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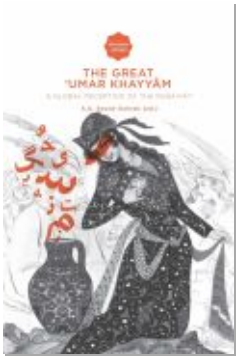

The Reception of FitzGerald's Rubáiyát of ʿUmar Khayyám by the Victorians

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FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* appeared unnoticed at a time of great material prosperity in England in 1859. The copies remained on Quaritch's shelves for almost two years. No one approached them. The bookseller reduced the price to half; still no one wanted them. Finally they were moved to the penny-box outside the shop. Who would have foreseen that "seventy-five years later a copy of the *Rubáiyát* in original wrappers and containing a note by Swinburne would be offered for sale by Quaritch for nine thousand dollars"?[1] The long wait for the discovery of the *Rubáiyát* made FitzGerald weary at heart and he began to feel "a sort of terror at meddling with Pen and Paper. The old *Go* is gone – such as it was. One has got older: one has lived alone: and, also, either one's Subjects, or one's way of dealing with them, have little Interest to others."[2] ʿUmar's freedom of thought on religion and morality were perhaps too daring for the conservative climate of the mid-Victorian period. Then, according to Terhune,[3] FitzGerald's biographer, one day early in 1862 a friend of Dante Gabriel Rossetti caught sight of the *Rubáiyát* in the penny box. He found the book interesting and gave Rossetti a copy. Rossetti showed it to Swinburne. The two friends bought some copies and gave them to their friends. Swinburne took a copy to George Meredith. They returned to buy more and found that due to the demand the price had been raised. William Morris took pleasure in it. Swinburne gave a copy to Burne-Jones who showed it to John Ruskin in 1863. Ruskin became so impressed by the book that he wrote a letter to the unknown author:

> My dear and very dear Sir,
> I do not know in the least who you are, but I do with all my soul pray you to find and translate some more of Omar Khayyám for us: I never did – till this day – read anything so glorious, to my mind as this poem – (10th. 11th. 12th pages if one were to choose) – and that, and this, is all I can say about it – More – more – please more – and that I am ever gratefully and respectfully yours.
>
> J. Ruskin[4]

The letter remained with Burne-Jones to be passed to the author of the *Rubáiyát* when he was recognised. FitzGerald did not receive the letter until ten years later in 1872, when the third edition of his *Rubáiyát* was published. Ruskin refers to quatrains 44-58 in the first edition. In these quatrains there are some crucial points that seem to have appealed to Ruskin as a Victorian. For example, that we are "Phantom Figures" who come and go without any intention of our own; that man is subject to predestination and moves like a ball in polo, struck from one side to another without any power to resist. We are impotent before fate and cannot do anything to change it:

With Earth's first Clay They did the Last Man's knead,
And then of the Last Harvest sow'd the Seed,
Yea, the First Morning of Creation wrote
What the Last Dawn of Reckoning shall read.

(No. LIII,1st ed.)

The "Nights and Days" are a "Chequer-board" on which destiny is the player and we the pieces (No. XLIX). So why are there punishments for us who have been made of "baser Earth," along with all kinds of evils?

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And who with Eden didst devise the Snake;
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blacken'd, Man's Forgiveness give – and take!

(No. LVIII, 1st ed.)[5]

Given that everything, even what is dear to us, ends in "nothing," why not seize the day?

And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press,
End in the Nothing all Things end in – Yes –
Then fancy while Thou art, Thou art but what
Thou shalt be – Nothing – Thou shalt not be less.

(No. XLVII, 1st ed.)

FitzGerald's frank fatalism appealed to only a select few at first. This *carpe diem* attitude towards life was not the earned disinterest of a learned man, but something more wistful:

Alas, that Spring should vanish with the Rose!
That Youth's sweet-scented Manuscript should close!
The Nightingale that in the Branches sang!
Ah, whence, and wither flown again, who knows!

(No. LXXII, 1st ed.)

This was the aspect of the *Rubáiyát* that appealed to the Pre-Raphaelites, who tended to prefer exotic and unfamiliar subjects as a reaction against the scientific spirit and conventional tasks of the period. The exoticism of the *Rubáiyát* and its introduction of "fatalism" as a new attitude probably made the poems catch their imagination, and their praises were enough to advertise it. According to Edmund Gosse, the form of the Persian quatrains and the hidden beauties of FitzGerald poem charmed Swinburne and led almost immediately to the composition of *Laus Veneris* which has the aura of the *Rubáiyát*.[6] Swinburne's poetry in its treatment of sexual aberration and its anti-Christian tone and view of life, as in "The Garden of Persephone" ("That no life lives for ever/That dead men rise up never"), is reminiscent of FitzGerald's voice in such places as quatrain no. XV in the first edition of the *Rubáiyát* (1859):

> *And those who husbanded the Golden Grain*
> *And those who flung it to the Winds like Rain,*
> *Alike to no such aureate Earth are turn'd*
> *As, buried once, Men want dug up again.*

The speaker openly states that there is no life after death, and that no man is precious enough to dig up again. Swinburne, with his deliberately shocking language and theme, threw Victorian religion away, seeming to give voice to the disintegration of Puritanism and conventionality. FitzGerald was less shocking but fundamentally just as nihilist.

The initial neglect of the poem can be taken as suggesting that the *Rubáiyát* ran counter to the powerful mid-Victorian optimism, utilitarianism and belief in the pieties of everyday life. Then its acceptance can be seen as expressing the reverse side of Victorian Puritanism. This reaction was also Victorian. On the one hand, FitzGerald's contemporaries were not prepared for the notion of pleasure without considering it wicked; on the other, they felt that if man was ignorant of the ultimate purpose of the universe, he had better seek satisfaction and consolation in "A book of Verses," where wine, woman and wilderness would become Paradise. Furthermore, one might read into the poem a kind of stoic resignation, which also has its place in the Victorian makeup. Any pessimistic attitude toward the position of man was considered by some to be weak; the poem showed a cynical view of human life by lowering man "into the Dust" or to the lowest degree, without any value. But others held beliefs embodying both optimism and perversity as later advocated by the decadents. Darwin's scientific researches seemed to many to decree that man's place was in a world ruled not by God, but by mere chance, which determined who was fittest to survive.

The subsequent success of the *Rubáiyát*, notably after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), was a kind of natural selection itself,

and its discovery by the Pre-Raphaelites was especially significant. Touched with pessimism and melancholy, as well as exotic imagery, it appealed to those who rejected conventional Victorian art and who were against the didactic use of art for moral, social and religious edification.

The sudden enthusiastic demand for the *Rubáiyát* by the Pre-Raphaelites made Quaritch ask FitzGerald to prepare a new edition. FitzGerald showed no desire to do further work on the poem, however, and in any case he was not interested in seeking fame or fortune. Nevertheless, when he received a letter from Mrs. Tennyson (who often used to write on behalf of her husband, Alfred Tennyson) telling him that Tennyson had admired the *Rubáiyát,* FitzGerald decided to work on the poem:

> *To think of Alfred's approving my old Omar! I never should have thought he even knew of it. Certainly I should never have sent it to him, always supposing that he would not approve anything but a literal translation – unless from such hands as can do original Work, and therefore do not translate other People's.*[7]

In 1867, while FitzGerald was working on the second edition of the *Rubáiyát,* Nicolas published his prose translation of the 464 quatrains of ʿUmar Khayyām under the name of *Les Quatrains de Khéyam* (Paris, the Imperial Press, 1867), based on a manuscript discovered in Iran while he was a consul there. Nicolas had described ʿUmar Khayyām as a Sufi and claimed that his song of wine had a mystical meaning. FitzGerald studied Nicolas's translation and found inspiration for some new quatrains in his second edition (Nos. 46, 47).

Crucially, however, FitzGerald did not change his view about ʿUmar's character as a "material Epicurean." According to his preface to the second edition, FitzGerald wondered naively how "wine" might have a mystical allusion: "Were the Wine spiritual, for instance, how wash the body with it when dead? Why make cups of the dead clay to be filled with – 'La Divinité'– by some succeeding Mystic?" He believed, without any evidence, that Nicolas was wrong in his conclusion about ʿUmar Khayyām. He added thirty-five stanzas to the seventy-five of the first edition and revised some of the quatrains. He also altered the sequence and printed the second edition in 1868.

The alterations drew protests from his first admirers. Thomas Hinchliff in a letter to Quaritch, expressed his disappointment with the alterations: "We were grieved to find that Mr. FitzGerald, in altering the text here and there, had grievously injured the Original. So much so that we agreed to send our friend in Japan an old copy which he had to spare instead of the new and smarter edition."[8] To begin with, FitzGerald's manifest intention in the alterations was to structure his selected quatrains as a single poem

and to diverge from the original in such a way that his creation would become an original poem.

In spite of its popularity among the Pre-Raphaelites, reviewers ignored the poem until Charles Eliot Norton published an article in the *North American Review* in October 1869. Norton had been shown the book by Burne-Jones when he was visiting Ruskin in England. Norton obtained the second edition of FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* and a copy of Nicolas's French translation before he returned to America. Norton's article comparing the two translations and stating his preference for FitzGerald's won the first public recognition for the *Rubáiyát.* In his article, Norton stated:

> *He [the translator] is to be called "translator" only in default of a better word, one which should express the poetic spirit from one language to another,. . . its excellence is the highest testimony that could be given, to the essential impressiveness and worth of the Persian poet. It is the work of a poet inspired by the work of a poet; not a copy, but a reproduction, not a translation, but the redelivery of a poetic inspiration.*[9]

As a result of Norton's article, the *Rubáiyát* won popularity in the United States, whose people "are my Omar's best friends," as FitzGerald said. The author, however, was still unknown. The publisher now persuaded FitzGerald to prepare a new edition of the poem in view of its popularity.

Due to demand from its American admirers in Philadelphia, the third edition of the *Rubáiyát* was published in 1872. Upon hearing from Cowell that the first edition of the poem had been reprinted by someone in India, FitzGerald commented: "I have lived not in vain, if I have lived to be pirated." The name of the translator of the *Rubáiyát* was still unknown in England but in America it was rumoured that its author is a certain "Reverend Edward FitzGerald," who lived somewhere in Norfolk and was fond of boating. Norton in his visit to England mentioned the rumour of the authorship of the *Rubáiyát* to Carlyle. Carlyle was very surprised:

> *The Reverend Edward FitzGerald? . . . Why, he is no more Reverend than I am! He is a very old friend of mine – I am surprised, if the book be as good as you tell me it is, that my old friend has never mentioned it to me.*[10]

In February of 1875, FitzEdward Hall, a philologist and student of Eastern languages and literature, identified FitzGerald as the author of the *Rubáiyát* in Lippincott's Magazine, published in Philadelphia, writing an explanatory paragraph on the works of FitzGerald. In the following year, Henry Schütz Wilson, a minor writer and critic, for the first time publicly identified FitzGerald in the *Contemporary Review* (March, 1876, XXVII: 559-570)

as a "masterly" translator. A critic in the *Spectator* (March 1876, 334-36) observed that FitzGerald's ʿUmar is "a great poet of denial and revolt." He continued in his review "it is somewhat a disgrace to us that such a poem should have been amongst us for fifteen years without becoming generally known." In late 1878 in America, James R. Osgood published five hundred copies of FitzGerald's third edition of the Rubáiyát, "a handsome, too handsome – edition of Omar," as FitzGerald called it, followed by a second printing before the end of the month. Recognising the celebrity of the poem in America, Bernard Quaritch asked FitzGerald's permission to publish another edition of the poem.

FitzGerald was determined, at least, not to print "his" ʿUmar alone any more. He intended to print it with his Salámán, a mystical allegory written by a great Persian writer of romance ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (1414-1492). He wrote to Cowell inquiring of him whether he wanted the *Rubáiyát* to be reprinted along with *Salámán*. Cowell agreed to FitzGerald's suggestion. In December 1878, FitzGerald allowed Quaritch to publish the third edition of his "old Omar" with a condition: "If Omar be reprinted, Cowell wishes Salámán to go along with him."[11] In this way FitzGerald wished "to stitch up the Saint [i.e. Salámán] & the Sinner [i.e. Omar] together." Moreover, he was certain that Salámán would survive as long as the Rubáiyát was remembered. He also wished "Omar to stand first, be never reprinted separate from Jámi" (the author of Salámán).[12] In the same letter, FitzGerald asked Quaritch not to mention his name in the book. On the second of August 1879, FitzGerald received his Rubáiyát-Salámán volume.

A direct response to FitzGerald's celebrated poem was "Rabbi Ben Ezra," Browning's great religious poem first published in *Dramatis Personae* in 1864. This poem, according to De Vane, was actually inspired by FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát*.[13] The poem is generally believed to be an expression of Browning's own attitude to life (i.e. it is not so "dramatic" as others). It is significant that Browning chose, as his *persona,* a Middle Eastern historical scientist, apparently selected by him in response to FitzGerald's Omar, an astronomer-mathematician poet of Persia. As the poem opens, the Rabbi invites his young friends to accompany him in his survey of life from youth to old age. The Rabbi welcomes age because it is "the last of life, for which the first was made" (1. 3). The speaker does not "remonstrate" against the indecisions, yearnings, "hopes and fears/ Annulling youth's brief years," because they are the conditions of growth. It is "doubt" and "care" which distinguish man from animals:

> *Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beasts? (1. 24)*
> *But man is disturbed by "a spark" because he is nearer to God than are the recipients of God's inferior gifts:*
> *Rejoice we are allied*

To That which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.
(ll. 25-30)

This is why the Rabbi asks his young friends to "welcome each rebuff" which turns "earth's smoothness rough." In this connection what divides us from the brute is aspiration not achievement. To Browning, as J. H. Buckley writes, "the fulfillment of desire meant spiritual death, for it removed the high remote ideal that had given motive power to the soul."[14] Browning refuses to denigrate the physical side of human nature. He seeks a model for human satisfaction, distinct from the animal, through a balance of the physical and spiritual sides of human nature. The body is intended to serve the highest aims of the soul:

Let us not always say
'Spite of this flesh today
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the whole!'
As the bird wings and sings;
Let us cry 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!'
(stanza 12)

While Browning's Rabbi sees life as a process which death completes, FitzGerald's Omar views life and its end in the following way:

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! (No. 24)

The repetition of the image of "dust" is FitzGerald's invention. In the original the reader is asked "not to allow sorrow to embrace" him, "nor an idle grief to occupy" his days; the reader is then asked not to forsake the book, the beloved's lips and the bank of a spring before the earth embraces him. The recurring image of "dust" seems to be FitzGerald's way of emphasising a fashionable Victorian nihilism, which Browning was too strong to be influenced by. The Rabbi sees the whole design of life as "perfect" and thanks God that he is "a man":

Not once beat 'Praise be Thine!
I see the whole design.

I, who saw power, see now love perfect too:
Perfect I call thy plan:
Thanks that I was a man!
Maker, remake, complete, – I trust what Thou shalt do!'
(stanza 10)

FitzGerald's ʿUmar, unlike Browning's Rabbi, rebels against this divine design, and wishes he had the power to "shatter" it and "remold" it according to his own heart's desire:

Ah Love! Could you and I with Him Conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of things entire,
Would not we shatter it to bits – and then
Remold it nearer to the Heart's Desire! (No. 99)

In the original, there is no talk of conspiracy, of wishing for a power such as God's to construct another wheel of fortune closer to the heart's desire.

The last line of Browning's stanza 10 anticipates the metaphor of pot and potter in stanzas 26-32. These stanzas contain the most striking imagery in the poem, of "clay," "pot," and "potter." In the strained metaphor of the potter's wheel, as Erickson points out, the Rabbi finally finds the proper image for describing the formlessness of man's striving after God.[15] In stanza 26, the Rabbi addresses FitzGerald's ʿUmar when he says:

Ay, note that Potter's wheel,
That metaphor! and feel
Why time spins fast, why passive lies our clay, –
Thou, to whom fools propound,
When the wine makes its round,
'Since life fleets, all is change; the Past gone, seize today!'

The last line alludes to and summarises the whole drift of FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát*. In this stanza the Rabbi, who is modelled on a historical commentator, philosopher, and astronomer of the twelfth century, mocks the philosophy of FitzGerald's ʿUmar, mathematician and astronomer of the early twelfth century, when he chants:

Oh threats of Hell and Hopes of Paradise;
One thing at least is certain – This life flies;
One thing is certain and the rest is lies;
The Flower that once has blown forever dies. (No. 63)

The first two lines do not belong to the original Persian text and are FitzGerald's composition, but the second two, with their important

substitution of "dies" for the original "blooms," are ʿUmar's. FitzGerald describes man in his poem, stanzas 82-90, as a "pot" made of clay by a "Potter." Through this image, however, FitzGerald, unlike Browning, reduces man to a worthless lump of clay who has no duty but to seize the day, because all he knows is that life passes quickly.

Browning, on the other hand, celebrates the physical delights of life and welcomes old age, which itself represents the culmination of a rich life, as the gateway to something even better. For FitzGerald, old age represented the end of life and of everything, even his friendships. FitzGerald feared old age and death. Unlike his *persona* who lived and recommended living in the present, FitzGerald lived from his early youth with a vision of old age, feeling how rapidly life was passing. This mood is present in his "The Meadows in Spring" first published in 1831. If FitzGerald, through Omar, announces that man is merely a "consumer," Browning, through his Rabbi, suggests that man is distinct from the mere *consumer*, to whom satiety is an end in itself: he is more akin to God the Provider. From this follows the Rabbi's whole argument – that man is a being with higher duties than the rest of creation but with correspondingly higher rewards."[16]

The only place where such a notion of man is present in FitzGerald's reproduction is the quatrain No 44:

Why, if the Soul can fling the Dust aside,
And naked on the Air of Heaven ride,
Were't not a Shame – were't not a Shame for him
In this clay carcass crippled to abide?

But FitzGerald, in the character of the invented "Omar," denies this higher reward:

Alike for those who for TODAY prepare,
And those that after some TOMORROW stare,
A Muézzin from the Tower of Darkness cries,
"Fools! your Reward is neither Here nor There." (No. 25)

FitzGerald's inability to see a particular aspect of life in Browning and especially in ʿUmar reveals a peculiarly later-nineteenth-century cynicism and nihilism, while grappling with exactly the same issues and spiritual contexts as Browning, Tennyson – and ʿUmar. FitzGerald fails to find the richness of response they did, but finds another kind of response, a sceptical and ultimately a cheaper kind.

FitzGerald can partly be understood in differentiation from and opposition to Browning's cast of mind. One of Browning's achievements which was impenetrable to FitzGerald was the resolution of the problem of doubt: a problem which troubled many of Browning's contemporaries, such as

Tennyson and Arnold, and, of course, FitzGerald himself. Browning was deeply concerned by the religious issues of the day, but he never suffered the agonies of doubt experienced by Tennyson and Arnold. At a time when Newman converted to the Church of Rome in 1845 and when Strauss's *The Life of Jesus* (translated into English by George Eliot in 1846) put the basis of Christianity under question, Browning showed life to be joyful as long as it was perfected by a belief in the hereafter. Thus doubt became evidence of God, whereas FitzGerald gloomily accepted it as evidence of godlessness, at least in his *Rubáiyát* where he denies the certainty of creation and doomsday:

And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press,
End in What All begins and ends in – Yes;
Think then you are TODAY what YESTERDAY
You were – TOMORROW you shall not be less. (No. 42)

FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* is perhaps the archetypal Victorian poem. It has dramatic form through its invented persona of ʿUmar; it has mysticism, Epicureanism, melancholy, loss of faith, anxiety about the future, and unfamiliar exoticism as well. As others tried to introduce classical figures into Victorian art, FitzGerald also introduced a historical scientist from a remote time and culture. The melancholy in the quatrains attributed to ʿUmar also had a philosophic basis in the quatrains: what we have, even if its duration is brief and uncertain, is worth having. It is better to live and enjoy life as it comes. According to FitzGerald, the theme of the *Rubáiyát* was "a desperate sort of thing, unfortunately found at the bottom of all thinking men's minds: but made music of"; and its message was sceptical: it is useless to ask questions because on one hand you will find no answers, and on the other the universe has its own meaning, which simply remains forever hidden from us.

FitzGerald's poem is nevertheless an immortal song, about which Tennyson in the lines added to *Tiresias and Other Poems* (1885) rightly stated:

... I know no version done
In English more divinely well;
A planet equal to the sun
Which cast it, that large infidel
Your Omar; and your Omar drew
Full-handed plaudits from our best
In modern letters ...

FitzGerald's ʿUmar problematised the general conception of a "real" ʿUmar to such an extent that it stimulated Persian scholars to address the

question of the authenticity of the quatrains attributed to ʿUmar by FitzGerald. Some of these scholars, like the late M.T. Jaʿfarī and M. Muṭaharī, concluded that we have in effect two ʿUmar Khayyāms: one the religious scientist of the eleventh century, the real ʿUmar who sometimes improvised *rubāʿīs*; and the other the author of a large quantity of quatrains, who has no discoverable historical identity. They were not aware, however, that their speculations were founded on FitzGerald's invention, a *persona* created by him and called "ʿUmar." Another result of the popularity of FitzGerald's ʿUmar was that copyists tried to collect rubāʿīs under the name of ʿUmar Khayyām and forge the date of their compilation: an earlier date being better for foreign markets.

With the growth of scepticism and pessimism in the second half of the Victorian period, we observe many substitutes for religion. One was "art," and the Pre-Raphaelites were its primary advocates. Pessimism paved the way for writers like John Davidson (1857-1909), Ernest Dowson (1867-1900) and A. E. Housman (1859-1936). The hedonism of FitzGerald's poem is present in Oscar Wilde's essays and *The Picture of Dorian Gray.* And its fatalism is present in Hardy's novels, in which man never seems to be free, and mysterious forces control his life. It is worth noting that in the twentieth century, with the rise of existentialism and nihilism, the *Rubáiyát* has attracted even more widespread and popular attention. British soldiers, according to Professor Arberry, took it with them in both World Wars. Its rebellion against the prevailing conceptions of God, Heaven, and Hell, its complaint against fate and predestination, its pessimism, its stress on the here-and-now and its Epicurean nature have made the poem continuingly popular.

Although the *Rubáiyát* was unnoticed by the mid-Victorian English public, once it was noticed, it was never allowed to fall into neglect again. On 25 March 1897, the Omar Khayyám club met for dinner and Sir George Robertson, the hero of Chitral, "delighted the company by remarking that men of action were really dreamers and sentimentalists and that his chief pleasure in the mountains of Chitral was the reading of Omar Khayyám."[17]

Notes

1 A. M.Terhune, *The Life of Edward FitzGerald*, London: Yale University Press, 1947, p. 208.

2 Alfred M. Terhune, Annabelle B. Terhune, *The Letters of Edward FitzGerald*, New Jersey: Princeton Press, 1980, vol. iii: pp. 465-66; to Cowell, 1 December 1862.

3 Terhune, *The Life of Edward FitzGerald*, p. 207.

4 MS letter, Trinity College Library; quoted by Terhune, p. 212.

5 According to Michael Millgate's *The Life and Works of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan, 1984), Thomas Hardy on his deathbed asked his wife to repeat to him this quatrain from the *Rubáiyát.* She took a copy of Omar from his bedside and read to him. When she finished it "he indicated that he wished no more to be read." (480-81) This quatrain does

not have any Persian equivalent in the manuscripts attributed to Omar Khayyám; but it has much in common with Hardy.

6 Edmund Gosse, *The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburn*e, London: Macmillan, 1917, p. 94.

7 Terhune, *The Letters of Edward FitzGerald,* vol. iii, p.59; to Mrs. Tennyson, 4 November 1867.

8 Iran B. H. Jewett, *Edward FitzGerald,* London: George Prior Publisher, 1977, p. 94.

9 Charles Eliot Norton, "Nicholas' Quatrains de Kheyam," *North American Review,* CIX, October, 1869, pp. 575-76.

10 Terhune, *The Life of Edward FitzGerald*, p. 211.

11 Terhune, *The Letters of Edward FitzGerald,* vol iv: 158; to FitzGerald, 18 November 1878.

12 Ibid., p.173; to B. Quaritch, 16 January 1879.

13 William Clyde De Vane, *A Browning Handbook*, London: John Murray, 1937, p. 259.

14 Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture,* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978, p. 89.

15 Lee Erickson, *Robert Browning: His Poetry and His Audience,* London: Cornell UP, 1984, p. 212.

16 Philip Drew, ed. *Robert Browning: A Collection of Critical Essays*, London: Metheun, 1970, p.184.

17 A.S. Arberry, *The Romance of the Rubáiyát*, London: George Allen and Unwin,1959, p. 36.

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