

Introduction

The 150th anniversary of Edward FitzGerald's translation of *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* fell in 2009. Moreover the translator was born 200 years previously, on March 31st, 1809. This double anniversary was marked with a number of festivities and events in Iran, Dubai, United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the United States of America. It is obvious that Omar Khayyám has not been forgotten, and neither has Edward FitzGerald. Indeed, no poet has ever enjoyed such long-lasting and worldwide fame as Omar Khayyám. His verses have been translated and reprinted repeatedly, in almost every country and language of the world. Since 1900, not one year has passed without at least one new edition or reprint of his quatrains. Usually these are simple publications, but there have also been a considerable number of rare, exquisite and precious editions. However, no one knows their exact number, and the claim that the *rubáiyát* have been translated into every language of the world cannot be taken very seriously.

The last effort to list what had been published was a bibliography by A.G. Potter, in 1929. Today, eighty years later, the 2009 celebration year offers an excellent opportunity to present a new survey, again in the form of a bibliography, of a major part of the editions and translations that have appeared since 1929.

In fact this new survey is the result of a 25-years long pre-occupation, if not obsession, with collecting and recording editions of the *Rubáiyát* and related material. My interest was aroused by a translation by one of the greatest Dutch poets, Jan Hendrik Leopold (1865-1925). The quatrain quoted below is nr. XIII in a selection of quatrains 'Uit de Rubaijat', first published in *De nieuwe gids* (1911), and based on translations by E.H. Whinfield and F. Rosen.¹

*Ons blijven is vervuld van harteleed,
Van raadselen, waarvan geen wijze weet
Het in of uit, en evenwel ons scheiden
Is aarzelend en nimmermeer gereed.*

¹ E.H. Whinfield. *Quatrains of Omar Khayyám*. London, 1909, quatrain nr. 1. F. Rosen. *Die Sinnsprüche Omars des Zeltmachers*. Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1909, quatrain nr. 28.

Soon I discovered FitzGerald's translation, quite different from Leopold's, but even more enchanting and oppressive at the same time, and in a strange way providing solace: don't worry, life is only here and now. And no lines of verse have ever intrigued me more than these:

*Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the Dust descend;
Dust into Dust, and under Dust, to lie,
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and – sans End!*

These verses bewildered me: the commanding repetition of the word 'Dust', and then the majestic "Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer," and finally the glorious and at the same time depressing "sans End!" This was weird music, opening a door to a universe without gods or devils or dogmas. And I started a search for more, naively believing that it would be possible to collect every edition.

The number of editions that still see the light every year, the forms in which they appear, ranging from precious, carefully printed and illustrated volumes to clumsy 'print on demand' editions, the worldwide fascination with Omar's verses, even today still a battleground for diverging interpretations, all show that the world has never lost its interest in Omar Khayyám. He is the subject of a large, worldwide and divers complex of publishers, printers, translators, illustrators, scholars, book lovers and book collectors. And the tiny little volume that an old friend was reading in his few last days, when all his other books were put aside, was the *Rubaiyát of Omar Khayyám*.

Omar Khayyám

Nine hundred years after his death, we still do not know very much about Omar Khayyám. 'The astronomer-poet of Persia', as he was called by Edward FitzGerald, was born in Iran, in Nishápur, in 1048. He was known in his time as a man of science, more specifically in the field of astronomy and geometry. Early historians acknowledge his role in the construction in 1074 of an observatory, ordered by sultan Malekshah, and in the revision of the traditional Persian solar calendar on which contemporary Persian calendars still are based. These first facts on Khayyám's life date from biographers and historians such as al-Kházeni (1121) and al-Beihaqi (1154). None of these authors however, suggest that Khayyám was a poet. Even Nezami of Samarkand, contemporary of Khayyám and author of the *Chahar Maqalé* (Four Discourses), never refers to him as a poet. One of the famous anecdotal stories of Khayyám's life, that of the three friends who promised each other help and assistance in times of trouble, is nowadays judged as highly improbable, given the dates and personalities

involved.¹ The first references to Khayyám as a poet are found in Qazvini's *Kharidat al-Qasr* (about 1174/5), a biographical work on Islamic poets, and in the *Mersád al-'ebád* (1221), a Sufi handbook by al-Din Dáya. François de Blois writes: "Like many Persian intellectuals of his time Khaiyámí dabbled in Arabic poetry,"² yet no convincing evidence has yet been found that Khayyám actually wrote the quatrains attributed to him. Some of his scientific writings, however, have survived and have recently been published.³

What we know of Khayyám has been summarized in recent studies by Garry Garrard, Mehdi Aminrazavi, Hazhir Teimourian and others, and does not need to be repeated here extensively. Some facts may nevertheless serve as a reminder. In a study published in 1941, Swámí Govinda Tírtha⁴ verified, on the basis of astrological data provided by Omar Khayyám's first biographer, Zahir al-Din al-Baihaqi, that he was born on May 18, 1048. The same data were used by Russian scholars to establish his death on December 4, 1131. Critical investigations into the authenticity of the *rubáiyát*, begun by the Russian scholar Valentin Zhukovsky, have been continued by E. Denison Ross, E. Browne, A. Christensen, Chr. H. Rempis, S. Hedayat, V. Minorsky, S.G. Tírtha, A.J. Arberry, A. Dashti and others.

Soon after the discovery of Khayyám's *rubáiyát* by the general public, Omar Khayyám clubs and societies were founded. The first one was the English Omar Khayyám Club, founded in London in 1892, and still existing today. The members of the club meet twice a year but, apart from three published books,⁵ the Club has not been very productive. The American Omar Khayyám Club was founded in Boston (Massachusetts) in 1900. Between 1906 and 1921, this club published eighteen works.⁶ It is not known how and when the Club was discontinued, but there are no further signs of life after the 1930's.⁷ According to the German translator Hans Bethge,⁸ countless Omar Khayyám societies were founded in the UK after FitzGerald's translation of 1859. This seems very unlikely as we never heard of any other than the English and American clubs. However, Germany briefly had its own club. It was founded about 1934 in Tübingen and lasted till 1937. The "Deutsche Omar Chajjám-Gesellschaft" published two books with translations of the *rubáiyát* by Chr.H. Rempis, in 1933 and 1935. The Dutch Omar Khayyám So-

1 M. Aminrazavi. *The wine of wisdom*. Oxford, 2005, p. 25.

2 F. de Blois. *Persian literature*. London, 1994. Vol. V, part 2.

3 B. Rashed and B. Vahabzadeh. *Al-Khayyám mathematician*. Paris, 1999.

4 Swámí Govinda Tírtha. *The Nectar of Grace*. Allahabad, 1941.

5 *The Book of Omar and Rubáiyát*. New York and London, 1900. *The Book of the Omar Khayyám Club, 1892-1910*. London, 1910. *The Second Book of the Omar Khayyám Club, 1910-1929*. London, 1931.

6 *Some Doings of the Omar Khayyám Club of America*. Needham, 1922, pp. 38-40.

7 The Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas, Austin, holds a collection of menu cards from Club meetings. The last one dates from 1936.

8 Hans Bethge. *Omar Khayam. Nachdichtungen*. Berlin, Propyläen Verlag, 1921.

ciety (Nederlands Omar Khayyám Genootschap) was founded in 1990 and still exists. In fact it has been the most productive of them all, publishing a number of yearbooks, an Omar Khayyám bulletin, a website¹ and translations of the *Rubáiyát*. The society has also been involved in organising a number of exhibitions, in 1997, 2001 and twice in 2009.

A rehabilitation of Khayyám seems to have taken place in Iran since the election of President Khátami in 1997. This led, remarkably enough, to a number of critical text editions. Although Khayyám enjoyed a certain reputation in Iran, long before Fitzgerald's translation, he was regarded as a minor poet whose quatrains were learned by heart, like other poets' verses, and were part of everyday conversation. Iranian and oriental scholars later become more interested in Khayyám, and in the first half of the 20th century a number of editions were published, often only modestly illustrated. It was the Iranian writer Sadegh Hedayat (1902-1951) who was the pioneer of modern Iranian Khayyám studies. In 1924 he published a selection of Khayyám's verses, together with an introduction, called *Moqaddama'i bar robá'iháye Khayyám* ('An introduction to the quatrains of Omar Khayyám'). Hedayat's intention was to present the results of European studies to the Iranian public. A revised edition was published in 1934 entitled *Tarána-há-ye Khayyám* ('The songs of Omar Khayyám'), and it has been reissued many times. Hedayat's work was followed up by Mohammad Ali Forughí and Qásem Ghaní, who published the *Robá'íyyát-e Khayyám* in 1942. Of great importance was the work of Ali Dashti,² who, like his predecessors, tried to develop a method to establish which of Khayyám's verses were authentic.

The idolatrous worship of Omar that was witnessed in the first decades of the previous century has changed into a more deliberate, critical approach. The question of Khayyám being the author of the *Rubáiyát* remains the weak point. Some critics have suggested that there have been two Omar Khayyáms: one the scientist-astronomer and the other someone else who lived under the same name and who is supposed to be the author of the now famous quatrains. De Blois considers that "by the 15th century ... the name of the famous philosopher and scientist had become a collective pseudonym for authors of *rubá'íyát*..."³ Another ongoing dispute concerns the question how Khayyám's poetry should be interpreted. Was he a mystic, a sufi, or was he the hedonist that western translators have made of him? In a recently published study, *The Wine of Wisdom* (2005), Mehdi Aminrazavi reviews the major studies on the topic and concludes that it is impossible to determine the historical Omar Khayyám. Instead he suggests that "he who has composed the *Rubáiyát* is for us Khayyám." In the end this means that the Persian astronomer might not have been a poet at all. This doubt

1 www.omarkhayyamnederland.com

2 Ali Dashti. *In search of Omar Khayyam*. London, 1971.

3 François de Blois. *Persian literature*. London, 1994. Vol. V, part 2, p. 363.

was also expressed by almost every speaker at the Khayyam-FitzGerald Conference, held in July 2009 in Leiden and Cambridge. At this occasion, the poems were no longer referred to as the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* but, more cautiously, as the 'rubáiyát ascribed to Omar Khayyám.'

Edward FitzGerald

There is no doubt that it was Edward FitzGerald (1809-1883) who was responsible for Omar Khayyám's present status. FitzGerald was a Victorian literary figure, who spent much of his time cherishing lifelong friendships. His family were also important to him, though in later years he became something of a recluse. He was a passionate writer of letters, which have been edited and published in various editions, one of the first being *The Letters and Literary Remains of Edward FitzGerald*, published in seven volumes in 1902-3 (London and New York).

FitzGerald was born in Bredfield, Suffolk, and educated in Bury St. Edmunds. He graduated in 1830, from Trinity College in Cambridge. There he developed important friendships, notably with William Makepeace Thackeray. Alfred Tennyson became a friend a few years later. Another key friend was Edward Byles Cowell, whom FitzGerald met in 1844, when Cowell was eighteen. Cowell had already taught himself Persian, and, some years later, he inspired FitzGerald to do the same, which led to a translation by FitzGerald of *Salámán and Absál*, a fifteenth-century Persian poem by Jámí. In 1856, around the time of his short-lived marriage with Lucy Barton, the daughter of an old, deceased friend, FitzGerald started translating quatrains, attributed to Omar Khayyám, from an old manuscript that Cowell had found in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

As FitzGerald was financially independent, now living on an inheritance from his wealthy mother, he was able to live as he wished, and translating Omar's verses kept him busy for almost two years. By the end of 1857, he sent a selection of the translated quatrains to *Fraser's Magazine*, but when no reaction came, he decided to have them printed on his own expenses, adding 40 more quatrains to the initial selection of 35. The work was printed without his name on the title page, in a limited edition of 250 copies. Of these FitzGerald kept 40 copies for himself, the rest were sent for distribution to Bernard Quaritch, a bookseller specialized in oriental books. Here, *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám, the astronomer-poet of Persia*, as the little booklet was titled, for it was no more than a nondescript brochure, remained unsold for two years. Then in 1861, it was finally discovered by Whitley Stokes, a Celtic scholar, and John Ormsby. Apparently they were struck immediately by the beauty of the verse and the exotic imagery that was unusual for those days. Stokes returned the following day to buy more copies and gave one to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who introduced the quatrains to fellow members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle.

A second edition was considered when Quaritch began to run out of copies, because of a growing popularity of the *Rubáiyát* in the circle of Rossetti's friends. After some hesitations, FitzGerald prepared a new edition, with new footnotes and a revised introduction, expanding the number of quatrains from 75 to 110. It was published in 1868. A third edition followed in 1872, reducing the number of quatrains to 101, as in the fourth edition of 1879. What is often called the 'fifth edition' was published posthumously in 1889. The text is that of the fourth edition, taken from a copy of that edition in FitzGerald's possession, containing comments and alterations in his own hand.

In 1860 FitzGerald moved to new lodgings in Market Hill, Woodbridge. In 1864 he bought a cottage on the outskirts of this town, though he did not move into the renovated house until 10 years later. In these years, FitzGerald spent much time on the East Anglian coast, seeing local friends and family, sailing and making new friendships with the local fishermen. A local man, named Joseph (Posh) Fletcher, became a particular friend, with whom FitzGerald formed a partnership to buy a boat, called the *Meum and Tuum*, that would enable Posh to earn a better living as a fisherman. The partnership lasted until some time in 1873. FitzGerald felt attracted to this East-Anglian, who had next to nothing in common with the poet himself, and his affection for Posh was so deep that it took years to die, as Martin writes.¹ This relationship with a man who certainly did not belong to FitzGerald's own social class, may seem a bit odd, but the poet was blessed with other peculiar characteristics: cutting pieces from a picture or tearing pages from a book that he didn't like, seemed perfectly normal to him.

By this time, FitzGerald had withdrawn from public life, and the four versions of his Khayyám translation went out without his name on the title page. Even most of his best friends were not aware that it was old Fitz who was responsible for this classic of English poetry. Occasionally visiting friends and receiving visits from them became his way of life. While on visit with George Crabbe, an old friend, FitzGerald died peacefully in his sleep on June 14, 1883. He was buried in Boulge Churchyard, not far from Woodbridge. On his grave are the words: "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves."

FitzGerald is famous, first of all, for his translations of Omar Khayyám's *rubáiyát*, and secondly for his numerous letters to friends. Far less known are his other works and translations. The more important are: *Euphranor, a Dialogue on Youth* (1851), *Polonius: a Collection of Wise Saws and Modern Instances* (1852), *Six Dramas from Calderon* (1853), *Salaman and Absal* (1856), *Readings in Crabbe* (1882). *The Bird Parliament*, his version of Attar's *The Conference of the Birds*, was published posthumously.

Some more recent biographies of FitzGerald are: *The Life of Edward FitzGerald, Translator of the Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* by A.M. Terhune (New Haven, 1947), and *With Friends Possessed: a life of Edward FitzGerald* by R.B. Martin (London, 1985). A

1 R.B. Martin. *With friends possessed. A life of Edward FitzGerald*. London, 1985.

‘Selected bibliography of FitzGerald criticism, 1959-2008’ is appended to Erik Gray’s article in *Victorian Poetry* (2008).¹ Recently Tony Briggs has argued that “This man has never had his due. He is not a mere translator, but a very good English poet, who deserves full recognition.”² Indeed, a plaque or two, in Cambridge and Woodbridge, and a simple, sober grave in Boulge seem little public acknowledgement. On the other hand, one might say that the never-ending printing and publishing of the *Rubáiyát*, the continuous study and the worldwide interest in Omar Khayyám, constitute a virtual monument for his prophet that the gods might envy.

The Rubáiyát

FitzGerald’s now famous *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* was first self-published and distributed by the London firm of Bernard Quaritch, in March 1859. The story is summarized above, and he who has heard it, will never forget it. The small volume attracted little attention until its qualities were recognized by men of literary fame, such as Rossetti, Swinburne and others. In 1862, a pirated edition of 50 copies was published in Madras, India. The first American edition, following the text of the second London edition of 1868, was printed privately in 1870 in Columbus, Ohio. Some sources mention a Canadian edition, printed by Alexander Belford (1854-1906) of Belford, Clarke & Co., giving 1866/67 and 1875 as years of publication.³ No evidence of its existence, by way of a bibliographic library record or as a concrete copy, has been found. The first published American edition was that of the firm of Osgood and Company, 1877/1878. This edition followed the text of FitzGerald’s third edition of 1872. It went through more than 25 reprints. Within a few decades the United States and Western-Europe were flooded by an endless stream of new editions, reprints and new translations.

Edward FitzGerald and Omar Khayyám are often seen as an inseparable couple. Most people only know Khayyám from FitzGerald’s translation. However, there are at least 200 other translations, sometimes newly translated from the Persian. Some of the more important translations are by J.B. Nicolas (1867), Bela Harrach (1872), A.F. von

1 Erik Gray. ‘FitzGerald and the Rubáiyát, In and Out of Time’. In: *Victorian Poetry*, Volume 46, Number 1, Spring 2008, pp. 1-14.

2 A. D. P. Briggs. ‘Forgotten FitzGerald. Celebrating bicentenarians in the coming year.’ In: *TimesOnline*, Dec. 31, 2008.

3 ‘Introduction,’ p. 10. In: *A Chronological List of the More Important Issues of Edward FitzGerald’s Version of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam ...* Chicago, Caxton Club, 1899. Also: ‘Alexander Belford-In Memoriam.’ Website: http://sdr.lib.uiowa.edu/lucile/publishers/belford/Belford_obits.htm. Quoted from *The Publishers’ Weekly*, No. 1812 (October 20, 1906), pp. 1098-1099.

Schack (1878), F. Bodenstedt (1881), E.H. Whinfield, (1882), J. Payne (1898), E. Heron-Allen (1898), Ch. Grolleau (1902), E.F. Thompon (1906), F. Rosen (1909), and more recently by S. Hedayat (1924), M. Forughí and Q. Ghani, (1942), Chr. H. Rempis (1935), S.G. Tírtha (1941), A.J. Arberry (1949), M. Fouladvand (1960 and 1965), P. Avery and J. Heath-Stubbs, (1979) and A. Saidi (1991).

As might be expected, the bulk of the reprints and reissues in the Western world follow one or more of FitzGerald's editions of his translation. The USA seems to prefer the fourth version and the UK the first. It seems that some countries have their favourite Omar Khayyám translation. In the Spanish-speaking world, translations are often based on the French prose version by Franz Toussaint, originally published in Paris, 1924. Other frequently reprinted translations are those by José Gibert and Carlos Muzio Sáenz-Peña. In France, Toussaint's version has been very popular but there are also many reprints of Ch. Grolleau's version, originally published in 1902. In Germany, the translation by F. Rosen is reprinted every three to five years in the Insel-Bücherei series. The first edition in this series dates back from 1929, when 10,000 copies were issued, but the print run has gradually decreased over the years.

The last half century has seen an astonishing variety of Iranian editions. Many of them present translations in a number of languages, sometimes five or even thirty languages. These polyglot editions seldom give the names of the translators. Some of these new Iranian editions have a Persian text only, and these are often lavishly illustrated. An outburst of new *Rubáiyát* editions has been witnessed in the former USSR, some of these editions being reprinted more than once in a single year. A similar development can be seen in Turkey. This category, i.e. Iranian, Russian and Turkish translations and editions, is covered in this bibliography, except when a 'western' translation is included with the oriental text. However, it was judged necessary to include some of the important Persian editions, notably those by Hedayat and Forughí and Ghani.

Illustrated and miniature editions

100 years ago, two illustrated editions of the *Rubáiyát* were published that have become very popular: Willy Pogány's version (Harrap, 1909) and Edmund Dulac's version (Hodder & Stoughton, 1909). Both versions have been re-issued and reprinted over and over again. The first illustrated edition, printed in the West, was by Elihu Vedder (Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1884). But there were earlier illustrated and decorated manuscripts, prepared by William Morris, of which the first one was the most famous. It was produced in collaboration with Edward Burne-Jones and Charles Fairfax Murray, between spring 1871 and fall 1872. This version however was not published until 1981, when Phaidon issued a facsimile edition of the manuscript (Oxford, 1981). However the very first illustrated copy is an illuminated and illustrated manuscript, dis-

covered in the late 1920's, and reproduced and published in 1939 by M. Mahfuz-ul Haq.¹ Illustrated editions constitute a large part if not the majority of all FitzGerald's editions, not only in this bibliography but also in general. Martin and Mason (*The Art of Omar Khayyám*, 2007), identified 873 new editions and reprints of FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* between 1859 and 2004, of which 422 were illustrated and 22 decorated. A list of illustrated and decorated editions is also available in Garry Garrard's study *A book of verse* (2007). See the Statistics chapter for figures regarding this bibliography.

For a long time, the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam of Naishapur*, published by Meigs in 1900, was the smallest book in the world. It measured 10x10 mms. A smaller edition was published by Thompson in 1932, titled *The rose garden of Omar Khayyam*, measuring 7x5 mms. I have been able to identify 63 miniature editions, measuring three inches or less in height. The section on miniature books lists 39 editions, of which 28 are FitzGerald's versions.

Studies, interpretations and other material

While the number of *Rubáiyát* editions has been growing, the corpus of secondary literature on Khayyám, FitzGerald and the *Rubaiyat* has increased even more. In 1971, Ali Dashti estimated that more than 2,000 books and articles had been written about Khayyám.² Where Potter found about 700 secondary titles by 1929, Dashti refers to another source, i.e. Mojtaba Minovi, giving 1,500 as a total for Europe and America alone, in the same year. Although national and university libraries and many other sources are now available online, and retrieval methods have been improved, it is very difficult if not impossible to give an exact number. There is no decent, complete or reliable bibliography of secondary material. A summary of the literature on FitzGerald and the *Rubáiyát* is given by Michael Timko in his chapter 'Edward FitzGerald' in *The Victorian Poets*,³ in separate paragraphs on Bibliography, Works, correspondence and biography, and Criticism. Timko's view is that "There is an apparent need for bibliographical work on FitzGerald, work that would incorporate the recent discoveries and writings about him."

1 M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq. *The Rubâ'iyât of 'Umar-i Khayyâm. Persian text edited from a manuscript dated 911 A.H. (1605 A.D.) in the collection of Professor S. Najib Ashraf Nadvi, with a facsimile of the manuscript.* Calcutta, 1939. Revised edition 1986.

The year 1605 quoted in the title is probably an incorrect interpretation of the AH date of 911. In the text, page 13 AH 911 is given as equivalent to AD 1506 and François de Blois has confirmed that the latter is the correct interpretation. [From a private communication by W.H. Martin and S. Mason]

2 Ali Dashti. *In search of Omar Khayyam. Translated from the Persian by L.P. Elwell-Sutton.* London, Allen & Unwin, 1971.

3 Frederic E. Faverty. (ed.) *The Victorian Poets. A guide to research.* 2nd. Edition. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1969.

Contemporary critics study FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* in the context of his own times, as a specimen of Victorian poetry, in relation to his personal circumstances, or even outside the context of any period at all, leaving the question of the authenticity or reliability of his rendition to be answered by others, in a different discipline. Daniel Karlin remarks that the poem, in FitzGerald's translation, was a standard for generations, but "it became brittle and collapsed into a heap of phrases."¹ Even more disastrous: it has ended up in the Telegraph's '50 best cult books.'² According to Erik Gray,³ renewed scholarly interest in FitzGerald and his translation began in the 1980's, after a period of neglect. The special issue of *Victorian Poetry*,⁴ issued to commemorate FitzGerald's 200th birthday and the 150th anniversary of his famous translation, aims to continue this trend, with five new articles on FitzGerald and his *Rubáiyát*.

Over the years the *rubáiyát* have been linked to various religions, philosophies and individual beliefs. There are sufi-oriented translations, humanist editions, spiritual, mystical and psychological interpretations. Anyone can use the text as he pleases and we have reached the point where the *rubáiyát* have entered the private domain, where the individual feels free to become an Omar Khayyám himself. Closely linked to this is the commercial domain, where you can find all sorts of artefacts, paraphernalia and useless products. Some scholars⁵ have explored this field from a socio-cultural perspective. Items in this domain were modestly listed in Potter's bibliography under a single number 'Omar Khayyam in art and commerce' (#718 in Potter's bibliography): "Tobacco, Cigarettes and Cigars; Stationery and printing press; Fountain Pens and Pencils; Coffee, Chocolate and Candy ..." to name just a few. This material is extremely extensive. The categories that Potter summarized can be extended to include Jigsaw puzzles, Coffee mugs, T-shirts, Jewelry, Shoes, Restaurants and hotels, Rugs and many, many more. In our days this domain includes internet content such as websites and weblogs on Khayyám. A web search in Google on 'omar khayyám' retrieves some 727,000 pages, Alta Vista even finds some 2,200,000 hits.⁶ However the private and commercial materials are not included in this bibliography.

1 Daniel Karlin. 'The angry Omar'. In: *TLS*, Jan. 9, 2009, No. 5519

2 The Telegraph, 12 December 2008. See: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3672915/50-best-cult-books.html>

3 See note #1 on page 18.

4 Vol. 46, Number 1, Spring 2008.

5 For example: Michelle Kaiserlian. 'Omar sells. American advertisements based on *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, c. 1910-1920 ...' In: *Early Popular Visual Culture*, vol. 6, No. 3, November 2008, p. 257-269

6 Situation in July 2008.

Music, parodies, fiction and film

More than two hundred musical works can be identified with texts from the *rubáiyát* set to music. They vary from settings for voices with piano (Lehmann, 1898) to large scale oratorios (Bantock, 1906). Some well known names are Paul Hindemith and Krzysztof Penderecki. The *Rubaiyat* by the Dutch composer Lex van Delden was awarded the 'Muziekprijs 1947 der Gemeente Amsterdam' in 1947. It was performed again in Amsterdam, more than 60 years later. We find musical works in almost every genre, from classical to popular music, from opera to folk song. This material still awaits its own bibliography and discography.

Another important category that is not examined here is that of parody. This field is not clearly defined, though a definition of the term has been attempted by M.A. Rose.¹ There are numerous publications in books and periodicals with titles beginning, "*The Rubáiyát of ...*" but often they have nothing to do with Omar Khayyám. Potter's bibliography has a chapter 'Parodies on the Rubáiyát in Books,' containing 75 titles. Another chapter 'Parodies on the Rubáiyát in Periodical Publications,' lists 126 magazines and journals, which have published 245 parodies between them. The intriguing phenomenon of the Omar Khayyám parody has been studied by Jos Biegstraaten,² who focuses on parodies in books from the beginning of the Omar Khayyám rage until 1999. His study includes a bibliographical list of parodies, containing 71 titles. As there are a considerable number of parodies in journals and magazines, a bibliography of this material certainly be justified.

Harold Lamb's novel *Omar Khayyam, a life* (Garden City, 1936) has been translated in several languages. Also successful, and often translated, is Amin Maalouf's *Samar-cande* (Paris, 1988). There has recently been a movie, produced by Kayvan Mashayekh, called *The Keeper* (2005). Some 50 years earlier, international movie stars featured in *Storm over Persia* (1957), and as early as 1922, Boris Karloff appeared in *Omar the tent-maker*, a silent movie that was followed a few years later by *A lover's oath* (1925). In 1946, a movie called *Omar Khayyam*, directed by Mohan Sinha, was released in Bombay. One final category of documents that are not noted here is digital or electronic documents. This includes online versions of various editions and translations, parodies, secondary material and miscellanea. Although its importance is beyond question, it is my opinion that this material requires a bibliographic tool that accords with its intrinsic nature, in an electronic medium.

1 M.A. Rose. *Parody: ancient, modern, and post-modern*. Cambridge, 1993.

2 Jos Biegstraaten. 'Omar with a smile. Parodies in books on FitzGerald's Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám.' In: *Persica*, 20 (2004-2005), p. 1-37.

The bibliography

As early as 1934, H.H. Schaeder suggested removing Omar Khayyám from the history of Persian poetry.¹ Even today, scholars remain sceptical as to Khayyám's status as a poet. An undertaking such as this bibliography is hazardous, as there seems to be no ground left to stand on. Any selection of quatrains may be attributed to Khayyám, or vice versa: no quatrain can, with absolute certainty, be attributed to him. As a consequence, a bibliography now seems impossible. Nevertheless, the selection presented in this book is justified, even if it is in hindsight, by the authority of translators, authors, editors and publishers, who present their work as being Khayyámian. The question of who really was (or were) responsible for the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, can probably never be answered.

This bibliography attempts to fill the gap, or at least parts of it, between 1929 and the present day, regarding *Rubáiyát* bibliography. It deals with editions and translations of Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát* in books. Publications in journals and magazines are not included, nor are general anthologies, or books or manuscripts of which only one copy is made, but you will find one or more exceptions to all of these rules. The heart of the material is formed by editions in what are generally considered the western languages, but some eastern, oriental and even African languages are included. Editions in Persian and other oriental languages are included when there is also text in one or more of the western languages. The time span is 1930-2008. In the process of gathering this material, many editions older than 1929 were found that were not listed in Potter's bibliography of 1929. These titles are indicated with a note 'Not in Potter', which is also a separate entry in the index. More than once it has proved impossible to identify a particular pre-1929 edition given in Potter, due to the imperfection of the index in Potter's book. Where there was doubt, the title in question has been listed in the present bibliography. An exception has been made here for the numerous editions by publishers such as Altemus, Hurst, Crowell, Barse & Hopkins and others. Many of these editions are obviously published before 1929, but they cannot all be found in Potter. These editions rarely state a year of publication, which makes it almost impossible to decide whether this is a new edition or simply a reprint in a different cover.

As previously mentioned, this work began as a bibliography of a private collection of editions of the *Rubáiyát*. These were recorded in a private bibliographic database. Over the years, bibliographic details were added regarding editions not in my possession. At a certain point, when the idea of a new bibliography began to take shape, a sound search strategy was felt necessary, to collect as much information as possible, in a more or less organized way. To this end, many online and printed bibliographic databases and

1 H.H. Schaeder. "Der geschichtliche und der mythische Omar Chajjam". In: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, (88) 1934, p. 25-28.

online national library and national catalogues were consulted. Additional information was provided by a number of other collectors and experts. Not every item in this collection has been examined in detail, which inevitably means that descriptions or data may be incomplete or incorrect.

The items in this bibliography are described by their bibliographical details, as these are available from physical copies or from library records or other sources. When available, the number of quatrains is given, except for the items in the FitzGerald chapter. Tables of contents and information from colophons are added as well. Additional information, when available, is presented regarding to size, number of pages, reprints, and the execution of the work. When a year of publication is not given, it is estimated [ca. 1910], or left blank [19??], or [198?]. Such editions are listed at the end of the section to which they belong. When information on a certain edition was found outside these sources, or when information was doubtful or obviously wrong, an authoritative control search was performed in WorldCat¹ to eliminate errors or mistakes so far as possible. Editions that were not available for detailed analysis, which contained an unspecified FitzGerald version, are listed in the section *Selections and Combined editions*, except in those cases where it was fair to assume a certain FitzGerald version.

Consistency in language, spelling and transcription has proven to be an awkward problem. Castellan is for many people an autonomous language whereas others would regard it as a variety of Spanish. The same problem occurs with regard to the languages of former Yugoslavia: some editions contain translations in Serbo-Croatian. Nowadays, Serbian and Croatian might be treated as separate languages. In most cases I have used the categories in the editions in question.

Transcription from 'foreign' languages may pose considerable trouble as well, but I have not tried very hard to be too consistent. Wherever possible I have followed analogue examples or transcriptions from sources that seem reliable, such as library records, though they do not always follow universal rules or standards. The reader is asked not to judge too harshly in this respect.

Compared to the task that confronted Potter and his predecessor, Herman Schroe-ter, the job of creating this survey may seem a lot easier. Potter had a small, though worldwide, network whereas we have an immense worldwide net at our disposal that includes search engines, online library catalogues and antique bookstores, archives of journals, magazines and newspapers, weblogs, newsgroups, e-mail and alerting services. All these tools provide access to an immense body of material on Khayyám and the *Rubáiyát*, that sometimes seems as unexplored as the earth's surface on the second day of creation.

1 WorldCat is the world's largest network of library content and services. Website: www.worldcat.org

THE DIGITAL AGE

I have asked myself whether an electronic or digital document might not have been a more appropriate medium for this bibliography. From some points of view the answer should be yes: think of aspects such as updating an online database, and interactivity and interconnectivity with other sources and applications. My final answer however is no: for the love of the book as it is and has been for ages, let it be a book.

Organization, keywords, index

Chapter 1 deals with FitzGerald's versions. Separate sections list the 'First edition', the 'Second edition', the 'Third edition' and the 'Fourth edition.' This fourth section also includes editions that are often referred to as the fifth edition. The last section in this chapter deals with 'Selections and combined editions,' that is, selections from FitzGerald's texts or editions that have two or more of the four FitzGerald versions. These sections are organized chronologically, with the most recent editions first.

Chapter 2 lists translations by others than FitzGerald, including editions that have FitzGerald's version(s) as well. These are organized in alphabetical order by language, then by the translator's or author's name, and then chronologically when one translator has more than one edition. When there are two languages in one volume, the edition is listed under the language that ranks highest in the alphabet. An edition with an English and an Arabic text, is listed under 'Arabic & English.'

Chapter 3 deals with Multilingual editions. These have more than two different texts, from different translators or in different languages.

The inclusion of the separate chapter on Miniature books (4) merely reflects a predilection of the compiler.

In chapter 5, Miscellaneous, we find objects such as calendars, playing cards or calligraphed items.

The chapter Study & Criticism (6) lists editions that explore, investigate or discuss various aspects of the text. Only those studies that include a complete or substantial translation have been listed.

Finally, the Interpretation chapter (7) lists editions that provide a translation, usually FitzGerald's, together with a version or adaptation that expresses the translator's views, beliefs, philosophies or ethics.

Many items could be regarded as specimens of private press editions or limited editions. From the collector's point of view, a separate chapter for this category could be justified, but I have abandoned this idea for practical reasons. It would lead to far too many arbitrary choices as there are no proper definitions of what a private press edition or a limited edition is. The chapter on Miniature editions was decided upon, as I said before, because of my personal preferences regarding these little books, and because a

miniature edition can clearly be defined as ‘measuring three inches in height or less,’ which leaves little room for discussion.

Keywords are added to item descriptions. They serve two main purposes: first to indicate categories such as ‘bilingual,’ ‘multilingual,’ ‘illustrated,’ or ‘decorated’ or specific languages. The second is to enable the construction of an index, though not all the keywords are used for this purpose. The index contains the names of translators, publishers, editors, authors of monographs, authors of introductions, and illustrators. Languages are indexed as well. The items in the first chapter are simply referred to in the author’s index as: FitzGerald, 1-294. ‘FitzGerald’ has also been entered into the index to enable the user to find editions that have FitzGerald versions, but which are located in the non-FitzGerald sections. ‘Not in Potter’ was judged useful since this label applies to a considerable number of editions. Where the names of translators occur in various spellings, they have been simplified in the index. For example: ‘Foulandvind’ has been transformed to ‘Fouladvand,’ as this is the form that occurs most frequently. Different names of publishing firms have also been simplified: Crowell & Co., Crowell & Company, Crowell Publishing etc. have all become: “Crowell”.

As many editions could be listed in more than one section, it was decided to classify them according to their main feature. A German translation together with FitzGerald’s text is considered to be a German edition. A miniature edition in Russian is considered to be a miniature book. The index will nevertheless help the user to find this Russian edition.

Unfortunately it has not always been possible to provide accurate data about editions, such as the number of copies printed in one edition. In some cases these numbers are available, for instance in private press editions, which often give a limitation statement. Besides, publisher’s information may sometimes be incorrect.¹ Statistics can be found in monographs or reference works on publishers or presses. But there is another peculiar phenomenon: there is probably no library that has all the reprints or reissues of the countless popular American editions published by Crowell, Hurst, Altemus, Barse & Hopkins, etc.² The only way to gather complete and correct information about the print number of an edition is by consulting publishers’ archives, when available.

Though there are some bibliographic sources on the *Rubáiyát*, an undertaking like Potter’s book was felt to be necessary. The result is this ‘treasury.’ I am aware that its coverage is far from complete, and that it never will or can be complete.

1 From the 1973 edition on, the Insel-Bücherei gives a number of copies in each reissue that is by 10,000 too high. Also the subsequent edition numbers are incorrect. From: *Die Insel-Bücherei. Bibliographie 1912-1999*. Bearb. und hrsg. von H. Kästner. Frankfurt aM; Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1999.

2 This observation was made in a personal e-mail communication with the compiler, by John Roger Paas, Carleton College (Northfield, MN), who has collected many of the reprints issued by these American publishers.