

Notes to the Introduction

- 1 Žabiḥollah Šafā, *Ḥamāse-sarāʾī dar īrān* (Tehran, 1333/1954–1955), 283–340, gives an overview of the later epics, discussing sixteen different titles. Depending on the criteria defining a later epic, one could both add several titles to Šafā's list and remove a few. François de Blois, 'Epics', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. X (2001), 474–477, includes story outlines of several later epics. See also Abou'lkasim Firdousi, *Livre des rois*, ed. and trans. Jules Mohl, vol. I (Paris, 1838), liv and lxx, and William L. Hanaway, Jr., 'The Iranian Epics', in: *Heroic Epic and Saga: An Introduction to the World's Great Folk Epics*, ed. Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington, 1978), 76–98, at 89–93. Marjolijn van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero: Texts and Traditions of the Farāmarznāme and the Persian Epic Cycle* (Leiden/Boston, 2014), deals with the later epics, incorporating and updating Šafā's survey, with a focus on the narrative traditions surrounding Farāmarz, discussing the Persian epics in which he appears, especially the two *Farāmarznāmes*.
- 2 This translation is based on the critical edition of the poem, *Farāmarznāme-ye bozorg (The Large Farāmarznāme)*, eds Marjolijn van Zutphen and Abolfazl Khatibi (Tehran, 2016). The translation takes account of certain changes to the published Persian text which have been suggested by Abolfazl Khatibi (e-mail message to myself, 8 October 2016) in reaction to Āydenlū's review of the critical edition. Sajjād Āydenlū, 'Manzūme'ī pahlawānī az sedde-ye panjom-e hejri', *Jahān-e ketāb* 21:7–8 (1395/2016), 18–23, refers to a total of 61 different verses, of which he either questions whether the reading is correct or proposes a specific change to one or more words; Khatibi agrees with 16 of these propositions, of which just two (vss 311 and 2460) consist of a change of orthography, which makes no difference to the translation and therefore are ignored here. All other 14 changes to the Persian text are noted in the footnotes to the present translation.
- 3 Karin Rührdanz, 'About a Group of Truncated *Shāhnāmas*: A Case Study in the Commercial Production of Illustrated Manuscripts in the Second Part of the Sixteenth Century', *Muqarnas* 14 (1997), 118–134, at 118.

- 4 To date, only a few of the later epics have been published, let alone in critical editions. With regards to the six mentioned in this paragraph, they have all been brought out in lithographed books. The *Dāstān-e Babr-e Bayān* and the *Bānū Goshaspnāme* are the first two poems of the lithographed book entitled *Farāmarznāme* (ed. Sorūsh-e Taftī, 1907), which further includes both *Farāmarznāmes* (joined together) and a section of the *Bahmannāme* (see below). Only the *Bānū Goshaspnāme* has been produced in a critical edition, by Roohangiz Karachi, whilst a shorter version of the *Barzūnāme* joined to the *Dāstān-e Kok-e Kūhzād* has appeared in print, as part of the appendix to Macan's *Shāhnāme* edition of 1829, which was reproduced by Dabīr Siyāqī in 1956–1957, although in the latter series of books the *Barzūnāme* is erroneously attributed to 'Aṭā' b. Ya'qūb 'Aṭā'ī Rāzī. For more extended references to these editions, including the lithographed *Jahāngīrnāme* and *Sāmnāme*, see the list of Works Cited in the Introduction.
- 5 C.E. Bosworth and I. Afshar, 'Ajā'eb al-maḳlūqāt', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. I (1985), 696–698.
- 6 Firdousi, *Livre des rois*, ed. and trans. Mohl, vol. I, liv and lxx. Mohl calls the later epics *Shāhnāme* imitations of a lesser quality and content, which tell their stories for their own sakes, to fill up the lacunae in the *Shāhnāme*. Later scholars on the whole have differed little in their opinions on the later epics.
- 7 'Alī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī, *Garshāspnāme*, ed. Ḥabīb Yaghmā'ī (Tehran, 1317/1938). See also Asadī Junior de Toūs, *Le livre de Gerchāsp*, vol. I, ed. and trans. Clément Huart (Paris, 1926), and vol. II, trans. Henri Massé (Paris, 1951).
- 8 Abū'l-Qāsem Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. V (New York, 1997), 471–484.
- 9 Īrānshāh b. Abī'l-Kheyr, *Bahmannāme*, ed. Rahīm 'Afifī (Tehran, 1370/1991).
- 10 Īrānshāh b. Abī'l-Kheyr, *Kūshnāme* (*Kūsh-nāmeḥ*), ed. Jalāl Matīnī (Tehran, 1337/1998).
- 11 Thus, the *Barzūnāme* was once attributed to Abū'l-'Alā 'Aṭā' b. Ya'qūb al-Kāteb (see also above, at note 4), who was in addition given the mistaken patronymic 'Aṭā'ī Rāzī, as the result of a misinterpretation of the word 'aṭā' ('gift') in the text, but this attribution has long since been refuted. Also, it was once believed that different versions of the *Shahrīyār-nāme* were composed by famous poets like Farrokhī Sistānī and 'Osmān Mokhtārī, but these attributions, too, are strongly doubted. See François de Blois, *Persian Literature*, vol. V, pt 2 (London, 1994), 433–434 (*Shahrīyār-nāme*) and 569 (*Barzūnāme*).

- 12 To date, neither of the latter two poems has been published in full and both are only known from a few manuscripts, although a small section of the *Shahrīyār-nāme* is included in ‘Osmān Mokhtārī, *Dīwān*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Homā’ī (Tehran, 1341/1962), as one version of this later epic is believed to have been written by this early-twelfth-century poet (see previous note). A critical edition of the *Shabrang-nāme*, by Gabrielle van den Berg and Abolfazl Khatibi, is currently in preparation. Rostam’s fight against the White Demon is the last of his seven trials, told in the story of ‘the war in Māzandarān’, Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. II (1990), 3–65.
- 13 Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. II, 385–387.
- 14 Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. V, 386.
- 15 Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Jūglūgh Farrokhi Sīstānī, *Dīwān*, ed. Moḥammad Dabīr Sīyāqī, 4th edn (Tehran, 1371/ 1992–1993), 377–378, *qaṣīde* 198 (‘In praise of Amīr Abū Aḥmad Moḥammad b. Maḥmūd-e Ghaznawī’), vss 7653–7655, and 51–53, *qaṣīde* 30 (‘On the return of Solṭān Maḥmūd from Hendūstān and his second victory’), vss 1027–1029.
- 16 *Tārīkh-e Sīstān*, ed. Moḥammad Taqī Bahār (Tehran, 1314/1925–1926), 7, mentions a prose book of twelve volumes. Shahmardān b. Abī’l-Kheyr, *Nozhatnāme-ye ‘alā’ī*, ed. Farhang Jahānpūr (Tehran, 1362/1983), 342, discusses an author called Pīrūzān, who around the first half of the eleventh century AD would have made translations from Pahlawi (Middle Persian) of stories from the *Shāhnāme* traditions, including some about Farāmarz.
- 17 Shahmardān, *Nozhatnāme-ye ‘alā’ī*, 329–333. See *Large Farāmarznāme*, eds Van Zutphen and Khatibi, vss 874–941 and 1253–1461: the latter episode rather differs from the one told in the *Nozhatnāme* (see also below).
- 18 Mary Boyce, ‘Gōsān’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. IX (2003), 166–170.
- 19 Akbar Naḥawī, ‘Molāḥezātī dar bare-ye farāmarznāme wa sorāyande-ye ān’, in: *Majle-ye dāneshkāde-ye adabīyāt wa ‘olūm-e ensānī-ye dāneshgāh-e tehrān* 164 (1381/2002–2003), 119–136. Naḥawī’s dating is somewhat later than had previously been assumed: Firdousī, *Livre des rois*, ed. and trans. Mohl, vol. I, lxiii, dates the poem to the eleventh century, whilst Jalāl Khāleghi-Motlagh, ‘Farāmarznāme’, *Irānnāme* 1 (1361/1982), 22–45, at 31, as well as Khaleghi-Motlagh, ‘Farāmarz-nāma’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. IX (1999), 240–241, at 240, believes it was composed between the second half of the eleventh and the early twelfth centuries.
- 20 *Farāmarznāme*, ed. Majīd Sarmadī (Tehran, 1382/2004), is a critical edition of the poem. The text consists of 1,595 verses and is based on two

manuscripts and the lithographed version (as part of the book entitled *Farāmarznāme*, discussed below), although at least seven more manuscripts of the poem should exist in Europe, Iran and India (see Van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero*, 280–297).

- 21 Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895), 129–131 (no. 196), discusses this manuscript and its many interpolated later epics.
- 22 *Farāmarznāme-ye bozorg*, eds Van Zutphen and Khatibi, xxxii–xxxviii. The introduction to the edition was written by Abolfazl Khatibi, and whereas it is for a large part based on information given in Van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero*, certain sections were added by Khatibi himself, including his conclusions on the supposed dedicatee or a more precise dating of the *Large Farāmarznāme*, which was not covered by my research.
- 23 *Mojmal al-tawārīkh wa'l-qeṣaṣ*, eds Seyf ad-Dīn Nadjmābādī and Siegfried Weber (Edingen-Neckarhausen, 2000), 2.
- 24 See note 1 (Ṣafā's book on Persian epics and Mohl's introduction to his *Shāhnāme* edition-cum-translation).
- 25 E. Denison Ross and E.G. Browne, *Catalogue of Two Collections of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the India Office Library* (London, 1902), 107–108 (no. CLXXVI). The *Large Farāmarznāme* makes up the whole of this manuscript.
- 26 Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. I (Oxford, 1903), 551 (no. 870). The *Large Farāmarznāme* appears in this manuscript as an appendix to a truncated *Shāhnāme* – which ends abruptly at a point early in the reign of Queen Homāy, daughter of Bahman – and covers fols 368^v–456^r, but the text is made up of three, mixed-up, parts, whilst fols 397^r–405^v and 414^r–449^v consist of two other later epics (the shorter *Farāmarznāme* and the *Shabrangnāme*).
- 27 The book is for instance catalogued in A.J. Arberry, *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. II, pt 6, *Persian Books* (London, 1937), 135 (shelf mark Per. D. 11), as well as Edward Edwards, *A Catalogue of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, 1922), 205 (shelf mark 14797 e. 47). The *Large Farāmarznāme* can be found on pp. 159–408; for the other epics making up the book, see note 4.
- 28 Jalāl Khāleghī-Motlagh, 'Moṭāle'āt-e ḥamāsī 2. Farāmarznāme', *Nashriyye-ye dāneshkāde-ye adābiyāt wa 'olūm-e ensānī* 31 (1362/1983), 85–121, at 107–112. Idem, 'Farāmarznāme', *Irānnāme* 1, 22–45, is practically the same in content, but incorporates the information on the *Large Farāmarznāme*, at 23–24 and 33–36.

- 29 *Farāmarznāme-ye bozorg*, eds Van Zutphen and Khatibi, lxvii–lxxvi. Van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero*, 303–323, discusses the three texts and their physical appearance at length.
- 30 Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. I (1988), 3–5 (vss 1–34).
- 31 Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. III (1992), 3–24, entitled *dāstān-e ‘arṣ kardan-e keykhosrow*, ‘the story of Keykhosrow’s review’. See Van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero*, 417–425, for a comparison between these sections of the *Shāhnāme* and the manuscript versions of the *Large Farāmarznāme*.
- 32 This section, in which Keykhosrow dispatches his commanders to deal with the enemy in different regions, harks back to a different *Shāhnāme* episode, Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. IV (1994), 3–166 (*dāstān-e razm-e yāzdah rokh*, ‘the story of the battle of the eleven knights’), at 10–11, vss 105–122; the remainder of the introduction goes back to ‘the story of Keykhosrow’s review’.
- 33 Aboul Kasim Firdousee, *The Shah Nameh*, ed. Turner Macan (Calcutta: 1829), vol. II, p. 559, line 9, to p. 564, line 27. This passage contains a substantial number of additional verses compared to Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. III, 17–23, vss 240–353. Macan’s text has been reproduced in Dabir Siyāqī’s edition, 6 vols (Tehran, 1335/1956–1957).
- 34 Marjolijn van Zutphen, ‘Lithographed Editions of Firdawsī’s *Shāhnāma*: A Comparative Study’, *Oriens* 37 (2009) 65–101, at 77 and 81–99.
- 35 *Farāmarznāme-ye bozorg*, eds Van Zutphen and Khatibi, 3, n. 1, refers to the relevant *Shāhnāme* sections from which all three texts have borrowed, but does not cite the introductory section of the lithographed text.
- 36 *Farāmarznāme-ye bozorg*, eds Van Zutphen and Khatibi, 368, vs. 5442, n. 2, cites the final six verses of ms RSPA 176.
- 37 The *Garshāspnāme*, for instance, appears as an interpolation in London, British Library, ms IO Islamic 3263 (fols 13^r–104^r), the same manuscript that includes a version of the *Large Farāmarznāme* (see note 26), whilst the *Bahmannāme* can for instance be found in London, British Library, ms Or. 2976 (Shiraz, 1249/1833), fols 62^r–123^r, the second half of the same *Shāhnāme* of which the first part (ms Or. 2926) includes an interpolated shorter *Farāmarznāme* (see above, at note 21).
- 38 Four of the manuscripts are *Shāhnāmes* that include interpolated later epics: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms or. fol. 4252 (end-Safar 1042/mid-September 1632), fols 194^r–203^v; New York, Public Library, Spencer Pers. ms 3 (Shiraz?, Rajab 1025/July–August 1616), fols 164^v–172^v; St Petersburg, National Library, ms PNS 65 (20 Ži’l-qa’da 1031/1 July 1630), fols 165^v–170^r, and

ms Dorn 333 (Mashhad, 1061/1651), fols 319^v–330^r. The fifth one, Hyderabad, Salar Jung Museum and Library, ms 929 (early-11th C./c. 1600), fols 120^v–131^v, presents four later epics separately, but the *Large Farāmarznāme* follows a piece of text from the *Shāhnāme*, at the same point as in the other four manuscripts (after the verse equivalent to Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. III, 24, vs. 355). The version of the Hyderabad ms 929 is the longest, consisting of 843 verses. The versions in both the Berlin ms or. fol. 4252 and the St Petersburg ms Dorn 333 consist of 830 verses. The versions of Spencer Pers. ms 3 and ms PNS 65 largely agree with the others, but each misses out a different section of the text, consisting of about one and five folios, respectively. On the texts and contents of the four interpolated *Large Farāmarznāme*, see Van Zutphen, *Farāmarz, the Sistāni Hero*, 323–326 and 450–462, and for the Hyderabad manuscript, see pp. 329–330, although this information is not fully correct, since at the time of writing I had not yet examined this manuscript and was still under the impression that it might contain the complete *Farāmarznāme*.

- 39 Ervad Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *Catalogue of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute* (Bombay, 1923), 151 (no. 76); Sayad Abdulla Brelvi and Ervad B.N. Dhabhar, *Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic, Hindustani, Persian and Turkish Mss and Descriptive Catalogue of the Avestan, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian MSS in the Mulla Firoz Library* (Bombay, 1917), xxxii [no. 22]; Ervad Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *Descriptive Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library, Navsari* (Bombay, 1923), 91 (no. 65).
- 40 Dehkhodā, *Loghatnāme*, s.v. *qīrwān*, available at www.loghatnaameh.org.
- 41 M. Streck, 'Kāf', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. IV (1978), 400–402.
- 42 There is some contradiction surrounding the duration of Farāmarz's voyage: when he is in Qīrwān, geographically about halfway through his entire journey, his men say he has been away from home for 14 years ('twice five and four years have passed'; vs. 3191), whereas some time later Siyah-dīw informs the fairy king Farṭūrtūsh that Farāmarz has been travelling for more than 13 years (vs. 4603), but when Farāmarz leaves Farṭūrtūsh's country to go back to Iran, we are told that 15 years had gone by since he had left there (vs. 5255).
- 43 These passages describe, in turn, a number of unreal creatures Farāmarz and his men see during their first voyage across the ocean (vss 2051–2056); mountains of ruby and crystal on the island where Farāmarz slays a dragon, before going to the Zangis (vss 2975–2976); plants that resemble humans and other creatures of different species and that seem to vaguely resemble mandrakes, on the same island that contains Hūshang's tomb (vss 3780–

- 3784); and a people of ‘innocent’ demons that run too fast for any mounted man to catch them, which live near Mount Qāf, where Farāmarz and his men come after dealing with the king of Farghān (vss 3979–3992).
- 44 Asadī, *Garshāspnāme*, ed. Yaghmā’ī, 286–304, and *Le livre de Gerchāsp*, vol. II, trans. Massé, 133–146.
- 45 *Garshāspnāme*, ed. Yaghmā’ī, 127–148 and 312–319, and *Le livre de Gerchāsp*, trans., Massé, 23–37 and 152–157.
- 46 *Garshāspnāme*, ed. Yaghmā’ī, 178–183, and *Le livre de Gerchāsp*, trans. Massé, 58–61.
- 47 Shaul Shaked and Zabiollah Safa, ‘Andarz’, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. II (1987), 11–22.
- 48 Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. V, 518–565 (episodes of kings Dārāb and Dārā), and vol. VI (2005), 3–129 (episode of Iskandar). Richard Stoneman, *Alexander the Great: A Life in Legend* (New Haven and London, 2008), 27–48 (chapter 2), deals with several Persian versions of the story of Alexander and, at 28–31, discusses the extent in which Ferdowsī’s episode of Iskandar, especially his dealings with Dārāb, goes back on the Greek romance.
- 49 Elyās b. Yūsof Neẓāmī Ganjawī, *Sharafnāme* and *Eqbāl-nāme*, ed. Wahid Dastgerdī (Tehran: Aramghān, 1316/1937 and 1317/1938). The precise date of composition of the *Eskandarnāme* is unknown.
- 50 *Eskandarnāme*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1343/1964). See also *Iskandarnamah. A Persian Medieval Alexander-Romance*, trans. Minoo S. Southgate (New York, 1978). Afshār, 23, and Southgate, 3, discuss the work’s possible dates. Most likely, the core of this work was written around the eleventh century, but it was later expanded to its presently known form.
- 51 Abū Ṭāher Moḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ṭarsūsī, *Dārābnāme*, ed. Żabiḥollah Şafā, 2 vols (Tehran, 1374/1995–1996). See also Abu Ṭāher Tarsusi, *Alexandre le Grand en Iran: Le Dārāb Nāmeḥ d’Abu Ṭāher Tarsusi*, trans. Marina Gaillard (Paris, 2005). Gaillard, 83–85 (introduction), believes that the present version of the work dates from the twelfth century, although there are indications that it first may have been written down in the eleventh century.
- 52 Ferdowsi, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. VI, 74–78.
- 53 *Eskandarnāme*, ed. Afshār, 95–97 (Dawāl-pāyān) and 702–704 (Fil-gūshān), and *Iskandarnamah*, trans. Southgate, 36–37 and 152–153. Ṭarsūsī, *Dārābnāme*, ed. Şafā, vol. 2, 570–572 (Dawāl-pāyān), and 395–398 and 573–575 (Gelīm-gūshān), and *Le Dārāb Nāmeḥ d’Abu Ṭāher Tarsusi*, trans. Gaillard, 381 (Dawāl-pāyān; part of a summarised episode), and 295–299 and 381

(Gelīm-gūshān; second episode summarised). Ferdowsī, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. VI, 82 (*narm-pāyān*) and 114–116 (*gush-bestar*). Evangelos Venetis, ‘Islamic Lore and Supernatural Creatures in the Persian Prose Book of Alexander (*Iskandarnama*)’, *Persica* 21 (2006–2007), 75–87, at 76–79, briefly discusses the Dawāl-pāyān and the Fil-gūshān in the prose *Eskandarnāme*, and includes a reference to the Dawāl-pāyān in the *Dārābnāme*.

- 54 Ferdowsi, *Shāhnāme*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, vol. V, 534–540 (Dārā), and vol. VI, 57–64 (Qeydāfe) and 106–111 (Faghfūr). *Eskandarnāme*, ed. Afshār, 15–21 (Fūr), 192–195 (Qeydāfe), and 256–270 (Faghfūr), and *Iskandarnamah*, trans. Southgate, 17–19, 48–50, and 67 (the latter episode only summarised).