal, loved by the moon goddess Selene.

⁵⁷⁶ See Shelley's *Adonais* (1821), his elegy for the death of Keats.

⁵⁷⁷ Arberry, A. J. *Classical Persian Literature*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958. p. 333-4.

oestlicher Diwan, and Goethe paid handsome tribute to Jones' greatness and the immortal poetry of Hafez".⁵⁷⁸

John Richardson, in *A Specimen of Persian Poetry* (1774), Thomas Law in *Asiatick Miscellany*, vol. 1. Calcutta (1785), John Nott in *Select Odes from the Persian poet Hafez* (1787), John Haddon Hindley in *Persian Lyrics; or, scattered poems from the Diwan-i-Hafiz* (1800)⁵⁷⁹ tried their hands in translating Hafiz's poetry. All followed Jones in their style and manner of translation and in presenting Persian literature to the West, among whom Nott's (1751-1825) and Hindley's translations are briefly referred.

The English Review (1787), attributing a few pages to Nott's translation of Hafiz, considers Hafiz as "the greatest of all the poets who have written in the Persian language", then discusses the history of Shiraz, Hafiz's residence, and Hafiz's life. John Nott, according to this review, is defined as follows:

MR. Nott is the enthusiastical admirer of the eastern poetry. He is surprised at the absurdity of European scholars, who read with avidity the works of Homer and Anacreon, and never look into the performances of the oriental writers, from whom they borrowed all their ideas.⁵⁸⁰

Similarly, Yohannan, considers Nott among the first translators of Hafiz who "so struck with the similarity between Hafiz and Anacreon that actually uncertain who had influenced whom."⁵⁸¹

In his book entitled *Kitab-i Lalihzar az Divan-i Hafiz or Selected Odes From The Persian Poet, Hafez* (1787), Nott, not only has translated seventeen ghazals of Hafez's *Divan* into English verse, but also has presented a significant preface on Hafez, as well as some helpful critical notes. He frequently mentions Sir William Jones as the one whose name "will be ever dear to science and to taste [... a] gentle man, *nihil legebat*

⁵⁷⁸ Arberry, A. J. Editor. *Persian Poems: An Anthology of Verse Translations*. Tehran: Yassavoli Publications, 2005. Preface, p.v.

⁵⁷⁹ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 34.

⁵⁸⁰ *The English Review, Or, An Abstract of English and Foreign Literature*, Volume 10, London: Printed for J. Murray, 1787. (Art. IX. *Select Odes, from the Persian Poet Hafez, translated into English Verse ; with Notes Critical and Explanatory*. By John Nott. 4to. 10s. 6d. sewed. Cadell. London, 1787.) pp. 269-272

⁵⁸¹ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), pp. 137-160. (p. 144)

quod inde non decerperet [who] is now placed at the head of a learned society in Bengal".⁵⁸² In Nott's opinion,

Never was any good advancement made by us in [Persian] literature, till the publications of Sir William Jones. The method he took was a wise, and an effective method. He has not idly dealt in general observations, and a few cursory remarks; but (what the ablest scholar in our own, or, I believe, in any other nation, did, when he wished to establish the English language) he laboriously applied himself to the compilation of a Persian Grammar: having beforehand tempted the student to a perusal of it, by holding up to him in an English dress several delicious compositions; which shewed what sort of fruit we might expect, if we would but venture to climb the hill of learning to obtain it.⁵⁸³

Nott's book comprises the Persian poem, in its original form and structure, followed by its pronunciation in English, and then its translation into English. Being affected precisely by Jones, there are some occasional comparisons between his own translation and that of Jones, accompanied by explanations and the reasons based on which he has selected a different possible expression for the same word.

In different occasions, Nott praises Hafiz, the attraction of his poetry, and the beauty of his language. He compares Hafiz with Anacreon and believes in precise similarities between Persian and Greek literature:

Whether Anacreon borrowed the gaiety of his Odes from the Persian Gazel, or whether Hafez enriched his native language by an imitation of the Teian bard, I will not venture to determine. The similarity of sentiment is oftentimes wonderful. And perhaps it may be said of both; that they wrote not so much to the understanding, as to the heart.⁵⁸⁴

Nott's translations are rhymed and stylish, though they are not thoroughly faithful to the original poems. His translation of the famous ghazal of Hafiz, "Shirazi Turk", hitherto translated by Jones as "The Persian Song of Hafiz", is as follows:

O, Pride of Shiraz, nymph divine!
Accept my heart, and yield me thine:
Then were its price all Samarcand,
The wealth Bokhara's walls command;

⁵⁸² Nott, John. *Selected Odes From The Persian Poet, Hafez*; Translated into English Verse with Notes Critical and Explanatory. London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1787. (preface, p. v)

⁵⁸³ Ibid, Preface, p. viii.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid, p. ix.

That pretty mole of dusky die,
Thy cheek displays, I'd gladly buy.

Bring, bring the goblet, boy! let's drain
Each drop that it may yet contain ;
For sure, in all th'enchanted ground
Of paradise, there are not found
The fountain-brinks of Rocnabad,
Mosella's bow'rs with roses clad.

The tumult which these beauties raise,
With manners sweet, with wanton ways;
Whose charms our city's peace annoy,
Snatch from my breast each tranquil joy:
So Turks rapacious bear away
The viands their devoted prey.

True beauty scorns imperfect love,
That courts what art, and dress improve:
Can ought be wanting to that face,
To which the little mole gives grace,
A native bloom, complexion fair,
And ringlets of surrounding hair?

Girls whose brisk dance provokes to joy, -
And wine, thy converse should employ;
Nor with too much presumption try
The depths of vast futurity;
Such mysteries all wisdom's lore
Ne'er could nor ever can explore.

I know how once the wanton prest
The bashful stripling to her breast:
As Joseph's beauties riper grew,
Zuleikha's passion ripen'd too;
Till love, grown bold, at length threw by
Th'incumb'ring veil of chastity.

Let precept, and instruction sage,
My valued nymph, thy mind engage;
For docile youth will not despise
The dictates of the old, and wise;
To these it lends a willing ear,
And more than life esteems them dear.

The language anger prompts I bear;
If kind thy speech, I bless my fair:
But, is it fit that words of gall
From lovely lips, like thine, should fall?

Lips, that outblush the ruby's red,
With luscious dew's of sweetness fed!

The verses that compose thy song
Are pearls, in beauteous order strung:
Then, be the tuneful magic pour'd
From forth thy lips; for heav'n has show'r'd
Such brilliance, Hafez, on thy lays
As gilds the sparkling Pleiades.⁵⁸⁵

Nott's verse translation of this ghazal is a free translation, in which he has been almost faithful to the general content of the original poem, without closely following its form. Accordingly, as he has commented on the difficulty of a faithful translation of Hafiz's Ghazals "[he has] endeavoured, which is the great difficulty of the work, to be as faithful as possible to the original, and at the same time to accommodate it to the taste and understanding of the English reader".⁵⁸⁶

It seems that Nott has produced a similar version of Jones' translation of the Ghazal, by following Jones in translating each couplet (Bayt) of Hafiz's poem in six lines, however, while Hafiz's ghazal was transformed to a six line stanza rhyming "a b c a b c" by Jones, it has turned out to be a six line stanza rhyming "a a b b c c" by Nott. By the numerous additions and omissions, Nott's translation deviates from the original poem of Hafiz, whereas, it is closer to Jones'. Nott keeps the speaker-lover tone of Jones' translation and refers to the beloved as if she is present, while in the original text, she is addressed as the third person. The Shirazi Turk of Hafiz's ghazal, that turned out to be the "Sweet Maid" in Jones' translation, appears as "Pride of Shiraz" for Nott. However, some differences exist between the two translations; for example, in the last stanza, there is an opposition between the two translations; Jones has translated the couplet as:

Go boldly forth, my simple lay,
Whose accents flow with artless ease,
Like orient pearls at random strung:
Thy notes are sweet, the damsels say;
But O! Far sweeter, if they please
The nymph for whom these notes are sung.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 83-91

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 18.

while Nott has translated it as:

The verses that compose thy song
 Are pearls, in beauteous order strung:
 Then, be the tuneful magic pour'd
 From forth thy lips; for heav'n has show'r'd
 Such brilliance, Hafez, on thy lays
 As gilds the sparkling Pleiades

The "orient pearls at random strung" of Jones' translation is opposed to the "pearls in beauteous order strung" of Nott's. As Hafiz takes pride in his art and compares it to piercing the pearl, Nott's translation of the mentioned line has turned out to be a more accurate one. Besides, the convention of referring to the name of the poet in Ghazal (Takhalos), not mentioned in Jones' translation, has found its place in Nott's translation.

It was in 1800 that J. H. Hindley published his selection of eleven poems from Hafiz with prose and verse translations, entitled *Persian Lyrics; or, scattered poems from the Diwan-i-Hafiz*, accompanied by an attentive preface, in which he talked over copious problems in translating the Persian poetry specifically those of Hafiz's, the comments which have been repeated by the later translators. Hindley believes in the impossibility of a perfect translation "metrically or even prosaically" into English:

An obvious proof of this assertion will be found, on considering for a moment those oppugnancies, which occur so generally in the idiomatic construction of the languages of ENGLAND and IRAN, and which must ever most effectually militate against such closeness of version. Whatever might be looked for from favourable analogies, the frequent and varied allusions from words of similar sound and formation, though generally of exactly opposite signification, as well as the lively and often recondite *lusus verborum*, so common in the *Arabic* and *Persian*, and which, though strange, if not trifling, to a European ear, are, to the habitual feelings of the *Asiatic*, both choice and exquisite. These obstacles, I say, must alone render every chance of translative imitation in this case completely hopeless.⁵⁸⁷

The next undefeatable obstacle in the way of translation, according to Hindley, is presented in abundance of compounds, "as at times to croud whole stanzas with

⁵⁸⁷ Hindley, John Haddon. *Persian Lyrics; or, scattered poems from the Diwan-i-Hafiz*. London: Printed, at the Oriental Press, by Wilson & Co. Wild-Court, 1800. p. 5-6.

compound epithets", impossible to be replicated or imitated in English. Hindley, also, believes that "the mysterious and often sublime allusions so commonly represented to us in the Sufi poetry, under objects of sensual and voluptuous gratification", create difficulty in translation. Accordingly, Hafiz's poetry, replete with Sufi imagery, turns out to be difficult in translation.⁵⁸⁸ Another obstacle in translating Persian lyrics has to do with reproducing the mono-rhyme existed in Persian poetry:

The constant recurrence of the same rhyme, without any collateral support of tones to answer in division, is not suited to our language, which, as has been often observed by critics, will not bear reiterated monotonies. In such cases, then, he [the translator] may surely dispense with the minutia; of punctilious Imitation, provided he strictly confine himself to the prominent ideas of his original, where no eccentricities oppose him. In fact, it would be a manifest impossibility to adhere on all occasions to the same number of lines and stanzas.⁵⁸⁹

Hindley considers ghazal as Jones once described "Pearls, when strung at random", because in his view the ghazal comprises "unconnected composition", while each verse possesses its own "immediate imagery, and succeeding the other without any necessary analogy of idea".⁵⁹⁰

According to what he quotes from Sir William Jones, that he "would recommend a version in modulated, but unaffected Prose, in preference to rhymed couplets"⁵⁹¹, in his *Persian Lyrics*, Hindley has translated each poem twice, both in verse and in prose. In his verse translations, he follows both Jones and Nott by selecting free translation with similar tone and style. However, his choice of stanza length differs according to its variable and arbitrary arrangement of four to ten line stanza for each couplet of Hafiz's ghazal, rhyming a a b b c c, etc (similar to Nott's translation):

Fair maid of Shiraz, would'st thou take
My heart, and love it for my sake,
For that dark mole my thoughts now trace
On that sweet cheek of that sweet face,
I would Bokhara, as I live,
And Samarcand too, freely give.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 9-10.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid, p.10.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid. p. 79.

Empty the flagon, fill the bowl,
 With wine to rapture wake the soul:
 For, Edens self, however fair,
 Has nought to boast that can compare
 With thy blest banks, O Rocnabad !
 In their enchanting scen'ry clad ;
 Nor ought in foliage half so gay
 As are the bow'rs of Mosellay.

Insidious girls with syren eye,
 Whose wanton wiles the soul decoy,
 By whose bewitching charms beguil'd
 Our love-smit town is all run wild,
 My stoic heart ye steal away
 As Janissaries do their prey.

But, ah ! no laureat lovers' praise
 The lustre of those charms can raise:
 For, vain are all the tricks of art,
 Which would to nature ought impart;
 To tints, that angelize the face,
 Can borrow'd colours add new grace?
 Can a fair cheek become more fair
 By artificial moles form'd there?
 Or, can a neck of mould divine
 By perfum'd tresses heighten'd shine ?

Be wine and music, then, our theme;
 Let wizards of the future dream,
 Which unsolv'd riddle puzzles still,
 And ever did, and ever will.

By Joseph's growing beauty mov'd,
 Zuleikha look'd, and sigh'd, and lov'd,
 'Till headstrong passion shame defy'd,
 And virtue's veil was thrown aside.

Be thine, my fair, by counsel led,
 At wisdom's shrine to bow thy head;
 For, lovely maids more lovely shine
 Whose hearts to sage advice incline,
 Who than their souls more valued prize
 The hoary maxims of the wise.

But, tell me, Charmer, tell me why
 Such cruel words my ears annoy :
 Say, is it pleasure to give pain ?
 Can sland'rous gall thy mouth profane ?
 Forbid it, Heav'n ! it cannot be !

Nought that offends can come from thee :
 For, how can scorpion venom drip
 From that sweet ruby-colour'd lip,
 Which, with good nature overspread,
 Can nought but dulcet language shed?

THY Gazel-forming pearls are strung,
 Come, sweetly, HAFIZ, be they sung:
 For, Heav'n show'rs down upon thy lays
 Thoughts, which in star-like clusters blaze.⁵⁹²

Along with Jones' translations, the succeeding translations of Hafiz were read by the second generation of Romantic poets. If Jones introduced Hafiz to the West, his disciples helped to maintain the light that Jones had sparked. The translation of Hafiz, initiated in England, was also carried out by the Germans. Von Hammer-Purgstall's German translation (1812) of Hafiz's *Divan*, in verse and prose, deeply affected Goethe, Emerson and Tennyson and, as Peter Avery says, "played an important role, along with Orientalism, in revitalizing and renewing the literature and poetry of the Romantics".⁵⁹³

By the end of the eighteenth century, familiarity with Oriental cultures and literatures had been much improved due to the works of Sir William Jones and other Orientalists; grammars, articles, and translations of significant Oriental works from Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic were published, thereby increasing the Occident's knowledge about the Orient, and favoring the inspiration of British writers.

Saree Makdisi's essay dates the initiation of the British Romanticism era by Sir William Jones's 1772 "Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" and its decay by the historian, Thomas Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education", presented "in the context of a debate over the East India Company's education policy" in 1835.⁵⁹⁴ Jones's essay, according to Makdisi, "had helped make available to British writers a whole new cultural and literary world, on which they would steadily feast for the following five

⁵⁹² Ibid, pp. 47-49.

⁵⁹³ Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation, 2010. Peter Avery "Foreword: Hafiz of Shiraz". p. xxv.

⁵⁹⁴ Klancher, Jon. Ed. *A Concise Companion to the Romantic Age*. United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009. Saree Makdisi, "Romanticism and Empire", p. 36.

decades, transforming themselves and British literary culture in the process".⁵⁹⁵ It was Jones who compared Asia to "the midst of so noble an amphitheater" with "inexpressible pleasure" to stimulate British interest in the Orient. For him, Asia should be respected as "the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men".⁵⁹⁶

The British Romantic movement, originated, fostered and flourished through the manifestations of the Orient, represented in the translations of the Oriental works. Even *The Arabian Nights*, which would be later belittled by Said as "fantasies of childhood"⁵⁹⁷, was the source of inspiration for numerous Romantic poets. What Said fails to accept, as Fulford asserts, is the fact that:

For the Romantics, 'the child is father of the man': the whole burden of such revolutionary new works as *The Prelude* and *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* is to re-create, in writing, an adult self that has grown organically from the childhood self. As part of that childhood self, indeed as the origin of that love of stories and books that would lead the adult self to become a writer, the *Nights* were, and were acknowledged to be, fundamental and formative. In short, they were at least partly responsible for altering the course of English poetry.⁵⁹⁸

In the journey from the Orient to the Occident, Jones was a companion, a pioneer, whose footsteps cannot be erased from the literary works of the succeeding generations. He was the "first and foremost in the movement to make interesting Oriental works known in late eighteenth-century Europe, his translations — and Hymns — were read by most literary men of the time"⁵⁹⁹ and undoubtedly left an appreciated inheritance for poets so that he is considered as one of the crucial figures whose love for

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 36.

⁵⁹⁶ Jones's "Preliminary Discourse on the Institution of a Society", delivered on January 15, 1784, in Calcutta, cited in *A Handbook to the Reception of Classical Mythology*, Edited by Vanda Zajko and Helena Hoyle, 2017. p. 184.

⁵⁹⁷ Said, Edward W. *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1983.p. 271.

⁵⁹⁸ Makdisi, Saree & Felicity Nussbaum (Editors). *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. 214. ("Coleridge and the Oriental Tale" by Tim Fulford)

⁵⁹⁹ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 70.

the Orient, brightened the exotic lands, gloomy for centuries. His researches and translations went beyond the border of England and inspired the substantial figures such as Goethe (1749–1832) and Friedrich Ruckert (1788–1866), in examining Oriental themes in their poetry and later in American Transcendentalism.

Contrary to Said's hypothesis of domination and colonialism, the Romantic Movement was deeply affected by the Orient, not necessarily with "political vision" of the Orient and "combative awareness of the relations between the Orient and Europe".⁶⁰⁰ The literary men found their ideals in the tranquility of the mysterious vales of the East and the self-description of the English Romantic poets was the outcome of other-description, since the Orient became the source of inspiration, rather than be considered inferior, as described by Said. English Romanticism owed much to the Orientalists, their scholarly accounts, their translations and whatever they mirrored from the East. This is what Raymond Schwab voiced in his *The Oriental Renaissance* to be concluded later by Makdisi that "Not only did Romanticism develop out of the eighteenth-century interest in Orientalism [...], but Romanticism as we know it would not have developed without Orientalism"⁶⁰¹, so that most of the composed Romantic poetry of the period was the consequence of the interest in the Orient and the attempts of the Oriental scholars who unlocked the mysteries of the once ambiguous region.

⁶⁰⁰ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 192.

⁶⁰¹ Makdisi, Saree & Felicity Nussbaum (Editors). *The Arabian Nights in Historical Context: Between East and West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, Introduction, p. 5.

Chapter 4

Victorian Concept of the Orient

4.1. Oriental Influences in the English Poetry of the Victorian Era

In his *Fabulous Orientals*, Ballaster refers to the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first two of the nineteenth centuries, as the period covering "important political, social, economic, and ideological transitions across the globe. For Edward Said, this period sees the beginnings of 'Orientalism', the scientific claim to extensive and organized knowledge about the 'East'."⁶⁰² For Schwab, on the other hand, it is the herald of "Oriental Renaissance", and for this discussion, it is the establishment of literary and cultural development.

Orientalism in the Victorian period had its roots in the eighteenth century; historical events, taking place over the course of the century, turned many people's eyes towards the Orient. Also, the literary heritage left from the Romantics, affected the subsequent authors, so that echoes of the Romantic sentiment can be traced in the poetry of the era. "Fascination with oriental themes, settings, and narratives", as Ballaster argues, "continued to flourish in British writing throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,"⁶⁰³ so that Victorian poetry seems to be a bridge connecting the Romantic poetry to the modern poetry of the twentieth century.

In addition to the original sources, such as *The Arabian Nights*, which was retranslated in the nineteenth century, the Romantic images concerning the Orient, manifested in the works of the Romantic predecessors, became the source of inspiration for Victorian authors. Yet, "the Orientalist linguistic and cultural scholarship of William Jones, [...] and the Indian Orientalists' appreciation of Indian cultures were

⁶⁰² Ballaster, Ros. *Fabulous Orientals_ Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*. New York; Oxford University Press, 2005. p. 362.

⁶⁰³ Ibid, p. 374.

also significant factors"⁶⁰⁴ in the literary taste of the Victorian era. Schwab's principal idea in his *Oriental Renaissance*, focused on the discovery of Sanskrit and ancient oriental religious texts and the connection between Europe and India, seems to be sustained in the nineteenth century, resulting in the improvement of the Western understanding about the Orient.

The founders of the Oriental Renaissance, Sir William Jones and Antequil-Duperron (as Schwab considered them), were still among the influential figures of the age. Jones, as Meester discusses, "raised the taste for studying oriental literature, and this taste went on developing in the following years, especially as India became better known to the English people. They began to wish for more knowledge about the literatures, religions, and modes of thought of these Eastern races, so many of whom, in the course of the next years, became subjects of the British Empire".⁶⁰⁵

The "Oriental Translation Fund", as Meester denotes, was founded in 1828 to develop the Oriental studies under the patronage of King George IV. The Fund was also supported by the Royal Asiatic Society and most of the best known oriental scholars, whose purpose was "to translate such interesting and valuable Works on Eastern History, Science, and Belles-Lettres as are still in manuscript in the Libraries of the Universities, the British Museum, and the East-India-House, and in other collections, in Asia and Africa as well as in Europe".⁶⁰⁶

The Fund was active for about fifty years, allowing numerous works in different fields of study, to be published, among which translations from oriental literary works and travel accounts found a noteworthy place. However, as Meester points, "first and foremost in this movement still stands Sir William Jones. His translations were read by most literary men of the nineteenth century, and their influence is visible in the most famous poets of that period... besides this direct influence that he had on various

⁶⁰⁴ Kennedy, Valerie. "Orientalism". Oxford Research Encyclopedias (on line).
<https://oxfordre.com/literature/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-226>

⁶⁰⁵ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 9.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid, p.9.

English poets, there is the indirect one of having generally drawn the attention to oriental literature."⁶⁰⁷ Jones was present in most part of the Romantic poetry, discussed in the previous chapter, and this presence echoed in the nineteenth century poetry, either in the works that selected an Oriental background or in translating Oriental works, an increasing tendency among the scholars which led to significant literary productions throughout the age.

Among the most influential sources of inspiration for the authors of both Romantic and Victorian ages was *The Arabian Nights* or *The Thousand and One Nights*, presented first to the West by the French translation of Antoine Galland in 1704–1717, undergoing numerous English translations till other translators, including Edward Lane (1838–1841) and Richard Burton (1885–1886) retranslated it in the nineteenth century. Galland's translation covered less than a quarter of all the original tales, which contained some Persian, Turkish and Arabic tales, modified based on the Western taste.

The Arabian Nights, provided an authentic window for English readers into the East; they were like an encyclopedia on which they sought all the images and mysteries concerning the Orient; people, sceneries, customs, relationships presented in their most vivid and truthful picture, not easy to be erased from memory. The descriptions were so precise that the authors could rely on them to describe the scenes they never visited in reality. Meester defines the indebtedness of some authors to the visual imagery in *Arabian Nights* and says:

The oriental world has become familiar to us by the means of the *Arabian Nights*: the streets of Baghdad, its gardens on the banks of the Tigris, El-Basrah, Cairo and Damascus, all these towns with their lively bazaars and hareems, their merchants, dervishes, Persian and African visitors, their water-carriers, story-tellers and fishermen. But not only the real oriental world, also an imaginary world of wonderful palaces built in a night and transplanted to another part of the earth in a night, cities of brass and of black marble, flying horses, magic carpets Jinn and Efreets shut up in a bottle sealed with the seal of Suleyman. ⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 10-11.

⁶⁰⁸ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p.14.

Soon the *Arabian Nights* became a primary unavoidable textbook, the reading of which was advised for whoever was interested in Oriental subjects.⁶⁰⁹ It not only turned out to be one of the most significant sources of inspiration in composing Oriental poetry during the Romantic and Victorian ages, but also inspired several scholars to try their hands in retranslating the tales in different languages.⁶¹⁰

The works of the Romantic poets can be considered as another source which provided the Victorian authors with Oriental themes and imagery. The most prominent authors influenced by the Orient, with the Oriental elements in their poetry, were Matthew Arnold, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Robert Browning, Edward FitzGerald, and Rudyard Kipling, whose poetry in several occasions contains "the use of Oriental themes and settings as images of an alternative to or an escape from a rapidly evolving capitalist society [and] develops into a more explicit critique of Victorian society, as it does in fiction and travel writing".⁶¹¹

By the culmination of the eighteenth century, Persia is introduced to the English community, due to the attempts of Orientalist scholars such as Sir William Jones. By the nineteenth century, Persian studies were being "firmly established and incidentally spreading from Britain to the Continent where they engaged the interest of such men as Voltaire and Goethe"⁶¹². Victorian literary men such as Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Edward FitzGerald, Matthew Arnold and several others had interest in Persia and reflected this interest in their works. Also, due to Sufism being in agreement with Christian ethics, a considerable number of Persian Sufi works were translated in the nineteenth century in England, among which, Richard Chenevix Trench's *Poems from Eastern Sources* (1842), including the works of several Persian Sufi poets, can be mentioned.

⁶⁰⁹ See Chapter 3.

⁶¹⁰ Workman, Nancy V. *A Victorian Arabian Nights Adventure: A Study in Intertextuality*. Doctoral Dissertation. Loyola University Chicago, 1988. Passim.

⁶¹¹ Kennedy, Valerie. "Orientalism". Oxford Research Encyclopedias (on line).
<https://oxfordre.com/literature/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-226>

⁶¹² Arberry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London, 1943. p. 18.

Now, orientalism had a profound history behind, looking forward to a more mature identity; it was not restricted to the Oriental settings and exotic features of the distant lands, rather it turned to be more complicated and its culmination can be traced in FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat*. In addition to the Oriental settings, established in English poetry of the era, Oriental literature turned out to be a sort of inspiration for creating literary works based on the translations, imitations and adaptations of Oriental masterpieces.

What is going to be discussed in this chapter surely depicts just a limited sample of the Victorian poetry affected by the Orient, and a limited number of poets. Several other Victorian poets, not discussed here, were also affected by the Orient and Orientalism. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Victorian poetry, like that of any other age, can be discussed from many more angles, the extensiveness of which exceeds the dimensions of this discussion.

4.1.1. Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809 –1892)

The legacy of Jones' Orientalism and the effects of his poetry and translation might seem to be waned during the nineteenth century. However, the fruits of his works did not diminish, so that the effects of his efforts can be seen in Tennyson's poetry. Yohannan opens his article, "Tennyson and Persian Poetry", by referring to Tennyson as the only one, among the major English poets of the nineteenth century with "an acquaintance with Persian poetry", who "knew how to read Persian":

This was one of the fruits of his friendship with the only man who has been able to bring the poetry of Persia into the main stream of English literature, Edward Fitzgerald. Tennyson's readings in Persian had an influence upon his poetic production... Yet even before he came into first-hand contact with the poets of Persia, he gave evidence of having acquired some knowledge of them in the translations of Sir William Jones and his fellow Orientalists.⁶¹³

Tennyson's acquaintance with the Oriental literature was acquired through reading the translations of Sir William Jones early in his life. It was in the first volume of

⁶¹³ Yohannan, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian Poetry". *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), p. 83.

his poems, the *Poems by Two Brothers* (1827), that Tennyson revealed his awareness of Sir William Jones' translations, declared in the notes to the poems. Also, in his Oriental and historical poem, *The Expedition of Nadir Shah into Hindostan* (1827), regarding 'Nadir Shah'(1688–1747), the emperor of Persia from 1736 to 1747, Tennyson was dependent on Sir William Jones' *History of Nadir Shah* as his main source of inspiration. Nadir Shah, described in history as the Napoleon or Alexander of Persia, for his conquests, is condemned as the representative of despotism and devastation in India, while the people of Delhi turn out to be the objects of sympathy in Tennyson's poetry.

Tennyson's early Romantic poem, "Recollections of the Arabian Nights", in fourteen eleven-line stanzas, was published in his collection, *Poems Chiefly Lyrical* (1830), based on the impact of the *Arabian Nights*, translated by Antoine Galland in 1704-1717. The power of Oriental images on the mind of the young poet, who had been charmed by the Romantic imagination, was the same ardent enthusiasm that stimulated the Romantics to compose their Oriental poetry. Like the Romantics, Alfred Tennyson, according to Cavaliero, had "the dream of a golden past. When Tennyson came upon the 'great Pavilion of the Caliphate', he was safely evoking the 'golden prime of good Haroun Alraschid' and the innocence of *The Arabian Night*."⁶¹⁴ There he witnessed the extravagance of affluence all over. Even the night sky was covered by the outstanding light whose source was the pavilion of Caliphate.

Tennyson's *Arabian Nights*, originated from *The Arabian Nights*, while different from it, paints a sequence of fascinating representations, stimulated Tennyson's imagination by his memories of the *Arabian Nights*, mainly the story of "Nur Al-Din Ali and the Damsel Anis al Jalis", on the Thirty-sixth Night. Tennyson, as Goslee says, "virtually drags the speaker through the surrounding exoticism to behold first the throne and then the face of 'good Haroun Alrashid'."⁶¹⁵ In depicting the Oriental pictures in the poem, as Yohannan declares, "Tennyson was not relying upon the *Arabian Nights* entirely for his oriental touches; nor, for that matter, upon the exaggerated descriptions

⁶¹⁴ Cavaliero, Roderick. *Ottomania: The Romantics and the Myth of the Islamic Orient*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010. p. 61.

⁶¹⁵ Goslee, David. *Tennyson's Characters: Strange Faces, Other Minds*. University of Iowa Press, 1989. p. 23.

in the oriental tale of the eighteenth century-Vathek, for instance. In short, Tennyson had read Sir William Jones."⁶¹⁶

The speaker of "Recollections of the Arabian Nights" remembers his sweet memories of childhood when "the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free/ In the silken sail of infancy" in "the golden prime/ Of good Haroun Alraschid⁶¹⁷", a phrase by which Tennyson finalizes every stanza with a description of those sweet days. Bagdat (Baghdad), a city in which the speaker was born, is depicted as a paradise with "shrines of fretted gold" and "high-walled gardens green and old". He longs for "that marvellous time" and for the magnificence of Baghdad. The poem, like those of the Romantic poets, is filled with the Oriental images and settings. The speaker refers to several Oriental images in his poetry such as the "breeze of a joyful dawn", the image of garden, the nightingale and rose. "Bulbul" (nightingale), a well-known "Persian trope, made popular by Sir William Jones', the authoritative translator of Persian verse"⁶¹⁸, that seems "truly central, occupying 'middle night' and the seventh of fourteen stanzas, and performing the crucial imaginative feat of mingling the contraries [...]bulbul and sultan are alike the great artificers of the realm".⁶¹⁹ Also, Mazzeno refers to Tennyson as a "Romantic poet" whose early poems, such as "Recollections of the Arabian Nights", have been celebrated by Bloom, because they "demonstrate the poet's ability to display his creative imagination before he let himself be overcome by the need to use his work for social instruction".⁶²⁰

Through Jones, Tennyson became familiar with the Persian legends of Gul and Bulbul (Rose and Nightingale) and other familiar images of Persian poetry. Inspired by

⁶¹⁶ Yohannan, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian Poetry". *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), p.84.

⁶¹⁷ Haroun Al-Rashid (766 –809), ruled 786-809 A.D., as the caliph of Bagdad, in present-day Iraq, eminent for his courage and splendor, and for his patronage of literature and art. Some parts of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, or the *Arabian Nights*, were managed in his court and involved Harun himself.

⁶¹⁸ Ebbatson, Roger. *Landscapes of Eternal Return: Tennyson to Hardy*. Lancaster, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. p. 56. The main quotation refers to Roderick Cavaliero in his *Ottomania: The Romantics and the Myth of the Islamic Orient*. London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010.

⁶¹⁹ Quotation first has been told by Timothy Peltason in his "The Embowered Self: 'Mariana' and 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights'", *Victorian Poetry*, 21 (1983), 337. Goslee has cited it in his *Tennyson's Characters: Strange Faces, Other Minds*, p. 265.

⁶²⁰ Mazzeno, Laurence W. *Alfred Tennyson: the critical legacy*. New York: Camden House, 2004. p. 127.

Persian literature, in which the nightingale is the symbol of the lover and the rose, the female beloved, Tennyson refers to the nightingale as masculine:

Far off, and where the lemon-grove
 In closest coverture upsprung,
 The living airs of middle night
 Died round the bulbul as he sung;
 Not he: but something which possess'd
 The darkness of the world, delight, (ll. 69-72)

Yohannan believes that Tennyson's choice has been based on the Persian legend "in making the bird male, instead of female as she is in the Greek legend of Philomela. As W. J. Rolfe has pointed out, 'it is only the male bird that sings'; therefore the Persian poets are more correct in their ornithology than the Greeks."⁶²¹

Tennyson concludes the poem with the speaker's admiration of Haroun Alraschid. The poem implies Tennyson's deep interest in the Orient and his thorough knowledge to portray it. He never went to the Oriental lands, but created magnificent pictures based on his imagination and the translated works he had studied. His production of the poem was the consequence of the fascination of the *Arabian Nights*, he once read.

"The Kraken" first appeared in *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, 1830, a Petrarchan sonnet in fifteen lines, rhyming abab cddc efeaefe. Based on a Norse legend, the Kraken is an enormous sea-monster found on the coast of Norway that is said to cause enormous whirlpools. Tennyson defines the sleeping bulk of *the Kraken*, its ultimate manifestation on the surface of the sea, and the subsequent death. The poem opens with the description of the sleeping monster in the depth of the sea, invisible to human beings. In the concluding lines, it is revealed that ultimately *the Kraken* will rouse, and will transport its power to man and angels, and then will die. Tennyson refers to the dormant powers or concealed emotions that one day burst, however like the Kraken, they will die in confronting the reality.

⁶²¹ Yohannan, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian Poetry". *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), p. 85.

In her analysis of Tennyson's "The Kraken", Armstrong compares Tennyson to Coleridge and the poem to the tradition of Coleridge's early prophetic poetry such as 'Religious Musings' or 'The Destiny of Nations'; "Like Coleridge, Tennyson, with his combined reading of Nordic legend and of Sir William Jones' account of the myths of the Orient (which were thought to be the legends of the earliest beginnings of civilisation), conflates and reconfigures legend to provide symbols of catastrophic change."⁶²²

Tennyson's serious study of the original Persian texts happened in 1840s (about 1846) when he began learning Persian. Professor Edward B. Cowell acquired a crucial function in "bringing a genuine Persian strain into the main stream of Victorian literature through his acquaintance with Edward FitzGerald and Alfred Tennyson".⁶²³ Tennyson was acquainted with Sir William Jones and Persian poetry via FitzGerald and the medium of FitzGerald's own awareness of Persian literature was Cowell. Tennyson enjoyed reading Hafiz. He even translated some of his ghazals. In a letter to E. B. Cowell, on June 8, 1854, FitzGerald wrote:

Tennyson and I have been trying at some Hafiz in Sir W. Jones' Poeseos. Will you correct and send back the enclosed as soon as you can_giving us the *meter* and sound of any words very necessary to the music. Also tell us of any Odes to be got at in the Poeseos or Elsewhere giving us the *meter*. A. T. *will* only look at Hafiz—in whom he takes interest. ⁶²⁴

"Aided by Sir William Jones' *Grammar*", as Yohannan says, Tennyson "managed to get on pretty well with the odes of Hafiz. He apparently confided to Cowell the opinion that Hafiz was the most Persian of the Persian poets, a remark which Fitzgerald took to mean that he was "the best musician of words."⁶²⁵

Like the Romantic poets, through his reading of Sir William Jones, the German translation of Hafiz, and the works such as Goethe's *West-ostlicher Divan*, Tennyson came to know Persian Sufism. However, as Peter Avery writes, the influence of Hafiz seems to be visible "most forcefully among all the Romantics; the Sufi imagery frequent

⁶²² Armstrong, Isobel. *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1996. p.52

⁶²³ Encyclopedia Iranica; Persian Influences in English and American Literature.

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/english-2-persian-influences>

⁶²⁴ Edward Fitzgerald. *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald, Volume 2: 1851-1866*. Edited by Alfred Mckinley Terhune and Annabelle Burdick Terhune. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980.p. 131.

⁶²⁵ Yohannan, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian Poetry". *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), p.87.

in Hafiz appears prominently in Tennyson's own poetry as well,"⁶²⁶ from which, according to Loloi, the "mystical imagery of Hafiz occurs repeatedly in such poems as *The Princess*, 'The Gardener's Daughter', 'The Day Dream', 'Vision of Sin', 'Akbar's Dream', [The Lover's Tale] and *In Memoriam*". In a comparison between Hafiz's poems and Tennyson's, Loloi argues that one can discern the "direct echoes of Hafiz" in Tennyson's poetry.⁶²⁷

Long before he could read Persian scripts, he was familiar with Sufism through the works of the Romantics and his reading of their translations. Leonard Lewisohn considers Blake and Byron, among the significant Romantic sources through which, Tennyson knew Sufism:

Tennyson's attitude toward religious diversity, obviously influenced by his reading of Persian and Mughal Sufi poetry, are echoed in Byron's comment (jotted down in a footnote to his poem *The Giaour* [l. 734] written in 1813) that "On a still evening, when the Muezzin has a fine voice . . . the effect is solemn and beautiful beyond all the bells in Christendom." Byron, like Tennyson, knew Persian poetry quite well. He had read Hafiz and Sa'di, and was himself adept in the doctrines...Blake, it also should be recalled, in 1788, had etched a short tract entitled "All Religions are One," where he preaches that "The Religions of all Nations are derived from each Nation's reception of the Poetic Genius, which is everywhere call'd the Spirit of Prophecy."⁶²⁸

Yohannan points out the idea of veil in Tennyson's poetry and associates it with the Sufi philosophies in the poetry of Hafiz. Veil, "a hindrance which falls between the Man and the Over-Soul,"⁶²⁹ is what comes between man and God, so that God can be observed and felt by the unveiled heart. Even in Sufi philosophy, man's material self (body) is a veil between him and God, without which, after death, he can perceive the divine creator and be united with Him. "The soul of the Sufi, longs to return to God, from whom it has been separated by the mortal veil of the body"⁶³⁰. Accordingly, the world is "the

⁶²⁶ Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. p. xxv. (Foreword)

⁶²⁷ Ibid, Parvin Loloi, "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth Century and American Poetry". p. 290.

⁶²⁸ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. Leonard Lewisohn, "English Romantics and Persian Sufi Poets: A Wellspring of Inspiration for American Transcendentalists". p. 39-40.

⁶²⁹ Ibid, Mansur Ekhtiyar. "The Chronological Development of Emerson's Interest in Persian Mysticism", p. 62.

⁶³⁰ Bell, Gertrude Lowthian. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1897. p. 37.

self-revelation of God and it is the aspiration of the mystic to pierce the veil of outer things to see the Truth."⁶³¹ This veil, according to Yohannan, is referred to, in Tennyson's poetry, such as the last stanza of section LVI of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*:

O Life as futile, then, as frail!
O for the voice to soothe and bless!
What hope of answer, or redress?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.

This is the same veil in "Fitzgerald's translation of Omar ('There was a veil past which I could not see,' xxxii)". FitzGerald and Tennyson must have been inspired by the same source for the common idea of veil, and according to Yohannan, this shared source was the translated poems of Hafiz:

Tennyson must have come upon the expression in Hafiz, or for that matter anywhere else in Persian poetry, where the phrase *pass-i-pardah* (behind the veil) is common, especially when used in the mystical sense of that which divides the known from the unknown. In Hafiz, for instance, we read, "How do you know behind the veil who is lovely and who is hateful?" This is the sense, more or less, in which Tennyson again uses the phrase in "The Holy Grail" to describe Percival's momentary glimpse of the Grail:

And o'er his head the Holy Vessel hung
Redder than any rose, a joy to me,
For now I knew the veil had been withdrawn.⁶³²
(520-22)

Tennyson's "Akbar Dream" (1892), in a dramatic monologue by the Mughal emperor Akbar addressed to his counselor, Abul Fazl, illustrates his ideas concerning Sufism and his toleration of different religions. Disappointed with the current religious traditions, Akbar the Great (1542-1605), desires to generate religious unity in his territory; accordingly, he employs an eclectic principle derived from different doctrines, known as 'Din-e Ilahi', compatible with the divine love in Sufism, and beyond the religious differences; a heritage from Hafiz's poetry. In his "Akbar's Dream", according to Lewisohn, Tennyson, "(composed not incidentally after reading and translating Hafiz from the original Persian—a passion that he shared with his friend Edward FitzGerald),

⁶³¹ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. Mahnaz Ahmad, "Whitman and Hafiz: Expressions of Universal Love and Tolerance", p. 154.

⁶³² Yohannan, J. D. "Tennyson and Persian Poetry". *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Feb., 1942), p. 89.

espoused exactly the same open-minded pluralistic attitude towards religious diversity".⁶³³ In addition to Hafiz, Tennyson's views, as Lewisohn discusses, had also been inspired "by the Indian Sufi poets who wrote in Persian at the court of Akbar the Great in praise of religious syncretism. Poets such as 'Urfi, Faydi and Raha'i had all penned verse in praise of a transcendental religious unity, aiming to assimilate, accept and absorb the differing views of Hindus, Muslims, and Zoroastrians".⁶³⁴

Tennyson's interest in Hafiz and in Persian ghazal was so immense that he desired to take the form of Persian Ghazal to English poetry; he applied the monorhyme⁶³⁵ (aa ba ca etc.), restricted the number of couplets to five to thirteen, made an optional use of refrain at the end of each rhyming line and referred to the name of the poet in the last couplet.⁶³⁶

Tennyson was also impressed by Jones' prose translation of *The Moallakat*, an old Arabian collection of the odes of pre-Mahommedan poets, so that according to several scholars his "Locksley Hall" (p. 1842), the story of the sentiments of a rejected lover, was composed based on that impression. Cannon states that Jones' *Moallakat* "found one particularly worthy reader, Tennyson, who not only quoted Jones' several footnotes to early verses in *Poems by Two Brothers*, but also supposedly based "Locksley

⁶³³ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. Leonard Lewisohn, "English Romantics and Persian Sufi Poets: A Wellspring of Inspiration for American Transcendentalists". p. 39.

⁶³⁴ Ibid, p. 39.

⁶³⁵ This rhyme scheme is rare in English poetry and few major poets like Tennyson and Browning have applied it. See *Faces of Love: Hafez and the Poets of Shiraz*, translated by Dick Davis, New York: Penguin Books, 2013.p. 37-38.

⁶³⁶ According to Yohannan ("Tennyson and Persian Poetry", p. 88), an example of this form can be sought in the middle part of Tennyson's *The Princess* which begins "Now sleeps the crimson petal" (ll. 165-170) :

Now droops the milk-white peacock like a ghost,
And like a ghost she glimmers on to me.
Now lies the earth all Danae to the stars,
And all thy heart lies open unto me.
Now slides the silent meteor on, and leaves
A shining furrow, as thy thoughts in me.

Another example can be traced in Tennyson's "Frater, Ave Atque Vale" ("Brother, Hail and Farewell")

Hall" largely on The *Moallakat*".⁶³⁷ Robert Irwin, also, has referred to Tennyson's indebtedness to Jones' *Muallaqat* in composing "Locksley Hall".⁶³⁸

The pre-Islamic odes, *Moallaqat*, (meaning suspended), were seven "masterpieces of the 'qasida' form", "monorhymed lyric poems" which were written down in "letters of gold and suspended from the Kaaba at the city of Mecca".⁶³⁹ Tennyson was indebted for much of his poem's theme, pattern, imagery, oriental colors and sentiment to the *Moallakat*, particularly to Imru' al-Qais (also Amriolkais), one of the legends of the translated collection *Moallakat*, in which Imru' al-Qais, the poet, presumes himself on an adventurous trip through the deserts, accompanied by friends. When they pass his beloved's recent domicile, they find no trace of her tribe. As they want to keep on their way, the poet asks them to stop some time, so that he may cry over the empty rests of her tent. The friends agree, but encourage him to overcome his grief. Accordingly, through the remembrance of his former delights he can overcome his sorrow.

Tennyson's dramatic monologue, "Locksley Hall", in trochaic meter, deals with the memories of the speaker in his return to his childhood home, Locksley Hall, where he and Amy, his cousin, had fallen in love. Now, Amy, lives up to her parents' wish to marry a well-to-do suitor. The speaker is so reluctant to the materialism prevalent in the Victorian society and also to excessive parental authority, that he wishes to die, however, he tries to contemplate the future ends by patience for the unavailability of change.

Hallam Tennyson has referred to his father's intention of composing the poem based on Jones' translation and declares: "I remember my father saying that Sir William Jones' prose translation of the *Moallakat*, the seven Arabic poems, hanging up in the temple of Mecca, gave the idea of the poem".⁶⁴⁰ In her *Oriental Influences in the English*

⁶³⁷ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 41.

⁶³⁸ Irwin, Robert. *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2006. p. 125.

⁶³⁹ Naous, Mazen. "The Anglo-Arabic Poetics Of "Locksley Hall": Importation, Oscillation, And Disorientation". *Hawliyat*, 15, 2018. p. 10-11.

⁶⁴⁰ Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son*, vol. 1, New York: Greenwood, 1897, p. 195.

Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century, Meester refers to Prof. E. Koepfel's investigations concerning the similarities between Jones' *Moallakat* and Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" as follows:

In these Arabic poems the ground-tone of Tennyson's poem has often been uttered: the complaint of a man about his lost or faithless mistress. A fixed situation seems to belong to the scheme of these Arabic love-complaints: the lover is standing before the desolate and ruined dwelling of his mistress and sorrowfully remembers the happiness of the past etc... The feelings of Tennyson's hero are similar to the complaints on the faithlessness of the mistress pronounced in the Poem of Hareth and with the adhortations to leave the faithless one which in the Poem of Lebeid the poet addresses to himself or has laid into the mouth of a friend. But the greatest similarity with the opening of Tennyson's monologue has the Poem of Amriolkais, the first of the *Moallakat*. The lover is introduced accompanied by his friends, to whom his first words are addressed:

1. "Stay —let us weep at the remembrance of our beloved, at the sight of the station where her tent was raised, by the edge of yon bending sands between Dahul and Haumel.

2. Tudam and Mikra; a station, the marks of which are not wholly effaced, though the south wind and the north have woven the twisted sand."

Exactly in the same way Tennyson's youth enters, accompanied by his comrades to whom his first words are addressed, if only to send them away:

Comrades, leave me here a little, while as yet 'tis early morn:

Leave me here, and when you want me, sound upon the bugle-horn. 'Tis the place, and all around it, as of old, the curlews call Dreary gleams about the moorland flying over Locksley Hall. As the Arab looks wistfully at the place where his beloved's tent used to stand, so the English youth looks in angry pain back to the castle where his faithless Amy lived.⁶⁴¹

Meester indicates that not only the content, but also the meter of "Locksley Hall" has been influenced by the "Arabian model", so that, "according to Prof. Koepfel's ingenious discovery, the transcription of the original text in Latin characters (as given by Sir William Jones) has furnished Tennyson with the scheme for his trochaic riming couplets, in long lines of eight stresses".⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. eidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. pp. 52-3.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, p. 53.

Jones stimulated Tennyson so that he portrayed the picture of the Orient in its most elegant form without visiting it:

LAND of bright eye and lofty brow!
Whose every gale is balmy breath
Of incense from some sunny flower,
Which on tall hill or valley low,
In clustering maze or circling wreath,
Sheds perfume; or in blooming bower...⁶⁴³

Whether Tennyson had read the translations, essays and hymns of Jones, or he had been inspired by Romantics such as Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron and Shelley, his early poetry mirrors the profound effect of the Orient. He was the poet of nature, of history, of human beings, of the old historical middle Eastern cities, and of the Victorian society and Jones was his intimate companion, throughout his journey, on the wings of imagination, from the "Ganges" to "Persia",⁶⁴⁴ from Baghdad to Basra, and from Delhi back to England.

4.1.2. Matthew Arnold (1822-1888)

According to Stanley Williams, Arnold's poetry has three characteristics, which are: "the mastery of mood-creating detail, the sacrifice of narrative to philosophical ideas, and a very special type of Hellenism".⁶⁴⁵ However, a fourth feature might be added, as its "Oriental color". To ask whether Arnold was acquainted with Sir William Jones is rhetorical. Jones was among the supreme Orientalists and Arnold had heard or read about him undoubtedly, or at least had a second hand information through the Romantics or his contemporaries, who were affected by him. In any case, though limited, the Oriental background, features and details are perceived in Arnold's poetry.

In her *Orientalist Poetics*, Emily Haddad in a section entitled: "Matthew Arnold in Bukhara: nature in the Middle Eastern city", argues that like the other poets of the Romantic period and after, Arnold exerts "the Islamic Middle East as an arena in which

⁶⁴³ Taken from the opening lines of Tennyson's "Persia".

⁶⁴⁴ Both "the Ganges" (1826-7) and "Persia" (1827) are the titles of Oriental poems, the former was composed based on Jones' "Hymn to Ganga" (1799) and the latter focuses on the beauties of Persia.

⁶⁴⁵ Williams, Stanley T. "Some Aspects of Matthew Arnold's Poetry". *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Jul., 1921), p. 315

to elaborate his views of nature and its relations with both poetry and humanity".⁶⁴⁶ Haddad calls Arnold a "Victorian with an atypically non-Anglocentric, even multicultural view" and relates it to his tendency toward setting some of his poems in the Oriental background. His multicultural view, led him to apply both Eastern and Western images and themes in his poetry. Also, Charles Smith in his article, "Matthew Arnold", refers to this multicultural ideology of Arnold's and considers his poetry as "an attempt to express 'the world's deep, inarticulate craving for spiritual peace.' There was in Arnold a combination of the Greek strain and the Oriental. He would have the joy of the Greek; he has the resigned sadness of the Oriental."⁶⁴⁷

Matthew Arnold was among the scholars who made English people familiar with Persian literature. In *Sohrab and Rustum* (1853), he demonstrated the ebbs of the life of his Oriental hero, Rustum (pronounced Rostam in Persian) and his son Sohrab. The legend of Sohrab and Rostam, originated from *Shahnameh* (*The Book of Kings*), a literary masterpiece and the significant national epic of Iran, composed over more than thirty years between 977 and 1010 CE by Hakim Abul-Qasim Mansur (known as Ferdowsi Tusi⁶⁴⁸), under the patronage of the Samanid dynasty, in 50,000 couplets (Bayts). The epic chronicles the historical legendary records of Persian kings, from prehistoric eras to the Arab conquest of Iran (7th century CE), "in three successive stages: the mythical, the heroic or legendary, and the historic [in] 62 stories and 990 chapters, a work several times the length of Homer's *Iliad* ...The *Shahnameh* was written in classical Persian when the language was emerging from its Middle Persian Pahlavi roots".⁶⁴⁹ Firdausi belongs to the period when, as Meester says, "the Persian language was still pure and not yet contaminated by the addition of Arabic imagery and metaphor, and this older

⁶⁴⁶ Haddad, Emily A. *Orientalist Poetics: The Islamic Middle East in nineteenth-century English and French poetry*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 141.

⁶⁴⁷ Smith, Charles Forster. "Matthew Arnold". *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Apr., 1899), p. 207.

⁶⁴⁸ Also Pronounced Firdausi. Derived from Ferdows (Heaven, Paradise), Ferdowsi means "from paradise". Also, Tusi means from Tus (Toos), a city in the north western of Iran, in Khorasan Province.

⁶⁴⁹ K. E. Eduljee, *Zoroastrian Heritage: Ferdowsi's Shahnameh*.

<https://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/shahnameh/>

Persian is in its simplicity greatly like Homer's language, the language of a poetry still young and in its earliest stages of development".⁶⁵⁰

The mythical stage, in *Shahnameh*, initiates with the formation of the world and the domination of the first Iranian king, Keyumars, who was also the first man. This era includes other legends such as the story of the rise and fall of Jamshid, the legendary king, and the story of Zahhak, the villain ruler, killed by the blacksmith Kaveh. This stage covers the shortest part of the book, about 2100 couplets, and the chronological events are narrated with simplicity of diction and fleetness.

The heroic stage or the age of the heroes, encompasses the main part, almost two-thirds of the *Shahnameh*, from Manuchehr's rule to the conquest of Alexander the Great. This stage includes familiar heroic tales, such as the romances of Zal and Rudaba, Siyavash and Sudaba, Bijan and Manijeh. Also, the Seven Stages of Rostams' Ordeal, Rostam and Sohrab, the wars with Afrasiyab, and Rostam and Esfandiyar are narrated in the heroic age. The focus of this section is on the old and lasting enmity between the "Iranians" and the "Turadians," a separate subdivision of the Iranian people. The most well-known hero in the epic is Rostam, eminent for his audacity and "valiant" actions; "he battles with divs (devils), gets kings out of sticky situations, and, like Hercules, undergoes seven trials. He also happens, in a case of mistaken identity, to kill his son, Sohrab, in one of the epic's most tragic and harrowing episodes...".⁶⁵¹ The death of Rostam puts an end to the second stage.

The Historical stage, includes the invasion of Alexander, a brief reference to the Arsacid and Sassanid dynasties, which turns to be historical rather than imaginative. The fall of the Sassanids and the Arab conquest of Persia are finally narrated dramatically.

Firdausi's masterpiece is an epic, the core of which is the survival of civilization. Covering thousands of years, from the prehistoric age, the presence of the first man, to

⁶⁵⁰ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. eidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 61.

⁶⁵¹ BBC Culture, <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20180810-the-book-of-kings-the-book-that-defines-iranians>

the invasion of Arabs to Persia, it mirrors the history of Persian civilization during thousands of years, with numerous heroes who have fought for the existence of lands and society. It portrays men in battles, in love, in feasts, in rituals, in funerals and briefly, in life. Men fight against demons and supernatural figures, against brutality, and against other men, in order to survive, reminiscent of the world depicted in Gilgamesh, in Beowulf, in the Iliad, in the Aeneid, in Faerie Queen, in the archetypal literature of the world.

Matthew Arnold published his narrative poem, "Sohrab and Rustum: An Episode" in 1853, in 892 lines of blank verse, based on a legendary episode from Firdausi's *Shahnameh*, in which the great Persian warrior Rustum, mistakenly kills his missing son, Sohrab, in single combat. Arnold's heroic romance, narrates Sohrab's search for his missing father, who disappeared years before, when he left his mother in search of fame.

Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum; An Episode", depicts an episode of "Rustum and Sohrab", while presenting Arnold's extensive attention to local color. It opens when the Persian and tartar forces meet near the river Oxus:

AND the first grey of morning fill'd the east,
 And the fog rose out of the Oxus stream.
 But all the Tartar camp along the stream
 Was hush'd, and still the men were plunged in sleep;
 Sohrab alone, he slept not; all night long
 He had lain wakeful, tossing on his bed;
 But when the grey dawn stole into his tent,
 He rose, and clad himself, and girt his sword,
 And took his horseman's cloak, and left his tent,
 And went abroad into the cold wet fog,
 Through the dim camp to Peran-Wisa's tent. (ll. 1-10)

Sohrab, as he says, could not sleep all night long pondering about his missing father and now in the early morning, he says that his desire is to meet Rustum:

I seek one man, one man, and one alone—
 Rustum, my father; who I hoped should greet,
 Should one day greet, upon some well-fought field,
 His not unworthy, not inglorious son. (ll. 49-52)

He wants to participate in a combat to win, so that Rustum hears about his courage and searches for the young hero, and he may find his father:

...but I
Will challenge forth the bravest Persian lords
To meet me, man to man; if I prevail,
Rustum will surely hear it; if I fall—
Old man, the dead need no one, claim no kin. (ll. 55-59)

...
He spoke; and Peran-Wisa⁶⁵² took the hand
Of the young man in his, and sigh'd, and said:—
"O Sohrab, an unquiet heart is thine!
Canst thou not rest among the Tartar chiefs,
And share the battle's common chance with us
Who love thee, but must press for ever first,
In single fight incurring single risk,
To find a father thou hast never seen? (ll. 63-70)

Rustum is selected from the opposite army to fight with Sohrab, combatant for the Tartars, in a single combat. The duel begins:

Together, as two eagles on one prey
Come rushing down together from the clouds,
One from the east, one from the west; their shields
Dash'd with a clang together, and a din
Rose, such as that the sinewy woodcutters
Make often in the forest's heart at morn,
Of hewing axes, crashing trees—such blows
Rustum and Sohrab on each other hail'd. (ll. 472-9)

Not recognizing the opponent, they fight till the young warrior is fatally wounded. While dying, Sohrab informs his killer to beware of his father, Rustum's retaliation. Hearing the young warrior's words, Rustum falls into a miserable, death-like trance. Woken, Rustum asks for evidence for their kinship. Rustum perceives his own seal on Sohrab's arm, which Sohrab's mother, Tahmina, put it on his arm to prove his identity. Sohrab is dying, while Rustum cannot believe the catastrophe:

"How say'st thou? Is that sign the proper sign
Of Rustum's son, or of some other man's?"
He spoke; but Rustum gazed, and gazed, and stood
Speechless; and then he utter'd one sharp cry:
O boy—thy father!—and his voice choked there. (ll. 687-691)

⁶⁵² Peran-Wisa, the commanding officer in the Tartar army led by Sohrab, against Persia.

...
 So, on the bloody sand, Sohrab lay dead;
 And the great Rustum drew his horseman's cloak
 Down o'er his face, and sate by his dead son. (ll. 857-9)

...
 And night came down over the solemn waste,
 And the two gazing hosts, and that sole pair,
 And darken'd all; and a cold fog, with night,
 Crept from the Oxus. Soon a hum arose,
 As of a great assembly loosed, and fires
 Began to twinkle through the fog; for now
 Both armies moved to camp, and took their meal;
 The Persians took it on the open sands
 Southward, the Tartars by the river marge;
 And Rustum and his son were left alone. (ll. 865-874)

Devastated with agony, Rustum curses his own fate. In deep desolation, he promises to give Sohrab's body a noble funeral.

Arnold's version of "Sohrab and Rustum" is an altered and illustrative form of the original epic; an excerpt derived from Firdausi's epic, recreated thanks to his ingenuity, with his abundant use of the Oriental coloring to make it near to the original. Arnold's brilliant descriptions of the Oriental life and settings, accompanied by Hellenistic features have produced a captivating picture, as astonishing as the original epic, and at the same time, an exclusive work. Armstrong calls the poem as "Arnold's last major modern poem":

The historical context of Arnold's writing was the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the insecure status of Afghanistan and the new alignments of Britain, France and Russia, the nineteenth-century problem. The Crimean war was two years away, but the eastern question already cast shadows at the beginning of the 1850s. After the European poem, Empedocles, Arnold returned to the theme of territorial dissolution, uncertain affiliation and legitimacy, and with it to a questioning of the idea of manhood, as Sohrab, seeking out the father who kills him... Like the battle of Epipolae in 'Dover Beach', this is a poem where 'ignorant armies' clash, this time because parent and child do not know to which side each belongs, or whom each is fighting... The poem's deep unease about patriarchal arrangements, which come to symbolise the permanent structures of bourgeois society, expresses itself in the inset similes, which seem to constitute the exquisite, but redundant ornamentation Arnold wished to avoid... The heroic tragedy of Sohrab's death is associated with a poignant

domestic scene, a piece of genre painting in which Sohrab is compared to the soiled white violets thrown aside by children as they are called to the protection of their nurse (842–7). It is not so much the oddity of the bourgeois reference which strikes as the scene of protection, nurture and intense vulnerability it calls up. A vulnerable English culture seems to lie wounded and in haemorrhage by Oxus, the river which at the end of the poem is deflected from Europe into the landlocked Aral sea in one of Arnold's most unsettling images of blocked energies. Sohrab and Rostum registers the uncertainty of the double poem in Arnold's work. It expresses a heroic individualism and appears half willing to make a critique of it. Yet this critique is discontinuous, without the systematic ambiguities one finds in other poems, and particularly in Empedocles.⁶⁵³

The tale of Sohrab and Rostum that inspired Matthew Arnold was introduced first by Sir William Jones in "Un Traite sur la poesie orientale," (1769), which was an introduction to his *Commentariorum*, in which he argues about the excellence of Persian and Arabic poetry. There, "Jones introduces Firdausi's *Shahndma*, enthusiastically comparing that epic with the *Iliad*. Samples from the Sohrab and Rostum story, in an Oriental richness of coloring, illustrate his argument"⁶⁵⁴. Also, Lord Teignmouth in his *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence, of Sir William Jones*, reveals that the idea of deriving a tragedy, based on the story of Sohrab and Rostum, from *Shahnameh* belonged to Jones:

Amongst the manuscript papers of Sir William Jones, written in Bengal, I find the delineation of the plan of a Tragedy on the story of SOHRAB, a Persian hero, who acts a short, but conspicuous part in the heroic poem of Ferdusi, the Homer of Persia.⁶⁵⁵

Then, based on Jones' illustrations of the epic, Lord Teignmouth describes the summary of Firdausi's *Shahnameh* ⁶⁵⁶ and refers to Jones' translation of the Epode, that according

⁶⁵³ Armstrong, Isobel. *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1996. p. 213-4.

⁶⁵⁴ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p.16-7.

⁶⁵⁵ Teignmouth, John Shore Baron (Lord). *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence, of Sir William Jones*. London: Brettell Printer, Vol. 2, 1806. p. 591.

⁶⁵⁶ Lord Teignmouth presents his readers with the sample of his own translation of the story of Sohrab and Rostum as follows:

To find a father only known by name,
"Wretch that I am, I sought the field of fame.
Vain hope! thy hand has seal'd a mother's woes ;

to Teignmouth, is the only remained "part of the composition sufficiently complete for the reader's perusal":

EPODE.

What pow'r, beyond all pow'rs elate,
Sustains this universal frame ? '
'Tis not nature, 'tis not fate,
'Tis not the dance of atoms blind,
Ethereal space, or subtile flame ;
No ; 'tis one vast eternal mind,
Too sacred for an earthly name.
He forms, pervades, directs the whole ;
Not like the macrocosm's imag'd soul,
But provident of endless good,
By ways nor seen, nor understood,
Which e'en his angels vainly might explore.
High, their highest thoughts above.
Truth, wisdom, justice, mercy, love,
Wrought in his heav'nly essence, blaze and soar.
Mortals, who his glory seek,
Rapt in contemplation meek,
Him fear, him trust, him venerate, him adore.⁶⁵⁷

Lord Teignmouth indicates that:

The plan of the proposed Tragedy, appears to have been frequently revised and corrected; the business of each act is detailed, but after all, it is too imperfect for publication. From the introduction of a chorus of Persian Sages or Magi, it may be inferred, that Sir William Jones proposed writing it, after the model of the Greek tragedy, and he certainly intended to observe a strict adherence to the costume of the age and country, in which the events of his Tragedy were supposed to have occurred.⁶⁵⁸

On the cold sod, my head must now repose.
Yet, hero! deem not unreveng'd I bleed,
Paternal vengeance marks thy ruthless deed.
No! couldst thou quit this earth, and viewless trace,
On airy pinions borne, the realms of space.
Or like a fish, the ocean's depths pervade,
Or like the night, involve thy form in shade
My sire, pursuing, shall revenge my death,
" What sire ?" the victor cries ; with fault'ring breath,
" Rustum !" (the youth rejoins) "Tahmina fair,"
My spotless mother, nam'd me Rustum's heir. (Ibid, p. 595.)

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 596.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 595-6.

Confirming the above mentioned lines, Cannon asserts that "Jones read [his] old love [*Shahnama*] twice":

"If I can bring the Persian epic poem to Europe in an English dress, I shall be as far below Lycurgus as Firdusi is below Homer, but shall think the analogy just, and my country will be obliged to me" (2:607). He was planning a tragedy based on Firdausi's story of Sohrab and Rostum, which he frequently revised. Employing a chorus of Persian magi, he intended to portray the customs exactly, but he never seriously started translating the whole story. The only survival is an eighteen-line epode".⁶⁵⁹

Cannon reveals that Jones' *Persian Grammar* had "an indirect influence on Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rostum*"⁶⁶⁰ and made him familiar with some rules in Persian language.

However, in addition to Jones, who seems to inspire Arnold initially by providing him with the idea of writing the tragedy, Arnold used some other sources. Hassani discusses that Matthew Arnold "put together the details of his story, not from any translations in English or in French of the *Shah Nameh*, but from short accounts of the episode of Sohrab in Sainte-Beuve's review [of Mohl's translation of Firdausi] and in Malcolm's *History of Persia*."⁶⁶¹ Meester, also, refers to Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, "which he [Arnold] quotes in a note at the end of the poem" as the possible source of his *Sohrab and Rostum*.⁶⁶² Another leading source for the details concerning the Oriental coloring has been referred as Alexander Burnes's *Travels into Bokhara* (1834), which was also significant in Arnold's other poem, "The Sick King in Bokhara".

In addition to Jones, who decided to compose a verse tragedy based on the story of "Sohrab and Rostum" in *Shahnameh*, other scholars of the age, tried their hands in translating the masterpiece, among whom Joseph Champion can be referred; he translated parts of *Shahnameh* based on Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, in 1785. As

⁶⁵⁹ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p.248.

⁶⁶⁰ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. P.40

⁶⁶¹ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Iran B. Hassani Jewett. "The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám". p. 58

⁶⁶² De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. eidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 60.

Yektatalab and Karimnia in their shared article indicate, Champion's version was "a rendering of a section of the *Shahnameh* in one volume and was printed in Calcutta by John Hay... He started the book by a poem to Sir William Jones dedicating it to him, going on to write about Firdausi's life and works."⁶⁶³ Later James Atkinson gave the story of "Sohrab and Rostam" a free translation based on the original Persian epic, entitled "Soohrab, a poem, from the original Persian of Firdousee, being a portion of the *Shahnama* of that celebrated poet" (1814). Later, in 1832, he printed a more complete edition in verse and prose, "The Sha Nameh of the Persian Poet Firdausi, translated and abridged in prose and verse with notes and illustrations".

Stephen Weston (1815), W. Tulloh (1829), Turner Makaan (1829), Edward Henry Palmer (1877), and Helen Zimmern (1882) were among the other English translators of Firdausi's epic. However, simultaneously, a similar attempt to translate *Shahnameh* took place in other parts of Europe, particularly in Germany and France.⁶⁶⁴

"Sohrab and Rustum" is not the only work by Arnold affected by the Orient. "The Sick King in Bokhara" (1849) is the title of another poem by him. The poem is a short dramatic narrative on a tale which "through the poet's treatment, acquires charm and vividness"⁶⁶⁵. The poem's "vivid simplicity with which the author has so charmingly depicted a scene and an episode of Eastern life" and the "wonderful hues and tints of local color that flash throughout the poem"⁶⁶⁶, has bewitched Farel Jouard so intensely that he has entitled an article to define his appreciation by examining the probable sources of inspiration, based on which Arnold has penned his poem "with such minuteness and accuracy of detail [reminiscent of Byron's style], even though he had never visited the region of Bokhara."⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Hourieh Yektatalab and Amin Karimnia. "Translations of *Shahnameh* of Firdausi in the West". *Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2013. p. 42.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid*, passim.

⁶⁶⁵ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. eidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 61.

⁶⁶⁶ Jouard, Farel L. "The Source of Matthew Arnold's Poem, 'The Sick King in Bokhara'". *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1906), p. 92.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 92.

In his search, Jouard realizes that Arnold's possible sources of information, concerning Bokhara, must have been based on "Lieut. Akexander Burnes'⁶⁶⁸ *Travels into Bokhara*". To prove his theory, Jouard compares several parts from both Arnold's poem and Burnes' travel book to conclude that Arnold was dependent on this source for both plot and the details of the described scenery of the town. Particularly, chapters IX, X, XI, vol. II of Burnes's travel book were fundamental in shaping his imagination required for the poem; Jouard states: "From the foregoing examples, it is unmistakably evident, I think, that Matthew Arnold made use of Burnes's history with care, and, need it be added, most effectively, in writing his poem".⁶⁶⁹

"The Sick King in Bokhara" is narrated in a conversation, in which the court poet, Hussein, reporting the story to the king's vizier, who has been ill recently, and is ignorant of the latest events. The plot deals with the story of a "Moollah" who requests the king to kill him, since he has cursed his own mother and the sentence for that sin in Islam, is death. The king refuses, while calling him insane. But the man insists. Finally, the king asks for the verdict of religious men, "Ulemas", who unanimously condemn the man to death by stoning. The man dies, with no attempts to save himself. The king takes the dead body to be buried in the royal burial chamber.

The poem, admirably, mirrors numerous details about the Orient, represented in Bokhara; religious doctrines, social conventions and oriental backgrounds have been used to reflect the milieu of the Orient. The strictness of religious law, even for a regretful victim, has made Haddad compare this poem to Arnold's another poem "In Harmony with Nature,"⁶⁷⁰ in which Haddad focuses on the interchangeability of law and nature:

⁶⁶⁸ Sir Alexander Burnes (1805–1841), a British explorer and diplomat, who was nicknamed Bokhara Burnes for his role in setting contact with Bukhara, for the first time. His *Travels into Bokhara*, became a bestseller in its first issue in 1834.

⁶⁶⁹ Jouard, Farel L. "The Source of Matthew Arnold's Poem, 'The Sick King in Bokhara'", p. 96.

⁶⁷⁰ Arnold wrote this poem when he heard a preacher recommended his audience to live in harmony with nature. Abhorring the idea, Arnold rejected such an easy solution for the sufferings of man. As an advocate of humanistic culture, Arnold believed nature had been cruel and aggressive to man, and in contrast with his spiritual values:

"In harmony with Nature?" Restless fool,
Who with such heat dost preach what were to thee,
When true, the last impossibility—

Arnold follows the romantics and their classical forebears in acknowledging nature as the fundamental standard from which human moral development must depart, yet he argues against basing human standards on natural ones. Instead, he presents his speaker as a man in search of a new (and as yet undefined) relationship with nature... Nature and law appear, then, to be filling the same slot in Arnold's moral universe. Both nature and law lack pity, that essential human quality which Arnold presents both in this poem and in "In Harmony" as humankind's only saving grace. Neither law nor nature offers a suitable guide for human behavior.⁶⁷¹

What is significant in this poem is Arnold's depiction of the Eastern king as a tolerant and just ruler in his reaction toward the man (mullah); he, reminiscent of King Akbar in Tennyson's "Akbar Dream", challenges what Haddad calls "unforgiving, fearless, and harsh"⁶⁷² in the Islamic law. The king tries to prevent the man's death (that seems to him undeserved) first by ignoring the mullah's insistence on his own punishment and then by proposing him to escape and encouraging the soldiers to let him do it.

Arnold's "A Persian Passion Play", published as the title of the seventh chapter in his *Essay in Criticism* (1865), covers Shi'ite⁶⁷³ history and Taziyeh or Ta'zia (Persian Passion play) in Iran, about which he presented a lecture in 1871, the main part of which, according to Haddad, "offers an extremely favorable assessment of the Persian genre, yet Arnold ends by asserting that the Islamic play's message is a 'strong [...] testimony to Christianity'."⁶⁷⁴

The Persian Passion play or Taziyeh is a dramatic play based on the religious ceremonies memorializing the catastrophic death of the third Imam of the Shi'ite

To be like Nature strong, like Nature cool!
 Know, man hath all which Nature hath, but more,
 And in that more lie all his hopes of good. . . .
 Man must begin, know this, where Nature ends;
 Nature and man can never be fast friends.
 Fool, if thou canst not pass her, rest her slave!

⁶⁷¹ Haddad, Emily A. *Orientalist Poetics: The Islamic Middle East in nineteenth-century English and French poetry*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 143-5.

⁶⁷² *Ibid*, p. 144.

⁶⁷³ One of the two main subcategories of Islam.

⁶⁷⁴ Haddad, Emily A. *Orientalist Poetics: The Islamic Middle East in nineteenth-century English and French poetry*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 142.

Moslems, Imam Hussein, and his kin in Karbala in a battlefield, about which both the actors and audience are cognizant. In a comprehensive survey about the Shi'ite religion, Arnold discusses the characteristics of the passion play based on the quotations from Count Gobineau to illustrate the play and to interpret that how religion can control the feelings of men:

The power of the actors is in their genuine sense of the seriousness of the business they are engaged in. They are, like the public around them, penetrated with this, and so the actor throws his whole soul into what he is about, the public meets the actor halfway, and effects of extraordinary impressiveness are the result... it often happens that the actor identifies himself with the personage he represents to such a degree that, when the situation carries him away, he cannot be said to act, he is with such truth, such complete enthusiasm, such utter self-forgetfulness, what he represents, that he reaches a reality at one time sublime, at another terrible, and produces impressions on his audience which it would be simply absurd to look for from our more artificial performances. There is nothing stilted, nothing false, nothing conventional; nature, and the facts represented, themselves speak... The dramatic pieces themselves are without any author's name. They are in popular language, such as the commonest and most ignorant of the Persian people can understand, free from learned Arabic words,—free, comparatively speaking, from Oriental fantasticality and hyperbole...⁶⁷⁵

Arnold's chapter focuses on this Oriental religion to designate an intimate relationship between Shi'ite Moslems and Christians, to conclude that the religious distress in Taziyeh could be better associated with Christian themes than the Greek drama.

Arnold was interested in acquiring knowledge about the Oriental religions; in the ninth vol. of *Arnoldian*, his interest in Buddhism is strong:

Arnold owned a French work containing the word "Bouddhisme" in its title at least as early as 1858, when he wrote to his sister, Mrs. W. E. Forster: "I must ask you to send me back some day my Bouddhisme to make a reference for my next lecture —the book is now unprocurable—you shall have it again." Arnold's interest in Oriental religions antedated his letter by at least a decade. As has long been known, his poem "The World and the Quietist" (ca. 1848) was almost certainly occasioned by his disappointment when Clough refused to read any of Arnold's favorite Oriental classics such as the Bhagavad Gita (March 1848). Arnold's poem owes not merely a debt to the thought of the Bhagavad Gita but also to Indie imagery in the lines: "Long since the

⁶⁷⁵ Anold, Matthew, *Essays in Criticism*. A. L. Burt Company, 1924. pp.176-7.

world hath set its heart to live . . . / It turns life's mighty wheel ..." ("The World and the Quietist," 11, 13). This wheel of life is the Hindu-Buddhist chakra, which Arnold encountered in Buddhist contexts and in Bhagavad Gita 3. 16. There is some circumstantial evidence that Arnold became interested in Buddhism at least by 1849.⁶⁷⁶

Arnold took advantage of the Oriental features, conventions, and religions to portray his own aesthetic vision. In addition to the above-mentioned works, Arnold wrote a limited, though noteworthy, number of Middle Eastern poems including "A Summer Night" (1861), "East and West" (1867), "Inspired by Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan*" and "Constantinople".

Arnold lived in an era with an unalleviated fever for the Orient; during the previous century, numerous Orientalists bombarded the Western world with hundreds of scholarly investigations, travel accounts, and translations, resulting in the Romantic Renaissance. Several collections of poetry were composed based the Romantic sentiment. Accordingly, in some of his poems, particularly his early ones, Arnold, like his Romantic predecessors, was inspired by the Orient and its literature. However, later, his poetry, driven by the currents of the Victorian period and his views, mirrored the mood of his society, in which he used the Oriental perception to criticize the English culture.⁶⁷⁷ Arnold, like Tennyson, as Haddad points, seems "not only to be working through the inheritance from Romanticism, but also to be negotiating between more traditional notions of value and those specific to the developing political and economic systems of the Victorian age".⁶⁷⁸

4.1.3. Edward FitzGerald (1809–1883)

As an English poet, Edward FitzGerald is best known today as the creator of the first and most celebrated English translation of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, so that, as Arberry declares, it is not much remembered that he, "who learned his Persian from

⁶⁷⁶ Hill, John M. Editor. *The Arnoldian; A Review of Mid Victorian Culture*. Vol. 9, No. 1, Winter 1981. p. 6-7.

⁶⁷⁷ Some of these poems include: "The World and the Quietist" (1849), "A Southern Night" (1861), and "Obermann Once More" (1867),

⁶⁷⁸ Haddad, Emily A. "Tennyson, Arnold, and the Wealth of the East". *Victorian Literature and Culture*. Vol. 32, No. 2 (2004), p. 373.

the Cambridge Sanskritist E. B. Cowell, also translated the epic *Salaman and Absal* of Jami [1856, in Miltonic verse] and parts of Attar's *Allegory of the Birds*⁶⁷⁹: the merit of these productions has been overshadowed by the astounding fame of his Omar".⁶⁸⁰

FitzGerald began his exploration of Sir William Jones and Persian language through his Persian master, Edward Byles Cowell (1826–1903), who later became his close friend based on mutual interests, the first professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge University and a self-thought translator of Persian poetry, including Hafiz. Cowell's sources of knowledge, concerning the Oriental literature, were Jones' works. In addition to *Versions from Hafez*, Cowell translated several Persian works, among which one can mention "a seminal introduction to Kayyam, with translations of thirty quatrains (entitled "Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer Poet of Persia," *Calcutta Review* 30, 1858, pp. 149-62) and his essay "Persian Literature" in *Oxford Essays* (London, 1855, pp. 156-76)"⁶⁸¹ and "The Mesnavi of Jelaleddin Rumi" (*The Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. 30, 1848, pp. 39–46, 148-52.).

Norman Page conveys that "[Cowell] had discovered in a local library the work of the eighteenth-century Orientalist Sir William Jones and, at the tender age of 14, had become fired with an enthusiasm for Persian and Sanskrit. He taught himself Persian and at sixteen he was already contributing verse translations to the *Asiatic Journal*"⁶⁸² and later turned out to be a bridge connecting FitzGerald to Jones, of which Karlin writes:

FitzGerald's status as a translator brings into play another dimension of Orientalism, the growth of scholarly and what we would now call academic interest in the languages and literatures of the East. The dominating figure here is that of Sir William Jones, whose scholarship encompassed Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, and who laid the foundations for the study of comparative philology in Britain. It was Jones's Persian grammar that Cowell had studied in his precocious teens; he subsequently recommended it to FitzGerald, in part because its precepts were illustrated by quotations from Háfiz.⁶⁸³

⁶⁷⁹ Attar's most famous book is the *Mantiq-al-tair*, the "Bird-Parliament", translated by FitzGerald in 1899.

⁶⁸⁰ Arberry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London, 1943. p. 23.

⁶⁸¹ The encyclopedia Iranica, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cowell-edward-byles>

⁶⁸² Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. p. 158. Norman Page "Larger Hopes and the New Hedonism: Tennyson and FitzGerald"

⁶⁸³ FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford

Being in Calcutta in the span between 1856-1867 as professor of English history, Cowell found a copy of the eleventh-century Persian poet, Omar Khayyam's quatrains in the library of the Asiatic Society, from which he sent a copy to his student, FitzGerald, to be translated as *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* in 1859,⁶⁸⁴ of which four editions were published in Fitzgerald's lifetime. When he was away, FitzGerald corresponded with his teacher frequently, and his study, supervised by Cowell from long distance, "consisted of using a grammar book (the second edition of Sir William Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language*) and a dictionary (Francis Johnson's *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic & English*)".⁶⁸⁵ In a letter to Cowell in January 1854, FitzGerald wrote "As to Jones' Grammar, I have a sort of *Love* for it! Instead of such Dry as dust Scholars as usually make Grammars, how more than ever necessary is it to have men of Poetic Taste to do it, so as to make the thing as delightful as possible to learners."⁶⁸⁶

In his *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*, Cannon indicates that FitzGerald's Poetic genius to produce *Rubaiyat* was nurtured by reading Jones' *Grammar*: "...fifty years after Jones's death, the *Persian Grammar* did convert one man to Persian literature — FitzGerald — thus making the world indebted to Jones for turning Fitz- Gerald to Persian and indirectly to the *Rubaiyat*,"⁶⁸⁷ and stimulated Fitzgerald's interest in reading Persian poetry such as Hafiz, Sa'di, and Attar's *Mantiq-al-Tair*, so that his *Rubaiyat* is a combination of the influence of what he had studied of the Persian literature, mythological figures, Persian names, images, and even as Yohannan says, "Fitzgerald, gave to it [the legend of Gul and Bulbul (Rose and Nightingale)] its widest

University Press, 2009. p. xxxiv. (Introduction)

⁶⁸⁴ FitzGerald's sources for his *Rubaiyat* were two scripts, a Bodleian manuscript with 158 quatrains, and a Calcutta manuscript, both sent to him by his master, Cowell.

⁶⁸⁵ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. P. 195. Tracia Leacock-Seghatolislami "The Tale of the Inimitable Rubaiyat".

⁶⁸⁶ *Letters*, ii. 118. Referred to in Edward FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. p. xxxiv.

⁶⁸⁷ Cannon, Garland. *Sir William Jones, Orientalist*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1952. p. 14. Cannon repeats his claim of the influence of Jones' *Persian Grammar* on FitzGerald's poetic career, once more, in his other book, *The Life and Mind of Orientalist Jones*, p. 40.

circulation in some nicely turned rubaiyat."⁶⁸⁸ Maybe the best definition of FitzGerald's *Rubaiyats*, is in his letter to Cowell on 2 November 1858, in which he called the work "a sort of Epicurean Eclogue in a Persian Garden" in order to associate "the Persian landscapes of the *Rubaiyat* (e.g. sts. x – xi) with classical pastoral poetry of the Western tradition (Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin)".⁶⁸⁹

FitzGerald's familiarity with Jones and Persian literature resulted in his first rendering of Jami's romance, *Salaman and Absal* which was issued in 1856 and the second version was published accompanied by his fourth edition of *Rubaiyat* in 1879. FitzGerald's *Salaman and Absal*, a mystical allegory, was affected by his study of Sir William Jones, who made FitzGerald familiar with Jami by his translation of "An Ode of Jami, in the Persian Form and Measure" and calling Jami's poem *Yusef va Zulaikha* as his favorite poem of Jami.⁶⁹⁰ *Salaman o Absal*, in rhymed couplet, articulates the story of the erroneous erotic love between the Greek prince Salaman and his nurse Absal, the objection of the king to their love, their escape and "the purification of his [Salaman's] desires in a conflagration that consumes his lover."⁶⁹¹ FitzGerald's translation of Jami's Sufi romance was free and fairly abridged paraphrase of the tale combined with his own literal interpretation, in which the form has also been changed to Miltonic verse.

According to what Sir William Jones, in his *Grammar of the Persian Language*, recommended his readers to read "the *Gulistan* or *Bed of Roses*" as the "first book"⁶⁹², FitzGerald, as Arberry states, "took Jones's counsel when he began the study of Persian, and on January 24, 1854, he wrote to his old friend Elizabeth Cowell: 'Tell Cowell I get on famously (as I think) with Sadi, whom I like much: he is just one of the Writers who can't be seen in a Translation'.⁶⁹³ He also studied Hafiz, but was soon attracted to

⁶⁸⁸ Yohannan, John D. "The Persian Poetry Fad in England, 1770-1825". *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring, 1952), p. 150.

⁶⁸⁹ FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. 146.

⁶⁹⁰ Gross, Jonathan David. *Byron: The Erotic Liberal*. United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001. p. 57-8. See Chapter 3.

⁶⁹¹ Encyclopedia Iranica, Jami, Life and Works. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jami-i>

⁶⁹² Jones, Sir William. *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, Cleveland Row, 1828. Preface, p. x. Arberry quotes Jones' words in his *Classical Persian Literature*.

⁶⁹³ Arberry, A. J. *Classical Persian Literature*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958. p. 199.

Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*, so that he could publish the translation in 1859. In a letter, once he wrote to Cowell, "Your Hafiz is fine: and his tavern world is a sad and just idea".⁶⁹⁴

FitzGerald's translation of another Persian work was a version of the Persian Sufi poet, Attar's⁶⁹⁵ (1145-1221) *Mantic-Uttair* (also pronounced *Mantiq-al-Tair*), left in manuscript and published posthumously in 1889. Shaping the original Persian poem by abridging it and omitting about 3000 lines, including the significant section concerning the story of Sheikh San'an, FitzGerald reproduced a new version in 1500 lines and called it *A Bird's view of Attar's the Bird Parliament*.

Attar's *Mantiq-al-Tair* or *The Conference (Parliament) of the Birds*, is a mystical allegory representing the quest of man for God. All the birds gather together to decide over choosing a supreme one. Leading by the hoopoe, famous for its wisdom, they search for the legendary Simorgh, the symbol of the Truth, to acknowledge it as their king, by crossing seven valleys, including Quest, Love, Knowledge, Disinterestedness, Unification, Bewilderment, and Annihilation, through which many birds lose their lives. Finally, only thirty birds survive to reach the abode of Simorgh to discern that Truth exists in each individual and they are the Simorgh, for which they were looking for⁶⁹⁶. FitzGerald has retained the main plot of the original poem to create his own version. Christopher Shackle in his article, "Representations of Attar in the West and in the East", discusses FitzGerald's first mention to Mantiq al-Tayr in "a letter written to Cowell on 31 August 1854, in which he refers to a citation in Silvestre de Sacy's edition of [Attar's] *Pand-nama*". Later, in a letter to Cowell on January 22, 1857, he indicates his intention of producing a similar version to Attar's and writes:

...with the help of G. de Tassy I have nearly made out about two-thirds of it. For it has greatly interested me, though I confess it is always an old Story. The Germans make a Fuss about the Sufi Doctrine; but, as far

⁶⁹⁴ Martin, William H. and Sandra Mason. *The Man Behind the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam: The Life and Letters of Edward FitzGerald*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris & co., 2016. Summer 1846.

⁶⁹⁵ The title Attar was based on his profession who was a pharmacist. Attar means herbalist and druggist. He was also a hagiographer, a theoretician of Sufism and one of the most eminent mystic poets of Iran. His works include *Moşibat-nama*, the *Elahi-nama*, *Mantęq al-ţayr*, *Taqkerat al-awliya*, a collection of poetry (*Diwan*), *Asrar-Nama*, *Jawahir-Nama*, and *Mukhtar-Nama*.

⁶⁹⁶ In Persian, Simorgh, in addition to mean a legendary bird like the Western phoenix, is a combination of two words, si (means thirty) and morgh (means bird). So they were what they sought for.

as I understand, it is not very abstruse Pantheism, and always the same. One becomes as wearied of the *man-i* and *du-i* in their Philosophy as of the *bulbul* etc. in their Songs. Attar's Doctrine seems to me only Jami and Jelaled-Din [...] but his Mantic has, like Salaman, the advantage of having a Story to hang all upon; and some of his illustrative Stories are very agreeable: better than any of the others I have seen. He has not so much Fancy or Imagination as Jami, nor I dare say, so much depth as Jelaled-din; but his touch is lighter. I mean to make a Poetic Abstract of the Mantic. I think; neither De Tassy, nor Von Hammer gives these Stories which are by far the best part, though there are so many childish and silly ones...⁶⁹⁷

FitzGerald's *Bird Parliament* was a successful attempt to show Sufism and Sufi poetry to British readers; however, the fame of *Rubaiyat* not only overshadowed the significance of FitzGerald's other works like the abovementioned ones, but also caused the color of most literary works of the day to fade.

It was *Rubaiyat* which brought enduring fame for FitzGerald. Although it was not accepted as a significant work at first, soon afterward it caught the attention of the scholars and literary men and won extraordinary success after the first copy had been purchased and discovered by Rossetti. As Bloom says, *Rubaiyat* would have "vanished, unread and forgotten, except that a copy reached Dante Gabriel Rossetti, poet-painter and leader of the circle of Pre-Raphaelites. Rossetti indubitably must have recognized and enjoyed the Tennysonian coloring of the poem."⁶⁹⁸ Soon, the eminence of the *Rubaiyat* circulated among the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood and won the admiration not only of Rossetti, but also of William Morris, Swinburne and Lord Houghton, so that they circulated it among the scholars they knew, which resulted in the praise of literary men such as Tennyson and the leading English art critic John Ruskin, and its extraordinary success and admiration throughout the English-speaking world by 1880.

Khayyam and his *Rubaiyat*, to which FitzGerald owes his fame, were first mentioned by Sir William Jones. Michael Franklin in his *Orientalist Jones* points to the matter and traces it back to 1771, when Jones' *Grammar of the Persian Language* was published and "provided Europe with the very first English translations of one and a

⁶⁹⁷ Lewisohn, Leonard and Christopher Shackle. Editors. *Attar and the Persian Sufi Tradition: The Art of Spiritual Flight*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2006. p. 171.

⁶⁹⁸ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*, 2004. Introduction. p. 1.

half quatrains (ruba—i—yat) by Omar Khayyam (d. 1131). In Bengal he transcribed, transliterated and translated a hitherto unknown ruba—i— which he attributes to this philosopher mathematician, and astronomer. Jones gave it the title 'Quatrain on the Vanity of Kingly Grandiosity By Khiyya'm'.⁶⁹⁹ However, it was Fitzgerald who traversed the way that once Jones showed, and discovered Khayyam wholly to introduce his poetry to the English people.

Omar ibn Ibrahim al-Khayyam⁷⁰⁰ (1048–1131), the Persian philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, and poet, was eminent during his lifetime in his country, as an astronomer and mathematician, but generally known to English-speaking readers by FitzGerald's translation of a collection of *Rubaiyat* (in Persian, *Rubai* means quatrain and *Rubaiyat* is the plural form, quatrains). His life coincided with the reign of the Turkish Seljuk dynasty that attacked and conquered Persia in the first half of the eleventh century.⁷⁰¹

Khayyam studied philosophy in his hometown, Naishabur, Khorasan, Northeast of Iran. His significance as a mathematician, lies in his treatise on algebra and his effort on the organization and clarification of cubic equations, and the parallel axiom. He also designed a solar calendar, more accurate than the present Gregorian calendar, with a very precise 33-year intercalation cycle, and the measurement of the year as 365.24219858156 days, called the Jalali calendar, based on one of the titles of the king Malik-Shah⁷⁰² who ordered to reform the calendar. He produced several works including *Problems of Arithmetic*, a book on algebra and one on music in his prime of life. Later he wrote his most famous algebra treatise, *Treatise on Demonstration of Problems of Algebra*. However, as it was defined, nowadays, his fame relies upon his *Rubaiyat*.

FitzGerald's version of *Rubaiyat* is a free translation in quatrains (as the name indicates), decasyllabic, metrical, rhyming aaba, according to the rhyme scheme of the

⁶⁹⁹ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 349.

⁷⁰⁰ Khayyam literally means "tent maker", the title given to his father for his trade.

⁷⁰¹ FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford University Press, 2009. Introduction, p. xiii.

⁷⁰² Jalaal al-Dawla Mu'izz al-Dunyaa Wa'l-Din Abu'l-Fath ibn Alp Arslaan (1055 –1092), better known as Malik-Shah was Sultan of the Seljuk Empire from 1072 to 1092.

original *Rubaiyats*, which have been organized alphabetically based on their final rhymes. As referred by Ali Dashti, based on Edward Heron-Allen's view in his *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, forty nine quatrains of FitzGerald's *Rubaiyats* are faithful to the original text, or paraphrased suitably, forty four quatrains are compound quatrains, each one composed based on two or three quatrains, two quatrains could only be found in Nicholas' edition, two quatrains echo the entire spirit of Khayyam's poem, two quatrains are principally affected by Attar's *Mantiq-al-Tair*, two quatrains are influenced by the Odes of Hafiz, and two quatrains have no traceable source, rather, they have been written based on FitzGerald's study of Persian poets.⁷⁰³ In a letter to Cowell in 1858, when he had sent a primary version to Fraser's Magazine, he describes this looseness and liberty in his translation:

My translation will interest you from its form, and also in many respects in its detail: very un-literal as it is. Many quatrains are mashed together: and something lost, I doubt, of Omar's simplicity, which is so much a virtue in him.⁷⁰⁴

However, according to Matthew Reynolds, who quotes Edmund Gosse, "FitzGerald's translations must never be compared with the original, or treated as translations at all. They should be judged on their own merit as poems".⁷⁰⁵

FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat* consists of a poem of one hundred and one quatrains whose significance lies in its originality; while each one of Khayyam's quatrains is independent from the other and forms a complete poem in itself, FitzGerald orders his quatrains so that they seem to be continuous in a reliant position, and at the same time, still, each signifies a meaning in itself. In other words, FitzGerald joined the quatrains (*Rubaiyats*) in order to shape an elegy with unity and consistency, the dominant themes of which are *carpe diem*, love, mortality of man, the transitory essence of life, pondering over after-death, rejecting religions and approving worldly pleasures such as wine and the presence of the beloved.

⁷⁰³ دشتی، علی. *دمی با خیام*. تهران. انتشارات اساطیر. چاپ دوم. ۱۳۷۷. ص. ۹-۲۳۸

⁷⁰⁴ Reynolds, Matthew. *The Poetry of Translation: From Chaucer & Petrarch to Homer & Logue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 278.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 277.

FitzGerald is not a scholar of Khayyam; he has grasped Khayyam's voice to be inspired to create a masterpiece, in the same way that Jones was inspired by Hafiz's song to reproduce a poem, rather than translate it; his translation is more of a poet, rather than of a translator. His free translation mirrors Jones' rendering of Hafiz's ghazal which once revolutionized the English Literature. Considering Jones as the model of his translation, FitzGerald "referred disparagingly to his first attempt at an English version of Omar as 'a poor Sir W. Jones sort of Parody'."⁷⁰⁶

FitzGerald did not want to create simulations of the original poem, rather, as Schenker say, "although he decided to remain conservative in his choice of idiom, his finished products are incontestably English. If his work suffered at the hands of some nineteenth-century reviewers it was because, ironically, his eye was on the living Englishman and not the dead foreigner".⁷⁰⁷ Also, FitzGerald has not intended to translate one quatrain after another, as exists in Khayyam's collection, or to restrict himself to literal translation, rather, he produces a combination of his aestheticism with Khayyam's philosophy, mixed with the Oriental images and ideas and local coloring, to reflect the mind of the poet in one single day, from sunrise to moonrise to imply the essential message, man's movement "from Nothing to Nothing".⁷⁰⁸

After the sun rise, the tavern is opened, and the day begins:

Awake! for Morning in the Bowl of Night
Has flung the Stone that puts the Stars to Flight:
And Lo! the Hunter of the East has caught
The Sultán's Turret in a Noose of Light.

Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the Sky
I heard a Voice within the Tavern cry,
'Awake, my Little ones, and fill the Cup
Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry.'

⁷⁰⁶ Letter to Cowell, 13 July, 1857, FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. xxxiv.

⁷⁰⁷ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Daniel Schenker, "Fugitive Articulation: An Introduction to The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam". p.65.

⁷⁰⁸ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Introduction, p. 3.

And, as the Cock crew, those who stood before
 The Tavern shouted – ‘Open then the Door!
 You know how little while we have to stay,
 And, once departed, may return no more.’⁷⁰⁹

Life, based on the Khayyam's philosophy, is as short as the span of a day from morning till night, that quickly passes, reminiscent of Marvell's "Time's winged chariot hurrying near":⁷¹⁰

One Moment in Annihilation's Waste,
 One Moment, of the Well of Life to taste—
 The Stars are setting and the Caravan
 Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste! (XXXVIII)

So, man should make the most of it without wasting time or delaying pleasures.

Khayyam is pondering and drinking wine while "The Nightingale cries to the Rose"⁷¹¹:

Come, fill the Cup, and in the Fire of Spring
 The Winter Garment of Repentance fling:
 The Bird of Time has but a little way
 To fly—and Lo! the Bird is on the Wing. (VII)

He is a man of deep thought, distressed over the unsolvable problems of the world, such as the questions of eternity, man's relationship to God, mortality of man, the temporariness and ambiguity of life, and the essence of reality:

Think, in this batter'd Caravanserai
 Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
 How Sultán after Sultán with his Pomp
 Abode his Hour or two, and went his way (XVI)

Ah, my Belovéd, fill the Cup that clears
 TO-DAY of past Regrets and future Fears –
 To-morrow? – Why, To-morrow I may be
 Myself with Yesterday's Sev'n Thousand Years. (XX)

Into this Universe, and why not knowing,
 Nor whence, like Water willy-nilly flowing:
 And out of it, as Wind along the Waste,
 I know not whither, willy-nilly blowing. (XXIX)

⁷⁰⁹ FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. 16-7, the first three quatrains.

⁷¹⁰ See Andrew Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress".

⁷¹¹ st. VI.

He finds no solution for his ambiguities; everything seems to be gloomy and tomorrow is uncertain. He is hesitant concerning the actuality of the afterlife and heavenly prudence:

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
 Before we too into the Dust descend;
 Dust into Dust, and under Dust, to lie,
 Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and—sans End! (XXIII)

Alike for those who for To-Day prepare,
 And those that after a TO-MORROW stare,
 A Muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries
 "Fools! your Reward is neither Here nor There!" (XXIV)

Why, all the Saints and Sages who discuss'd
 Of the Two Worlds so learnedly, are thrust
 Like foolish Prophets forth; their Words to Scorn
 Are scatter'd, and their Mouths are stopt with Dust. (XXV)

Khayyam perceives the gloomy future of man, devoid of the world afterlife, which has been foreseen and promised by the religions. Rather, he sees man's end in reincarnation, in transforming to be a part of nature, in turning to dust, to be used as a pot, like the poems in *Rubaiyat* subtitled as KUZA-NAMA; Kuza or Kuzeh in Persian refers to a pot made of clay, formerly used as container for liquids like water and wine. Khayyam indicates that after death, there will be no resurrection, rather, man will come back to dust and may form the clay to make a pot, in the hands of a potter:

For in the Market-place, one Dusk of Day,
 I watch'd the Potter thumping his wet Clay:
 And with its all obliterated Tongue
 It murmur'd – 'Gently, Brother, gently, pray! (XXXVI)

Or:

And, strange to tell, among that Earthen Lot
 Some could articulate, while others not:
 And suddenly one more impatient cried
 – 'Who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot?' (LX)

Khayyam defines his meditations and solitudes, until the sun sets and the moon rises when he immerses in his contemplations and advises the supposed addressee to lay his belief in a joyful gratefulness of the ephemeral splendors of the material world,

although he has not yet found any solace for his philosophic questions and worries. Saki, the cup-bearer of Jones and Hafiz, has a permanent presence in the whole poem, by whose servings of wine, the speaker-poet finds solace from the distresses of life. The final lines implies the poet's submission; there exist no reincarnation for man:

Ah, Moon of my Delight who know'st no wane,
The Moon of Heav'n is rising once again:
How oft hereafter rising shall she look
Through this same Garden after me – in vain! (LXXIV)

And when Thyself with shining Foot shall pass
Among the Guests Star-scatter'd on the Grass,
And in thy joyous Errand reach the Spot
Where I made one – turn down an empty Glass! (LXXV)

It cannot be denied that Omar Khayyam was a rationalist liberal philosopher contemplating the meaning of life. However, critics have not reached an agreement over the philosophy behind Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*; some believe in the Sufi philosophy of the verses according to which wine and worldly pleasures imply hidden mystical meanings, while some consider them heretic. In his preface to *Rubaiyat*, FitzGerald presents the opinion that Khayyam was not a Sufi; his philosophy was materialistic, and his *Rubaiyat* did not propose mystical allegories:

[Khayyam] is said to have been especially hated and dreaded by the Sufis, whose Practice he ridiculed, and whose Faith amounts to little more than his own when stript of the Mysticism and formal Compliment to Islamism which Omar would not hide under[...]Having failed (however mistakenly) of finding any Providence but Destiny, and any World but This, he set about making the most of it; preferring rather to soothe the Soul through the Senses into Acquiescence with Things as they were, than to perplex it with vain mortifications after what they *might be*. It has been seen that his Worldly Desires, however, were not exorbitant; and he very likely takes a humourous pleasure in exaggerating them above that Intellect in whose exercise he must have found great pleasure, though not in a Theological direction. However this may be, his Worldly Pleasures are what they profess to be without any Pretence at divine Allegory: his Wine is the veritable Juice of the Grape: his Tavern, where it was to be had: his Sáki, the Flesh and Blood that poured it out for him: all which, and where the Roses were in Bloom, was all he profess'd to want of this World or to expect of Paradise.⁷¹²

⁷¹² FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford

FitzGerald considers Khayyam as a "free thinker", "perhaps because, while holding much of their [Sufi's] Doctrine, he would not pretend to any inconsistent severity of morals".⁷¹³ FitzGerald's explanations for rejecting Sufism in Khayyam's poetry, although acceptably stated, did not satisfy his mentor, Cowell, who thought of Khayyam as a mystical poet. In a letter to Cowell in December 1857, "when he [FitzGerald] was first thinking of sending his English translations to *Fraser's*, [he justified his view point:] 'in truth I take old Omar rather more as my property than yours: he and I are more akin, are we not? You see all [his] Beauty, but you can't feel *with* him in some respects as I do'."⁷¹⁴

Critics of FitzGerald, conversely, indicated that FitzGerald, the translator, had distorted the mysticism of Khayyam's Sufi poetry by an desperately literal explanation, resulting in accusing Khayyam of being a hedonist. They considered it as the consequence of FitzGerald inadequate knowledge in understanding the poetry. The publication of the fourth edition of the *Rubaiyat*, accompanied by the second version of his rendering of *Salaman and Absal* (1879), was believed to be an indirect response to the critics who considered Khayyam's poetry mystical, as Iran Hassani states:

Placing *Salaman and Absal* side by side with the *Rubaiyat* may also have been FitzGerald's way of answering those Orientalists who maintained that Omar Khayyam was a Sufi. Jami's mysticism is undisputed and his *Salaman and Absal* is regarded as a true mystical allegory. By reading both *Salaman* and the *Rubaiyat*, it would be possible to see not only what true mysticism was, but also how different from it was the imagery of the *Rubaiyat*. Philosophically and artistically, *Salaman* offers a perfect balance to the *Rubaiyat*. [...] In *Salámán*, the ending is a glorious justification of faith. In the *Rubáiyát*, man descends into earth to become a part of it; in *Salámán*, man ascends to heaven to become one with the Deity. The shining light in the concluding lines of *Salámán* is in direct contrast to the "night" quatrains of the *Rubáiyát*. The *Rubáiyát* sings of the body; *Salámán* of the soul.⁷¹⁵

University Press, 2009. Preface, pp. 9-10.

⁷¹³ Ibid, p. 71.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid, p. xl.

⁷¹⁵ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Iran B. Hassani Jewett. "The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám". p. 45.

In any case, as Swinburne once said, "every quatrain, though it is something so much more than graceful or distinguished or elegant, is also, one may say, the sublimation of elegance, the apotheosis of distinction, [and] the transfiguration of grace,"⁷¹⁶ which lead to different interpretations.

The *Rubaiyat* was received highly by the nineteenth century English society, because it was the representative of the deepest doubts concerning the meaning of life, in accordance with the crisis of faith in the society, the seeds of which were planted years before by the skepticism of the Romantics such as Shelley. New scientific and geological discoveries about the real age of the earth, accompanied by Darwin's biological theories regarding the possibility of evolution in his *On the Origin of Species* (1859), put religion in an unstable position, incapable to satiate all the needs of man or to eradicate the doubts concerning the origin of the Earth and man. Khayyam's ideology, his doubt about theology, the questions he raised concerning the before and afterlife, matched the atmosphere of the society, and increased the gaps in religious credibility- the *Rubaiyat* echoed all these, in a melodious language. The extreme popularity of his translation, as Robert Martin states, "seems to indicate that he was far more in tune with his contemporaries than he would have guessed".⁷¹⁷

FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat* won worldwide popularity, has been republished in numerous editions, and has stimulated related translation exertions in English and in other languages, and as Arberry says, "there can be few English readers of the last three generations who have not at some time fallen beneath the spell of Edward FitzGerald's resurrected Omar Khayyam"⁷¹⁸. FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat* is perhaps the representative Victorian poem; "those 101 quatrains", as Schenker states, "have a little bit of everything from the nineteenth century: dramatic speech, mysticism, Weltschmerz, sentimentality, Manfred, Epicureanism, the palette of Rossetti and Burne-Jones, the

⁷¹⁶ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Daniel Schenker, "Fugitive Articulation: An Introduction to The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam". p. 61.

⁷¹⁷ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Robert Bernard Martin "The Discovery of the *Rubaiyat*". p. 85.

⁷¹⁸ Arberry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London, 1943.p. 23.

'melancholy, long, withdrawing roar' of the sea in 'Dover Beach.'⁷¹⁹ Mark Twain, according to Mehdi Aminrazavi, expressed his ultimate admiration for the *Rubaiyat*; "Quoting the following quatrain he said, 'No poem had given me so much pleasure before,' and in 1907 he added of the Ruba'iyat, 'it is the only poem I have ever carried about with me; it has not been from under my hand for 28 years.'

Oh Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make
And ev'n with Paradise devise the snake
For all the sun where with the Face of Man
Is blacken'd-Man's forgiveness give-and take!"⁷²⁰

The *Rubaiyat* was born to English literature as an exotic piece, not in the sense of the romantic poems displaying an oriental exotic setting, but in the sense that introduced an exotic philosophy. FitzGerald began with the appealing image, depicted in Jones' translations, to produce a masterpiece more developed, though its existence was originated from those alluring phrases Jones once introduced to him. Although in his "poetic taste", as Karlin calls it, FitzGerald did not follow Jones much, it was Jones' "scholarship, transmitted and reinforced by Cowell, that mattered to FitzGerald; the gateway to his 'Orientalism' is that of a language encountered at first hand, whose contours imposed themselves on his imagination in ways that second-hand reading, however profound, could never have done".⁷²¹ FitzGerald completed what once Jones started; his *Rubaiyat* was the zenith of the mountain that once Jones paved its way, without whom the world literature would be far more different now or as Arberry states "Without Jones and Gladwin and Malcolm, Fitzgerald might never have ventured beyond his Calderon; without Fitzgerald, English literature could scarcely have known Flecker's Hassan : so delicately from mind to mind runs the thread of thought and inspiration".⁷²²

⁷¹⁹ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Edward FitzGerald's The Rubait of Omar Khayyam*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. Daniel Schenker, "Fugitive Articulation: An Introduction to The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam". p. 72.

⁷²⁰ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. Mehdi Aminrazavi, "Omarian Poets of America", p. 233.

⁷²¹ FitzGerald, Edward. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Edited by Daniel Karlin. The United States: Oxford University Press, 2009. p. xxxiv.

⁷²² Arberry, A. J. *British Orientalists*. London: William Collins of London, 1943. p. 24.

4.2. Translations of Hafiz in the Nineteenth Century

More than a century after Jones' translation of Hafiz, there were still attempts to translate his poetry, in which the footprints of Jones' translation were detected. Near the end of the nineteenth century, with the rise of Symbolism, Hafiz's work was seen as representing "spiritual enlightenment and divine understanding... The predominant position held by English translators was that the poetry must be seen as symbolic and that all the references within the poetry must be seen as religious."⁷²³ According to Professor Arberry⁷²⁴, four noteworthy translations of Hafiz's *Divan*⁷²⁵ were done during the nineteenth century including: Hermann Bicknell's posthumous work, *Hafiz of Shiraz: Selections from his Poems* (1875), Edward Henry Palmer's *The Song of the Reed and Other Pieces* (1877), Gertrude Lowthian Bell's *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (1897) and Walter Leaf's *Versions from Hafiz*, an essay in Persian metre (1898), from which Gertrud Bell's translation seems to win more popularity than the others.⁷²⁶

Possessing a profound interest for the Oriental art and culture which continued all her life long, Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell (1868–1926) an English administrator, traveller, writer, historian, mountaineer and archaeologist became a significant figure in British and Iraqi politics due to her awareness and extensive travels in the Middle East. According to Nancy Workman, she has been "the subject of at least eight full-length biographies [...] from which the most recent popular biography [belongs to] Georgina Howell, [entitled] *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations*, [...] when her obituaries referred to her as the Queen of Mesopotamia and lavishly praised her many achievements as a diplomat."⁷²⁷ She learned Persian and Arabic and produced several works including *Safar Nameh* or *Persian Pictures: A Book of*

⁷²³ Workman, Nancy V. "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*". *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 53, Number 2, 2010, p. 195.

⁷²⁴ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 34.

⁷²⁵ Another translator of Hafiz, not mentioned in Arberry's account, was Henry Wilberforce Clarke (1840-1905) who published his translation of *The Divan* in 1891, a few years before Bell's translation. His translation consists of long notes elaborating the poems and proving their symbolic nature.

⁷²⁶ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 34. Also referred in "Translations of Hafiz in English" in *Encyclopedia Iranica* <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez-x>

⁷²⁷ Workman, Nancy V. "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*". *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 53, Number 2, 2010, p. 182.

*Travel*⁷²⁸ (1894), a collection of essays about her travels, a celebrated translation of the Hafez's Divan into English entitled *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*⁷²⁹ (1897) and *The Teachings of Hafiz* (1897) concerning "the treasures of eastern languages".⁷³⁰

In spite of Bell's diplomatic and political situation, the translation and elaboration of *The Divan of Hafez* was neither political nor colonial. In the introduction to her *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*, Bell presents an outline concerning the history of Persia, the socio-political circumstances of the era, in which "scarcely a year passed undisturbed by civil war", the main happenings of the fourteenth century Fars⁷³¹, crucial in Hafiz's life. She compares the position of Shiraz "between Baghdad and Cairo" to that of "Venice between Rome and Constantinople, and, like Venice, she was obedient to neither lord."⁷³²

Bell defines the historical events in Hafiz' life; losing his patron, his associations with the monarchs, his "celebrated interview"⁷³³ with Timur Lang, Hafiz's biography including his intended journey to India and "the dervish habit of which he speaks so contemptuously".⁷³⁴ Bell refers to Hafiz's titles such as "the Tongue of the Hidden and the Interpreter of Secrets"⁷³⁵ and his poetic career through which he flourished to be a poet to conclude that "no European who reads his Divan but will be taken captive by the delicious music of his songs, the delicate rhythms, the beat of the refrain, and the charming imagery"⁷³⁶. She considers him like "Sa'di and Jami and Jelaeddin Rumi", echoing Sufism, the origin of which might be found either in India, "imported" to Persia, "after the time of Mahommad" or in the "development of the doctrines of Zoroaster

⁷²⁸ Bell could follow her dream of visiting Persia several months after her uncle had been appointed Minister in Tehran in 1892. There she was attracted to culture and literature of the East. In her account of the romantic tour, she tried to present her readers with "the secret, mysterious life of the East flows on—a life into which no European can penetrate" (p.40).

⁷²⁹ It has also been printed as *The Garden of Heaven*.

⁷³⁰ Lukitz, Liora. *A Quest in the Middle East; Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006. p. 26.

⁷³¹ The Province in which Shiraz is located as the central city.

⁷³² Bell, Gertrude Lowthian. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. London: William Heinemann, 1897. p. 10.

⁷³³ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 7.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 31.

which the Prophet's successors silenced but did not destroy".⁷³⁷ Bell believes in the improbability of the two above mentioned possible origins for Sufism and refers to the third theory that:

The origins of Sufism are to be looked for in the philosophy of the Greeks, strangely distorted by the Eastern mind, and in the influence of Christianity; but though the works of Plato are frequently quoted by mystical writers, and though it seems certain that they owe something both to the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria and to the Christian religion, this would not be enough to account for the great perversion of Mahommad's teaching... [Sufism] had grown up, side by side with Zoroastrianism, a mysticism eminently congenial to the peculiar temper of the Persian mind so congenial, indeed, that it was not stamped out by the Arab conquerors, but insinuated itself into the stern and practical creed which they forced upon a nation of dreamers and metaphysicians.⁷³⁸

Then Bell discusses the keynotes of Sufism as "the union, the identification of God and man... a doctrine which lies at the root of all spiritual religions". The highest good for Sufis to accomplish, Bell adds, is the "annihilation of the actual to forget that they have a separate existence, and to lose themselves in the Divinity as a drop of water is lost in the ocean"⁷³⁹, reminiscent of Keats "Negative Capability" and Shelley's "Panttheism" and Neo-Platonism:

This losing of the soul in God is only a return (and here we come near to such Platonic doctrines as those embodied in the Phaedrus) to the conditions which existed before birth into the world...the soul of the Sufi longs to return to God, from whom it has been separated by the mortal veil of the body. But this reunion is pushed much further by the Eastern philosophers than by Plato; it implies, according to them, the complete annihilation of distinct personality, corresponding to the conditions, quite unlike those described by the Platonic Socrates, which they believe to have existed before birth. There is nothing which is not from God and a part of God. In himself he contains both being and not being; when he chooses he casts his reflection upon the void, and that reflection is the universe.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ Ibid, p. 32.

⁷³⁸ Ibid, pp. 33-4.

⁷³⁹ Ibid, p. 35.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 36-7.

Bell alludes to different literary works of the era to elaborate the conception of Sufism, including Jami's *Yusuf and Zuleikha* and *Gulshen-i-Raz*,⁷⁴¹ to conclude that Sufism, at least in its apparent doctrines, is contrary to the rules derived from Islam; in Sufism, there is "neither good nor evil, since both alike flow from God, from whom all flows".⁷⁴² Also, according to Sufism, no discrepancy exists between God and man; "the soul is but an emanation from God, and a man is therefore justified in saying with the fanatic Hallaj,⁷⁴³ 'I am God.' [Since] he was only repeating aloud what all Sufis believe to be true."⁷⁴⁴ In relation to Sufism, as Bell discusses, "God is not only the Creator and Ruler of the world, he is also the Essentially Beautiful and the True Beloved,"⁷⁴⁵ the divine being who is both "the source and the object"⁷⁴⁶ of love.

Hafiz, according to Bell, appears to "rise above the narrow views of his co-religionists, to look upon the world from a wider standpoint. The asceticism of Sufi and orthodox he alike condemns"⁷⁴⁷ and deals with Sufism in a "broad and noble manner, which links it on to the highest codes of morality accepted among the civilised races of mankind."⁷⁴⁸ He is both enthusiastic about Sufism and critical of the religious performances of his era. Bell is aware that in some verses, Hafiz's allusion to the pleasures of life and wine do not refer to ecstasy with God. She believes in a "note of sincerity in his praise of love and wine" and compares Hafiz to Omar Khayyam, who was "wont to throw the garment of repentance annually into the fire of Spring"⁷⁴⁹. The idea, according to Workman, is based on the modern "standard critical view":

...that the poetry by Hafez can be both mystical expression and secular verse, Bell was unusual in stating that opinion in 1897. Against the prevailing tradition of regarding the verse as only mystical, she offers the possibility that the strength of the poetry lies precisely in its ability to create a tension between these two different forms of knowledge

⁷⁴¹ A collection of poems written in the 14th century by Sheikh Mahmoud Shabestari. It is considered as one of the significant classical Persian works of Sufism.

⁷⁴² Gertrude Lowthian Bell. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. p. 40.

⁷⁴³ *Mansur-e Hallaj* (858 –922) was a Persian mystic poet and teacher of Sufism whose famous sentence "I am God (the Truth)" costed his life on the suspicion of heresy.

⁷⁴⁴ Gertrude Lowthian Bell. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. p. 41.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 49.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 55

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 50.

and understanding... Bell argues that Hafez does make use of the mystical tradition, but that he also does more than simply state religious understanding... Bell sees Hafez as a philosophic poet who values earthly pleasures (wine, sensual experience, companionship with the beloved) as links to divine understanding, as the means by which God helped mankind to understand the numinous, but also as a form of knowledge.⁷⁵⁰

On the poetry of Hafiz, she writes: "These are the utterances of a great poet, the imaginative interpreter of the heart of man; they are not of one age, or of another, but for all time." She also quotes Fitz-Gerald who was familiar with Hafiz's poetry and considered Hafiz as "the most Persian of the Persians":⁷⁵¹

He [Hafiz] is the best representative of their character, whether his Saki and wine be real or mystical. Their religion and philosophy is soon seen through, and always seems to me cuckooed over like a borrowed thing, which people once having got do not know how to parade enough. To be sure their roses and nightingales are repeated often enough. But Hafiz and old Omar Khayyam ring like true metal.⁷⁵²

Bell finds "curious coincidence" between the age of popularity of Persian mystical poetry and its "springing into existence in the West"; for example, she likens the songs of the Troubadours to the mystical poetry, both indicating deeper meanings than its apparent ones or finds affinities between Hafiz and Dante which are surprisingly contemporary. Bell considers both poets in the background of their historical epochs, their mystical knowledge, and the value of their poetry:

The Romance of the Rose comes nearer than any other Western allegory to a full-fledged mysticism worthy of an Oriental poet. St. Francis addresses his Redeemer in terms not very different from those used by Hafiz to express his longing after divine wisdom, and the Beatrice, perhaps of the *Vita Nuova*, certainly of the *Divine Comedy*, is no less intangible than the allegorical mistress (when she is allegorical) of the Persian.⁷⁵³

In the final pages of the extensive introduction, Bell defines the dictionary of Sufi language; for instance, "The tavern, is the place of instruction" or "the wine [is] the

⁷⁵⁰ Workman, Nancy V. "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*". *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 53, Number 2, 2010, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁵¹ Gertrude Lowthian Bell. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. p. 52

⁷⁵² *Ibid*, p. 53. Quotation is from Fitzgerald, cited by Bell.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 57.

spirit of divine knowledge which is poured out for his disciples"; similarly, "the idol is God, [and] beauty is the divine perfection".⁷⁵⁴ Finally, Bell states that "I am very conscious that my appreciation of the poet is that of the Western. Exactly on what grounds he is appreciated in the East it is difficult to determine, and what his compatriots make of his teaching it is perhaps impossible to understand".⁷⁵⁵

Gertrude Bell's translation of Hafiz, comprising forty three ghazals of his *Divan*, has been considered amongst the most popular translations of Hafiz, not only for its fidelity to the spirit of the original text, but also for the extensive elaborations in the introduction and endnotes. Professor Arberry calls her "Hafiz's most felicitous translator"⁷⁵⁶, in whose translations, according to Lukitz:

Gertrude Bell had not just attempted to unravel the secrets of a recently acquired language – Farsi – but she had also tried to use her own words to reflect the verses' hidden meanings. Familiar with Sufism, Gertrude Bell could, already, seize the full meaning of the precept *al-mujaza qantar al-haqiqah* (the 'phenomenal as a bridge to the real') and reflect it in her translations while emulating the perfection of the diwan's internal structure.⁷⁵⁷

Workman believes that "translating the Islamic mystical poetry of Hafez was a complex endeavor" for Bell, since she was "a lifelong outspoken atheist" and the subject of translation was "a medieval mystical poet" whose poetry "*The Divan*, had long been associated with the Sufi tradition of mysticism".⁷⁵⁸ However, Workman states that according to her living in "circumstances akin to those the poet was describing, she [Bell] captured the landscape he [Hafiz] described, the attitudes he held, and most importantly, the feelings he expressed, because she engaged with his work with her mind, body, and soul".⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 62.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 62-3.

⁷⁵⁶ Arberry, A. J. *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974. p. 14. Also in his *British Orientalists*, Arberry declares that "if any English rendering of Persian poetry deserves to share the celebrity of the *Rubaiyat*, it is surely the sweet singer of Shiraz in the version of Gertrude Bell" (p. 23).

⁷⁵⁷ Lukitz, Liora. *A Quest in the Middle East: Gertrude Bell and the Making of Modern Iraq*. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2006. p. 27.

⁷⁵⁸ Workman, Nancy V. "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*". *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 53, Number 2, 2010. p. 184.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 201.

Like her predecessors, in its form, Bell has not followed the mono-rhyme versification of Hafiz's Ghazal. She renders Hafiz's ghazals into a free verse translation in English. However, while Jones translated each couplet (bayt) of Hafiz's ghazal in a six line stanza, Bell's translation does not follow any stanzaic rule. The stanzas in her translation vary in the number of lines, number of stanzas, and even in the rhyme for each ghazal, consequently her translations lose the balance existed in the original poems. Sometimes, she applies three seven or eight-line stanzas (rhyming a b a b a c b c), each for two couplets (bayts) of Hafiz's ghazals, followed by a quatrain (rhyming a b a b) for the final couplet of the original poem such as the first Song.⁷⁶⁰ At times, her translation comprises four seven-line stanzas (rhyming a b a b c c a), like the second song⁷⁶¹ and in another occasion, her rendering includes two five-line stanzas (rhyming a a b b c) with a refrain and the third three-line stanza (a a b) accompanied by the same refrain. The accordance of these three stanzas is repeated once more to form the translation of the third song of Hafiz.⁷⁶²

Four seven-line stanzas (a b a c b d c), each stanza for one couplet of the original poem, and a quatrain (a b a b), for the last couplet, have formed Bell's translation of Song V, the famous ghazal of Hafez, as follows. In the notes of this song, Bell refers to other translations and states that "every translator of Hafiz has tried his hand upon this song, which is one of the most famous in the Divan. It is only right to inform the reader that the original is of great beauty".⁷⁶³

On Turkish maid of Shiraz! in thy hand
 If thou'lt take my heart, for the mole on thy cheek
 I would barter Bokhara and Samarkand.
 Bring, Cup-bearer, all that is left of thy wine!
 In the Garden of Paradise vainly thou'lt seek
 The lip of the fountain of Ruknabad,
 And the bowers of Mosalla where roses twine.

They have filled the city with blood and broil,
 Those soft-voiced Lulis for whom we sigh;
 As Turkish robbers fall on the spoil,

⁷⁶⁰ Gertrude Lowthian Bell. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*, p. 67-8.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 68-9.

⁷⁶² *Ibid*, p. 69-70

⁷⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 129.

They have robbed and plundered the peace of my heart.
 Dowered is my mistress, a beggar am I;
 What shall I bring her? a beautiful face
 Needs nor jewel nor mole nor the tiring-maid's art.

Brave tales of singers and wine relate,
 The key to the Hidden 'twere vain to seek;
 No wisdom of ours has unlocked that gate,
 And locked to our wisdom it still shall be.
 But of Joseph's beauty the lute shall speak;
 And the minstrel knows that Zuleika came forth,
 Love parting the curtains of modesty.

When thou spokest ill of thy servant 'twas well
 God pardon thee! for thy words were sweet ;
 Not unwelcomed the bitterest answer fell
 From lips where the ruby and sugar lay.
 But, fair Love, let good counsel direct thy feet;
 Far dearer to youth than dear life itself
 Are the warnings of one grown wise and grey!

The song is sung and the pearl is strung;
 Come hither, oh Hafiz, and sing again!
 And the listening Heavens above thee hung
 Shall loose o'er thy verse the Pleiades' chain.

Bell's translation, is a free translation with several omissions and additions, occasionally resulting in reshaping the poem to create a free rendering, based on the theme and images in the original verse of Hafiz. In their shared article, Kolahi and Goodarzi , compare the translations of Hafiz by Gertrude Bell (1897) and Wilberforce Clarke (1891), and discuss that Bell has applied more additions (expansions), omissions (reductions) and "semantic adjustment strategies" than Clarke. Furthermore, in her translations, "lexical types of expansion were more instrumental than syntactic types among all the used strategies".⁷⁶⁴

In spite of Bell's grandeur, according to culturally-specific concepts, some deviations from the original poem exist; as it was stated in the second chapter, the first couplet (bayt) of Hafiz's ghazal indicates that if the speaker-lover's beloved considers his feelings, he will bestow all the wealth of the world (symbolized in Samarkand and

⁷⁶⁴ Sholeh Kolahi and Mahyar Goodarzi. " Comparing the Use of Semantic Adjustment Strategies in Versed and Free-Verse Styles of the English Translations of Hafez Poetry". JELS, Vol. 1, No. 3, Spring 2010. p. 105-7.

Bokhara) for a minute part of her beauty embodied in her mole. The Persian expression *به دست آرد دل ما را* consists of " *دست /dast/:* hand", " *آرد /aarad/:* to bring, to take" and " *دل/del/:* heart", but the combination " *به دست آرد* " /be dast aarad/ means "to catch" and the whole phrase " *به دست آرد دل ما را* " means if she pays attention to my feelings, while it has been translated as "in thy hand/ If thou'lt take my heart", which presents an odd combination different from the original poem.

In the second stanza, Bell refers to blood and broil: "They have filled the city with blood and broil,/ Those soft-voiced Lulis for whom we sigh" for rendering "luli" (gipsy/ rude), "shokh" (impolite/ humorist/ warm-blooded), "Shiringar" (funny/ humorist) and "Shehrashob" (one who disturbs the city because of tremendous beauty)⁷⁶⁵, while in the original poem there is no evidence of the mentioned words. Also, the last three lines, for the next couplet of Hafiz's ghazal, have been translated as:

Dowered is my mistress, a beggar am I;
What shall I bring her? a beautiful face
Needs nor jewel nor mole nor the tiring-maid's art.

The translation is partly different from the original poem, since Hafiz's does not indicate richness or poorness, he says that the beauty of the beloved (earthly or Divine) is self-sufficient and independent of the speaker's love, like a beautiful face which does not need cosmetics.

Also, in the fourth stanza, Bell renders the speaker-lover as "servant", not mentioned in the original text:

When thou spokest ill of thy servant 'twas well
God pardon thee! for thy words were sweet ;
Not unwelcomed the bitterest answer fell
From lips where the ruby and sugar lay.

Compared with Jones' translation of the same couplet, it seems that his translation is more to the point:

What cruel answer have I heard!
And yet, by heaven, I love thee still;

⁷⁶⁵ See Chapter 2.

Can aught be cruel from thy lip?
 Yet say, how fell that bitter word
 From lips which streams of sweetness fill,
 Which nought but drops of honey lip?

Besides, the next line of the couplet is a rhetorical question, meaning "is it proper for the ruby sweet lips to utter bitter answers?", conveyed better in Jones' translation.

Gertrude Bell was not only "the most powerful woman in the British Empire in the years after World War I"⁷⁶⁶, as Janet Wallach believes, but also she was, and even today is considered) undoubtedly among the best translators of Hafiz. However, translations from the Persian masterpieces were neither restricted to Hafiz, nor to English translators; numerous efforts were made beyond the borders of England, which exceed the coverage of this discussion. Except for the translations of Cowell, FitzGerald, Tennyson and Arnold, some other scholars such as Edward Henry Palmer (1840-82) translated some parts of Rumi's *Masnawi* in *The Song of the Reed* (1877), a "quite charming and melodious"⁷⁶⁷ translation, indicating his profound knowledge about the East. Palmer also translated poems of Hafiz, Firdausi and Khayyam. Palmer's *Song of the Reed* begins as follows:

List to the reed, that now with gentle strains
 Of separation from its home complains.

Down where the waring rushes grow
 I murmured with the passing blast,
 And ever in my notes of woe
 There live the echoes of the past.

My breast is pierced with sorrow's dart,
 That I my piercing wail may raise;
 Ah me! the lone and widowed heart
 Must ever weep for bye-gone days.⁷⁶⁸

However, it is worth mentioning that like the translation of other Persian literary works, translating from Rumi, too, started with Sir William Jones. Franklin Lewis refers to Arberry's anthology of verse translations of Persian poetry, *The Rubaiyat of Omar*

⁷⁶⁶ Wallach, Janet. *Desert Queen*. New York : Anchor Books Editions, 1999. Prologue, p.21.

⁷⁶⁷ Franklin D. Lewis. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West*. London: Oneworld Publications, 2014. p. 721

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 721-2.

*Khayyam and other Persian Poems*⁷⁶⁹, in which "Arberry selects Sir William Jones' version⁷⁷⁰ to represent the opening lines of the *Masnavi*", since "Jones' rendering, though the very first attempt in English, seems to be the most poetically successful"⁷⁷¹. The above mentioned excerpt, was translated by Jones as follows and was printed in *Asiatick Researches* (1794):

Hear, how yon reed in sadly pleasing tales
 Departed bliss and present woe bewails!
 "With me, from native banks untimely torn,
 Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn
 O! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent,
 Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament."⁷⁷²

Among the other translators of Rumi's *Masnavi*, Sir James William Redhouse's *The Mesnevi* (1881), Edward Henry Whinfield's *Teachings of Rumi* (1887), Charles Edward Wilson's translation Book II of *Masnavi* in two volumes (1910), Reynold Nicolson's translation of all six books of *Masnavi* (1926), and Arberry's *Tales from the Masnavi* (1993), can be mentioned.

The principal pantheon of Persian poets, including, Hafiz, Sa'di, Firdausi, Khayyam, Rumi, and Jami were introduced into the English community through the Herculean efforts of the most significant Orientalist, sir William Jones, so that by the culmination of nineteenth century, not only English men of letters and individuals knew those names and read the translation of their masterpieces, but also their works enjoyed a high reputation in Germany and the united States. Also, it was through Jones that Persian lyrical and Sufi poetry, found their ways to the translations to cause an enormous effect on the nineteenth-century English literature.

The authors of the nineteenth century, as Meester says, "have endeavored, and mostly very successfully, to give an imitation, as faithful as possible, of the style and language peculiar to the Orient, they have studied the eastern literatures and have

⁷⁶⁹ According to Franklin Lewis, the work appeared in the *Everyman's Library series* (London: Dent, 1954; frequent reprints)

⁷⁷⁰ Jones' *Persian Grammar* included a brief mention of "the *Mesnavi* of the excellent Geláleddîn", a quotation of the first line of the "*Mathnavi*" as a prosodic example, along with a summary translation.

⁷⁷¹ Franklin D. Lewis. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West*. London: Oneworld Publications, 2014. p. 726.

⁷⁷² *Ibid*, p. 708. The *Collected Works of Sir William Jones*, ed. Garland Cannon, 13 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 4: 230–31

reproduced them faithfully"⁷⁷³. Their sources of imitation, as it was discussed, were either the translations from Oriental literary works, the Romantics or the travel accounts of the age, introducing the East as they had visited. The sort of imitation of the oriental features varied. For some, this imitation was restricted to choosing the oriental names for the characters, for some others, imitating from the theme and style was prolific and for the other group, translation or retranslation of once-translated works.

Enthusiasm for the Orient, its language, its culture and literature, led to numerous translations of the Oriental literary works during the final decades of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century; however, it is considered by Said as a form of colonial power:

Faced with the obvious decrepitude and political impotence of the modern Oriental, the European Orientalist found it his duty to rescue some portion of a lost, past classical Oriental grandeur in order to "facilitate ameliorations" in the present Orient. What the European took from the classical Oriental past was a vision (and thousands of facts and artifacts) which only he could employ to the best advantage; to the modern Oriental he gave facilitation and amelioration—and, too, the benefit of his judgment as to what was best for the modern Orient.⁷⁷⁴

That Britain turned to be the Imperialistic supreme power during the nineteenth century is out of question. Britain colonized several parts of the world, including the Middle East:

The greatest empire of all time, the one that stretched over a greater amount of ocean, covered a greater amount of land, contained a greater number of people than any before it, was the British Empire of Queen Victoria. Her superpower left its mark on continents and subcontinents, from Europe to Australia to India to America to Africa to Asia, from Adelaide to Wellington, Bombay to Rangoon, Ottawa to the Virgin Islands, Alexandria to Zanzibar, Aden to Singapore.⁷⁷⁵

However, demeaning the enthusiastic efforts of translators and literary men to an instrument in the hands of power, is a misrepresentation of reality. Jones, in the eighteenth century, with his devotedness to the Asiatic literature proved to be a

⁷⁷³ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 76.

⁷⁷⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. P. 79.

⁷⁷⁵ Wallach, Janet. *Desert Queen*. New York : Anchor Books Editions, 1999. P. 26.

counterexample for Said's theory. During the nineteenth century, there existed other literary scholars whose devotion to the literature of the Oriental lands surpassed the imperialistic policies of their country or even their profession. Take as specimen, Gertrude Bell; in spite of her profession as a Victorian diplomat, in the service of British affairs and involved in a colonial enterprise, in her translation of Hafiz, no hint of imperialism and colonialism could be traced. She loved Hafiz ardently and sought solace for her lost love in the lines of Hafiz's ghazals. In her article, "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*", Workman asserts that Bell's "enthusiasms for Persia, its poetry and people were genuine"⁷⁷⁶, and states that:

The interpretive situation regarding Bell's *The Divan of Hafez* was anything but political and colonial. Her version was clearly a convergence of many events, including a failed love affair and her personal association with the publisher and other influential Orientalists.⁷⁷⁷

When Bell talks about Hafiz in the preface to her translation, her view is not that of a superior to an inferior; rather, she compares Hafiz to the literary giants of the world, such as Dante. She believes that Hafiz's poetry offers a universal, everlasting sight into "provinces of thought that we of later age were destined to Inhabit"⁷⁷⁸.

The other example to prove the translator-poet's enthusiastic feeling for the Oriental poet, with no intention of colonialism, is FitzGerald. His rendering of Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* was anything, but colonial. FitzGerald was an agnostic, who found a similar ideology of religious skepticism in Khayyam's poetry and loved to transfer it to his countrymen, through translation. Based on his enthusiasm, he reproduced a masterpiece, introducing Khayyam to England and to the world. It does not seem that FitzGerald was after a colonial purpose, while he published his first edition anonymously. Like Jones' translations, which connected the East to the West,

⁷⁷⁶ Workman, Nancy V. "Gertrude Bell and the Poetics of Translation: *The Divan of Hafez*". *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, Volume 53, Number 2, 2010, p. 200.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 197.

⁷⁷⁸ Bell, Gertrude Lowthian. *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1897. p. 60.

FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat* can also be considered as a bridge connecting the East to the West, ancient to modern, Romantic sentimentalism to Victorian skepticism.

Chapter 5

Sir William Jones, the Transatlantic

5-1- American Transcendentalism

The Oriental Renaissance, as Schwab called it, originated in England, went beyond its borders and affected German Romanticism, to find its terminal domicile in America in the nineteenth century, during which, some of the prominent authors of the period, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Hawthorne, and Melville, produced their significant works deeply influenced by Oriental philosophy.⁷⁷⁹ The ideas of these authors, particularly those of Emerson and Thoreau, were interwoven with Transcendentalism, a "nineteenth-century (1830's) religious, philosophical, and literary movement of men of letters in New England" who were "loosely bound together by adherence to an idealistic system of thought based on a belief in the essential unity of all creation, the innate goodness of humanity, and the supremacy of insight over logic and experience for the revelation of the deepest truths."⁷⁸⁰

The term Transcendentalism was based on Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) philosophy, who termed "all knowledge transcendental which is concerned not with objects but with our mode of knowing objects."⁷⁸¹ Centered in Boston and in Concord, Massachusetts, it contained complicated philosophical and religious ideas, based on which man's knowledge concerning the world goes beyond what he can experience through logic or the physical senses, rather, it comes through intuition. In other words, not only mysticism, but also its thinking, in general, cannot function without intuition for Transcendentalists. The central figures of this movement were "Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Orestes Brownson, Elizabeth Palmer

⁷⁷⁹ Matthiessen, F. O. "Method and Scope". *The American Renaissance*. (Bloom, Harold. Ed.). New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2004., pp. 41-50.

⁷⁸⁰ Encyclopedia Britanica, "New England Transcendentalism".
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Transcendentalism-American-movement>

⁷⁸¹ Kawohl, Kurt. *Transcendentalism: A New Revelation*. New York: Writers Club Press, 2002. p. 1.

Peabody, and James Freeman Clarke, as well as George Ripley, Bronson Alcott, the younger W.E. Channing, and W.H. Channing"⁷⁸². However, Transcendentalism was too comprehensive to be restricted to geographical borders. It originated from numerous factors among which one can mention the developing state of America in the nineteenth century milieu. It flourished throughout the period of American development and increasing national self-awareness. Jerry Phillips and Andrew Ladd trace the multidimensional growth of America as the proper background for Transcendentalism and say:

Geographically, the nation was pushing the frontiers to the Pacific; politically, it was finding its identity as a democratic government divided into executive, judicial, and legislative branches; socially, it was in a fervent state of development, constantly creating and setting up new communities within its ever-expanding boundaries. Such growth and advancement imbued Americans with a collective sense of optimism and belief in progress. Americans knew they had a special place in history, and that feeling pervaded everything they thought, did, or believed. It is in this environment that a new American philosophy would take root: Transcendentalism. As much religion as philosophy, Transcendentalism provided a system of beliefs that adequately reflected the prevailing thoughts and opinions of Americans. The Transcendentalist movement created a romantic philosophy that would become a rallying point for America's greatest thinkers, artists, and poets, who were already intent upon finding a way to express the essential spirit of the American experience.⁷⁸³

Yet, several other factors were influential in the formation of Transcendentalism, such as political issues, social reforms (e.g. the antislavery movement, labor protests, and the women's rights movement), dominant religious philosophies (e.g. Unitarianism and Puritanism), philosophical ideas (Neo-Platonism, the philosophical ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)), Asian religious convictions,

⁷⁸² Encyclopedia Britanica, "New England Transcendentalism".
<https://www.britannica.com/event/Transcendentalism-American-movement>

⁷⁸³ Phillips, Jerry and Andrew Ladd. *Romanticism and transcendentalism: 1800–1860*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006. p. 30.

and European Orientalism and Romanticism. As far as this study is concerned, only those related to the Orient will be considered.⁷⁸⁴

In his *American Transcendentalists and Asian Religions*, Arthur Versluis traces the American Transcendentalist movement beginning with the discovery of "Hindu and Buddhist works only in the 1840s and after".⁷⁸⁵ He calls Jones "the greatest of the early British Orientalists", based on whose "Herculean efforts, without exaggeration profoundly and almost single-handedly transformed the European view of Asia from the earlier presupposition of the East as barbarous, to a vision of an exotic and highly civilized world in its own right".⁷⁸⁶ In Versluis view, the first buds of Transcendentalism owed their existence to Jones' translations of sacred Oriental scripts:

It was, in fact, to the British legal system in India that the greatest of the early British Orientalists, Sir William Jones, naturally gravitated. [Jones'] access to Hindu sacred books and Sanskrit [...and his translation of] the laws of Manu and the Hitopadesa, were later influential on the Transcendentalists.⁷⁸⁷

Meanwhile, both English and German Romanticism, which were influential in the development of Transcendentalism, were affected by Jones and owed their improvement to his efforts. The poetry of the English Romantic period, as it was discussed previously, was replete with the allusions to the East, so that from the harems of Byron's *Tales* to the meadows of Southey's *Thalaba*, from paradisiacal Oriental realm in Coleridge's "Kubla Khan" to the valleys of Kashmir in Shelley's poetry, it echoed Jones' voice.

Likewise, German Romanticism was affected, among the other factors, by the Orient and Hindu mythology through Jones' translations. Like the English Romantics, main German disciples revealed their exaltation of the translated works by Jones, such

⁷⁸⁴ <https://www.encyclopedia.com/philosophy-and-religion/philosophy/philosophy-terms-and-concepts/transcendentalism>, passim. Also <http://uudb.org/articles/ralphwaldoemerson.html>

⁷⁸⁵ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 7.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 18.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 18.

as his 1789 translations of *Sakuntala*⁷⁸⁸, which was the "finest literary contribution to India."⁷⁸⁹ The play, according to Cannon and Franklin in their shared article, received admiring reactions by the German Romantics; it was "for Herder his 'indische Blume'; Schiller rhapsodized about *Sacontala* as the ideal of feminine beauty; Novalis lovingly addressed his fiancée as 'Sakontala'; Friedrich Schlegel pronounced India as the source of all human wisdom; and Goethe captured the essence of *Sacontalá* fever in the line: 'Nenn ich, Sakontala, dich, und so ist Alles gesagt' (When I name you, Sacontalá, is said)⁷⁹⁰".⁷⁹¹

Herder, Goethe, Hegel, and the brothers Schlegel, the leading figures of the German Romanticism and Idealism, were all attracted to the Oriental literature through

⁷⁸⁸ *Sakuntala (Shakuntala, or Sacontalá)*, also known as *The Recognition of Sakuntala*, is a Sanskrit play by the ancient Indian poet Kalidasa, dramatizing the story of Sakuntala told in the epic *Mahabharata*. The date of composing the play probably goes back to the 4th century AD.

The play narrates the story of Sakuntala, the daughter of the sage Vishwamitra; being abandoned by her parents at birth, Shakuntala is brought up in an isolated hermitage of the sage Kanva, whose absence accompanied by the other elders of the hermitage is resulted in a sudden meeting between Sakuntala and Dushyanta, the king of Hastinapura, who has come hunting in the forest and has been fascinated by Shakuntala. He courts her in royal style, and marries her. He then leaves to go back to the kingly affairs in the capital while giving a ring to Sakuntala, a royal sign by which she can claim her position as queen.

Drawn in her fantasies, Sakuntala fails to attend to the sage Durvasa resulting in his curse of the maiden so that her new husband forgets her survival. Sakuntala travels to meet her husband, while losing her royal ring crossing the river. Accordingly, the king fails to acknowledge her and Shakuntala is abandoned by her companions.

The ring is discovered after a while by a fisherman in the belly of a fish, and Dushyanta regains his memory by reminding Sakuntala, but he heads for a war. Defeating his enemies, Dushyanta is offered a journey through the Hindu heavens that lasts several years. After returning to the earth, Dushyanta finds Shakuntala and their son by chance, and is reunited with them.

The play was first translated into English by Sir William Jones in 1789, first published in Calcutta, followed by other republications in 1790, 1792 and 1796. It was also translated into German by Georg Forster in 1791.

⁷⁸⁹ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 313.

⁷⁹⁰ Franklin entitles a chapter of his *Orientalist Jones* as "Europe Falls in Love with Sakuntala" to reflect the significance of the work for Europeans. It opens with the following lines from Goethe,⁷⁹⁰ in praise of Jones's translation of *Sacontala*:

Willst du die Blu"then des fru"hen, die Fru"chte des spa"teren Jahres,
Willst du, was reizt und entzu"ckt, willst du was sa"ttigt und na"hrt,
Willst du den Himmel, die Erde mit Einem Namen begreifen,
Nenn ich, Sakontala, dich, und so ist Alles gesagt.

[If you want the spring's blossoms and the fruits of the maturer year,
What is seductive and creates joy, or what is satisfying and nourishing,
If you want to encompass Heaven and Earth in one single name,
Then I name you, Sacontala, and everything is said.]

(Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Chap. 7, p. 251.)

⁷⁹¹ Cannon, Garland and Michael J. Franklin. "A Cymmrodor claims kin in Calcutta: an assessment of Sir William Jones as philologist, polymath, and pluralist". *Welsh Journals. THSC, Volume: N.S. 11, 2005*. p.67.

reading Jones. The ideas and works of the German Romantic authors, like those of their English counterparts, were transmitted to America by the Americans who were traveling or studying in Europe through the books they brought back home or the translations they did from the German works. Influenced by English and German Romanticism, the beginning of the nineteenth century happened to be the starting point of American Romanticism, which reached its culmination by the mid-century. The interest of the English and German Romantic authors in the Orient, consequent to the translations, primarily by Sir William Jones and other Orientalists, would find voice in the works of Emerson, Thoreau and other Transcendentalists. From "German philosophers such as Fichte and Herder", as Kawohl states, Transcendentalism derived its "mystic impulse" and from the eminent German Romantic poets such as "Goethe, Novalis, Jean-Paul, Heine, [and others], it acquired its imagistic language and themes. German thought was by and large filtered through English translations—Coleridge and Carlyle's among the best—and acquaintance with these and the work of other English Romantics such as Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Byron, enriched the Americans' perspectives as well".⁷⁹²

Inheriting a rich legacy of Romanticism both from England and Germany, Transcendentalism was born as a form of American Romanticism, while echoing the mottos of the European Romantics, and looking forward to a more extensive stance. Romantic idealistic philosophy, its profound indebtedness to the magnificence of nature, the idealization of the individual, the emphasis on the democratic and revolutionary principles and yearning for the Orient were all mirrored in the American Romanticism to produce an innovative movement named Transcendentalism, based on which the American Romantic authors not only longed for a magnificent past in the Orient, but also looked forward to creating an ideal future in their homeland based on what they had acquired from the past and the Orient.⁷⁹³ Accordingly, as a humanistic

⁷⁹² Kawohl, Kurt. *Transcendentalism: A New Revelation*. New York: Writers Club Press, 2002. p. 1.

⁷⁹³ As an example, one can mention to the works of Washington Irving (1783 –1859) such as *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon* (1819–1820) , through which he indicates the differences between the European and American view points; according to Irving, European Romanticism had an idealization of the past, while American Romanticism was hopeful toward the future.

philosophy, Transcendentalism believed in the inherent goodness of human beings, cherished human potentials, advocated the spiritual and moral and was critical about the materialism and industrialization which debased man. The orators of movement exhibited its principles through educational sermons and essays and conveyed their support of the abolition of slavery.

Like their European counterparts, the tendency toward the Orient captured the attentions of the significant American authors of the nineteenth century. Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman were so intensely affected by the Oriental beliefs and philosophy that they were entitled as the Brahmins of America. Emerson and Thoreau, according to Versluis, wrote "many of their works with the Bhagavad Gita, the Laws of Manu, the Puranas, and poets like Saadi [and Hafiz] for reference". Without Oriental religions, "many Transcendentalist works could not exist in the same form, and much second-generation Transcendentalist work would not exist at all."⁷⁹⁴

As in Europe, the *Arabian Nights* became so popular in America that "from 1803 to 1833 there were thirty-three editions and reprints" of the work. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "in images inspired by the *Arabian Nights*, describes his search for the secrets of the unconscious".⁷⁹⁵ In 1823, Emerson described his admiration of the work in a letter he wrote to his Aunt Mary, who had similar interests in the Orient.⁷⁹⁶ Also, Washington Irving, Edgar Allen Poe and Mark Twain, according to Meester, were among the other American authors who showed traces of the *Arabian Nights* in their works:

That Washington Irving in his *Alhambra* (1832) should have fallen under the spell of Arabia is not astonishing, since the whole atmosphere of the *Alhambra* must turn one's thoughts in that direction. Several of the stories and legends, that are told in the *Alhambra*, show distinct features of the *Arabian Nights*...In the *Hall of the Two Sisters* Irving says: "It is impossible to contemplate this scene without feeling the early associations of Arabian romance, and almost expecting to see

⁷⁹⁴ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 10.

⁷⁹⁵ Edmondson, Phillip N. "The Persians of Concord". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p.213.

⁷⁹⁶ Ekhtiyar, Mansur. "The Chronological Development of Emerson's Interest in Persian Mysticism". in *Sufism and American Literary Masters* (Mehdi Aminrazavi. Ed.), p. 56.

the white arm of some mysterious princess beckoning from the gallery,
or some dark eye sparkling through the lattice." ⁷⁹⁷

Although the Transcendentalists' innovation of the Orient was foreshadowed by their Platonist and Neo-Platonist understandings, Transcendentalism owed a great part of its philosophy to the Asian religions and ideologies in order to perceive the full universal vision of human religious dreams. It was a boundless step beyond the ordinary material world in which the physical features turned out to be demonstrations of a sophisticated spiritual world. On the other hand, that spiritual feature of the universe was assumed to be found in every individual, so that each represented the ultimate truth. With a rich investment in Western ideology and Eastern spiritual knowledge, acquired through translations, Transcendentalism formed a new understanding in order to develop human life to a more elevated destiny. Transcendentalism, like Romanticism, was a reaction against the conventions of Neoclassicism and the ancient forms of Greek perfection, as well as a reaction against Unitarianism and the excessive rationalism of the Enlightenment.

The Transcendentalists went beyond old European ideas, looking for new perceptions, "reveled in the new realms of religious imagination, and sought ways of assimilating their global discoveries into a new world view that was in harmony with what they were seeing, perceiving, feeling, and experiencing"⁷⁹⁸. They believed in the prominence of a direct relationship with God and with nature "face to face" in an "original relation to the universe,"⁷⁹⁹ what Emerson referred to as the "Over-soul", a structure within which that direct relationship and unity between man, God and nature is possible:

The Supreme Critic on the errors of the past and the present, and the only prophet of that which must be, is that great nature in which we rest as the earth lies in the soft arms of the atmosphere; that Unity, that Over-Soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and

⁷⁹⁷ De Meester, Marie E. *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early Nineteenth Century*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter University, 1915. p. 18.

⁷⁹⁸ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011. p.13.

⁷⁹⁹ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1950. p. 3.

made one with all other ...We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles. Meantime within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty, to which every part and particle is equally related; the eternal ONE.⁸⁰⁰

These ideas were similar to the philosophies of Neo-Platonism from the West and Sufism from the East, based on which, every part of nature including human soul reflected an image of the divine spirit, leading to a direct understanding of God, a Sufi sense according to which "the whole nature evidences divinity, absolute beauty is reflected in all natural objects and thus in every self-reliant man who could use nature as his language".⁸⁰¹

Sufism or Oriental (particularly Islamic) mysticism, as a religious doctrine, which shares different characteristics with American Transcendentalism, according to Needleman, is a "system of ideas rooted in the great perennial vision of man and reality that lies at the heart of all the world's spiritual traditions,"⁸⁰² based on which, as for the Romantics, imagination is "not merely the power of visualization, somewhere in between sense and reason, as it had been for Aristotle . . . but a creative power by which the mind 'gains insight into reality,' reads nature as a symbol of something behind or within nature."⁸⁰³ Accordingly, the Sufi poets were "the inspired men of their people" who applied "their cultivated thought and memory and wit to demonstrate their admiration for the beautiful and, more importantly, for the divine".⁸⁰⁴ As a result, the Sufi doctrines, with themes like *carpe diem*, "the vanity of the world, the analogies between experience in Nature and in love, and the inability of human reason to explain or address the world's mysteries" found their way to Persian poetry, particularly the

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid, Essay " The Over-Soul". p. 262.

⁸⁰¹ Marwan M. Obeidat, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient", in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p.83.

⁸⁰² Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. Foreword by Jacob Needleman, p. xii.

⁸⁰³ Wellek, Rene. "The Concept of Romanticism in literary History". Printed in *Romantic Writings*. (edited by Stephen Bygrave).New York: Routledge / The Open University, 1996. p. 326. Also quoted in Leonard Lewisohn's "English Romantics and Persian Sufi Poets" in *Sufism and American Literary Masters* (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), p. 26.

⁸⁰⁴ Marwan M. Obeidat, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient", in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014., p.84.

ghazal, to provide an "image of the East" as a "place of great wisdom".⁸⁰⁵ Persian Sufi poetry, as Aminrazavi states, "had reached Concord, where the Sufi poets found an audience that appreciated them on philosophical and religious as well as literary levels." The New England authors, including the Transcendentalists, "drew from the same available sources to produce unique written reactions in the forms of poetry, essays, and letters, all manifesting a similar attraction to the Persian-inspired ideals of Sufism".⁸⁰⁶

Influenced by Oriental mysticism, almost all the Transcendentalists of the era assumed a Heavenly spirit, a "Divine Essence", as the fundamental term in the study of Nature that gave life to the entire universe and at the same time was available to every human being, directly. Nature, the shared language of the Sufis and Transcendentalists, was considered as "the most accessible way to experience the Divine Essence ..., untrammelled by human hands, as this allowed for direct perception without first negotiating the sometimes narrow path of logical reasoning".⁸⁰⁷ Emerson, the spokesman of Transcendentalism, whose essay *Nature* was an organized explanation of the main doctrines of Transcendentalism, under the influence of Oriental mysticism, particularly Sufism, designated a world in which almost everything was a symbol of the spirit, and all the nature ended in God, as he wrote "Nature is the symbol of the spirit."⁸⁰⁸ In order to experience nature directly, Thoreau selected seclusion at Walden Pond, where he witnessed the "indescribable innocence"⁸⁰⁹ of nature and had a very intimate relationship with it. Thoreau's description of his togetherness with nature implies the significance of the concept in Transcendentalism, a shared characteristic in the Transcendentalists:

⁸⁰⁵ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. "Introduction" by Mehdi Aminrazavi p. 2.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

⁸⁰⁷ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011. p.13.

⁸⁰⁸ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1950. "Nature", p. 14.

⁸⁰⁹ Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden or, Life in the Woods* (1854). United States: Literary Classics of the U.S reprint, 1985.p. 115.

For the Romantics withdrawal into nature was a way towards understanding the complexities of nature. For such reasons, these three friends [Emerson, Thoreau, and Amos Bronson Alcott] in Concord regularly went to the wildernesses of New England, Thoreau more fully than the others. Emerson wrote "We nestle in nature, and draw our living as parasites from her roots and grains, and we receive glances from the heavenly bodies, which call us to solitude and foretell the remotest future."⁸¹⁰

The members of the Concord circle of Transcendentalists were influenced "in a very deep and thoroughgoing way by the philosophies conveyed in Asian religious texts,"⁸¹¹ so that the elements of the Oriental religions are seen abundantly in their works. Emerson's works reflect numerous direct or indirect influences of those convictions, particularly Sufism; the principal tone in most of his works is Oriental, rather than Neo-platonic and the Persian Sufi poets "influence [him] more profoundly than any other group of Oriental writers"⁸¹². Likewise, in addition to different Oriental allusions in Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), his *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), is occupied with the Oriental mystic perception of the Buddha, the *Bhagavad Gita*, Dowlat Shah, Hafiz, and others, relating this work to the body of Hindu sacred literature. Similarly, Alcott's conception of the "Bible of Mankind" consists of the comparative study of the world religions, the divine perception collected from "Homer, Zoroaster, Vishnu, Gotama, Confucius, Mencius, Mahomet, the mystics of the Middle Ages and of times later".⁸¹³

These authors were connected to the Oriental fountains of knowledge, literature, and ideology through reading the translations done by the Orientalists who paved the way for transmitting the literary heritage of the East to the West. Here, still stood Sir William Jones, whose works were "among the most influential Oriental books read in

⁸¹⁰ Loloj, Parvin. "Emerson and Aspects of Sa'di's Reception", printed in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 112.

⁸¹¹ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011. p.13

⁸¹² Marwan M. Obeidat, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient", in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p.80.

⁸¹³ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 102.

Concord,"⁸¹⁴ and whose efforts in introducing the Eastern culture and literature was as prominent in American Oriental studies as in the English ones. In addition to the Hindu religions, he introduced Sufism, through the mystical poetry of Hafiz, Sa'di, Rumi, Khayyam and others, which turned out to be among the significant philosophies in Transcendentalism. Through translations, pioneered by Jones and Anquetil-Duperron, the Oriental outlook was not only conveyed to the European Romantic poets and American Transcendentalists, but also "Manu and Zoroaster" were "domesticated" by them, so that Emerson states: "How easily these old worships of Moses, Zoroaster, of Menu, of Socrates, domesticate themselves in the mind, I cannot find any antiquity in them. They are mine as much as theirs".⁸¹⁵

Versluis traces the roots of such domestication in American Orientalism in the significant Orientalist figure, Jones. For proving his claim, Versluis refers to the ideas of James Freeman Clarke, the most noticeable Unitarian spokesman and the author of Orientalist articles in American general-interest magazines in the nineteenth century who found his source of knowledge concerning the East in Jones' translations, particularly his "Sacontala, or the Fatal Ring, an Indian Drama translated from the original Sanskrit and Pracrit".⁸¹⁶ The tendency toward the East, in a similar way can be seen in most of the American authors of the nineteenth century, so that in his "William Jones: the Copernicus of History", O. P. Kejariwal refers to Walt Whitman, as a distinguished nineteenth century American poet who "echoed Sir William Jones's sentiments in his "Passage to India" (1871), of which a stanza reads thus:

Lo, soul, seest thou not God's purpose from the first?
The earth to be spann'd, connected by network,
The races, neighbors, to marry and be given in marriage,
The oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought near,
The lands to be welded together."⁸¹⁷

(*Leaves of Grass*, ll. 31-35)

⁸¹⁴ Loloj, Parvin. "Emerson and Aspects of Sa'di's Reception", in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p.92.

⁸¹⁵ Cannon, Garland and Kevin Brine. Editors. *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)*. New York: New York University Press, 1995. "Introduction", p. 18.

⁸¹⁶ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 152.

⁸¹⁷ Cannon, Garland and Kevin Brine. Editors. *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)*. New York: New York University Press, 1995. p. 115.

Fascination with the Oriental literature, particularly Classical Persian poetry, was spreading by the final years of the 1840s; Hafiz, Sa'di, Nizami, Firdawsi and some other classical Persian poets were well known and became the source of inspiration for the Concord circle of literary men:

Celebrating the spiritual qualities and creative energy of the Persian poets and their characters, the Concord writers assumed these Eastern mystical personas entering their poetic realms or transferring them to a New England setting." Evidence of this influence can be found in the works and journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Henry David Thoreau, as well as George William Curtis. From the Sufi poets and their characterizations, these American writers fashioned their ideal poet; furthermore, their literary inquiry into the psychology of artistic creativity equated a Persian feminine divinity with the creative force driving the poetic spirit.⁸¹⁸

In addition to Emerson that will be discussed later, one of the significant figures of the movement was Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), a former Harvard student from Concord, Massachusetts, whose knowledge of the Orient began with the books he found in Emerson's library, through which he came to acknowledge Sa'di and the *Bhagavad Gita*. Like Emerson, Thoreau, was "seriously engaged in the reading of Asian religious texts as the first translations found their way into European languages, especially English."⁸¹⁹ Consequently, he was acquainted with Sir William Jones' translations and turned out to be an admirer of the Oriental thought particularly Vedic philosophy, so that the "core Asian ideas powerfully transformed his intellectual and spiritual identity."⁸²⁰ Thoreau was so attracted to the Oriental poetry that in his *Journal* (March 23, 1842), he wrote that he had found verifications of his relationship to nature in the Oriental literary works:

I am pleased to discover myself as much a pensioner in Nature as moles and titmice. In some very direct and simple uses to which man puts Nature he stands in this relation to her. Oriental life does not want this grandeur. It is in Sa'di and the Arabian Nights and the Fables of Pilpay. In the New England noontide I have discovered more materials of

⁸¹⁸ Edmondson, Phillip N. "The Persians of Concord". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.). Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 213.

⁸¹⁹ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011. p. 12.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 15.

Oriental history than the Sanskrit contains or Sir William Jones has unlocked...Was not Asia mapped in my brain before it was in any geography?⁸²¹

The Orient became a significant part of Thoreau's life and view point, through which he was able to see the world's origin better. He, like Emerson, bewitched by the Oriental religions, "sought to penetrate the heart of the world's traditions, and especially the Asian myths and scriptures, because they [Emerson and Thoreau] assumed that the Oriental cultures bring one back to origins."⁸²² However, Thoreau tried not only to read and contemplate about the ancient Asian traditions and sacred scripts, but also to live them out.

In order to make an actual experiment from an Oriental literary religion and to acquire an objective understanding of the society through personal contemplation, Thoreau immersed himself in nature by constructing a cabin in the woods near Walden Pond, owned by his friend Emerson, in 1845, where he lived for more than two years. There, in addition to making accurate scientific observations of nature and romantic benefits of natural wonders, he lived out his transcendental experiment, the experiences which were reflected in his *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854), and "has become the definitive text of Transcendentalism and one of the most famous works in American literature,"⁸²³ in which he placed features of the Laws of Manu, a consideration of humble living in natural environments, indicating man's independence and a guidebook for self-reliance.

In "Economy", the first and longest chapter of *Walden*, Thoreau shapes his project: a two-year, two-month, and two-day stay at a "tight shingled and plastered house, ten feet wide by fifteen long, and eight-foot posts," at a cottage in the woods near Walden Pond. Thoreau, influenced by the Oriental teachings in the sacred scripts, selects to live in seclusion instead of living in his contemporary society:

⁸²¹ Henry David Thoreau, *Writings of Henry David Thoreau*. ed. Bradford Torrey, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906, VII, p. 344.

⁸²² Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.p. 78.

⁸²³ Phillips, Jerry and Andrew Ladd. *Romanticism and transcendentalism: 1800–1860*. New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2006.p. 37.

Most of the luxuries, and many of the so called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hinderances to the elevation of mankind. With respect to luxuries and comforts, the wisest have ever lived a more simple and meagre life than the poor. The ancient philosophers, Chinese, Hindoo, Persian, and Greek, were a class than which none has been poorer in outward riches, none so rich in inward. We know not much about them. It is remarkable that we know so much of them as we do.⁸²⁴

In the second Chapter of the book, "Where I Lived, and What I Lived For", he discusses his intentions of living in seclusion as:

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practise resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion.⁸²⁵

Furthermore, he obviously frames "his entire 'experiment' at Walden Pond, an extended metaphor for sounding the depths of the soul, as the ascetic practice of a Hindu *yogin*... Thoreau had a copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* on his bedside table in his cabin . . . the pond for him was 'his Ganges River' where he retreated in the spirit of the ancient ascetic sages of India."⁸²⁶ It is in those transcendental moments, that Thoreau desires to transcend time, to be the Hindoo or Egyptian philosopher, and to speak as they did:

The oldest Egyptian or Hindoo philosopher raised a corner of the veil from the statue of the divinity; and still the trembling robe remains raised, and I gaze upon as fresh a glory as he did, since it was I in him that was then so bold, and it is he in me that now reviews the vision. No dust has settled on that robe; no time has elapsed since that divinity

⁸²⁴ Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden or, Life in the Woods* (1854). United States: Literary Classics of the U.S reprint, 1985. p. 15.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 75-6.

⁸²⁶ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011.p. 15.

was revealed. That time which we really improve, or which is improvable, is neither past, present, nor future.⁸²⁷

In addition to several Hindu customs to which Thoreau points in his *Walden*, there are several references to the sacred texts and sacred places of India; for specimen, in the first Chapter, "Economy", he writes: " It should not be by their architecture, but why not even by their power of abstract thought, that nations should seek to commemorate themselves? How much more admirable the Bhagvat-Geeta⁸²⁸ than all the ruins of the East!"⁸²⁹ Also, in the sixteenth Chapter, "The Pond in Winter", he equates Walden Pond to the sacred Ganges river and concludes the chapter, referring to attainment in his trial:

Thus it appears that the sweltering inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans, of Madras and Bombay and Calcutta, drink at my well. In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmogonical philosophy of the *Bhagvat Geeta*, since whose composition years of the gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial; and I doubt if that philosophy is not to be referred to a previous state of existence, so remote is its sublimity from our conceptions. I lay down the book and go to my well for water, and lo! There I meet the servant of the Bramin, priest of Brahma and Vishnu and Indra, who still sits in his temple on the Ganges reading the Vedas, or dwells at the root of a tree with his crust and water jug. I meet his servant come to draw water for his master, and our buckets as it were grate together in the same well. The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges. With favoring winds it is wafted past the site of the fabulous islands of Atlantis and the Hesperides, makes the periplus of Hanno, and, floating by Ternate and Tidore and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, melts in the tropic gales of the Indian seas, and is landed in ports of which Alexander only heard the names.⁸³⁰

For Thoreau, as for other Transcendentalists, the Persian Sufi poets such as Sa'di and Hafiz, "represented literary or poetic interchangeability", so Thoreau writes "of

⁸²⁷ Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden or, Life in the Woods* (1854). United States: Literary Classics of the U.S reprint, 1985. Chapter 3, "Reading", p. 83.

⁸²⁸ Bhagvat-Geeta or Bhagvat-Gita, also referred to as the Gita, is a narrative 700-verse Sanskrit scripture that is part of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*.

⁸²⁹ Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden or, Life in the Woods* (1854). United States: Literary Classics of the U.S reprint, 1985. p. 48.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 244.

Saadi and of the Vedas as if they were parts of the same tradition,"⁸³¹ with allusions to Sa'di's *Gulistan*:

I read in the *Gulistan*, or *Flower Garden*, of Sheik Sadi of Shiraz, that "They asked a wise man, saying; Of the many celebrated trees which the Most High God has created lofty and umbrageous, they call none azad, or free, excepting the cypress, which bears no fruit; what mystery is there in this? He replied; Each has its appropriate produce, and appointed season, during the continuance of which it is fresh and blooming, and during their absence dry and withered; to neither of which states is the cypress exposed, being always flourishing; and of this nature are the azads, or religious independents.—Fix not thy heart on that which is transitory; for the Dijlah, or Tigris, will continue to flow through Bagdad after the race of caliphs is extinct: if thy hand has plenty, be liberal as the date tree; but if it affords nothing to give away, be an azad, or free man, like the cypress."⁸³²

Thoreau, as he says in the seventeenth Chapter, "the Spring", "finally left Walden September 6th, 1847,"⁸³³ not only equates the rivers Walden and Ganges, but also considers the Eastern and Western religions as identical. It is in this final chapter that he criticizes conformity:

Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed, and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away. It is not important that he should mature as soon as an apple-tree or an oak. Shall he turn his spring into summer? If the condition of things which we were made for is not yet, what were any reality which we can substitute? We will not be shipwrecked on a vain reality. Shall we with pains erect a heaven of blue glass over ourselves, though when it is done we shall be sure to gaze still at the true ethereal heaven far above, as if the former were not?⁸³⁴

Thoreau's *Walden* can be considered as a sermon, preached by a sage who has lived every word of what he preaches. He finishes his book by saying that "I do not say that John or Jonathan will realize all this; but such is the character of that morrow which mere lapse of time can never make to dawn. The light which puts out our eyes is

⁸³¹ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.p. 83.

⁸³² Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden or, Life in the Woods* (1854). United States: Literary Classics of the U.S reprint, 1985. Chapter One, "Economy", p. 65-6.

⁸³³ *Ibid*, Last Chapter, "Conclusion", p. 260.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid*, Last Chapter, "Conclusion", p. 266.

darkness to us. Only that day dawns to which we are awake. There is more day to dawn. The sun is but a morning star".⁸³⁵

Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, seems to be a travel journal in which the narrative reports of a boat trip from Concord, Massachusetts to Concord, New Hampshire, and back, through which Thoreau discusses different matters including religion, history and poetry, based on his own experiences.⁸³⁶ Similar to *Walden*, in his *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, Thoreau's allusions to Hafiz, Sa'di, Persia and India, Buddhism, and Oriental traditions, indicate his knowledge of the Orient and his interest in them. He talks about tolerance regarding different religions and refers to Buddha as "my Buddha" with explanations like:

I trust that some may be as near and dear to Buddha, or Christ, or Swedenborg, who are without the pale of their churches. It is necessary not to be Christian to appreciate the beauty and significance of the life of Christ. I know that some will have hard thoughts of me, when they hear their Christ named beside my Buddha, yet I am sure that I am willing they should love their Christ more than my Buddha, for the love is the main thing, and I like him too. "God is the letter Ku, as well as Khu." Why need Christians be still intolerant and superstitious? The simple-minded sailors were unwilling to cast overboard Jonah at his own request.⁸³⁷

Like Emerson, yet "more subjective and less catholic than Emerson,"⁸³⁸ Thoreau was affected by Persian mystical poetry, too, so that at times, he followed Emerson's empathy with Sa'di and conveyed his own identification, along with that of the Concord community, with this Persian poet:

I know, for instance, that Saadi entertained once identically the same thought that I do, and thereafter I can find no essential difference between Saadi and myself. He is not Persian, he is not ancient, he is not strange to me. By the identity of his thoughts with mine he still survives. It makes no odds what atoms serve us. Sadi possessed no greater privacy or individuality that is thrown open to me... Truth and

⁸³⁵ Ibis, Last Chapter, "Conclusion", p. 271-2.

⁸³⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/A-Week-on-the-Concord-and-Merrimack-Rivers> also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Week_on_the_Concord_and_Merrimack_Rivers

⁸³⁷ Ibid, p. 51.

⁸³⁸ Yohannan, John D. "American Transcendentalists' Interpretations of Sufism". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p. 193.

a true man is essentially public, not private. If Sadi were to come back to claim a personal identity with the historical Sadi, he would find there were too many of us; he could not get a skin that would contain us all... By sympathy with Sadi I have embowelled him. In his thought I have a sample of *him*, a slice from his core, which makes it unimportant where certain bones which the thinker once employed may lie.⁸³⁹

Also, based on the influence of the Persian poetry, he echoed the themes of mystical poetry in his own; for example, after reading FitzGerald's translation of *Rubaiyat*, the *carpe diem* in Khayyam's poetry was mirrored in Thoreau's poem:

Build not on tomorrow
 But seize on today
 From no future borrow
 The present to pay
 The task of the present
 Be sure to fulfil
 If sad or if pleasant
 Be true to it still
 God sendeth us sorrow
 And cloudeth our day
 His sun on it morrow
 Shines bright on our way.⁸⁴⁰

For several critics, Thoreau's masterpiece has been his *Journal* (comprising about two million words) that he kept until a few months before his death (1837-1861), in which, from time to time, particularly from 1841 to 1843 as the result of reading Emerson's Books, he declared his viewpoints concerning the Orient and Oriental religions.⁸⁴¹ The *Journal's* enduring significance was dependent on the vigorous demonstration of a man confronting the daily problems, common to everyone, along with the descriptions of nature and exultations over its beauty.

⁸³⁹ Henry David Thoreau, *Journal of Henry D. Thoreau*, ed. Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949), vol. IV, 48. (August 8, 1852), Quoted in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi). Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p. 9.

⁸⁴⁰ Lewisohn, Leonard. "English Romantics and Persian Sufi Poets A Wellspring of Inspiration for American Transcendentalists". Printed in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Ed. Aminrazavi, Mehdi). Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p. 19.

⁸⁴¹ Ruehl, Robert Michael. "Thoreau's 'A Week,' Religion as Preservative Care: Opposing the Christian Doctrine of Discovery, Manifest Destiny, and a Religion of Subjugation". Doctoral dissertation. Syracuse University, 2014. Passim.

Thoreau also cooperated with Emerson in finding proper materials and managing *The Dial's* "Ethnical Scriptures" series in the early 1840s, for which Thoreau sometimes translated Oriental texts such as the *Lotus Sutra*⁸⁴² from the French translation. However his translations of Eastern texts were not restricted to Lotus Sutra; he had a persistent "interest in making both Hindu and Buddhist works more available".⁸⁴³ Another specimen is his translation of "The Transmigration of the Seven Brahmans" (1850) from the *Harivamsa*, previously translated into English by Manmatha Nath Dutt, (1897) and into French by M. A. Langlois, (1834–35).

Although Thoreau was inspired by Persian poetry, particularly that of Sa'di and Hafiz, and displayed this influence in his works, his principal interest seems to have leaned toward the Hindu writings, particularly the *Bhagavad Gita*, resulting in calling himself a Yogi. However, later in his life, Thoreau's fervent desire for Hinduism and Buddhism faded, and was replaced by natural history.

The other nineteenth century American poet, inspired by the Orient, particularly Persian poetry, is Walt Whitman (1819–1892). He lived in a transitional period, occupying a mid-position between Transcendentalism and Realism, assimilating both visions. Whitman's poetry collection *Leaves of Grass*, with several editions from 1855 to 1891, has been admired by numerous authors including Emerson and Thoreau for "the passion and profundity of its mystical visions and messages,"⁸⁴⁴ so that Thoreau referred to it commendably as "wonderfully like the Orientals."⁸⁴⁵ Emerson and Thoreau, who were both fond of Sufism and Persian Poetry, particularly Hafiz and Sa'di, became important sources of knowledge and inspiration for Whitman. Mahnaz Ahmad believes that Sufi ideas "found a way into Whitman's spiritual development under the influence of Emerson." To prove her statement, Ahmad refers to James Russell and says:

⁸⁴² *Lotus Sutra* or *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* is one of the most popular and influential Mahayana sutras, and the basis on which some schools of Buddhism were established.

⁸⁴³ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 81.

⁸⁴⁴ Farzan, Massud. "Walt Whitman and Sufism Towards 'A Persian Lesson'". Printed in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.). Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.

"Introduction", p. 163.

⁸⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.164.

James Russell in his work *Emerson and the Persians* points out that Emerson was inspired by the beauty of Sufi poetry and its underlying philosophy, which he knew through German translations. "It is a standard aspect of Persian Sufi poetry, from the earliest times, that the great mystical revelation is—or at least verges upon—pantheism... According to Russell, it was Emerson's translation of Persian poets like Hafiz, and his ideas derived from "the visionary and philosophical traditions of the ancient world" that influenced Whitman. Whitman, like the Sufis, saw the transcendent expressed in humanity. He was aware of a cosmic presence in every man. The belief in the essential divinity of man is echoed in Whitman's poetry.⁸⁴⁶

In his article, "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman", Ford refers to the inevitability of "the ubiquitous imagery of the Orient" in Whitman's poetry, as the consequence of his extensive Oriental study. Whitman's interest in the Orient, according to Ford, centered on "two specific areas of Near East studies", one of which was "certainly the Persian poets, such as Hafiz and Saadi, who were associated with a mystical offshoot of Mohammedanism known as Sufism."⁸⁴⁷ Ford follows the origin of Whitman's interest in Persian poetry in "a copy of W. R. Alger's *The Poetry of the East*, published in 1856, [which he] often read the lengthy Introduction to this collection of poetry by Arabs, Hindus, Persians, and Sufis 'over and over.' He carried it with him during part of the Civil War, reading it "sometimes to hospital groups, to while away the time."⁸⁴⁸

Whitman got acquainted with the Oriental sources through "the series of 'Ethical Scriptures' from the sacred books of the Orient that Emerson and Thoreau published in *The Dial* in 1842 and 1843, or the translations of several fragments of mystical poetry that Emerson provided [like "Persian Poetry" in] *The Atlantic Monthly* ⁸⁴⁹ [1858] and *The Liberty Bell* in 1851."⁸⁵⁰ He was an ardent reader of Emerson's works, and was

⁸⁴⁶ Ahmad, Mahnaz. "Whitman and Hafiz Expressions of Universal Love and Tolerance". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 155.

⁸⁴⁷ Ford, Arthur L. "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman". *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987), p. 12. Ford refers to the other interest as "Egyptology".

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 12

⁸⁴⁹ There, Emerson, according to Ford, introduced his readers to Persian poetry in this essay, particularly "the seven masters of the Persian Parnassus": Firdusi, Enweri, Nisami, Jelaeddin, Saadi, Hafiz, and Jami. (p.13)

⁸⁵⁰ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. "Introduction", p. 8.

inspired by the philosophy implied in his poetry. Like the other nineteenth century poets, Whitman was acquainted with Jones through reading his translations and essays. In addition, the German translations of Persian poetry, which introduced the Sufi poetry to him, were deeply influential in his career.

Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, with different editions and lengths, from twelve to four hundred poems, a nonconformity both in form (by choosing free verse) and content (by depicting peculiar images concerning death and sexuality), was a mirror to reflect the rebellious thoughts of the poet, affected by the Oriental literature and mysticism, in different spans of his life. Whitman is considered by several critics similar to the Persian classic mystical poets and in his *Leaves of Grass* there are several allusions to the Orient, particularly Persia.

Whitman's "Song of Myself", being among his most famous poems and one of the first twelve sections in the first edition of the collection, indicates the speaker's intention in celebrating himself. With its famous opening, it represents a sort of poetic meditation, in a conversation between the body and the soul:

I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
And what I assume you shall assume
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.
I loafe and invite my soul,
I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass.⁸⁵¹

One of the ambiguous sections of the poem is the fifth section,⁸⁵² including the simultaneous presence of maximum action and contemplation; the speaker with a dual

⁸⁵¹ Whitman's "Song of Myself", Section 1.

⁸⁵² Whitman's "Song of Myself", Section 5:

I believe in you my soul, the other I am must not abase itself to you,
And you must not be abased to the other.
Loafe with me on the grass, loose the stop from your throat,
Not words, not music or rhyme I want, not custom or lecture, not
even the best,
Only the lull I like, the hum of your valved voice.

I mind how once we lay such a transparent summer morning,
How you settled your head athwart my hips and gently turn'd over
upon me,
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your
tongue to my bare-stript heart,
And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you held my feet.

identity imagines his body and his soul having sex, as the resemblances of worldly and spiritual desires. The speaker addresses his soul as his beloved, as the beloved of the body. Unlike the predecessor poets, Whitman's concern is not restricted to soul and spiritual ascendance, rather body and soul, physical and spiritual aspects, equally, have significance for him: "Clear and sweet is my soul, and clear and sweet is all that is not my soul"⁸⁵³; body and soul give each other identity, as the lover and the beloved in the mystical poetry do. Whitman's philosophy is the reminiscent of Hafiz's, as Mahnaz Ahmad defines:

He [Hafiz] is not a pure sensualist nor is there a dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual in his vision. Like most Sufis, he sees the physical as a bridge to the spiritual. There is much to be enjoyed in the physical world and Hafiz scoffs at the *zahid*, or ascetic, who would deprive himself of happiness in this world in hope of the "pleasures of paradise." Addressing the *zahid* he says: "You've told all wine's defects, tell its virtues too: / Pandering to vulgar minds, don't flout logic."⁸⁵⁴

In Whitman's poem, body and soul are in their most intimate relationship; his soul is like "the hugging and loving bed-fellow" who "sleeps at my side"⁸⁵⁵. Whitman "believe[s] in the flesh"⁸⁵⁶ in the same way that he considers the soul and describes a mystical experiences through sensual involvement. So, his reference to sex symbolizes unification between the lover and beloved, between the speaker and his soul, an old Sufi poetic convention to describe the abstract conceptions through physical entities to make them understandable.

Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that
 pass all the argument of the earth,
 And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,
 And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,
 And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the
 women my sisters and lovers,
 And that a kelson of the creation is love,
 And limitless are leaves stiff or drooping in the fields,
 And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,
 And mossy scabs of the worm fence, heap'd stones, elder, mullein
 and poke-weed.

⁸⁵³ Whitman's "Song of Myself", section 3.

⁸⁵⁴ Ahmad, Mahnaz. "Whitman and Hafiz Expressions of Universal Love and Tolerance". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p.159.

⁸⁵⁵ Whitman's "Song of Myself", section 3.

⁸⁵⁶ Whitman's "Song of Myself", section 24.

Neither the body, nor the soul acquires any meaning apart from each other; their identity and life lie solely in their unification. The poem is the unification of the binaries; soul and body, earthly moments and mystical ones, where all belong to a greater entity; body and spirit are parts of what God is, that is the incarnation of love; "[I know] that a kernel of the creation is love."⁸⁵⁷ God is the culmination of love under whose shadow, all creatures find individuality. In section 21 of the poem, Whitman explains his ideas more clearly:

I am the poet of the Body and I am the poet of the Soul,
The pleasures of heaven are with me and the pains of hell are with me,
The first I graft and increase upon myself, the latter I translate into a new
tongue.

The "common thread that unites the mystical poetry of the fourteenth-century Persian Sufi poet Hafiz, and the visionary outpourings of nineteenth-century American poet, Walt Whitman", according to Mahnaz Ahmad, is the matter of "universal love and tolerance", which is mutual in different cultures and poetic traditions. Both Hafiz and Whitman articulate a "humanistic vision of the world, with love being the primary driving force".⁸⁵⁸ Ahmad compares the lines of this section of "Song of Myself", to some of Hafiz's poetry to show similarities between the mystical view of the two poets and calls Whitman's poem, a journey in which the poet "takes us through his experience of the self to an awareness of a divine design, a plan transcending the self and all things animate and inanimate, seen and unseen."⁸⁵⁹

Massud Farzan discusses the affinities between Whitman's poetry and the mystical Persian poets to conclude that Whitman had been inspired by Persian Sufi philosophy in composing his poetry. Farzan believes that in "Song of Myself", Whitman's understanding of the divine, "triumvirate of lover-soul-deity" is nearer to the "Beloved of the Sufi poet" whose chief aspiration is to "bring the I-Thou relationship, the

⁸⁵⁷ Whitman's "Song of Myself", section 5.

⁸⁵⁸ Ahmad, Mahnaz. "Whitman and Hafiz Expressions of Universal Love and Tolerance". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.p. 153.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 154..

microcosm-macrocosm duality, to complete fusion and oneness," rather than the "abstract deity . . . the Brahman, or rather Parabrahman, of the Indian sage".⁸⁶⁰

Yohannan sees the main philosophy of "Song of Myself" in "Sufism with its pantheistic philosophy". He believes that in spite of no explicit reference to Sufi tendency in Whitman's biography, "a reader of Attar or Rumi would understand perfectly the observation in section 48 of that poem: 'In the faces of men and women I see God, and in my own face in the glass'⁸⁶¹"⁸⁶² and its similarity to Persian Sufism.

Whitman's "A Persian Lesson," first called "A Sufi Lesson", added to the final edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1891, is another work of the poet that portrays an image of the culture and viewpoints of the Persian people, in which the "choice of theme closely and deliberately parallels Sufi philosophy"⁸⁶³ and Whitman moves "past mere accretion of Near East images to a more profound portrait of culture."⁸⁶⁴ The poem deals with a lesson which is taught by a greybeard (elderly) Sufi:

For his o'erarching and last lesson the greybeard Sufi
In the fresh scent of the morning in the open air,
On the slope of a teeming Persian rose-garden
Under an ancient chestnut tree wide spreading its branches,
Spoke to the young priests and students.

"Finally my children, to envelop each word, each part of the rest,
Allah is all, all, all—is immanent in every life and object,
May-be at many and many-a-more removes—yet Allah, Allah,
Allah is there.

"Has the estray wander'd far? Is the reason-why strangely hidden?
Would you sound below the restless ocean of the entire world:
Would you know the dissatisfaction? the urge and spur of every life;
The something never still'd—never entirely gone? the invisible need of every
seed?

It is the central urge in every atom, (Often unconscious, often evil, downfallen)
To return to its divine source and origin, however distant,

⁸⁶⁰ Farzan, Massud, "Walt Whitman and Sufism", *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), p. 165.

⁸⁶¹ Whitman's "Song of Myself", section 48.

⁸⁶² Yohannan, John D. "American Transcendentalists' Interpretations of Sufism". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), p. 194.

⁸⁶³ Ford, Arthur L. "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman". *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987).p. 17.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 16.

Latent the same in subject and object, without one exception."

Whitman's poem opens with the lines which introduce the Sufi, who is going to teach the Persian Lesson. The gray-beard Sufi might be Whitman himself, at the culmination of his journey of life, teaching the last lessons to his students. The setting is in "the open air" in a "Persian rose-garden under an ancient chestnut tree", a familiar setting in Persian poetry that indicates Whitman's knowledge of the Persian literary images and conventions. Signifying that in Sufi poetry, each image represents moral conception(s), in Ford's view, the rose-garden in the poem "is synonymous with the soul, a meaning entirely consistent with the poem and which Whitman may have known."⁸⁶⁵ Ford, also, considers the "the scent of the morning" as the representation of "unseen conveyance of God's message to man and of man's message to God", and reveals that "although the American Transcendentalists used metaphors of scent in the same way, since images of perfume often function this way for poets regardless of cultural heritage, for the Sufi poet the scent of a rose has a special significance." He adds, "According to legend, the rose grew from a drop of the Prophet's perspiration as he ascended into heaven". Ford Believes that the poem reveals Whitman's "understanding of Sufism," originated from "his reading of Persian poetry, and his choice of images was clearly affected by that reading."⁸⁶⁶ Citing different critics, Ford states that "Whitman is closest to Rumi 'by affinity of mystic temper as well as poetic characteristics,'"⁸⁶⁷ and considers Rumi, the thirteenth century mystical poet, as the probable source of inspiration for "A Persian Lesson":

"Since the transcendent self, as experienced by Rumi and Whitman, is dynamic, fluid, microcosmic and macrocosmic, it can occupy infinite centers and overlap infinite centers at one time. It may transmit itself into one thing and become that thing for a while, as it does in 'Song of Myself,' but its essential aim is to achieve unity-in-diversity by encompassing life wholly and lovingly."⁸⁶⁸ The nature of the Sufism in "The Persian Lesson" can be understood further by looking at the

⁸⁶⁵ Ford, Arthur L. "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman". *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987).p. 17.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 17.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 17.

⁸⁶⁸ This quotation, used by Ford, belongs to Ghulam M. Fayez, "Motion Imagery in Rumi and Whitman," *Walt Whitman Review*, 25 (June, 1979), p. 51.

Introduction to *The Poetry of the East*, that section Whitman read repeatedly. There Alger says that Sufism aims for "a union with God so intimate that it becomes identity, wherein thought is an involuntary intuitive grasp and function of universal truth." Among the principal characteristics of Oriental poetry, Alger includes an "ardent pantheism." Clearly, "A Persian Lesson" fulfills both the Sufic concept of pantheism- as understood by the nineteenth century- and Whitman's own.⁸⁶⁹

In his article, "Walt Whitman and Sufism," Farzan discusses the Sufi mystical experiences in both Whitman's "Song of Myself" and "A Persian Lesson". He admires "A Persian Lesson" as "surprisingly accurate and inspired reflection of Persian Sufism" and says:

There are indeed striking similarities between Whitman and the Sufi poets, so much so that it is altogether conceivable that Whitman had been influenced more by Persian Sufi poetry than any other mystical works and that his unique old-age poem, A Persian Lesson, presents a marvelous fruition of a long acquaintance with and immersion in Sufism.⁸⁷⁰

Farzan traces similarities between Whitman and Jalal al-din Rumi. He suggests that the poem contains "the essence and synthesis of [Whitman's] earlier poems", maybe because Whitman composed it in his maturity, when he was about seventy one, indicating the poet's development in his mystical ideas and maturity in the journey of life. The poem evidently has elements of Sufi poetry, or as Farzan states, "Sufi flavor" for the repetition of Allah, a mantra used by Sufis when they are going to connect to God. However, in Farzan's view, in addition to that repetition of Holy words, "or such recognizably Sufi phrases as 'the invisible need of every seed'... the whole poem presents a marvelous coalescence of theme and tone"⁸⁷¹ concerning Sufism.

The theme of the poem can be summarized in the very Sufi mantra, "Allah is all, all, all", the key word for negation of self and unification with God, repeated by Sufis in their prayers, in the moments of trance, when the Sufis become unified with the source of eternity. It is "the central urge in every atom", "to envelop each word, each part of the

⁸⁶⁹ Ford, Arthur L. "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman". *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987).p. 18.

⁸⁷⁰ Farzan, Massud. "Walt Whitman and Sufism; Towards 'A Persian Lesson'". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.), p. 164.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid, p. 171.

rest."⁸⁷² For certain, Whitman's selection of the key word in Sufism, as the central theme of the poem, originated from his profound knowledge, acquired through studying the Persian mystical sources. "A Persian Lesson" accomplished Whitman's intention in accepting and reflecting Sufism; that was unification with God, and assimilation of man in the cosmos to reach the higher reality, eternity.

Whitman's familiarity with the Orient was not restricted to Persia; in his "Passage to India"⁸⁷³, he displays his information about the Indian convention with the traces of Sir William Jones' translation of the Indian scripts. Published as a part of his *Leaves of Grass*, the poem designates an imaginary journey of the speaker to the legendary India. The historical references of the poem lies in constructing two marvels of engineering, significant in the history of the era (1869), the American transcontinental railroad, joining the country from East to West, and the Suez Canal connecting Europe to Asia, not only commercially, but also culturally.

"Passage to India" opens with the speaker's celebration of the mentioned new scientific achievements of the modern world, since the canal could connect the old civilizations to them:

Singing my days,
Singing the great achievements of the present,
Singing the strong light works of engineers,
Our modern wonders, (the antique ponderous Seven outvied,)
In the Old World the east the Suez canal,
The New by its mighty railroad spann'd,
The seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires;
Yet first to sound, and ever sound, the cry with thee O soul,
The Past! the Past! the Past!⁸⁷⁴

He mentions both "proud truths of the world" (technology) and "fables of eld" (legends):

Passage O soul to India!
Eclaircise the myths Asiatic, the primitive fables.
Not you alone, proud truths of the world!
Nor you alone, ye facts of modern science!
But myths and fables of eld—Asia's, Africa's fables

⁸⁷² Whitman's "A Persian Lesson".

⁸⁷³ It was this poem that inspired E.M Forester to write his 1924 novel, *A Passage to India*.

⁸⁷⁴ Walt Whitman, "Passage to India", Section 1.

The far-darting beams of the spirit, the unloos'd dreams,
 The deep diving bibles and legends,
 The daring plots of the poets, the elder religions;⁸⁷⁵

The speaker praises the Eastern wonders, as well. He considers India as an exotic legendary land once visited, the origin of mankind that can be reached through the canal bridging not only the geographical distances between the continents, but also connecting human beings in a peaceful era.

In his *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death*, Harold Aspiz refers to "Passage to India", as a poem echoing Jones in some parts, in which "the persona prepares to launch his spirit journey from America's Pacific Coast—itsself a mythic place that the poet never visited—to find the mythic 'India' of the soul."⁸⁷⁶ The poem contains elements of Vedantic, Buddhist, and Hindu philosophy, indicating Whitman's awareness of Jones' translations. From the very beginning of the poem, the speaker mentions the Indian mythologies, once referred by Jones: "Passage O soul to India! / Eclaircise the myths Asiatic, the primitive fables."⁸⁷⁷ According to Aspiz,

The godhead toward which the persona is tending is a state of perpetual revelation, exhilaration, and epiphany—a permanent spiritual high. His plea for enlightenment resembles a Vedic prayer: "May that soul of mine, which mounts aloft in my waking hours, as an ethereal spark, and which even in my slumber has a like ascent, soaring to a great distance, as an emanation from the light of lights, be united by profound meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent."⁸⁷⁸

Aspiz believes that "Whitman may have had access to the translation of the Vedas by Sir William Jones."⁸⁷⁹ He considers Whitman's "Passage to India," as a collection of "charming lyrics [which] welcome his own dying and speculate about the

⁸⁷⁵ Walt Whitman, "Passage to India", Section 2.

⁸⁷⁶ Aspiz, Harold. *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2004. p. 212.

⁸⁷⁷ Whitman, Walt. "Passage to India", in *Leaves of Grass*. New York: Barnes and Noble Classics. 1993. p. 550, Section 2.

⁸⁷⁸ Aspiz, Harold. *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2004. p. 215.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 270. The sources of inspiration according to Aspiz were (Sir William Jones' Works, [1799], 6:421–422).

unknown afterlife that may await him."⁸⁸⁰ The poem is passage, a mental voyage, that takes the speaker back to the "primal thought":

Passage indeed O soul to primal thought,
Not lands and seas alone, thy own clear freshness,
The young maturity of brood and bloom,
To realms of budding bibles.⁸⁸¹

The speaker acclaiming both the assessments of the past and the modern technological achievements, which have decreased the distance between people and "lead him to the conclusion that technological advances are indicators of human advancement toward a nobler spirituality, working 'in God's name, and for thy sake O soul'⁸⁸²." ⁸⁸³ The poem celebrates man's quest for the unknown, for the exotic, embodied in India. It indicates a movement from modernity to antiquity, from the West to the East, from life to death. However, death is a passage, "the persona's imagined 'outlet preparation' for 'another grade' of existence as he readies to seek the mysterious God who will be his equal, his companion, his lover, and his ultimate Self."⁸⁸⁴ Ford refers to Whitman's "Passage to India," as a poem "circling the world," with "Near East images", in which "one line lists an indiscriminate number of people: 'The traders, rulers, explorers, Moslems, Venetians, Byzantium, the Arabs, Portuguese' (1. 138). Another line juxtaposes distant lands: 'On one side China and on the other side Persia and Arabia' (1. 132)." However, the speaker also "reaches back into the distant past of civilization by referring to the Euphrates River: 'The river Euphrates flowing, the past lit up again' (1. 126)."⁸⁸⁵

In his other poems, Whitman has employed the Oriental images, as well. "Salut au Monde!" (Originally titled "Poem of Salutation," first published in 1856) , "Old Chants" (first published in 1881), and "Proud Music of the Storm" (First published in 1869), are among his other poems with allusions to the East, of which Ford says:

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid, Preface, p. xi

⁸⁸¹ Whitman's "Passage to India", section 7.

⁸⁸² Whitman's "Passage to India", section 2.

⁸⁸³ Aspiz, Harold. *So Long! Walt Whitman's Poetry of Death*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2004. p.212.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 212.

⁸⁸⁵ Ford, Arthur L. "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman". *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987), p. 15.

In "Old Chants," [Whitman] refers to Persian epics (1. 10), and when he lists the various chants he includes those of Egyptian priests (1. 9). Similarly, among his catalogues in "Proud Music of the Storm," he includes the "sound of the Hebrew lyre" (1. 103), "the Egyptian harp of many strings" (1. 116), "the primitive chants of the Nile boatmen" (1. 117), and the calling of the muezzin from the "Musselman mosque" (1. 113), all traditional, even stereotypical images in the nineteenth-century American imagination, as is this, the most common of all:

I hear dervishes monotonously chanting, interspers'd
with frantic shouts, as they spin around turning
always to Mecca. (1. 105)⁸⁸⁶

What were highlighted thus for were just brief references. There is no doubt that more or less, the nineteenth century American poets were affected by the Oriental literary texts and Oriental religions such as Hinduism and Sufism. Considering their philosophies and viewpoints, reflected in their works, exceeds this discussion, yet among the Transcendentalists, Emerson, who, according to Versluis is "greater than any of the later Transcendentalists" and whose "Emersonian Transcendentalism, is the most successful in assimilating Asian religious teachings,"⁸⁸⁷ will be considered more thoroughly.

5-2-Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803 -1882)

The American Renaissance owes its existence to the New England philosopher, and in Atkinson's opinion, to the "first philosopher of the American spirit,"⁸⁸⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, for a noticeable community, still symbolizes certain American ideals, whose sequence of *Essays* (1841 and 1844), speeches and writings, were all significant in establishing the movement. Emerson was so prominent in the American Renaissance that it is on his "theory of expression," in Matthiessen's words, "Thoreau built, to which

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 15.

⁸⁸⁷ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.p. 78.

⁸⁸⁸ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library,Random House, Inc., 1950. p. xi.

Whitman gave extension, and to which Hawthorne and Melville were indebted by being forced to react against its philosophical assumptions".⁸⁸⁹

Born to a Unitarian minister in Boston, Emerson joined Harvard College to be ordained as a cleric in 1829, however, he had to relinquish in 1832, due to his religious uncertainties, and initiated a career as a public lecturer. "Historical Christianity" as he noted "has fallen into the error that corrupts all attempts to communicate religion. As it appears to us, and as it has appeared for ages, it is not the doctrine of the soul, but an exaggeration of the personal, the positive, the ritual".⁸⁹⁰

Emerson's philosophical attitude was first formed by Unitarian principles, such as God's magnanimity and the humanity of Jesus, a legacy inherited from his father, Rev. William Emerson (1769–1811), one of Boston's prominent citizens and a Unitarian minister to Boston's First Church. However, as Ralph Waldo was not a traditionalist, later on, he departed from the religious and public principles of his contemporaries by articulating his outlook concerning Transcendentalism in his 1836 essay *Nature*, followed by several other speeches. "The traditional element", as Santayana states, was "an external and unessential contribution to Emerson's mind; he had the professional tinge, the decorum, the distinction of an old-fashioned divine". While being a minister, Emerson "had no instinctive sympathy with the inspiration of either the Old or the New Testament; in Hafiz or Plutarch, in Plato or Shakespeare, he found more congenial stuff".⁸⁹¹ He was dissatisfied with the established religion and expressed it in his essay "An Address":

⁸⁸⁹ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *The American Renaissance*. New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 2004. F. O. Matthiessen, "Method and Scope", p. 45

⁸⁹⁰ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1950. p. 73. In the introduction to this essay, "An Address", there is a note containing:
[This address was delivered before the senior class of the Harvard Divinity School on Sunday evening, July 15, 1838. Emerson had been invited to give it, not by the officers of the school, but by the senior class. What Emerson said was so objectionable to many clergymen that the officers of the School publicly disclaimed responsibility for it. Nearly thirty years passed before Emerson was invited again to speak at Harvard.]

⁸⁹¹ George Santayana, "Emerson" (1900), in *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, (Bloom, Harold. Ed.), New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism; An imprint of InfoBase Publishing, 2008., p. 152.

Preaching is the expression of the moral sentiment in application to the duties of life. In bow many churches, by how many prophets, tell me, is manmade sensible that he is an infinite Soul; that the earth and heavens are passing into his mind; that he is drinking forever the soul of God? Where now sounds the persuasion, that by its very melody imparadises my heart, and so affirms its own origin in heaven?... The test of the true faith, certainly, should be its power to charm and command the soul, as the laws of nature control the activity of the hands so commanding that we find pleasure and honor in obeying... But now the priest's Sabbath has lost the splendor of nature; it is unlovely; we are glad when it is done; we can make, we do make, even sitting in our pews, a far better, holier, sweeter, for ourselves.⁸⁹²

However, it should not be forgotten that there was more of a literary man in Emerson, than a religious man and his "reproducing of Hindu scriptures was a literary, not a religious, manifestation."⁸⁹³ Emerson merged religion with literature so that in some cases they seemed to be so interwoven that they produced one unique independent identity, based on both. The mysticism he sought in Oriental poetry was used to echo as the soul of his literary expression. His emphasis, as Versluis declares, was on "self-transcendence; he was interested in divine inspiration, not in ritual, in the blasting light of mysticism, not in form, in ethical responsibility, not in adherence to any particular religion."⁸⁹⁴

Emerson's philosophy was influenced by numerous social and philosophical elements, among which English and German Romantic movements, idealistic philosophy, the appearance of Asiatic religions, and literature of Persia, particularly Hafiz and Sa'di, can be mentioned. Furthermore, Emerson's acquaintance with Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), the Scottish philosopher, writer, essayist, and one of the most important social critics of his era with fiery criticisms of materialism and duplicity, and with exciting romantic ideas concerning the power of the individual, were influential in forming Emerson's thinking. In his eminent work *The History of the French Revolution* (1837), in a romantic language, Carlyle conveys the ultimate idealistic view of the

⁸⁹² Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Ed. Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1950. p.76.

⁸⁹³ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 78.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 78.

French Revolution. Also, in his celebrated work *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History*, Carlyle discusses the crucial role of the "Great Man" in shaping history. These ideas echoed in the concluding lines of Emerson's Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Address "American Scholar"⁸⁹⁵ (1837), when he discussed the renaissance of an intellectual and creative life, inseparably interwoven with the life of the spirit:

We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. The dread of man and the love of man shall be a wall of defence and a wreath of joy around all. A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men.⁸⁹⁶

Emerson, became the principal figure of the American Transcendentalism, based on which, through self-determination and perception, every single individual could transcend the physical world of the senses into deeper spiritual experience. Like Sufism, in this ideology, God could be perceived by examining one's own soul and by feeling one's own connection to nature. In his "An Address" Emerson says:

I look for the hour when that supreme Beauty which ravished the souls of those Eastern men, and chiefly of those Hebrews, and through their lips spoke oracles to all time, shall speak in the West also... I look for the new Teacher that shall follow so far those shining laws that he shall see them come full circle; shall see their rounding complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁵ Emerson's "The American Scholar" was a speech presented for the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was speaking about his innovative work *Nature*. Phi Beta Kappa (ΦBK, or *Philosophia Biou Kybernētēs*, signifying "Love of learning is the guide of life") refers to the oldest academic honor society in the United States, founded in 1776 in order to support the liberal arts and sciences.

⁸⁹⁶ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Essential Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited by Brooks Atkinson. New York: Modern Library; Random House Publishing Group, 2013. p.56.

⁸⁹⁷ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1950. p.84.

Similar to Shelley, Emerson, "sought Ideal Beauty and the Universal Soul"⁸⁹⁸, which later were reflected in his poetry. Comparing the two poets, Shelley and Emerson, Loloj states that "Emerson, like Shelley, was opposed to the Orthodox Church, and sought in his transcendental views, which, again like the ideas of Shelley, were nurtured by the German philosophers, to establish a Universal Soul. In fact, echoes of what Shelley writes on Love are also discernible in Emerson's essay on 'Love'".⁸⁹⁹

Emerson's sources for Transcendentalism, according to Keane, were either "indigenous (New England Puritanism), perennial (Platonism, ancient and Cambridge Neo-Platonism, Swedenborgianism), or 'Oriental' (India's sacred texts, and the Persian poetry of Saadi and Hafiz), the most crucial is Romanticism, both British and German, with Goethe in a class by himself and with Coleridge and Carlyle Emerson's principal guides to the idealist philosophers, Kant, Schelling, Fichte, and Jacobi".⁹⁰⁰ Versluis refers to Emerson's reading lists of Oriental works, including "the Upanisads, the Rg Veda, the Vishnu Purana, and others", and indicates that from 1855 "until for the last fourteen years of his life—except an occasional return to Proclus or Plotinus—he read primarily Eastern works when concerning himself with religious matters".⁹⁰¹

Sufism, a sort of Persian mysticism, which affected Emerson intensely, was first introduced to the West and then to America by Jones. Idries Shah refers to Jones among the first Orientalists who introduced the early Asian religious and mystical literature to English-speaking people.⁹⁰² Aminrazavi, similarly, discusses the crucial role of Sir William Jones in introducing Sufism to the West; he believes that Jones took the first steps in establishing Sufism in the American literary and spiritual sights during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries:

⁸⁹⁸ Loloj, Parvin. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry". In *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. (Leonard Lewisohn, Ed.) New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010., p. 286.

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 287.

⁹⁰⁰ Keane, Patrick J. *Emerson, Romanticism, and Intuitive Reason*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005. p. 34

⁹⁰¹ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 63.

⁹⁰² Idries Shah. *The Sufis*. London: ISF Publishing, 2015. p. 225.

It seems hardly necessary to mention and nearly impossible to overemphasize the importance of Sir William Jones in transmitting Oriental history and literature to the West over the course of his government service in Bengal and Calcutta (1783–1794). The sheer quantity of information that he communicated back to England and America in the records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the journals *Asiatic Researches* and *Asiatic Miscellany*, and in his posthumous collected Works is impressive... Jones was well aware of the exhaustion of neo-Classical poetic themes, images, and forms, and he saw in the poetry of Hafiz a possible infusion of new passion and spiritual awareness, provided the lyrics were free from the beleaguered eighteenth-century diction that characterized previous translations of the *Divan*. One of Jones's most famous poetic translations was "A Persian Song," based on Hafiz's eighth ghazal and widely circulated in the *Annual Register*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Monthly Review*, and *Town and Country* between 1772 and 1786. He was not the only scholar to bring new translations of Sufi poetry to the West; he was, however, the most prolific and most passionate contributor to the corpus of Sufi materials that was available to poets seeking to represent the Orient at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰³

Sa'di and Hafiz, as the embodiment of Sufism in Persian literature, were introduced to America first through "Tale of Hafez", printed in volume I of the *New York Magazine or Literary Repository* (1790), in which they were "attributed to symbolic Eastern figures in an imaginative landscape strongly shaped by the *Arabian Nights* and other popular Oriental materials". Also among the pioneering American publications of Hafiz was *The American Museum or Universal Magazine* in 1792, in which "Ode Translated from the Persian of Hafez," translated by John Nott (1787) was published.⁹⁰⁴

The translations, Hymns and essays of the pioneer Orientalists such as Sir William Jones (e.g. essays "On The Hindus," "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India," and "On the Chronology of the Hindus" and his translations of the Hindu and Persian scripts and poetry), happened to travel across the Atlantic soon, to influence the philosophical views of Ralph Waldo Emerson, among other factors. Like his ideology, Emerson's understanding of the Orient had its roots in his father's acquaintance with Oriental studies. Rev. Emerson founded the Anthology Club in 1804, and became the editor of its

⁹⁰³ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. pp. 3-4.

⁹⁰⁴ Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p.4.

publication, the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, a periodical which "often published articles about India", and the founder of the Anthology Club "hosted discussions about Eastern philosophy. Reverend Emerson died in 1811, shortly before his son's eighth birthday, but his passion for India no doubt planted seeds of interest that Ralph Waldo would harvest brilliantly".⁹⁰⁵ Also, Rev. Emerson's sister, Ralph Waldo's aunt, Mary Moody Emerson had a significant attentiveness in India, and Indian mythology, which resulted in providing Ralph Waldo with sources from India concerning the Orient and its mythology.

Several commentators have followed some touches of Jones' footprints in Emerson's early studying; they believe that the first seeds of interest in the Persian literature were planted in Emerson's mind by Jones, so that later Emerson was stimulated to pursue Persian poetry in German translations of von Hammer. Loloi traces Emerson's Oriental studies in the early period of his life, when, as a teenager in 1814, he got acquainted with the Orient through "reading Jones and his six-volume folio edition of Sir William Jones's *Works*, with all its many translations from Arabic, Hindi, and Persian, as well as Jones's various scholarly essays on a range of Oriental subjects [and his translations from the Persian poets including Hafiz]".⁹⁰⁶ Emerson's first contacts with Persian thought, according to Mansur Ekhtiyar, began by 1820, through reading Sir William Jones' translations and the *Zend Avesta*,⁹⁰⁷ "in which he retained his interest throughout his life":

He consulted different versions of this Zoroastrian Bible in German, French, and English... On July 6, 1822, he wrote a soliloquy on God, and at the end of it he quoted Sir William Jones's translation of *Narayena*. From 1822 onward Emerson maintained an interest in this English translator and eminent statesman. He was impressed by Joseph

⁹⁰⁵ Goldberg, Philip. *American Veda: From Emerson and the Beatles to Yoga and Meditation; How Indian Spirituality Changed the West*. New York: Harmony Books, Random House, Inc. 2010. P. 30.

⁹⁰⁶ Parvin Loloi, "Emerson and Aspects of Sa'di's Reception in Nineteenth-Century America". In *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi Aminrazavi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014.. p. 92.

⁹⁰⁷ Commentators refer to different dates for the initial points of Emerson's Oriental studies, for example, the beginning point for reading *Zend Avesta* is referred as 1836 in Farhang Jahanpour's article, "Emerson on Hafiz and Sa'di", published in Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Editor. *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 118. In any case, reading the Oriental sources was a turning point in Emerson's life, altered his philosophy and literature.

Dennie's assertion in the *Gazette of the United States* (1800), in which he mentioned Sir William Jones, along with Swift, as an Englishman whose literary achievements American scholars would do well to imitate."⁹⁰⁸

Emerson's interest in the Orient continued through his studying of the Oriental scripts including Hindu and Zoroastrian traditions. In an entry in his 1845 *Journal*, he writes, "Yes, the Zoroastrian, the Indian, the Persian scriptures are majestic, and more to our daily purpose than this year's almanac or this day's newspaper".⁹⁰⁹

Marwan Obeidat, in his article "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient", follows the historical evidences to conclude that Emerson's knowledge of the Orient went back to the early years of his youth. As an example, Obeidat refers to Emerson's letter to his aunt (1822), Mary Moody Emerson, who informed her nephew of Oriental books she had recently encountered and "encouraged the youth's life-long habit of speaking of the Orient." In the mentioned letter, Emerson commented as if he had been aware of the books beforehand:

I am curious to read your Hindu mythologies. One is apt to lament over indolence and ignorance, when he reads some of those sanguine students of the Eastern antiquities, who seem to think that all the books of knowledge, and all the wisdom of Europe twice-told, lie hid in the treasures of the Bramins and the volumes of Zoroaster. When I lie dreaming on the possible contents of pages, as dark to me as the characters on the Seal of Solomon, I console myself with calling it learning's El Dorado. Every man has a fairy land just beyond the compass of his horizon . . . and it is very natural that literature at large should look for some fanciful stores of mind which surpassed example and possibility.⁹¹⁰

Then, Obeidat refers to another writing of Emerson's, a while earlier, indicating Emerson's both knowledge and interest concerning the Orient:

⁹⁰⁸ Ekhtiyar, Mansur, "The Chronological Development of Emerson's Interest in Persian Mysticism". in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. pp. 55-6.

⁹⁰⁹ Ekhtiyar, Mansur, "The Chronological Development of Emerson's Interest in Persian Mysticism". in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p.61

⁹¹⁰ Marwan M. Obeidat, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the Muslim Orient", in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi. Aminrazavi, Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014., p. 75. Taken from Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 6 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), I, 116-17.

I was the pampered child of the East. I was born where the soft western gale breathed upon me fragrance of cinnamon groves and through the seventy windows of my hall the eye fell on the Arabian harvest. A hundred elephants, appareled in cloth of gold, carried my train to war, and the smile of the Great King beamed upon Omar. But now—the broad Indian moon looks through the broken arches of my tower, and the wind of desolation fans me with poisonous airs; the spider's threads are in the tapestry which adorns my walls and the rain of night is heard in my halls for the music of the daughters of Cashmere.⁹¹¹

However, as Obeidat quotes from Arthur Christy, Emerson's knowledge of the Orient, at that point, was neither sufficient nor yet "disciplined by many books" indicating Emerson's "preoccupation with exoticism"⁹¹². Emerson read both "ancient Greek and modern European philosophy" and by the time he graduated from Harvard, he "had read numerous sources on the history, beliefs and religious practices of India"⁹¹³. Later, Emerson encountered a gorgeous fountain of Indian hymns, translated by Sir William Jones in *The Asiatick Miscellany*, 1819, containing a number of translations from the poems of the Persian poets such as Sa'di, Hafiz, and Jami, which extended his admiration of the Orient and affected him so extensively that his later translations to some extent followed Jones's model. For specimen, Yohannan, in his article "American Transcendentalists' Interpretations of Sufism", refers to Jones' effect on Emerson to conclude that "Emerson's versions [of Rumi] were regarded as translations in the same sense as those of Sir William Jones, even though twice removed from their Persian sources".⁹¹⁴

When Emerson was between seventeen and twenty-two (1820-25), he began reading the borrowed copies of *The Edinburgh Review*, in order to read its articles about India and to get to know Sir William Jones better. Also, he was acquainted with Jones' Hymns to the Deities, "To Narayena, 'Hindum Mythology and Mathematics,' in *The*

⁹¹¹ Ibid, p. 76. Main source: William H. Gilman, et al., eds., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 16 vols. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960-1982). 1, 72.

⁹¹² Ibid, p. 76. Quoted from: Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism: A Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 68.

⁹¹³ Goldberg, Philip. *American Veda: From Emerson and the Beatles to Yoga and Meditation; How Indian Spirituality Changed the West*. New York: Harmony Books, Random House, Inc. 2010. p. 31.

⁹¹⁴ Yohanna, John D. "American Transcendentalists' Interpretations of Sufism: Thoreau, Whitman, Longfellow, Lowell, Melville, and Lafcadio Hearn". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 198.

Edinburgh Review, and Vyasa's *Ramayana*".⁹¹⁵ Jones' "A Hymn to Narayena," (1785), according to Cannon, "his most poetical, profound explanation of Hinduism", was not only praised by the *Calcutta Gazette* of 26 May 1785 as one of Jones's best-known poems, and by John Parsons as "very poetically conceived, and vigorously, as well as elegantly, expressed" (May 1787, pp. 417-18),⁹¹⁶ but also "its fame reached America, where Emerson printed the 'fine pagan strains' of a stanza as one of his favorites,"⁹¹⁷ the impression of which is conspicuous in Emerson's philosophical development, particularly in his *Nature*. The publication of *Nature*, according to Versluis, coincided with Emerson's knowledge about "the Zend-Avesta, various translations by Sir William Jones, unspecified works relating to Zoroaster, a number of articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, and selections from the Mahabharata, the works of Confucius, the *Arabian Nights*, the *Arabian Proverbs*, and the Laws of Manu".⁹¹⁸

Emerson's philosophy of life was based on his love for nature, according to which he entitled his first significant work *Nature*; published in five hundred copies, anonymously, by James Munroe and Company, 1836, the book portrayed the best manifestation of his Transcendentalism in which he advocated that the divine pervaded nature, and truth could be understood through studying nature. Comprising an introduction and eight chapters, it was considered by the commentators as pantheistic rhapsody in which Emerson defined nature as: "*Nature*, in the common sense, refers to essences unchanged by man; space, the air, the river, the leaf. *Art* is applied to the mixture of his will with the same things, as in a house, a canal, a statue, a picture."⁹¹⁹ In an untraditional approach, Emerson begins from the stars to the way man perceives objects, stating that man is a part of nature and nature is his home. Each individual is

⁹¹⁵ Riepe, Dale. "Emerson and Indian Philosophy". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1967), p. 116.

⁹¹⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine* also reprinted it in February 1787, pp. 109-10.

⁹¹⁷ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 234.

⁹¹⁸ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 54.

⁹¹⁹ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1950. "Nature", p. 4.

the representation of nature and nature has the procedure to express the divine and to apprehend it. Man, as a part of nature, is the manifestation of God: "Standing on the bare ground-my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space -all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball, I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God."⁹²⁰ For Emerson, nature was the physical world, whatever present outside the self, the high purposes of which positioned in Beauty. This beauty is conveyed to people through the artist, to enable them to find the intrinsic beauty in what they see. According to Emerson, "The creation of beauty is art" and "the production of a work of art throws a light upon the mystery of humanity;"⁹²¹ consequently, beauty directs man to virtue and ultimately to God:

The world thus exists to the soul to satisfy the desire of beauty. This element I call an ultimate end. No reason can be asked or given why the soul seeks beauty. Beauty, in its largest and profoundest sense, is one expression for the universe. God is the all-fair. Truth, and goodness, and beauty, are but different faces of the same All. But beauty in nature is not ultimate. It is the herald of inward and eternal beauty, and is not alone a solid and satisfactory good. It must stand as a part, and not as yet the last or highest expression of the final cause of Nature.⁹²²

The ideas presented in Emerson's *Nature*, such as the quest for the spirit of the world, and the ubiquitousness of God, have resemblances not only to the Western Pantheism, but also to the Eastern Sufism, in which nature is considered as a "source of spiritual nourishment and retreat for the contemplative life":⁹²³

As the Sufis say, 'The universe is a great man, and man is a little universe'. The Reality which lies in the center of the heart of man also lies behind the veil of the appearances of nature. Consequently, every event, every particularity in nature corresponds to an element within man... Man is the link between, God and Nature. Every man is a copy of God in His perfection; none is without the power to become a perfect man: It is the Holy Spirit which witnesses to man's innate perfection, the spirit is man's real nature and within him is the secret shrine of the Divine Spirit. As God has descended into man, so man must ascend to

⁹²⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

⁹²¹ Ibid, p. 13.

⁹²² Ibid, p. 14.

⁹²³ Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. "Contemplation and Nature in the Perspective of Sufism". *Islamic Life & Thought*, pg 200, June 1981, SUNY Press, USA. p. 1.

God, and in the Perfect Man - the True Saint - the Absolute Being which has descended from its absoluteness returns again unto itself.⁹²⁴

Among the studying materials Richardson has enumerated for Emerson, "Teignmouth's *Life of Sir William Jones*, the English jurist and linguist who was a key figure in the new Western awareness of ancient India,"⁹²⁵ was so prominent that Emerson "fired perhaps by reading Jones, he sought out and began to study the work of Anquetil-Duperron on Zoroastrianism, the first authentic and sympathetic account of ancient Persian religion to reach the West. Emerson was struck by the figures of Ahriman and Ormuzd⁹²⁶ and even more by the manner of the stories".⁹²⁷ Years later, in 1840, he, still, was reading the translated Sanskrit scripts:

"In the sleep of the great heats," he told Ward, "there was nothing for me but to read the Veda, the bible of the tropics, which I find I come back upon every three or four years." He read again Sir William Jones's translation of the Laws of Menu (sometimes translated as the Institutes of Menu), the Pentateuch of India, and again it satisfied his thirst for origins, for the grand simplicity of the early lawgivers. "It is sublime as heat and night and a breathless ocean," he wrote. "It contains every religious sentiment, all the grand ethics." It taught him peace and purity and "absolute abandonment." It also taught him what nature taught him, "eternal necessity, eternal compensation, unfathomable power, unbroken silence".⁹²⁸

Like other Transcendentalists, Emerson was captivated by Asian religions, and became the prominent champion of Indian ideology, which was in his view an "antidote to the rising American materialism"⁹²⁹. The transcendentalists considered Indian perception fascinating since it was "profound without being gloomy,"⁹³⁰ compared with

⁹²⁴ Ibid, pp.2-5.

⁹²⁵ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995. p. 121.

⁹²⁶ According to Zoroastrianism, there is a continuous struggle between Ormazd (or Ahura Mazda), the god of creation, light, and goodness, and his arch enemy, Ahriman, the spirit of evil and darkness, including a highly developed ethical code. (<https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Ahriman+and+Ormuzd>)

⁹²⁷ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995, p. 121-2.

⁹²⁸ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995, p. 337.

⁹²⁹ Riepe, Dale. "Emerson and Indian Philosophy". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1967), p.115.

⁹³⁰ Ibid, p.116.

that of the "Puritan's harsh insistence on the preeminent importance of salvation,"⁹³¹ which did not suffice for the desiring soul of Emerson. In Emerson's thought, as Versluis believes, there was a view that had its roots in "the Puritan concept of America as an exemplar to the world but that adds to this the leavening influence of Oriental religions" in order to have "a new golden age in America".⁹³²

He discerned that "ancient Hindu, Chinese, and Persian thought [were] on a philosophical par with Hebrew, Greek, and Christian".⁹³³ In *Society and Solitude* (1870), in the essay "Books", Emerson praised the books of the East, recommending them as "the best":

... the Bibles of the world, or the sacred books of each nation, which express for each the supreme result of their experience. After the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, which constitute the sacred books of Christendom, these are, the Desatir of the Persians, and the Zoroastrian Oracles; the Vedas and Laws of Menu; the Upanishads, the Vishnu Purana, the Bhagvat Geeta, of the Hindoos; the books of the Buddhists; the Chinese Classic, of four books, containing the wisdom of Confucius and Mencius . . . [as well as] the Hermes Trismegistus . . . the Sentences of Epictetus . . . the Vishnu Sarma of the Hindoos; the Gulistan of Saadi.⁹³⁴

"So far as Emerson's own conscious literary border-crossing was concerned", as Buell discusses, "the most striking instance is his passion for classical Persian poetry".⁹³⁵ Buell considers Emerson as an eminent figure whose studying was not restricted to English Literature, but his knowledge about Persian poetry has turned him to be a celebrated figure in "'world literature' as well as 'American literature'".⁹³⁶ However, his cosmopolitanism, his tendency for the Oriental religions and poetry, and his transcendentalism, was difficult to understand for many of his contemporaries.

⁹³¹ Ibid, p. 116, quoted from R. B. Perry, "The Moral Athlete," *Puritanism in Early America* (Boston, 1950), p. 101.

⁹³² Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p.42.

⁹³³ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995, p. 104.

⁹³⁴ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 72. Taken from *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 6 vols., ed. Ralph Rusk, New York: Columbia UP, 1939, p. 218.

⁹³⁵ Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. The United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2004. p. 151.

⁹³⁶ Ibid, p. 152.

William Torrey Harris (1835-1909), the American, philosopher, and lexicographer, once tried to explain Emerson's nonconformity as:

What Emerson says of Plato we may easily and properly apply to himself. But he goes farther than Plato towards the Orient, and his pendulum swings farther West into the Occident. He delights in the all-absorbing unity of the Brahman, in the all-renouncing ethics of the Chinese and Persian, in the measureless images of the Arabian and Hindoo poets. ... It is the problem of evil that continually haunts him, and leads him to search its solution in the Oriental unity which is above all dualism of good and evil Finally, it is his love of beauty, which is the vision of freedom manifested in matter, that leads him to Oriental poetry.⁹³⁷

In 1840 Emerson became the establishing member of the quarterly periodical *The Dial*, the first volume of which comprised an essay entitled "The Divine Presence in Nature and in Soul" in which "the basic principles of Nature [were considered] as an emanation of God". Loloj compares Emerson's ideas concerning Nature with those of Sa'di and discusses the similarities between the two poets:

It is not, therefore, surprising that Sa'di should have become one of the most revered of poets for the Transcendentalists of New England. Emerson, influenced by his readings of the Western and Eastern philosophers, developed a complex doctrine of "Nature"... For Emerson, Sa'di was, above all, a poet of Nature; this is clear from his poem *Saadi* and from a *Fragment on the Poet* where he writes;

Those idle catches told the laws
Holding Nature to her cause
.....
God only knew how Saadi dined;
Roses he ate, and drank the wind
.....
He felt the flame, the fanning wings,
Nor offered words till they were things.
...
Sun and moon fall amain
Like sower's seeds into his brain,
There quickened to be born again.⁹³⁸

⁹³⁷ Riepe, Dale. "Emerson and Indian Philosophy". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1967), p. 115. Taken from Harris, "Emerson's Orientalism," *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, ed. F. B. Sanborn (Boston, 1885), 372-73.

⁹³⁸ Loloj, Parvin. "Emerson and Aspects of Sa'di's Reception", printed in *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Aminrazavi, Mehdi. Ed.) Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. pp. 110-111.

In fact Sa'di, one of the significant moralist Persian poets, owes his popularity in America to Emerson. Emerson had read several forms of poetry by 1841; his readings, as Versluis reports, involved "both Neoplatonic and Asian texts"; the works of "Plotinus, Hermes Trismegistus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Synesius, Proclus, and Olympiodorus" were included in the Neoplatonic list and "Vishnu Sarma, Zoroaster, Confucius, and books about Islamic religion, culture, and literature with superior devotion to Persian poets such as Saadi, and Hafiz" were among his studied Asian texts.

Alongside Hafiz, Sa'di had a specific position in stimulating Emerson as a transcendentalist poet. Emerson got acquainted with Sa'di in his early youth, however, it was much later that he studied Sa'di's poetry deeply and tried his hand in translating his works. His complete sources of studying Sa'di were the German translations by "K. F. Graf, *Moslichedden Sadi's Lustgarten (Bustan)*, and *Moslichedin Sadi's Rosengarten, (Gulistan)*, as well as Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte der schonen Redekunste Persiens mit einer Bluethenlese aus zweyhundert persischen Dichtern*".⁹³⁹ Attracted to the works of Sa'di, particularly *The Rose Garden*, in 1842 Emerson composed his poem "Saadi" for the Transcendentalist literary journal *The Dial*, after reading Saadi's *Gulistan*. Emerson's interest in Persian poetry was echoed in his poem "Saadi", which he "called a 'poem on poetical ethics,' [and] mark[ed] the beginning of Emerson's long fascination with Persian poetry, ...the main point of the poem is that the true poet must keep to his own affairs: (1843)

. . . he has no companion.
Come ten, or come a million,
Good Saadi dwells alone."⁹⁴⁰

Also, in his preface to the first American edition of Francis Gladwin's translation of Sa'di's *Gulistan*⁹⁴¹ (Boston, 1865), Emerson depicts him as his ideal poet and writes about him and Persian poetry in detail:

⁹³⁹ Parvin Loloi, "Emerson and Aspects of Sa'di's Reception". In *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi Aminrazavi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014., p. 95.

⁹⁴⁰ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995, p.388.

At first sight, the Oriental rhetoric does not please our Western taste. Life in the East wants the complexity of European and American existence; and in their writing certain monotony betrays the poverty of the landscape, and of social conditions. We fancy we are soon familiar with all their images: Medschnun [Majnoon] and Leila, rose and nightingale, parrots and tulips; mosques and dervishes; desert, caravan, and robbers, peeps at the harem; bags of gold dinars; slaves, horses, camels, sabres, shawls, pearls, amber, cohol, and henna; insane compliments to the Sultan, borrowed from the language of prayer; Hebrew and Gueber legends molten into Arabesque; 't is a short inventory of topics and tropes, which incessantly return in Persian poetry. ...The charge of monotony lies more against the numerous Western imitations than against the Persians themselves, and though the torrid, like the arctic zone, puts some limit to variety, it is least felt in the masters. It is the privilege of genius to play its game indifferently with few as with many pieces, as Nature draws all her opulence out of a few elements. Saadi exhibits perpetual variety of situation and incident, and an equal depth of experience with Cardinal de Retz in Paris, or Doctor Johnson in London. He finds room on his narrow canvas for the extremes of lot, the play of motives, the rule of destiny, the lessons of morals, and the portraits of great men. He has furnished the originals of a multitude of tales and proverbs which are current in our mouths, and attributed by us to recent writers...When once the works of these poets are made accessible, they must draw the curiosity of good readers. It is provincial to ignore them. ... In these songs and elegies breaks into light the national mind of the Persians and Arabians. The monotonies which we accuse, accuse our own. We pass into a new landscape, new costume, new religion, new manners and customs under which humanity nestles very comfortably at Shiraz and Mecca, with good appetite, and with moral and intellectual results that correspond, point for point, with ours at New York and London. It needs in every sense a free translation, just as, from geographical position, the Persians attribute to the east wind what we say of the west. Saadi, though he has not the lyric flights of Hafiz, has wit, practical sense, and just moral sentiments. He has the instinct to teach, and from every occurrence must draw the moral, like Franklin. He is the poet of friendship, love, self-devotion, and serenity. There is a uniform force in his page, and, conspicuously, a tone of cheerfulness, which has almost made his name a synonyme for this grace. The word Saadi means fortunate. In him the trait is no result of levity, much less of convivial habit, but first of a happy nature, to which victory is habitual, easily shedding mishaps, with sensibility to pleasure, and with resources against pain. But it also results from the habitual perception of the beneficent laws that control the world. He inspires in the reader a good hope. What a contrast between the cynical tone of Byron and the benevolent wisdom of Saadi!

⁹⁴¹ Sir William Jones translated several passages from Sa'di such as the fables of The Scented Mud (Gel-i Khushbu), the Rain Drop, and some other passages long before Gladwin's version. His translations, although did not cover the complete works, were significant according to their first attempts of Sa'di translations.

... I find in him a pure theism. He asserts the universality of moral laws, and the perpetual retributions. He celebrates the omnipotence of a virtuous soul. A certain intimate and avowed piety, obviously in sympathy with the feeling of his nation, is habitual to him. All the forms of courtesy and of business in daily life take a religious tinge, as did those of Europe in the Middle Age. . . . The Persians have been called "the French of Asia"; and their superior intelligence, their esteem for men of learning, their welcome to Western travellers, and their tolerance of Christian sects in their territory, as contrasted with Turkish fanaticism, would seem to derive from the rich culture of this great choir of poets, perpetually reinforced through five hundred years, which again and again has enabled the Persians to refine and civilize their conquerors, and to preserve a national identity. To the expansion of this influence there is no limit; and we wish that the present republication may add to the genius of Saadi a new audience in America.⁹⁴²

Emerson was also extremely attracted to what he had read in Hafiz. According to Loloï, Emerson "had read Hafiz in Sir William Jones' works when he was still a young boy. He later came across von Hammer's *Diwan* and tried his hand at translating Hafiz into English from German."⁹⁴³In addition to Jones' translations and the works of Romantic poets, Persian mystic poetry was introduced to Emerson through German authors. Goethe's *West-Eastern Divan* was among Emerson's lifelong sources of inspiration so that in his *Representative Men* (1850), Emerson allocated an essay on Goethe, entitled as "Goethe, or, the Writer," in which Emerson selected Goethe as one of six "representative men" along with Plato, Emanuel Swedenborg, Montaigne, Napoleon, and Shakespeare. Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* or *West-Eastern Divan* (1814-1819) is a collection⁹⁴⁴ of lyrical poems inspired by Hafiz in twelve books with Persian names.⁹⁴⁵ As the title suggests, Goethe's *Divan* can be considered as the sign of interaction between Orient and Occident, culturally, literally, and ethically. Goethe respectfully

⁹⁴² Sa'di (Musle-Huddeen Sheik Saadi _ of Shiraz). *Gulistan*. Translated by Francis Gladwin. Preface by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1865. p. (iv-xv).

⁹⁴³ Loloï, Parvin. "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry". In *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. (Leonard Lewisohn Ed.) New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010., p. 287.

⁹⁴⁴ In Persian the collection of poems is called Divan.

⁹⁴⁵ The twelve books consist of: Moqqani-Nameh or Book of the Singer, Hafiz-Nameh or Book of Hafiz, Eshq-Nameh or Book of Love, Tafakkor-Nameh or Book of Reflection, Rind-Nameh or Book of Ill Humour, Hikmat-Nameh or Book of Maxims, Timur-Nameh or Book of Timur, Zuleika-Nameh or Book of Zuleika, Saki--Nameh or Book of the Cupbearer, Matal-Nameh or Book of Parables, Parsi Nameh or Book of the Persian and Khuld-Nameh or Book of Paradise.

refers to Hafiz as "Holy Hafiz"⁹⁴⁶ and also alludes to him and other Persian poets such as Sa'di, Nizami and Jami in his *Divan*. He finds so many similar points with Hafiz that he identifies himself with him. The culmination of Goethe's fervor for Hafiz is reflected in the following lines:

Should the whole world to ruin sink,
Hafiz, with you, with you alone
I'd vie! Desire and painful moan
We'll share them both, we twins have grown!
To be like you in love, in drink
My pride, my life in this be shown!⁹⁴⁷

The picture of Hafiz, portrayed in Goethe's *Divan*, and Goethe's enthusiasm for Hafiz fascinated Emerson profoundly. It was in 1846 that the remarkable happening in Emerson's life took place, when he happened to read the German translation of Hafiz through Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's two-volume *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafts*. Even without knowing the language of the Persian poets, Emerson was deeply impressed by von Hammer's version and described his indebtedness to him in the opening lines of his essay "Persian Poetry" by addressing him:

TO Baron von Hammer Purgstall, who died in Vienna in 1856, we owe our best knowledge of the Persians. He has translated into German, besides the *Divan of Hafiz*, specimens of two hundred poets who wrote during a period of five and a half centuries, from A.D. 1050 to 1600. The seven masters of the Persian Parnassus—Firdusi, Enweri, Nisami, Jelaledin, Saadi, Hafiz and Jami—have ceased to be empty names; and others, like Ferideddin Attar and Omar Khayyam, promise to rise in Western estimation.⁹⁴⁸

Although Emerson had known Hafiz through Jones, Goethe, and other translators of the era, von Hammer's edition captivated him so much that, as Richardson says, "Emerson recognized now that Hafez was for him, and he bent to the labor of getting something of him into English". Through von Hammer's rendition, Emerson came to understand about Hafiz thoroughly; "his directness, his fondness for short forms, his wit, his

⁹⁴⁶ Von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang . *West-East Divan*. Translated by Martin Bidney. MoqqaniNameh or Book of the Singer, p. 2. Also in Hafiz-Nameh, Book of Hafiz, "Open Secret", p. 25.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid, Hafiz-Nameh, Book of Hafiz, "Unbounded", p. 23.

⁹⁴⁸ Emerson's the Essay "Persian Poetry", published in the *Atlantic Monthly* of April, 1858.
<https://www.bartleby.com/90/0808.html#note0808.1>

imagery, his lack of preachiness, his sensuousness, his ecstatic joy filled lyric celebration of life,"⁹⁴⁹ all were revealed to him. Emerson found in Hafiz a genuine poet, whose philosophy and art were in accord with his, and whose "intellectual liberty," freed Emerson's mind from the existing restrictions in both religion and poetry. Hafiz was a poet that Emerson tended to echo his voice in America. Emerson demonstrated his respect for Hafiz by imitating his poems, including the *SakiNameh*, reminiscent of Goethe's *West-Ostlicher Divan* which was composed as an earnest praise to the magnificence of Hafiz. In praising Hafiz, he uttered numerous statements, such as:

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.⁹⁵⁰

Also:

The merit of Hafiz is his intellectual liberty, which is a certificate of profound thought. We accept the religions and politics into which we fall, and it is only a few delicate spirits who are sufficient to see that the whole web of convention is the imbecility of those whom it entangles,- that the mind suffers no religion and no empire but its own. It indicates this respect to absolute truth by the use it makes of the symbols that are most stable and reverend, and therefore is always provoking the accusation of irreligion.

Hypocrisy is the perpetual butt of his arrows
"Let us draw the cowl through the brook of wine."

He tells his mistress that not the dervish, or the monk, but the lover, has in his heart the spirit which makes the ascetic and the saint; and certainly not their cowls and mummeries, but her glances, can impart to him the fire and virtue needful for such self-denial.⁹⁵¹

Among the different aspects of Hafiz's poetry, Emerson was fascinated with the ideology behind the lines, what was called Sufism, a mystical transcendentalism which considered man as a part of the cosmos, and at the same time, a cosmos in each individual, an outlook through which the world was perceived through symbols; "The

⁹⁴⁹ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995.p. 423.

⁹⁵⁰ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. (Vol. VIII) Harvard University Press, 2010.p. 129.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.132.

Sufi speaks of wine, the product of the grape, and its secret potential, as his means of attaining 'inebriation'. The grape is seen as the raw form of the wine. Grapes, then, mean ordinary religion; while wine is the real essence of the fruit."⁹⁵² In their convention, the Sufis "saw themselves as inheritors of one single teaching — elsewhere split into so many facets — which could be made to serve as the instrument of human development. 'Before garden, vine or grape was in the world,' writes one, 'our soul was drunken with immortal wine'."⁹⁵³

Emerson found in Hafiz's poetry whatever he had been reading about the Oriental mysticism and Sufism; the implicit and symbolic language of Sufism was visible in every line of Hafiz's poetry:

All [existed in Sufism] was in Hafez, in a language of lips, wine, and roses; every line of every poem testified that the spiritual appears to us only through the senses. Emerson recognized this teaching in Hafez's lines, though it was for him half-buried in German, like a statue congealed in a block of marble. Emerson eventually filled a 250-page notebook with translations from Persian poets, mostly Hafez. It was difficult work, quarrying the poems out of black-letter gothic type. Emerson kept at translating over many years, and we can glimpse the process when he says, in another context, "We see the law gleaming through like the sense of a half-translated ode of Hafiz."⁹⁵⁴

In his *English Traits*, Emerson refers to Hafiz as:

That expansiveness which is the essence of the poetic element, they [the English] have not. It was no Oxonian, but Hafiz, who said, "Let us be crowned with roses, let us drink wine, and break up the tiresome old roof of heaven into new forms."⁹⁵⁵

Emerson wished to be identical with Hafiz; "such is the only man I wish to see and to be."⁹⁵⁶ He translated Hafiz's poems from German, based on von Hammer's version. Also,

⁹⁵² Idries Shah. *The Sufis*. London: ISF Publishing, 2015. p. 25.

⁹⁵³ Ibid, p. 28.

⁹⁵⁴ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson : The Mind On Fire : a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995. p.424.

⁹⁵⁵ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Edited, with a Biographical Introduction by Brooks Atkinson. New York: The Modern Library, Random House Inc., 1950, p.660.

⁹⁵⁶ Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol. X, p.165. Quoted in Sedarat, Roger. *Emerson in Iran: The American Appropriation of Persian Poetry*. New York: State University of New York, 2019. p. 2.

his notebooks "contain many finished and unfinished translations from Hafiz. His Essay on 'Persian Poetry' also contains many translations from Hafiz".⁹⁵⁷

Richardson refers to *The Desatir*⁹⁵⁸ or *The Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets* (1818), owned and read by Emerson in 1844. Probably, through this work "Emerson was able to connect his old interest in ancient Persia and Zoroaster with his newer interest in medieval Persia and its great poets". Richardson also refers to another book, *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia as Found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit-Minstrel of Northern Persia*, through which Emerson became more familiar with the Persian poets; "Firdusi, Saadi, Hafez, Jami, Rumi, and Omar Khayyam will recur through his reading, thinking, note taking, and poetry from now on. Beginning in 1844 and 1845 Islam had a major impact on Emerson, especially but not exclusively through Sufi poetry."⁹⁵⁹

Emerson read the French translations of Sa'di and Hafiz during the 1840s, when he was blooming as a poet or as Yohannan mentions, the "period of Emerson's greatest interest in Persian poetry (the late 1840's) coincides with the period of his first significant poetic production. His most characteristic manner, that of a cryptic and often metrically crude expression-giving the effect, in words, of roughly hewn sculpture- is certainly to be found in the plainly rendered German versions of Persian poetry by von Hammer".⁹⁶⁰ The first collection *Poems*, in 1847, comprising "From the Persian of Hafiz" and "Ghaselle," were Emerson's translations after reading Goethe's Hafiz-inspired poems, *East-West Divan* in 1846 and the Persian poems in the German anthology of von Hammer inspired Emerson particularly in composing his significant poems, such as "Bacchus" (1847) and "Days" (1857).

⁹⁵⁷ Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. *Parvin Loloi*, "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry", p. 287.

⁹⁵⁸ Also known as *Dasatir-i-Asmani*, is a Zoroastrian mystic text. It's probable date of authorship goes back to the 16th or 17th century by the leader of the Zoroastrian sect, Azar Kayvan.

⁹⁵⁹ Richardson, Robert D. *Emerson: The Mind On Fire: a Biography*. California: University of California Press, 1995. p. 407.

⁹⁶⁰ Yohannan, John D. "The Influence of Persian Poetry upon Emerson's Work". *American Literature*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), p.35.

Although "in spirit and imagery, in blithe dithyrambic wisdom", as Stedman says, Emerson "gained much from his favorite Orientals—Saadi and Hafiz"⁹⁶¹, his interest for the Persian poets was not limited to Hafiz and Sa'di, but covered whoever poet he came to know through translations. He encompassed some rubaiyat from Khayyam among his "Orientalist" writings. He translated "snippets from Anvari, Nezami, Ibn Yamin and the other poets he had read in Hammer-Purgstall. Emerson's verse translations follow Hammer-Purgstall closely and therefore follow the Persian rather closely, as well."⁹⁶² His translations, including several English versions of Persian and Sanskrit, were done from German versions, not the original sources. Although Emerson, according to Lewis, might not have known Persian as "the original language, [...and] was translating them second-hand, turning German versions of Persian poems into English," he was "making a number of Persian authors available in English for the first time".⁹⁶³

The outcome of Emerson's life-long studies has been echoed in his poetry, among which one can refer to "Bacchus", a 65-line poem published in 1847 collection of *Poems* and redistributed in 1876 *Selected Poems*. The poem reveals Emerson's interest in Persian poetry, particularly that of Hafiz and Sa'di. The simultaneous publication of "Bacchus" and Emerson's translation of Hafiz's Poetry from German, raised the possibility of assimilations from Hafiz's poetry, that has been proved to be true by several critics. As a specimen, Emerson's translation of one of Hafiz's ghazals (Come let us strew roses) opens with:

Come let us strew roses
And pour wine in the cup,
Break up the roof of heaven
And throw it into new forms.

In "Bacchus", the imagery of the translated poem, such as bird, roses, wine, has been repeated:

Bring me wine, but wine which never grew
In the belly of the grape,

⁹⁶¹ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism; An imprint of InfoBase Publishing, 2008. Edmund Clarence Stedman, "Ralph Waldo Emerson" (1885) p. 206.

⁹⁶² Lewis, Franklin D. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West*. London: One world Publications, 2014. p. 715.

⁹⁶³ Ibid, p. 746.

Or grew on vine whose taproots reaching through
 Under the Andes to the Cape,
 Suffered no savor of the world to 'scape.
 Let its grapes the morn salute
 From a nocturnal root
 Which feels the acrid juice
 Of Styx and Erebus,
 And turns the woe of night,
 By its own craft, to a more rich delight. (ll. 1-11)

Emerson, as Keane mentions, was so "intoxicated at the time by his reading of the Persian Sufi poet Hafiz", that "may simply not have been aware of the resemblance between 'Kubla Khan' and his own marvelous 'Bacchus,'"⁹⁶⁴ both inspired by Oriental sources.

In his article, "The Influence of Persian Poetry Upon Emerson's Work", Yohannan discusses the title of his essay and states that Persian poetry "served primarily to emancipate Emerson's thoughts from the narrow confines of convention and to enrich the store of imagery by which he gave expression to that thought".⁹⁶⁵ He refers to Emerson's "Bacchus" as a poem "admitted to have been inspired by the Persian sources", including some of "Hafiz' anacreontic verses", particularly *Sakiname* or the book of the Cup-bearer, a long poem that Emerson had translated it under the title "From the Persian of Hafiz, I" (Boston, 1847).⁹⁶⁶

Emerson, according to Yohannan, in his "Bacchus" is imitating Hafiz; in a comparison between "From the Persian of Hafiz, I" and "Bacchus", he follows "a general correspondence in thought and expression"⁹⁶⁷; in addition to the similarities in imagery, and word choice, the tone in both poems is that of "high exhilaration" and "the Language is imperative". Besides, both poems contain the similar ideas, for example, "both celebrate the wine and both regard it as more than the mere juice of the grape, seeing in

⁹⁶⁴ Keane, Patrick J. *Emerson, Romanticism, and Intuitive Reason*. Columbia:University of Missouri Press, 2005.p.126.

⁹⁶⁵ Yohannan, John D. "The Influence of Persian Poetry upon Emerson's Work". *American Literature*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), p. 25.

⁹⁶⁶ Yohannan, John D. "The Influence of Persian Poetry Upon Emerson's Work". *American Literature*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), p. 26.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 26.

it the power of liberating the mind to new ecstasies and insights, and relieving it of despair".⁹⁶⁸

These ideas, concerning wine as the source of inspiration for composing poetry, have been repeated in other writings of Emerson's; in poems, such as "Monadnoc", "The WorldSoul," and "Woodnotes," Hafiz's wine became the principal image for Emerson's mystical transcendence. Wayne refers to some Emerson's works in which the image and dialect of intoxication as a source of poetry appears:

In the essay "Circles," he spoke of the writer's "new wine of . . . imagination." In the later essay "Poetry and Imagination," he again invoked "celestial Bacchus," who could lure seekers of truth, those "hungry for Eloquence, hungry for poetry, starving for symbols," in "with the false wine of alcohol, or politics or of money." Finally, in his essay "The Poet" he reflected on "the reason why bards love wine," meaning actual wine as well as other sources of intoxication such as "narcotics, coffee, tea, opium," and so on, and explained that these substances allowed the poet "passage out into free space," allowed the "abandonment to the nature of things" that poetry required. But Emerson, however, did not encourage such methods, and he warned that the feeling that comes from intoxication from these substances was "not an inspiration . . . but some counterfeit excitement and fury." As a poet he sought, and reflected upon in "Bacchus," a truer wine as source of inspiration, an "assimilation" with the flow of inspiration through the ages or, as one scholar has noted, to "become the wine."⁹⁶⁹

Buell, also, considers "Bacchus" as an "absolute renovation" that "depends on its author's reading and adaptation of German translations of Hafiz, and reveal[s] him thereby as a literary nephew to Goethe. In Hafiz, as in Goethe, the Emersonian poet-roisterer calls for a wine that is more than wine, in order to conjure up ecstasy, expanse of vision, transgressive insight, and power".⁹⁷⁰ As an example, Buell mentions to the following lines of Emerson's "Bacchus":

That I, drinking this,
Shall hear far Chaos talk with me;
Kings unborn shall walk with me;
And the poor grass shall plot and plan
What it will do when it is man.
Quickened so, will I unlock

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 28.

⁹⁶⁹ Wayne, Tiffany K. *Ralph Waldo Emerson; A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2010. p. 38.

⁹⁷⁰ Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. The United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2004. p. 152.

Every crypt of every rock. (ll. 38-44)

Then he compares it to the following lines from his translation of Hafiz to follow the shared points in two works:

Bring the wine of Jamschid's glass,
Which glowed, ere time was, in the Néant;
Bring it me, that through its force
I, as Jamschid, see through worlds.
(From the Persian of Hafiz, ll. 13-16)

Using different viewpoints to prove his claim, Buell states that the similarities between Emerson's own poetry and his translations of Hafiz, originated from Emerson's identification with Hafiz:

Hafiz's conversion of mastery of the Koran into poetical heresy, ... made Emerson think him a soul mate. It was rather like Nietzsche's delight in Emerson as a kind of impish cherub. Yet Emerson was drawn even by Persian poetry's exquisite decadence: that it was elegantly bibulous, homoerotic as well as heterosexual, indolent, and theologically mischievous all at the same time.⁹⁷¹

The affinity between Emerson's own poetry and his translations of Hafiz exists in some other poems, as well. Yohannan compares several translated poems of Hafiz by Emerson to Emerson's own poetry, and concludes that his poetry has been inspired deeply by Hafiz's poetry in both form and content. As another example, he compares Emerson's poem, "To J. W." to his second published translation of Hafiz, called "Gazelle", to discuss the similarities between the two poems (in expression, theme, and word choice) to conclude that Emerson's poem was influenced by what he had translated from Hafiz.

Emerson's essay "Persian Poetry" was first printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858, and appeared later in 1876 in the collection *Letters and Social Aims*, in which Emerson explicitly referred to the Persian poets, as the source of inspiration and the object of his interest. In this essay, "life in the East" is described as "fierce, short, hazardous, and in extremes [whose] elements are few and simple, not exhibiting the long range and undulation of European existence, but rapidly reaching the best and the

⁹⁷¹ Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. The United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2004. p. 153.

worst." The essay contains several references to the Persian poets; Hafiz and Saadi (Sa'di) are represented as Emerson's supreme poets, and are praised for their "expressive splendor, their freedom of thought and joyful affirmation that transcended religious fatalism, their sincerity and self-reliance, and their perception of beauty in nature and human life...for themes of the inspirational quality of woman, as well as the highest priority they placed on love and friendship, and their expression of the law of compensation."⁹⁷² In Emerson's words:

"He [Hafiz] only," he says, "is fit for company, who knows how to prize earthly happiness at the value of a night-cap. Our father Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of wheat; then blame me not, if I hold it dear at one grapestone."⁹⁷³

In addition to Emerson's essay, "Persian Poetry", Emerson's interest in the Persian poets has echoed in most of his other works; not only in poems such as "Brahma," "Hamatreya," "From the Persian of Hafiz," and "Saadi", but also in his prose. For example, in his essays "Fate," "Power," and "Illusions" in *The Conduct of Life* (1860), there are frequent references to Persian poetry and poets. Similarly, in his collection of poems, the *May-Day And Other Pieces* (1867), he incorporated a quatrain:

Her passions the shy violet
From Hafiz never hides;
Love-longings of the raptured bird
The bird to him confides.⁹⁷⁴

Emerson was a follower of "cosmopolitanism" who, as Buell declares, can "make a person—or a culture—more receptive to the possible legitimacy of 'alien' faiths and to the possibility of communities of the spirit that potentially include the whole world". This very fact was what directed Emerson "to immerse himself in the 'ethnical scriptures' of India, China, Persia: the faith in a common spirituality behind the veils of

⁹⁷² Wayne, Tiffany K. *Ralph Waldo Emerson; A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2010. p. 116.

⁹⁷³ Emerson's essay "Persian Poetry" <https://www.bartleby.com/90/0808.html#note0808.1>, also quoted in Lewisohn, Leonard. Ed. *Hafiz and the Religion of Love in Classical Persian Poetry*. New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd in association with Iran Heritage Foundation Published, 2010. Parvin Loloj, "Hafiz and the Language of Love in Nineteenth-Century English and American Poetry", p. 287-8.

⁹⁷⁴ Wayne, Tiffany K. *Ralph Waldo Emerson; A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2010. p. 116.

difference".⁹⁷⁵ Inspired by his profound knowledge of Hindu, Persian and other Oriental forms of spirituality, interwoven with his poetic sense, Emerson produced an exclusive form of poetry replete with different ideologies while "reverberate with his own metaphysics of individual identity, which he saw as underlying cultural differences"⁹⁷⁶. He, as Alcott believes, was like "his own Saadi,—a 'cheerer of men's hearts.' 'Friendship,' 'Love,' 'Self-Reliance,' 'Heroism,' and 'Compensation,' among the essays, have become to many readers as precious as Christian's scroll; and certain poems live in the memory as sacred as hymns, so helpful and inspiring are they."⁹⁷⁷ Also, like Hafiz, Emerson's mysticism, is "the mysticism of love," for whom "the cloister and the penitential robes of the Sufi are as unsatisfying and hypocritical as the formal religion of the orthodox."⁹⁷⁸

Emerson was aware of the human world and nature, a unique versifier of prophecy, "the Saadi of his introspective song...a poet of fire and vision, quite above the moralist"⁹⁷⁹, who was affected deeply by Sufism. Emerson, as Yohannan argues, found in Persian literature "boldness of expression and a valid ethical stance". Since he discovered Persian literature "harmonious" both with "the prevailing ethical culture" and "a transcendental realm beyond the pale negations of Unitarianism", he wanted to introduce this mysterious land to the New England sight. Persian literature was in accord with what Emerson sought, it was the intersection of "poetry and religion, the secular and the sacred"; "Sa'di provided a new Bible for the world, and Hafiz was the Tongue of the Hidden".⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁵ Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. The United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2004. p. 188.

⁹⁷⁶ Wayne, Tiffany K. *Ralph Waldo Emerson; A Literary Reference to His Life and Work*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2010. p. 211.

⁹⁷⁷ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism; An imprint of InfoBase Publishing, 2008. Louisa May Alcott, "Reminiscences of Ralph Waldo Emerson" (1885), p. 28.

⁹⁷⁸ Ahmad, Mahnaz. "Whitman and Hafiz". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi Aminrazavi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p.157.

⁹⁷⁹ Bloom, Harold. Editor. *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism; An imprint of InfoBase Publishing, 2008. Edmund Clarence Stedman "Ralph Waldo Emerson" (1885), p. 203.

⁹⁸⁰ Yohannan, John D. "American Transcendentalists' Interpretations of Sufism; Thoreau, Whitman, Longfellow, Lowell, Melville, and Lafcadio Hearn". *Sufism and American Literary Masters*. (Mehdi Aminrazavi. Ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014. p. 191.

Emerson's Transcendentalism was the most effective, since it could integrate Asian religious teachings, because, as Versluis states, it "approaches them from a universalist perspective similar to that of Vedanta itself":

Emerson did not latch onto a single intellectual concept like "universal religion" and make all the world's religions conform to it. He did assimilate and transmute what he read, but he did not apply everything he read to a single thesis. He plundered the world's religious texts for insights, but he seldom did them an injustice in his presentation of them. He came to Asian religious texts with a Platonist bent, but the similarities between Platonism and Vedanta have been noted by many observers.⁹⁸¹

Transcendentalism was, for certain, one of the most prominent philosophical movements in America that is not referred in Said's *Orientalism* except for one single glance, although he believes that Orientalism in its colonialist form is "reproduced more or less in American Orientalism after the Second World War".⁹⁸²

Yet, once more, Emerson proved to be a counterexample of Said's claim. Emerson's love and attentiveness for the Persian poetry, Sa'di and Hafiz, originated from Jones, were neither based on the relation between the superior and inferior, nor in search of dominance over the Oriental people, what Edward Said calls Orientalism. Rather, as Buell puts:

What attracted him to Persian poetry was a sense of the insufficiency of his home culture and the desire to confound its provincial stuffiness, including his own. Another appeal of Persian poetry was as a repertoire of "gnomic verses, rules of life conveyed in a lively image," with "an inconsecutiveness quite alarming to Western logic".⁹⁸³

Transcendentalism embodied a significant phenomenon in American union with universal religious thinking, in which "influential American thinkers began to conceptualize a world where Asia and the West met, and the full spectrum of humanity's

⁹⁸¹ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 78.

⁹⁸² Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003. p. 18.

⁹⁸³ Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. The United States of America: Harvard University Press, 2004. p. 154.

spiritual understandings were creatively synthesized."⁹⁸⁴ Transcendentalism as a philosophical school flourished only for less than three decades, while "the ripple effect of interest in Asian texts continued decades after the decline of Transcendentalism".⁹⁸⁵ People still read Emerson's *Nature*, Thoreau's *Walden* and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, not only in America, but all over the world, while they may not know their Oriental sources or the man who bridged the East to the West and the ancient to the modern by his priceless translations.

⁹⁸⁴ Lewis, Todd and Kent Bicknell. "The Asian Soul of Transcendentalism". *US, Asia, and the World 1620–1914*. Vol. 16, No.2 Fall 2011. p.17.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.17.

Conclusion

More than two centuries have passed since the appearance of "A Persian Song" and other translations and scholarly endeavors by Sir William Jones, who introduced the Orient to the Occident, thus leading to the Oriental Renaissance. Although English poetry owes much to Jones and his efforts, nowadays, only a small number of people discern the role of this giant Orientalist in the appearance and development of the Romantic tendency in the West, and his enormous role "in being the first to transmit the pearl of [the Oriental] high culture to the West"⁹⁸⁶ has almost been forgotten. This study has been an attempt to recollect his significant place, not only as an Orientalist who bridged the cultures through translation, but also as a counter example to Edward Said's ideas concerning Orientalism.

Sir William Jones was called by A. J. Arberry "the founder" of Oriental studies in the West,⁹⁸⁷ whose translations from Persian and Hindu texts and descriptions of the Orient demystified those once assumed anonymities about the exotic lands and intensified the Occident's interest in the Orient, with a profound influence upon different generations of poets. Jones' "recognition of a pro to-Indo-European language tradition that underlay Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic, and Sanskrit in particular inspired countless linguists after him and marked the birth of modern linguistics."⁹⁸⁸ His important literary achievement, according to Cannon, was "an indirect role in comparative literature, by giving the West a new vista of themes, styles, images, and metrics" through translation. His "contributing to the partial Orientalization of some

⁹⁸⁶ Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones; Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer and Linguist (1746-1794)*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 267.

⁹⁸⁷ Arberry, A. J. *Oriental Essays*. London: Macmillan, 1960. p.48. Also quoted in Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions.*, p. 18.

⁹⁸⁸ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. P. 18.

Romantics and a few later poets accomplished his original goal of helping rejuvenate the literary current, of quickening the imagination of writers from Gibbon to Tennyson, and of American transcendentalists like Emerson and Thoreau. One way to measure his influence is to count the footnotes of acknowledgment by Byron, Southey, Tennyson, and the like."⁹⁸⁹ "Jones: The achievements of this man", as Goethe discusses, "are so world-famous and have been so fully celebrated in more than one place, that nothing remains for me but to acknowledge in general terms that I have for a long time attempted to draw the maximum benefit from his labours."⁹⁹⁰

Although the history of the Orient, particularly that of Persia, was the focus of some Elizabethan and Restoration plays, as Said states, "until the mid-eighteenth century Orientalists were Biblical scholars." It was Jones, along with other orientalists, who "reveal[ed] the extraordinary riches of Avestan and Sanskrit",⁹⁹¹ introduced the Oriental literature to the West and inspired the Romantics to see beyond the traditions of the Augustans, in the Orient. Oriental literature, with its imaginative and idealistic features, with its charm of mystery and sentiment, fascinated the Romantics so much that they applied the same qualities in their poetry. Jones not only wrote a new chapter in the Western understanding of the cultural heritage of the East; he was also a driving force in a great literary revolution in the West, without which European literature would have been written differently. He established a literary and linguistic renaissance in the West that made him a substantial figure in literary history. As Cannon says:

[Jones'] introduction of new images, styles, and themes to the West, in systematic efforts to reinvigorate European poetry, ultimately raised his stature in general literary history. What he did was to gather, integrate, and transmit a synthesized body of data from a part of the Orient that had been known by the various trading companies since about 1600, but known only in a distorted and intensely ethnocentric way. Correcting the image and revealing the spirit of kinship and unity in space and time, by such poetry and other writings Jones in his way helped stimulate a new renaissance in the Western mind. Cultural

⁹⁸⁹ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. p. 239.

⁹⁹⁰ Versluis, Arthur. *American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. P. 18.

⁹⁹¹ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 51.

pluralism was at hand, and clearly this impact went far beyond literature.⁹⁹²

Jones' Orientalism was in accordance with Schwab's conception of Orientalism as the "professional enthusiasm for everything Asiatic, which was wonderfully synonymous with the exotic, the mysterious, the profound, the seminal."⁹⁹³ He went beyond Said's consideration of Orientalism, in which the Orientalist was the representation of "cultural repertoire whose individual items evoke a fabulously rich world"⁹⁹⁴ with a "certain sense of superiority,"⁹⁹⁵ and colonial intentions of "insensitive schematization of the Orient".⁹⁹⁶

Jones, as Cannon believes, "informed Europe that there were other Europes, that is, areas that had had admirable intellectual pasts."⁹⁹⁷ He "opened to the West the magical world of Araby and Persia, of Kismet and Sufi mystical love"; a legacy that remained in the "world culture over two centuries":

When Tennyson composed his moving "Locksley Hall", with allusions to new discoveries in astronomy and electricity, he was responding to a kasida translated by Jones, just as Matthew Arnold's minor "Sick King in Bokhara" and major Sohrab and Rustum were a similar response. When Thoreau and the American Transcendentalists, all the way to T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land", used Oriental themes, they were drawing on Jones' influences in creating fine pluralistic literature.⁹⁹⁸

Jones was a revolutionary figure like "Copernicus"⁹⁹⁹ or "Darwin,"¹⁰⁰⁰ who "meshed many isolated evolutionary facts known by predecessors into a grand theory of

⁹⁹² Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.p. 358.

⁹⁹³ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p. 51.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 63.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 65.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 68.

⁹⁹⁷ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. P. xv. Here Cannon refers to Schwab who "minutely catalogues the whole new dimension in Western literature eventuating from Orientalism, ranging from the British and German Romantics, and the American transcendentalists, to modern poets like T. S. Eliot. He perceives 'the birth of an integral humanism, a crucial, unprecedented chapter in the history of civilization.'" P. xv.

⁹⁹⁸ Cannon, Garland and Kevin Brine. Editors. *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)*. New York: New York University Press, 1995. p. 42.

⁹⁹⁹ O. P. Kejariwal "William Jones: the Copernicus of History". Cannon, Garland and Kevin Brine. Editors. *Objects of Enquiry: The Life, Contributions, and Influences of Sir William Jones, (1746-1794)*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

evolutionary change documented and expanded by his own field research."¹⁰⁰¹ His profound fascination for the Oriental literature went beyond any sort of colonialism that was described by Said. In fact, he was colonized by what he, as an Orientalist, was supposed to colonize. He was so enchanted by Persian and Indian literature that, as Lewis discusses, "at the end of his interpretive translation of 'A Persian song of Hafiz,' Jones beseeched that his 'simple lay' might 'go boldly forth,' and indeed it did, inspiring a virtual cottage industry of Hafez translations. By 1801, there were no less than five different collections of Hafez by various English translators."¹⁰⁰²

Jones was not only a "legal scholar" with "strong missionary leanings"¹⁰⁰³, out of whose efforts, as an Orientalist, "the Orient was reconstructed, reassembled, crafted, in short, *born*,"¹⁰⁰⁴ but also an agent, to whom Oriental literature owes its popularity; he wanted the Indians and Persians to "know their glorious past...perhaps his greatest contribution to them was helping them rediscover their past culture and gain the national pride essential to their renaissance in a colonial situation." Jones did not feel superiority over the Oriental people, on the contrary, he "loved his fellow-beings, irrespective of religion, race, or culture, as he viewed all cultures as being generally equal and deserving of moral, intellectual, and aesthetic enrichment."¹⁰⁰⁵

Sir William Jones proved the validity of Guillen's perception that "literature breeds literature."¹⁰⁰⁶ The literary works that appeared after Jones were not "the product of chance,"¹⁰⁰⁷ but the outcomes of the influence of his works on his successors. The succeeding authors either deliberately borrowed from his works or were influenced by him as "an echo proceeds from an involuntary reminiscence, of which the

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cannon, Garland and Michael J. Franklin. "A Cymmrodor claims kin in Calcutta: an assessment of Sir William Jones as philologist, polymath, and pluralist". *Welsh Journals. THSC, Volume: N.S. 11, 2005*.p. 69.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 69.

¹⁰⁰² Lewis, Franklin D. *Rumi: Past and Present, East and West*. London: One-world Publications, 2014.p. 707.

¹⁰⁰³ Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2003.p.79.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.87.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.p. 360.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Guillen, Claudio. "The Aesthetic of Influence," in: *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.p. 47.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 47.

author was not aware until several years after he had written the poem,¹⁰⁰⁸ or were affected by the poets who had read Jones' works and had been impressed by him. As the consequence of this chain of inspirations, originated from Jones, it can be claimed that without Sir William Jones, "the fire of the Romanticism," which was "fueled" by his "English translations of Indian poems [and] Persian sources as well as translations of Sanskrit literature"¹⁰⁰⁹ would have been extinguished and most of the Romantic masterpieces might not have been produced. Edward FitzGerald "might never have come to know and translate Omar Khayyam, and without that translation the world would never have known 'the philosopher-poet that will last as long as the English tongue will remain.'"¹⁰¹⁰ Also, Goethe might not have produced his *West-Ostlicher Divan*, under the influence of Jones' renditions of Persian poems, particularly Hafiz, and Emerson might not have been inspired by Indian and Islamic mysticism to propagate his Transcendentalism.

Apart from comparative linguistic studies, the Oriental literature that Jones introduced to the West, through translation, connected cultures and nations and surpassed politics, in order to unite different ethea, what later FitzGerald desired, "perhaps Persian, Greek, and Spanish might one day all gather into one little Volume."¹⁰¹¹ Although Said was right in his claim concerning the colonial perceptions and dominating ambitions of the West about the East, literature went beyond those margins, and Jones was the paragon of traversing Said's hypothesis of Orientalism; he "sought East-West cooperation and mutual advancement in a spirit of universal tolerance that respected ancient non-European cultures, despite his years in the courts of colonial England."¹⁰¹² The consequence of Jones' endeavors revealed that literature

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 32.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Kennedy, Kenneth A. R. "The Legacy of Sir William Jones: Natural History, Anthropology, Archaeology". *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* Vol. 54/55, SIR WILLIAM JONES Volume Commemorating the Bicentenary (1994-1995), p 29.

¹⁰¹⁰ Dabashi, Hamid. *Persophilia: Persian Culture on the Global Scene*. New York University Bobst Library Technical Services Authenticated, 2016.p. 68.

¹⁰¹¹ FitzGerald, Edward. *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald, Volume 4: 1877-1883*. Edited by Alfred Mckinley Terhune and Annabelle Burdick Terhune. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980. P. 159, FitzGerald's letter to Bernard Quaritch, Woodbridge, November 23, 1878.

¹⁰¹² Cannon, Garland. *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.p. 360.

has not been restricted to any racial or national boundaries, but it has passed all impediments to bring cultures and nations into a harmonious understanding and union.

Jones sacrificed his life to get to his humanistic, literary and linguistic ideals. He proved that "it was possible for one to use a colonial position to accomplish goals that would be colossal even today. He proved and popularized the rich advantages of studying other peoples' languages and especially their culture, gaining information that would then be integrated into the advancing of world culture." He took important steps toward "world humanism and universal tolerance," which have made him one of the paramount "intellectual explorers of all time, and his views and the model of his life again beckon to a troubled world."¹⁰¹³

People still read and enjoy Romantic poetry, while they may not know that behind the lines, there are the traces of a man whose literary endeavors and translations rejuvenated Western literature; a man who loved the people, culture and literature of the colonized lands as his own, and the consequence of whose works has echoed in the World literature from England to Germany and to America, permanently, like the Hafez-Goethe monument in Weimar, Germany, to declare that contrary to what Said believed literature and culture have no borders and cannot be colonialized. Political powers may separate the nations for a while, but culture and literature, like streams, find their way through the most impermeable uneven ways, to connect civilizations from past to present, from Orient to Occident.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid, p. 361.

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