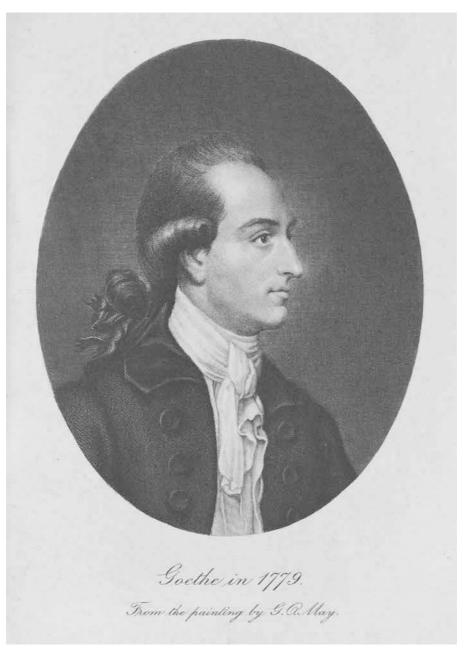
## Marcelo Stamm

## 'Twofold and Yet One': constellating creativity between Goethe and Hafiz

GOETHE'S WEST-EASTERN DIVAN, first published in 1819, has triggered a complex and controversial debate about Persian influences on literary and Western philosophical discourses, and about the paradigmatic nature of Goethe's select uptake of Persianate culture in particular. Goethe's specific and intense engagement with Hafiz' Divan, central to his mature poetic productivity at large, gives rise to a range of philosophical observations regarding West-Eastern crossroads and the dynamics of creativity in a cross-cultural constellation. The philosophy of creativity, and constellation research<sup>1</sup> provide a particular way to investigate and reconstruct such scenarios of creative interaction, and to scrutinise fundamental principles of creative transformation. As this contribution to creativity research aims to project aspects of a philosophy of creativity onto the transformational relationship between Goethe and Hafiz as a specific case, it will bypass the undoubtedly important contextualisation that is the historic German relationship with the world of Islam in general and specific uptake of Persianate culture at the beginning of the 19th century. While any constellational case study of the Goethe-Hafiz relationship is nonetheless monumental as regards the body of existing research, the intent in this paper is structural, generic and phenomenological rather than only historical, specific and positivistic.

In such structural terms, the most productive phase of Goethe's life predating his Hafiz-experience can be attributed to the relationship with Friedrich Schiller, which might arguably be called a 'proto-constellation'. The prototypical nature of this seminal relationship<sup>2</sup> is of central importance to creativity analysis in constellational terms, since it can be understood as a setting that allows the creative agent to rehearse, i.e. to establish and experience the potentials of a constellational relationship as a specific figuration or a creative 'Gestalt'. If such a Gestalt disintegrates, as was the case for Goethe upon Schiller's death in May 1805, the vacated position needs refilling. The claim is that almost ten years after the dissolution of the Goethe-Schiller constellation, Goethe seized the unique chance to re-establish the Gestalt left as a torso by Schiller's departure: he re-constellates for a second time, however, this time it is not with a contemporary figure, but diachronically, over the temporal distance of more than 500 years and across a considerable heuristic and a monumental cultural distance between 'West and East'. As Goethe had experienced and rehearsed with Schiller in the proto-constellation, however, the basic condition for the creative dynamics of such a constellation is the opposition of its agents, rather than any convergence, similarity or affinity among its constituents. A constellation rests upon the basic tension of poles. These have to be incommensurable and each must claim a distinct, immersive identity.

'Twofold and Yet One': constellating creativity between Goethe and Hafiz



Goethe in 1779.
From a painting by G.O. May.
Joseph McCabe, Goethe: the man and his character.
London: G. Bell and Sons, 1912.
State Library of Victoria, S 928.3 G55M.



Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, West-oestlicher Divan.
Stuttgart: Cotta, 1819.
Taylor Institution Library, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, ARCH.8o.G.1819.

When Goethe, as this article argues, constellates with Hafiz, he can do so not because his elective affinity – his 'twin brother', as he will call him in his *Divan*<sup>3</sup> – is an intellectual, spiritual and poetic accomplice, but rather because Goethe manages to recognise in Hafiz in absolute terms what Goethe himself is *not*. Each pole of such a constellation, in this case with Goethe as the pole that is active and productive, manages to understand that the other, the absolute alter-ego, the negative *Doppelgänger*, is not the negation – the annihilation – of one's own position, but on the contrary: the poles, in an adversarial and forcefully antagonistic setting, *necessitate* each other. As soon as he engages with the body of the *ghazals*, Goethe is thus able to regard Hafiz as the radically 'other' response; this means in modal terms: both radically possible and radically necessary, while at the same time decidedly different. From May 1814, Goethe could engage with Hafiz' entire *Divan* in the first full German translation by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, a complimentary copy of which was sent to him as a personal gift by his publisher, Friedrich Cotta in Stuttgart.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Goethe could embark upon a relationship, the outcome of which would be not only a German *Divan*, as he originally planned to title it,<sup>5</sup> but ultimately a *West-*

Eastern Divan: a global Divan, therefore, in one sense; and a meta-Divan, a Divan from beyond in another. In the context of cross-cultural analysis and contact theory at large,<sup>6</sup> where the notions of identity and identification tend to be of particularly controversial relevance, constellation research allows the extraction, from case studies such as the Goethe-Hafiz relationship, of the elemental dialectic notion of identification with the opposite.

The poetic, spiritual and speculative universe of Hafiz as Goethe's radical 'other' rests upon the fundamental fact that the ghazals in Hafiz' Divan are poetry that in each and every line oscillates; their extraordinary beauty and hermeneutical challenge is intrinsically linked to the fact that every line and trope can be read as part of worldly love verses, as love poetry, yet at the same time – like the switching of aspects of a Gestalt – one can deploy a mystic understanding and must be prepared to read them as mystic poetry, not in search of earthly love, but in search of the Divine. Goethe instantly acknowledges Hafiz as the Grand Master of such iridescence and ambivalence, as one who is able to oscillate with the highest formal command between poetry and prophecy<sup>7</sup> - a double-dimensionality equally ascribable to the creative agent as both poet and priest. Hafiz' creative double-impulse, both poetic and speculative, thus turns out to rest upon an internal archeo-constellation of poet and prophet, i.e. upon the prototype of a structure that is held together and manifests itself in the one single figuration of Hafiz. Goethe could sense the intrinsic constellational disposition in Hafiz. He could do so partly by virtue of his own constellational experience with Schiller, and partly – as will be argued later in more detail – due to his fervently conducted 'phenomenology'. Goethe's research was leading to complex observations regarding duality, metamorphosis and indeterminacy as fundamental principles of nature, so that he can be seen as implicitly constellating nature - or even: naturalising constellations. Hafiz would emerge as the master of oscillation between two dimensions submerged in one text, the Doyen of poetico-prophetic indeterminacy. The notion of a two-fold semiotic yield in Hafiz' poetry is connected by two aspects of equal relevance to the Goethean perspective. At a direct semiotic level this feature articulates into the notion of the symbol, a particular formal figuration of a double dimensionality of e.g. 'falcon', 'rose', 'moon', etc., which rests upon semiotic self-containment at a basic level but entails a second dimension due to the intrinsic qualities of its primary semiotic force. Confronted with a highly sophisticated reservoir of symbols in Hafiz' poetry and acknowledging the history of the Persianate eidetic inventory and its pervasive symbolic thesaurus (rose and nightingale, sun and moon, hoopoe or hud hud, etc.), Goethe was not merely facing a specific poetic form; rather, he sensed that he was touching upon a structure close to the fundamental motor of creativity at large. He had furthermore to be aware that he was, at the same time, observing a constellational feature within the word itself. From the symbol, one was able to read in a generic sense the task of fulfilling whom and what one was and, by virtue of that, to reach beyond oneself.

Both these formal characteristics – firstly the symbol as such, and secondly the

poetico-prophetic indeterminacy in Hafiz' work as the primordial Persianate signature of intertwining the worldly with the other-worldly, of understanding the world intertwined with the other, laid the ground for a formula still tacit at the moment of Goethe's first Hafiz-encounter, which would gain central importance for Goethe himself - two-in-one, twofold and yet one. Goethe, however, with respect to his own poetic productivity, could not embark directly upon either of these two dimensions without reflection, nor could he move toward the two-in-one formula by simply adopting Hafiz' terms - the foremost challenge was connected with the relationship to the otherworldly by way of premise.8 Nevertheless, Goethe had to acknowledge as manifest in Hafiz' work what appeared to be unachieved in his own oeuvre. Thus, in retrospect, he characterised his own state as profoundly threatened from the very moment he engaged with Hafiz' Divan.9 The encounter thus triggered a crisis which brought into question the boundaries and dimensions of Goethe's own creative self-understanding. The quest and challenge consisted in finding his own radically distinct way to reach what Hafiz had seemingly already accomplished, yet to achieve it in his own terms, under his own personal, cultural, hermeneutic and speculative conditions.

Where neither emulation nor translation in a superficial sense would suffice, a transposition<sup>10</sup> of the 'Hafiz-project' into Goethe's setting of the early-19th century would turn out to be inevitable. To have effectively found a gateway that would enable such a transposition demonstrates Goethe's unique capability to grasp the deeper reason for his poetic and existential 'Hafiz-crisis' – Hafiz' text contained an inner movement tout court, an ubiquitous dynamism of potential ascent. Goethe sees his twin brother ascending from nature and through nature to the divine. 11 Goethe, however, has to descend through nature to nature - to archeo-nature, or proto-nature. Through this strategy, both the fundamental impulse of transcendence and the point of departure are preserved and shared, as both Hafiz and Goethe set off from nature or world; however, in Goethe the direction of the transcending leap, the orientation of the *hiatus*, is reversed: in his case it is directed towards a 'deeper sense' of nature. The semiotic equivalent to this strategy would claim that nature at 'ground' or 'surface' level turns out to be a potential symbol for nature understood at a deeper level. Such a distinction between 'surface nature' and 'depth nature' sits at the core of Goethe's search for virtual depth-level proto-structures that seek manifestations at surface level.

In Goethe's archeo-phenomenology, this quest finds a poignant morphological label in the 'Ur-' prefix, indicating an archeo or proto character of what is prefixed by it – the Ur-pflanze [ur-plant], the Ur-phäenomen [ur-phenomenon]. Whilst Goethe encounters a vast Persian eidetic inventory of symbols capturing duality, from the sunmoon dichotomy to the rose-and-nightingale emblem, he will use and test each of these polar micro-figurations with regard to their inner force in relation to a potential speculative descent: their capacity to transcend through descending into themselves, and thus to reveal their 'depth nature'. Consequently, each of the two-fold phenomena has to be tested in relation to the immanent speculative notion of unity in difference.

Every Hafiz stanza could arguably be called the fragment of a confession. Hafiz was able to construct his own ascension in the mode of confessions, including confessions of love. Such ascension was supposed to lead from worldly love to divine love and, by the same token, to the love of the Divine. Our analysis so far has treated the formula of the two-in-one, the notion of the union of the opposites, as a basic constellational feature, as the *basic formula for creativity*. Importantly, however, it is able to serve in equal terms as the *basic formula for love*. Viewed from a constellational perspective, love itself is *the* universal proto-constellation, the mutual necessitation and hence the acknowledgement of duality and polarity, calling forth a particular dynamism that unfolds and takes a specific course towards *union*. Love, however, carries in itself an intrinsic paradox.

The paradox finds a pervasive eidetic representation in the emblem of the moth consumed by the light of the candle, which is one of the most widely employed symbols in Persian poetry. The urge for self-sacrifice enables the moth to seek an ultimate and absolute union; whilst it may reach the unio mystica, the complete handing-over and 'giving' of oneself entirely to the beloved, it does culminate in the dissolution of oneself. At a second level, the dissolution of the polarity – the overcoming of the tension that calls forth the moth's longing for the flame and induces its self-sacrifice – is at the same time the dissolution of love itself. Against such dissolution for the sake of love, the lover has to claim - for the sake of him- or herself and for the sake of love as such, i.e. in order to preserve love in its own right - self-preservation. In pantheistic terms, if all is one, then that 'all' is alone. Henology, the doctrine of 'one-ness,'12 has to maintain that the opposite of 'alone' is not 'togetherness', but rather 'brokenness': to be in two pieces.<sup>13</sup> Against this dissolution and absolute solitude, lover and beloved have to claim self-preservation as a prerogative for love itself. The henological paradox of love thus consists in the contradiction that love ceases in the ultimate union, although this union is its destination – and its final destiny.

In this way the paradigm of love opens up an existential dimension that adds a paradox to the two interrelated paradigms developed so far – the constellational and creativity paradigms – an augmentation that manifests itself as the *paradox of creation* and emergence at large: becoming necessitates dissolution. <sup>14</sup> Goethe thus formulates the notorious mantric imperative 'Die and Become!' of the last stanza of his poem 'Blessed Longing' ['Blissful Yearning'] from July 1814. <sup>15</sup> The formula states the paradox, yet does not resolve it; and the candle-moth motif that is so masterfully elaborated in a series of speculative dimensions by Hafiz himself <sup>16</sup> is wrapped by Goethe in an esoteric imperative formula, 'Die and become' – die and be re-born!

Some kind of dynamism of metaphorical dying and becoming, the metamorphosis of the butterfly, does indeed precede the death of the moth, the destruction in the flame of the final *imago* stage within its various metamorphic and naturalistic transformations; however, the moth ultimately ceases to be, leaving the transformational imperative as a riddle, mirrored in the caveat of the poem's opening line not to disclose the notion of such 'holy' yet mysterious longing but to a wise or initiated few. The semiotic 'relative

obscurity'<sup>17</sup> of the poem and its potentially banal overall tone stand in contrast to the subtlety and speculative rigour with which Hafiz treats the subject, yet these deficits partly reflect the fact that Goethe is only gradually able to move towards the degree of poetic transcendence for which Hafiz provides a standard and with which Goethe has the ambition to compete.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless Berthold Brecht would refer importantly to Goethe's 'Blessed Longing' as 'Goethe's *grand* Hafiz-poem'.<sup>19</sup> Despite criticising the lines in general and the 'die and be reborn' formula in particular for being almost banal, Brecht at the same time finds praise for the very 'banality' of the poem, given that it carries with it also an undubitable 'elementary force'.<sup>20</sup>

In the wake of the programmatic character of the 'die and become' formula, Goethe's *West-Eastern Divan* would become one of the great accomplishments in the German language of the unfolding of the paradox of love and the constellational forcefield upon which the dynamics of creation *and* love rest. One of the reasons for its outstanding status lies in the fact that soon after Goethe took up the creative challenge of Hafiz and started to constellate with him in the German spring of 1814, and only weeks after he reached the 'die-and-be-reborn' imperative in 'Blessed Longing' of 31 July 1814, Goethe was introduced to Marianne von Willemer in Wiesbaden, close to his hometown of Frankfurt, which he was visiting from Weimar. When Goethe first met Marianne, she was 30 years old, while he was 65, and he readily accepted an invitation to spend a few days in September of 1814 at the so-called Gerbermühle – the picturesque mill where Marianne lived in a beautifully scenic setting with views over the river Main back to the city of Frankfurt.<sup>21</sup>

A year later, in May 1815, Goethe had accomplished roughly 100 poems of the Divan, and he planned to accompany his collection, his parliament, with an extensive appendix of notes and treatises to introduce the German-speaking world to the Persianate world.<sup>22</sup> However, Goethe also made an existential decision in relation to the assembly in his Divan. The decision marked a turning-point in the history of the book and, for that matter, in Goethe's life. While constellating with Hafiz, Goethe was, as it were, 'in the mood for love', so much so that already very early in 1815 he felt confident to expressly address the most archetypal representatives of tragic love, the classic Persian couple of Layla and Majnun. He did so with the notable confidence that should these tragic lovers rise again in his day, then they might from him, Goethe, 'understand the path of love'!<sup>23</sup> What would change the fate of the book and lead to the most significant phase of his later life to which he would refer as the most beautiful of all times,<sup>24</sup> is that after he decided to choose Suleika as the culminating figure in the central part of his Divan as early as May 1815,<sup>25</sup> Goethe visited Frankfurt again in the following summer months and in advance of his anxiously anticipated arrival at the Gerbermühle,26 he exhibited two gestures of enormous consequence.

The first, on 12 August 1815, was to send Marianne von Willemer a personal copy of Hafiz' *Divan* and, a month later, on 12 September – a Tuesday – she also received a poem, in which Goethe declared *Marianne* to be the very 'Suleika' in the poems of his



Portrait of Marianne von Willemer. From Joseph McCabe, Goethe: the man and his character. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1912. State Library of Victoria, S 928.3 G55M.

Divan<sup>27</sup> – a formally oblique, yet most powerful declaration of his love. At the same time he refers to himself as 'Hatem'.<sup>28</sup> Three days later, on 15 September 1815, Goethe, Marianne, her husband<sup>29</sup> and a group of friends gathered at the Gerbermühle, in what would become *that* September Friday evening, which none of those present would ever forget.<sup>30</sup> During that evening, Goethe indicated that he had found in nature, through nature, the emblem of emblems for his love, for the formula of the two-in-one, for the Hafiz-project of the *unio mystica*, for Goethe's own pantheistic search,<sup>31</sup> and at the same time for the inner constellational creative nature of the human being – in short, for the emblem of Creativity and Creation. In constellational terms, this move is of utmost significance: the 'die and become' formula manifest in the moth as the emblem of creation in phenomenological terms, encapsulating the *diachronicity* of emergence, the *process-character* of metamorphosis, has now found its exact constellational counterpoint in a second formula.

It was Marianne who, on that evening, held in her hands an autumn-leaf of the Ginkgo tree she had been sent from Frankfurt by Goethe only a few days before the evening of 15 September. At the sight of it, Goethe pronounced the formula 'Twofold and yet one'32 One day later, on 16 September 1815, Marianne responded to Hatem's declaration of unconditional love from 12 September; however, to the amazement of the literary world up to this day, she did so with a love poem of the highest quality.<sup>33</sup> A week later, Goethe - somewhat abruptly - left Frankfurt for Heidelberg. The Willemers, urged by a desperate Marianne, followed him; by the time she arrived, she had completed another poem – this time about a messenger, the East Wind – considered one of the finest poems of the German canon. They met at the Heidelberg castle, and Goethe wrote Suleika's name in Arabic letters into the sand of the castle's fountain. In the wake of their departure three days later, Marianne wrote a further seminal poem full of pain and anguish in the light of their separation, about the teary West Wind. This micro-constellation of two messenger-winds, the East- and West-Wind poems, would be included - like her other stanzas - in the West-Eastern Divan and published under Goethe's name. The result of Goethe constellating with Marianne was the central and arguably most mature section of the entire West-Eastern Divan: the book Suleika.34

Upon her return to the Gerbermühle on 27 September 1815, Marianne received the poem from Goethe that had germinated on that warm autumn Friday twelve days earlier and had bloomed at last upon their separation in Heidelberg (opposite). It was the poem that would carry the title 'Ginkgo Biloba',35 and would constellate in a masterful way with its poetic 'other', its year-old counterpart, 'Blessed Longing'. Whilst a love poem and the express summation of Goethe's pursuit of 'identity in difference', it marvelled over the two-foldness of the human being itself, the very fundamental duality and thus autoconstellational nature of humankind. Metamorphic transformation and constellational coexistence, when conceived as the two phenomenological manifestations of creativity (and love), found a correlation in two emblems - moth and leaf - which now constellated with each other. 'Die-and-become' and 'twofold-and-yet-one' finally appeared as two formulae of the same intrinsic insight, yet pointing in opposite directions.<sup>36</sup> It now became apparent that the creative source of the soul-individual was linked to the constellational process of self-mirroring. It became equally apparent that Marianne, the beloved, had become, in the wake of Schiller and Hafiz, both in speculative and in literal terms, i.e. poetically, Goethe's constellational 'alter-ego'. Thus, the 'Ginkgo Biloba' poem's mantric closing formula encapsulated the autonomy of creativity.<sup>37</sup> It revealed its intrinsic constellational nature and let the *unio mystica* appear as an *unio* with oneself. However, the actual poem was therefore also a poem of solitude and ultimate departure. When the emblem of love, as Marianne would read it, reached her back in Frankfurt in late September, she had been spiralling into despair.

On 18 October 1815, after three weeks of agony, she decided to send Goethe a letter of deep urgency.<sup>38</sup> The letter expressed nothing but utmost despair - 'my heart has been bleeding all the time . . . I can do nothing but love you in silence, when there is no-



Goethe, Ginkgo biloba, dated 'd. 15. S. 1815'. Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, Germany. NW, 1916/1985.

| I.                                                                                               |
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| 184. 6-7. 181. 1-2. 214. 1-4. 270. 1-1. 310. 9-12. 3463-6. 34613-16. 396 1. 420. 1-8. 423-15.18. |
| W. Vb. NIS                                                                                       |

Chiffre-letter by Marianne von Willemer, 18 October 1815.
From the original in Goethe's copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz.
Klassik Stiftung, Weimar, Ruppert, 1771.
Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek,
Weimar, Germany.

one to embrace . . . even if I should lose my mind, love will not cease'. It represented a remarkable existential document, not least because none of the wording was Marianne's own. Rather, each line in the letter corresponded to a line in the Hammer-Purgstall copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz in Marianne's hands, making Marianne's most personal expression of love-agony a composition entirely from lines written by Hafiz. Consequently, it was sufficient for Goethe to receive only a chiffre, a small piece of paper, providing nothing but page and line numbers from the text that Marianne was referencing (above).<sup>39</sup> It was, however, undeniably a chiffre-letter of love and longing, where nobody's voice but Hafiz' could guarantee the absolute existential nature of her lines. Such a step towards an explicit triangulation transcended what might appear as an axial Goethe-Willemer constellation and evoked Hafiz' force – both existential and mystic. By the same token, however, it did not allow Goethe, for reasons both obvious and oblique, to respond in the same mode of pain. In the light of a broader constellational interest regarding the transposition of Persianate culture at West-Eastern crossroads, Marianne's uptake – not of 'the universal language of love' but of the absolute mode of speech of the human soul – by which she pulled Hafiz forth 520 years into her reality and gave him agency, was a unique – and heartbreaking – act of 'presencing'.40

Goethe's poetic response to the challenge of this Persianate twinhood with Hafiz – his *West-Eastern Divan* – took another three years to be completed. It was finally published late in 1819, but Goethe and Marianne would never see each other again.

In March of 1821, only two months after a first edition also appeared in Vienna, Franz Schubert, the young genius of the German Lied, would instantly turn a select group of poems of the *Divan* into music. It is striking that of the more than 200 poems of the Divan, of which Schubert chose to transpose five, two were Marianne von Willemer's famous East and West Wind poems, the Suleika I and Suleika II songs in Schubert's nomenclature. 41 Given that Schubert in Vienna could not know of Marianne's authorship, a 'blind constellation' unfolded, triggered by the qualities – poetic, existential, and now one would have to add, musical qualities – of Marianne's stanzas alone. In mid-December 1822, two of Schubert's five Divan Lieder were published in Vienna, including Suleika I – the East Wind song as Opus 14, 1. In April 1825, a copy of this edition of Opus 14 (1 & 2), reached a Frankfurt music shop. By this time, Schubert in Vienna was struggling to survive, chronically short of money and threatened by illness. Reluctantly he gave into the pressure of a close circle of friends, who urged him to write to Goethe whose poems he had been setting to music passionately over the years and who seemed to be the only man with the power to turn – with one line of public praise alone – his fortunes around. Still, in his actual letter to Goethe, Schubert did not expressly ask for the recommendation he needed so desperately.<sup>42</sup>

What Schubert did not know was that two months earlier in 1825 Marianne had ordered for herself some Beethoven songs to be delivered to the Gerbermühle from the city of Frankfurt. The store had also added a complimentary gift to the package for their musical customer: two songs by Franz Schubert of Vienna, one of which was her very own East Wind poem. Brahms would later call this song, *Suleika I*, the most beautiful song ever composed. Prankfurt The convergence of two letters to Goethe – one from Marianne, written on the 16 April 1825, expressing her astonishment and delight over her verses being set to music, and thus reminding Goethe obliquely of her authorship; and the other from Schubert, arriving on the 16 June 1825 – failed to trigger in Goethe any acknowledgement of Schubert. Marianne's letter roughly seven weeks earlier may have struck a nerve within Goethe, who did record in his diary the receipt of Schubert's letter, but had never replied. Schubert was crushed. His second *Suleika* song – Marianne's pained West Wind poem – was published as Opus 31 in 1825, but the fact remained that nobody, least of all Schubert, knew of Marianne's authorship.

Thirty-five years later, in autumn 1860, and 45 years after those September days in 1815, the now 76-year-old Marianne visited the Heidelberg castle for the last time. She went to the castle garden, where Goethe had shown her a *Ginkgo biloba* tree, and stood at the fountain where he had inscribed her name Suleika – most likely in the idiosyncratic spelling of the *chiffre*-letters – into the sand. To her young companion on this last trip, she recalled: 'Here he kissed me . . . here he wrote . . . into the sand. – This is the tree . . .'. After she finally confessed to her young companion to be the Suleika of the *Divan*, she added, 'but the world does not need to know any of this . . . and it is not necessary that people know'. 'A Marianne died on 6 December 1860, only weeks after her final visit to Heidelberg. Her gravestone bears the inscription: *Love is Without End.* '48