

● گزارش کنفرانس میراث عمرخيام / علی دهباشی

● بزرگداشت فردوسی در کانون زرتشتیان / سحر کریمی مهر

# گزارش کنفرانس میراث عمر خیام

علی دهباشی

(دانشگاه لیدن - دانشگاه کمبریج)

دوشنبه ۱۵ - شنبه ۱۹ تیرماه ۱۳۸۸

۳۱۷

به مناسبت یکصد و پنجاهمین سالروز ترجمه رباعیات خیام توسط ادوارد فیتزجرالد از سوی دانشگاه‌های لیدن در هلند و کمبریج در انگلستان کنفرانس چهارروزه‌ای در این دو دانشگاه برگزار شد. آنچه می‌خوانید گزارش کوتاهی از این کنفرانس در دانشگاه لیدن است.

مراسم صبح روز دوشنبه در دانشگاه لیدن با سخنرانی دکتر علی اصغر سید غراب آغاز شد. وی ضمن خوشامدگویی به مهمانان و سخنرانان که از کشورهای آمریکا، روسیه، فرانسه، هند، ایران و... آمده بودند چنین گفت: برای ایرانشناسان و خصوصاً دوستان و عاشقان عمر خیام سال ۱۸۵۹ مصادف است با اولین چاپ ترجمه ادوارد فیتزجرالد از رباعیات خیام. همچنین فیتزجرالد دقیقاً دوست سال پیش چشم به جهان گشود و ما در واقع جشن تولد فیتزجرالد و ترجمه رباعیات خیام را با هم در لیدن و کمبریج جشن می‌گیریم. همانطور که در برنامه این کنفرانس ملاحظه می‌کنید این کنفرانس را ما با همکاری بخش شرق‌شناسی دانشگاه کمبریج برگزار می‌کنیم و امیدواریم در سال‌های آینده هرچه بیشتر این همکاری‌ها را ادامه دهیم. ما در این چند روز سعی خواهیم کرد تا جایگاه ادبی، علمی و هنری عمر خیام را در فرهنگ‌های مختلف جهان شناسایی کنیم و از روز چهارشنبه تا جمعه هم در کمبریج توجه خود را به ادوارد فیتزجرالد معطوف خواهیم کرد و ترجمه آزاد فیتزجرالد از رباعیات خیام را

تجزیه و تحلیل خواهیم کرد.

دکتر علی اصغر سیدغراب در بخشی دیگر از سخنرانی خود گفت: «با شروع سال ۲۰۰۹ ما برنامه‌های مختلفی برای بزرگداشت عمرخیام در هلند برگزار کردیم. نخستین فعالیت فرهنگی در موزه کتاب شهر تاریخی لاهه برگزار شد. انجمن هلندی دوستداران خیام با همکاری موزه Meermannو که به موزه کتاب شهرت دارد، نمایشگاه کتابی تشکیل داد که از سوم ژانویه تا پنجم آوریل ادامه داشت و با استقبال فراوان ایرانیان و هلندی‌ها روبرو شد. فعالیت‌های فرهنگی - ادبی پیرامون جشن یکصد و پنجاهمین سالروز ترجمه ادوارد فیتزجرالد در هلند ادامه خواهد داشت. در پاییز هم نمایشگاه کتابی در کتابخانه مرکزی شهر Deventer تدارک دیده شده است. همچنین سالنامه انجمن هلندی عمرخیام به تازگی توسط یان کیزر در انتشارات اولن به چاپ رسید که بسیار نفیس و چشم‌نواز است. سخنرانی‌های کنفرانس بعد از صحبت‌های دکتر علی اصغر سیدغراب آغاز شد و در دو روز ادامه داشت که فهرست عناوین آنها را می‌خوانید:

دوشنبه ۱۵ تیر ۱۳۸۸

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دیک دیویس از دانشگاه دولتی اوهایو، درباره «ترجمه‌پذیری شعر خیام» سخن گفت؛ موضوع جلسه صبح با عنوان «پذیرش رباعیات خیام در هلند» آغاز شد و ریاست جلسه با کریستین فان رویمیکه از دانشگاه کمبریج بود.

دیگر سخنرانان: هانزدی براون از دانشگاه لیدن درباره «رباعیات فارسی در هلند» و مارکو خود از دانشگاه آمستردام با موضوع «تأثیرات خیام بر ادبیات معاصر هلند»، یوس بیخستر اتن رئیس هلندی انجمن عمرخیام درباره «چگونه عمرخیام بر هنرمندان تجسمی هلند اثر گذاشته است»، دیک فان لیما از دانشگاه آزاد آمستردام درباره «واقعیت تلخ: عمرخیام از دیدگاه جی. اچ. لثیولد».

نشست بعد از ظهر با موضوع «پذیرش عمرخیام در ایران و روسیه» آغاز شد. ریاست جلسه را پروفیسور چارلز ملویل به عهده داشت.

مهدی امین رضوی از دانشگاه ماری واشنگتن: قرائت رباعیات خیام به عنوان ادبیات مقاومت؛ علی دهباشی از مجله بخارا: مطالعات خیام پژوهی در ایران: یک بررسی سنجشی؛ الکساندر اچ مورتن از دانشگاه لندن: چند رباعی خیام از زمانه خیام؛ ناتالیا چالی سوا از دانشگاه مسکو: عمرخیام به عنوان یک شاعر.

نشست دیگر کنفرانس با موضوع «خیام و موسیقی» بود که ریاست جلسه با سونیل

شماره از دانشگاه بوستون بود.

سخنران اول، روکوس دی فروت از دانشگاه آمستردام: میراث موسیقایی خیام در هلند، گابریل فان دن برخ از دانشگاه لیدن: عمرخیام و ماجرای رباعیات در آسیای مرکزی، امیرحسین پورجوادی از دانشگاه تهران: سهم خیام در نظریه‌های موسیقی.

روز دوم - سه شنبه ۱۶ قیصر ۱۳۸۸

موضوع اولین نشست روز دوم «خیام: فیلسوف، شاعر و دانشمند» بود. ریاست جلسه با گابریل فان دن برخ از دانشگاه لیدن.

سخنران اول، یان هوخن دایک از دانشگاه اوترخت: خیام و مکتب هندسی اصفهان، محمد باقری از دانشگاه تهران: بین میخانه و مدرسه: عمرخیام دانشمند، فرانسیوس دی بلو: عمرخیامی ریاضی دان، و تولد دیگر به نام عمرخیام شاعر.

نشست بعد روز دوم کنفرانس با عنوان «خیام شاعر» برگزار شد. ریاست جلسه با علی اصغر سیدغراب از دانشگاه لیدن بود.

سونیل شمارا از دانشگاه بوستون: تولد یک شاعر: عمرخیام در تذکرها و جنگ‌ها و چارلز ملویل از دانشگاه کمبریج.

نشست بعد از ظهر روز دوم با موضوع «خیام در سنت‌های ادبی عربی، فارسی و ترکی» بود.

سخنران اول، سیتسکه سوت مان، پژوهشگر مستقل بود با عنوان: رباعیات عمرخیام در ترکیه و رباعیات ترکی، یان یوست ویتکام از دانشگاه لیدن: احمد رامی و ترجمه عربی اش از رباعیات خیام؛ اسد جابر از دالینشگاه لیدن: همچون آب آدم و همچون باد می‌روم؛ علی اصغر سید غراب از دانشگاه لیدن: چون مردم مرا در شراب بشوید: اخلاق در رباعیات خیام و اثرات اجتماعی آن.

و مراسم اختتامیه با طرح نکات پایانی و نتیجه‌گیری مباحث از سوی کریستین فان رویمیکه و علی اصغر سید غراب در ساعت پنج بعد از ظهر خاتمه یافت.

بنده نیز در سخنرانی که با عنوان: «مطالعات خیام‌پژوهی در ایران: یک بررسی سنجشی» ارائه کردم به تاریخچه خیام‌پژوهی از اشارات صاحب چهار مقاله تا دوران معاصر. از جمله اشاره کردم که بررسی‌های انتقادی چاپ رباعیات خیام از سال ۱۸۹۷ آغاز شد و این کار با مقاله عالمانه زوکوفسکی شکل گرفت. و بعد به قدیمی‌ترین نسخه و چاپی رباعیات خیام در ایران اشاره کردم. در زمینه خیام‌پژوهی در دوران معاصر از

صادق هدایت و بررسی او از رباعیات خیام که در سال ۱۳۰۳ با عنوان «مقدمه‌ای بر رباعیات خیام» منتشر شد آغاز کردم. در واقع با رساله صادق هدایت بود که روشنفکری آن دوران به لایه‌های تودرتوی اندیشه‌های خیام جلب شد. ده سال بعد صادق هدایت ضمن بسط مقدمه خود، گزینشی از رباعیات خیام را همراه کرد که با عنوان ترانه‌های خیام منتشر شد. هدایت این نظریه را که خیام در دوران زندگیش چندین بار در عقاید خود تجدیدنظر کرده را رد می‌کند و می‌نویسد: «من از روی رباعیات خیام نشان خواهم داد که فکر و مسلک او تقریباً همیشه یک‌جور بوده و از جوانی تا پیری، شاعر پیرو یک فلسفه معین و مشخص بوده و در افکار او کمترین تزلزلی رخ نداده و کمترین ندامت و پشیمانی یا توبه از خاطرش نگذشته است.»

سپس به چاپ بسیار مهم رباعیات خیام که توسط محمد علی فروغی در سال ۱۳۲۱ از سوی وزارت فرهنگ ارائه شد اشاره کردم.

در حوزه خیام‌پژوهی یادی از جلال‌الدین همایی و کتاب‌های طریخانه، خیامی نامه شد. مقالات کتاب‌های دکتر قاسم غنی، بدیع‌الزمان فروزانفر، محمد قزوینی، مجتبی مینوی، سعید نفیسی، علی دشتی، محمد محیط طباطبایی، علیرضا ذکاوتی قراگزلو، جعفر آقایی چاووشی، غلامحسین مصاحب، داریوش شایگان، رحیم رضازاده ملک و علی میرافضلی را بررسی و معرفی کردم. سپس درباره آخرین مقاله‌ای که به قلم داریوش شایگان درباره خیام منتشر شده و از نگاه متفاوت و جدید نویسنده به عصر خیام و اندیشه‌های او گفتم.

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منتشر شد :

## سیاست و فرهنگ روزگار صفوی

جلد ۲

رسول جعفریان

نشر علم - تهران - خیابان انقلاب - بین خیابان فخر رازی و دانشگاه - شماره ۱۲۲۴

تلفن ۶۶۴۶۵۹۷۰

**Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Leiden University)**

**'Wash me in wine when I go': The Ethics of Khayyam's Quatrains and their Social Implications'**

Khayyam's reception in contemporary Iran is different from the appreciation of other classical Persian poets such as Sa'di, Rumi, Hafez and even Ferdowsi, who is connected with modern nationalism and Iranian identity. Out of several aspects that make Khayyam a controversial character, I will address in this paper two facets: firstly Khayyam's religion and how he viewed life and afterlife, and secondly, his ideas about wine. In many Persian articles that are written on Khayyam and in several introductions to his quatrains, we see that one of the main goals of authors is to justify Khayyam's religion and to mitigate his message about drinking wine.

**Jos Coumans (Independent Scholar)**

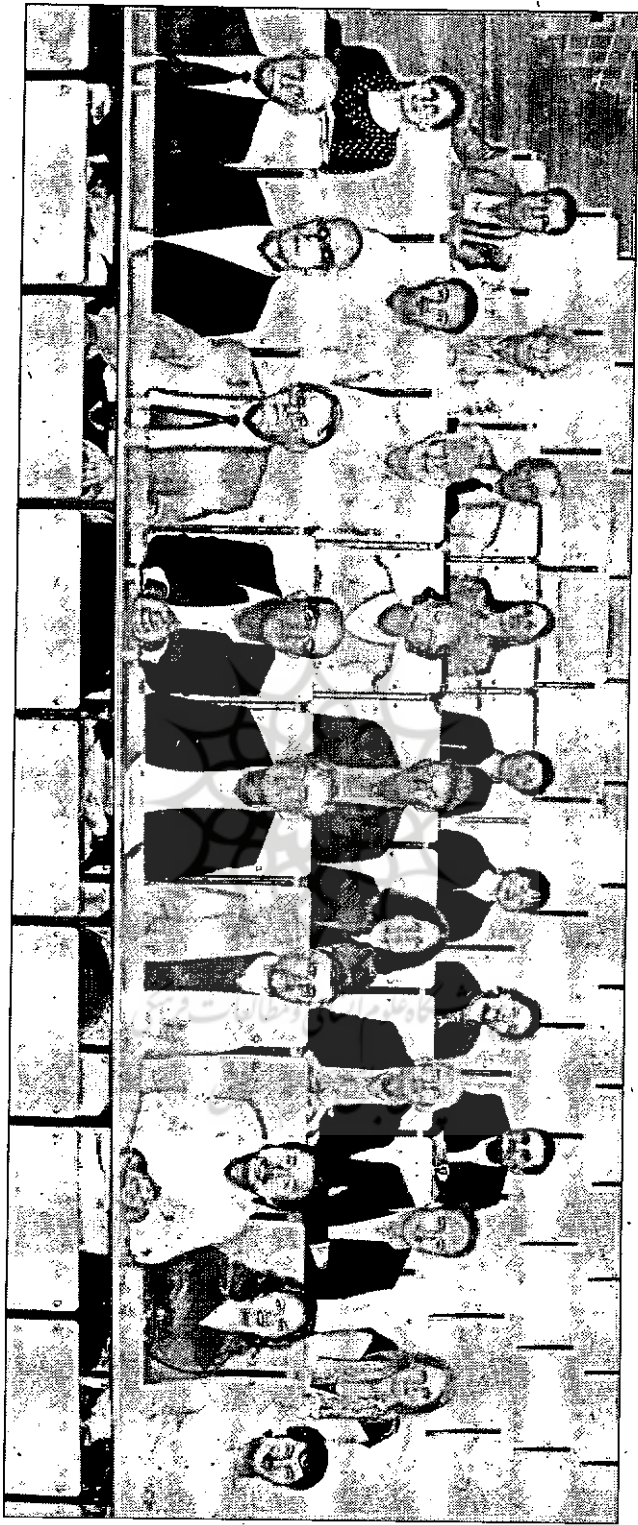
**'An Omar Khayyám database'**

There still is a vivid and serious interest in Omar Khayyám. New editions and translations are published every year, as well as academic studies. Google retrieves 1,370,000 hits, serious study is made of parodies on the Rubáiyát, and the response of the Rubáiyát in arts, literature and consumerism.

This growing Omar Khayyám related corpus is varied: it consists of manuscripts, editions and translations; academic and scholarly studies; parodies; manifestations in arts, musical and drama; general interest material (newspaper articles, websites, weblogs); commercial products.

Information on the elements in this corpus is as widely spread as the elements themselves, and the scholar or the hobbyist faces problems concerning retrieval issues, language and transcription, availability and accessibility.

Attempts have been made to collate this material but these are only partial or out of date: Potter, Halbach, Ghani etc., and all are serving different purposes. More or less reliable sources are WorldCat, (national) library catalogues, bibliographic databases but there is no general, comprehensive and authoritative 'instrument' to make life easier for the researcher, the bibliographer, the collector or the hobbyist. In this paper some thoughts and ideas are presented to initiate the development of what might be called an Omar Khayyám database.



عکس دسته جمعی سخنرانان در بنامه کنفرانس عمر خیام

lasting fame rests on the numerous lyrics he wrote for both Umm Kulthum (c. 1904-1975) and Muhammad Abd al-Wahhab (1907-1991), the two great names of Egypt's musical history. Apart from the repertoire that Rami especially wrote for Umm Kulthum, she also sung selections of Rami's translation of Khayyam's Quatrains. Umm Kulthum's performance has brought the Quatrains to the attention of an audience of many millions in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. A few of these quatrains as sung by Umm Kulthum will be listened at, and remarks about her way of presentation will be made.

**Asad Jaber (Leiden university)A. Rangarajan (Independent scholar)**

'Attempts at embedding Rubáiyát into Indian Philosophic thought'  
That the Rubáiyát lends itself to mystical and philosophic interpretations is a well acknowledged fact. Various Islamic Sufi schools of thought are readily associated in this connection.

What is perhaps less known is that there have been serious attempts to interpret the quatrains in the context of Indian philosophic traditions. While these Indian philosophic traditions are themselves a complex bundle of complicated strands and with Rubáiyát presenting a breadth of variation in meaning and allegory, this correlation poses certain challenges. Nevertheless there have been three or four well known attempts and this paper will look at how certain key concepts of Indian Philosophic thought have been interpreted to be echoing in the quatrains. This paper talks of an Indian Philosophic thought and not a Hindu Philosophic thought because the canvas is wider here. It will include the so called heretic religions in Indian tradition like Buddhism, Jainism and Ajivika thought. The last, least known, but is singularly interesting in this context with its tenets of determinism and destiny finding parallels in the quatrains. Philosophic interpretations of Ajivika thought encompass an intriguing variation on this question of pre-destiny from being a victim to being in the sanctuary of a universal order. This could possibly endow another facet to Rubáiyát's rich mysticism.

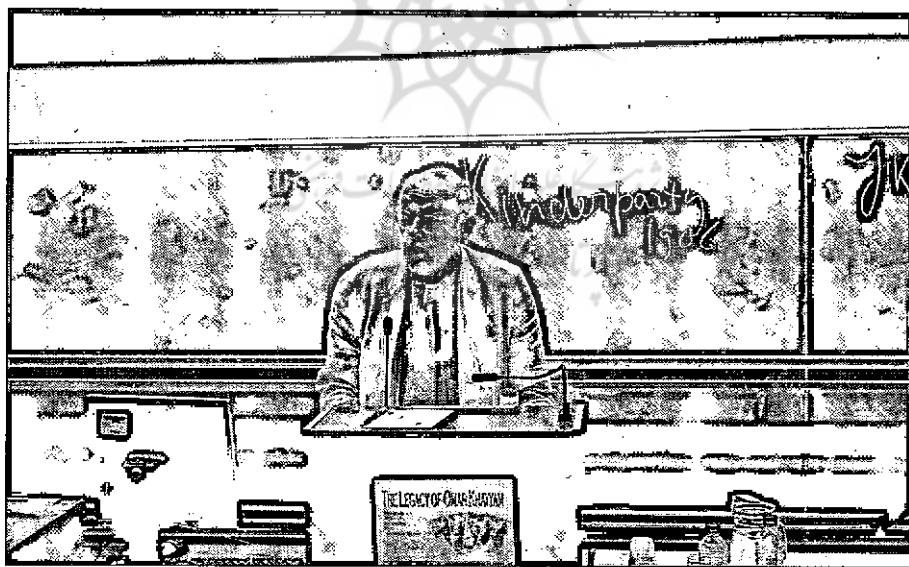
In this paper we will also look at references to one of the works cited in the earlier paragraph that details the clear influences on certain Omerian quatrains of two famous Sanskrit works. The epigrams of Hitopadesa (a re-rendering of Panchatantra) and Bhartihari. The latter being a work that results from the tensions of being torn between a hedonistic life and the calling of asceticism making it a great work of philosophic depth and beauty.





● یان هوفن دایک از دانشگاه اوتریخت

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● یان بوست وینکام

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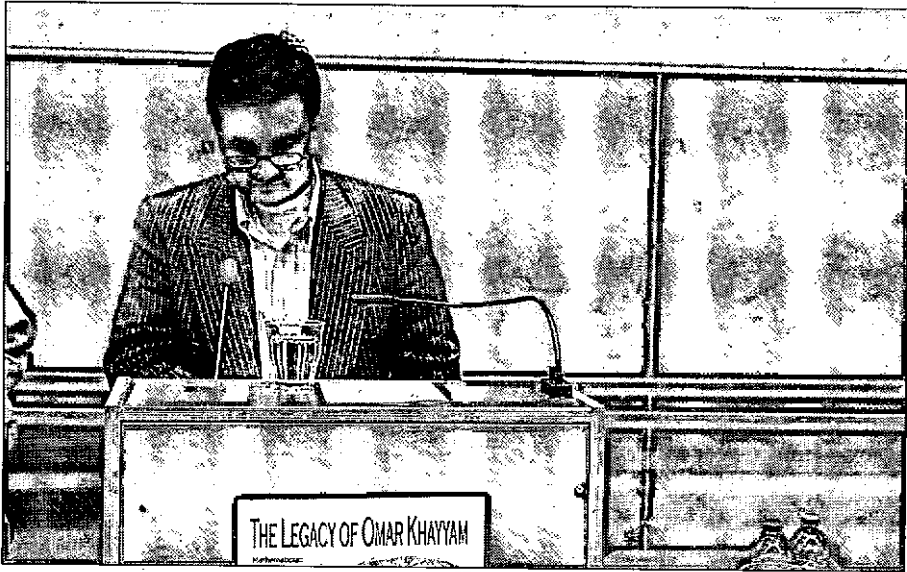
The Turkish specimen of the quatrain, *tuyuğ*, was in fact very rare. Only on the brink of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, i.e. towards the end of the Ottoman State, there appeared a young poet, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958), who, inspired by the French poets with whom he became acquainted during his ten years' sojourn in Paris, considered his literary heritage of such importance that he started his career by seriously studying every genre of his predecessors before creating his own. Kemal tried to master the art of classical Ottoman poetry by imitating it and he went even further by composing that type of poem in the required formats himself, as he also did with the quatrains of Khayyam. So besides his new poetry he produced two special collections on 'the old poetry', namely *Eski Şiirin Rüzgâriyle* [With the Wind of the Old Poetry] and *Rubailer ve Hayyam Rubailerini Türkçe Söyleyiş* [Quatrains and the Quatrains by Khayyam in Turkish]. Although his own poetry represents a turning point in Turkish poetry, Kemal, not being an avant-gardist, did not want a break with the past, he on the contrary sought for continuation. In this way he became the first modern Turkish poet and one of the most foremost poets, not only of his time or during a specific period, but even until nowadays.

In this presentation however, I will take a closer look at the quatrains of Khayyam as they were translated and recreated in Turkish by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, the only noted example in Turkish poetry.

Jan Just Witkam (Leiden University)

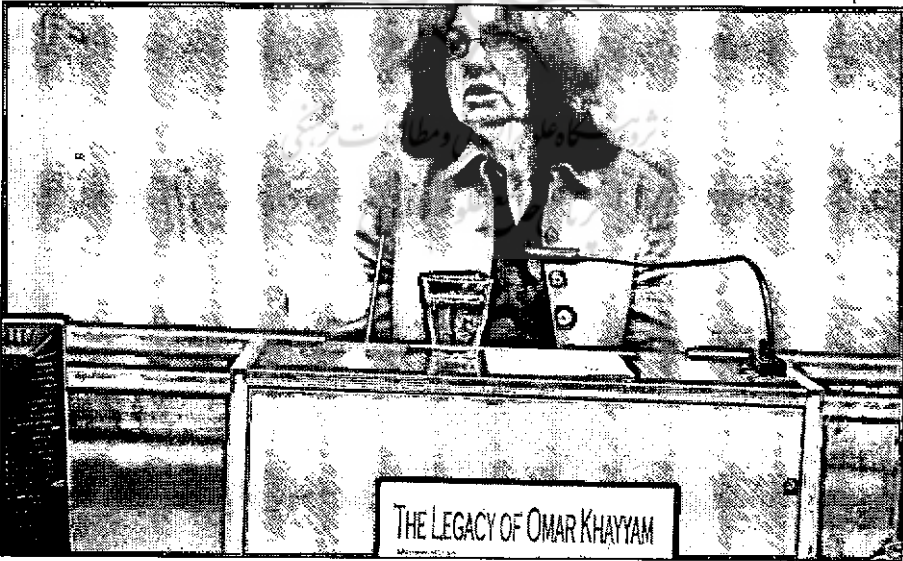
Ahmad Rami's Arabic translation of the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam.

Omar Khayyam's popularity did not only spread to the Western World after he had been discovered by Edward FitzGerald in 1859. In Iran itself Khayyam the poet became as popular as Hafiz and Sa'di had been there all the time, only after he had become famous in England and the US. The Arab Middle East also saw the publication of a number of translations of the Quatrains once he had been recognized as a great poet. One of these translations was made in the late 1920's by the Egyptian poet Ahmad Muhammad Rami (1892-1981). Rami came from a literary and musical family, his brother Mahmud was a composer. Ahmad was active in several fields. He translated plays by Shakespeare into Arabic, but his



• رنگ آرین، محقق هندی

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• نیشکه سوت مان، محقق مستقل

of ideas. The valuable papers by Mohammad Qazvini, Badiozzaman Foroozanfar, Qassem Ghani, Mohammad Ali Foroughi, Mojtaba Minovi, and the like have been focusing more on the discovery of the poetry genuinely composed by Khayyam.

Another segment of this body of research has been depicting the socio-political circumstances of the period in which Khayyam lived. Nonetheless, what is of paramount importance and is still at an embryonic stage is a debate on the structure, the hermeneutics, and the problematique of Khayyam's intellectual cosmos. There are but a handful of such critical studies made on Khayyam which go no further than short articles. It seems, thus, that the grand work on Khayyam is yet to commence ...

**Sunil Sharma (Boston University)**

'The Birth of a Poet: 'Umar Khayyam in Biographical Dictionaries and Anthologies'

The eleventh century mathematician and astronomer 'Umar Khayyam was discovered and made famous in the west as a poet by Orientalists such as Edward Fitzgerald and others in the nineteenth century. Before this phenomenon, Khayyam's quatrains was already being read and quoted, and he had attained a high degree of popularity in the Persianate world beginning in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, there is no mention of him in the earliest Persian biographical dictionaries (*tazkirahs*) of poets and he only makes a gradual appearance on the Persian literary horizon. This paper traces the emergence of Khayyam as a poet through a study of accounts of his life in Persian biographical dictionaries and literary anthologies, especially those from the Indo-Persian tradition. These works pre-date European interest in the poet and were perhaps influential in the discovery of him in the Victorian age. On a general level, the evidence from these sources enables us to discuss issues of readership and canonization of Persian poets and texts in the early modern period.

**Sytske Sötemann (Independent scholar)**

'Quatrains of Omar Khayyam in Turkish and Turkish quatrains'

Although Ottoman poets were from the very beginning deeply influenced by Persian poetry, they never tried their creativity on the quatrain in particular. They preferred the *kaside* and the *gazel*.



• دیک ون هالسا از دانشگاه لندن

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• علی دهباشی سردبیر بخارا

consists of an introductory passage consisting of the sayings of the wise men of the past followed by an anecdote. The anecdotes, so far as they are historical, come from the Ancient Greek world, pre-Islamic Iran and the early centuries of Islamic period, with an emphasis on the first century of the Abbasid Caliphate. A few are concerned with the history of Khurasan and the Ghaznavids.

What makes Shadani's work of importance for the study of early Persian poetry is that several hundred lines of verse are quoted in it, forming, as it were, an anthology, one originating earlier than almost all our sources for the early poets. In only two cases are the poets named: two lines attributed to 'Asjadi are known from elsewhere but a poem said to be by 'Unsuri does not appear in his divan. Many of the quotations in *mutaqarib* metre are taken from the *Shahnama*. Some other poets' work has been identified: Labibi, Azraqi, possibly Rudaki. Of complete *ruba'iyat* there are nearly ninety. Four of these are found in the fifteenth century manuscripts which provide the basis of the Omarian corpus, and seem to be at present to be the only such ones recorded from Omar's lifetime. They provide the opportunity to consider questions of textual variation and attribution. Other fine *ruba'is*, not traced elsewhere, show the skeptical, pessimistic attitude associated with the name of Omar.

#### Ali Dehbashi (Bukhara Journal)

"Khayyam Studies in Iran: An Evaluative Survey"

Despite the fact that Khayyam Studies has trodden along a long path, we are still at the outset of the journey. And Khayyam Studies in non-Persian-speaking societies is itself a separate story. In this presentation, the history and contents of Khayyam Studies in Iran and in the Persian language are evaluated.

According to extant lists, 1,200 Persian editions of Khayyam's Quatrains, corrected by Iranian scholars, have been published to date: What is more, 165 volumes on the poetry and ideas of Khayyam from various standpoints as well as 519 articles in the field of Khayyam Studies are available in Persian.

A significant part of this body of research is based on manuscript studies and academic scholarship. However, a limited number of these works have entered into a criticism of Khayyam's inner world



● محمد باقری، مدیر مجله علم از دانشگاه تهران

۳۳.



● الکساندر اچ مورتن از دانشگاه کمبریج

Thus it is likely that Khayyam was a designer of (very complicated) tiling patterns, and that (at least) one of them survives in the North Cupola of the Friday Mosque.

**Mohammad Bagheri (University of Tehran)**

'Between Tavern and *Madrasa*: Umar Khayyam the Scientist'  
Umar Khayyam, the famous composer of philosophical quatrains (*ruba'iyat*) was also a great scientist. He may be regarded as a manifestation of the structural similarity between poetry and mathematics. His brilliant classification of the cubic equations reflects his highly ordered mind. His commentary on Euclid's *Elements* shows his fine deliberation on the philosophical aspects of mathematical thought. In this paper, I start with the links between Khayyam's poetic and scientific characteristics. Then I will provide an account of his scientific achievements.

**Francois de Blois (SOAS)**

'The mathematician Omar al-Khayyami and his rebirth as the (fictitious) poet Omar Khayyam'

۳۳۱  
The astronomer Abu l-Hafs Umar b. Ibrahim al-Khayyami (in Persian also called Umar-i Khayyam) is a well-established historical personality, the author of a famous treatise on algebra and the composer of a couple of decidedly mediocre poems in Arabic. But did he also write poetry in Persian? The contemporary and near-contemporary biographical sources are silent on the matter and it only a good while after his demise that the famous antireligious quatrains begin to be attached to his name. My contribution will suggest an itinerary by which the scholar was reborn as an atheistic poet.

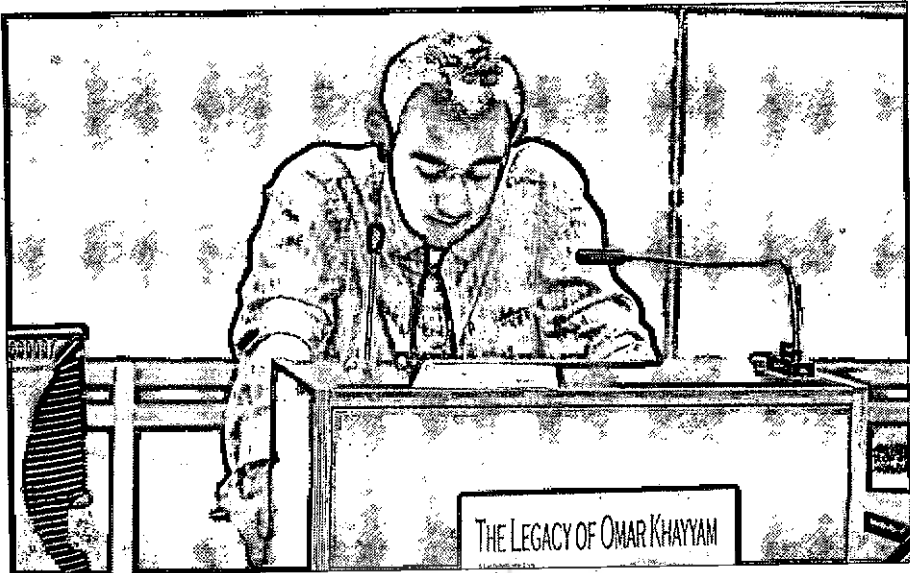
**Alexander H. Morton (University of London)**

'Some Omerian quatrains from the lifetime of Omar Khayyam'

The quatrains discussed in this talk come from a source that appears to have been overlooked. A large book, it has reached us in mutilated form, lacking the introduction and the first of twelve chapters.

Its author is Abu 'l-Qasim Nasr b. Ahmad b. 'Amr al-Shadani al-Nishapuri who was writing in the reign of the Ghaznavid Mas'ud III (492-508/1099-1115). In 503/1109-10 was at Ghazna in attendance on a patron who had access to the court. His book comes under the general heading of ethics or *andarz*. Its chapters are divided in sections, thirty in most cases. The usual pattern of the section





● امیرحسین پورجوادی از دانشگاه تهران

۳۳۲



● گابریل فان دن برخ از دانشگاه لیدن

**Gabrielle van den Berg (Leiden University)**

'Omar Khayyam and the Performance of Quatrains in Central Asia'

In the area of southern Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan the quatrain is a favorite form of poetry to be sung a capella or to be sung accompanied by music. In this paper the nature and the background of the vast corpus of quatrains sung in this area will be examined. I will focus on the function and position of the quatrains in different performance contexts, in particular in the genre of falak, a genre connected to 'Khayyamian' quatrains.

**Amir Hosein Pourjavady (University of Tehran)**

'Omar Khayyam on the Science of Music'

Known for his quatrains that have been translated into many languages, Omar Khayyam was also a polymath excelling in the subjects of quadrivium including arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the science of music. The only extant musical text attributed to him is a short tract on the description of tetrachords. In accordance with the Greek music theory, Khayyam classified tetrachords in three genera of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic. This paper first provides a general account of Khayyam's contribution to the science of music and discusses his sources, while at the same time seeks to find his place in the context of his immediate generations of music theorists.

Day Two: Tuesday 7 July 2009

**Jan P. Hogendijk (University of Utrecht)**

'Khayyam and Isfahani Geometrical Art?'

We will begin this detective story with a report about a certain triangle which Khayyam discussed in his shorter treatise on Algebra (published by Mossaheb in 1960). At first, the triangle may seem unexciting, but it is 'difficult' in the sense that it cannot be constructed by the methods of classical Greek geometry. In 1995, Alpay Ozdural discovered the same triangle in a tiling pattern in a Persian manuscript in Paris. The manuscript includes other patterns of the same difficulty. In 2004, I found one of these other patterns in the North Cupola of the Friday Mosque in Isfahan.

This cupola was built in 1088 by Taj al-Mulk, one of the counselors of Sultan Malek-Shah. Around that time, Khayyam was in Isfahan, and he was one of the very few people in the Islamic world who mastered the mathematics necessary for designing such patterns.

Alas, that spring should vanish with the rose!  
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close!(72)

FitzGerald combines this concept of linear temporality with an emphasis on the physical existence of individual life. The consciousness of the finality of this life and its apparent lack of sense and significance, often seems to bring his *Rubaiyât* into a key of *carpe diem*, but also of despair and fatalism. As an antidote, he recommends drunkenness from wine:

Another and another cup to drown  
The memory of this impertinence!(30)

Nowhere does FitzGerald explicitly develop a metaphorical meaning of wine and drunkenness, such as we may find in Rûmî's quatrains:

*Masteem, nah mast-e bâdeye angooreem,*  
Drunk we are, but not drunk from the wine of grapes.  
(Furuzanfar (1963), 1322)

۲۲۲

A wide array of interpretations about FitzGerald's *Rubaiyât* has been published. Some point to their basic spiritual meaning, hidden though it may be at first sight. An example is the interpretation by Paramahansa Yogananda. Others read his poetry in the first place as a summons to enjoy life or as a testimony of fatalism.

In my presentation I will explore how Dutch and other European composers responded to FitzGerald's *Rubaiyât*. Which perspectives and meanings do they emphasise in their musical settings and how? To what extent does linear temporality play a role? Which meanings prevail? Are those meanings brought into any form of polarity, related to musical structures and processes? How can their musical settings be positioned between spirituality and secularity? Are there traces of musical orientalism in dealing with these perspectives and meanings?

1. Translation history. Starting from the first attempts in the end of the 19th century up to the present moment around 80 Russian poets and scholars produced translations and renderings of the Rubaiyat. Modes of translation (verse or lineated prose) and strategies applied (versified rendering of the Fitzgerald's Rubaiyat, prose and versified translation from the Persian original, poetical rendering with the aid of the word by word translation) are briefly reviewed. Some attention is given to the "quantity problem," as a "full Rubaiyat" differs greatly in various editions (from 400-500 up to 1306 poems).

2. A Khayyam forgery proves a complete appropriation. In 2000 a "Literary sensation" was published in Moscow. The author (D. Serebryakov) "claimed Omar Khayyam for the nation," placed his native town in Tataria, in the South of Ancient Russia and presented 143 poems in lineated prose translation from a "newly found manuscript." Serebryakov's work is under discussion as a case of literary forgery which normally involves the work of a famous poet whose writings have an established national value.

3. The poetry of Khayyam is concordant with the Russian poetic tradition. It is argued that the form and leading motifs of the Rubaiyat have been perceived as thoroughly familiar; Russian poetry knows both folk and classic forms of quatrain and is suffused with the topoi of "transient enjoyments of life" and "healing power of wine"; besides "to cure grief with wine" is a strongly rooted and well-known national habit.

### **Rokus de Groot (University of Amsterdam)**

'Omar Khayyam's Musical Legacy in the Netherlands'

With his rendition of *rubâ'iyât* by Omar Khayyâm, Edward FitzGerald created a composition in its own right. As a 19<sup>th</sup>-century British poet, he was fascinated by the concept of linear time, which was developed in his age in terms of both evolution and decay. We can hear this, especially the latter perspective, in FitzGerald's ordering of *rubâ'iyât* along the lines of the seasons of the year and of human life.

Come, fill the cup, and in the fire of spring  
The winter garment of repentance fling:(7)



● ایرته ماسن، خواننده سوپرانو

۳۳۶



● ماریولن فان از دانشگاه لیدن

The main question is what "original" was used for producing the ocean of Khayyam's poetry in Russian: some of the ruba'is have up to twenty variants of translation. Obviously, most of them were made by poets (both professional and amateur) from literal translations, whose authors are often unknown. Most of them were using the two-volume edition in the famous Black series, a Russian analogue of the British Gibb series: PPV (Written Monuments of the East). The unquestionable prestige of the series did not allow one to suspect any traps for the users, who might not have realized, for example, that the facsimile of A.J. Arberry's discovery and published by E. Bertels and R. Aliev was fake.

So the Russian Khayyam is also not purely original, but at least the Russian ruba'is are translations from Persian, not the slavish translations or emulations of Fitzgerald's emulations, though one can still find Fitzgerald's translations rendered into Russian.

The next level of the Russian perception of Khayyamic ideas is reflected in the illustration programme of the so-called "artistic" editions of Khayyam. Such editions can be divided into two main groups: the first published in Russian Central Asia, mainly in Tajikistan. They would normally have a Tajik version in Cyrillics, some even during the Soviet times would also have its version in Persian (Arabo-graphic) script. Such books would have illustrations imitating the modern Iranian kitsch style. Secondly, a completely different approach has been undertaken by many new successful Russian publishing houses that appeared after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The level of taste in such obviously commercial productions varies, but the erotic element is predominant. One of the best examples of such publications is the reproduction of the illustrations by Pavel Bunin (b. 1927). His drawings are used to illustrate Khayyam's many latest Moscow editions.

Thus while the Russian Khayyam at the text level has the tendency to merge all known versions into one, the illustrations represent two distinctly different heads of the Russian crown: one looking towards the East, and another – in the opposite direction.

### **Natalia Chalisova (Russian State University)**

'Omar Khayyam as a Russian poet: a story of translation and appropriation' Khayyam is a uniquely readable poet in Russia, the editions of his Rubaiyat are multifarious and easy to find at every corner, from large bookstores to tiny book-stalls. My presentation aims to trace the ways of the Rubaiyat appropriation in order to unveil at least partially the secret of Khayyam's striking popularity in Russia.



● مارک خود از دانشگاه آمستردام



● کریستین فان زویمپیک از دانشگاه کمبریج

Realizing the futility of the theological debates however, such as those among Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites, Khayyam offered his criticism poetically. The *Ruba'iyat*, I would like to conclude, should be regarded as an intellectual response to the theological debates of Khayyam's time. By questioning the underlying epistemological certainty of the theologians, he argued for the futility of such debates. As the following quatrain suggests:

I saw a wise man who did not heed  
For caste or creed, for faith or worldly greed;  
And free from truth and quest, from path  
and goal,  
He sat at ease, from earth and heaven freed.

### **Firuzā Abdullaeva (University of Oxford)**

'The Russian perception of Khayyam: from text to image'

Khayyam came to Russia from two sides: from the West and from the East, not like for the rest of the world: from England first and then from the East. The sequence of events is natural: Khayyam as a poet in Europe was more or less invented by the poetic charisma of Fitzgerald, which coincided ideally with the romanticism of Victorian Orientalism in its first full bloom.

Khayyam's poetry had been already known in Russia before the time when it arrived from Europe, speaking in Fitzgerald's English, or sometimes German or French. To merge two Khayyams – the Persian and the European – into one was a difficult task. The result was that the European Khayyam faded almost from the very beginning, superseded by the "real" one in many translations from the "original" Persian.

By the end of the Soviet era in Moscow and Leningrad (now SPb) collectors of Khayyam's translations appeared: they were both professional editors, poets and amateurs, like A. Shahverdov and R. Malkovich. Some of the amateurs fulfilled the task unachieved by professional Orientalists: they published all translations known to them of particular poems with their Persian "original". Some collections would also include the Russian translations of Fitzgerald's "original Persian", some of them would have also the English "original" – theoretically an unachievable attempt to merge the two Khayyams. Such collections of translations give a fantastic retrospective of the evolution of the perception of Khayyamic ideology in Russia from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until nowadays.

The shelves with poetry in any bookshop of a big or small city in Russia will have at least a couple of different editions of Khayyam, together with their own Classics like Pushkin or Gumilev, and the boom does not seem to stop: every half a year at least one or two new editions appear.



Between 1900 and 1906 Leopold did not publish any poetry. He now focuses on philosophy, where he seeks to solve the problem of human loneliness. Being a prominent scholar of Stoa and Epicurus he follows up the traces of those old Greek doctrines in modern western thought. This leads him to philosophers such as Spinoza, Descartes, Hume and Kant. After he has resumed writing poetry, Hume's skepticism appears to have gotten the better hand. The idea of an absolute coherence which we can be part of is an illusion. Such a coherence is no more than an "orderly phantasmagoria."

At the end of his "philosophical" period (1904-1905) Leopold has found Omar. In 1905, Omar's poetry and his view of life offer Leopold exactly what he is looking for after having returned from philosophy disillusioned. In Omar Leopold recognized the ultimate uncompromised acceptance of the meaninglessness of human existence. The only certainty given to man is the momentary glimpse. Its result is no less than the justification of art, an art without symbolic pretensions.

Thus Omar brings Leopold's conclusions of his tour through philosophy back to poetry. The adaptations Leopold is later to make of Omar's quatrains, and of other "Oriental" poets as well, must be viewed in this light, "oriental" being for Leopold the ability to seek the utmost limits of thought without any illusion. He sets it against the "western" way of thinking, which, opportunistically, tries "to escape the irrefutable," if such would lead to a clash with the current (i.e. religious) views.

**Mehdi Aminrazavi (University of Mary Washington)**

'Reading the *Ruba'iyat* as "Resistance Literature"'

I propose to argue that Khayyam's *Ruba'iyat* are not merely the existential bemoaning of a poet, as traditionally understood by many, but are an intellectual response to the rise of theological orthodoxy in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> CE. With the demise of rationalism, such venerated philosophers as Fārābī, Avicenna, Rāzī and Bīrūnī, became symbols of heresy. The circle of the impermissible sciences included logic, geometry, astronomy and even medicine.

It is my argument that Khayyam, and perhaps other poets who followed Khayyam's path later, reacted to the closing of the Muslim mind by using the poetic license to criticize Islamic orthodoxy. Khayyam was engaged in the intellectual trends of his time as any scholar of Khayyam's caliber would have been.

**Marco Goud (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)**

**'Khayyam's impact on modern Dutch literature'**

In my lecture I will give a short overview of the reception of Khayyam's quatrains in modern Dutch literature (20th century).

The first Dutch translator of Khayyam was Chris van Balen (1910), followed by poets like J.H. Leopold (1911), P.C. Boutens (1913) and Willem de Mérode (1931) and many others. New translations of Khayyam's work are published even today. Moreover, his name and quatrains turn up in contemporary novels by Jan Wolkers and Kader Abdolah. After a short account of the reception in general, I will focus on the translations by P.C. Boutens, his fascination for Khayyam and Persian poetry.

**Jos Biegstraaten (Chairman of Dutch Omar Khayyam Society)**

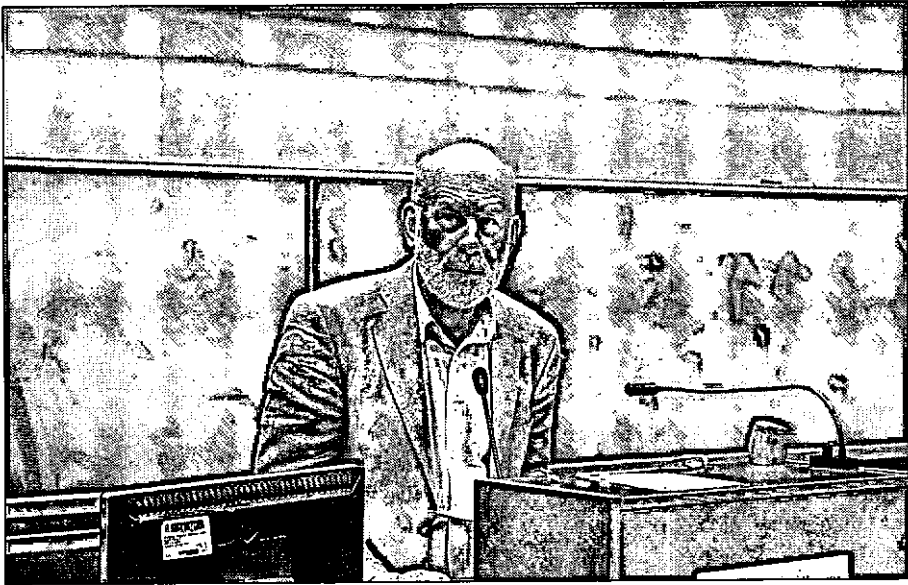
**'How Omar inspired Dutch Visual Artists'**

In his contribution Jos Biegstraaten, chairman of the Dutch Omar Khayyam Society, will show illustrations and pictures by four Dutch visual artists who were inspired in one way or another by quatrains ascribed to Omar Khayyam. The contributor will discuss images made by the artists Willem Arondéus (1894-1943), Ger Gerrits (1893-1965), Siep van den Berg (1920-1998) and Theo Forrer (1923-2004). There are vast differences between their creations, of which some are almost or fully unknown to the general public. Is there an explanation for the fact that apparently the same source of inspiration could lead to such completely different interpretations? Does it have to do with the nature of the poems? What do the various images tell about the artists themselves? And to what extent are they representative for the time in which they were created? To issues like these the contributor will give his personal view.

**Dick van Halsema (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam)**

**'Bitter Certainty: J.H. Leopold on Omar Khayyam'**

The poet Jan Hendrik Leopold (1865-1925) holds a prominent position in the canon of Dutch literature. His poetry can be situated between symbolism and modernism. The basic theme of his poetry is man's loneliness and his search for a coherence to expel that loneliness. Leopold elaborated this theme mainly in his love poetry before 1900.



● روکوس دی گروت از دانشگاه آمستردام

۳۴۲



● فرانسیس دی بلو، از دانشگاه لندن

culture, are often different in kind from later translations of the same works, and some reasons for this will be suggested.

Hans de Bruijn (Leiden University)

'Persian quatrains in Holland'

Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century quatrains in the Persian fashion have become an accepted form in Dutch poetry. Next to the numerous translations of Khayyâm, mostly based on the *Rubáiyât* of Edward FitzGerald, a tradition of original poems in this form arose, in which many modern poets participated. An interesting example are the *Honderd Hollandsche Kwatrijnen* (Hundred Dutch Quatrains) by Pieter Cornelis Boutens (1870-1943). In these poems there are no references to a Persian background, but there is a similarity of tone and ideas with medieval Persian poetry. Boutens was a translator of Khayyâm, as well as of the *Oud-Perzische Kwatrijnen* (Old-Persian quatrains), a volume of mystical quatrains from a quite different source. The same source was drawn upon by Johan Hendrik Leopold (1865-1925) for a series of quatrains under the heading *Soefisch* (Sufic).

The common source of Boutens and Leopold was an anthology of Persian mystical quatrains published in 1906 in two parts—entitled respectively *Golzâr-e ma'refat* and *La Roseaie du Savoir*—one containing the original Persian texts and the other literal renderings in French prose. The author, Hoceÿne-Azad, was a physician trained in Paris and London, an erudite man, well versed in the Persian classics and familiar with several European languages. For some time he served at the provincial Qajar court of Isfahan, but he emigrated to Paris to devote himself entirely to his literary studies. His anthology comprises 470 quatrains by poets who lived between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Azad's aim was to show that Persian literature had produced many great poets of quatrains besides Khayyâm. This paper examines the life and personality of Azad and the main characteristics of his anthology, which opened a different view on Persian poetry than the quatrains of Omar Khayyâm.



● دکتر مهدی امین رضوی از دانشگاه واشنگتن

۳۴۴



● هانس دویرین

**"The Russian Khayyam"**

T. Shurgaia (Tbilisi Univ., Georgia): "The Translation of Omar Khayyam's Poetry into Georgian – a touchstone for translators"

A. Drury (Princeton Univ., USA): "Some of the Glories of the Sole": The Rubaiyat and FitzGerald's Skeptical American Parodists"

11.00- 11.30 Coffee

11.30- 13.00 THE INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE, I  
(Chair: Dr Adelene Vaninskaya, Cambridge University)

A. Talib (Oxford Univ., UK): "Getting away with poetry: Le Galienne's Paraphrase and the Limits of Translation"

C. Wilmer (Cambridge Univ., UK): "The Rubaiyat as a Victorian Poem"

P. Loloi (Indep. Scholar): "The Vogue of the English Rubaiyat and Dedicatory poems in Honour of Khayyam and FitzGerald"

13.00-14.30 Lunch

14.30-16.00 THE INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE, II and THE EDITIONS OF THE POEM

(Chair: Dr. Gabrielle van den Berg, Leiden University)

E. Behtash (Chahabar Univ., Iran): The Reception of FitzGerald's Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam by the Victorians"

W. Martin & S. Mason (Indep. Scholars): "The Illustration of FitzGerald's Rubaiyat, and its contribution to enduring popularity"

J. Drew (Indep. Scholar): "The Dog and the Mongoose: The story of the 1862 Madras edition of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam"

**Dick Davis (Ohio State University, USA)**

'Too good a poem to be faithful?'

The talk will begin with a brief discussion of the notion of "fidelity" implied in Chesterton's remark, and whether it applies to FitzGerald's Rubaiyat. The talk will then pass to an examination of the phenomenon of highly successful translations which are subsequently attacked for their lack of accuracy by later scholars and translators (Arthur Waley's Chinese and Japanese translations are an analogous case to Fitzgerald's Rubaiyat, and other examples will also be adduced). It will be suggested that "first" translations, especially those which make a substantial impact on their target



● یوس بیخستراتن، رئیس هلندی انجمن عمر خیام

۳۴۶



● اسد جبری از دانشگاه لیدن

Thursday 9th July – Winstanley Theatre, Trinity College

9.30-10.00 Registrations

10.00-11.00 HISTORICAL AND LITERARY CONTEXT

(Chair: Dr Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, Leiden University, The Netherlands)

G. Garrard (Indep. Scholar): "Edward Heron-Allen's Analysis of FitzGerald's Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam and its legacy"

M. Kaiserlian (Indiana Univ., USA): "The Imagined Elites of the Omar Khayyam Club"

11.00-11.30 Coffee

11.30-13.00 CLOSE-READING OF THE POEM, I

(Chair: Prof. Adrian Poole, Cambridge University)

R. Douglas-Fairhurst (Oxford Univ., UK): "FitzGerald's Timelines"

D. Karlin (Sheffield Univ., UK): "Much Ado About Nothing in the Rubaiyat"

E. Gray (Columbia Univ., USA): "A Blind Understanding: Making Sense of the Rubaiyat"

13.00-14.30 Lunch

14.30-16.00 CLOSE READING OF THE POEM, II

(Chair: Anna Buckland, Cambridge University)

M. Simidchieva (York Univ., Toronto, Canada): "Recasting Persian Poetry: FitzGerald's Rubaiyat as a vehicle of modernity?"

C. Decker (Nevada Univ., USA): "FitzGerald's Incomplete Unrest"

T. Briggs (Retired scholar): "Poems of the Three Pessimists: the Similar Lives and Different destinies of Thomas Gray, Edward FitzGerald and A.E. Housman"

**17.30 Key-note address (Chair Professor Charles Melville, Cambridge University)**

**Professor Dick Davis (Austin Univ., USA): "Too good a Poem to be faithful?"**

Friday 10th July, Winstanley Theatre, Trinity College

9.30 – 11.00 THE RECEPTION OF THE POEM

(Chair: Dr Christine van Ruymbeke, Cambridge University)

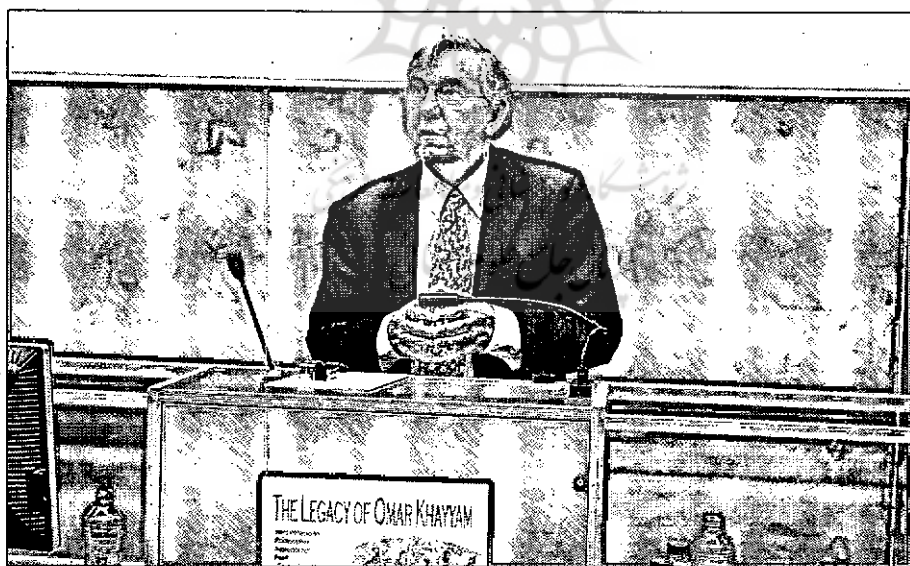
F. Abdullaeva & C. Melville (Oxford Univ. & Cambridge Univ., UK):





● دکتر علی اصغر سید غراب رئیس کنفرانس

۳۴۸



● دیک دویس از دانشگاه اوهایو

**11.00 Coffee and tea**

**KHAYYAM, THE POET**

Chair: Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Leiden University)

11.30 Alexander H. Morton (SOAS, University of London)

"Some Omarian Quatrains from the Lifetime of Omar Khayyam"

12.00 Ali Dehbashi (Bukhara Journal)

"Khayyam Studies in Iran: An Evaluative Survey"

12.30 Sunil Sharma (Boston University)

"The Birth of a Poet: 'Umar Khayyam in Biographical Dictionaries and Anthologies"

**13.00 Lunch**

**OMAR IN ARABIC, PERSIAN AND TURKISH LITERARY TRADITIONS**

Chair: Firuza Abdullaeva (University of Oxford)

14.00 Sytske Sötemann (Independent scholar)

"Quatrains of Omar Khayyam in Turkish and Turkish quatrains"

14.30 Jan Just Witkam (Leiden University)

"Ahmad Rami's Arabic translation of the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam"

**15.00 Coffee and tea**

15.30 Asad Jaber (Leiden University)

"I came like Water, and like Wind I Go"

16.00 A. Rangarajan (Independent scholar)

"Attempts at embedding Rubáiyát into Indian Philosophic thought"

16.30 Asghar Seyed-Gohrab (Leiden University)

"Wash me in wine when I go': The Ethics of Khayyam's Quatrains and their Social Implications"

17.00 Concluding remarks: Christine van Ruymbeke & Asghar Seyed-Gohrab

**July 2009**

**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY**

**OMAR KHAYYAM, FITZGERALD AND THE RUBAIYAT  
CONFERENCE**

In Memoriam Peter Avery, OBE.

*Registration to the conference for non-participants:*

*The fee (lunch and accommodation excluded) to attend the two days is £25; The fee (lunch and accommodation excluded) per day is £15.*

- 12.30 Dick van Halsema (*Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*)  
"Bitter Certainty: J.H. Leopold on Omar Khayyam"

**13.00 Lunch**

**KHAYYAM'S RECEPTION IN PERSIA AND RUSSIA**

- Chair: Charles Melville (University of Cambridge)
- 14.00 Mehdi Aminrazavi (University of Mary Washington)  
"Reading the Ruba'iyat as "Resistance Literature"
- 14.30 Firuza Abdullaeva (Oxford University)  
"The Russian perception of Khayyam: from text to image"
- 15.00 Natalia Chalisova (Russian State University of Moscow)  
"Omar Khayyam as a Russian poet: Translation and Appropriation"

**15.30 Coffee and tea**

**KHAYYAM AND MUSIC**

- Chair: Jan Schmidt (Leiden University)
- 16.00 Rokus de Groot, (University of Amsterdam)  
"Khayyam's Musical Legacy in The Netherlands"
- 16.30 Irene Maessen (Soprano)  
"Composition for Soprano and Six Tuned Wine Glasses"
- 16.45 Gabrielle van den Berg, (Leiden University)  
"Omar Khayyam and the Performance of Quatrains in Central Asia"
- 17.00 Amir Hosein Pourjavady (University of Tehran)  
"Umar Khayyam on the Science of Music"
- 17.30 Persian music performed by Amir Hosein Pourjavady

**19.00 Dinner at De Grote Beer, Rembrandtstraat 27 for the conference participants**

**Day Two: Tuesday 7 July 2009**

**KHAYYAM, PHILOSOPHER, POET, SCIENTIST**

- Chair: Gabrielle van den Berg (Leiden University)
- 09.30 Jan Hogendijk, (University of Utrecht)  
"Khayyam and Isfahani Geometrical Art"
- 10.00 Mohammad Bagheri (University of Tehran)  
"Between Tavern and Madrasa: Umar Khayyam the Scientist"
- 10.30 Francois de Blois (SOAS)  
"The mathematician Omar al-Khayyami and his rebirth as the (fictitious) poet Omar Khayyam"

July 2009  
Leiden University

# The Legacy of Omar Khayyam

Mathematician, Philosopher, Astronomer and Poet

Lipsius Building, Room 011  
Cleveringaplaats 1  
2311 BD Leiden

## Programme

Day One: Monday 6 July 2009

09.00 Registration, coffee/tea

09.30 Welcoming address: Asghar Seyed-Gohrab

### Key-note Address

09.45 Dick Davis (Ohio State University, USA) -

"Too good a poem to be faithful?"

### RECEPTION OF THE RUBAIYAT IN THE NETHERLANDS

Chair: Christine van Ruymbeke (University of Cambridge)

10.30 Hans de Bruijn (Leiden University)

"Persian Quatrains in Holland"

11.00 Marco Goud (*Vrije Universiteit*, Amsterdam)

"Khayyam's Impact on Modern Dutch Literature"

11.30 Coffee and tea

12.00 Jos Biegstraaten (Chairman Dutch Omar Khayyam Society)

"How Omar Inspired Dutch Visual Artists"