**Introduction**

Like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel from person to person, from situation to situation or from one period to another. Cultural and intellectual life are usually nourished and often sustained by this circulation of ideas (...) whether by virtue of having moved from one place and time to another an idea or a theory gains or loses in strength or even in one historical period and culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation. There are particularly interesting cases of ideas and theories that move from one culture to another, as when so-called Eastern ideas about transcendence were imported into Europe during the early nineteenth century, or even certain European ideas about society were translated into traditional Eastern societies during the later nineteenth century.”

As indicated in Chapter Two, Function-oriented Descriptive Translation Studies include research which describes the impact of the translated text on the literary system and the socio-cultural situation of the target language. It is therefore ‘a study of contexts rather than texts’.

In what follows, I will be elaborating on Extra-textual features of the selected translations beginning with the transmission of *Rubaiyyat* to the West and its impact upon certain literary circles.
Persian Poetry in the west

Since few centuries ago, the poetry of eminent Persian poets have been translated into European languages and particularly English. Among the poets Hafiz, Khayyam, Rumi, Attar, Sa’di and Ferdowsi can be mentioned. Out of the six names, the first three ones became very popular and were frequently translated in English speaking countries.

The first translation of a Hafiz ghazals into Latin was published in 1680. After almost a century, in 1771, Sir William Jones the famous Orientalist translated Hafiz into English. This first translation had an immense immediate and long-term influence. In 1774 J. Richardson translated the Latin version into English. Soon the translation of Persian poetry, specially Hafiz, into English became so fashionable that within a short time Hafiz became a familiar name.

The poetry continued to be popular for decades and stimulated Byron, Swinburne, Moore and many others. Byron imitated his rhyme-structure and later Swinburne perfected the stanza.

By the turn of the century six other translations of Hafiz had appeared and by
1905 another twenty-two translations were published including two complete versions of the *Divan*.

Not only did the English Romantic poets of the early 19th century fall under Hafiz's magic charm, but the interest in Hafiz became even greater as the century progressed into the Victorian Age. From 1905 until now approximately another eighty translations into English have appeared; proof that the interest in Hafiz has not waned in English speaking countries.

The thread of Hafiz's influence reached America in 1838 when Ralph Waldo Emerson read in German Goethe's *Divan*. Emerson translated some of Hafiz's *Ghazals* into free-form English verse from the German translation and many of Emerson's poems were influenced by Hafiz.

It was Hafiz's joyful humanity and love of Nature, his freedom of thought and spirit and sincerity that attracted Emerson. Hafiz's perception of beauty in man and Nature was also an attraction, and from Hafiz Emerson learnt of the inspirational quality of women. Emerson was also inspired by Hafiz's thoughts on love and friendship and often quoted Hafiz on friendship.
The Romantic Movement in Europe during the late part of the 18th century and during the beginning of the 19th century rejected the neo-classicism, rationality and realism of the ‘Age of Reason’ and sped in the direction of feeling, passion and sentiment. It is understandable that at the end of the Age of Reason Hafiz’s ‘philosophy of unreason’ would affect many of them.

Tennyson as one of the major English poets of the nineteenth century had considerable acquaintance with Persian poetry and specially Hafiz. He happened to know about Persian poets from the translations of Sir William Jones and the influences soon manifested in his poetry.

Descriptions of facial beauty and images of *gul u bulbul or the rose and the nightingale* are used frequently:

The living airs of middle night
Died round the bulbul as he sung

At this time Tennyson was so much fond of Hafiz and Ghazal form. He used the form of the Persian Ghazal or ode in “the Princess” in a song that was added in 1850. According to J. D. Yohannan in his paper *Tennyson and Persian Poetry* Tennyson had believed that “Hafiz was the most Persian of the Persian poets.”

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He continues, “‘the breeze of morning’, ‘the planet of love’, ‘the waking bird’ ‘the personification of roses and lilies’, the comparison of beloved to these, the plaintive and the boastful references to the distant beloved herself, occur over and over again in the odes of Hafiz...”  

**The Transmission of the Ruba’iyyat into the West**

The earliest and first translation ever made of the Ruba’iyyat was by Thomas Hyde in the 18th century, when he translated one quatrain into Latin. Despite this encounter, the introduction of Omar Khayyam in Europe is primarily a nineteenth-century phenomenon, one that spread like wild fire.

In England and America, Khayyamian studies were conducted in a more organized manner, and in France and Germany, in a less institutional and more scholarly way. Aminrazavi in his book *The Wine of wisdom* asserts that the discovery of Omar Khayyam has been attributed to both coincidence and to Western readiness to understand and accept his message. He adds that the European Romanticism particularly that of England, turned eastwards to seek spirituality and Oriental marvels, and found a parallel message to the needs and interests of both Europe and America.  

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The eighteenth–nineteenth-century view of the Eastern world was of a strange, exotic, mysterious and mystical world where one may have access to wisdom not available in the West. Most people believe the east to be more spiritual than the West, which abounds with materialism. Eastern sense of determinism mocked the Western desire to be the masters of the universe, because Asians believed for thousands of years that life is too impermanent and fragile to plan.

At that point of time, Omar Khayyam became the image of ‘Oriental wisdom’. The Europeans primarily thought that Khayyam offered to them both ‘materialism’ and ‘spirituality’, ‘determinism’ and ‘individual choices’, ‘planning for the future’ and ‘living lives in the here and now’. Amin Razavi argues:

while he embraced the world, his message was not worldly. Whereas determinism and predestination resonate deeply with Khayyam, one may still choose to live one’s given reality to its fullest. Hence comes the message of living in the present, here and now, which reverberates throughout the Ruba’iyyat. It is almost as if Khayyamian thought, as perceived by Europeans, complements the Western perspective, saying, "You can have both," materialism and spirituality, determinism and individual choices, planning for the future and living our lives in the here and now.13
Edward Fitzgerald was born on March 31, 1809 in Woodbridge, Suffolk, into a wealthy British family. His father, John Purcell, was an Irish doctor whose ancestry had been traced to Oliver Cromwell. His mother was Mary Francis FitzGerald Purcell, the daughter of another wealthy gentleman.

FitzGerald showed his interest upon Persian literature by translating some of the prominent literary works. It was in 1856 that he published a translation of Jami’s *Salaman and Abseil*. FitzGerald considered *Salaman and Abseil* to be one of the most beautiful works of Persian literature by a Sufi author. The other major work of Persian literature that attracted FitzGerald’s attention was Attar’s *Conference of the Birds (Mantiq al-tayr)*, even though he never made a full translation of it.

FitzGerald had written and translated some works among which was a book entitled *Euphranor* (1851). In addition, he wrote an anthology of
aphorisms called *Polonius* (1852) and made translations of a number of Greek tragedies, the most important of which were *Agamemnon* and Sophocle's *Oedipus Rex* (1880). Finally, from Spanish, he translated several dramas that were all published under the title *Six Dramas of Calderon*.

It was Edward FitzGerald who introduced Khayyam to the English-speaking world with so much eloquence and beautiful poetic style that his rather free translation-interpretation, or, as he himself called it in his introduction on the *Ruba’iyyat*, "a rendition" of Khayyam, stands on its own as an ingenious work of English poetry.

In 1858, FitzGerald translated thirty-five quatrains of Omar Khayyam's *Ruba’iyyat* based on Calcutta edition of the poem and sent them to *Fraser's Magazine* for publication. One year later he published it in a pamphlet of 20 pages with Quaritch Press entitled, *The Astronomer-Poet of Persia*. Regarding his effort, FitzGerald said, "I suppose very few people have ever taken such pains in translation as I have." Here is an example:

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?"

Four versions were published during his lifetime and a fifth one was discovered after he had died. The first edition, which came out in 1859, contained 75 *Ruba‘iyyat*. The second one, in 1868, contained 110. FitzGerald reduced the number in the third edition in 1872 and the fourth in 1879 to 101. It was after his death in 1883 that his friends found a printed copy of the fourth edition in which a number of changes had been marked. The fifth and final version, which included the changes, became part of a work that his friend, William Aldis Wright, published in 1889 entitled *Letters and Literary Remains of Edward FitzGerald*. In 1883, FitzGerald went to visit his friend, Crabbe, and it was there that he quietly died in his sleep at the age of 74.

FitzGerald did not follow the order of the original *Ruba‘iyyat*. In his edition, the poem begins with quatrains dealing with the dawn of a new day and ends with the rising moon. Decker believes that FitzGerald has outlined the poem.¹⁶

Sir Gore Ouseley may be accredited with bringing the poem to England in its original Persian. King George III assigned him to be the British Ambassador
to Persia in 1810. Sir Gore was an experienced in Persian language and culture, and during his years of service, he collected a number of manuscripts from different libraries in Iran. Ouseley presented his collection to Oxford University.

It was around 1840s that Professor Edward Byles Cowell of Oxford University, while browsing through the library, found and was attracted to the illumination of a manuscript which contained the *Ruba'iyyat* of Khayyam. Cowell translated several of the *Ruba'iyyat* and also shared them with his learned literary friend, Edward FitzGerald. Cowell went to Calcutta in 1857 and found other *Ruba'iyyat*.

Edward FitzGerald took an immediate interest in the *Ruba'iyyat*. He published the first edition of his translation in 1859 based on the selection of Sir Gore in the Oxford University. The quatrains that Cowell found in Calcutta in 1857 became the source of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth edition of FitzGerald’s translation.

Erik Gray argues that FitzGerald’s had, sometimes, in mind the Byron’s poetry while translating the *Ruba'iyyat*. He compares one of the Spenserian stanzas of Byron’s *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* with a stanza of FitzGerald’s
(D)aily abstinence and nightly prayer;
But ere his sackcloth grab Repentance wear,
Some days of joyaunce are decreed to all,
To take of pleasaunce each his secret share.

He continues, “The lines with their brief day of pleasure and their archaic language could almost form a stanza of the *Ruba‘iyat.*” And then compares the lines with the following quatrain:

Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
I swore- but was I sober when I swore?
And then and then came Spring, and Rose-in-hand
My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore.

**Omar Khayyam and the British literary Circles and Figures**
**Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and the Quatrains**

At the beginning of this part, I shall survey briefly the Pre-Raphaelites and their influence on English Literature.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood “PRB” (also known as the Pre-Raphaelites) was a group of English painters, poets, and critics, founded in 1848 by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Michael Rossetti, James Collinson, John Everett Millais, Frederic George Stephens, Thomas Woolner and William Holman Hunt. In the literary context, the use of the term "Pre-Raphaelite" to refer to a
group of people is a relatively new concept, for the term belongs to the history of painting.

The Pre-Raphaelites have been considered the first avant-garde movement in art. The Pre-Raphaelites undoubtedly defined themselves as a reform-movement, created a distinct name for their form of art, and published a literary magazine, *The Germ*, to promote their ideas. Their debates were recorded in the *Pre-Raphaelite Journal*.

Their Early doctrines were expressed in four declarations:

1. To have genuine ideas to express.

2. To study Nature attentively, so as to know how to express them.

3. To sympathize with what is direct and serious and heartfelt in previous art, to the exclusion of what is conventional and self-parodying and learned by rote.

4. To produce thoroughly good pictures and statues.

These principles are deliberately non-dogmatic, since the Brotherhood wished to emphasize the personal responsibility of individual artists to determine their own ideas and methods of depiction. Influenced by Romanticism, they thought that freedom and responsibility were
inseparable. Nevertheless, they were particularly fascinated by medieval culture, believing it to possess a spiritual and creative integrity that had been lost in later eras. This emphasis on medieval culture was to clash with certain principles of realism, which stress the independent observation of nature.

In its early stages, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood believed that their two interests were consistent with one another, but in later years the movement divided and began to move in two directions. The realist-side was led by Hunt and Millais, while the medievalist-side was led by Rossetti and his followers, Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris. This split was never absolute, since both factions believed that art was essentially spiritual in character, opposing their idealism to the materialist realism associated with Courbet and Impressionism.

In 1850 the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood became controversial after the exhibition of Millais's painting *Christ In The House Of His Parents*, considered to be blasphemous by many reviewers, notably Charles Dickens. Their medievalism was attacked as backward-looking and their extreme devotion to detail was condemned as ugly and jarring to the eye.
Pre-Raphaelitism in Poetry

Those poets who had some connection with the Pre-Raphaelite circle include Christina Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, George Meredith, William Morris, and Algernon Charles Swinburne. Pre-Raphaelitism in poetry had major influence upon the writers of the Decadence of the 1890s, such as Ernest Dowson, Lionel Johnson, Michael Field, and Oscar Wilde, as well as upon Gerard Manley Hopkins and William Butler Yeats, both of whom were influenced by John Ruskin and visual Pre-Raphaelitism.

Pre-Raphaelitism in painting had two forms, first, the hard-edge symbolic naturalism that began in 1849 and, second, the moody, erotic medievalism that took form in the later 1850s. Many critics imply that only this second, or Aesthetic, Pre-Raphaelitism has relevance to poetry or at least had the most easily noticeable influence on literature.

If one looks for a poet whose work parallels the artistic project of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, one immediately notices Robert Browning, whose work was enormously popular with them all and a particular influence on Rossetti. Like the paintings of the Brotherhood, Browning's poems simultaneously extend the boundaries of subject and create a kind of
abrasive realism, and like the work of the young painters, his also employ elaborate symbolism drawn from biblical types to carry the audience beyond the aesthetic surface, to which he, like the painters, aggressively draws attention.

In 1857, Alfred Lord Tennyson, a friend of Edward FitzGerald and Rossetti, who was one of the first famous poets to discover and propagate FitzGerald's translation of the *Ruba’iyyat*, was engaged in discussions concerning the application of the salient features of nature, such as leaves of a tree, forms, shapes, colors, wind, water, etc. in poetry. That's a considerable reason for his interest in Omar Khayyam.

Lange, a contemporary of the Pre-Raphaelites, included the entire translation of the *Ruba’iyyat* by Fitzgerald in his book, *The Pre-Raphaelites and Their Circle* in 1861, when the Pre-Raphaelites circle discovered Fitzgerald’s translation of the *Ruba’iyyat*. By that time in London, Fitzgerald had become a notable figure in the literary circles. Some of the most important members of the Circle, such as Dante G. Rossetti, Tennyson, and Swinburne, spread the Khayyamian message to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; for the *Ruba’iyyat* had all the characteristics which defined the very essence of this movement.
Ruba’iyyat had been regarded as an exquisite example of the kind of literature that belonged to this literary circle.

**Omar Khayyam’s Club of England**

In 1887, three noted gentlemen namely Sir Richard Burton, known as the "Arabian night man", Even Francis Thompson and Nathan Haskell Dole proposed "that a club be formed of admirers of the Omar Khayyam on the basis of good fellowship and Oriental learning." The interest of these men became the foundation for London's Omar Khayyam Club.

Justin Huntly McCarthy was the president of this club, barrister George Whale was vice-president; Frederic Hudson acted as Secretary; Shorter, who was editor for *Illustrated London News*, author Edwin Clodd, and artist William Simpson were also members.

The club met every three months per year for dinners and discussions. New members included J.M. Barrie, Max Pemberton, Anthony Hope Hawkins, Frederick Greenwood, Coulson Kernahan, Andrew Lang, Augustine Birrell, H. Massingham and Stephen Phillips, all of whom shared their scholarly and literary interests. Two well-known
journalists, Sir George Newnes and Sir William Ingram joined and Henry Norman, who became the president for one year, was there.

As the Omar Khayyam Club developed, the members wrote their own versions of *Ruba'iyyat*. Owen Seamen composed similar quatrains to Khayyam's in his poem "To Omar." Some of them are given below:

Master, in memory of that Verse of Thine  
And of Thy rather pretty taste in Wine  
We gather at this jaded Century's end  
Our Cheeks, if so we may to incarnadine.

Not so with Thee; but in Thy place of Rest  
Where East is East and never can be West,  
Thou art the enduring Theme of dining Bards;  
O make Allowances; They do their Best.

Seamen, is one of the first poets of the club to follow the rhyme and metre of Edward Fitzgerald's edition of the *Ruba'iyyat*. Seaman's poem follows the same scheme (a-a-b-a) as Fitzgerald:

And of Thy rather pretty taste in Wine
Save for perhaps stretching the line a little, we find that he has written iambic pentameter, identical to that of Fitzgerald. Orientalism is further expressed in his line "Where East is East and never can be West".
The next is J.H. McCarthy’s poem, of which the following quatrain has been selected:21

Omar, dear Sultan of the Persian song;
Familiar friend, whom I have loved so long;
Whose volume made my pleasant hiding-place
From his fantastic word of right and wrong.37

Familiar friend, whom I have loved so long;
Again the rhyme pattern is still a-a-b-a and the meter is still iambic pentameter.

**The earliest review of the Rubaiyyat**

In 1960, just six months after the publication of the first edition of FitzGerald’s *Rubaiyyat*, a review was written in *The literary Gazette*, a London weekly. The reviewer introduces Omar Khayyam as a Persian poet “who is little known in Persia”. He argues:

Verbosity was certainly not one of his characteristics, and wanting this he might possibly lack the passport to Oriental fame; but if the astronomer-poet of Persia appears as well in his native garb as he appears in English, it was certainly high time that he should be brought out of his obscurity.22

The reviewer then briefly provides a biography of Khayyam, and continues with explaining Khayyam’s Epicurean thought:

Omar’s Epicurean freedom of thought and expression rendered
him the dread of Sufis. The oriental mysticism of his age was altogether distasteful to him, and he soon made it apparent that he would make no compromise between faith and unbelief, between spiritualism and materialism, between this world and the next, between the religion and absolute skepticism.\textsuperscript{23}

He then praises Khayyam “for writing so earnestly, or with so much poignancy, and richness and depth of feeling.” The reviewer ends his review with admiration:

Never was the Gospel of Despair preached more fervently than it is in the pages of Khayyam, and few of our modern fatalists could express their convictions with so much terse vigour, or deck their repulsive theories with so many quaint beauties, as this Eastern poet and sage.\textsuperscript{24}

**Khayyam in America**

In 1869, Charles Eliot Norton published an article in the *North American Review*, and included Fitzgerald's translation of the *Ruba'iyyat*. The review quoted FitzGerald's introduction at length and concludes by reprinting seventy-six of the second edition's one hundred ten quatrains. He confirms the translator's viewpoint regarding the mystic interpretation of the *Ruba'iyyat*:

Many of his Quatrains seem unaccountable unless mystically
interpreted; but many more as unaccountable unless literally. May it not be that there are two sides to Omar’s Shield, - one of mystic gold, the other of plain silver?²⁵

Norton, then, explains how FitzGerald treats the spiritual aspects of the poetry:

The English translator, indeed, who denies to Omar’s verse the spiritual significance which many of his Persian readers attribute to it, admits that the chief Persian poets, including Hafiz, borrowed largely of Omar's material, “but turning it to a mystical use more convenient to themselves and the people they addressed,- a people quite a quick of a doubt as of belief; as keen of bodily sense as of intellectual, and delighting in a cloudy compound of both, in which they could float luxuriously between heaven and earth, and this world and the next, on the wings of a poetical expression, that might serve indifferently for either.²⁶

Soon the *Rubā’iyāt* became popular among the North American writers and intellectuals of the time. According to W. J. Black, America was ready for the message Khayyam was supposedly conveying to the public: the "lofty idealism that precipitated the Civil War had given way to a sordid materialism."²⁷ This materialism gave way to ‘hedonism’ and ‘moral decay.’ Besides that, American society experienced secularization and religious
uncertainty. They found in *Rubā’iyat* the way out of the problem:

Ah, my Beloved, fill the Cup that clears
To-Day of past requests and future Fears
To-morrow? – Why, To-morrow I may be
Myself with Yesterday’s Sev’n Thousand Years.

**Omar Khayyam’s Club of America**

America’s readiness to receive Khayyam’s message along with the beauty of the Fitzgerald translation, and the application of Khayyam’s pessimism towards the problems of the West in the 19th Century resulted in the foundation of the Omar Khayyam Club of America.


Although they convened many times, the real work occurred on the side of the club: several members and their friends collected newer editions of the
poem and amateur translators produced their own versions. Other members paralleled the style of the poem in their own works. For example, Stephan C. Houghton penned a philosophical poem titled *In the Path of the Persians* and Charles Hardy Meigs captured the spirit of the *Ruba’iyyat* in his own miniatures.

The members founded a literary school modeled after Omar Khayyam and called themselves *Omarians*. The school met with many contributors, who were all influenced by Khayyam, throughout the country. The more notable members of this movement included Lawrence C. Woodworth; Colonel Higginson, who composed poems praising "Omarians past and present;" and Nathan Dold, who composed poems including the following in praise of Khayyam:

Hail to you Omar, friendliest of the sages  
Your message cheers us, ringing through the ages. \(^{30}\)

The work of the club had stimulated much interest in Khayyam (as a poet) and his ideas had become popular by 1921. Johnson Brigham, the State Librarian of Iowa had been a devout Christian but he viewed Khayyam more as a mystic and a pious man. He believed that Khayyam had an image of
"righteousness, moderation, and judgment to come," which he gave as message to the western world, especially those so-called Christians who do not think seriously about their faith. He also composed quatrains. One noted work is "Facing the East", subtitled "The Rose Garden of Omar Khayyam" and reads:

Though far removed in spirit, time and space
From the Rose Garden of my early dreams,
The westering wind of summer evening seems
To press the scent of roses 'gainst my face.

Beside him, George C. Stratton of Washington D.C felt this impact and his own edition of *Ruba’iyyat* reflects Khayyam’s style and content closely:

When, on that Summer day at Twin Oaks, you
First brought th' immortal Omar to my view
I gave the deathless quatrains scarce a thought—
Ah, 'twas but very little then I knew!

But as, from time to time, I read them o'er
Their beauty grew upon me more and more.
And now I hope that I may be enrolled
With the Elect who've entered in the Door.

But a`s, from ti`me to t`ime, I re`ad them o`er

Herein, I shall mention that the American devotees have maintained the Fitzgeraldian Rhyme and the iambic pentameter faithfully.
Then we have George Rowe’s quatrains in which we observe some variation. They were arranged into five and six stanzas respectively. His quatrains not only follow the Fitzgeraldian rhyme and the meter, but also there is an internal rhyme which also carried for three lines of the quatrain:

“severed from the sea
A part of God are we”

When A˘lif, m˘oving, do˘th our u˘nion h˘ide.

Stephan Magister’s long poem "A Sage’s Console" was several pages long and its quatrains discussed social and political injustices of his time. In one of these quatrains, he wrote:

Maintain thy stature in men’s eyes. If driven,
On Fortune’s breakers hope not to be shriven.
Crimes, vices, follies, these may be condoned;
Misfortune only may not be forgiven.

On F˘ortune’s bre˘akers hop˘e not t˘o be shriv˘en.

The international alliance of Orientalists spread Khayyam’s Ruba‘iyyat throughout America and Europe. Several major Orientalist societies held annual meetings to share the latest research on various aspects of the Orient with the European powers and America. The purpose of these meetings was not always to share the wisdom of the East, but as Edward Said wrote in his
work, *Culture and Imperialism*, "Knowledge and exploitation were thereafter tied to the discourse of empire." According to him, Mehdi Aminrazavi argues that it is for no other reason than the colonization of the Orient that, around 1870 and thereafter, we see a rise of geographical societies as well as many other disciplines culminating at the International Colonial Congress (1889 and 1894) or specific groups such as the International Congress of Colonial Sociology in 1890.

To share this knowledge of the Orient, several societies across Europe and America, namely the American Academy of Arts, the American Oriental Society, Societe Asiatique (France) and the Royal Asiatic Society (England), held a series of meetings. The first one was held in London in 1919, the second in 1920 and the third in 1921, in Boston, where the Omar Khayyam Club of America played an active role.

The spirit of such conferences was primarily political; but, on the fringes, literary and philosophical ideas were exchanged. In all likelihood, the aspirations of the Omarian literary circle were transmitted through such meetings. A number of the members of the European and American Omar Khayyam Clubs, such as Professor Lanman of Harvard, participated in these
sessions.

Between 1906 and 1921, the Omar Khayyam Club of America published eighteen works, most of which dealt with the *Ruba’iyyat*. In the 1930s the Club failed to continues its activities for two reasons: first, the death of its key members, contributors and second reason may have been that it achieved its purpose, which was to introduce Omar Khayyam to Americans.

According to *Some Doings of the Omar Khayyam Club of America*, under the title of "A Toast to the Dead," a list of some of its members is as follows:

In our next unit, we examine the intellectual investment of notable literary figures in Khayyam and the Ruba’iyyat.
Major American Poets and Literary Figures influenced by the Quatrains

T.S. Eliot

William Greenleaf Eliot (1811—1887), T.S. Eliot's grandfather was the first one in Eliot's family who showed admiration for the *Ruba‘iyyat* of Omar Khayyam. Then, Charles Eliot Norton, his cousin, introduced the *Ruba‘iyyat* in a review article. Charles William Eliot, the other cousin, was next, and finally it was T.S. Eliot himself who developed an interest in Omar Khayyam and his poetry.

T.S. Eliot, who was a giant among both British and American writers at that time, had a profound feeling for the *Ruba‘iyyat*. However, what was more striking to him was the message of discontent in the poem. Eliot was only 14 years old when he read the poem. Its effect was so deep that as Eliot explained himself, he would be a poet instantly and for the rest of his life. As he said of the matter:

I can recall clearly enough the moment when, at the age of fourteen or so, I happened to pick up a copy of Fitzgerald's *Omar* which was lying about, and the almost overwhelming introduction to a new world of feeling which this poem was
the occasion of giving me. It was like a sudden conversion; the world appeared anew, painted with bright, delicious and painful colours.36

Eliot included Khayyam’s message in his poetry as well as other writings. He claimed that he was ‘absorbed’ by the poem and that it gave his soul a “crisis”, which he explained in Animula. The hero of the poem has hidden his feelings of love and absorption from his family because he respected reason too much. Faced with Khayyam’s choice, the sobriety of reason identified as self-control and the drunkenness of wine associated with "drug", a vehicle of freedom and forgetfulness from the world, Eliot admired Khayyam.

Eliot used themes that echo throughout the Ruba’iyat. The structure of the poem also appears in Eliot’s work. For example, Ruba’iyat and Wasteland both begin with a tavern scene and proceed to offer an illustrated depiction of spring.

Erik Gray, however, in his paper ‘FitzGerald and the Ruba’iyyat, In and Out of Time’ argues that Eliot’s experience of the Ruba’iyyat had three phases:
Eliot first experienced a vocation for poetry when he discovered the *Ruba‘iyat* at the age of fourteen, but then, after a period of intense enthusiasm, eventually outgrew it. Eliot experience thus seems to reproduce typologically the tripartite structure of the larger myth, from ignorance to admiration to disregard.\(^{37}\)

He continues in the same paper that Eliot as a major critic of the first half of the 20\(^{th}\) century continually belittled the *Ruba‘iyat* later on.

**Mark Twain**

The great American novelist Mark Twain was extremely reverent for the *Ruba‘iyat*. Twain was very familiar with English Poetry and quoted from Tennyson. In the 1870s, he learned of the *Ruba‘iyat* and of Fitzgerald’s translation. He regarded the following quatrain by exclaiming “No poem had given me so much pleasure before”:\(^{38}\)

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!\(^{39}\)

Mark Twain composed 120 poems and Arthur L. Scott selected 65 of them, which he published in *On the Poetry of Mark Twain with Selections from His Verse*. Twain’s poetry reflects the humour and social themes written
in his prose.

Mark Twain developed a keen interest in the *Ruba’iyyat* and collected various editions of it. In 1898, he wrote his own version of it. Owing to the causes of death in his family, his edition of the *Ruba’iyyat* discussed age, disease, and the gradual decaying of the human body. Twain ‘burlesqued’ the Fitzgerald translation. In *Mark Twain’s Ruba’iyyat*, Gribben says “Mark Twain mimicked the prosody of what is called the Omar Khayyam quatrain ... and tried to duplicate these features.” Mark Twain embraced the theme "How then Is Old Age better than the threatened Hell?" both poetically and prosaically.

Although he wrote his edition of the *Ruba’iyyat* in 1898, Mark Twain supposedly "could not decide whether he wanted to write a winking, mocking satire on revered old age, or a savage assault on the universal injustices of man’s transient existence and unwelcomed fate." However, he included his feelings towards death, which ironically transformed into a praise. Turning next to sexual pleasure and hedonism, Twain referred to them as "the long past orgies".40
Twain has used the same poetic license as both Khayyam and Fitzgerald in expressing his discontent with the cruel, unjust world.

The following quatrains will illustrate this effect:

And those who husbanded their golden Youth,
And those who flung it to the Winds, forsooth
Must all alike succumb to Age
And know the nip of his remorseless Tooth.

Next, Deafness comes, and men must Shout
Into a foolish Trumpet, leaving out
The Gist of what they want to say—and still
O’er what they have said hangs a crippling Doubt.

And the following *Ruba’iyyat* indicate how Mark Twain played with

FitzGerald’s translations and made a burlesque version of them:

Sleep! For the Sun scores another Day
Against the Tale allotted You to stay,
Reminding You, is Risen, and now
Serves Notice – ah, ignore it while You may! (Mark Twain, no.1)

Wake! For the Sun, who scatter’d into flight
The Stars before him from the Field of Night,
Drives Night along with them from Heav’n, and strikes
The Sultan’s Turret with a Shaft of Light. (FitzGerald, no.1)

"Come, leave the Cup, and on the Winter’s Snow
Your Summer Garment of Enjoyment throw:
Your Tide of life is ebbing fast, and it
Exhausted once, for You no more shall flow." (Mark Twain, no. 3)

Come, fill the Cup, and in the fire of Spring
Your Winter-garment of Repentence fling:
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter– and the Bird is on the Wing." (FitzGerald, no. 7)

In most of the Twain’s quatrains the rhyme is maintained, and the meter is iambic pentameter.

And th˘ose who hus˘band˘ed their go˘lden You˘th
Serves N˘otice – a˘h, igno˘re it w˘hile You ma˘y!

**Other Literary Movements and Figures**

Thomas Bailey Aldrich, author of *The Sultan Goes to Ispahan*, wrote a review in 1878 of the *Rubaiyyat*. He admired Khayyam for the beauty of the form of the *Rubaiyyat* and the simple and yet profound message of the quatrains, which he says, "has laws which are not to be broken with impunity." Aldritch focused his attention more on the technical aspects and the form of quatrains. He argues that "unlike Hafiz, Firdawsi, and the rest," Khayyam had little to say about love.

James Whitcomb Riley, another American man of letters who became
interested in Khayyam, wrote a book entitled, *The Ruba‘iyyat of Doc Sifers*. He embraced Khayyam’s spirit of rationalism, humanism, and agnosticism; and speaking through a fictitious doctor named Sifers, he composed quatrains, though he changed the form from Khayyam’s *aaba* to *aabb* [two heroic couplets].

John Hay, a respected literary figure, is among other notable followers of Khayyam. He gave a lecture at the Omar Khayyam Club of London entitled, "In Praise of Omar" in December, 1897. Hay believed that Omar "had sung a song of incomparable beauty and power in an environment no longer worthy of him, in a language of narrow range, for many generations the song was virtually lost."42

Ezra Pound, the eminent literary figure and a close friend of T.S. Eliot, had developed a great admiration for Khayyam and his *Ruba‘iyyat*. He once wrote a letter to his former professor claiming, "I am perhaps didactic; so in a sense, or different sense are Homer, Dante, Villon and Omar, and Fitzgerald’s translation of Omar is the only good poem of the Victorian era."43

Regarding Pound’s passionate interest in Omar Khayyam, James Miller, a critic, says, “Omar Khayyam was one of the Pound’s genuine weaknesses, a
bizarre taste for one who shaped the modernity of modern poetry.” In his work, *Canto 80*, Pound expressed the highest admiration for Khayyam through extensive references.⁴⁴

Among the less notable figures is Elihu Vedder, an artiste who made an illustration of the poem in 1884. It was associated with the sensuality of the pre-Raphaelites. Vedder brought the *Rubā‘iyāt* to life in drawing, while Isadora Duncan, an artist and sexual revolutionary, brought Omar and his *Rubā‘iyāt* on stage.

Finally, Ralph Waldo Emerson, a figure of great eminence must be mentioned. Emerson, who was interested in Sufism and admired Persian Sufi poetry, read FitzGerald’s translation on his trip to Europe. Having taken keen interest in the *Rubā‘iyāt*, he translated a few quatrains from German into English.

Giuseppe Albano in his paper “The Benefit of Reading the *Rubā‘iyāt of Omar Khayyam* as Pastoral”⁴⁵states that FitzGerald’s work is historically important because it paved the way for subsequent poets- notably Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, A. E. Housman- to compose imitation-drinking
poems that claim pastoral status through idealizing social relations.

**Anti-Omarians**

At a time when materialism was becoming prevalent in the West and the puritanical morality was in decline, some thought to seek a scapegoat; henceforth, Khayyam's *Ruba‘iyyat* was an easy target. Few poets outwardly advocated the meaninglessness of life embodied in hedonism, sex, and drinking as Khayyam had. This created what we may call "an anti-Omarian movement," which included intellectuals and preachers, statesmen.

One of the anti-Oarians was Paul Elmer More. More had strong Christian tendencies. His views on Khayyam and the *Ruba‘iyyat* reflected the development of the humanist tradition in America in the three decades that followed the review of the *Ruba‘iyyat* by Norton. However, unlike Norton, whose approach to Khayyam was from a secular perspective, and unlike Aldrich's interest in the form of the quatrains, More was a "Christian humanist," who was highly critical of the *Ruba‘iyyat*.

In *Eliot Possessed: T S. Eliot and Fitzgerald's RUBAIYAT*, D'Ambrosio considers More's reaction to the *Ruba‘iyyat* to have come at the end of a cycle of response to Khayyam in America. She concludes that the works of Norton,
Aldrich, and More represent the three phases of American response to the *Ruba‘iyyat* from 1869 to 1899. Omar cult has been a silly "fad" and has illustrated the "hypocrisy of English ethics." He talked of the "ruffian heterodoxy" of "this Persian bon vivant." "The most pitiable stuff." And the Omarian message was interpreted "Get drunk as often as you can, for there’s nothing in life so profitable."

Some disliked the hopelessness of Khayyam’s message; others shunned such ideas shunned because they are *the product of an inferior race*. For example, G.K. Chesterton called the message of the *Ruba‘iyyat* "... a thing unfit for a white man, a thing like opium." By his time, just about any social or moral decay was blamed on Khayyam.

Erik Gray believes that devotees were rather the target of criticism and not the poetry itself:

> The criticism was almost entirely directed, not at the poem itself, but at its devotees—at the self-indulgent excesses of the Omar Khayyam Clubs in both England and America, or at publishers’ over-elaborated illustrated editions.46

A committee including several Omarians such as Grant Allen, Walter Crane, George More, Edward Heron-Allen, and George Bernard Shaw
was formed to support the Omarians' publications against bans and criticisms.

In the meantime, some negative reactions, in the form of new translations, occurred. Among the known opposing translations I shall name A.J. Arberry's translation and Robert Grave & AliShah's translation.

A. J. Arberry, a scholar of Persian published an edition of the *Ruba'iyyat*, intended as a celebration of the poems centennial. But it was more a critical reaction to FitzGerald's *Ruba'iyyat*. Erik Gray argues:

Arberry explains, for instance, that one of the chief aims of his project has been “to show (FitzGerald) a greater man than the pardonable enthusiasm of some of his more undiscriminating admirers has suggested.” He is also quick to pre-empt possible objections to FitzGerald’s methods of translation. Pointing out that FitzGerald publicly disclaimed any attempt to be literal, and thus “justly forestalled all petty and pedantic criticism”.47

In 1967 Robert Graves, the eminent British poet, novelist, and critic, collaborated with Omar Ali-Shah to publish a new translation of The *Ruba'iyyat* that was considered as a negative reaction to Fitzgerald's translation. The book appeared in America the following year and was
republished in 1972. Graves, who did not claim to know any Persian, based his verse rendering on Ali-Shah's literal translation of what the two authors claimed was the "earliest and most authoritative" manuscript of the *Ruba‘iyyat* in existence. The new translation immediately aroused suspicion on scholarly grounds. But Graves added further provocation by taking this occasion to offer comments about FitzGerald and his version of the *Ruba‘iyyat*. In a lengthy preface, riddled with factual errors, entitled "The Fitz-Omar Cult," Graves attacks FitzGerald's character and ridicules his *Ruba‘iyyat* both as a translation and as a piece of English poetry. Unsurprisingly, there followed a flurry of responses, reviews, letters to the editor, and interviews, during which Graves continued not only to defend the authenticity of his source but also clamorously to condemn FitzGerald himself as ignorant (and morally dubious) and his poetry as incompetent.

Gray explains how the new oppositions led to a period of disregard:

> Over the next twenty years (1959-1979), just when critics were busy resuscitating the reputations of other Victorian poets, the *Ruba‘iyyat* disappeared from academic books and journals, aside from a few scattered articles. It even dropped out of general surveys of Victorian literature (a phenomenon that has continued until quite recently). When *Victorian Poetry* began to subdivide its annual round-up of "The Year's Work in Victorian Poetry" by individual author, in 1974, it included a heading for "FitzGerald
and Other Minor Mid-Victorian Poets." But in the three years that the heading existed as an annual feature, only one brief piece on FitzGerald was mentioned; after that the section dropped out of "The Year's Work" for lack of material." By the end of the 1970s, critical interest in FitzGerald had reached its lowest point since the discovery of the Ruba‘iyyat.48

**Literary context in the second half of the 20th century**

I can well recall a poetry class, when I was doing my M.A. in the Department of English, University of Pune. The lecture was on Post war English poetry. The lecturer narrated an interesting story of a Post war poet who had mockinglly criticized those modern poets who are still writing on 'Lover and beloved' issues as Edmond Spencer did in his long love sonnets, Amoretti.

The modern British( or American, I am not sure) poet unduly criticized them for their interest in providing images such as 'longing for the beloved to cross over the river that divides them', as Spencer did. I have already traced those images in Amoretti for the purpose of this study and I found a handful of fascinating images all implying the lover begging the beloved to join him, some of which are as follows:

- In Sonnet XXXIII, Spencer's refers to his beloved as Faerie Queene.
- In Sonnet III, Spenser would urgently call upon his beloved to the fields to 'frolic' and his longing for her is prevalent, as it arises in his mind.
In Sonnet XIII shows that There the beloved stands, on the far side, and the lover on the near side, his longing accumulating until he would lie down before her:

Oh, would she only cross over and spare him the agony of being without her? Indeed, he would die for her, his love is that strong! If she would but hear him recite this verse, she might move closer. Several sonnets follow on this one, which suggest the shifting feelings and imagination of a ‘thwarted lover.’

In Sonnet XLIX, he beseeches her to show him mercy, who has not thought ill of her.

This way Spencer says copious number of Sonnets for the beloved asking her to love him and join him and be nice with him, begging and requesting her to do so.

Surely, the writer is a product of his time, and the circumstances of his life affect and dictate the subject of his work. The times of Elizabeth I and Victoria had their own problems and attitudes. The Britain of Queen Elizabeth or King Edward had its wars and social problems but the problems we face, we face ourselves at this time.

The post war poet believed that the subject of poetry should reflect the times and circumstances it is written in. Well, poetry after the time of the First World War certainly reflects his attitude. The poems of Eliot and W.H. Auden
share that attitude. Yet we should recall that Spenser did not face these terrible circumstances.

He may not be blamed for admonishing that the circumstances of his and our time, such as war, famine, illness, disasters, traffic, air pollution, etc., do not permit us to dally romantically as Spenser tried to do. He added gloomily that he himself would like to beckon his sweetheart to his embrace but that war and the problems aforementioned never permitted him. Certainly, one cannot secure a meeting with one’s beloved when shells are falling, trumpets are blaring and one must go to some foreign frontier. I can barely call his name to mind, but these ponderings will remain ever fixed in my mind.

Rather than the post war situation, some other factors are also worth mentioning such as change in the dominant poetic form, Rumi phenomenon, the development of the discipline of Translation Studies, emerging various translations, the Language Revolution and post-colonial situation. All the abovementioned, have impact upon the reception of 1979-1981 translation of Peter Avery & John Heath Stubbs.
A phenomenon called Rumi

In the modern West, Jalaloddin Rumi has become the best known Persian poet. Rumi’s success in the West has to do with the fact that his message transcends the limitation of language. He has something important to say, and he says it in a way that is not completely bound up with the intricacies and beauty of the Persian and the culture which that language conveys, nor even with poetry (he is also the author of prose works, including his discourses, available in a good English translation by A.J. Arberry). One does not have to appreciate poetry to realize that Rumi is one of the greatest spiritual teachers who ever lived.

Rumi’s greatness has to do with the fact that he brings out what he calls "the roots of the roots of the roots of the religion," or the most essential message of Islam, which is the most essential message of traditional religion everywhere: Human beings were born for unlimited freedom and infinite bliss and their birthright is within their grasp. But in order to reach it, they must surrender to love. What makes Rumi’s expression of this message different from other expressions is his extraordinary directness and uncanny ability to employ images drawn from everyday life.
Rumi wrote about 3,000 *ghazals*, signing many of them with Shams's name. This explains the title of his collected *ghazals* and miscellaneous verse, *Divan-e shams-e Tabrizi*, which includes about 40,000 lines. His other great collection of poems, the 25,000-verse *Masnavi*, was composed as a single work with a didactic aim. R.A. Nicholson rendered a great service to the English-reading public by translating it in its entirety. But relatively few of the *Divan*’s nuggets have been mined. Nicholson published a number of *ghazals* in 1898 and A.J. Arberry retranslated these and added many more, for a total of 400.

More recently, a number of poets have undertaken to publish some parts of the *Divan* while trying to preserve the poetical quality in English, usually basing themselves on literal translations done by others. For those who read Persian, most of these versions have been rather pale, and frequently inaccurate.

To celebrate the 800th birth anniversary of the Persian poet Jelalludin Rumi UNESCO announced the year 2007 “the International Year of Rumi.” In 2007 especial ceremonies and programs were held all over the world to commemorate this great poet.
Different emerging Translations

In the gap between the two selected translations, various translations have been published either from Persian manuscripts or from translated *Ruba’iyyat*. Some of these published translations followed FitzGerald’s style and tried to copy him while some others were opposing him. It is worth mentioning that only few of these versions of the English *Ruba’iyyat* are popular of which one can name Robert Grave & Ali Shah, and also Arbbery’s translations.

Peter Avery & John Heath Stubbs and their Translation

Peter Avery is an eminent British scholar of Persian and a Fellow of King’s college, Cambridge. He was born in 1923. After gaining a BA at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and serving in the Royal Indian Navy towards the end of the Second World War, he became Principal Language Teaching Officer at the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He has contributed to some English language work on Persian history and literature, such as *The Collected Lyrics of Hafiz of Shiraz*, *Medieval Persia*, *Modern Iran* and *The Age of Expansion*. Avery’s best known work is a translation (with poet John Heath-Stubbs) of the Persian text of *Ruba’iyyat of Omar Khayyam.*
John Heath-Stubbs, (1918-2006), British poet and translator, studied at Oxford. He taught Poetry at Leeds University from 1952 to 1955. He has translated Hafiz and Leopardi, written several collections of poetry, and edited numerous works. He received the OBE in 1989 for services to literature.

Like Avery, Heath-Stubbs is known for his translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyyat* (together with Peter Avery) in 1979. The first edition was published by John Lane, a re-issue followed in 1981 by Penguin Books. His Other works include an epic poem "Artorius, a heroic poem in four books and eight episodes" (1973), "Satires and Epigrams" (1969).

In an attempt to offer a truer picture of Khayyam's poetry Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs presented their version in 1979. It differs from FitzGerald's in that it contains considerably more verses (235 quatrains), with a different order, and that they try to be more faithful to the original Persian. Here is an example:

I was in the potter's shop last night,
And saw two thousand jugs, some speaking some dumb;
Each was anxiously asking,
'Where is the potter, and the buyer and seller of pots?'
The language of the translation is modern, especially in comparison to FitzGerald’s version. Avery and Heath-Stubbs make no effort to rhyme the poem (as FitzGerald does).

Their translation of *Rubaiyat* is beautifully illustrated in color with numerous examples of Persian miniature painting. It also contains a valuable introduction and several appendices, including an essay on Persian painting.

In his introduction to the translation, Peter Avery states that their translation intended to give as literal an English version of the Persian originals as readability and intelligibility permit and that the important point for them was to convey the baldness of the original. “It is hoped that these translations will answer the question a Persianist is often asked: ‘what do the Persian originals of the *Rubaiyat* really say?’” He adds.52

Norman Berdichevsky in his paper ‘Omar Khayyam’s *Rubaiyat* - an Antidote for Islamic Fundamentalism’53 compares FitzGerald’s translation with Avery’s translation and argues that this modern translation is also provocative:

(...) expresses materialism and hedonism as wittily and perhaps even more defiantly than Fitzgerald (...). Compare for example the most famous lines of Fitzgerald....
"A Book of Verses underneath the Bough, / A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread - and Thou / Beside me singing in the Wilderness - / Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!",

Compare Avery’s more literal translation but also a more sophisticated (and provocative) version of the same theme:

If chance supplied a loaf of white bread,  
Two casks of wine and a leg of mutton,  
In the corner of a garden with a tulip-cheeked girl  
There’d be enjoyment no Sultan could outdo.

In another review, the modern language of this translation is justified, although the translation itself is claimed to be uneven:

In an attempt to offer a truer picture of Khayyam's poetry Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs presented this version in 1979(...) It differs from FitzGerald's in that it contains considerably more verses (...), that the order differs (...), and that they try to be more faithful to the original Persian(...).

The translation itself seems fairly uneven. While some of Khayyam's fine and clever thoughts are expressed well the language -- consciously modern, especially in comparison to FitzGerald’s version -- is often ineffective. Indeed, some of the phrasing and some of the words give an oddly dated feel to this 1979 translation. The language of the day disappears too quickly, apparently. Avery and Heath-Stubbs make no effort to rhyme the poem (...), which is certainly acceptable. However, they do not manage much lyricism in their poetry, and that is already a failing. The inconsistency in any sort of metre or style
also proves to be irritating. With lines varying in length between six and twenty syllables much of the collection simply does not read well.  

This translation is based on Sadiq Hedayat’s edition of Ruba‘iyyat. Hedayat divided his selection into groups according to themes: ‘The Mystery of Creation’ (1-15), ‘Life’s Agony’ (16-25), ‘Destiny’s Decree’ (26-34), ‘The Revolutions of Time’ (35-56), ‘Revolving Atoms’ (57-73), ‘What will be, Will be’ (74-100), There is Nothing’(101-107), and ‘Let Us Seize the Moment’ (108-143).

If I seem at times to dwell a little more on Fitzgerald than on Peter Avery and John Heath Stubbs, this will be because Fitzgerald and his translation have received the larger share of attention in the past, and a considerable corpus of materials are available while Peter Avery’s translation is almost new and very few critics have discussed that.
Ruba’iyyat Today

In the process of researching this topic, researcher has received various newsletters and reviews from as many sources. In point of fact, I registered for an online subscription via Google search engine for any news around Omar Khayyam's *Ruba’iyyat* and its English Translations from August 2005 to August 2008. During the period, I received about 200 newsletters, some of which were closely related to both Khayyam and the *Ruba’iyyat* in translation. Few were serious and even scholarly, and many of them appeared to be prankish. Researcher has selected some of them, and classified into main groups as follows:

The first grouping is:

1. from the United Kingdom, *poster poems* [Guardian.co.uk] discusses a general review of Fitzgerald and his translation of Ruba’iyyat, and remarks that Fitzgerald remained more faithful to the meaning of the poem than to the words

2. Oxford University annotates the anniversary of Khayyam, 9 May, 2008, and discussed the contributions of Omar Khayyam. Brief data about Khayyam and his work

3. From Netherlands and UK, Leden and Cambridge Universities, respectively, held a conference on Khayyam
4. Iran honored the 960th birthday of Omar Khayyam on 18 May. Khayyam was born in 1948 in Neyshabur, NE Iran. They mention his contributions to mathematics and science.

5. UK. Victorian age composer Bantock composed a work on Omar Khayyam, recorded in three discs.


7. UK. Christopher Nield, a poet living in London, reads Khayyam’s Moving Finger. Remainder of the article is reference to Ruba‘iyyat and the English translation.

8. UK, London, Kiarnars Baghbani, an Iranian writer living in Finland, is translating the Ruba‘iyyat. Introduction to Baghbani as well

9. India, Hyderabad. Speaking on the Importance of Khayyam and two particular quatrains mentioned.

10. Iran, Tehran, 2005. Document mentions the English releases on Khayyam and his poetry, and mention is given to Ruba‘iyyat.

11. UK, Gary Garrard, has issued a biography of Omar Khayyam.

12. Robert Douglas Fairhurst, a Khayyam enthusiast reads the Ruba‘iyyat: from the Biography by Garrard

13. US, Kent State University, Wick Poetry Prize, 2007, mentions a debate
about the theme of Ruba’iyyat in the Fitzgerald edition but does not discuss the poem or Fitzgerald in much detail.

14. Iranian Kings of Persian Poetry is a reverent list of the greatest Persian poets and includes Rumi, Hafez and Khayyam.

15. UK, London, English versions of Khayyam's poetry is available on the markets.

16. Lisbellaw Artist is an exhibition of art inspired by the quatrain of Ruba’iyyat.

17. USA, Grand Rapids, in A Farewell to Tony Snow, there was a phrase borrowed from the Ruba’iyyat that was used in this case.

One satirical newsletter issued from New York, USA, states that the writer possesses better poetics than Khayyam does but he offers only one outstanding quatrain as evidence.

18. Everything's coming up roses. USA, mentions about roses and Fitzgerald’s translation of Ruba’iyyat. The central themed is year round roses in Florida.

19. One last article on a translator, Karim Emami, who translated Khayyam. He died at the age of 75 years.

20. Cost of character, no place of issue, 2007, mentions Ruba’iyyat or Omar Khayyam very briefly.
The next listings are:


2. Popularizing Rumi’s works is a treatise on the literature of Rumi and the Sufi ideology. The writer is very successful and abroad, and compiled 22 volumes on the subject. The letter was issued from Hyderabad, India.

3. Divine Words and Works is a reference to Arabic writings.

4. Flight Animals, from NZ, is a collection of poems by a new writer.

5. Comparative Literature for Yemeni Students of English, 4pp, discusses the relevance of CL for Yemeni students.

6. An article on Heath Stubbs, a poet and translator. Issued from the United Kingdom.

7. Unbroken Chain is an international group of new poets touring the United Kingdom and quotes a few stanzas of poetry, which are worth reading.

8. An article on poet Tony Harrison, who wrote on war among other topics. Biographical data and some works.

9. A long article explaining the criticism of art in Islam, 11 pp, from Tehran. Discusses the foreign influences on Islamic thought, from the Greeks and Persians, with names and dates given.
Wine of the Week (may have been inspired by the poem) mentions only that one quatrain about a book of verse, and then discusses the types of wine. Delhi Purple sapphire, no place of issue given, discusses only towards the end of the first page about someone who studied Persian and translated *Ruba’iyyat*.

The overall image is that gradually the *Ruba’iyyat* and Omar Khayyam have been losing interest in literary circles or academic institutions. Many of these newsletters are hardly related to the issue. We observe that in some of them Khayyam’s poetry is just treated as a means of entertainment.

**Omariana**

Omariana⁵⁵ is the title of the only online journal on Omar Khayyam and his poetry that covers various aspects in each edition. In the following I provide a review of two edition of this journal. This may help in understanding the position of the *Ruba’iyyat* today.

The February edition of the Omariana journal begins with an exclamation that the ‘Omar Khayyam craze” began in the United States. Among evidence cited for this idea is a Columbus (Ohio) edition of the poem dated 1870. Yet we should bear in mind that, before that edition, Edward Fitzgerald, the

It continues to explain that each edition is titled succinctly “First edition” “Second edition” and so forth. Fitzgerald’s edition is the “First edition”. This may stand as a reminder that Fitzgerald was not American. Data concerning ‘pirated’ copies and a rare quotation from the Patriarch himself that pirating ‘did him credit’ are included:

“I have not lived in vain if I have lived to be pirated!”(p.3)

One of the first sights that greet the researcher’s eyes is a set of Khayyamian quatrains satirizing consumerism and other western daily events. As the quatrains are composed, the poets have done Khayyam an honour by remaining faithful to the rhyme scheme (terza rima) and meter (iambic pentameter) of the original Ruba’iyyat. However, the topic is too mundane to be taken seriously. Therefore, as parodies, as they are proclaimed to be in this journal, they are well done.

The first two quatrains are conceived, tongue in cheek, by writer Josephine Bacon and titled “An Omar for Ladies.” That Bacon uses Omar (Khayyam) as a
euphemism for the *Ruba’iyyat* is a little odd too. These are succeeded by two more quatrains, selections form longer works, written by Mary B. Little (1908) and Geletet Burgess (1904) respectively. Little satirized the whole “Omar Khayyam craze” as we can read in the following quatrain:

She soon possessed the dreadful Omar Fad
Which other Husband I have learned think Bad
But unlike other fads which now are past
This has the power to make me very Mad

That is followed by a quatrain from Gelett Burgess’ *Ruba’iyyat* of Omar Cayenne (1904); but this reviewer observes that the first two lines have reversed the meter to fit the original meter. Normally, any word succeeded by an exclamation mark, a command or imperative, receives stress first; and Shakespeare (‘shek spir) is reversed in line 2 (shek ‘spir). So, the meter is reversed from original trochaic (‘-’) to be iambic (-’).

Wake! For the Hack can scatter in to Flight
Shakespeare and Dante in a single Night
The Penny-a-liner* is Abroad and strikes
Our modern literature with blithering Blight

We read that Burgess satirized publishing as a profession. Note “penny a line” is a lampoon of cheap publishers which seemed to abound at the turn of the past century (20th Century, that.) Insight into the fate of the *Ruba’iyyat* at that time can be derived from this edition (Nov 2007):
Burgess continues, “By the turn of the century, demand for the Classics had decreased and so had the quality of publication.” (p.2)

The remainder of each edition available is a well-presented review of current literature referring to the poem and other, related topics. The style of presentation is worth mention. It is a very standard, professional style.

Among readable data are the death of Heath Stubbs, the co-author of a translation of *Ruba’iyyat* (with Peter Avery), in 2006 and several documented editions of the *Ruba’iyyat* and Omar Khayyam. Equally noteworthy is an exhibition of miniature books from May to July, which included several miniatures of Khayyam’s *Ruba’iyyat*. The journal quotes the following as among the principle producers/publishers of the miniature editions:

- Oonty Press (India, 1897) credited as the first miniature edition; totally 50 copies.
- Treherne (1903-06) published 3 miniatures.
- Bryce and Sons published several (uncounted) miniatures of the poem in 1904 and 1911 respectively.
- Charles Meigs had one of the smallest miniature editions recorded: 3 inches.

- Eben Thomson (1932) had a miniature titled *Rose Garden of Omar Khayyam*, which was 6mm in dimension.

- Rosemary Press produced from 20 to 60 copies.

The journal adds that most editions were given to friends of the original owners.
Notes.

2. Shamseddin Mohammad Hafiz, was born sometime between the years 1310-1325 a.d. or 712-727 A.H. The most probable date is either 1320, or 1325 a.d., in Shiraz, Iran, and died in Late 1388 or early 1389 a.d. or 791 A.H. at the age of 69.
5. Muslih-ud-Din Mushrif ibn Abdullah known as Sa’di, 1200-1291, Shiraz, Iran
6. 935-1020, Tus, Iran
7. *Divan-e- Hafiz*. Some 500 ghazals, 42 Rubaiyees, and a few Ghaseedeh’s, composed over a period of 50 years. His focus was to write poetry worthy of the Beloved.
8. 1803-1882, Emerson was one of the central characters in the transcendental movement emerging in literary circles around Concord, Massachusetts during the late 1830’s
10. P.87
11. Ibid
12. P.204-205
17. *FitzGerald and Ruba’iyyat, In and Out of Time*. p. 10
18. Ibid
22. Two Early Reviews of the Ruba’iyyat, p. 105
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid. p. 109
25. Ibid. P. 113
31. Ibid
34. Ibid
was an Iranian Sufi mystic born in the city of Tabriz in Iranian Azerbaijan. He introduced Mawlānā Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Balkhi to Islamic mysticism, for which he was immortalized in Rumi's poetry collection *Divān-e Shams-e Tabrizi*. *Masnavi* is considered as the largest mystical exposition in verse, discusses and offers solutions to many complicated problems in metaphysics, religion, ethics, mysticism, etc. Fundamentally, the Masnavi highlights the various hidden aspects of Sufism and their relationship with the worldly life. For this, Rumi draws on a variety of subjects and derives numerous examples from everyday life. His main subject is the relationship between man and God on the one hand, and between man and man, on the other. He apparently believed in Pantheism and portrayed the various stages of man's evolution in his journey towards the Ultimate.