Naqqāli and Ferdowsi: Creativity in the Iranian National Tradition

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Naqqāli and Ferdowsi: Creativity in the Iranian National Tradition

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NAQQALI AND FERDOWSI:
CREATIVITY IN THE IRANIAN NATIONAL TRADITION

Mary Ellen Page

A DISSERTATION
in
Oriental Studies

Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor
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Introduction

Around the year 1000 A.D. Abu 'l-Qasem Ferdowsi wrote a verse epic called the Shahnama [Book of Kings].¹ In this epic Ferdowsi set down the Iranian past, legendary and historical, drawing upon much pre-Islamic material to explain the legendary history of Iran from the beginnings of the world to the Arab conquest in 636 A.D. Ferdowsi's work has probably been the focus of more research than any other single work in Persian literature and has come to dominate the study of the national tradition.² Much research has been concerned with tracing Ferdowsi's motifs, reaching back into the pre-Islamic Zoroastrian tradition to find antecedents,³ examining the way in which Ferdowsi's version excels in presentation,⁴ or how it represents historical reality.⁵

At the same time there has always been the knowledge that Ferdowsi's version of the Shahnama is only one version of material of which many other versions exist. Some scholars have been interested in examining written works from the medieval period which expand upon the Shahnama stories. The tracing of story lines or motifs has been of great concern.⁶

Recently a few people have become interested in the fact that the national tradition is still being retold and reworked. These scholars have directed their attention to the oral literature of
Iran. One of these scholars, Abu 'l-Qasem Anjavi, has published a collection of *Shāhnāma* stories which he recorded from lay storytellers around Iran.⁷ Even while he is publishing alternate versions of the *Shāhnāma* stories, Anjavi declares himself a firm believer in the greater value of Ferdowsi's work.⁸ He makes no real attempt to explain why such stories abound or what relationship they have with the written tradition. Much of the attitude toward the collection of these texts reflects the judgment of Theodor Nöldeke about the medieval epics which were written after Ferdowsi's version of the *Shāhnāma*:

> It is a common opinion, that a great deal of popular epic tradition has been preserved in those poems. It might sound a little bold, if I flatly deny that and declare the contents of those narratives to be essentially a free fancy of the respective authors.⁹

Furthermore, all the concern with the collection of variants of *Shāhnāma* stories, coupled with the veneration which Ferdowsi has received, implies that there is a correct version of the *Shāhnāma* (probably Ferdowsi's) and that any other version is the result of imperfect knowledge on the part of uneducated raconteurs.¹⁰

The mass of research centering on variants ignores the fact that the national tradition exists only in its being reworked and reinterpreted, so that popular versions are as valid and meaningful as written versions, and need not be merely corruptions of an ideal (written) text. Once the reworking of the tradition ceases to be meaningful to the audience, the tradition will disappear despite written versions.¹¹
Virtually no research on Iran exists which comments upon the storyteller's role in his society or the cultural values of storytelling or which attempts to come to terms with the relationship of the oral and written stories of the *Shāhnāma*. One study, centering on the professional storyteller, was done by Forud Ismail-Begi. Unfortunately, the study amounts to little more than a very superficial, and somewhat romantic, description of storytelling in modern Iran. Several articles have appeared in the last few years in Iran concerning storytelling. These articles, however, tend to consider storytelling only as a rather quaint reflection of past times and a preserve for old traditions, ignoring the social meaning which the activity still has today.

Folklorists studying other parts of the world have been interested in the form and meaning of oral literature. Scholars like Robert Georges have seen that stories do not exist so much in a perfect form with variants as they become real in the telling. Georges feels, however, that a tradition centering on the telling of stories rather than on the story itself exists only in places where written texts have not affected the storytellers:

... widespread literacy affects storytelling because the very models, which written stories provide — even for those people who cannot read them, but who are exposed to and affected by them nevertheless — are static models; and static models obviously make the story rather than the process of TELLING THE STORY the focus of attention.

Since Iran has a very strong literary heritage familiar to virtually every Iranian, we would expect a written work like Ferdowsi's to
provide a static model for storytelling.

It is an assumption of this study that oral and written literatures can and do exist at the same time without the oral literature being utterly dominated by the written text even in societies where the written literature is known and revered. This assumption is supported by the recent article of Ruth Finnegan, who asserts that

the relation between oral and written forms need not just be one of parallel and independent coexistence, far less of mutual exclusion, but can easily exhibit constant and positive interaction.\textsuperscript{17}

It is furthermore supported by studies on Iranian literature which demonstrate that just such a positive interaction has historically been the case in Iran.\textsuperscript{18} This study will attempt to demonstrate the validity of the assumption using the case of the Iranian national tradition.

\textit{Shahnâma} stories provide an example of the interrelationships between the oral and written literatures of Iran in that they have both been written down in a widely known source, and are still told orally in Iran. I will not be concerned in this study with lay storytellers, instead concentrating on the tradition of naqqāli (professional storytelling). The storytellers whom I am discussing are known as naqqāls (professional storytellers) and are by and large literate men with a vast store of memorized texts from the written literature in their mind. The very term naqqāl means literally "transmitter," a fact that would further imply that they
are dependent upon sources other than their own creativity. In fact storytellers commonly attribute their versions of the *Shahnama* to Ferdowsi, so that one would expect that the *Shahnama* has been codified by Ferdowsi and is now a static model for storytellers. As we will see, this is not the case.

This study will be based upon my field work with professional storytellers in Shiraz, Iran during the year 1974-1975. The stories were recorded during regular sessions in the coffee house where the storytellers perform. Information obtained during interviews with the storytellers and audience members in the coffee houses will also be presented, particularly with regards to the meaning and role of the storytellers within their society.

The material I possess consists of approximately one hundred and twenty hours of stories, about eighty sessions, recorded from two storytellers working in Shiraz. The two storytellers were Ḥabīb Allāh Izadkhaštī and cāli Ṣanāḵhān. From Ḥabīb Allāh I recorded various segments including the story of the hero Rostam and his battle with his own son Sohrāb, stories dealing with other major heroes, and later parts of the legendary material. From cāli I recorded the end of the total material dealing with the death of the King Bahman and the coming of Alexander the Great, and the early parts of the material, up to the appearance of the hero Rostam.

In order to give the reader a familiarity with the manner of the storytellers' presentations, selections of several sessions
have been transcribed and translated within the text of the study. The full text of one storytelling session is included, also in transcription and translation, in the Appendices along with a sample of story summaries.

Drawing on this example of the Iranian national tradition and professional storytelling, I will compare the written and oral texts to discover the degree to which the oral tradition is dependent upon or free from the written sources. In this discussion, I will look for stabilizing influences within the storytelling tradition, examining training and degree of familiarity with written texts. I will also show that the storyteller functions in a variety of ways with regard to his audience. I will examine how the storyteller's roles allow him to reinterpret his material and elaborate upon it. By an examination of the role of the storyteller and the relationship of the oral and written versions of the Shahnama, I hope to show how the telling of the national tradition has remained creative.

Outline

In the following chapters I will examine the problems discussed above. A short historical background will be presented in Chapter II, citing evidence for the continued presence of professional storytelling in Iran. I will examine references from Islamic and European works to deduce what roles the storyteller has played historically in Iran and what kinds of stories he performed.

Chapter III will present a description of the storytelling
tradition in the city of Shiraz, Iran in 1974-1975. The backgrounds of the two storytellers with whom I worked will be discussed along with some general comments about the material they perform and their audiences. The values of storytelling as expressed by storytellers and their audiences will be examined in light of the training and performance of the storytellers. The role of the storyteller in modern Iran will be discussed and compared with the conclusions made in Chapter II in order to see if storytelling today performs the same functions as it has historically.

Chapter IV will center on the constituent elements of the performance and attempt to discover the ways in which seemingly disparate kinds of material are unified in the storyteller's performance. This will include a discussion of the ways in which the material presented by the storyteller demonstrates the relationships which we have found to exist between the storyteller and his audience. The rowža and its meaning for the coffee house audience will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter V will examine the relationships between the oral and written materials in the Šahname stories. The discussion will include the relationship of the oral stories to the storyteller's own written source and to the work of Ferdowsi. Trends in the changing national legend and genre differences between the oral stories and Ferdowsi's work will be discussed. Conclusions will be drawn as to the place of the Šahname of Ferdowsi and the oral stories in the national tradition.
In the final chapter I will present the conclusions drawn from this examination of the *Shahnama* stories told today.

**Definition of Terms Used**

Several terms appear in this study which have specialized meanings. They are defined below.

1. **Storyteller** in this study should be taken to be the Iranian professional storyteller (*naqqāl*) who tells extended heroic narratives, usually in coffee houses. For convenience I have used the term storyteller in preference to the Persian word *naqqāl* except when making a distinction between *naqqāls* and other kinds of storytellers. This definition applies only to the Iranian material. Similarly storytelling is used as an equivalent to *naqqāli*.

2. **Story** will be used as enclosed narrative of events arranged in time sequence. By enclosed I mean having an obvious beginning and end. Because of the complexity of the Iranian material, one story does not necessarily end before another begins. In fact, most stories contain within them the beginnings of other stories. In a sense, too, the whole mass of material could be considered one story. There are, however, major sequences of events which do have definable boundaries such as the Rostam and Sohrab story or the story of Zal and Rudaba. Culturally these sequences are designated as *dastans* (stories), a term which has no reference to belief or lack of it. Sequences of events in historical narratives are also called *dastan*; for example the story of Roqaya (or another of the martyrs)
which is part of the narration of the martyrdom of Ḥosayn is called a dastan in spite of the fact that it is believed to be literally true.

3. Shahnama encompasses all the stories making up the narration. When I mean the written Shahnama by Ferdowsi, I will define it as such, except where the context makes the meaning clear. Shahnama, as the term is used in this study, includes more material than the written work does.

4. The Iranian national tradition should be understood to be the narratives and beliefs from Iran concerning the beginnings of the world, the development of civilization, and the Iranian kings and heroes.

5. Episodes are the constituent elements of the story. An episode is said to have ended when the time or place of the action changes whether or not a story has ended.

6. Rowza is a story told on religious occasions dealing with the martyrdom of Iran's Islamic leaders (imams). The person who tells the rowza is the rowza-khan.

A list of characters mentioned in this study who appear in the stories is added in the Appendices.

Transcription of Foreign Terms

In keeping with the subject matter of this study, I have tried to represent the spoken form of foreign words rather than the written form. Therefore, I have followed the transcription system
used by the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies with the following exceptions:

1.  is represented as o and  as u.

2. is represented as e and  as i.

3.  is represented as ow and  as ay.

The transcription of vowels has been altered to represent better the vowel sounds in spoken Persian. I have followed this system of transcription in all material discussed in this study, so that even material cited from Arabic works follows a Persian transcription system. Since my consideration of Arabic works in this study is primarily to compare names and terms with the Persian material, such a transcription makes the comparison more immediately recognizable to non-specialists than the use of two different transcription systems would.

In an attempt to bring this study into closer line with other studies of the national tradition, I have made the choice to follow the written rather than the spoken form in the representation of names of heroes and characters who appear in the stories. For example, this study will give Garshasp even though the storyteller commonly pronounces the name Garshasep. Such literary transcriptions will be used only in the text of the study with the spoken form appearing in all lengthy transcribed sections. For the most part the differences between the written and spoken forms of names are minor.
Historical Periods Discussed

Several historical periods are discussed in the study. These are as follows:

Pre-Islamic Period Before the mid-7th Century A.D.

Safavids 1501-1732 A.D.

Qajars 1779-1924 A.D.

Constitutional Period About 1905-1930 A.D.

Dates are given in reference to the Islamic calendar followed by the date A.D.
Notes

1. See Abu 'l-Qasem Mansur Ferdowsi, Shāhnāma, ed. A. Y. Bertels, et al., 9 vols. (Moscow: 1966-71). Throughout this study the Moscow edition of the Shāhnāma will be used. References will be cited as Shāhnāma with the volume, page and line numbers following in that order.

2. For a bibliography of the study of Ferdowsi and his epic, see Iraj Afshar, Ketab-shenasi-e Ferdowsi [Bibliography of Ferdowsi] (Teheran: 1347/1968), which lists approximately 430 book and articles in Persian and Western languages dealing with Ferdowsi. It is not the purpose of this study to review all the literature on Ferdowsi.


4. See, for example, the text of a speech by Amin Banani in Kayhan 2 Tir, 1354 (June 23, 1975), p. 21.


6. See Mojtaba Minovi, "Dastanhay-e Hamasi-e Iran dar Ma'akhir-e Chayr az Shāhnāma" [Epic stories of Iran in sources other than Shāhnāma], Simorgh 2 (1354/1975), pp. 9-25. Also see Arthur Christensen, Motif et Theme (Helsinki: 1925).


12. Although they deal with subjects peripheral to this study, three studies should be mentioned here. An article which includes a survey of various kinds of storytelling and mentions naqqali is Stephen Blum's "The Concept of the Ashīq in Northern Khorasan," *Asian Music* 4 (1972), pp. 27-47. Charlotte Albright's "The Azerbaijani Ashīq and his Performance of a Dastan," *Iranian Studies* 9 (1976), pp. 220-47 deals with the singer of stories who tells his tales in Azeri Turkish to the accompaniment of music.


15. I have chosen to use the term "oral literature" rather than "folklore" or "folktale" for the same of comparison with written literature. See also Robert Kellogg, "Oral Literature," *New Literary History* 5 (1973), pp. 55-66.


Chapter II

Historical Background

The profession of storytelling has a long history in Iran. Literary and historical sources refer to the court and popular storyteller from early times up to the present. Even before Islam men told the stories of the legendary kings and heroes of Iran's past. Many of these stories were transmitted into the Islamic period. Some material may also be found in the works of historians and travelers of the middle ages and up to the modern period. These works reveal something of the nature of the storyteller's art — his training, manner of telling, his position in society, the currency of his tales and the kinds of stories he told. In this chapter some of the many references available on the history of storytelling in the past will be examined to discover what is known of its nature before the present day.

It is clear that there was an active minstrel tradition in Iran in the pre-Islamic age. Using material from the early poets of the Islamic period and earlier, Mary Boyce has sketched the possible background of minstrelsy in pre-Islamic Iran.¹ She shows "that the gosan [minstrel] played a considerable part in the life of the Parthians and their neighbours . . . entertainer of king and commoner, privileged at court and popular with the people; present at the graveside and at the feast, eulogist, satirist, story-teller, musician; recorder of past achievements and commentator of his own
times." She suggests a minstrel-poet-musician who could be attached to the court but might also be a poet of the masses. These were the people who passed the traditional poetry down through the ages until the Islamic conquests. It is probably true, as she also points out, that the form changed after the Islamic conquests brought changes in the cultural tastes. However, the storyteller continued to be seen in Iran throughout the Islamic period and into the present day.

There is evidence within the literary renditions of the romantic stories to support the notion that the storytelling-minstrel tradition continued without interruption into the Islamic period. An account is included in Fakhr al-Din Gorgani's 5th/11th century *Vis and Ramin* of how the author came to write the story down in literary form. Gorgani says that despite its clumsy style,

\[
\text{[ka] miguyand chizi sakht nikust} \\
dar in keshvar hama kas dâradash dust
\]

They say it is a very good piece; Everyone in this area loves it. From this we may assume that stories from the pre-Islamic period remained popular while the form of their literary representation was being changed to conform with the new tastes. Although Ferdowsi's main source for his epic was a written text, he still gives clues in his *Shahnama* that he has included material gathered directly from oral sources and stories currently popular. According to Ferdowsi's account, for example, a guest told him the story of "Bizhan and Manizha." Since Ferdowsi describes his written source carefully, it seems certain here that he did in
fact gather this particular story from an oral source. The phrasing of the introduction to the story is therefore not merely conventional or meant to give legitimacy to the story.

The prose romances from the medieval period contain passages intimating that they were originally taken down from storytellers. One such is Samak-e Āyyar, a sixth century rendition, under the authorship of Faramarz b. Khodadad b. Ābd Allāh al-Kāteb al-Arrajānī. He refers to himself as the compiler (jamc konanda) and says that he has heard this tale of the pre-Islamic world from others and not composed it himself. New sections of the tale often open with a phrase like "thus related the composer of the material and the relater of the story" (chonin ravayat konad mocallef-e akhbar va ravi-e qessa). Faramarz credits one Sadaqa b. Abī 'l-Qasem al-Shirazi with the actual composition of the work. Sadaqa is mentioned in no other literary text.

The term naqqāl does not occur in these early texts and, in fact, seems to be a recent usage. In these early renditions of what were surely oral tales, however, the root naqala ("to transmit") is already used. In Samak-e Āyyar a verb often used for the storyteller's action is naql kardan ("to transmit"). In the Darābnama-e Tarsusi Abu Ṭaher b. Ḥasan b. Āli b. Musā al-Tarsusi, the composer, calls himself one of the "transmitters of traditions" (naqelan-e asar).

Unfortunately none of the literary sources gives a reliable account, if any at all, of how stories were told, who told them, or what their audience was. For hints at such information as this, one
must examine the historical texts.

Bayhaqi's 5th/11th century history gives examples of different kinds of storytellers. He tells an anecdote of a man mistaken for a storyteller (mohaddes). The incident reports that a servant was sent to bring the storyteller to entertain the amir:

\[ \text{khademi bar amad va mohaddes khast va az} \]
\[ \text{ettefaq hich mohaddes hazer nabud, azad mard} \]
\[ \text{bu ahmad bar khast ba khadem raft, va khadem} \]
\[ \text{pandasht ka u mohaddes ast, chun u be-khargah-e} \]
\[ \text{amir rasid hadisi aghaz kard ... sakht sara} \]
\[ \text{va naghz qessa'i bud}^{12} \]

A servant came in and asked for a storyteller. As it happened, no storyteller was present. The noble Bu Ahmad rose and went with the servant. The servant thought that he was the storyteller. When he reached the amir's private tent he began telling a story . . . it was a very well-wrought and fine story.

Since Bu Ahmad supposedly performed with no preparation or props, we may assume that the stories were told much as they are now, without aids or musical instruments. From this fact, too, we may assume that the stories and the manner of telling must have been well known.

Later in his history Bayhaqi has another occasion to mention storytellers. He laments that the common people spend time listening to stories in the bazaar:

\[ \text{va bishtar mardom-e canma an-and ka batel-e} \]
\[ \text{momtena-ra dusttar darand chun akhbar-e div} \]
va pari va ghul-e biyaban va kuh va darya ka
ahmaqi hengama sazad va goruhi hamchon u gard
ayand va way guyad ka dar folan darya jazira'i
didam . . . va nan pokhtim va digha nehadim
chun atesh tiz shod va tabash be-dan zamin rasid
az jay be-raft negah kardim mahi bud va be-folan
kuh chonin u chonin chizha didam . . . va ancha
be-din manad az khorafat . . .

Most of the common people prefer foolishness like stories of demons and fairies and desert ghouls . . . So that a fool may create an assembly and others like him come around and he says in such and such a sea I saw an island, . . . and we cooked bread and set up our cauldrons. When the fire got hot and the heat reached the land, it rose up. We looked. It was a fish. And in such and such a mountain I saw this and that thing . . . and that sort of romantic foolishness.

Here storytelling is a popular phenomenon centering in the areas where the common people gather in the evenings. Bayhaqi gives us a few examples of the sorts of tales told and tells us how effectively they stimulated the imagination of the people. In Bayhaqi's time it appears that storytelling was a current profession both in court circles and among the common people.

From other sources it is known that the legendary stories of the Iranian past were also popular and well known. One of these sources, the 4th/10th century Mohammad b. Eshaq b. Abi Yaqub al-Nadim al-Varraq al-Baghdadi cites collections of Persian heroic
stories in his **Fehrest** ("Catalog"). He provides the titles of a number of collections of stories which he calls native to Persia and which are surely heroic tales and legends of the Iranian kings, including some elements of the national legend. Some of the titles which Ebn al-Nadīm includes are "Rostam and Esfandiyār" (**rostam va esfandiyar**), "Shahrezād and Parviz" (**shahrezād maʿa abarviz**), "The Life of Anūshirvān" (**al-karnāmaj fi sirat anushravan**) and "Darius and the Golden Idol" (**darā va 'l-sanam al-zahab**).  

In short we know several things about storytelling from pre-Islamic and early Islamic Iran. There had been a continuing tradition of minstrels which included narrations of national legendary material. Many of these stories appear to have been anecdotal or centering around the kings and heroes of ancient Iran. The storyteller was found attracting royal attention in courts and gathering crowds of commoners informally. The telling of old Iranian stories continued orally at the same time that their written form was being recast in a new form more consistent with the literary tastes imported by the Arabs.  

The real flourishing of storytelling as an art of entertainment came in the Safavid period. Here we see a more obvious mingling of the courtly and common threads of storytelling. By the early 17th century the coffee house had become established as an entertainment center both for nobility and commoners.  

From the years 1631–32, as part of a description of the main square of Isfahan, Adam Olearius provides an account of several kinds of entertainment
which were available to those who lived in the capital. Near the 
baazar were drinking houses ("Schirechane") which offered alchoholic 
drinks and dancing boys. Also there were tea houses ("Tzai Chattai 
chane") which served tea and where men played chess. The third 
form of entertainment establishment was described as follows:

Kahweh chane is ein Krug/in welchem die Taback-
smaucher und Kahweh Wassertrincker sich finden 
lassen. In solchen drenen Krügen finden sich auch 
Poeten und Historici/welche ich mitten im Gemache 
auff hohen Stülen sitzen gesehen/und allerhand 
Historien/Fabeln und erdichtete Dinge erzählen-
hörren. Im erzählen phantasiren sie mit einem 
Stocklein/gleich die so aus der Taschen spielen.16

The coffee house is an inn in which smokers and 
coffee drinkers are found. In such shops one also 
finds poets and historians whom I have seen sitting 
inside on high stools and heard them telling all 
manner of legends, fables and fantastic things. 
While narrating they gesticulate with a little 
stick like tricksters.

Olearius also points out the closeness of these centers of entertain-
ment to the bazaar and the business area of the city, much as they 
are today. Even the king and his guests and courtiers went to these 
places, and it seems that they were perfectly respectable places 
for men to rest and to be entertained. Today the coffee house has 
taken over the functions of both tea house and coffee house.

The storyteller attached to the provincial ruler is also 
documented in Olearius. Near Ardabil he and his group were called 
to greet a local khan and other notables at the beginning of the 
New Year's feast. Among them at the table was a storyteller 
("Kasiechuan") attending the kahn.17
In the *Tazkira-e Nasrābādi*, Mohammad Mirzā Nasrābādi speaks of Shah ʿAbbas frequenting coffee houses and engaging the poets there in conversation and showing them signs of respect. While Nasrābādi does not tell us directly of any storytellers attached to the court of the Safavid kings, he does mention people who made their living by entertaining the king. One Molla Bikhodi Jonābādi was an excellent *Shāhnāma* reciter (*shāhnāma-khānī bālā dast*) who performed before Shah ʿAbbas (*dar majles-e shah ʿabbās-e mazi khand*). Nasrābādi also gives us evidence of support of storytellers outside of the capital. He reports on one Hosaynā Sabuhi who travelled in the garb of a dervish until he reached the khan of Tabriz where he was given good clothes and was well treated. From the account of this same person we also learn that storytellers might still be versed in music. This same Hosaynā was a master in playing the *saz* as well as in telling the stories of Hamza and the *Shāhnāma* (*dar fann-e musiqī kamāl-e rabt dasht dar saz-e chahār tār ostād bud qessa-e hamza va shāhnāma-rā ham khub mikhand*). We may also see that the purely popular tradition was still alive at this time. Molla Ghayrat Hamadānī is quoted as saying that he began his career gathering people in the square (*dar maydān maʿrāka mikardam*). Later he reports that despite his illiteracy he suddenly became able to create poetry (*mowzun shodam*). Here we may see how even the popular tradition of poetry without writing remained into Safavid times.
Throughout the Safavid period we continue to see the older forms of popular storytelling and extemporaneous performance, including poetic production, continuing next to the literary life. The storyteller was often also a poet. The courtly and popular traditions seem to merge at this time particularly in the coffee houses where stories and poetry were presented to courtier and commoner alike. The performers themselves seem to be able to move from one group to another with ease, appreciated by the urban dwellers and sometimes richly rewarded by the king. In the Safavid period, too, we begin to see the storyteller as something of a dervish, often touring the countryside in poor clothes and having pretensions toward special godliness. The title *molla* seems to have been used frequently for storytellers, as it continued to be into Qajar times.

In a series of articles on the art of oration (*sokhanvari*), Mohammad *Jāfar* Mahjub has examined storytelling as part of a larger tradition of orators in Iran into the pre-modern period. Mahjub describes the values of the coffee house as an entertainment center and as a center for encouragement of the rhetorical arts in pre-modern and, to a lesser extent, modern times. The author also discusses the relationship of storytelling and the other oral arts to the mystic Sufi tradition and discusses the *selsela-e ājam* (literally: "the Persian chain"), a professional-mystic society, originating in the Safavid period but no longer in existence. It is clear that storytellers have been part of both the formal, religious, and the informal, mystic, traditions of Iran in the past and continue to be so even
today. This question will be examined further in later chapters.

Once again in the Qajar period the court storyteller appears along with the popular storyteller. John Malcom's *History of Persia* from the beginning of the nineteenth century discusses the court storyteller at length.

In the court of Persia there is always a person who bears the name of "story-teller" to his majesty; ... and those ... [men], sometimes display ... extraordinary skill. ... But the art of relating stories is, in Persia, attended both with profit and reputation. Great numbers attempt it, but few succeed. It requires considerable talent and great study. ... They must not only be acquainted with the best ancient and modern stories, but be able to vary them by the relation of new incidents, which they have heard or invented. They must also recollect the finest passages of the most popular poets, that they may aid the impression of their narrative by appropriate quotations.2

The stories of which Malcom speaks are undoubtedly those which are still popular today. From this passage, too, we can get some idea of the manner of performance. Malcom also documents the names of two storytellers, "Darveesh Suffer" and "Moolah Adenah,"25 the former a popular storyteller, the latter a storyteller for the king. In these two titles, dervish and molla, we see the continuation of the tradition of the Safavid period, of attaching names of respect to storytellers and, in the case of dervish a name which implies holiness and poverty. Malcom glosses the use of the term molla as being a well-read, amiable, cultivated person,26 while today it means a religious functionary.

Malcom also includes a description of some stories which,
though not incorporated into Ferdowsi's work, are still currently
told today. One he cites is the story of the deposed Jamshid's
wanderings in Sistan and his secret marriage to the king of Sistan's
daughter.27

The appreciation which storytelling commanded is demon­
strated by the fact that one of the storytellers of Nāser al-Din
Shāh composed the story of Amir Arslān which was written down from
his telling. The manner in which the story was written down is
documented by the MoCayyer al-Mamalek, a grandson of the king.
The storyteller came each night to read to the king. One of his
favorite daughters was so enchanted by the stories that she plotted
to write them down without the storyteller knowing:

har shab hengāmi ka naqīb al-mamalek barāy-e
shāh naql migofi asbāb-e neveshtan hażer namuda
posht-e dar mineshast va ḡoftahāy-e u-rā be-
ruy-e kaghaz miyavard. az in jomla dastan-e
amir arslān ast.28

Every night when Naqīb al-Mamalek told a story
for the king, she would bring writing materials
and sit behind the door and write down on paper
what he said. This is how the story of Amir
Arslān came to be.

Once written down, the story passed into the literary tradition of
Iran, remaining a popular book for some time.

E.G. Browne gives evidence of the effect the popular
tradition of storytelling had on the people of the late Qajar period.
Quoting a letter of his correspondent of June 19, 1907, he writes:
Everyone seems to read the paper now. In many of the Qahwa-khānas (coffee houses) professional readers are engaged, who, instead of reciting the legendary tales of the Sháh-náma, now regale their clients with political news.²⁹

Browne's citation is particularly interesting in that it demonstrates a continuity of storytelling which is only overwhelmed by great political events. Furthermore, we can see in this letter the power which storytellers have had in Iran as an information source for the illiterate segments of the population.

From historical sources and from evidence within material taken from the oral tradition into the literary tradition, we know that storytelling has been a continuous activity in Iran from pre-Islamic times to the present. Storytellers could perform either before a crowd of people in the bazaar or they could, with luck, be attached to a king or provincial ruler. In this sense, the minstrel tradition of pre-Islamic Iran continued and is alive even today. The same tales have continued to be told of Iran's legendary past.

With the appearance of the coffee house in Iran, a center was provided for entertainment which included storytelling. The storytellers in Safavid and Qajar periods were seemingly respected men of learning who might have been poets and musicians as well. The stories of these narrators were sometimes written down and then passed into Iran's literary tradition.

Beyond being entertainers storytellers have historically been religious figures as well. The selsela-e Cajam grouped storytellers with other artistic figures of the society in a mystical-
religious union. Many storytellers of the Safavid period travelled the countryside as dervishes and seem to have been well-regarded as godly and religious men.

It is clear that storytellers have been considered as transmitters of their culture, as they are now. Works taken down from storytellers, even from the early periods, are not said to be original works, but rather reworkings of material already known. The use of the verbs naq\el k\erdan and ravayat k\erdan (both meaning literally "to transmit") affirms the storyteller as transmitter rather than creator.

In coming chapters we will consider the aspects of storyteller as transmitter versus creative artist, his position with regard to the literary tradition and his functions vis\`a vis his audience.
Notes


2. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

3. Ibid., p. 38.


8. Ibid., 3:8.

9. Ibid., 1:95 and see editor's introduction, 1:4.

10. Ibid., for instance 1:106, 123, 126, etc.


12. Abu 'l-Fazl Mohammad b. Ḥosayn Kateb Bayhaqi, Tārikh-e Māsudi, ed. Qasem Ghani and 'Ali Akbar Fayyaż (Teheran: 1324/1945), p. 128. It is very unusual to find the word mohaddes, which should be a teller of religious traditions, used in conjunction with qessa which should be a secular story at this period of time.

13. Ibid., p. 666.


15. See Nasr Allāh Falsafi, "Tārikh-e Qahva va Qahvakhanā dar Iran" [The history of coffee and the coffee house in Iran], Sokhan 5 (1333/1954), 258-68.

17. Ibid., p. 440.

18. For example see the anecdote reported on Shah ʿAbbās and the poet Mir Elāhi in Tazkira-e Naṣrābādī, ed. V. Dastgerdī (Teheran: 1317/1939), p. 255:


20. Ibid., p. 357.

21. Ibid., p. 322.


23. Ibid., see especially pp. 631-37 with examples of poetry and orations.


25. Ibid., pp. 553 and 554.

26. Ibid., pp. 575-76.

27. Ibid., p. 18.


Chapter III

The Storyteller and His Setting

Many of the traditional elements of professional storytelling which we observed in the last chapter have been preserved in Iran. In major Iranian cities one may still find the professional storyteller (naqqal) performing daily, sometimes before a crowd of one hundred or more men. While this craft is certainly one which has been practiced for centuries in Iran, it is now rapidly falling off. In only a few segments of the Iranian population does the storyteller still play a vital role.

The material narrated today by the storyteller derives primarily from the Iranian national legend. The source used by all storytellers today is the 11th century national epic, the Shahnama of Ferdowsi. According to his preferences, a storyteller may also include in his repertoire material from the national legend as presented in epics such as Garshaspnama and Borzunama. He may even move out of this tradition and narrate something like the Safavid romance Hosayn-e Kord or stories of the Safavid rulers. The material of the storyteller will be discussed at greater length in later chapters.

In this chapter I will examine the backgrounds of the storytellers with whom I worked. Their views on the value of storytelling will be discussed and compared with the views of audience members. The purpose of this discussion will be to form some
conclusions on the functions of storytelling in modern Iran.

The vitality of storytelling today may be seen by examining the situation in the city where I worked in 1974-75. During that year Shiraz, a city of about 300,000 people in the south of Iran, supported four full-time storytellers. One was working in a coffee house run by the Iranian National Tourist Organization. This coffee house was frequented by middle to upper class Shirazis, and Iranian and foreign tourists. For the purposes of the traditional audience, therefore, he had dropped out of sight. Of the other three, one was Asghar Afrasiyabi, a man in his mid-thirties who had only been working as a storyteller for four or five years and had not yet succeeded in attracting a following or a reputation as a good storyteller. He was ill for most of the year of the study and only recommenced his new calling in the spring.

The study which follows will concern itself primarily with the two storytellers described below and their material. These two men were considered by the audience members (and by each other) to be successful and skillful storytellers. They both had loyal followers and both made their living as full-time storytellers.

The Storytellers

The first of these two storytellers is Habib Allah Izadkhasti, a vigorous, aggressive man in his mid-fifties. His home was in Isfahan but he divided his year between Shiraz and Isfahan, a large city to the north of Shiraz. In 1974-75 he spent September through
February in Shiraz, leaving just before the Iranian New Year (on March 21st according to the Iranian calendar). This is apparently an arrangement which he has followed for a number of years. While he is in Shiraz, his wife and children remain in Isfahan. He has five children, one in the army in Teheran who has received his high school diploma.

Habib Allah worked at the Karāmat Coffee House, located at the southwestern corner of the main bazaar in Shiraz. Besides the money he received from the audience, he also said that the coffee house paid him some money. He considers the living he makes working in the coffee house as fairly good.

Habib Allah's first exposure as a performer had been as a non-professional rowžā-khan in Isfahan. According to him, he had listened to the stories of the Shiite martyrs since childhood. Eventually he had collected the stories in a book and learned them. Even as a performer in the coffee house, he uses his skill in telling religious stories as part of his drawing power. Every Thursday evening and Friday morning he tells a rowžā at the conclusion of his story segment. He also tells a rowžā on religious holidays. During the month of Moharram (when Shiites commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Hosayn), he tells a rowžā on Mondays as well. He is able to control the crowd so well during the telling of these religious stories that he receives a good deal more money at the conclusion than he regularly receives for his rendition of the Shāhnāma. It was not unusual for people who regularly give him five or ten
riyals (about seven to fifteen cents) to give him fifty or one hundred riyals after a rowza on important religious holidays. Habib Allah also stated that he did rowza-khani and related religious performances for friends during Moharram. During the first ten days of Moharram (the holiest part of the month), the coffee house played taped rowzas before the story began. These tapes included some commercially produced rowzas and some of Habib Allah's rowzas which he said he had recorded at a friend's house. The one form of religious performing which he said he would not take part in is ta'ziya, a religious play in which performers act the parts of the martyrs and their enemies. Habib Allah did however say that it was not uncommon for storytellers to perform in ta'ziyas.

Habib Allah had been working as an artisan in Isfahan when he decided to take up storytelling as a profession at the age of twenty-eight. Having decided to change his profession he then found a teacher whom he paid to teach him the techniques of storytelling. He continued to work at his old profession while learning his new one.

Habib Allah described his training as follows. Every evening for over a year he went to his teacher (ostad) to learn the Shahnama. He was the only student (shagerd) working with his teacher throughout his training period. He was required to memorize (hefz kardan) the work of Ferdowsi so that he could recite it for his teacher. Every day he was given a section which he had to master by the next lesson. As part of his training he also received from
his teacher a prose abridgement of the actual stories he was learning to tell, called a tumar (literally, scroll) which he copied and learned. He also insisted that another part of his training included learning the poetry and philosophy from well-known Iranian figures. The poetry which he learned formed the openings of his performance. After his year's training, Habib Allah was on his own, technically a full-fledged storyteller. There was no period of apprenticeship for him, and once the lessons were completed he succeeded or failed on his own talent.

Up to the time when I interviewed him, he had never had a student of his own. He had always regretted this, he said, but attributed it to the fact that young men are no longer interested in such a profession.

He arrived in Shiraz each year with no particular plan in mind. He would look around until he found a coffee house with no storyteller and where one was wanted. Having found such a place he then began telling his stories. In the year 1974-75 he was not at the same coffee house where he had been the year before. As it had happened, the Karamat had been without its accustomed storyteller and had hired Habib Allah to fill in.

Habib Allah had planned to remain in Shiraz until the New Year, but as it happened he returned to Isfahan about two weeks early. This hurried departure did not cause him to rush his story at all. Even when he learned he was leaving early, he continued narrating at the same slow pace. The story was incomplete when he left.
While he was in Shiraz, Ḥabīb Allāh spent almost all of every day in the coffee house. He performed twice a day, seven days a week. In this period he covered the *Shāhnāma* material from the beginning up to the conquest of Alexander the Great. He did however have some extra time to pursue other interests. Halfway through his stay in Shiraz, he acted a small part in a movie being filmed locally. He managed to act his part without having it interfere with his two daily performances at the coffee house.

Besides Shiraz and Isfahan, Ḥabīb Allāh had also performed in Mashhad (the location of one of the three major Shi‘ite shrines). He used the opportunity of being in Mashhad on a pilgrimage to perform as a storyteller. The funds he earned as a storyteller in turn subsidized his pilgrimage.

The other storyteller with whom I worked in Shiraz was an older man of sixty-five years, named ʿAlī Sanāḵhān. He has three children and a number of grandchildren, including one grandson studying in the United States. Although he makes his home and performs in Shiraz, he has also performed in other places such as Teheran and, for a short time, in Mashhad while he was making a religious pilgrimage to the shrine there. He has performed as a *naqqaš* for about forty years and has a small group of men who come regularly to hear him. Now, however, as he has become older, fewer people seem to be attracted to him as a performer. People sometimes complained that, although he is a skillful storyteller, he has a weak (*ṣaʿif*) voice and is hard to listen to.
CAli performs mornings at the Chahar Fasl Coffee House, about one block north of Habib Allah's coffee house, on a side street leading into the Shiraz bazaar. In the afternoon he regularly performs at the Karamat, where he had been performing before Habib Allah arrived. A broken leg had forced CAli into a period of convalescence during which time the Karamat had been without a storyteller until Habib Allah's appearance. Shortly after Habib Allah left Shiraz, CAli was asked to return to the Karamat and again performed there afternoons.

These days CAli's clients pay him only a meager sum for performing, and he depends also on a government stipend of 450 tumans (roughly $65-$70) per month. The Ministry of Arts and Cultures in Shiraz pays this stipend to CAli and Asghar Afrasiyabi. For this money the two men also perform each evening in the Ministry's culture house (khana-e farhang), in the south of Shiraz. The culture houses have been set up to encourage and teach the traditional arts of Iran and to teach other arts, such as painting and guitar playing, to Iranians. There were four of these culture houses in Shiraz while I was there, only one with a tea house. The tea house was actually a large open room in the building with chairs and equipment for tea service. Only CAli and Asghar performed in this tea house, where they told fifteen or twenty minute selections in front of a small mixed audience of employees of the culture house and workers in the area.

CAli's last name, Sanakhan, means "singer of praises."
He had chosen this name for himself as appropriate to his life. As he tells his life story, he was born in Teheran and his father, a confectioner (qannad), died when he was about twelve or thirteen years old. His mother was quite young and had difficulty supporting her children. At this time CAli left home and went to Mazandaran, a rich agricultural province in northern Iran. In addition to his own difficult situation at home, the country itself was also experiencing hard times, but the situation in the north was far better than in the capital city of Teheran.\(^7\)

In Mazandaran CAli became acquainted with a group of dervishes and eventually joined their order. To the present day he remains a khākār dervish,\(^8\) and attends weekly meetings. He adds, however, that the historical link between Sufism and nāqqāli no longer exists.\(^9\) Although some storytellers are dervishes, by no means do all storytellers have connections with any Sufi order.

For a number of years after becoming a dervish, CAli dressed as a mendicant and made his living reciting poetry in praise of the imams in bazaars all over Iran. Eventually he found himself in Qom (another holy city and pilgrimage center) where he became the student (morid) of a particularly learned and holy man.

By the time CAli was about twenty-five years old, he was living in Shiraz and had married. Feeling the need for a more settled life and more certain income, he apprenticed himself to a storyteller with whom he studied for two years. The manner of training seems to have been much the same as that of Habib Allah,
in that he copied the teacher's tumar, learned the stories and memorized the Shahnama. At the end of this period of training, he still did not feel himself to be ready (pokhta, literally: "cooked") to go out on his own. His teacher therefore sent cAli to fill in for him occasionally in a coffee house until cAli was ready to take up on his own.

cAli spends about one and a half to two years telling the Shahnama, from the beginning up to Alexander's conquest. He completed the whole telling shortly before New Year's and then told a popular story from his tumar dealing with Alexander the Great in Iran for two more months. Afterwards he began to tell the Shahnama over again. In the Karamat he was telling the Borzunama and in the culture house he was telling the Jahangirnama. Before he selected the Alexander tale, he considered telling stories of the Safavid rulers. He also said one of his favorites was the story of Hosayn-e Kord, but he did not tell this story because the audience did not know it and would therefore not enjoy hearing it.

cAli also tells rowzas but does not pride himself on his ability at this form of storytelling in the same way Habib Allah does. He admitted that he did not really like to tell rowzas but that he felt his audience expected them. They are, in fact, a required part of the performance on religious days. He confines his rowza telling to the more important religious days, such as Shab-e Qatl (the eve of Hosayn's martyrdom, on the tenth of Moharram), Arba'in (the fortieth day after Hosayn's death, the

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twentieth of the Moslem month Safar), and Fatema's birthday.

His rowžas tend to be shorter than Habib Allah's and they generally evoke less response.

Though he lacks formal schooling, he reads widely, including Persian translations of Western works. Furthermore, he has memorized great amounts of poetry from classical as well as modern Persian poets, and prides himself on his ability to recite it. Twice he departed from the usual panegyric and told short stories in poetry and prose before he began his story proper.

CAli said that he too was acquainted with other storytellers in the city and around the country. He could remember a time when there were many storytellers working in Shiraz, and almost every coffee house employed at least one. He said when he travelled he had always made a point of finding out who the naqqal was in each city he visited. Beyond any mere social value, this also provides a network of exchange of views and comparison of material. This random viewing of other storytellers, he said, had helped him to learn the profession, a belief expressed by most of the storytellers I spoke with.

As a student CAli had received his material from his teacher in the form of a tumar. He had passed this material on to two students of his own in recent years. Asghar Afrāsiyābi was his most recent student. He had had another student some years before who had been imprisoned. CAli said once that a storyteller generally sold his tumar for 1,000 to 2,000 tumans (about $150 to $300).
It should be noted that besides these full-time storytellers, there were a few other men who occasionally appeared at the Karamat Coffee House and told stories. These men worked out one story, sometimes from the Iranian national legend, sometimes of Safavid rulers, and tried it out on the coffee house audience. Despite some encouragement from friends, they were unsuccessful and would disappear once again.

The Setting

The Karamat Coffee House in which Habib Allah performed was constructed from the courtyard of an old house. One side of the courtyard had been walled off and a roof had been added. The coffee house thus took up about half the old courtyard and still had a small courtyard of its own, where the afternoon session was held in the warmer months. The entrance to the coffee house is barely visible from the street, being an unmarked doorway, covered by a gelim in winter, and surrounded by jewelry stores, banks and yard good stores. Only well inside the door is there a sign with the name of the coffee house. The patrons therefore are largely regulars, and there is little traffic off the street.

The patrons may say that they come to hear the story, but they are also regulars of the coffee house itself. Most of the men there are at least acquainted with one another. Among the professions represented at this coffee house were taxi drivers, chauffeurs, shop clerks, painters, builders, truck drivers and
manual laborers around the city and at the oil refinery outside Shiraz. Occasionally soldiers would come in, as well as sidewalk salesmen who brought their suitcases into the coffee house and hawked their wares before the story began. A lot of men were out of work.

Although coffee house attendance is limited by and large to men, one might occasionally find women or young girls there. One girl about eight years old came regularly with her father and sometimes even alone. Also, one would find beggar women with or without children sitting in the courtyard or next to the door listening. The rule is that women do not spend their time in the coffee house listening to storytellers, but the women who did appear were generally allowed to come and go as they pleased.

The audience was mixed in age. There were some very old men, a few of whom came only for the story then left. There were also some very young children who came for the story, either alone or with parents. Adults would often bring their children with them and encourage them to listen to the stories. Sometimes they would bring their children in and listen to the storyteller while the child played quietly or slept near by.

The main part of the audience sat in the lower floor of the coffee house. The converted house provided a balcony on three sides of the main floor where men sat and listened. The coffee house could easily hold two hundred people. Habib Allah had some particularly good friends who generally congregated near him in the front of the room when he was not performing. During the performance
they either remained where they were or dispersed about the main floor of the coffee house, to return to him again when he was finished. The men who spent time with Habib Allah came from the usual professions in the coffee house.

Those men who wanted to chat rather than listen either removed to the courtyard in nice weather, or to one of the rooms behind the balcony. There were chess and backgammon games and a small collection of books provided at least in part by the funds from the Ministry of Arts and Culture in Shiraz. There were also some beds in the very back rooms of the upper sections, where men would sleep. A shoe repairman regularly made the rounds, picking up shoes during the early part of the performance and returning them toward the end. Men would regularly come in selling pajamas or second-hand clothes.

In short this coffee house, as all coffee houses, functioned as much as a social center and merchandise market as it did an entertainment center. Besides bringing in money to the coffee house from the large attendance during the performance, the male patrons also provided a ready-made group of customers for several merchants. Beggars also used the opportunity of a large assembly of men to come in and collect money. Sometimes these beggars would stand before the assembly and call out blessings, complaints of their condition, or the names of the imams, asking for money. They were not allowed to interfere with the performance, and should they begin to cause a disruption, they were either forcibly seated or shown
to the door.

The Karamat had a bad reputation for being a place where unemployed men and opium addicts spent their days.\textsuperscript{10} There were certainly a number of men who spent whole days there and who were obviously addicts, though mostly legal.\textsuperscript{11} Toward the end of Habib Allah's stay, in fact, the police took action against the addicts in this coffee house. During his last performance, the coffee house was raided by drug agents and a few men were taken away. This is apparently a regular occurrence before the New Year's holiday. Several months after Habib Allah left, the police began closing the coffee house on Friday afternoons to discourage young addicts from spending the day asleep there.

A number of modishly-dressed, young men spent each evening in the coffee house balcony. They were loud and rowdy, even during the performance, and occasionally the rowdiness would degenerate into arguments among themselves or with the coffee house employes. Habib Allah never allowed such behavior to disrupt his performance totally. As soon as an outburst would occur, he would comment on this rudeness and begin prayers to attract the audience's attention once again.

Otherwise the audience was very polite with Habib Allah. The men recognize him as a learned man and have proper respect for him. Most of the regular audience greet him as they come in, even if he is performing. The men, particularly the older men, touch their eyes as they greet him, or offer him his payment with two hands, both
gestures of humility. As he takes the money, he calls down such blessings as "May God bless you" (khoda barakatat beda). These blessings are commonly said by those who receive money as an offering.

The audience members both speak to and refer to Habib Allah by the title morshed (teacher), the traditional title applied to naqqals. The term itself has some religious overtones. According to audience members, the Supreme Morshed is Ḥādi, the son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet Mohammed and first imam of the Shīites. Those men who follow Ḥādi in religiosity and knowledge are also termed morshed, so that the term has come to mean "teacher" and by extension someone who knows books and interprets them for others. Habib Allah was said to be worthy of respect because he was very learned (ba savad) This is of course important among men, many of whom are only marginally literate or totally illiterate. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the entire audience is illiterate. Many of the audience members were able to read. Many had read the Shahnama, at least in part, and most Iranians have more than a passing acquaintance with Ferdowski. For many, part of the value of the performance was not only in the story but in the manner in which the story was told. One regular audience member said he had read the Shahnama himself, but came to hear someone tell the stories who spoke well (with talaffoz-e khub).

The Karamat Coffee House was receiving a small subsidy from the Ministry of Arts and Cultures. The sum of 150 tumans ($23)
was paid to the owner to encourage cultural activities, besides storytelling. Occasionally local poets would appear in the coffee house and read their works. The Karamat was not the only recipient of government funds. The tea house in the culture house is supported by the government as is a fourth coffee house without a storyteller.\textsuperscript{13}

The Chahâr Fasl Coffee House, in which Āli performs, has been given money from the Ministry of Arts and Culture to be remodelled and for the encouragement of the traditional arts of Iran. At the time of this study, 500 tumans ($75) per month was being given as a subsidy to the owner. In addition the coffee house receives 760 tumans ($115) for cultural activities, such as a small library and the purchase of games for the patrons. A total of 1100 tumans ($165) was given to the coffee house for painting and restoration. Although other coffee houses receive funds from the government, the Chahâr Fasl receives by far the most money and attention from the Ministry. In addition to money for the encouragement of storytelling, the Chahâr Fasl is also occasionally used as a theater in the evenings where a government-sponsored acting group, made up mostly of young people, puts on folk or folk-style plays. Some of these performances are recorded for showing on the National Iranian Television service. For every event of this nature the government pays the coffee house owner extra money and pays him to provide free tea to the audience.\textsuperscript{14}

Unlike the Karamat, the Chahâr Fasl advertises its existence with a conspicuous sign above the door on the outside. In
general the Chahar Fasl attracts a larger variety of people than the Karamat. While the audience watching the storyteller is only men, women often come in with their husbands and children for tea. Sometimes the clientele also includes Iranian and even foreign tourists. The audience for such other activities as plays includes both men and women of all ages.

The coffee house is laid out with one main room and a courtyard. The arrangement of pillars and benches in the main room allows those who wish to listen to the story to congregate in one section while those who are not interested can sit in the remainder of the coffee house. CAli attracts only about twenty regulars. The audience sits very close to the storyteller in a semi-circle only one person deep. They converse with him before the performance and comment upon the story's action. At the end of the Shahnama material, CAli asked his audience what they would like to hear, and they discussed the matter to help him make a decision.

The storyteller sits behind a long table and speaks into a microphone in front of him. The audience members bring their money up to him when he finishes his story. He also makes the rounds of the rest of the coffee house and collects a few more coins from people who were not directly involved in the storytelling audience.

This more intimate arrangement of the storyteller and his audience seems to be better for CAli, particularly considering his age. He has neither the voice nor the physical presence to be able to command a large audience. Whereas Habib Allah is able to
control the large, rather rowdy group at the Karamat, cAli is not and can only barely be heard there, despite the microphone. His audience in the Chahār Fasl is also better suited to him. The men frequenting his storytelling tend to be retired army people, some cab drivers and manual laborers, but only a few unemployed young men. A few high school and college students attached to the theater and arts groups which work at the coffee house occasionally attend the storytelling session and are on friendly terms with cAli. The coffee house employes take their status as a government-subsidized business seriously and anyone who appears less than stable or a potential troublemaker is evicted. The shouting arguments and occasional brawls which kept Habib Allah and the coffee house employes busy at the Karamat simply do not happen at the Chahār Fasl.

cAli himself prefers working at the Chahār Fasl because it is more orderly (morattab) and therefore more conducive to listening. A powerful storyteller like Habib Allah however was able to control the larger group and make it profitable. The audience members of the Chahār Fasl do not frequent the Karamat Coffee House by and large, and warned me, unfairly, that it was not a safe place, being full of thieves and criminals.

What cAli gains in quiet and attention with the better behaved, more attentive audience, he loses in the traditional shows of respect. These men no longer adhere to the form of address of morshed, for example, and refer to him simply as Mr. Sanakhan.
(Aqay-e Sanākhān). His audience members have respect for the amount that he has read and his skill in telling stories, but they are aware of the irony of his being dependent upon them even though he is a respected man. They refer to his being well-read and a dervish but do not express the rather simple homage to his position as do Habīb Allāh's clients.

In spite of the fact that ĆAli's regulars insist that they are really attached to him, none of them followed him to the Karamat or even to the culture house. His story is as much habit to them as it is appreciation of him. Here too the attachment is also to the pleasant coffee house, the time of day, and the social occasion. One older retired man said that he came every day, as he had for years, simply because it was in his schedule. In the Chahār Fasāl Coffee House, as well as the Karamat, beggars and salesmen come and go, attracted by the gathering of men.

**General Remarks**

It is interesting to note that there is really very little consistency in the background or training of the storyteller. Most storytellers had a teacher, yet such formal training was not required. One fairly successful storyteller in Teheran had had none. He had heard these stories since his childhood and gradually taken up storytelling and succeeded. Even then this had not been his source of income. He had continued as an office worker until he retired. Then he had taken on a fuller load of coffee house sessions.
This difference in his training shows up in his storytelling technique. His tumar, which he uses as an aid in narration, is poetry, not prose, and he follows the text quite closely, doing a great deal of recitation. He also said that he never told rowzas. His poetic introduction was short and varied little from day to day.

We have also seen that even with the two primary storytellers whose training was very close, cAli felt the need for a period of transition between being a student and being a performer, while Habib Allah was ready to go out on his own immediately after having finished his period of training.

There are some strong points of similarity, however, between the careers of the two storytellers with whom I worked. Both cAli and Habib Allah came to storytelling after having already pursued one career, as did each of the storytellers whom I interviewed. Furthermore, cAli and Habib Allah had both been involved in performing situations --- cAli as a dervish and Habib Allah as a non-professional rowza-khan. It also appears from all the interviews that naqqali is not an inherited profession. None of the storytellers with whom I talked came from a family of storytellers or performers of any kind.

Another question to be considered is what the audience and the storytellers consider to be a good storyteller. Storytellers, whether formally trained or self-trained, and audience members all list the same things as important for succeeding as a storyteller. A good storyteller is said to be well-versed (vared) in his material. He feels that he must be in possession of a full and complete
knowledge both of the literary source and of the tumār. If asked where a particular story comes from or how he knows how to tell a story, a storyteller will answer either that he has taken it from the Shāhnāma or from the tumār. A good storyteller is said to have a good tumār. A storyteller also prides himself on having in his memory a considerable body of lyric poetry.

This familiarity with material extends also to the audience. A storyteller will not recite material which is unknown to the audience. The audience, he feels, will not come back every day, and pay, to hear a story they have never heard before (balad nistand). In short, the valued aspects of being a good storyteller are those which are most reflected in the traditional training to become a professional storyteller — memorization and command of material.

Examining what is given for producing a storyteller — familiarity with material, rote memorization — one would expect to find in Iran a tradition of storytelling which is very highly text-dominated. This is not the case. The actual texts produced during storytelling sessions will be examined in the following chapters, and compared with the textual tradition. It may be said here that when pressed, the storytellers will admit that they vary (cavaţ kordan) material, including the rowţas which are more closely historical than the Shāhnāma. The audience, said ĆAli, becomes tired (sir mishand) of hearing exactly the same thing over and over again.

Furthermore, it is apparent that other aspects of performance
than the textual come into storytelling. Among these are the purely physical aspects of storytelling. Things like vocal quality and gestures have an effect upon the audience and its reaction to the story. The storyteller is aware of these things and may drink special herbal concoctions before the performance for his voice or chest. Most will, of course, agree one must have a good voice to be a storyteller. Other storytellers may develop stylized manners of presentation. But none of these things are offered as the subject of instruction. The vocal presentation itself seems to be a style which each storyteller has developed through his career and in accordance with his own aims. Here again we may mention Habib Allah's statement that he learned rowzas by watching them, writing them down, and then developing his own style of performance. All storytellers recognized that they take elements of storytelling style from other storytellers whom they have the occasion to hear. Ali said he made a point, whenever in a different city, to go and hear the storyteller there, to see if he had anything which Ali could work into his own performances. In this way, despite the more formal training, these storytellers are like the men who come into storytelling by informal self-training.

Another aspect of the storytelling phenomenon is the question of why the audience continues to go to the coffee house day after day to hear a storyteller. Part of this has already been touched upon with regard to the other functions which the coffee house fills. It is worth repeating that the attachment is at
least as much to the coffee house as to the storyteller. The proof of this seems to be in the fact that regulars do not follow their storyteller to another coffee house nor do most of them cease frequenting a coffee house when their storyteller leaves. When Habib Allah left Shiraz only a handful of men ceased going there daily. One or two of Habib Allah's regulars began appearing at the Chahar Fasıl, but things went on pretty much as they always had. This also brings up the question of real audience and drawing power. The actual number of people attached to Habib Allah was probably no greater than that attached to ʿAlī. The success which Habib Allah had was in his ability to draw more people in at the time of the story, and to control and inspire the ready-made audience which he found.

The next question to be considered is the relationship of the storytelling activity to the informal religious life in Iran. It is clear that beyond its value as entertainment or a social occasion or even as business for the coffee house owner, the storytelling session may also be considered as a religious occasion. The coffee house operates on the religious and not the secular calendar, with the sole exception of the New Year. Habib Allah divided his year in half with respect to the secular New Year. The coffee houses clean up and repaint for the New Year. The coffee houses were open seven days a week including all secular holidays and most religious holidays. The only days they closed were the most important religious holidays like ʿAshura (the day of Hosayn's martyrdom) and Arbaʿin.
The storytellers regularly told rowżas on the religious holidays and during the most important periods of mourning.

Another manifestation of this feeling of religiosity is the use of the term morshed for the storyteller, which as has been pointed out, has religious connotations. The audience in the coffee house was always eager to impress these religious senses on the listener. Furthermore, the storyteller calls down religious blessings on those who give him money.

The relationship between religion, religiosity and storytelling is directly in line with the historical situation examined in the last chapter and is perceived openly by the audience and the storytellers today. Part of this is the common belief that Ferdowsi was a Shiite himself. There is also the testimony, heard from several storytellers and generally attested by audience members, that naqqālī was begun by Shah Ābbās (1588-1629) to spread the Shiite faith in Iran after the Safavids were in power. That the stories themselves often run counter to the faith has no effect upon this firm belief.

The coffee house, the storyteller and his stories play a complex role in the traditional Iranian cultural life. It is a social, cultural, economic and even religious center which fills several needs for the audience. In the chapters to come I shall examine what the storyteller says in his stories, and how the stories themselves underline the role of naqqālī in Iran.
Notes


2. It is noteworthy that the coffee house where Habib Allah performed in Isfahan was also located near the main bazaar, just off the maydan-e shah. This, taken with the testimony of Olearius (see above, page ), affirms the fact that storytelling is an activity which tends to center around the bazaar areas of cities.


4. On ta'ziya in particular, see the excellent study by Sadeq Homayuni, Ta'ziya va Ta'ziya-khani [The ta'ziya and performing the ta'ziya] (Teheran: [1975]).

5. It seems to be a common practice for storytellers to support their pilgrimages to the religious shrines by performing in local coffee houses in the shrine cities.

6. Interview with Mr. Kojuri of the Shiraz office of the Ministry of Arts and Cultures, February 12, 1975.

7. This was late in the Qajar period, during the reign of Ahmad Shāh, the last Qajar king. Ahmad was appointed king as a child and ruled from 1909 until he left for Europe in 1923. He was formally deposed in 1925. Ahmad's entire reign was fraught with internal rebellion, foreign intervention and bureaucratic weakness. The period which Āli is referring to must have been close to the end of Ahmad's reign. For discussions of this period, see Edward G. Browne, The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909 (Cambridge, England: 1910), and Peter Avery, Modern Iran (New York: 1965), especially pages 140-268.


9. See above, pp. 22-23.

11. It is possible for incurable addicts, particularly older men, to become licensed by the government. They can then buy opium legally.

12. Besides government support in Shiraz, *naqqali* has also drawn national attention, being included in the Ferdowsi Festival in Tus in August of 1975. Occasionally storytellers appear on the National Iranian Television as well.

13. Interview with Mr. Kojuri, February 12, 1975.


15. The steps for becoming a professional orator high in the Sufi order of the selsela-e *Cajam* are set out by M. Mahjub, "Sokhanvari," *Sokhan* 9 (1337/1959), pp. 780-82.

16. I only saw this storyteller reciting the *Borzunama*. Since ḌAli consulted his *tumār* more often when he was telling stories other than the *Shāhānšāh*, it may be that the lack of familiarity with the unusual material account for some of the greater reliance of the Teheran storyteller as well.
Chapter IV
The Performance

In this chapter I will discuss the material performed and this will serve as a preface to a later discussion of the relationships between the oral material and the literary sources. Despite outward lack of unity, the component parts of the performance actually are unified in intent and theme, each part serving to bind the audience and the storyteller together by underscoring the relations which they have in common with one another and which they have with the national legendary material. As part of this discussion, I will include an examination of poetry inserted into the prose story and of digressions which the storyteller makes during his performance.

A performance lasts approximately one hour and a half. An average performance would be as follows. The storyteller begins with the formula "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate" (besmellah al-rahman al-rahim). Then he recites a selection of poetry. This poetry may only be a few lines or may last up to ten minutes. It may be praise of Imam Āli or another imam, or it may be from the other major literary poets of Iran. The bulk of the performance will be taken up with the story proper. The story is serialized, a new segment being told at each session. The story is told in prose with occasional recitation of lines from Ferdowsi's
work (or whatever work the storyteller is performing at the time) or from another poet if it bears on the subject. If it is a religious holiday, the storyteller will add a rowža at the end of the story. When the alloted time is up, the storyteller ends his story for the day. He then circles through the audience and collects his money for telling the story, calling down blessings on those people giving him money.

In order to clarify the terms I will use in the following discussion, a scheme of the performance is provided below. The non-essential parts are in parentheses.

The Performance

Poetic Introduction
- Besmellah
- Introduction

Story Lead-In

Prose Story
- Synopsis
- Story
  (Story Closing)
  (Rowža)

The storyteller's material will be considered in the order that it appears in the performance.

The Poetic Introduction

The storyteller uses a poetic introduction to attract
the attention of the audience. He opens his performance with the
name of God (the besmellah) which is the traditional opening for all
actions in the Islamic world. He works the besmellah directly into
the poetry making it a part of his own rhymed and metrical lines
which join the selections of poetry which he will recite. The
storyteller uses the opening words to unite himself to his audience.
The besmellah identifies all participants as Muslims engaged in a
Muslim activity, in keeping with the religious functions of the
meeting.

As seems common with all storytellers, both āli and Habib
Allah have their own personal besmellah which they use every day.
āli's besmellah is as follows:

besmellah al-raḥman al-raḥim
ya raḥman o ya raḥim
hast kelid-e dar-e ganj-e hakim
nam-e khodavand-e karim o raḥim

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! O merciful and compassionate [God]! The key to the door of the sage's treasure is The name of the kind and merciful Lord.

The first two hemistiches, the mentioning of God's name itself, can only be forced with difficulty into the rubā'ī meter, the meter of the final two hemistiches. The rhyme is raḥim/raḥim/haکim/raḥim. Ābab Allah's opening is different, but encompasses much the same idea:

besmellah al-raḥman al-raḥim
ya raḥman o ya raḥim
estācyn ollāh fi kolle 'l-omur
zāda fi qalbi zekro 'l-lahz sorur
matla'c-e dibācha-e ḥayy-e qadīm
hast besmellāh al-rahman al-rahim

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate!
O merciful and compassionate [God]!
Trust in God in all things.
The mention of the name [of God] increased joy in my heart.
The opening to the beginning of eternal life Is in the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.

This selection is more like rhymed prose than poetry, except that Habīb Allāh always recites it with a strong pause at the end of each line. The meter is uneven, even within the rhymed couplets.

Although each storyteller has his own opening, the themes expressed are very close. Āli addresses himself to God as the key to the treasury of wisdom; Habīb Allāh addresses himself to God as the way to everlasting life. Both in terms of texture and theme, the besmellāh blends easily into the coming poetry which we shall now examine.

Āli characterizes the poetry which he uses in the introduction as attention getting (jālb-e tavajjoh). In fact, the poetry does function as an announcement of the imminent beginning of the story. While in general people do not pay as close attention to the poetry as they do to the story and there is generally a great deal more background noise than during the story, the poetry gives the audience warning that attention will be required shortly. This introduction gives them a short time to finish up conversations or
find a seat and prepare themselves to listen attentively to the story.

The poetry recited by the storyteller is usually by one of the famous poets of Iran, such as Sa'di, Nezami or Hafez, and is well known to the audience. The poetry may also be more strictly religious or from anonymous poets. The storyteller usually combines short poems at random, arranging and rearranging selections from day to day. Despite this randomness, the selections which he recites in any given performance hang together by virtue of sound and imagery. One short piece suggests the next quite naturally so that each poetic introduction maintains a feeling of cohesion.

Although the amount of poetry used is fairly large, it is also very traditional (and rather limited) in theme and imagery. Storytellers prefer the terse wisdom of the ruba'i and the mystic poetry of the ghazal, extolling the virtues of God, to the longer panegyric qasida. Therefore, any storyteller with a large repertoire of poetry and some experience should have no difficulty producing agreeably ordered introductions without preparation.

Two introductions are given below, one in totality, one in part, from the two storytellers in Shiraz. The last introduction is given from a Teheran storyteller for comparison. The first example was recorded in the Chahar Fasl Coffee House. This introduction is typical of the form used most often by Ṣā'īdī Ali and Habīb Allāh. After the besmellah Ṣā'īdī recited the following:
I  

dar kuy-e kharabat yeki mir nashod  
az mordan-e ʿadamī zamīn sir nashod  
goftam ka be-pirī be-rasam towba konam  
besyār javān mord o yeki pir nashod  

No one has become prince on the street of taverns.  
The earth has not become saturated by human death.  
I said I would repent should I reach old age,  
[But] many have died young and none became old.

II  

afsus ka dowra-e javānī tay shod  
ayyām-e shabāb o kamrānī tay shod  
an mord-e tariqāt ka nam-e u bud shabāb  
faryād nādanānam ka kay āmad kay shod (twice)  

Alas that the span of youth has passed.  
The days of youth and happiness have passed.  
That bird of joy whose name was youth —  
Alas — I do not know when he came or when he left (twice).

III  

simīn zaqāna sang dēla lācī ṣozāra (twice)  
khosh kon be-neghātī del-e ghāmidī mā-rā (twice)  
khosh onka za may mast shābī bī-khabār ofī (twice)  
panhān ze to man busa zanām an kaf-e pā-rā (twice)  

azordā mabādā ka shavad ān tan-e nāzok  
az bahr-e khōdā sakht makon band-e qabā-rā  
in qaleb-e farsūda ka az kuy-e to dur ast  
al-qalb lā yahdā laylān va nahārā (twice)  
jāmī nakonad joz havās-e bazm-e to laykan  
dar hāzrat-e solṭān ka dahad rāh gedā-rā

O you with silvery chin, stone heart and ruby cheeks  
(twice)
Satisfy our pained heart with a look (twice).
It is good that you get drunk with wine and pass out (twice),
So that hidden from you I can kiss your foot (twice).
Let that fine body never be afflicted.
Don't tie the robe too tight for the sake of God.
This worn-out form is far from your street.
The heart rests neither night nor day.
May Jami never desire anything but your banquet, but
Who lets a beggar into the presence of the Soltan?

The first section is an unidentified ruba'i. The second section is
a ruba'i written by Omar Khayyam. The two ruba'is demonstrate how
the storyteller can link together unrelated selections of poetry
which appear to have unity. In terms of theme, the second ruba'i
picks up the allusions to youth versus old age in the first ruba'i.
For example the word javan (young) of the last line of the first
ruba'i reappears in the first line of the second ruba'i in the form
javani (youth). Both of these ruba'is rely on standard themes and
images from the mystic poetic tradition of Iran. Ali has also
chosen two ruba'is which compliment one another in terms of form.
The two poems share almost the same radif in shod (it became) and
nashod (it did not become). While the actual rhyme of the first
ruba'i is in mir/sir/pir, and of the second is tay/tay/kay, the
radif gives the two poems a harmony of sound.

The two ruba'is are followed by a ghazal of Nur al-Din
Abd al-Rahman Jami, a well known poet of the 15th century. The
ghazal uses the themes of the lover and the beloved, the seeker
after God, and God the object of the search. Once again all the
images in this ghazal are directly in line with the Iranian mystic
tradition of poetry, the poet suggesting divine love with earthly images — kissing the foot, drinking wine to the state of intoxication. The image of wine and drunkenness leads once again to the taverns (kharabat) of the first ruba'i.

Cali completes his introduction with two couplets which mark the end of the poetry and introduce the final salavat prayer before the story:

delam goft mara celm-e ladoni havas-ast
ta c limam kon agar to-ra dastras-ast

My heart said, "I yearn for divine knowledge, Teach me if you are able."

This couplet echoes again yearning for the knowledge of God (celm-e ladoni) and the sense of futility at not being able to reach this knowledge.

The last couplet is one the storyteller uses frequently to mark the end of the poetry and the beginning of the story proper. Sometimes the storyteller simply calls for a salavat to end the poetry. More often he uses a poetic device such as this one:

safay-e gol-e sorkh dani ze chist
ze rang-e mohammad [salavat] ze buy-e calist

Do you know from what the red rose derives its beauty? From the color of Mohammed [salavat] and the fragrance of CAli.

The audience automatically calls the salavat prayer after the mention of Mohammed's name, not only here but wherever it occurs. So, as the poetry opened with the name of God, it ends with the names of
the Prophet of God and His imam, and a prayer from the whole audience. The two actions surround this section of the performance. The combination of the rhyme and the salavat is a sure marker that the first part of the performance is finished.

More often than Āli, Habib Allah worked the names of the imams or Mohammed into his poetic introduction, or the names of Shahnāma heroes, as is demonstrated below. The poet is identified in the signature line (takhallos) as Nuri. This segment follows approximately five minutes of rubacis and short lines extolling Āli and Mohammed. It is immediately preceded by a prayer called for by Habib Allah. The poetry uses heroes from the Shahnāma to express images extolling God, images which Āli also uses occasionally. The whole poetic segment is long, lasting about eleven minutes. The poem itself lasts about six minutes. The storyteller begins by calling to God, "O friend!" (ay dust). The section given as an example here concludes the entire segment and constitutes about half of the total poem. The meter is hazaj (E-S 2.1.16).

\[
\begin{align*}
gamanam & \quad \text{dar shojācat giv-e kudarz-i to dar irān} \\
va & \quad \text{yā hushang yā tāhmūras band-e divān} \\
to & \quad \text{yā kaykhosrov-i yā kayqobād-i midāhi farman} \\
namīdānām & \quad \text{fārāmārz-e yal-i yā rostam-e dastān} \\
ka & \quad \text{jud-e pīchpīchat mikashad mānand-e khaqānām (twice)} \\
to & \quad \text{shāh-e keshvar-e hosn-i faridun hast darbānāt} \\
cho & \quad \text{gurang ebn-e balyān mikonam ğān-rā beh qorbānāt}
\end{align*}
\]
be-damat Turak oftad napichad sar ze farmanat
khadang-e rostam-i khord ashkabus-e yal ze paykanat (twice)
cho esfandar khun-e del ravan bashad ze cheshmanam
to jamshid cajam-i dar hosn o khuban bar darat darban
to-i afrasiyab o man siyavosh-am begiri jan
man-am nuri ka shecram shohra shod dar keshvar-e iran
[unintelligible] ay shah-e khuban
makosh dar khanat ay sang del man bar to mehman-am (twice)

I believe you are Giv son of Kudarz in Iran, in valor,
Or Hushang, or Tahmurad; you strangle the demons.
Or you are Kaykhusrow, or you are Kayqobad; you are
the order giver.
I do not know if you are the hero Faramarz or Rostam
son of Dastan.
Your all-encompassing generosity stretches out like
my king.
You are king of the land of goodness; Faridun is your
doorman.
Like Gurang, son of Balyan, I give up my life for you.
Turak fell into a trap of yours and still did not
give up your service.
You are Rostam's arrow; Ashkabus the hero was struck
by your lance (twice).
Like Esfandiyar may my heart's blood flow from my
eyes.
You are Iran's Jamshid in beauty and the beauties
guard your door.
You are Afrasiyab, and I am Siyavash. Take my life.
I am Nuri, whose poetry is known in the land of Iran.
[unintelligible] 0 king of the beautiful.
Do not kill me in your house, o stone hearted. I am
your guest.

The poem is a mosammat, having the rhyme scheme a a b c c b d d d b
etc. The poem, like 'Ali's, extolls God's virtues, expressing the
poet's love for God in terms of earthly love, and laments God's
unkindness. The people mentioned are all from the mythical and
legendary parts of the *Shāhnāma*, i.e. the parts of the *Shāhnāma* which the storyteller commonly tells. God is mighty and good like the heroes, Faramarz, Rostam, Gurang, Esfandiyar and Turak. He is also powerful like the rulers Kaykhusrow, Kayqobād and Jamshid. The great king Faridun only stands at His door. Yet God has also the vengeful, frightening side. He is like the enemy leader Afrāsiyāb who killed his own son-in-law, the beautiful Iranian youth Siyāvosh, metaphorically the poet being killed willingly for God. The most striking thing about this poem is the use of *Shāhnāma* characters who are outside of the literary tradition, but common to the storytelling tradition. Turak, Balyan and Gurang are all absent from Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāma*. They do, however, figure prominently in the stories told today.

Not all storytellers use such lengthy or complex introductions as Āli and Habib Allāh. Before passing on to other subjects, I will present a final introduction, this one recorded from Āli Naderi, a storyteller in Teheran, for the purposes of comparison. The full text of the poetic introduction is given here. It lasts about one minute, a normal length for this storyteller.

```
besmellāh al-rahmān al-rahim
az nam-e khoshat ādā konām besmellāh
porsand āgar ze qovvata t miguyam
lā ḥowlā va lā qovvatan ālā bēllāh
az khelqat-e mā khalaqa ʿamr-e azalist
```
maqsud-e khoda chardah nur-e jalist
onka mohammad [salavat] do hasan o yek musa
zahra vo hosayn jacfar o char calist

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate!
In your name I utter the besmellah.
You are Ali and there are no others like you, by God.
They ask if I speak of your power;
There is no power or strength except in God.
From the creation of what He has created is the endless
life.
The purpose of God is the fourteen bright lights.9
That is, Mohammed, two Hasans and one Musa,
Zahrâ, Hosayn, Ja'far, and four Als.

This introduction is little more than a mentioning of the Holy Family
and the imams, and a call to God. The besmellah, which the storyteller
uses every day, is longer than the poetry. It will be remembered,
however, that both Ali and Habib Allah cited the learning
of lyric poetry and philosophical material other than Shahnama
as necessary for their training whereas Naderi was not formally
trained in storytelling. It should also be noted, on the other
hand, that all of the necessary elements are present in this intro-
duction. The besmellah is followed by a selection of religious
poetry, a call for the salavat, and then the story begins.

The besmellah and the introduction perform several
services for the two storytellers. They attract the attention of the
audience, giving them time to readjust themselves to hear the story
coming. This service however does not account for the length of the
poetic introductions. They must therefore have other meaning in
the performance. Since the storyteller plays the part of a learned
man for his audience, the recitation of poetry is an opportunity for him to demonstrate his skill at reciting and his knowledge of the Persian poetic tradition. By demonstrating his erudition he proves himself a man of books and worthy of the attention of his audience. The use of poetry taken from religious and mystic traditions also underlines the position of the storyteller as a religious man and leader in his society. The poetry encourages the audience to look toward the storyteller, qua storyteller, but also as a skilled professional and fount of knowledge of this culture. The poetic sections not only attract the actual physical attention of the audience, but also assure their acceptance of what the storyteller will say.

The Story Lead-In

The storytellers discussed here open their stories with a lead-in which is either in rhymed prose or a combination of poetry and rhymed prose. Each storyteller has one or more of these lead-ins which he uses. Ạli Șanakhân generally opens his story with part or all of the following:

konun  amadam bar sar-e dastan
hami guyam az gofta-e bastan
ceqd-e javaher-e sokhan-e kohan dar mahzor-e
dustan ruz-e gozashta ...

Now I have come to the beginning of the story. I shall tell some of what was told in ancient times.
The chain of the jewels of ancient speech in the presence of friends, yesterday . . .

Habib Allah varied his lead-in somewhat more than Ali. His lead-ins consisted of long passages of rhymed prose, such as:

sarmashar-e dastan dar mahzar-e dustan be-hengami
bud ka diruz-e gozashta khedmat-e sarvaran-e garam
o baradar-e azam cardam va az shab-e
gozashta al-hal baray-e sacati sargarm-e dustan
zerva-e qal mirasanam be-shart-e onka baz ham
baradarha baray-e goshayesh-e kar amorzesh-e anbat

[unintelligible] be-niyyat-e onka khoda enshallah
emanshen hefz konad salavat-e digari khatm konid

[salavat] reshta-e sokhan ruz-e gozashta . . .

The opening of the story in the presence of my friends arrived at the point which I presented yesterday before the esteemed leaders and great brothers. After last night, now, I shall bring it to the pinnacle of intellect for an hour's pleasure for my friends on the condition that again the brothers should send a salavat for the beginning of our business; the forgiveness of the prophets, and [unintelligible] so that God, may He be willing, shall keep them safe. The chain of speech, yesterday . . .

The passage relates no information and is meant primarily for its sound.

Within the context of naqqali, the story lead-in fills several functions. It provides a link in texture between the poetry of the introduction and the prose of the story by using chanted, rhymed prose. This way there is no abrupt break in continuity. It
sets the action of the story in unspecified olden times when things were not subject to the same rules they are today. The story lead-in provides rapport between the storyteller and his audience in addressing the audience as sharers with the storyteller in a common Iranian past of which he will speak. Both storytellers address their listeners as friends (dustan) or even in Habib Allah's case as brothers (baradaran) and offer their story to them. Habib Allah's lead-in also contains references to religion, underlining once again the religious rapport begun earlier.

The story lead-in thus announces the coming of the story, while furthering the identification between audience and storyteller which began with the first words of the performance. The storyteller affirms that he shares with them knowledge and belief, and captures the attention of the audience for the coming story.

The Prose Story

After the story lead-in, the prose story begins. The storyteller presents a short passage to recapitulate what was told the day before, bringing the audience up to date. The synopsis works right into the story which usually lasts about an hour. If the storyteller exceeds his time limit, his audience is likely to leave before he has reached a good cut-off point so that he usually keeps a close eye on his watch and begins to wind up the performance as he approaches the end of his alloted time.

As explained above, storytellers narrate material from
the national legend, taken largely from the *Shahnama*. They confine
themselves to the parts of the *Shahnama* dealing with the origin of
the world up to Alexander's conquest of Iran. They may include
further stories of *Shahnama* heroes or Sasanian or Safavid kings and
heroes in their repertoire. The stories are narrated serially,
one installment told every day. Within each installment stories
progress by episodes. Stories are embedded within stories to form
a very complex narrative, often with the stories of two or more
heroes being dealt with at one time, much like the American soap
opera. Except for the final session, all stories do not end simul­
taneously at the conclusion of any one installment. One story may
dominate the narration for a day or so but other stories will also
begin and be developed at the same time. When the dominant story
finishes, there will still be other stories to be taken up. The
storyteller never finishes an installment without something remaining
to draw the audience back the next day.

The prose used in the narration is clear and straightforward.
If the storyteller fears his meaning is not understood, he stops to
clarify any words he feels might be troublesome. The narration pro­
ceeds in the simple past with short grammatical units. The settings
are formalized, usually depicting royal surroundings and lush back­
grounds. Much of the story is contained in dialogs between actors,
either summing up action which went before or else describing action
which is to come. Occasionally, lyric passages are inserted.
An example of the story is given below. This selection is from a story by Ali Sanakhan and serves as an illustration of the kind of prose presentation the storyteller makes.\(^\text{12}\)

Kava on the side of Manuchehr, the flag of the Kaviyans over Manuchehr’s head, the royal banner, the umbrella of state. The Kaviyans are responsible for protecting Manuchehr’s life. Finally Kava said, "Heroes, at present the enemy has done two things to us. He has created a disturbance, and he has found a rival [for us]. Now whoever is a man of the battlefield, let him go to the field and let’s see what will happen. This is a field of battle. We have come to fight. Let us strike."
Let us kill and be killed until victory goes to one side [or the other]. We hope that we will be that side." Then a self-sacrificing volunteer stood up from among Kāva's own sons. He stepped forward — Gāvak the son of Kāva. He said, "Your servant! I will go. I will go and see whatever fate may await me. My life is for his majesty." Gāvak b. Kāva, mounted on a horse, clad from head to toe in iron and steel came from the line of the Iranian army to the field, spurring on his horse.

In this example we see the basic elements of the narration: narration in the simple past, short sentences; dialog; and lush settings.

All storytellers insert short or long poetic passages into the body of the narrative, and, in fact, some storytellers present virtually a line-by-line rendering of the work they are performing, relying constantly on a printed or handwritten text before them.

If the story which the storyteller is performing is close to Ferdowsi's presentation, the storyteller may quote long passages from the literary source. The poetry has a more ornamental effect, however, than that of actually moving the story forward. In fact, the storyteller may recite a long passage from Ferdowsi and then restate the passage in prose. Since the stories told in the coffee house rarely follow Ferdowsi's work very closely, however, more often the storyteller adds one or two lines from the literary work to sum up an occurrence. Āli adds one such line on Jamshid's death:

The saw cut him in two.
It filled the nobles' hearts with terror.13

Some of these summary lines are popular couplets in the epic meter.

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which do not come from Ferdowsi's work and refer to events not in Ferdowsi at all. One of these lines is on the death of the king Bahman. The hero AZEzarbarzin kills the dragon which has eaten the king. AZEzarbarzin says of this act:

be-yek tigh kardam do doshman tabah
shah az khun-e bab azhdar az khun-e shah

With one thrust I have destroyed two enemies.
The king in revenge for my father, the dragon in revenge for the king.

The meter is motaqareb, but the line is not from Ferdowsi's Shahnama. The line appears in CAli's tumar.

The poetry recited need not even be epic poetry. An example of lyric poetry in the meter hazaj (E-S 6.1.08) is given below. CAli recites these lines when he is describing Jamshid's thoughts over his miserable fate.

cha salha ka man hal-e may o nadim dashtam
cha sal taza mishodi may o nadim dashtam
piyalaha vo jamha ze zarr o sim dashtam
del-e javad-e por honar kaf-e karim dashtam
cha khosh be-naz o neCmat-am gozasht ruzegarha (twice)

What years I spent with wine and friends.
When the year became new, I had wine and friends.
Wine cups and goblets I had of gold and silver.
A generous, good heart I had and a generous palm.
How well passed the times for me in graciousness and ease (twice).

Habib Allah also inserts lyric poetry to describe nature, particularly sunrises and sunsets, which in themselves usually mark the end of a
battle or other major segment of the narrative. On one occasion he describes the coming of night in this manner:

chun chatr-e shah-e zang baramad ze kuhsar
tarik gasht dida-e binay-e ruzagar
parvin ravana gasht bar ahuy-e qaravoli
jasus gasht zohra vo mah shod telayadar
bar khandaq-e sepehr kashidand takht-e pol
ta shah-e zangavar az unja konad gozar

When the umbrella of the black king rose from the mountain top,
The seeing eye of the times turned dark.
The Pleides set off on the sentinel deer.
Venus became a spy and the moon a guard.
A bridge was stretched over the moat of the sky,
So the black king might cross over it.

The meter of the selection is mozarec (E-S 4.7.14), and it is a ghazal or at least part of a ghazal.

The inclusion of poetry in the prose story has both an ornamental effect, and, more important, demonstrates once again that the storyteller has command of his material and the techniques of proper presentation of it. He shows himself the master not only of the epic writers, but also able to draw upon the larger poetic tradition when it pertains to his story.

The real command that the storyteller has over his material is perhaps best seen in the digressions he makes from the narration to interpret the story which he is telling. In these digressions the storyteller intrudes material into the narration which breaks the continuity of the narrative, and does not further the action at all.
Most digressions involve a shift in time sequence from the legendary, unknown past of the stories to the present or more recent past. In digressions the storyteller interprets his material, by telling personal anecdotes, by explaining the story, or by drawing analogies between the stories and everyday life.

For the purposes of discussion I have divided the digressions examined into three types: assertion, explanation, and analogy. I will deal with the examples in the order listed. It should not be assumed, however, that the categories are absolute. Often Ali or Habib Allah will begin with one type of digression and move into another type. The three categories overlap as shown:

![Venn Diagram]

I have categorized the following examples according to the initial function of the digression.
Assertion

Occasionally the storyteller may have to assert his position as the center of attention in order to combat inattentiveness or loud talking among the audience. He most often simply insists on attention, telling people to be quiet or asking them to leave if they are too noisy.

The storytellers may insist on silence by emphasizing the importance of the story. Many speeches for this purpose are uttered, often in real frustration, and may be understood to express some of the storyteller's personal feelings about the value of his story. Habib Allah says such things as "Quiet down in here. I am telling a beautiful story as a model (namuna) for you to remember (yadegari)."

In another such case, 'Ali asked for attention while he was telling the story of Alexander's conquest of Iran. He said, "This story of Alexander is a sweet story. It is the very story of the Book of Kings -- the very story" (in dastan-e eskandar dastan-e shirin-a cayn-e dastan-e shahnama -- cayn-e dastan) and therefore worth telling and listening to.

Explanation

The storyteller may have to insert short phrases or longer reminders in order to insure that the audience is able to follow the course of the narrative or is able to understand the point which he is trying to make. In the case of Sohrab, for example, Habib Allah explains to the audience that this hero's actions are due to his
youth and rashness. When Sohrāb kills a dragon, Ḥabīb Allāh reinforces the effect of this action by enumerating the dragon-killers who exist in the Šāhnāma. In this way Ḥabīb Allāh shows the audience the kind of hero Sohrāb is by placing him in perspective with the other dragon-killers of the world:

\[
\text{az āzhdehā sa bā az delāvarān-e irān cālam dashtānd} \\
\text{avval garshāsep kā sōbā moqaddamāsh-o barāt cārāz} \\
\text{kardām dovām sohrāb sayyom-am pesarash dar khārazm} \\
\text{unām kūh-e khārazm āzhdehā khīz būda vaqītā rāft} \\
\text{mādār-e taymūr-o begirād albātā shenīdā'ī}
\]

Three of the heroes of Iran had dragon-skin flags: first was Garshāsp, the beginning of whose story I told you this morning; second was Sohrāb; third was his son in Khwarazm, which was full of dragons, when he went to get Taymur [b. Garshāsp]'s mother. Surely you have heard this.

Sohrāb's ancestor Garshāsp, Sohrāb and Sohrāb's son are the only three heroes to have the dragon-skin flag to distinguish them as great heroes and dragon-killers.

If a minor character appears suddenly in the narrative, the storyteller may stop and explain this character's lineage so that the audience will be able to see him in perspective with other characters with whom they are better acquainted. If a point is to be made in this regard, even the background of major characters will be explained. For example, Ḥabīb Allāh once stopped and explained Rostam's lineage, despite the fact that Rostam is one of the major
heroes of the narrative. This explanation concerned the medallion which Rostam gave his wife, Tahmina, for their son. It is a Balyan medallion, and Habib Allah stopped to refresh his audience's memory about Balyan's relationship to Rostam.

The storyteller may simply announce that what he is saying is the kernel (asl) of the story and encourage proper attention from the audience. If the storyteller fears that the audience may miss an important connection, he will explain the connection. This explanation is more important than any tension which might result from anticipation of a mystery resolved. For example, in the story of Zahhak, ḤAli reveals immediately the identity of the fortune teller (rammāl) who helps Zahhak, as Iblis, the devil. Now we no longer need to question the help of this man, or be astonished when he mysteriously appears and disappears at opportune moments. ḤAli tells this in a direct and undramatic manner. Although most people know the story already, by giving such an explanation ḤAli avoids losing those members of the audience who are unfamiliar with the story.

Explanations are given for such other things as Manuchehr's name, Afrasiyab's name, the word besmellāh and Zahhak's name. Sometimes the storyteller's explanations are the same ones given in Ferdowsi's work. For example, in the story of Zahhak, a number of people who are secretly released from execution flee to the plains, and there form the Kurdish people. ḤAli recounts this legend as does Ferdowsi.14
The narrator's explanations may localize elements of the story and tie them to something familiar to the audience. In 'Ali's story, Jamshid holds court in Persepolis (Takht-e Jamshid or "The Throne of Jamshid" in Modern Persian) just outside Shiraz. In due course Zahhak moves his court to Isfahan. When 'Ali is trying to explain the hold that the devil (this time in the guise of a cook) has over Zahhak, he explains how very little could be cooked at this time. The devil charms Zahhak by the creation of such dishes as soltani kebab (a popular Shirazi dish).

Occasionally the storyteller must explain the rules of the world described in his narrative. Thus 'Ali explains that demons, having eaten, must sleep twenty-four, thirty-six or even forty-eight hours before fighting again. They sleep, he says, a full two days and two nights, and then he sums this up with the phrase in Arabic "eating, then snoring unawares" (aklan lamma khorran koffa).

The storyteller may begin with an explanation of the world of the story, move from there to an analogy of the heroic world with the modern day world, and from this draw a moral. Usually the modern world comes off looking very poor when compared with the heroic world. For example, Habib Allah tells a story in which Rostam has gone to see the petty ruler Shaban Mazandarani, with whom he has been quarrelling. Rostam attempts to get Shaban drunk, hoping he will then be more agreeable to Rostam's point of view. Unfortunately, the plan does not work. Not only does Shaban hold stubbornly to
his own idea, but Rostam himself becomes hopelessly inebriated. He rises to leave but Shaban insists he will see Rostam home, invoking the rules of proper treatment of guests. Habib Allah explains Shaban's chivalry this way:

in rasm-e qadimiȳa buda do tā ka ba hām
hampiȳala mishodand bādgosāri mikardand akher-e
kār ya vaqt midīdīd tā ūshī inā kashmasheshun
bud ka in miraft un-rā berasunad un bar migasht
in-rā berasunad ya vaqt midīdīd hāvā rowshan
shod hālā-e rafīqesh mibarat mastash konad
velash konad kēnā-e khīyābun be-qol-e khodādun
alesh mikonad tā mardom bīyānd tofash bīyandazand
bezanandash inam bēsh bekhandad ya dastash-o
gir bīyandazad be-ya badbakhti

This is the way people did in the old days. Two people would become drinking companions and drink together. Finally you would see them fighting until morning so that one would accompany the other then the other would accompany the one. All of a sudden they would see that the sun was coming up. But now a fellow takes his friend and gets him drunk then leaves him on the street. You yourselves have said that he makes a fool of his friend so that the people come and spit at him and strike him. Even the friend laughs at him. He sets his own hand against the poor fellow.

**Analogy**

The most complex kind of interpolation for the purpose of giving credibility to the story is analogy. In an analogy the storyteller presents an occurrence which has taken place in the recent
past or in believable (usually religious) past occasions, and which is similar to an occurrence in his narrative world. The storytellers often class these digressions as masal (comparison).\textsuperscript{17} The analogy works by setting up the syllogism "If A is possible and B (the story) is the same as A, then B must also be possible." In this way the storyteller proves (however shaky the proof may seem) that the point presented in the story is plausible. This proof then adds weight to the storyteller's argument and makes his story more meaningful.

Often masals are very short, comprising only a phrase or a line of poetry used proverbially. When Habib Allah wants to explain why Sohrab finally accepted the command of Afrasiyab's army, he says Sohrab came from his tent and saw the army lined up, waiting for him to lead them. He had no choice for
\begin{quote}
caqebat gorgzada gorg shavad
garcha be-adami bozorg shavad
\end{quote}
In the end a wolf cub will become a wolf, Even though it is raised to be human.\textsuperscript{18}

This line is a popular proverb taken from a poem by Sa\textsuperscript{19}di, and is used in other similar circumstances.

The masal need not be only one line, however. An example of a masal is offered by Habib Allah when he compares Rostam's position with regard to the kings of Iran to the Imam \textsuperscript{19}Ali b. Abi Taleb's position with regard to Islam. Rostam has gone to rescue Shah Kavus who has gotten himself into trouble through his own foolishness. After Rostam has rescued Kavus, he takes the deluded
king into the forest and thrashes him until the king loses consciousness. Rostam is willing to be killed for his actions, but he feels he must try to make the king realize how foolish he has been. When Kavus comes to, he is a changed man. He feels no desire for revenge on Rostam, and from that time on he is a good king. Then the storyteller inserts his masal:

Sir, Islam is founded on three things: the character of the Prophet, the wealth of Khadija [Mohammed's wife] . . . the disposition and manner and character of the Prophet, and the wealth of Khadija, and finally, even the sayings of the Arabs themselves affirm, the sword — the sword and strong arm of Ali.

If the Imam Ali was right and honorable in using his sword and power in the cause of Islam, similarly Rostam is right in using his strength in the service of Iran.

In another short passage, Ali Sanakhán interjects a discussion of the orderly and law-abiding nature of the Swiss people into his story of Zahhak. Zahhak has two people killed every day and feeds their brains to the snakes which have grown from his shoulders. He begins by killing the criminals in his kingdom. Shortly the prisons are empty and no one is breaking the law. The storyteller compares this situation with the situation in modern Switzerland as
he sees it:

dar sovays modatha  dadgahesh ta\textsuperscript{c}til buda chand

\textsuperscript{a}al-a do nafar payda\ nashodand biyand\ dadgah

pish-e rayis-e dadgah mohakema beshand dar sovays

In Switzerland the courts have been closed for a long time. It has been several years since two people have appeared who have gone to the court before the judge to have a case settled. In Switzerland.

The orderliness of the Iranian people comes from fear of \textsuperscript{a}zhah\textsuperscript{a}hak, which is a negative reaction. It is unlike the orderliness of the Swiss which is positive in cause. This example provides a similar case so that the audience can see that it is possible for laws to be adhered to, negatively in the case of \textsuperscript{a}zhah\textsuperscript{a}hak and positively in the case of the Swiss.

\textsuperscript{c}Ali also uses masals with religious themes. An example is when he compares the presence of the baby Feridun in \textsuperscript{a}zhah\textsuperscript{a}hak's kingdom to the presence of Moses in the Pharaoh's kingdom. Both \textsuperscript{a}zhah\textsuperscript{a}hak and the Pharaoh have tried to be rid of these potential enemies only to end up raising the children in their own kingdoms.

Anecdotes pointing up analogous situations may be quite long, and these are also identified as masals. Like the shorter passages, these digressions serve the same purpose — to tie an unfamiliar element of the story to something which is familiar to the audience. Again these longer masals are often religious. A person need not be directly compared to another person. An action or quality
of action may be compared to another action or quality of action.

In the story of the death of Afrāsiyāb's father, Pashang, Habib Allāh uses an analogy to point out the villainy of Afrāsiyāb. Afrāsiyāb has usurped the power of kingship from his aged father. One day Pashang enters the court and collapses on the verge of death. He pleads for a number of last promises from his son, among which is the promise that Afrāsiyāb will order his body returned to Iran to be buried near the tomb of Pashang's grandfather Feridun. Afrāsiyāb agrees. When his father has died, Afrāsiyāb wants to go back on his promise, reasoning that it is really of no consequence where a man is buried. To throw into relief Afrāsiyāb's actions, Habib Allāh tells the following story:

farq namikonad āqa agar ya kasi-rā fi 'l-masal
masal carž mikonim dar esfahān dafn konan ya
bebaran najaf farq namikonad cajāb mā shi'āzāda
hastim chi towr momken-a jānām man hezārāh
dalil o borhān barā in kār dārām . . . na jānām
farq mikonad be-molā be-khodā farq mikonad
sadhā hadīs darim az emām-e sheshom ya ru diga
ya hadīs barāt goftam 'āli ebn-e abī ta'leb
. . . umad be-khāb-e khoddāmbāshīsh goft fardā
az folān darvāza ya jenāza-st qarār-a biyarand
vādi os-salām dafn konan boro mānē sh sho in
qadar in zendīq-a kāfer-a sherk āvorda o ma'siyat

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کاردا کا اگار بی‌یاد از آتش‌اش دیگران-ام
مۆقاززاب میشتان شبه خدیامبایشی اس-سایی‌د مولوی جمّعت-را
بار داشت و دارو ژاهد-را بستند کا جنازه نایاد تا گورب صبر کردند
خبائی نشود بار راست شاب قربان-ام
کارز کرد یا کا شوما دیشاب به-کربان-ام مان
تعویض گفتی مایا چارا راک نم از او قربانی نشود
اهل حرف مراقش بی‌یارید و بی‌یارید تو سان دفنش کنید
میخاست بی‌یارندش نجف به-سعي-ام کربالای-ام
یوسف نم بدیل وازد گوباهی از کیو-ام یوشین
ری-ام جنازه-ام و نهشات خدای باخشیدش فارق
نامیکوند ... 

Does it make no difference sir, if a person, for example — I'll give you an example — is buried in Isfahan or taken to Najaf? It doesn't make a difference? Strange. We are Shiites. How is it possible, my dear? I have thousands of examples and explanations of this... No, my dear. It makes a difference. We have hundreds of traditions from the sixth imam [Ja'far al-Sadeq]. One day I related a tradition for you. 'Ali b. Abi Taleb ... came in a dream to the leader of his worshippers. He said, "Tomorrow, it has been decided that a body will be brought through a certain gate to be buried in the [cemetery of] the Valley of Peace. Go stop it. He is such a heretic, such an unbeliever, such a pagan and has sinned so that if he comes, the others there will be tormented in his flames."

In the morning the leader of the worshippers, the descendant of the Prophet, the great ancestor,
got a group together. They went and closed the
gates so that the body couldn't come in. They
waited until nightfall, but there was no sign of
it. He went back.

That night he dreamed of Morteza Ali. Hazrat
Ali said, "Go tomorrow. They will bring that body
through the same gate I told you about yesterday.
Bring it in with honor. Bring it in and bury it
in the courtyard [of the cemetery of the Valley of
Peace]."

He said, "O Ali. Yesterday you said one thing in
my dream. Even though we went, there was no sign
of him. Now you are saying something else."

[Ali] said, "They lost their way. They wanted
to take him to Najaf. They went in the direction
of Kerbela, my Hosayn's city. A wind blew. Some
dust from Hosyan's street landed on his body. God
forgave him."

Doesn't it make a difference?

Habib Allah identifies this story from the outset as a story analogous
to his own with the phrases "for example" (fi 'l-masal) and "we will
give you an example" (masal carz mikonim). Habib Allah likens
Pashang to the dead unbeliever, having sinned against Iran which is
again compared with Islam. By returning even after death to the
land of Iran, Pashang can hope for forgiveness. In refusing to
grant his father's dying wish, Afrasiyab is shown to be a hard,
selfish person. If Afrasiyab's cruelty was not apparent to the
audience before the telling of this masal, it is apparent now in terms
meaningful to the audience.

Not all of these stories are religious. Ali draws a
lengthy analogy to enhance his characterization of Sarand, Zahhak's
son. He finds his material in something he has read. When Sarand
abducts and rapes a young girl, Ali likens him to a bear. This
simile then reminds him of a story which he has read:
زنان و مهندس ایتالیایی در جاده‌ای او به سمت هواپیمای برجسته خارج می‌پردازند و مسلمان‌ها به‌صورت بحرانی از جاده می‌گذرند. مهندس با دسته‌ای از مردم مکان را به جاده گرفته و به سمت ایتالیا می‌رود. علی‌رغم حضور این نفر، شاه فقید حسن رضای در جریانی به‌عنوان نوشتگان به‌طور مداوم می‌گویند.

در عین حال، مردم محلی به سمت ایتالیا می‌روند که به‌منظور تحقیق و جستجو در خواسته‌های او، به‌طور مداوم در محیط ساکن می‌باشند. یک مرد می‌تواند به‌طور کلی به‌صورت بحرانی است که در اینجا می‌باشد.

از دیگر جهات، می‌توان به‌طور مداوم به‌صورت کلی برداشتن مصالح می‌باشد که به‌طور کلی به‌صورت بحرانی است. در اینجا می‌توان به‌طور کلی برداشتن مصالح می‌باشد.

در اینجا می‌توان به‌طور کلی برداشتن مصالح می‌باشد.

ما در عین حال، می‌توانیم بگوییم که در اینجا می‌توانیم به‌طور کلی برداشتن مصالح می‌باشد.

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زنان که اطلاعی از مارگش و به‌واحد که به‌کار عیان می‌گرفتند
که کار به‌طور کامل به‌فعل فوت شد. و این چین که بازیافتی
که صدای درست به‌عنوان توجه می‌آورد.

[laughter] گریه می‌کرد چرا که می‌گفت
چرا نه وقتی به‌واحد می‌گفتان که ته دستاپ زنی‌اش شد.

واحده می‌گفت آیا می‌توانم بدانم چهار ماه بعد

که در میان این داستان می‌زند و این که شانس اوی
واحده می‌گفت از میان‌ها و به‌واحد می‌گفت

با می‌خوردند. [unintelligible] کاری که در بین کار

فرت بودند این می‌کرد دنیا می‌کردند

رب‌ایه [unintelligible] کاری که در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند. [unintelligible]

در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند. [unintelligible]

در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند. [unintelligible]

در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند. [unintelligible]

در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند. [unintelligible]

در بین کار

در میان می‌کردند.

می‌خوردند.

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the engineer laid a trap. After a while the bear came with the food. He saw that the woman isn't there. He falls down. They trap him in order to bring him out. They bring him to the railroad tracks. They tie him up with chains. The railroad officials said that the engineer said to the bear, "If the woman dies, death for you. If the woman lives safely, you too are safe." They told the bear, "The woman is in the hospital." After three days she dies from the way this bear had raped her and wounded her body and mutilated her. Well, it was a wild animal! This unfortunate woman, then, was in its grasp. Safety, medicines and drugs won't help. The woman dies. They bring the news of her death to her husband. They said that the bear, too, even though he was chained, for days had struck his head with his hands, crying "0 ho! 0 ho! 0 ho! [laughter]. What was he saying? He was crying, "0 ho!" When they say to the engineer that the woman died, it signs the warrant on the bear. They had much dynamite for the [unintelligible] and laying the rails there. Dynamite! They stuck dynamite up the bear's behind. They had a lot of dynamite there. They they attached a fuse to it. They open the chains around his neck and light the fuse. The engineer says, "You're free! You! Free! Go!" The bear, then with the fuse stuck up his behind and also dynamite stuck to his stomach, went forward several steps. Then the fuse reached the dynamite. It exploded the dynamite. He was blown into little pieces. Now, this Sarand is no less than that bear.

Here we have a story which apparently asks for disbelief. The laughter and manner of the story indicate that it is not really to be accepted as absolute truth. This story demonstrates that it is not simply belief that the storyteller is working for, but rather, it is dramatic acceptance of his material. Even if the audience did not believe the story (and I do not think that they did), through it they become more involved in the storytelling session. For his part,
CAli tried all kinds of things to make the story more acceptable. He said that it was in the magazines and newspapers, and that it took place in the past during the reign of Reżā Shah. It all came from the testimony of the railroad officials. His narration drifts from the past tense into the present tense. The present tense dominates, bringing the story closer to our own time, as if it were happening now. It is worth noting that it is not the fact that Sarand could abduct and rape a girl which motivates the analogy, but rather his brutishness. CAli ends the digression with "Sarand is not less [a villain] than this bear." Despite its apparent unacceptability, the story does bring home Sarand's beastiality. If a bear could kill this poor woman, Sarand could certainly do the same. We are also reminded that the bear was killed horribly for his actions. Sarand will also be defeated eventually, for this and other sins.

The tendency of the storyteller to intrude non-narrative elements into his story is a phenomenon found in other traditions as well as Iran.22 This tendency in fact has been said to be the cause of problems of textual analysis. Studying Beowulf, Michael Cherniss concludes that "inconsistence," "digression," and "interpolation" are characteristics of "oral poetry,"23 even though he concedes that the literate poet has the same option for interpolation of outside material.24

The use of digression, however, need not be considered so much the result of fuzzy thinking on the part of an illiterate or
semi-literate ranconteur as it is an essential technique and conscious effort on the part of the storyteller in creating his story. It provides a pause for both storyteller and audience to rest their attention momentarily from the heroic stories. The digression, if expanded on properly, may also increase the audience's understanding and acceptance of the story being told. In this way the use of digression underlines once again the relationship which has been built up between the storyteller and his audience.

If we remember that the traditional relationship between the storyteller and his audience includes both aspects of entertainer and teacher, the use of digressions becomes more clear. As 'Ali expressed his job as teacher in telling the story, he was to translate (تارجومہ کردن) the material for his audience. In this way we might say that the storyteller uses his position as teacher/entertainer to "give such order to experience . . . that the audience will be drawn . . . into the performance." The digressions help the storyteller to make his interpretation clear to the audience and to give order to the story.

The Rowža

The rowža is a prose story concerning the religious heroes of Iranian Shiism, centering particularly, but not exclusively, around the martyrdom of Hosayn, the third Shiite imam. The rowža stories revolve around a set of historical events which took place in the early days of Islam. The Prophet Mohammed led the Muslim community...
until his death in A.D. 632. After his death, the faithful were led by the "Four Orthodox Caliphs," Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali. Of these, only Ali was of the Prophet's family, being the son of Abu Taleb, the Prophet's uncle. Ali was raised by Mohammed and he married the Prophet's daughter, Fatema. Ali and Fatema had two sons, Hasan and Hosayn. At Ali's death Hasan tried to seize the lead of the Muslim community and in fact ruled as caliph for a short period until the Umayyad caliph Mocaviya forced him from power. Hasan retired from public life and died in 669-70 A.D., perhaps of poisoning.

After the death of the Caliph Mocaviya in A.D. 680, Hosayn fled the Umayyad capital of Damascus for Mecca with his family. In Mecca he was invited to come and lead the rebels against the Umayyads in Kufa, a city in Iraq. On his way to Kufa, Hosayn and his small band of followers were attacked by the Umayyads and on the 10th of Moharram 61/October 10,680 Hosayn and most of his group were killed on the plain of Kerbela. His head, and the surviving members of his family were taken to the caliph in Damascus. Among his survivors was his son Zayn al—C Abedin who became the fourth imam.

Although both Sunnis and Shiites profess great respect for the Family of the Prophet (ahl ol-bayt), the Shiites derive the leaders of their community (the imams) only from the Family. All of the Shiite imams are descended from the Prophet through Ali. Iran is a "Twelver Shiite" country which means that they accept only twelve imams, the last of which, the Mahdi, is in occultation and will reappear.
at the end of time. The twelve imams are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textsuperscript{a}Ali} \text{ b. Abi Ta\'l\'eb} & \quad \text{(d. 40/661)} \\
\text{Hasan b. \textsuperscript{a}Ali} & \quad \text{(d. 49/669)} \\
\text{Hosayn b. \textsuperscript{a}Ali} & \quad \text{(d. 61/680)} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{a}Ali} \text{ b. Hosayn (Zayn al-\textsuperscript{a}Ab\'ed\'in)} & \quad \text{(d. 94/712)} \\
\text{Mo\'hammad} \text{ b. \textsuperscript{a}Ali (al-Baqer)} & \quad \text{(d. 113/731)} \\
\text{Ja\'far} \text{ b. Mo\'hammad (al-\textsuperscript{a}Sad\'eq)} & \quad \text{(d. 148/765)} \\
\text{Musa b. Ja\'far (al-Kazem)} & \quad \text{(d. 183/799)} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{a}Ali} \text{ b. Musa (al-Re\'za)} & \quad \text{(d. 203/818)} \\
\text{Mo\'hammad b. \textsuperscript{a}Ali (al-Jav\'ad)} & \quad \text{(d. 220/835)} \\
\text{\textsuperscript{a}Ali b. Mo\'hammad (al-Hadi)} & \quad \text{(d. 254/868)} \\
\text{Hasan b. \textsuperscript{a}Ali (al-\textsuperscript{a}Askari)} & \quad \text{(d. 260/874)} \\
\text{Mo\'hammad b. Hasan (al-Mahd\'i)} & \quad \text{(disappeared 264/878)}
\end{align*}
\]

The rowza stories are said to be taken from the 10th/16th century work \textit{Row\'zat al-Shohada} by Molla Hosayn Va\'\cez Kashefi. The practice of reciting from this work began in early Safavid times:

At the same time as the Muharram ceremonies were flourishing and developing under the Safavid rule, a second important and popular form of religious expression came into being. This was the dramatic narration of the life, deeds, suffering and death of Shi'ite martyrs . . . these stories were taken from a book called "\textit{Rowzato' \textsuperscript{1} Shohadah}" or "\textit{The Garden of Martyrs}." \textsuperscript{30}

The \textit{Rowzat al-Shohada} became the main source for this kind of recitation along with other less well-known works.\textsuperscript{31} According to Dehkhoda the practice was originally called \textit{Rowzat al-Shohada-khani} (the reading of the \textit{Garden of Martyrs}) and was eventually shortened to \textit{rowza-khani}.

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(reciting the Garden) for the act of reading, and the reader was called the rowża-khan (the reciter of the Garden). The rowża is a profoundly religious experience for all Shiites. Told on religious holidays, particularly the first ten days of Moḩarram, the rowża is meant to awaken feelings of pain and sympathy in the audience. Religious Shiites believe that they receive blessings for weeping for the imams and the Family:

gerya dar in matām mowjeb-e ḥoṣul-e reżay-e rabbānī
va sabab-e voṣul be-riyaz-e javedānī-st

Crying during this mourning [for the martyrs] is a means of attaining divine satisfaction and a means of attaining the everlasting Gardens [of Paradise].

Habīb Allāh and cAli usually begin their rowżas immediately upon completing their normal storytelling session. The longest rowża is the one Ḥabīb Allāh presented on Shab-e Qatl. This rowża lasted just under twenty minutes. The shortest rowża is eight minutes long. Overall, the rowżas average about ten minutes. Both storytellers compose their rowżas by combining stories relating the sorrows or martyrdom of various people. Not all of the rowżas center directly on the battles in Kerbela. A rowża may continue beyond the events of Kerbela, or begin after these events. Very often the point of view is through the eyes of a witness to the tragic events recounted in the rowża. cAli presents part of one of his rowżas through the eyes of Zayn ol-cAbedin. Habīb Allāh presents one rowża in the words of the sixth imam Ja CSRFar al-Ṣadeq. In another rowża he presents one of the stories through the eyes of Ḥosayn's sister, Zaynab.

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The style of presentation differs greatly between Ḍaʿūd and Habib Allah. Ḍaʿūd tells his rowžas in a manner very much as he tells his Shahnama stories except that as he becomes more involved in the material, and as tension mounts, he begins chanting the words. At some point his chanting stops and he returns to his normal mode of speech. Habib Allah begins chanting from the very beginning. His tone of voice marks the fact that he has begun the rowža. His voice becomes very nasal, and the vowels are drawn out. Both Ḍaʿūd and Habib Allah divide their narration of these rowža stories into short phrases with a distinct pause between phrase. Habib Allah generally ends a phrase with a rising pitch.

Outlines of three rowžas which will be considered in greater detail below are found in Chart I along with an approximate representation of the level of audience response, determined by the amount of weeping. The usual method of stringing stories together, concentrating first on one character and then on another, is apparent. Each brief story has its own climax and will provoke weeping in the audience. Although there is a general trend of increasing emotional involvement up to the end of the rowža, there are also smaller peaks of emotion within each story. The weeping builds up during each story, and drops off slightly as the story ends. The involvement is greatest during the final stories, however. There is no let-down from the last story; the storyteller ends his rowža and begins a prayer. The audience joins him, and the time for mourning is over.
### Chart I

**Summary of Rowza Stories**

**A - January 22, 1975**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>SUMMARY OF ACTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0'16&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hosayn gathers his companions and advises them to leave him; they refuse. They bid farewell to their families and friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1'19&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hosayn goes to Zaynab gets an old shirt to wear in battle. [Narration in part through Zaynab.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'52&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hosayn takes Āli Asghar to the field; the baby is killed to prove Hosayn's innocence in this battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zaynab sees Shemr with drawn, bloody 35 dagger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Family bids farewell to the headless, handless body of Hosayn; the children cannot recognize their father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3'50&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Roqaya dreams of her father; to calm her Yazid sends her father's head; she departs this world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>In burying Roqaya, the Family sees her beaten body, knows her suffering.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Digression**

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**Digression**
## SUMMARY OF ACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>SUMMARY OF ACTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction. Täher b. Ābd Allāh says he used to tell stories to Yazid. If they were good, he would be rewarded the next night. [Narrated by Täher b. Ābd Allāh.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Last time he went to Yazid, Yazid was upset. A foreigner had attacked. The results were unknown. Täher did not know who the foreigner was. Yazid offered him a reward for praying for his victory. [Narrated by Täher.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'28&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Next time Yazid was drinking, celebrating. The war was won. The foreigner was killed; the Family captive. Täher told Yazid a story and put him to sleep. He awoke to hear a child crying very near, asking for its father. He saw a head on a silver tray crying for its family. He began to cry. Yazid awoke, said the foreigner was Hosayn. [Narrated by Täher.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2'41&quot;</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>A child came with news of the Family. Yazid sent the head. Roqaya sacrificed herself for love of her father. [Narration begun by Täher, changed to impersonal narration.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time Duration
- 1: 30"
- 2: 40"
- 3: 2'28"
- 4*: 2'41"

**Digression**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUMMARY OF ACTION</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poetic introduction. Story of Sajjad going to the mosque with Yazin in Damascus.</td>
<td>The caliph Yazid has repented of his massacre. Zayn al-Abedin tells the caliph to say prayers, ask for forgiveness, and he will be forgiven.</td>
<td>Zaynab castigates Zayn al-Abedin for helping Yazid obtain forgiveness. He explains forgiveness for her.</td>
<td>Zayn al-Abedin goes to mosque with Yazid. The prayer leader speaks for the Umayyads and against the Family. Sajjad shouts him down and takes the pulpit. He is recognized by the people of the city. They ask how to obtain forgiveness. He tells them.</td>
<td>Venerate Roqaya who was beaten and hurt and sacrificed herself for Hosayn. [Narrated by Zayn al-Abedin.]</td>
<td>Digression</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TIME**

| 34" | 29" | 26" | 6'47" | 1'30" |
In the discussion to follow I have examined one story of the three rowżas outlined in Table I. Two of these (examples A and B) are by Habib Allah and one (example C) is from ČAli. First I will concentrate on a comparison of the structure of the three oral versions of the story in order to isolate some of the cultural values of rowża telling which are inherent in the texts. Then I will compare these texts with the literary tradition as represented by the Rowżat al-Shohada 39 to demonstrate the level of dependence of oral rowża-telling in the coffee house on the literary tradition.

I have chosen these three particular rowżas primarily because each contains a version of the story of Roqaya (indicated on Table I). This is a very popular story which also appears in the Rowżat al-Shohada 40. In the renditions of both Habib Allah and ČAli, Roqaya embodies the sacrifice of the Family and self-martyring innocence. Furthermore Habib Allah manipulates the basic story in such a way as to expound clearly the basic meaning of the rowża, accounting in part, perhaps for its popularity among his audience. 41

Because Habib Allah has told the entire segment twice, examination of his handling of the episode will dominate the following discussion. ČAli's version will be called upon primarily to reaffirm points of value seen in Habib Allah's versions. Habib Allah's two versions of the Roqaya story are given below in transcription and translation to demonstrate the closeness of the two versions.
A - Transcription

diga in bachchaha az baba joz ye sari gaagh chizi namidoon ta
kharaba-e sham roqaya be-yad-e baba oftad khayli garya kard khabash
bord did dar khab roqaya ka be-daman-e pedar karda ja az satem-e
kamel-e camma bena kard baba vo bera babash dardodel konad ba babash
sohbat dar khab mikard ya vaqt bidar shod in kheraba hamun kherab-a
na shama i na cheragh na farshi ya negahi atraf kard ba seday-e
zajja cammesh zaynab-o seda zad hama ahl ol-bayt unam ka khab
budand bidar shodand roqaya khodesh-o dar aghush-e zaynab andakht
camma junam hala saram be-daman-e babam hosayn bud camma junam hala
dashtam ba babam dardodel mikardam digar babam koja raft namitonad
zaynab digar begad safar rafta kamkam hama zan o bachcha bena kardan
shivan konan khabar rasid be-yazid goft bachcha-e kuchek hayat o
mamat namidonad bebarid sar-o berash sar-ra bebarid ta taskin khatar
bashad sar-ra avordand qondaq-e shir khara o berat goftam be-chahalati bud hala in bachcha-ram bebin ta enshallah pish-e nazarr
mojassam beshad monqaleb beshi shab-e qatla be-khoda qasam hama
dardhay-e bidarmon az har taraf mirim ya mazi hast ya mazi ast be-
eltemas-e do cama bera qarzdar bikhana bi . . . har cha begi az har nowc
parishahi hast zaynab dasht ba roqaya navazesh mikard mikhast in
bachcha-ro dobara saket konad ya vaqt roqaya bar gasht tu dahna-e
kheraba gholami-ra did tabaq bar sar darad khodash-o chaspaand be-
cammesh goft camma man ka ba gorosnegi ka daram ta cama nakhaftam goft
camma be-qorbanat ta cama nist camma junam berat uncha mikhahi
avordand manzur-e to zir-e sar push-a vaqi-ti gholam tabaq-o zemin
نهاد وامد در بچه‌هایی که در پشت صفحه‌های دیده‌نشده بودند، می‌توانستند کاهوک‌ها نمای می‌دانند. خودشان هم گفتند: "باکیفیت، سایه‌هایی را بگیرید، بچه‌ها. در زمانی که جنگی می‌دهند، سایه‌هایی را بگیرید. در زمانی که جنگی می‌دهند، سایه‌هایی را بگیرید." البته این حرف گفتند بچه‌ها به وسیله حساب‌های مختلفی در هفته‌های مختلفی که در زمانی که جنگی می‌دهند، سایه‌هایی را بگیرید. البته این حرف گفتند بچه‌ها به وسیله حساب‌های مختلفی در هفته‌های مختلفی که در زمانی که جنگی می‌دهند، سایه‌هایی را بگیرید.

Translation

Except for occasionally seeing the head, these children saw no more of their daddy, until the ruins of Damascus. Roqaya began thinking of her father. She wept a lot. She fell asleep. In her sleep Roqaya saw herself given a place on her daddy's lap. She began to complain, "Oh daddy," and of the complete tyranny of the people. She spoke with her daddy in her dream. Suddenly she woke up. This ruin is that same ruins. No candle or lamp or rugs. She looked around. She shouted for her aunt with a mournful voice.
All the Family, who had been asleep, woke up. Roqaya threw herself into Zaynab’s arms. "Dear aunt, just now I was telling my daddy my troubles. Where did daddy go?" Zaynab could no longer say, "He went on a trip." Gradually all the women and children began to weep. The news reached Yazid. He said, "A little child does not know life from death. Take the head for her. Take the head so her mind will be at rest." They brought the head. A nursing baby, still in diapers!

[I told you how it was. Now see this child so that if God wills, she will be embodied before your eyes, so that you will be greatly moved. It is Shab-e Qatl. I promise, by God, that all insoluble troubles of whatever kind, whether one is sick, or whether he is sick, by the petition of prayer for the homeless debtor, without ... whatever you say, of whatever affliction there is.]

Zaynab was comforting Roqaya. She wanted to quiet this child again. Suddenly Roqaya turned around and saw a servant in the entrance to the ruins, with a tray on his head. She grabbed her aunt. She said "Aunt. Even though I am hungry, I have not asked for food." Her aunt said, "May I be sacrificed for you! It is not food." "Dear aunt." "They have brought you what you want. Your desire is under the cover."

When the servant had put the tray on the ground, this child came and lifted the cover with this tiny hand. Her eyes fell upon the severed head of her daddy Hosayn. She lifted the head. She clasped it to her breast and said, "Daddy, what a surprise! You remembered the orphans. You remembered this distraught, downhearted group."
[A quatrain, I don't remember whose, very well-written.]

Listen.

She said, "Daddy dear. The ruin is a garden and your head a flower and I am a nightingale. Daddy dear. I would not sell this ruin for the garden of Paradise. From the time when . . . from the time when they shrouded you in mats, on your life, they shall wear no other shroud." She poured out her problems for a long time to her father. Suddenly, the women and children saw, she is showing her body to the severed head. She is saying, "Daddy, see how the Arabs hit my arms. They struck me in the face. Daddy, I ran over thorns. Daddy!" She lamented so much that she made these women and children lament with her. Suddenly the nightingale of Hosayn's garden was silent. They saw that the head fell to one side and Roqaya to the other side. However much Zaynab called, "Rowza-khan of the ruin!" and "Roqaya daughter of Hosayn, nightingale of Hosayn's garden," she heard no answer. Zayn al-C Abedin called out, "Aunt dear, call her no more. By God, Roqaya has left this world."

B - Transcription

ya vaqt didam ya pesar bachcha umad be-yazid goft bāba kheraba ghogha shoda ya dokhtar bachcha'i az hosayn khāb-e babash hosayn-o dida ahl ol-bayt shivan mikonan mardom-e shan dasta dasta daran miran barā tamasha goft berid ya sar-e borida az babash bebarid sar-e borida-e babash-o bebarid ya dokhtar bachcha hayat o mamāt namifahma sar-o gozārdan tu tabaq sarpushi ruy-e u avordan dasht roqaya barā c ammassh

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دِرِدَدِل مِکَارِد قَامَم یَنَام هَلَأ کُبَّ-ع بَابَم هُسَیْن–ع دِیدَم بَابِ‌ ع مَرَّ دَازَن ع نِشَهۣد نِافَزِش مِکَارِد پَاس کُوۣجا رَفَت فَهِمِیدَان کُبَّ-ع بَابِ‌ ع دِیدَا دَازَتْن هَرْگِی مِکَارِدَان یا وَاقِت رَوْقَیَا دید یا گِهْلَم مِیْیَذ تَباَرِق رَو سَرَارِش–ع قَامَم مَانُ بَا عَنکا گِرَوْسَنَا بُدَام غِذازَا نَکَهَتْسَان قَامَم یَنَام مَانْزَر–ع تَو ۣزَر–ع سَرَارِش–ع وَاقِتی گِهْلَم تَباَرِق–ع زَمَین نَهَد هُسَیْنی‌یَا ان نِازِنَا رَفَت یَلَو سَرَارِش–ع وَا بَار دَازَسِت خُوْدَا نَکَهَا بَابِ‌ ع پَسَر بَاَکِهَا او دَوکَتْسَار بَاَکِهَا’ی بَابِ‌ ع–آز ِجُش او خُوْرُش بَینِیَاد چَا قَاَشَد بِئ–ۣین هَلِ یا وَاقِت دِید سَر–ع بُرِیَد–ع بَابِ‌ ع هُسَیْن–ع بَا ان دَو تَا دَاز–ع کُوِچِهک سَر–ع وَا دَازَسِت بِس–سینا قُوْزَار قَامَم بَابِ‌ ع چَا رَأَجَب یَاد–ع یَاتِیْمَن کَرِدی یَاد اِن یَا جِم–ع دِلَافِکْر–آ پَرِیْشان کَرِدی بَابِ‌ ع نَابُد اِن ِقَادَر شَامَر سِلی بِس–قُوْزَاتم زَاد بَابِ‌ ع کِرَبَلَی لَی بَابِ‌ ع بَابِ‌ ع کَرَد او دَازَد سَار–ع بُرِیَدِ دَرِدَدِل مِنَامْمِع پَا وَسَر او گَرْدَن بِئ–ۣبَابِ‌ ع نِشُنَ میدَد زَان او بَاَکِهَا شِیْوَن مِکَارِدَان یا وَاقِت دِیدان لَابَا–رَو قُوْزَار رَو لَابَهَازَا بَابِ‌ ع قَامَم بَابِ‌ ع یَنَام هُسَیْنِنام خَرَابا بَاغ او سَر–ع تَو گُول او مَان–ع بُولِ بُولِ بَابِ‌ ع یَنَام مَان او شَامَر خَرَابا بِبَاغ–ع بِهْسِهْت نَافرُشَم اِز اِن زَمَان ِکَا تَو–رَا بِرِیْیا گَفَان کَرِداَن بَه–ۣجَان–ع تَو بَابِ‌ ع کَفَان نَمِیِضَشَم ِکَمکَما دِیدان رَوْقَیَا ۔فَتَاد سَر یَا تَرَاف ِهِار چَا زَاینَاب سِدَّا زَاد بُولِ بُول–ع بَاغ–ع هُسَیْن رَوْقَیَا یَا جِنُم پَاسَکِح نَافنِشِنِد زَاین او–ع بِبَگیدِن سِدَّا زَاد قَاَمَم یَنَام دِیگا ۔رَا ۔سِدَّا نِازِن بِکُهَا قِسَم رَوْقَیَا از دَوْنی ِرَافِت.

Translation

Then I saw a little boy who came and said to Yazid, "Daddy, the ruins are in a turmoil. A little girl of Hosayn's dreamed of her daddy Hosayn. The Family is wailing. The people of Damascus are going in groups to watch." He said, "Go take the head of her daddy.
Take the severed head of her daddy. A little girl does not understand about life and death." They put the head on a tray with a cover over it. They brought it.

Roqaya was telling her aunt her troubles. "Dear aunt, just now I dreamed of my daddy Hosayn. Daddy took me on his knee and comforted me. Where has he gone?" They understood that she had dreamed of her daddy. They were all crying. Suddenly Roqaya saw a servant coming with a tray on his head. She said, "Dear aunt, even though I was hungry, I didn't ask for food." The aunt said, "My dear, your wish is under the cover." When the servant had put the tray on the ground, [0 followers of Hosayn!] this sweet child went up and took off the cover. [May God not allow a little boy or little girl to see their daddy in this horrible manner! What is the point in such a thing?] At once she saw it is the severed head of her daddy Hosayn. With these two little hands she picked up the head. She took it to her breast. She said, "Daddy, How wonderful! You remembered the orphans. You remembered this heartbroken, distressed group. Daddy, you weren't there. Oh how Shemr hit me in the face. Daddy, in Kerbela they hit my arms." Over and over shy cried, "Daddy, daddy," and poured out her heart to the severed head. She was showing her feet and head and neck to her daddy. The women and children were wailing. All at once they saw that she pressed her lips to her daddy's lips. She said, "Daddy dear, my Hosayn. This ruin is a garden and your head is a flower and I am a nightingale. Daddy dear. I will not sell this ruin for the garden of Paradise. Ever since they shrouded you in mats,
by your life, daddy, I will wear no shroud."

They saw Roqaya slowly fell, the head to one side. However much Zaynab called, "Nightingale of Hosayn's garden, Roqaya my dear!" she heard no answer. Zayn al-ʿAbedin called, "Dear aunt, don't call her any more. By God, Roqaya has left this world."

A look at the structure of the Roqaya story in the two versions reveals some interesting facts about the telling of rowzās. The two versions transcribed and translated are summarized below.

---

Roqaya thought of her father
She cried herself to sleep
She dreamed of telling her father her sorrows, being comforted by him
She awoke, found herself in the ruins
She called her aunt

The Family awoke
Roqaya told her dream to Zaynab
Zaynab could not comfort her
All the Family began crying

Yazid heard
He sent Hosayn's head to her to silence her

[Digression]

Zaynab was trying to comfort Roqaya
Roqaya saw the servant, said she did not want food
Roqaya found her father's head
She spoke to the head, told it of her suffering
She promised loyalty to Hosayn forever
Roqaya fell

Zaynab could not rouse her
Zayn al-ʿAbedin said she had departed this world
A child came to Yazid to tell him of commotion among the Family
A little girl dreamed of Hosayn
The Family is crying
The people of Damascus are coming to see what has happened

Yazid sent the head
Roqaya was telling her dream to her aunt
The Family was crying
Roqaya saw the tray, said she did not want food
She lifted the cover
[Digression]
She found the head, told it her sorrows
The Family cried
Roqaya affirmed her loyalty to Hosayn
She fell

Zaynab could not rouse her
Zayn al-Abedin said Roqaya had departed the world

Aside from the similarity in plot of the two versions, certain other points should be stressed. The focus of the story shifts continually in both versions, these shifts being represented by breaks in the summaries. In A Roqaya is more specifically the focus of attention. In both versions, however, the Family's attention is strongly focused on Roqaya, and we see her through their eyes. Habib Allah often accounts for her actions by saying, "They saw that she . . ." rather than saying outright what she did. One thing Roqaya does is bring the Family to tears, an effect particularly apparent in B. The story begins with news of the Family's crying and attracting the attention of the people of Damascus. Habib Allah mentions the Family's crying again after Yazid has sent the head, and again when Roqaya finds the head and is overwhelmed. In both versions, it is
the crying of the Family which draws Yazid's attention to them, and is thus ultimately the cause of the head being taken to the Family. Roqaya's effect upon the Family is particularly significant because the telling of her tale is having the same effect upon the audience.

In both versions Habib Allah digresses in the middle of the climax. Just as he is building the audience up to feeling the sorrows of this child, he turns away briefly to offer an explanation of the suffering. In the one case, he explains the importance of seeing the child embodied and feeling her sorrow. In the other case, he affirms the horrible nature of the shock Roqaya is about to suffer. These digressions provide a short pause on the way to the climax and make the climax therefore more dramatic.

There are several clearly marked opposiitons in both versions. Some of these are:

| The Family | Yazid |
| Ruins | Garden |
| Earthly Garden | Paradise |
| Life | Death |

Habib Allah keeps Yazid carefully separate from the Family. He is brought the news of the Family's wailing and sends someone out to see to them. His only connection with them is the head of their leader Hosayn which he is keeping (hostage) as a symbol of the Family's defeat. It is this head which brings Roqaya to death and thus to Paradise, brings the Family to tears, and brings the audience to emotional participation in their sorrow. In keeping their imam
captive, Yazid is keeping a way of attainment of Paradise from the people. When Yazid sends the head, he releases Roqaya from the sorrows of the world.

Roqaya likens the ruined place where the Family is being held to a garden. Her first reaction to the ruins when she awakens from her dream however is despair. The place is nothing but ruins. With the introduction of Ḥosayn's head, she moves from the level of the real to the metaphorical. She is then able to envision the ruin as a garden in which she is a nightingale singing of her sorrows to a flower, the severed head of Ḥosayn.

At the end of the story she has another change of feeling. Here she moves from singing to Ḥosayn about her own physical sufferings, to a promise of loyalty to him. With all her sorrows, she would not sell these ruins for the Garden of Paradise. She affirms her choice of remaining in the ruins with Ḥosayn instead of renouncing him and his Family. In this way she is able to make the final transition, in which she indeed trades the ruins for the Garden of Paradise.

Life and death form the ultimate opposition. Yazid says Roqaya knows nothing of life and death, yet she consciously choses life by identifying with Ḥosayn. In choosing life in the ruins, she wins for herself life in the Garden which paradoxically comes in death. It should be noted that in neither version does Ḥabīb Allāh say literally that she died. He says rather that she has left this world. The story opens with the opposition between life and
death, but ends with Roqaya choosing a greater life outside this
world.

Roqaya then stands between the oppositions of the story,
resolving these oppositions and transcending them. Knowing nothing
of life and death, she stands between them, and is able to make the
ruins into a garden and then into Paradise. Her success in identi-
fying with Hosayn and her subsequent martyrdom give the story its
meaning.

The wording chosen for the story also expands the garden
metaphor, often occurring in the two versions in exact repetition.42

A list of these phrases is given below:

1. manžur-e to zir-e sar-
push-a
   Your desire is under the
cover.

2. kharaba bagh o sar-e to_
gol o man-am bolbol baba
   junam
   The ruins are a garden
   and your head is a flower
   and I am a nightingale,
   father dear.

3. in kharaba be-bagh-e
   behesht nafrusham
   I wouldn't sell these
   ruins for the Garden of
   Paradise.

4. bolbol-e bagh-e hosayn
   The nightingale of
   Hosayn's garden.

5. pasokh nashnid zayn ol-
cābedin šedā zad ʿamma
   junam diğar ʿu-rā šedā
   nazar be-khodā qaṣam

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Although these are not the only repeated phrases in the texts, these emphasize the oppositions of life versus death (5,6, and 7), the garden versus the ruins (2,3, and 4) and Hosayn as a means to attain Paradise (1).

It is not by coincidence that Habib Allah calls Roqaya the rowza-khān of Hosayn's garden. All the disparate meanings of rowza are inherent in his use of this term. The rowza is the story of suffering which she tells, as well as the metaphorical garden (the ruins) in which she tells the story. Finally the garden-ruins becomes the Garden of Paradise to which all martyrs are immediately admitted. Furthermore, Roqaya's story, told by Habib Allah, causes the audience in the coffee house to suffer for Hosayn in the same way that Roqaya's story has re-awakened the sorrows of the Family. The mourners in the audience may then approach Paradise themselves, by participation in this suffering.
cAli Sanakhan's Roqaya exists as a figure to whom the people of Damascus may turn for forgiveness for what they have done to the Family. Zayn al-\c{A}bedin says Roqaya has been left in Damascus as a rememberance of the Family. If the people of the area will frequent her grave and do her homage, the Family will be satisfied with them. cAli then explains in a digression at the very end how Roqaya's tomb in Damascus is covered with gifts. Her tomb is frequented and honored just as her father's tomb is honored. cAli's Roqaya receives this honor because she has given her life as a sacrifice to the severed head of her father (\textit{janash-o qorban-e sar-e borida-e pedar kard}).

The Row\'\j\'at al-Shohada\textsuperscript{\textmd{a}} gives a short straightforward account of Roqaya's death. Here is a sketch of the literary version:

The Family was being held in Damascus next to Yazid's palace
Hosayn's four-year old daughter has been missing him
She realized where she was, insisted on seeing her father
The Family began crying
Yazid received news of what happened
He sent the head
The daughter received the head
She expressed affection for her father
She gave up her life
The Family renewed its mourning

Kashefi presents Roqaya's story more as a tragedy of death through cruel surprise than as attainment of Paradise. The story in the literary text contains about four hundred words, but devotes most of those to a pure narration of the events. Unlike Habib Allah's story, the child says nothing from the time she receives the head
until her death. Although the literary version is close to Ali's interpretation in terms of the meaning of the sacrifice, Ali has also added other aspects to the character of Roqaya and makes her the symbol of the Family's defeat and a means to attaining forgiveness for the people of Damascus.

An examination of the other rowžas by Habib Allah and Ali (although a small sample) confirms that the story of Roqaya is not unique. Of the seven rowžas that Habib Allah told, none centers directly on the death of Hosayn. Neither do the two rowžas recorded from Ali center directly on the death of Hosayn. All of the rowžas refer briefly to his death and focus mainly on other characters. The most common focal point in the rowžas that I collected was a person who chose to be martyred or to suffer for Hosayn. These people all consciously chose to identify themselves as followers of Hosayn, and all chose to be martyrs, as did Roqaya. In this respect, the three rowžas discussed are typical. Thus even though Hosayn's death may not be the central event of a rowža, it has a strong determining effect on the characters or actions of the story.

It is not surprising that storytellers' rowžas should often concern the followers of Hosayn rather than Hosayn himself. Hosayn was a unique person, one of the imams, and the great martyr for the Shiite cause. Although the audience may try to emulate him, they can never really attain his holiness. The audience members may, however, emulate his followers and even, in a distant fashion, be one of them. Whereas Hosayn's fate was chosen for him from birth,
those who died for him did so from personal choice. In many ways, this fact makes their deaths more immediate and touching for the audience.

It is apparent from this examination of a few rowzas that the set of historical events surrounding Hosayn's martyrdom and the persecution of his Family and followers have provided a great creative impulse in Iran. This creative impulse continues today in the reworking of rowza stories. Although literary texts exist and are known to the storytellers, they continue to reinterpret these stories, each storyteller presenting the events in a different manner. As in the case of the Roqaya story, the storyteller may rework the material so that it actually embodies the cultural values inherent in the telling of rowzas.

Finally, we can see how the telling of rowzas may be considered more than the outward display of belief in Shiism. The telling of the stories becomes a re-creation of the events with the storyteller mediating between the events and his audience. Through participation in the rowza, the audience members identify with the martyrs and bring themselves closer to Paradise.

Conclusions

Two main points are evident from the examination of the constituent elements of the storytelling performance. First we see that the functions discussed in the previous chapter manifest themselves not only in how participants in the performance describe the
activity but also in the material performed. Second we see how an understanding of these functions can reveal unity between the constituent elements despite apparent lack of unity.

Besides the entertainment provided by storytelling, we have already seen that the storyteller acts as a teacher with regard to his audience. He interprets familiar material for his listeners in order to give it new meaning and to tie it to common experience. Even though they further the action of the story very little or not at all, such parts of the performance as digressions and insertion of poetry emphasize the storyteller's role as teacher in that he demonstrates both broad knowledge of literary traditions and the ability to see and express relationships between his material and the world at large. As we have also seen, the quasi-religious function of storytelling is also very important and manifests itself often in the kinds of digressions which the storyteller makes and in the fact that the rowża is a necessary element of naqqali. With regard to the rowża we have seen how a storyteller may use the skeleton of a story which may also be present in a literary work such as the Rowżat al-Shohada to develop a personal interpretation which reveals much of the story's cultural significance.

If the storyteller's role as a teacher and furthermore as a religious teacher is kept in mind, a real unity begins to appear between the elements which make up the storytelling performance. The relationship of the storyteller and his audience as sharers in a common background and belief is affirmed constantly, in particular
their ties as Shiite Muslims and Iranians. The performance opens with God's name and Muslim themes run throughout. In this same way, we can see naqqali as a kind of bridge between formal Islam as represented by prayers and rowzas and the various manifestations of informal Islam as represented by the notion of the storyteller as a religious teacher and the mystic poetry which is recited.

The material is given unity in several ways. The mystic poetry centers on a beloved God who is also sometimes cruel and tormenting to the poet who is willing to die for this love. Similarly in the rowza the heroes love God in his representative Hosayn and are willing to die for him in order to attain Paradise. The heroes of the Shahnama are also bound by honor, they love Iran, and are willing to die for their land. As we have already mentioned, the land of Iran is often compared to Islam and the heroes of Iran are compared to the heroes of Islam. The secular story is thus made Islamic and given greater unity with the religious rowza and the mystic poetry.

At the same time the religious rowza is also secularized and conforms greatly with the Shahnama. As the Shahnama is made up of a number of stories strung together relating to the basic theme of the development of Iran, the rowza is made up of stories of the development of Shiism. The Shahnama tells of the exploits of the heroes of Iran while the rowza tells of the exploits of Shiite heroes. In fact, often the manner of presentation is very similar with heroes, whether Iranian or Shiite, riding out to do...
single combat or to make a night raid.

The role which storytelling plays in society, then, gives storytelling its vitality, conferring upon the storyteller the right to reinterpret material for his audience and allowing for the combination of disparate kinds of material. There is another side to the question of storytelling, however, and that is the relationship of the stories told today to the Iranian national tradition as embodied in literary texts. The next chapter will concern itself with this problem.
1. When the storyteller recites more than one line of poetry, he chants the lines. Although none of them claimed any knowledge of the Iranian musical modes, CAli once said that he recognized the modes and occasionally would find himself chanting in one of them. He considered this occurrence to be purely accidental (tasādofan). There seems however to be no regular attempt by the storytellers to chant their poetry in the classical modal system.

2. The rubā'ī (quatrain) is made up of four half-lines with specific meters. The rhyme scheme is a a a/b a. See L.P. Elwell-Sutton, The Persian Metres (New York: 1976), pp. 97,110, 134-35 and 252-55. Elwell-Sutton would classify this meter as 3.3.11. Hereafter this book will be cited in notes as Persian Metres and the meter numbers will be cited in the text following the name of the meter.

3. The ghazal and the qasida have the same rhyme scheme: a a b a c a ... See Persian Metres, pp. 245-46 for the ghazal and pp. 247-49 for the qasida. The qasida is a formal ode-like poem of fourteen lines or more while the ghazal is a shorter lyric poem, very often concerning love and was the common form used for Persian mystical poetry.


5. The meter of the first is 3.3.13 and of the second is 5.1.12. Both of these are standard rubā'ī meters.

6. The radif is a word or phrase repeated verbatim at the end of each line after the rhyme word.


8. The salavat is a prayer recited in unison by groups of Shiite Muslims. The words of the prayer are:

   allāhommā salla īla mohammād va īl-e mohammād

   May God bless Mohammed and his family.

9. By the "fourteen lights," CAli Naderī means the twelve Shiite imams, the Prophet Mohammed and his daughter Fātima Zahrā. The poem only accounts for ten of the fourteen, however. See below, pages on the imams. Also see Mohammad Hosayn Tabātabā'i,

10. The story lead-in has been noticed by folklorists throughout the world. An example in English is "once upon a time . . ." See Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: 1946), pp. 457-58. Also see Dan Ben-Amos, Sweet Words/Storytelling Events in Benin (Philadelphia: 1975), p. 50, who discusses the openings of stories as means for establishing rapport between the audience and the storyteller.

11. This couplet is in motaqareb meter (1.1.11), the meter of the Šāhnāma, but does not appear in the Moscow edition. There are a number of similar lines in the Šāhnāma, for example:

konun por shegefti yeki dāstān
bepayvandam az gofta-e bastān
Now a story full of wonder
I will relate from the telling of olden times.
(Šāhnāma 1:137, line 34)

za goftār-e dehqān yeki dāstān
bepayvandam az gofta-e bastān
A story told by the dehqāns
I will relate from the telling of olden days.
(Šāhnāma 2:170, line 15)

za gofta-e dehqān konun dāstān
to bar khān o bar guy bā rāstān
Now a story from the sayings of the dehqāns.
Read it and discuss it with the righteous.
(Šāhnāma 3:6, line 8)

12. Some story summaries are included in the Appendices along with a transcribed and translated text of one story session presented by Ḥabīb Allāh.

13. Šāhnāma 1:49, line 183 gives the line as:

be-arrash sarāsar be-do nim kard
jahān-rā az u pāk bi-bim kard
With a saw he cut him [Jamshid] in two from head to foot;
He made the world pure and safe from him.


16. The motif of one drunken hero seeing another drunken hero home is fairly common. For example, Sohrāb has to see Farīborz b. Kāvus to his camp under the same conditions even though they are leaders of opposing armies and have come to fight one another.

17. In Mohammad Mo'in, Farhang-e Fārsī [Persian Dictionary], 6 vols. (Teheran: 1345/1966), 3:3857, masāl is defined as a story (dāstān, afsāna) which is well-known to the people, or which makes its own meaning clear. E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, 8 vols. (London: 1863-93) 8:3017 defines the Arabic equivalent as a "description by way of comparison." The storytellers use brief stories or anecdotes which set up comparisons, and these comparisons in turn serve to describe events, actions or characters.


21. The desire to return to hallowed ground is very important in Iran, and bodies are taken long distances to be buried in holy ground. The dust of pilgrimage places is also commonly believed to be holy and to confer forgiveness on sinners, as it does in Habib Allāh's story. See Bess Allen Donaldson, The Wild Rue: A Study of Mohammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran (London: 1938; repr. New York: 1973), p. 62.


24. Ibid., p. 224.

25. See Roger Abrahams, "Folklore and Literature as Performance," Journal of the Folklore Institute 9 (1972), pp. 75–84 for a discussion of the "rhythms and expectancies" which a storyteller builds up between himself and his audience and how this may function in the folkloric performance. See also Charlotte F. Albright, "The


29. The Prophet's Family (ahl al-bayt) will be referred to as "the Family" hereafter. This will include his direct descendants in the line of cAli b. Abi Taleb.


37. See above, note 36.

38. See above, note 36.

39. It should be remembered that at least Habib Allah never used the *Rowzat al-Shohada* as a source for his stories.

40. In the *Rowzat al-Shohada*, Hosayn's child is not identified by name, but the story is certainly the same one which describes Roqaya in the oral version.

41. The second time Habib Allah told this story, in fact, it was because an audience member had asked specifically for it.

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42. I have avoided using the term "formula" here to describe these phrases. From an examination of the rowža transcriptions, however, it is apparent that the storyteller uses many repeated phrases to tell the story. Milman Parry tied his definition of formula to the metrical value of the phrase. See Albert Lord, The Singer of Tales (New York: 1974), p. 30. There have been successful attempts, on the other hand, to divide prose narration into segments in which "formulas" may be found. One such attempt is Bruce Rosenburg, The Art of the American Folk Preacher (New York: 1970).


44. I do not mean to imply here that this secularization of Islamic heroes is something confined to or originated by the storytellers. That is not the case. Such tendencies have been apparent in literary works for some time. See M. Molé, "L'épopée iranienne après Firdosî," La nouvelle Clio 5 (1953), pp. 391-92.
Chapter V

Relationships Between Oral and Written Materials

In this chapter I will examine the relationships between written and oral material, focussing on the Shahnama stories. The discussion will have three parts. First the effects of the written sources, that is the Shahnama of Ferdowsi and the tumar, on the oral stories will be examined. The second consideration will be the difference in genre between the oral stories and the literary works which are told as stories. Third the medieval literary texts which document the Iranian national legend will be considered along with the relationship of these texts to the oral versions told today. Selected examples from historical and religious texts will be used to demonstrate how the national tradition has changed from earlier times to the present. The place of Ferdowsi's Shahnama and the later epics will also be discussed in light of the continuing tradition, including the oral material.

A

The Shahnama, the Tumar, and the Story

This section will deal with the effects of the written sources on the oral stories. A short background will be provided on the written sources. The tumar and its effect on the oral presentation will be discussed. An example will be given of one
storyteller's narration compared with the same sequence of events from the tumar of another storyteller. A second example will present the story told by one storyteller compared with the same story in the storyteller's own tumar. Then the effect of the Shahnama of Ferdowsi on the oral versions of the stories will be discussed. By drawing these comparisons I will try to show how the tradition of telling the national legend is similar from one storyteller to another, and how strongly the tumar affects the storyteller's rendition of the material.

The Shahnama of Abu 'l-Qasem Ferdowsi forms the basis of the story material. This verse Shahnama was completed at the end of the tenth century A.D. An earlier Shahnama was begun by the poet Daqiqi who left only about one thousand verses before he died. Ferdowsi then took the work upon himself and completed a massive epic, incorporating Daqiqi's one thousand lines. The recent critical edition of the Shahnama (published in Moscow in 1966-71) comprises about forty thousand couplets.

There are a number of antecedents to Ferdowsi's work, none of which survive now. A prose work, the Khodaynamak (Book of Rulers), was supposedly compiled in late Sasanian times in Middle Persian (Pahlavi). This text was translated into Arabic before 142 A.H/759-60 A.D. by 'Abd Allah b. al-Moqaffa. Two or three prose Shahnamas in Persian were also composed in the tenth century A.D. First is the Shahnama of Abu Mo'ayyad Balkhi, known only through references in works of history. This
Shahnama was apparently an important and well-known text. The next prose Shahnama is that of Abu cAli Mohammad b. Ahmad Balkhi, probably from the last decade of the tenth century. Some scholars feel that this may be the same work as the third prose Shahnama, that of Abu Mansur Mohammad b. cAbd al-Razzaq. At any rate, the latter is surely the work which was used by Daqiqi and Ferdowsi in composing their work.

The Introduction still remains of the prose Shahnama of Abu Mansur. According to this Introduction, Abu Mansur cAbd al-Razzaq ordered his minister (dastur) to gather together the owners of books (khodavandan-e kotob), that is the petty landholders (dehqans) and people who knew of the older days, and to compose from their knowledge a compendium of the history of Iran from the beginning of its history to the conquest of the Arabs.

Ferdowsi says in the beginning of his Shahnama that he worked from a written source. In fact, he discusses how he came to write his work. He tells how the young Daqiqi began a Shahnama then was killed, leaving only about one thousand lines, and how a friend then brought him a prose work in Pahlavi which he used as his source. This source is assumed to be the Shahnama of Abu Mansur.

A great deal has been made of the fact that Ferdowsi was a dehqan, one of the class of petty landholders, for the most part Muslims, often referred to as the repository of the Iranian national tradition. Ferdowsi includes much Islamic material which is laid
over a substratum of pre-Islamic beliefs. It is worth noting here, too, that the material which Ferdowsi used as the basis for his work, besides the one written prose text, included material which was, if not oral, at least derived from oral sources.

A number of other works expand upon parts of the national legend which Ferdowsi did not include in his Šāhnāma, some of these later works describing the adventures of heroes who do not appear in the Šāhnāma. These later epics were written in the same form as Ferdowsi's work and in the same meter, but their style tends to more hyperbole and their content is more stylized.

Most of these laterepics appeared shortly after Ferdowsi's work, from the late fifth/eleventh century to the early sixth/twelfth century. Those which have survived are:

1. Garšaspnāma [The Story of Garšasp] by Asadi Tusi which deals with the ancestor of the Sistan house of heroes;

2. Fārāmarznāma [The Story of Fārāmarz] dealing with the son of Rostam;

3. Borzunāma [The Story of Borzu] by CAmid CAtā'ī which deals with the son of Sohrab;

4. Bahmannāma [The Story of Bahman] by Iranshah b. Abi 'l-Khayr which deals with the exploits of the king Bahman and his vengeance on the Sistan house;

5. Shahriyarznāma [The Story of Shahriyar] by COsman
Mokhtāri which deals with the son of Borzu, and

6. Banugoshaspnāma [The Story of Banugoshasp] which deals with the daughter of Faramārz.

Also from this early period is the Kushnāma [The Story of Kush] by Irānshāh b. Abī 'l-Khayr, the only epic which does not deal with the heroes of Zabol. The Kushnāma has for its subject Kush, the brother of the evil king Žahlāk and his descendents and their battles to unseat the Iranian king Jamshid.

Of a somewhat later date is the Jahāngīrnama [The Story of Jahāngir] by Qasem Mādeh which has very Islamic overtones and deals with another of Rostam's sons. The most recent of these epics, the Samnāma [The Story of Šam], dates from the early fifteenth century, and deals with the exploits of one of the ancestors of the Zabol house.

After the Samnāma the tendency is for epic writing to center around religious and historical themes rather than the legendary tradition of Iran's past. Epic writing continued up to the modern period but eventually reached absurd lengths with such works as the Mikadunāma written in India on the occasion of the victory of the Japanese over the Russians in the wars of 1905.

Storytellers use only material of the sort found in the earlier epics, and not all of the epics mentioned above are performed. The metaphor which Molé cites of Ferdowsi's work being the
trunk of a tree and other epics being branches of that tree is to a certain extent apt here as well. Ferdowsi's story line forms the basis of the storytellers' works. Other traditions serve to fill out the story line where Ferdowsi's version gives scanty or no detail. Where a story presented in other sources does not agree with Ferdowsi, the oral tradition has often readily adopted the alternate version. Much story material has also appeared in the oral tradition which is not found in any of the epics so far known. An example of this material is an account of Sohráb's adventures (described in part on pages 135-39 below) which is found in no literary text. It seems that the material told by storytellers includes parts found in Ferdowsi, parts found in the later epics and much more material found only in the oral tradition.

Much of the material found in the later epics appears as an integral part of the storytellers' Shāhnāma narratives. For example Garshasp's story, including his travels to India, appear in the Garš̄aspnāma but not in Ferdowsi's Shāhnāma. The storytellers include these adventures in their Shāhnāma story line where they would normally appear in the chronological sequence. The story line presented by the storyteller, then, is far more complex and elaborate than the line presented by Ferdowsi or any of the other epic writers. The literary epic is pared down and simplified much more than the oral version. The later epics which are told separately are by and large those which contain story material which would appear chronologically after the end of Ferdowsi's narrative. These include
such epics as Borzunāma and Jahangirnāma, plus a popular story of Alexander’s conquest of Iran.

Each storyteller who studies under a master receives a tumār from his teacher. This is a prompt book, which he copies and keeps. The storytellers guard their tumars carefully. ČAli said his tumar, actually a collection of small handwritten books, filled an entire suitcase. For every separate story they learn, they have a tumar. ČAli gave me only a very small part of his tumar to copy and that came to some two hundred pages.

In order to show the style of the tumar I give here a short example from ČAli's tumar.25 The selection given is from the end of the presentation of the Shāhnāma told by the storytellers, and describes the death of the king Bahman. This selection will also be considered below while discussing the relationships between the written and oral material.

Tumar of ČAli Sanākhan - Transcription

bahrman ham gahgahi [be-qalī-e dokhtar-e khod] sarkeshi nikard ta inka azarbarzin ba rostam [-e tur-e mazandarani] va bozorgan-e zabol be-fārs be-didan-e shah[ī] amadand shah ba anha raftand be-tamashay-e qalī-e dokhtar-e vay qolla-e kuhsar dar in bayn khabar avordand ka dar tang-e qombadan dezh ka tang-e zanjir bashad azhdehā'i padid amadā sar-e rāh bar qafelāhā va karavanā basta-ast shah khandid be-azarbarzin farmud beravim be-tamasha[y-e] in janevar az anja savara ba jamī az bozorgan ka be-hamrāh-e shah budand amadand be-makan-e

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آن جنواز شاه پیش حیات میدانید وة آنجا جنواز و صادق که یکی از کام- و بیرون میادن، مشابه [مثلاً] آتش میدارخید رستم از مرکز آتش است و از مرکز بزیر اعاده کرد که آذدها روستام در هوا و جنواز در ناحیه رستم که در زمین قرار داشت، به آذدها صبح کرده و پیوست به نیروی افراد [پیکر] از جنواز. 

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Bahman would also inspect his daughter's castle from time to time until Azarbarzin along with Rostam Tur Mazandarani and the
leaders of Zabol came to Fars to see the king. The king went with them to see his daughter's castle on the top of the mountain. Just then news came that a dragon had appeared in the pass of Combadan Castle, the Zanjir Pass, and closed off the road to travellers and caravans. The king smiled and said to Azarbarzin, "Let's go see this creature."

Riding out from there with a group of leaders who were with the king, they came to that creature's area. The king came along first acting as if he was not afraid and considered the beast nothing until they saw the creature. He had a . . . thickness of a plane-tree. His height was about twenty zar's [about seventy feet]. A river was coming out of his mouth. His eyes were like . . . fire flashed.

Rostam Tur dismounted from his horse, and asked for permission to kill the dragon, but Azarbarzin signalled with his head to Rostam not to go forward. Until Rostam had permission, he could not go towards the dragon. When Rostam got close, he shouted that he was not capable of handling the responsibility of fighting the dragon. Just then the dragon attacked Rostam. Rostam fled and climbed up a tree and from the tree farther up the mountain.

King Bahman said to Azarbarzin, "This hero, your friend, did not measure up to the responsibility and fled." Azarbarzin said, "Your servant! Didn't your grandfather, Goshtasp, kill the dragon of Saqila mountain in Rum? I have also heard that your father, the hero Esfandiyar, killed a dragon. Show your hand,
and grip, and power."

King Bahman was taken in by Azarbarzin's words, particularly since Rostam Tur had fled [. . .] he struck the horse's side in front of Iran's great men and Azarbarzin. He went toward the dragon. The king's horse shied away from the creature. Bahman, known as Ardashir the Long-Armed, because he had a tall stature and long arms, pulled his feet out of the horse's stirrups [. . .] to the ground with his sword at hand. He went toward the dragon. Suddenly the dragon grabbed Bahman with his tail, drew him forward and coiled around Bahman's frame. He opened his mouth and put half of his body, beginning with Bahman's feet, into his mouth [. . .] and swallowed.

Bahman's shouts rose crying out to Azarbarzin, "Oh, hero of the world, kill the dragon." Azarbarzin stilled his hand. No one wanted Bahman to escape from the dragon's clutches. Because he had killed Zakariyā, the people had grown to hate him. The mournful cries [. . .] Bahman were loud in helpless entreaty to Azarbarzin as the dragon drew Bahman's head into his mouth and saved the world from defilement of a [. . .] tyrant. Azarbarzin [. . .] the swelling in the dragon's body where Bahman was in its stomach. [. . .] After he collected his thoughts, the dragon had already finished off Bahman. Then the son of Falāmarz [sic] the world hero [. . .] Garshāsp came up to the dragon. First he cut off the dragon's tail with one blow. Second he thrust a [. . .] for that part where Bahman was. He cut up the dragon with Bahman into four pieces.
and up to today that spot is known as Bahman's Grave.

At first whenever animals and beasts of burden belonging to animal drivers [. . .] to that place, the people of Zanjir Pass would throw [. . .] that is, they commemorate Bahman and his tyranny. After Bahman and the dragon were killed [. . .] known [. . .] it is, that Āzarbarzin said:

With one sword I destroyed two enemies:
The king as revenge for my father, the dragon for the king.

Even though they separated Bahman's body from the dragon's carcass and carried it to the dakhma, and [. . .] threw mud over the dragon's carcass so that it was covered by dirt and stone, that place is still known as Bahman's Grave.

As I have said, when telling the Shāhnāma the storytellers with whom I worked did not generally consult their tumārs.26 Judging from the small sample that I have, they were still able to follow the story line of their tumārs closely. Therefore, it would seem that they have learned their material very thoroughly.

In order to determine the degree of stability in the national tradition, I will compare part of the story of Rostam and Sohrāb in Ḥabīb Allāh's oral version and in the version presented in the tumār of Ibrāhīm Khoshm.27 Ḥabīb Allāh's story was recorded over a period of three weeks.28 The tumār of Khoshm, a storyteller I have never heard perform, devotes about fifty pages to the same material.
The events of both versions of the story to be examined here comprise Sohrab's birth and youth, concluding with his acceptance of the command of Afrasiyab's army, and taking the army to war against Iran. The same sequence of events as presented in Ferdowsi's work will be examined later. The story and the tumar text are given below side by side in summary form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral Story of Habib Allāh</th>
<th>Tumar of Ibrāhīm Khosmu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>After his baby son was born, Rostam could not hold him or the baby would cry. Rostam was afraid he would kill the baby from anger. He told his wife Tahmina he was leaving, and gave her an identifying medallion for the child. Men came to Afrasiyab and told him what had happened in Tahmina's city of Samangan. Afrasiyab sent an army to the city. Although the people sent a message to Rostam, he never received it. The armies prepared for war; Tahmina escaped with her baby.</td>
<td>Before the baby was named, the child was brought to Rostam. Although the child cried with no one else, he would not tolerate his father's presence, crying whenever Rostam tried to hold him. Rostam became angry and left with his army, leaving an identifying medallion for the child. Afrasiyab learned what had happened in Samangan. He sent an army to destroy the city. The people sent a message to Rostam for help, but the message never reached Rostam. Tahmina fled with her baby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursued by the Turanian army, Tahmina threw herself and her baby into the sea. Samangan was destroyed.</td>
<td>Pursued by the Turanian army, Tahmina threw herself and her baby into the sea. Samangan was destroyed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tahmina's father, Sohram, the ruler of Samangan was ordered executed, but Afrasiyab's vizier Pirān Vaysa stopped the execution out of fear of Rostam.
Tahmina and the baby Sohrāb came to an island where Sohrāb was raised by lions for several years.

Sohram and his son Zhandarazm were to be executed. The death of Pashang stopped the execution. They took Pashang's body to Iran to be buried.

The Iranian nobleman and hero Tus b. Nowzar entertained the Turanians and was deceived by them into thinking Afrasiyāb would make him king of Iran.

Rostam learned of this and vowed to teach Tus a lesson. He refused ever to serve in Tus' army.

A ship arrived and saved Tahmina and Sohrāb.

They joined a caravan which met traders who were unable to get camphor from an island due to the ferocious animals there. Tahmina and Sohrāb killed the animals, and made the island safe for the traders. Tahmina stayed with these traders and their leader Toghrol.

One day Sohrab and Toghrol went hunting. Sohrāb chased a deer, met a girl whom he fought. She was Shohra. They fell in love and were married.

Tahmina and an army of Toghrol's men went to the capital and rescued Sohram and another ally, Eskandar.

Pashang died and was taken to be
Sohrab felt he must go to the aid of Samangan. Afrasiyab was preparing for war.

Buried in Iran. In Iran, the Iranians entertained the Turanians; Tus b. Nowzar reviled Rostam at the banquet.

Rostam learned of Tus' actions and refused ever to serve in an army led by Tus.

Afrasiyab heard this news and prepared for war with Iran.

Tahmina, Sohrab, and the army re-captured Samangan. There Toghrul spent several years teaching Sohrab the manly arts. Sohrab was under the impression that Toghrul was his father at this time.

One day on a hunt, Sohrab killed the wild animals on an island of camphor and made the island safe for traders. One of the animal skins got back to Afrasiyab who learned of Sohrab and Samangan and sent another army to defeat Samangan.

During the war Sohrab and Tahmina were wounded and became separated. Tahmina thought Sohrab was dead.

Sohrab found himself in the garden of one of Afrasiyab's governors. The governor's daughter, Shohra, found him and treated his wounds. They fell in love.

Shohra's father learned of this and was angry. Finally he allowed them to be married. Borzu was conceived. After a period of time Shohra's father became afraid that Afrasiyab would learn of the match. He had
Afrāsiyāb destroyed Shohra's village. She fled pregnant.

Sohrāb made friends with Tufān, the Turanian hero, and brought him over to the side of Samangan.

Sohrāb stole the Turanian war drums by forcing Garsivaz to help him.

Afrāsiyāb sent Tufān to kill a dragon as a trap for Sohrāb. Sohrāb went with Tufān. Tufān was eaten and Sohrāb then killed the dragon. Afrāsiyāb and his men were watching.

Sohrāb drugged and sent as a prisoner to the capital.

Tahmina came to the domain of the evil Bahrām, whom she killed when he made advances toward her. The people, relieved of his rule over them, agreed to help her fight the Turanians. On their way to the capital, they ran upon Sohrāb being taken prisoner to Afrāsiyāb. Tahmina released her son from his captors.

Together with their helpers, they captured the treasure of a nearby castle and prepared to retake Samangan. They conquered Samangan and prepared for war with Afrāsiyāb.

Afrāsiyāb heard of what had happened. He destroyed Shohra's village. She fled pregnant and had her son in a small village nearby.

During the war Sohrāb stole the Pashangi (Turanian) war drums with the help of Afrāsiyāb's brother Garsivaz.

Sohrāb made friends with Tufān, the Turanian hero, and brought him over to the side of Samangan.

Because of Tufān's friendship with Sohrāb, Afrāsiyāb sent Tufān to fight a dragon in the area. Tufān was killed. Sohrāb had followed Tufān to help him. When he discovered that
Before Sohrāb could return, the Turanians defeated Samangan. Sohram was forced to help Afrāsiyāb win over Sohrāb. Sohrāb is led into being the commander of Afrāsiyāb's army. Sohrāb accepted the leadership of the army. They took Sohrāb to Balkh. Sohram assured Pirān that Sohrāb did not know who his father was. They plotted to bring Sohrāb to battle with Rostam.

Before going to Iran to fight, Sohrāb insisted on seeing his mother. When he saw her, he threatened to kill her if she did not tell him who his real father was. She told him of his parentage. She gave him the medallion which Rostam had left with her. All this was kept secret from the Turanians. They continued on to Iran and war.

Despite minor variations, the story lines are remarkably similar. The greatest divergence comes in the pattern of battles. The tumar presents three battles and destructions of Samangan. The first comes when Afrāsiyāb learns of Tahmina's being given in
marriage to Rostam and her having the baby Sohrāb. The second is after Sohrāb and Tahmina have recaptured Samangan. The third comes after the conception of Borzu and is the battle that finally decides Sohrāb's fate. Only two battles are present in Ḥabīb Allāh's story, one after Afrāsiyāb learns of Rostam's child and the other ending the segment. These two battles with city destructions in the oral story and in the tumar are reflections of one another. Sohrāb is the cause of the first and Borzu is the cause of the second. Although the cycles in the oral story are longer, both versions are cyclical, moving from peace to war, back to peace, then again to war. The two cycles of the oral version absorb almost all of the action of the three cycles in the tumar.

An example of this absorbing of motifs is the death of Pashang. In the tumar Pashang dies "offstage" and we hear only of his funeral. Sohram and Eskandar are saved from execution by Pirān who fears Rostam's wrath if Rostam should ever hear of the executions. In the oral story it is the dramatic death of Pashang at the scene of the execution which saves Sohram and Zhandarazm. Pirān has been trying to stop the execution, but his motives are less clear in the oral story.

For the most part other variations between the tumar and the oral story are minor. In the tumar the baby is unnamed when Tahmina flees. When she brings the child from the ocean, she names him sur-āb which becomes Sohrāb.

Shohra's father is Khosrowshāh in Ḥabīb Allāh's version.
In the tumar her father is Nowzārshāh, and Khosrowshāh is the ruler of a nearby fortress, an ally of Afrasiyab, who reports the marriage of Rostam and Tahmina to Afrasiyab. The confusion is easy to understand, however, when one recalls that both Khosrow and Nowzār were Iranian kings. Both tumar and oral stories continually use the same names over and over for unimportant characters.

The storyteller elaborates greatly on the framework provided in the tumar. For example when Sohrāb steals the Turanian drums, the tumar says:

\[
\text{kholāsā ba komaḵ-e garsivāz 탭l-e pashangi-ra}\\
\text{avordand}
\]

Finally they [Sohrab and Zhandarazm] brought out the Pashangi drums with the help of Garsivaz.

It is hard to imagine why Garsivaz, Afrasiyab's own brother, would help Sohrāb (one of the archenemies of the Turanians at this point) to steal the drums so highly prized by the Turanians. On the other hand, Habib Allah describes at length how Sohrāb forces Garsivaz to point out where the drums are kept and approve the young hero's entry into the drum house. While the tumar must then describe how Afrasiyāb punishes his own brother for his collaboration, the oral story has provided an explanation for Garsivaz' actions and can drop the punishment sequence. Habib Allah also includes long descriptive passages and digressions to explain and elaborate on the actions taking place.

In short, the correlations of motifs between the oral and
*tumar* versions is fairly high, not only in these stories but also in other sections which I have examined, comparing also *CAli*’s stories with the Khoshmu *tumar*. The storyteller lengthens and fills out some material which exists in outline in the *tumar*. He explains and rationalizes, or exchanges motifs from one part of the story to another, but the story remains essentially the same.

It is not the intent of this discussion to assert absolutely that the *tumars* of all storytellers are alike. Such an assertion would be impossible since we do not have Habib Allah’s *tumar*, nor the full *tumars* of *CAli Sanakhan* or *Ibrahim Khoshmu*. Rather I want to point out that there is a great deal of similarity between the stories which various storytellers relate. This similarity indicates a stability within the tradition of telling the national legend, at least with regards to the motifs used. This stability would seem to lie in the *tumar* which is handed down, in a written form, from one storyteller to another and forms the skeletal basis for the narrations.

In order to determine if the correlation between a storyteller’s narration and the same story in his own *tumar* is greater than that seen in the example above, a comparison will be made next of one story told by *CAli Sanakhan* and the same story in his own *tumar*. The example given here is the last section of the telling of the *Shahnama*, the killing of King Bahman and Alexander the Great’s conquest of Iran. I will deal only with the material leading up to the death of Bahman, and the death scene itself.
This is the example given in transcription from the tumar on pages 129-34 above. As an indication of the magnitude of the difference, I might mention that the whole reign of Bahman takes about two hundred lines in the Shahnama, thirty-four pages in the storyteller's tumar and roughly a month in the telling. The example presented here is a much shorter segment than that presented above for Habib Allah, so I will examine the material more closely for similarities and divergences.

C.ali begins by saying that he has come to the end of his story. Bahman has defeated the house of Zabol and brought one of the Zaboli descendents, Azarbarzin, back into his service. All of Bahman's people are afraid of him. He has, moreover, killed the prophet Zakariya because of the prophet's opposition to Bahman's marriage to his own daughter Homa. Then C.ali begins the day's segment proper. Again the tumar text and the oral story are summarized side by side.

**Oral Story**

Bahman invited one thousand of Iran's nobles as guests to see the castle he was building for his daughter/wife Homa.

Merchants came to tell Bahman of a dragon closing off the road. Bahman promised them the area would be made safe.

The guests arrived and stayed in tents set up near the castle.

**Tumar**

Leaders of Zabol came to Fars to see the king. Together they went to see the castle Bahman was building for his daughter/wife Homā.

News came that a dragon had closed off the road.

Bahman suggested they all go see the dragon.
At a banquet talk turned to the dragon. Azarbarzin may have wounded this very dragon. Bahman remarked on how his father Esfandiyar and his grandfather Goshtasp had both defeated dragons. He would defeat this dragon himself.

Azarbarzin tried to dissuade the king, offending Bahman's pride.

After the banquet they all went to their quarters to sleep.

In the morning Bahman and his guests went looking for the dragon.

They all went toward the dragon's domain.

The dragon appeared.

The dragon appeared.

A young hero, Rostam Tur Mazandarani, went out to kill the dragon against Bahman's orders. He could not face the danger and hid himself in a tree.

Rostam wanted to fight the dragon. Bahman denied him permission, and the dragon forced him to flee.

Azarbarzin reminded Bahman that his father and grandfather had both killed dragons. Azarbarzin challenged Bahman to do the same.

The king was deluded by the challenge.

Bahman attacked the dragon. The dragon began sucking the king into his mouth.

Bahman attacked the dragon. The dragon began sucking the king into his mouth.

Bahman called to Azarbarzin for help.

Bahman called for help. Although Azarbarzin called back that he was coming, he hesitated while Bahman called for help to Azarbarzin. Azarbarzin recalled all Bahman's evil deeds and did not...
he thought about how Bahman was an evil king. By the time Azarbarzin came forward, it was too late. With one thrust of his sword, Azarbarzin struck both the dragon and Bahman, thereby ridding himself of two enemies.

By the time Azarbarzin came forward, it was too late. With one thrust of his sword, Azarbarzin struck both Bahman and the dragon.

Azarbarzin cut up the dragon and Bahman with it.

Homa took up the rule of Iran.

What was left of Bahman's body was salvaged and properly buried. Even though they separated Bahman's body from the dragon's carcass, this spot is still known as Gur-e Bahman. The rest was buried on the spot with the dragon's body. This spot became known as Gur-e Bahman ("Bahman's Grave").

Azarbarzin remarked that he had killed two enemies with one thrust of his sword. Azarbarzin remarked that he had killed two enemies with one thrust of his sword.

One can see how the tumar is an outline of the story, although the storyteller has changed some elements. For example, Azarbarzin's part in the tumar story is much more active. In the oral story, it is Bahman's own proud decision which leads to his death. In the tumar, he is urged on by Azarbarzin who then will not help him. One can also see how non-essential elements may be added to fill up time and embellish the story. The banquet is a perfect example of how a scene can be added which does very little to further the action. Once again it should be mentioned that only a page and a half of tumar text makes up the forty-five minutes of storytelling.
Furthermore, one may see here that cAli's oral version is no more similar to his own tumar than Habib Allah's version of the Sohrab story is to the Khoshyu tumar. Both cAli's version and Habib Allah's version add material, expand on material and leave out material found in the tumar. The storyteller seems to have some latitude even in the motives which he provides for the action of the story.

Next I will examine Ferdowsi's version of the same two examples, in order to determine to what extent the naqqali tradition depends on the literary tradition which is well known to the storyteller.

The Rostam and Sohrab segment takes up about eleven hundred lines (about ninety pages) in Ferdowsi's work, comprising a fairly large proportion of the reign of Kavus. The same time sequence examined above is summarized below. These events center around Sohrab's youth until he takes the reins of the Turanian army and goes to war with Iran.

Rostam left Samangan after the child was conceived. He gave Tahmina an identifying armband for the child. When the child was born, Tahmina named him Sohrab.

Sohrab grew rapidly. By the age of ten he was a hero. He asked his mother to tell him who his father was. She told him the story of his birth, cautioning him to keep his parentage secret from Afrasiyab lest the king demand Sohrab's presence in the capital.

Sohrab said he would gather an army of Turks and depose Kavus. Then he would make Rostam king and
attack Turan to depose Afrāsiyāb. Father and son would rule all.

An army began to rally round Sohrāb, ready for war with Iran.

Afrāsiyāb heard all this and was delighted. He sent commanders with an army and gifts to Sohrāb. He told his men to keep Sohrāb's parentage from the boy so that father and son could be brought together in battle.

Sohrāb was presented with the gifts and honors. They went on to war with Iran.

One difference between Ferdowsi's version and the versions presented earlier is in bulk of detail. This segment runs to about one hundred and seventy lines. In both earlier versions, Sohrāb's youth is greatly expanded. The tumar and the oral version both spend a great deal of time adding adventures in Sohrāb's early life which demonstrate his potential as a hero. His growth is summed up by Ferdowsi in three lines:

cho yek māh shod hamcho yek sāl bud
barash chun bar-e rostam-e zal bud
cho sah sāla shod zakhm-e chugān gereft
be-panjom del-e tir o paykān gereft
cho dah sāla shod zān zamin kas nabud
ka yarast ba u nabard azmud

When he was one month old it was as if he was a year. His breast was like that of Rostam, son of Zāl.

When he was three years old he went to the polo field. In his fifth year he took up arrows and lances.

When he was ten years old there was no one in that land Who dared to try and show him how to battle.
Sohrab's youth is of major concern in the tumar and the oral versions, comprising a much longer section of the Rostam and Sohrab story.

The motives presented for Sohrab's attacking Iran are different in Ferdowsi's version than in the tumar and the oral versions considered above. Ferdowsi's Sohrab promises to depose Kavus and give the rule to Rostam. In Habib Allah's version and the Khosmum tumar, Sohrab is (at least initially) spurred on by a desire for revenge against Rostam for his abandoning Tahmina and the city of Samangan. In the tumar, Tahmina first exhibits these feelings of revenge from the first time she hears that Rostam has left her and their child. She is only dissuaded from taking revenge on Rostam herself by the fact that she has her child to care for. She hopes to direct her child's energy against Rostam in the future.

Later Sohrab announces that his intention in fighting the battles with Iran is to seat himself and his father on the throne:

sohrab migoft bayad az in ja ka raftam afrasiyab va kavus-ra nabud konam khodam va pedaram hokran basham

Sohrab said, "When I leave this place, I must destroy Afrasiyab and Kavus so that my father and I may rule."

This same suggestion of revenge also appears in the oral version. First Sohrab tells his mother that he will depose Kavus and Afrasiyab and give all the rule to Rostam. She laughs at him and says that Rostam will not allow the king of Iran to be deposed. Then Sohrab says something more appealing to Tahmina:
"I am going. If God wills that I be victorious, I will pick [Rostam] up and teach him never again to go and take a wife for one night's pleasure."

Numerous other small differences appear between the literary version by Ferdowsi, and the oral version and the tumar, but it is already apparent that the major divergence is in the elaboration of detail. The oral story and its source, the tumar, are far more complex in use and arrangement of motifs. They are also much more regular, generally using much the same motifs for the development of each hero. Ferdowsi, on the other hand, presents a much contracted version of the material centering on high points of action.

The other example quoted above from cAli is even more dramatically at variance with Ferdowsi's Shahnama. cAli and the tumar devote much more time to the whole reign of Bahman than Ferdowsi does. Some of this greater concentration on Bahman might be explained by the fact that his reign brings the storytelling cycle to a close. Ferdowsi presents Bahman's reign as a transition between the great heroic period and the conquest of Alexander, which in turn paves the way for the Sasanians.

The most striking feature of the oral material is that it does not coincide at all with the Shahnama of Ferdowsi. Bahman does fall in love with his own daughter by whom he has a son Darāb. The prophet Zakariyā, who plays an important part in the oral
story and tumār, does not appear in Ferdowsi's work. Neither is Bahman eaten by a dragon. In fact Bahman's death is summed up in one line:

be-bimārī andar bemord ardashīr
hamī bud bi-kār ṭāj o sārīr

Ardashīr [Bahman] died from an illness,
The crown and throne were left idle.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the comparisons of written and oral texts above. First, there is a unity within the storytelling tradition. This is apparent from the comparison of the oral version with an unrelated tumār. Although there is a range of variation, the range does not appear to be any greater than in the variation of a storyteller's version with his own tumār. It is easy to envision the tumār as a stabilizing force at work in the storytelling tradition. Second, we can see that even within the unity of the texts performed by today's storytellers, there is still a great deal of room for individual variation. It is in the ability to embellish and expand upon themes that storytellers prove their worth. Third, we can see that what unity there is within the tradition is not dictated by Ferdowsi's written text. The literary work is known and revered by storytellers and audiences but does not dominate the tradition of telling the national legend. Instead the literary and oral versions exist equally side by side. One might say that the Shāhnāma of Ferdowsi is only one rescension of a work which continues being told today by such men as Ḍalī and Ḥabīb Allah. Rather than codifying the national legend, Ferdowsi has
added one version, a literary one, to the continuing tradition re-
presented in other works and oral production still today.
B

Genre

In assigning a generic designation to these stories, we are confronted with two opposing criteria. First, we must try to be faithful to the cultural significance of the material to the participants in the performance. Second, we wish to provide a term which accounts for the distinctions between the oral and written versions and places the stories in a context of world literature. If we consider the response of those involved in the storytelling to be of paramount concern, we will consider the stories to be Shāhnāma. Neither audience members nor storytellers differentiate in terminology between the oral and written versions. Both versions are reworkings of the Iranian national tradition, telling stories of particular heroes and kings. Furthermore, a character presented in oral and written versions appears to be of essentially the same nature in both versions. There is no doubt that the two versions are in the same ethnic category — Shāhnāma.

Neither the addition of stories nor the mere fact of the orality of one version versus the literary mode of the other warrants assigning the oral and written versions to distinct genres. At the same time, to consider these versions as being of the same genre (whatever that genre might be) is to ignore the differences in their make-up. The criterion for genre designation "is surely not the stories people tell, but the way they tell them."
A generic designation should explain both texts of the stories and their cultural meaning. Eugéne Vinaver has suggested such a definition for medieval European literature which is remarkably apt for the Iranian material as well. Comparing such epics as The Song of Roland with Le Morte d'Arthur, Vinaver explains the differences he sees between epic and romance in terms of the manner of moving the narration forward and the author's visible involvement in the narration. He characterizes epic as made up of separate and distinct scenes which are only loosely related to the main train of narration and as a narrative "concerned exclusively with action and statement, not with motives..." On the other hand, Vinaver characterizes romance as being a "poetry of interlace." The stories, he says, have to alternate like threads in a woven fabric, one theme interrupting another and again another, and yet all remaining constantly present in the author's and the reader's mind.

Each departure to another story must be dependent upon the direction of the entire narrative, so that no story could be removed without altering the entire structure of the narrative. The creator of such a narration, "has the entire development in mind, knows where the point of departure is for each ramification -- or digression -- and how to take us back, if necessary, to the line or curve we previously followed." In general Ferdowsi's work conforms to Vinaver's description of European epic, being primarily concerned with action, narrating...
events beginning at one point in time, and, by and large, continuing to the end of a story before taking up a new story. The stories are themselves basically independent units, most of which could be removed as a unit without drastically altering the movement of the narration of the Shahnama.

Like the Shahnama of Ferdowsi, the oral stories concentrate on relating a series of actions, but do not do so in a linear fashion. Rather the oral stories are much like the romances discussed by Vinaver. The storyteller does not develop and conclude one story before beginning another. If we reconsider the early part of the Rostam and Sohrāb story examined above (pp. 135-39), we can see the difference in presentation. A scheme is given according to the focus of the narration.

We will begin with Ferdowsi's version:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sohrāb</th>
<th>Afrāsiyab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rostam fathers Sohrāb, leaves Samangan. Sohrāb grows up. When he learns of his parentage, he determines to give the rule of Iran to his father. He raises an army.</td>
<td>Afrāsiyab hears of this, and plots against Rostam and Sohrāb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohrāb becomes the leader of the Turanian army.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once Ferdowsi begins the Sohrāb story, he deviates only once from the straight narrative leading to Sohrāb's death in order to explain
Afrasiyab's part in the affair.

As we can see, Ferdowsi's plot is straightforward and uncluttered, dispensing with story lines not directly related to Sohrab's progression toward the battle between him and his father. We know nothing of Rostam or the wars between Iran and Turan, which must still be waging, since they have no immediate bearing on the story under consideration. Furthermore, the entire Rostam and Sohrab story could be lifted from the epic without significantly altering it.

The oral version, as I mentioned earlier, is much fuller in detail and description. More important to our discussion here, the material is arranged in a different manner than the written work. Habib Alīāh told the story as follows:
Rostam Tahmina Sohrab Afrasiyab Shohra
Rostam leaves Samangan.
Sohrab is born.
Afrasiyab learns of Sohrab's birth and sends an army.
Afrasiyab's army destroys Samangan. Sohrab and his son are captured.
Pashang's death saves the captives. His body is sent to Iran.

Tahmina flees with her son.
Afrasiyab sends an army.

Tahmina raises her son on an island.

Sohrab and Tahmina make the island safe. Sohrab marries Shohra; he then returns to Samangan.

Rostam refuses to serve in an army under Tus.

Tahmina and Sohrab are rescued.

Afrasiyab destroys Shohra's village in anger.
Rostam

Tahmina

Sohrāb

Afrāsiyāb

Shohra

Shohra flees. She is pregnant.

The war between Samangan and Afrāsiyāb begins.

Sohrāb befriends the hero Tufan

Afrāsiyāb plots against Sohrāb and Tufan.

Sohrāb defeats the dragon.

Afrāsiyāb's army defeats Samangan. Afrāsiyāb plots against Rostam and Sohrāb.

Sohrāb becomes the leader of the Tura-nian army.
We can see from this example that the storyteller not only presents greater detail but also arranges the detail in a different way than Ferdowsi did. At any point in the narrative there are three distinct, but related, sequences of actions being described, and at one point in the narrative, there are five sequences of action being presented.

While all the levels of action center around the youth and development of Sohrab, their immediate relationship to Sohrab is not always apparent. They are however all integrated parts of the Sohrab story, none of which may be deleted without radically altering the story. For example, the relationship of the episode concerning Tus' offending Rostam to the Sohrab story is only made clear much later. When Tus offends Rostam, the hero leaves, refusing ever to serve in an army commanded by Tus. This means that Rostam is not an active member of the Iranian army when Sohrab attacks Iran at the head of the Turanians. Knowing nothing of Rostam's temporary retirement, Sohrab becomes confused as to who Rostam is and why he does not come to the field. In the mounting confusion Rostam eventually kills his own son. At the time Rostam actually leaves the Iranian army, Sohrab is still a baby being raised by lions on a strange island, and the link between this episode and the Sohrab story is not clear.

In addition, many of the critical elements of the Rostam and Sohrab story are extensions of past stories or carry the seeds of future stories. An example of the former is the feud which arises
between Rostam and Tus. This feud involves Rostam's actions against Tus' father, King Nowzar. When the Turanians are in Iran for Pashang's burial, they try to turn Tus against the Iranians, offering to make him king of Iran if he will ally with them. At this point, Tus, having been foolishly flattered by the Turanians' words, reviles Rostam as the cause of Iran's kingship having left Nowzar's line, implying that Rostam is less than honorable in his service to Iran.

An example of an element which will affect later stories is Sohrāb's marriage to Shohra who bears their child Borzu. Later in the Shahnama narration, Borzu becomes a great hero and challenges Rostam hoping to take revenge for Sohrāb's death.

Within the text of the narration the critical factor in defining differences between the oral and written versions of the Shahnama is not the material presented but rather the arrangement of the story material must be considered. The example above illustrates well the differences which Vinaver sees as generic between epic and romance. The epic (Ferdowsi's work) describes the action linearly, proceeding from one action to another in a more or less direct line. The romance (the oral stories) moves continually from descriptions of one set of actions and characters to another and back again.

If we continue our examination of the relationships between the medieval European epics and romances as they apply to the Iranian case, another fact emerges. As we have seen, the storyteller
regards himself as a teacher and designs his story in such a way as to impress his personal interpretation of the traditional material on his audience. While Ferdowsi is never very far from his narration, most of his digressions are laments for his condition or comments on the sources of his work. The storytellers, on the other hand, comment at length on what they consider to be the meaning of the story.

Relying on Vinaver's exposition of commentaries on medieval romances, we find that the storyteller's job

is to reveal the meaning of the story (its **meine**), adding to it such embellishing thoughts as he considers appropriate; by doing this he would raise his work to a level of distinction which no straightforward narration could ever reach.\(^6\)

He expands on this saying,

And so it came about that when a 'literate' writer set himself the task of making a traditional or classical story into a romance nothing seemed more important to him than the process of interpreting his material in the way he had been taught to do. In practice this meant either commenting on the narrative or letting the characters themselves explain their feelings and their behaviour.\(^7\)

The creator of a romance found his achievement "to be measured not in terms of the invention of new material, but in terms of a new meaning, 'creatively conceived.'"\(^8\) All of this conforms with what we have seen regarding the storytellers' relationship to their narrations.

There are two drawbacks to the complete acceptance of Vinaver's exposition, however. First, Vinaver sees epic as being primarily meant to be recited aloud if not orally composed while
romance is primarily a literary genre. In the case of the *Shahnama*, the opposite is true. The epic is the literary work, and the romance is orally composed. Second, much of Vinaver's discussion rests on the presumption that there is an historical relationship between the two genres, with epic necessarily preceeding romance. I do not wish to imply any such historical or evolutionary relationship between the two genres in Iranian literature. Both epic and romance have existed side by side in Iran from ancient times, and there is no reason to assume that the one grew out of the other.

We can still view the written text of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama* as an epic rendition of the Iranian national legend and the oral stories as romantic renditions of the same material, within the confines discussed above. If we do, we provide generic designations which resolve the two opposing criteria with which we began this discussion. We place the two versions in a category of world literature. At the same time, we account for at least some of the cultural significance of the storyteller's role in performing his stories.
In this section I will consider other texts which provide sources for the national tradition. I will be primarily concerned with examining the way in which the texts present the blood relationships between characters, wherever the text makes these relationships clear enough to plot. I have chosen to examine geneological relationships because geneologies provide an easily seen form for pointing out the discrepancies, similarities, and trends toward change.

It should not be forgotten that much of the story material presented in the oral versions is to be found in sources for the national tradition other than Ferdowsi. For example, the story of Bahman's death discussed earlier is very similar in the oral version of ʿAli Sanākhān and the written version of Ehya al-Moluk, a history written by Malek Shah Ḥosayn Sistani in the sixteenth century. In this version Bahman is on his way to Sistan with Azarbarzin and Rostam Tur when they hear that a dragon is in the area. Azarbarzin suggests to Bahman that his father Esfandiyyār killed a dragon, and that it is now Bahman's turn. Rostam asks for permission to kill the dragon and rushes forward, but his horse falters. Rostam is forced to seek refuge in a tree. Then Bahman goes forward and is pulled in by the dragon's breath. Azarbarzin kills the dragon with Bahman inside, saying:
I killed the dragon in revenge for Bahman and Bahman in revenge for [my father] Faramarz.

This is virtually a prose restatement of the line of poetry used by 'Ali and cited in the tumār.\(^50\) There is also an implication that Bahman killed the prophet Zakariya.\(^51\)

Genealogy has been used by Edmund Leach in his "The Legitimacy of Solomon" to plot change in story line.\(^52\) As in his analysis of the Israelites and their choosing of kings, the Iranian material is quasi-historical (in that it documents a chronological series of events) and is primarily concerned with the change and maintenance of the right to rule in Iran. So we may assume, as does Leach, that if "legitimacy of title depends exclusively on inheritance then genealogies assume paramount importance."\(^53\) Furthermore, the background of the hero's birth has been long recognized as one of the constituent elements creating the hero.\(^54\)

I am not concerned, however, with examining these texts to discover any "correct" version of the relationships of kings and heroes.\(^55\) Rather my concern is to compare several different versions of the same relationships to see how stable the national tradition is and, if it is not stable, to see how the material has been changing through time. Again, too, I am trying to uncover the relationships between the written tradition and the oral tradition. I hope to discover how the genealogy as found in the oral version appeared out of trends apparent in the written sources.\(^56\)
Pre-Islamic Sources

Much still remains of the national legend in texts in Avestan and Pahlavi and, to a lesser degree, in Sogdian, although such texts do not often specify the relationships of characters clearly. The only texts of any value for genealogical relationships are the two Pahlavi texts, the Bundahishn and the Denkard.

The Bundahishn is a Zoroastrian religious text compiled in the ninth century A.D. and therefore not strictly pre-Islamic. It does contain material taken from earlier periods and is written in Middle Iranian (Pahlavi), the predecessor of modern Persian and the court language of the Sasanians, the last pre-Islamic dynasty of Iran. The Bundahishn comprises religious and mythical stories and exists in two rescensions, the Indian Bundahishn and the Iranian (or Great) Bundahishn. I will be drawing on material from the latter rescension.

In the Bundahishn we see the genealogy presented in Chart I (pp. 166-67). The most obvious characteristic of this genealogy is the number of brother-sister marriages. Virtually all the characters we find in this version of the national legend are related by blood. The characters who increase the glory of Iran are almost all the result of brother-sister unions. Part of this necessity for relating all people arises from the fact that this account purports to trace the rise of the human species. The brother-sister marriage of Mashya to Mashyoī is quite natural in that they are born from the union of the first man and the Earth. These
are the first pair of humans and must populate the world. The succeeding number of brother-sister marriages is not so easily explained. Siyamak and Nasak produce two offspring who in turn marry one another. From these parents arise all the progeniteurs of the races of men. One of them, Taz, marries his sister. But the descendant of this union, the evil Dahak, is not only from the original family, but is also the produce of the original family plus a descendent of the family of the Evil Spirit.

On the other side of the family, however, the descendants who become the Iranians and their kings continue to intermarry. Yim (Jamshid) marries his sister Yimak and eventually Fredun (Feridun) is born. Airik's (Iraj's) revenger, the hero-king Manuskihar (Manuchehr), is once again the result of two brother-sister unions.

The Denkard, another of the ninth century Pahlavi books, provides very little information on the national legend, other than the Zoroastrian beliefs about the creation of man, a chart of which is given below:

```
[Creator] Earth (Safandarmad)
    Gayomard

Mašya Mašyani

Many couples who become husband and wife and from whom come the people of the world.38
```
CHART I

BUNDAHISHN

Gayomard

(Mashya) Matro

Matroyo (Mashyoi)

Siyamak

Other progeniterus of Man

Nasak

Fravak

Fravaka'in

Evil Spirit

Taz

Sister

Hoshyang

[Iranians]

Khrurasp

Two generations

Yimak

Yim

Narsih

Takhmorasp

Spitun

Nine generations

Barmayun

Fredun

Katayun
This short segment of the geneology reaffirms the same sort of incestuous marriages creating the people of the world, and in particular of Iran, as did the Bundahishn. Gayomard incestuously marries his mother, the Earth in a type of parent-child marriage not found in the Bundahishn. The offspring of Mašya and Mašyana marry in brother-sister union as did Mašya and Mašyana.

In short what we see in the pre-Islamic texts is a tendency to marry continuously within blood lines. This internal marriage produces the great kings of Iran, as well as the evil agents who are part of the national legend.

Islamic Sources

The material from the Islamic period was drawn from ten historical texts plus the Shahnama of Ferdowsi and the oral stories. In choosing these texts, I have tried to achieve some spread in sources from the very early period up to later periods to see trends in change. I have also tried to include the major sources in Persian and Arabic from the early period, including such texts as Dinavari and Balcami. A cursory examination of other later Persian sources, such as Rowżat al-Safa [The Garden of Purity] suggests that some later sources relied heavily on earlier written sources. The sixteenth century Ehya al-Moluk still reflects various strains of this material, not following the lines of prior major writers. To avoid repetition, I have not included later works which appeared to be based on one of the earlier sources. The
number of texts examined is not large, yet, compared with today's
oral versions, they allow us to see a number of interesting
trends. Some of these trends appear in the early works and con­
tinue in the later sources up to the oral stories. The survey is
also large enough to demonstrate that there are various strains
of the national legend which a writer or storyteller could use at
any time.

The historical texts used are described in chronological
order. They will be discussed and compared thematically as a
group.

1. Abu Hanifa Ahmad Dinavari's Al-Akhbar al-Teval
from the ninth century. This Arabic text records
much information about the Iranian national tradition.
(See Chart II, page 171). 59

2. Abu '1-Fazl Balcami's Persian history, Tarikh-e
Balcami, from the middle of the tenth century. (See
Chart III, pages 172-74). 60

3. cAli b. Hosayn Mascudi's Moruj al-Zahab, an
Arabic history from the mid-tenth century. (See
Chart IV, pages 175-76). 61

4. Hamza b. al-Hasan Esfahani's Tarikh Senni Moluk
al-Arz va 'l-Anbiya, in Arabic, from the second half
of the tenth century. (See Chart V, page 177). 62

5. Mojmal al-Tavarikh va 'l-Qasas, an anonymous
Persian work from the early eleventh century. (See

7. Al-Asār al-Baqiya can al-Qorun al-Khāliya by Abu al-Rayḥān Mohammad b. Hamad al-Biruni, dating from the mid-eleventh century. (See Chart VIII, pages 183-84.)

8. Zayn al-Akhbar in Persian by CAbd al-Hayy b. al-Zahhāk Gardizi, from the first half of the eleventh century. (See Chart IX, pages 185-86.)

9. The anonymous Persian work, Tarikh-e Sistān from the eleventh century. (Chart X, pages 187-88.)

10. Malek Shāh Hosayn Sistāni's Persian work, Ehya al-Moluk from the sixteenth century. (See Chart XI, pages 189-90.)

In addition, the geneologies from the Shahnama of Ferdowsi, CAli Sanākhān, and Ḥabib Allāh Izadkhāsti are presented for comparison in Charts XII, XIII, and XIV respectively (pages 191-97). Because the versions of CAli and Ḥabib Allāh are incomplete, the geneologies are given only in part.
CHART II

DINAVARI - AL-AKHBAR AL-TEVAL

Nuh

Four generations

Farasiyab

Nemruz

Iraj

Manushahr

Budekan

Zab

Kayqobad

Qabus (=Kaykaus)      Kayabanna

Siyavakhsh

Lhorasf

Boshtasf

Esfandiyar

Bahman

Sasan
(Ancestor of Sasanians)

Khomani

Dara
CHART III

TARIKH-E BALCAMI

Adam

Two generations

QNY'N

Gayomars

Pashang

Mari (Mashi)

Marana (Mashyana)

Farahad[a]

Siyamak

Hushang

Tahmurraš

Asfinan

Afridun

Daughter

Tur

Iraj

Salm

Daughter

Gushk

Zushk

Nuh

Ham

Zahhak (Bivarasp/Azhdeha)

King of Zabolestan

Daughter

Tur

Shaydasb

Turak

Shahm

Osrot
* The position of Homay in the genealogy is not certain.
CHART IV
Mas'udi - Moruj al-Zahab (Cont.)

Huyzam
  Zalradasht
    Kayqobad
    Kaynasan
      Siyavakhsh
      Two generations
        Behrasf
          Yastasf
            Esfandiyar
              Bahman
                Homaya (=Shahrzad)
                  Dara
                    Dara (=Daryush)

Nuh
  Farasiyab
    Daughter

Nowzar
  Anqiyad
    Basir
      Aban
        Five generations
          Sahm
            Zav

Arj
  Four generations
    Karshasf

Dastan
  Rostam
CHART V

Hamza of Isfahan

Tarikh Senni Moluk al-Arz va 'l-Anbiya*

First Tabaqa: Nine kings
1734 years 6 months

- Ushahanj
- Tahmuras b. Vivanjahan
- Jam b. Vivanjahan
- Bivarasb

Second Tabaqa: Nine kings
718 years

- Afridun b. Asfiyan
- Manuchehr
- Afrasiyab al-Torki
- Zab
- Karshasf
- Kayqobad
- Kaykaus
- Kaykhosrow
- Kaylohrasb
- Kaykeshtasb
- Kaybahman
- Homay Jehrazad bent Bahman
- Dara b. Bahman
- Dara b. Dara
- Eskandar [Alexander the Great]

* Charts kingship not blood relationships.

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چارت 6

مجله التاریخ

[آدم

ماهلیل]

Kayumars

Earth

Masha

Mashyana

Siyomak

Faravak

Taj

Two generations

Arvandasp (Wizier of Tahmuras)

Zahhak

Daughter

Mehrab

Shahrnaz [or Jamshid's sister]

Ushahanj

King of Zabol

Three generations

Pari Chahra

Jamshid

Tahmuras

Tur

Shaydasb

Turak

Shahm (Sahm)
CHART VI
Mojmal al-Tavarikh (Cont.)

King of Egypt
Daughter
Homay Jehrazad

Bahman
Sasan

Darab
Dara
BIRUNI – AL-ASAR AL-BAQIYA

CHART VIII

Kayomars Korshah (Earth)

Misha (=Malḥā or Mard) Mishlyâna (=Malhiyâna or Mardāna)

Siyamak

Six other children

Afaravak

Ushahanj

Inkahad

Vivanjahān

Tahmuras

Jamshid

Eight generations

Asfiyankav

Afridun

Tuj Salm Iraj (al-Mostafa)

Five generations

Kuzan [Daughter]

Farasiyab

Manushjahr (Biruz)
CHART IX
Gardizi - Zayn al-Akhbar (Cont.)

Dusa al-Rumana
Daughter

Kayqobad

Tahmasp

Zav

Kaymanesh
Bushang
Kaykaus
Sudava
Son

Afrasiyab
Siyavosh
Pashin

Kayqobad Tahmasp

Busljang
Afrasiyab
Farangis
Kaykhosrow

Esfandiyar

Bahman
Homay

Garshasp

Nariman
Sam
Dastan
Rostam
Faramarz

Dara
CHART X

Tarikh-e Sistan

Kayomars (=Adam)

Musa
  | Siyamak
  | Faravak
  | Ushahanj
  | Injad
  | Navanjahan
  | Jamshid
  | Tur
  | Bidasp
  | Gurang
  | SHHR

Osrot
  | Garshasb
  | Gurang
  | Nariman
  | Sam
  | Dastan
  | Rostam
  | Faramorz
  | Hushang

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CHART X
Tārikh-e Sistān (Cont.)

Hushang
  Behafarid
   Sam

Four generations
  Rostam
   Two generations
    Rostam
     Two generations
      Rostam
       Espahbod
        Pahlavan
         Kordafarid
          Firuz
           Mahkhoday

Four generations
  Farrokhbeh
   Four generations
    Bokhtiyar (at time of Islamic conquests)
CHART XIII

ORAL PRESENTATION OF CALI SANAKHAN

Nuh

Daughter

Kayomars

Siyamak

Hushang

Tahmuras

Sam

Jumshid Khan

Gurang

Mahrokh Turak

Daughter

Balyan

Jumshid

Son

Abtin

Farank

Tahmuras

Jamshid Khan of Abarkuh

Two wives of Zahhak

Feridun

Daughter

Shaydasp

Tur

Salm

Iraj
CHART XIII
Oral Presentation of Ali Sanakhan (Cont.)

Wife 1  ——— Bivarasp  ——— Wife 2

|        |  Žahhak  |  Daughter  | Jamshid Khan |
|        |         |           |              |
| Sarand |         |           | Shabrokh     |
|        |  Kohzad  |           |              |
|        |  Kok     |           |              |
* Salm takes the child Vaysa from Yemen and acts as his protector. Vaysa and his offspring become the viziers of the Turanians.
One of the most obvious tendencies throughout the history of the national legend is the incorporation of Islamic motifs into the pre-Islamic material, which is by its nature religious. The telling of pre-Islamic religious stories is a problem in an Islamic country, so one solution is to incorporate elements of the new belief into the older material to legitimize the story. Some of the Islamic rescensions still retain elements of the old gods, however. In general, the way in which Islamic motifs are added is far from uniform.

Ferdowsi simply intrudes comments on Islam into his story, including an introduction bowing to the Islamic faith. His story material remains fairly true to the pre-Islamic beliefs.

Most of the Islamic sources other than Ferdowsi add Islamic material, usually by inserting Islamic characters directly into the geneologies of the pre-Islamic figures. Dinavari, Mas'udi and Balcami all record Nuh (Noah) as the ancestor of Žahhak, probably because they regarded the Islamic faith as distinctly Arab and Žahhak is in legend an Arab king. Dinavari then makes Nimrud (Nimrod) the ancestor of the Iranian kings. Mas'udi and Sa'alebi present Kayomars (the Iranian first man) as the son of Adam (the Islamic first man). Balcami shows Gayomars as a descendant of Adam. The Mojmal al-Tavarikh also presents Kayomars as descended from Adam, but includes the pre-Islamic union of Kayomars with the Earth (a personification of the pre-Islamic deity Spendarmad) producing the pre-Islamic progenitors of man, Mashā and Mashyāna.
The Tarikh-e Sistan equates Kayomars with Adam and then derives both Moses and the Iranian kings from the one.

The version of cAli Sanakhan does not return all the way to Adam, but rather begins with the flood and Noah. Noah's son and daughter marry, taking the places of Masha and Mashyana, giving birth to Kayomars. As with the other sources, cAli can continue with the pre-Islamic genealogy uninterrupted by further religious characters. Where religious characters do appear, they are outside the line of descent as was Zakariya whose judgment against Bahman has strong implications in the story. This is not to suggest that the storytellers are not greatly influenced by Islam and that Islam plays only this small part in their narratives. As has been discussed above, Islam plays a very great part in the telling of these stories in the modern context.

The second trend we will examine was touched on above, the idea of incestuous marriage. The Moimal al-Tavarikh, Balami and Biruni all retain the brother-sister marriage of Masha and Mashyana resulting in the offspring Siyamak.

The genealogy Balami presents for the birth of Manuchehr is filled with unions most of which return ultimately to Afridun:
Balcami also offers as an alternative an elaborate system of father-daughter and brother-sister unions to produce Manuchehr. This alternative would look something like:

This pattern is repeated four more times and is followed by:

If a marriage within one's own bloodlines is seen as a strengthening influence, the elaborate system which Balcami presents would produce
a very strong king for Iran in Manuchehr, who will restore Iran's
greatness by defeating her enemies.

The Mojmal al-Tavarikh, Sa'alebi, the Zayn al-Akhbar, and Dinavari all record the father-daughter marriage of Bahman and Homa, as do Shahnama and the oral version of 'Ali Sanakhān. This union produces Darab (or Dara) in all cases.

In the oral rescension of 'Ali Sanakhān, the only brother-sister marriage recorded is the marriage between the children of Noah, Sam and his sister, which results in the first Iranian king, Kayomars. All other incestuous marriages are of the parent-child variety and are condemned. These unions, furthermore, center around evil people, not defenders of Iran. One example is Bahman's marriage to his daughter, which later becomes one of the sins of which Bahman is accused. Because the prophet Zakariya disapproves of this marriage, Bahman kills him. His killing the prophet becomes one more cause for Bahman's death. Two more parent-child marriages are between Žahhāk and his father's wife and Žahhāk's marriage to his own daughter. The desire for the first marriage leads Žahhāk into the evil life which ultimately brings calamity to Iran. The second marriage produces the issue Sarand who becomes another source of trouble for the Iranian heroes in Zabol.

On the general topic of marriage we see a change in Islamic times from incestuous marriage to its opposite, marriage with an outsider, as being the model for producing the hero. The pre-Islamic texts show none of these characteristics, but the Islamic
texts surveyed demonstrate a trend toward viewing marriage with outsiders as propitious. The one marriage with an outsider in the Bundahishn is the marriage of Siyavash with the daughter of Afrasiyab, which produces the king Kaykhosrow. This is a well-known marriage and is present in most of the texts examined. Balami presents a double marriage with outsiders to produce Kaykhosrow, as follows:

```
Afrasiyab
   /   \\    \\
Daughter \    Kaykau
   \   \    \\
Siyavakhs  \\
Kaykhosrow
```

Zayn al-Akhbar also has somewhat the same presentation. Sudava is unidentified, but certainly not of the Iranian royal family. Sudava and Kaykau produce Siyavash who then marries Afrasiyab's daughter. Their union produces Kaykhosrow. Afrasiyab, incidentally, is here the son of Bashang whose relationship to the Iranian house is unclear.

Sa'alebi identifies Sudava as So'da (Sudana), a foreign princess. Siyavash's mother is a slave within Kaus' harem. This is roughly the same scheme which Ferdowski presents. It is interesting to note that in this case the marriage with the foreign woman is the marriage which proves calamitous to the royal house.

In the Mojmal al-Tavarikh we see the beginnings of the elaborate system of marriage with outsiders which continues in the
oral stories. The important marriages are extracted from the full
genealogy and presented in table form below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Offspring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jamshid</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Zabol</td>
<td>Tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jamshid</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Machin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Faridun</td>
<td>Zahhāk's daughter</td>
<td>Salm and Tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Garshāsf</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Rum</td>
<td>Narimān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Zāl</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Kabol</td>
<td>Rostam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rostam</td>
<td>Kayqobād's aunt</td>
<td>Three heroes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Siyāvash</td>
<td>Afrāsīyāb's daughter</td>
<td>Kaykhusrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Siyāvash</td>
<td>Turanian vizier's daughter</td>
<td>Forud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Goshtāsf</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Rum</td>
<td>Esfandiyār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Esfandiyar</td>
<td>Daughter of Talut al-Malek</td>
<td>Bahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bahman</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Egypt</td>
<td>Homāy and Sāsān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Habib Allah presents the following marriages with foreign women which produce heroes or kings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Offspring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Zāl</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Kabol</td>
<td>Rostam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rostam</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Samangan</td>
<td>Sohrāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sohrāb</td>
<td>Daughter of Ruler of Shangam</td>
<td>Borzu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, 'Ali's presentation of heroic marriages is full of marriages to outsiders as tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Offspring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feridun</td>
<td>Two wives of Zahhāk</td>
<td>Salm and Tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Feridun</td>
<td>Daughter of khan of Abarkuh</td>
<td>Iraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Iraj</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Yemen</td>
<td>Manuchehr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tur</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Yemen</td>
<td>Pashang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5. Salm</td>
<td>Daughter of King of Yemen</td>
<td>Daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Vaysa's protector)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jamshid</td>
<td>Daughter of the King of Zabol</td>
<td>Tur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Turāk</td>
<td>Daughter of Tribal Khan</td>
<td>Sham-e Savār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sarand</td>
<td>Daughter of Tribal Khan</td>
<td>Kohzād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Otrod</td>
<td>Daughter of Feridun</td>
<td>Garshāsp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pashang</td>
<td>Daughter of Head of Leper Clan</td>
<td>Afrāsīyāb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marriage outside one's own bloodline is the dominant type of marriage.
in the oral stories of both storytellers. We have seen, however, that such marriage is not unique to the storytellers, but rather has precedents in the written sources from the very early period.

In the oral versions, however, the situation is complicated by an elaborate scheme of relating the various important houses. While there are several houses of heroes and kings which are important to the narrative, the three major houses are the Iranian royal house, the house of Zabol, and the enemy house (initially the Zahhakians and later the Turanians). In the first, fifth, and eighth of Ali's marriages above the marriages are within the major family groupings. A marriage between any descendant of Zahhak and the Iranian royal house is impossible. The heroes of Zabol are related by marriage to both other houses and stand in the middle between the enemy house and the Iranian royal house. An example of this situation is the marriage of the tribal khan's two daughters, one to Turak, a Zaboli hero, and the other to Sarand, Zahhak's son. These two heroes are then cousins even though they stand as direct opponents for the rule of Zabol and ultimately for the rule of Iran. Another such example is the marriage of Zal to Rudaba, a descendant of the house of Zahhak, a marriage also related in Ferdowsi's work. The Zaboli heroes can also marry freely into the family of the Iranian kings, as seen by the marriage of Otrod, the Zaboli hero, to Feridun's daughter, and the marriage of Jamshid to the daughter of the king of Zabol.

The situation of the Zaboli heroes in the legendary history of Iran is very complex and deserves some comment. Of this house
only Keresaspa (Garshasp) appears in the Avesta, but he appears as a king. In the Shahnama two Garshasp's appear: a king and a hero who is the ancestor of the Zaboli heroes. The manner of this division has attracted much attention.

Molé concentrates on explaining how Garshasp's character has split into two parts. He sees the explanation in the fact that Garshasp is both a king in the Avesta and represents the warrior class. Therefore Garshasp can continue to play much the same role as a hero as he has in Zoroastrian tradition even though his attachment to a non-royal house precludes his becoming king. The other characters and exploits, says Molé, have an historical background coming from legends surrounding warlike dynasties in Sistan in Parthian and Sasanian times. The exploits of these dynasties have been projected back into ancient times.

Nöldeke notes that in the Zoroastrian tradition Sam is actually the same person as Garshasp, so that Garshasp has again become two people within the heroic lineage. Furthermore, Nariman is also one of the descriptive terms used for Garshasp. In fact, the one character of Keresaspa accounts for a king as well as three heroes in the Zaboli genealogy as follows:

```
Keresaspa
   /   \
 Garshasp---\---Nariman
   |     |
 Nariman-----Sam

King Garshasp
```
Nöldeke also suggests that Ithrit (Otrod) might be identified as a Zoroastrian hero, but the identification is uncertain.\textsuperscript{82} In short, the only two Zaboli heroes who are unrelated to the Zoroastrian tradition are Rostam and Zal. The characters of these two heroes, Nöldeke points out, are different from the Zoroastrian heroes, being surrounded by all kinds of magical motifs. These two heroes are localized in Sistan, an area unknown to the Avesta and are without doubt later accretions to the heroic line above. It also appears, on the other hand, that these two heroes were added in very early times since they are already well-integrated in Sasanian times.\textsuperscript{83} The fact that Rostam and Zal are localized in Sistan implies that they were part of a local (Saka) heroic cycle.\textsuperscript{84}

Ferdowsi includes both Garshasp in his Shahnama, the king and the hero. He introduces Garshasp as the hero leader into Iran's army, attempting no resolution of the two houses. Gradually the attention of his epic shifts to the heroes of Zabol and away from the kings. \textsuperscript{85}

The authors of the Islamic histories are confused as to where the Zaboli heroes actually belong in their line of rule. Gardizi, Sa'alebi and Mas\textsuperscript{c}udi introduce the Zaboli heroes as unrelated figures in much the same way as did Ferdowsi. Bal\textsuperscript{c}ami relates the house of Zabol to Jamshid through a marriage, also in \textsuperscript{c}Ali's version, of Jamshid to the daughter of the king of Zabolestan. The author of the Mojmal al-Tavarikh uses the same marriage to explain the appearance of the Zaboli heroes.\textsuperscript{86} The author of the Tarikh-e Sistan is utterly confused, adding numerous Rostams
and Sams to fill out a table which he wants to reach to the Islamic conquests. Biruni presents the Zaboli heroes as descended directly from Manuchehr.

Biruni is not alone in his relating the Zaboli heroes directly to the royal Iranian house. The authors of the Tarikh-e Sistan and the Ehya al-Moluk present a version similar to the oral versions in their attempt to place the heroes of Zabol on an equal geneological footing with the Iranian royal house. Both these authors introduce an ancestor, descended directly from Jamshid and the royal Iranian house, named SHHR. This ancestor has two sons, one carrying on the line of the Iranian kings and the other generating the heroes of Zabol. The author of the Tarikh-e Sistan centers all his attention on the heroes, neglecting the kings. Sistani on the other hand presents a continuing genealogy from both figures.

The oral versions of both Habib Allah and Ali record just such a division. The royal bloodline splits immediately after Tahmuras who has two sons. These two sons, Balyan and Jamshid, are given a chance to prove their worth to their father. Jamshid demonstrates wisdom and spirituality. To him Tahmuras gives the rule of Iran (saltanat-e mamlakat). Balyan shows himself to be an organizer and courageous. He is therefore given the military command of Iran (sepahsalar-e mamlakat) and the rule of Zabol. In this way, the storytellers provide two equal houses. Neither can command the other, but the house of Zabol is directed always to protect the kings of Iran.
None of these three divisions of the royal house of Iran is surprising. This trend may be traced back in several of the other histories examined. Several sources give Jamshid a brother. Even in the *Bundahishn* Takhmorasp (Tahmuras) is the brother of Yim (Jamshid).\(^{87}\) Although Mas'udi does not account for the heroes of Zabol, he does present Tahmuras and Jamshid as brothers, the sons of Nowbejahan. Tahmuras' line disappears.\(^{88}\) Bal'ami makes Jamshid and Tahmuras the sons of Hushang.\(^{89}\) The *Mojmal al-Tavarikh* gives Jamshid and Tahmuras as brothers, descended from Ushhanj (Hushang).\(^{90}\) Hamza of Isfahan and Biruni tell us that Jamshid and Tahmuras were brothers and the sons of Vivanjahan (surely the same as Nowbejahan).\(^{91}\)

In short, what appears to have happened is the continuation of one line through Tahmuras, and a substitution of another character for Tahmuras as the brother of Jamshid. From this substituted character comes the line of Zaboli heroes. From Jamshid come the Iranian kings. Given the range of possibilities for dealing with these heroes, this tradition has constructed a system of descent which explains the great importance of the Zaboli heroes (almost equal to that of the kings), and one which wholly integrates a foreign tradition.

We can see much of the basic plot movement of the narrative as told by the storytellers within the structure of the geneologies. Initially there is only one line of descent. This one line, however, accounts for only part of the session of one day of Ali's story. The one line rapidly divides into two equal lines. The
usurper Žahhāk is then added with a descending line which continues through the early period of the Iranian-Turanian wars. So, within the first session, each of the three major houses has been accounted for.

By the time of the wars between the Iranians and Turanians, the Žahhākian line has disappeared and the third house is that of the Turanians under Pashang and his son Afrasiyab. This line is related to the house of Iranian kings in all the sources. Inter-marriage occurs between this house and the house of Iran only once. This marriage is that of Kaykāus' son Siyavash to Afrasiyab's daughter and results in more wars between Iran and Turan.

The three houses develop more or less independently from the time of Kaykhusrow until Rostam defeats Esfandiyar and takes charge of raising Esfandiyar's son Bahman. When Bahman becomes king, he destroys the house of Zabol in revenge for his father's death. The heroes who are left in the house of Zabol which was once equal to the Iranian royal house, are then taken in as retainers of Bahman. At this point in the story there is really only one house of significance left, that of the Iranian kings. The cycle has come full circle to one royal line again. The story ends at this point, summing up briefly the descendents of Bahman and the coming defeat of Iran at the hands of Alexander the Great. As long as the storyteller has several different story lines, dealing with the various houses, he can weave a complex story. He intertwines episodes dealing with alternate houses and need
never worry about solving the problems in all the episodes at one time. There is always something left over to attract the audience the next day. When all the other houses disappear leaving only one, the story closes quite naturally.

There have been trends toward change within the development of the Iranian national legend throughout the Islamic period, continuing still today. There have been changes in the optimum type of marriage for a hero, from marriage within one's own family (including incestuous marriages) to its opposite, marriage with a person outside one's bloodlines (particularly a non-Iranian).

While it is impossible to know the reasons for the apparent changes in dominant marriage types, there appear to be two forces at work, both tied to the religious situation in Iran. First, unlike the pre-Islamic faith, Islam has a very strong taboo against incest, so that a change from incestuous marriages would be advantageous in an Islamic country. This explanation, however, does not take into account the introduction of marriage with complete outsiders which is not the most favored kind of marriage in Islamic Iran. On the other hand, the motifs surrounding these marriages with outsiders are common in Iranian folktales and romantic fiction. The second force, then, is release of the pre-Islamic material from religious context. The texts we have from the pre-Islamic period are all religious codifications worked out by priests. It may be that the versions in such texts as the Bundahishn and Denkard are the result of conscious attempts to adhere strictly to a religious
version, excluding any motifs seen to be accretions from secular sources, such as folktales. Once the Shahnama material became secular after the advent of Islam, other versions (which may have existed all along) were able to surface.

In terms of the heroes in the Shahnama stories, the later versions present the outsider marriage in preference to the incestuous marriage. In fact, this preference is so marked that the marriage gives a clue to the kind of offspring which will be produced. In the pre-Islamic texts the hero is virtually always the result of an incestuous marriage while such marriage in the Islamic period ends only in calamity. On the other hand, virtually all great heroes and kings in the Islamic period are the result of marriages with outsiders.

The introduction of the second strain of pre-Islamic material, the stories of the Zaboli heroes, has also been incorporated totally into the story line. Unlike the Islamic material which is only introduced superficially, the Zaboli strain is completely incorporated with the story line.

As we have seen in the discussion, a close examination of the genealogies presented in the oral versions reveals more than relationships between people. The basic story line appears, dividing into various houses and recombining finally into one line again. With disappearance of all but the royal Iranian house, the Shahnama cycle comes to an end. As long as the storyteller has characters from each of the various houses to describe, interweaving the
the stories with one another, he will continue telling the Shahnama. When he has only one line to deal with, the Shahnama is finished.

It is even clearer now that the national tradition is developing and changing. Each of the texts examined here may be seen as a point on a continuing line reflecting on the one hand the variant forms of the story line available to the compilers, and on the other hand the personal interpretation of the compiler himself. This is particularly true of the later sources. Even though the Shahnama of Ferdowsi, and all other sources for the national tradition, were surely available to Sistani in the sixteenth century, as they are to today's storytellers, he chose to present his own version rather than adhere to one of the literary versions.
In this chapter we have examined several aspects of the unity and diversity in the national tradition of Iran. These aspects included the stability within the storytelling tradition, as represented by comparisons between storytellers and tumars, the effect of Ferdowsi's literary epic on the oral stories, and the place of the oral stories within the national tradition.

Although there is unity within the storytelling tradition, it is apparent that the unity is not a result of reliance upon Ferdowsi's work. Despite the testimony of the storytellers and audience members themselves, storytellers tell their own versions of the Shāhnāma while being thoroughly familiar with the literary epic. If there is a written source which confers stability on the storytellers' versions, that source is the tumar. A storyteller's version and that of his own tumar are not greatly more similar than a storyteller's version and that of the tumar of another storyteller. The stabilizing influence of the tumar, however, does not mean that the storyteller has no room for creativity. The tumar provides only a skeleton which the storyteller fills out in the ways best suited to his own interpretation of the material.

Besides differences in the material presented, we have seen that the oral stories are arranged in a manner different from the Shāhnāma of Ferdowsi. This arrangement involves a much more convoluted
scheme of intertwining episodes, and a continual shift from one sequence of actions to another. This difference and the difference in the storyteller's role between Ferdowsi's work and the oral stories are accounted for in the genre designations epic and romance. Although the participants in the storytelling performance make no distinction between the oral and written versions, we can view Ferdowsi's work as epic and the oral stories as romance, according to the criteria discussed in part B of this chapter.

By comparing Ferdowsi's work and the oral stories with other sources for the national legend, certain trends of change in the national tradition are apparent. Some of these trends are at least partially explained by historical changes within Iran. Some trends, such as the tendency to include Islamic material in the stories, still remain superficial. The Islamization of the stories is best seen in such devices as we examined in the previous chapter. On the other hand, some trends, such as the inclusion of the Zaboli heroes, and the exclusion of Zahhāk's line from the Iranian geneology have been totally effected.

It becomes more and more apparent that there has never been one version of the Shāhnāma. Throughout the Islamic period authors presented their own version of the national legend. Even up to the sixteenth century, there were authors who did not rely totally on earlier written sources. Just as Ferdowsi chose the material which he wished to present in his epic from a mass of material which must have been available to him, the storytellers are not confined

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only to Ferdowsi's version. They choose the material which they wish
to present and interpret it as they best see fit. All of the
versions, including the oral versions, represent points on a con­
tinuing line of the national tradition, which remains creative up
to the present time.95
Notes

1. The relationship between the rowža and the literary work entitled Rowžat al-Shohada has been discussed above (see pages 112-14). It should also be noted that, unlike the Shāhnāma, Habib Allah, at least, did not use the Rowžat al-Shohada at all.


4. See Hamasa, p. 99. Also see Qazvini, 2:12-16 who considers these to be distinct works.

5. The text of the Introduction has been edited and published by Qazvini and is included in his Bist Maqāla, 2:30-90. The introduction was first published in the Hazara-e Ferdowsi (Teheran:1323/1954). It is translated by Valdimir Minorsky in his Iranica (Teheran: 1964), 260-73.

6. Qazvini (text of Introduction), 2:34.


9. An example of this overlay of Islam over the pre-Islamic Iranian traditions may be seen in the introductory sections of the Shāhnāma. Ferdowsi includes praise for Mohammed and his followers in a section on the creation of the world which is not Islamic. See Shāhnāma 1:12-20, lines 1-118.


11. On the development of the writing of epics after Ferdowsi, see Molé, pp. 377-93.


24. Molé, p. 380 quotes the Mojmal al-Tavarikh (for the Mojmal al-Tavarikh see below, note 63).

25. I have only parts of Āli's tumar xeroxed in my possession.


27. This incomplete tumar is in the possession of William L. Hanaway, Jr. of the University of Pennsylvania.

28. Habib Allah told the Rostam and Sohrab story from the fourteenth of February to the twenty-sixth of February but did not finish the entire story before he left Shiraz. The story should have taken about two to three weeks more to complete.

29. The tumar gives sur-āb [سوراب]. Perhaps it should be taken to be shur-āb [شوراب] which would mean "salty water."

30. For the reign of Bahman see Shahnama 6:343-53.
31. For the Rostam and Sohrab story, see Shahnama 2:169-250.

32. Shahnama 2:176-82, lines 98-172.

33. Shahnama 2:177-78, lines 115-17.


37. See Tzvetan Todorov, The Fantastic in Fiction: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre (Cleveland: 1973), p. 8. Todorov views the value of genre in just this way: "Genres are precisely those relay points by which the work assumes a relation with the universe of literature."

38. See Dan Ben-Amos, "Analytic Categories and Ethnic Genres," Genre 2 (1969), p. 295. Ben-Amos makes a strong case for the importance of ethnic significance for genre designation. See also Frederick Jameson, "Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre," New Literary History 7 (1975), p. 135, who also identifies genres as societally determined "institutions" which mark speech with "certain indications and signals as to how it is properly to be used."


40. Northrup Frye considers the nature of the character's power of action to be of critical important in the determination of the "mode" and by extension, the genre. See Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton: 1957), pp. 33-34.


44. Rise of Romance, p. 76.


50. Ehya al-Moluk, pp. 44-45. See also pages Anjavi's version includes similar lines.

51. Ehya al-Moluk, p. 46.


53. Ibid., p. 82.


56. Some work has been done on the differences between written sources of the national tradition. These include Ferdinand Justi, Altiranisches Namenbuch (Marburg: 1895), in particular pp. 390-96 where he charts genealogical relationships according to the pre-Islamic tradition (hereafter Justi); Theodor Nöldeke, "Das Iranische Nationalepos," in Grundriss der Iranische Philologie, ed. Ch. Bartolomae, et. al., 2 vols. (Strassberg: 1895-1904), 2:130-211, (hereafter Nöldeke), and trans. L. Bogdanov, Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute 6 (1925), pp. 1-161; and Arthur Christensen, Les Kavanides (Paris: 1932), esp. pp. 35-146 (hereafter Christensen). While these writers provide elaborate and valuable detail about the national tradition, they are primarily interested in tracing material from the Shāhnāma of Ferdowsi back into pre-Islamic times rather
than forward into times after Shahnama.


69. See Shahnama 1:12-20.

70. The flood tradition in Islam is much the same as it is in the Judeo-Christian tradition, which makes it a good place to begin a recreation of the world. See Koran X:47-75.

71. Bal'ami, p. 603.

72. This wife is not Zahhak's mother. Nonetheless the marriage...
has an incestuous tone about it. It may be worth noting that the marriage of mother to son is the only incestuous union not represented.

73. Balci, p. 603.

74. The daughters of Zahhak, married by Feridun elsewhere, are, in the oral stories, wives of Zahhak. This is also the case in Ferdowsi, where they are also the daughters of Jamshid. See Shahnama 1:51, lines 9-10. Here too we see the tendency to leave Zahhak out of any genealogical relationship to the Iranian kings although he had been included in pre-Islamic texts.

75. Shahnama 1:159-91.

76. See for example Justi, pp. 280, 225, 161-2 and 391. Here he examines the introduction of the Zaboli line into the history of Iran's kings.

77. Mole, p. 382.

78. Mole, p. 383.


83. Nöldeke, pp. 139-40.

84. Nöldeke, p. 139.

85. Shahnama 1:116, line 620. Beginning with the birth of Zal more and more of Ferdowsi's attention is directed toward the Zaboli house.

86. Also see the Garshâspnâma, ed. Habib Yaghma'i, pp. 21-49 which gives the following geneology for Garshâsp:
Gurang (King of Zabol)

Daughter Jamshid

Tur

Shaydasp

Turlag

Sham

Esrat

Garshasp


88. Masa'udi, p. 112.


91. Hamza, p. 26 and Biruni, p. 103.

92. This line of Zahhakians is absent from Ferdowsi's work, except for Zahhak himself. There is however a Kushnama among the later epics which centers on the line of Zahhak. See page above.

93. Koran IV:22-23. See also Arthur Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides (Copenhagen: 1936), pp. 318-9 on the possibility of incestuous marriages as a common type among the Sasanians.

94. Even though the preferred type of marriage is within one's own family, system, though not incestuous, this is not to imply that such marriages are the rule in society. See Frederick Barth, "Father's Brother's Daughter Marriage in Kurdistan," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10 (1954), pp. 164-71 and reprinted in Louise E. Sweet, ed., Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East (Garden City, N.Y.: 1970), 2 vols., 1:127-54.

95. The question of tradition existing as being reworked during performance has been of great concern to modern folklorists. See Dell Hymes, "Breakthrough into Performance," in Folklore: Performance and Communication, eds. D. Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein (Paris: 1975), p. 19 where the author states, "...especially in an oral tradition performance is a mode of existence ... that is partly constitutive of what the tradition is."
Chapter VI
Conclusions

In this study I have attempted to show how oral and written literatures may exist side by side into the modern period. Examination of the example of naqqali shows that in Iran a creative oral literature does in fact exist along with the written literature and is not dominated by the literary tradition. Even though the audience members and the storyteller are familiar with the literary work, the tradition of telling the stories does not have as its primary aim the reproduction of the literary story.

Iran has had a flourishing written tradition centering on the Shāhnāma since the early Islamic period. Not only has Ferdowsi written a much-read and revered epic poem setting down a version of this material, but other writers coming after him also set down what they considered to be necessary material which Ferdowsi did not include in his work. Historians discussing Iran’s legendary history have also provided other versions, both in Arabic and Persian.

At the same time the oral tradition in Iran has had a long history. There is evidence of professional storytelling from pre-Islamic Iran as well as from early Islamic times to the present. While the court storyteller has disappeared, the popular storyteller remains, playing an active part in Iranian culture. His material
has changed, becoming centered almost exclusively on the telling of the Shahnama and has been infused with religious significance.

Ironically, Iran's tradition of naqqali is one where the participants in the storytelling themselves testify that it is Ferdowsi's literary work which is being performed. A comparison of oral story texts with Ferdowsi's literary work, however, demonstrates that a great deal of variation exists between the oral versions and the written one. Some added motifs are also found in other, later, epic works by such men as Asadi Tusi or Qasem Madeh, but much more material seems to be independent of any known literary text.

Besides differences in motifs and stories presented in the oral versions, there is also a great deal of difference in the arrangement of the story material. Ferdowsi's literary work, as we have seen, concentrates on the development of one story at a time, focussing his presentation on one character, or group of characters. Only when one story is completed, does Ferdowsi move on to another story. Storytellers, on the other hand, regularly expand the number of characters and sequences of action with which they are dealing. They weave episodes from the different sequences together, moving back and forth from one to another creating a complex pattern of narration. Part of the reason for this may be the need of the storyteller for a kind of narrative type which will attract his audience back the next day.

We can conclude, then, that the storytellers of modern Iran are not dependent upon Ferdowsi's version of the Shahnama. They
call upon this text, as with other literary texts, to aid them in presenting their story only when the literary text is appropriate to the story which they are telling. In the same way, the Samnana, the Garshaspnama and the other epics written after Ferdowsi's need not be seen as reflections of or reactions to Ferdowsi's Shahnama, but as independent reworkings of material which has been continually reworked from ancient times. The appearance of a Shahnama in a verse form appealing to the new literary tastes may have inspired the form of the later epics, but need not have been their origin.

The oral stories are part of this same tradition of reworking the national tradition. As we have already mentioned, the storytellers and audience members include all of Ferdowsi's material, all of the later epics dealing with Zaboli tradition, and all of the storytellers' material in their definition of Shahnama. This term may be taken to mean the national tradition in all its versions. It is an integral characteristic of the national tradition not to become fixed, but rather to be continually reworked. As Ferdowsi added his literary version to the tradition, men like 'Ali and Habib Allah continue to add their versions to the national tradition.

Consideration of the historical texts dealing with the Iranian national tradition demonstrates that there are trends within the development of the national tradition. The historical sources for the Shahnama provide versions which may be compared with the versions of Ferdowsi and the storytellers. Such a comparison
allows us to see trends in the development of the national tradition, some of which are still apparent in the oral stories. These trends include the integration of foreign strains into the Iranian national tradition. In this case we see that the Zaboli house has tended to become more and more integrated into the national tradition finally becoming equal to the kingly house of Iran in the oral stories. The Islamic tradition has remained only superficially laid over the Shāhnāma, being integrated into the storytelling performance in other ways. Other trends of change also include such things as changes in the optimum marriage type which may be tied to social circumstances in Iran.

An examination of the historical sources for the Shāhnāma, also demonstrates that much material and many versions have existed continually side by side. Artists could be capable of recombination of stories and motifs to create an almost infinite number of different versions of the Shāhnāma. By examining these texts we may also see that Islamic writers after Ferdowsi, themselves working within a literary tradition, did not feel an obligation to adhere to the version of the Shāhnāma presented by Ferdowsi. These writers were aware of the epic poet and even cite his work on occasion, yet they still present their own reworking of the national tradition.

On the other hand, the comparison of oral stories with tumārs demonstrates that there is stability within the Shāhnāma tradition. If any written text determines the line of narration, it is unquestionably the tumār. All storytellers, no matter whether
they are trained formally or self-trained, consider the acquisition of a good tumar to be a major concern. They all learn their tumars thoroughly and depend upon it for their stories. Storytellers do not make up the stories they tell, being tied to a set of characters and actions, as presented in their tumar, so that we might assume that the national tradition, as told today, has been codified in the tumar.

Despite the dependence of the storyteller on this written text, the story which he tells remains uniquely his own. For one thing, the tumar provides a skeletal outline of the story so that the text of a story presented in an hour's time may run to only about one or two pages in the tumar. Given this outline, the storyteller has freedom in filling out the story and may extend and expand his material to fill up as much time as he needs. He may provide motives for actions, or change the motives which he finds in the tumar. He is virtually free to characterize his people and describe them as he wishes. Therefore, we see that, even with the constraints imposed by the tumar on the story line, the storyteller has an opportunity to be creative in his rendition of the Shahnama.

The storyteller's greatest opportunity to show his creativity is outside the story line of the Shahnama. It lies in his ability to interpret and expound upon the meaning of his story. Such things as digression and insertion of poetry allow him to make the value of the Shahnama clear to his audience. By digressing from the line of the narrative, the storyteller has a chance to break out
of the strictures of the story and give his story relevance. He may explain why an action occurred or analogize that action to actions in modern times or in the historical past. Occasionally he may have to assert his position as storyteller and say outright what he feels to be the value of attending to the story. By reciting poetry the storyteller demonstrates himself to be a learned man in control of his cultural heritage and able to draw upon this heritage at any appropriate time. Both of these non-narrative elements draw the audience's attention to the storyteller and demonstrate that he is an erudite man worthy of attention and respect.

At the same time that these elements demonstrate the storyteller's creative ability, they also underline the basic roles which the storyteller plays for his audience. As we have seen, the storyteller is a respected man, considered by his audience to be a teacher. He deserves this honor because he is able to reinterpret his material and make it meaningful in addition to being a lively and interesting entertainer. Much of this role as teacher also centers around the religious function of storytelling. Historically the storyteller has had links both to formal religious activities and to informal religious activities. While the formal organization of performers has disappeared, these links still hold today. Both of the storytellers with whom I worked had ties to religious performance — ʿAlī as a reciter of mystic poetry and Ḥabīb Allāh as a non-professional rowža-khan. Many of the digressions used to interpret the Shāhnāma material are of a religious nature with Iran
set up as the analogous representative of Islam.

The understanding of the religious significance of storytelling also makes clear the unity of the performance. Because the whole performance is tied to Iranian Shiism, the poetry, prose story and *rowža* all bind the storyteller to his audience as sharers in a common heritage. Furthermore, the participants in the storytelling performance recreate not only the legendary past of Iran, but also the past of Iran as the center of Shiite Islam. Such legends surrounding the origin of *naqqali* as a means for spreading Shiism and of Ferdowsi as a Shiite reaffirm the storytelling as a religious function.

An examination of the *rowža* provides another example of many of the conclusions we have reached regarding the *Shāhnama*. Even though the *Rowžat al-Shohada* of Kashefi may be known to the storytellers, it has not come to dominate the tradition of *rowža*-telling. Many of the stories told as *rowžas* are not found in the literary work at all, and there is great variation in the storyteller's presentation of stories that are found there. The reinterpretation of stories is a part of *rowža* telling despite the fact that the stories are supposedly considered to be literally true. The storyteller is free to invent conversations or actions for which there is no historical evidence. In the *rowža*, the storyteller's concern is to provide an effective rendition which will bring the audience to participation in the mourning of the Shiite martyrs, rather than to narrate a series of historical facts.
Like the Shāhnāma stories, the make-up of a rowža may carry within it an explanation of its social meaning. The Roqaya story examined is a good example of how a storyteller can create a sensitive and meaningful version of a martyr tale which really includes the audience as participants in the event which gives the story its cultural significance.

If we assume the above points to be true, we would expect great changes in storytelling if it were performed in a different setting where the relationships between the storyteller and his audience and their relationship with the material no longer obtained. As a final proof of the contentions of this study, we will discuss what is sometimes happening to storytelling in the modern period. The audience for storytellers today is declining rapidly as working and social conditions change. A good storyteller is still able to make a decent living, but fewer young men are even considering storytelling as a profession. As we have seen the government has attempted in the past few years to encourage storytelling, both with financial incentives and by public recognition of naqqāli as one of the native arts of Iran. Government support in Shiraz of the Chahār Fasl Coffee House and the two storytellers provides a traditional setting and encourages storytellers. An older storyteller, like ʿAli, can supplement his income and continue his profession. A young storyteller like Aṣghar has a forum to practice and, with luck, eventually to prove himself a storyteller.

What appears to be happening more often is that storytellers,
even good ones, are being hired by middle and upper class restaurants or hotels to entertain the foreign and Iranian tourists. Cut off from their usual audience of regulars, they tell short snatches of stories out of order and with very little detail. Since they cannot look forward to seeing the same people in the future there is no longer any need for the elaborate intertwining of episodes, always leaving something hanging at the end of the performance. The rowža is totally unacceptable in these circumstances. Here instead the vignette — one battle scene or one love story — will suffice. As an example of what happens, I might mention the case of Habib Allah. He was very conscious of his position, vis-à-vis his audience, and looked down on the telling of light tales. A real naqqāl, he had assured me, would only tell Šahnāma stories. Later he returned to his home city of Isfahan and I heard that he was telling stories in the coffee house of the posh Shah Abbas Hotel. The stories he was telling were from the late twelfth century love story Layla and Majnun by Nezāmi. It is also worth noting that he kept that job only a short time, finding that he could earn more in his customary coffee house, doing the traditional material.

The learning and religiosity which are so important in the eyes of a storyteller's regular audience are unimportant in the newer surroundings. Aspects of performance (important everywhere) become the main commodity. Often a man who has been a creative storyteller will spend much of his time singing poetry from books instead. In his new situation, he no longer receives the same
kind of audience response — indeed there is any. Storytellers often complained (even during their performance) of the lack of attention and lack of perception of the importance of the stories they were telling. This example tends to support our analysis of storytelling, and it is clear that as the setting of storytelling changes, we will witness the decline of this activity as a creative phenomenon.
Appendices

Two Appendices are included. The first contains summaries of six storytelling sessions recorded from Ali Sanakhān from May 5, 1975 to May 11, 1975. These sessions are the first of the telling of the Shāhnāma. They recount the repopulation of the world under Noah after the flood to the fall of the tyrant Žahhāk.

Since the stories included go beyond the boundaries of the sessions, the material is presented in a continuous form. The number of the session is indicated in the margin.

The second Appendix includes a transcription and translation of the stories presented in one session by Habib Allah with notes following. This session was recorded on December 14, 1974.

In this session, the Iranian army, under the leadership of Kaykhosrow, has their enemy, the Turanian leader, Afrāsiyāb, on the run. They are closing in on him when he takes refuge in the city of Makran. The end of the session tells the storyteller's version of how Lohrāsp was named to be heir to the throne. This particular set of events does not appear in Ferdowsi's work. In this session, too, the hostility begins between the heroes of Zabol and the line of Lohrāsp. The heir takes a disliking to the heroes immediately because of their reaction to his demands. Eventually a complete break will occur between the kings and the heroes of Iran.

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1. After Noah and the flood the people of the world came from his sons. Noah remained in Iran while others of his sons went to the other parts of the world. His son Kayomars became the first king over the world. At the same time demons came to destroy Kayomars' land. His son Siyāmak harrassed them until they finally killed him. His wife was pregnant and, after his death, gave birth to Hushang.

Hushang fought with the demons until his son Tahmuras defeated the demons. The demons asked to be set free and to live under the White Demon in the jungles of Mazandaran. Tahmuras allowed them to do so.

Tahmuras had two sons, Jamshid and Balyān. The people agreed that one of the two sons must be chosen to rule. Tahmuras sent them off to learn and prove their worth. Both went away. Jamshid became the disciple of a wise man and learned about divine justice and philosophy. Balyān gathered men in Sistan and began agriculture. He developed cities and organized the people.

Tahmuras called them together to examine them. He saw that Jamshid had acquired wisdom while Balyān had proved himself strong. Tahmuras gave Jamshid the kingship and Balyān the management of the army. Neither one of them was to be greater than the other. Jamshid built his capital as king in Persepolis. Balyān made his capital Zabolestan.
Balyān had a son, Gurang. Jamshid gave Gurang a cloak of honor and told him he also had Balyān's right to lead the army. Jamshid ruled wisely and all was well in his country for a long time. Then he had his face put on the coins and claimed to be a god.

At the same time an Arab, Žahhāk, was born among the Arabs. When Žahhāk's father was old, he took a wife who was young and beautiful, but he could not consummate their marriage. Žahhāk fell in love with his step-mother. He began to plot his father's death.

One night while contemplating this problem, Žahhāk saw a man wearing a red turban. The man said he was a fortune-teller (rammal). Žahhāk asked for help, and the fortune-teller said the only cure for the situation was the father's death. He told Žahhāk to dig a pit where his father regularly walked. In this way the father would be killed and no one would know that he was killed by his own son.

Žahhāk followed the fortune-teller's instructions. One day the father came on his walk and fell into the pit. Žahhāk ran to the pit. His father was still alive and called out to him for help. Žahhāk said he would go for help and ran off. He saw the fortune-teller who told him to get a large rock and throw it down on his father to kill him. Žahhāk also followed these instructions. [The fortune-teller was actually the devil, Iblis.]

The father was missed for two days then found in the pit. Žahhāk offered himself to his father's wife, who was shocked and insisted that Žahhāk go to Jamshid and get a dispensation for the marriage.
Žahhāk went to Persepolis to get the dispensation. When he reached Jamshid's court he was awed by its grandeur and wealth. He appealed to Jamshid for the dispensation which Jamshid gave him. The two were married.

One night Žahhāk saw the fortune-teller again. The fortune-teller asked Žahhāk if he would like to sit in Jamshid's place and Žahhāk said yes. In order to acquire Jamshid's position, the fortune-teller said, Žahhāk had to gather sand from the desert and fill a vacant tower with it. In two months Žahhāk had filled the tower. When he showed the tower to the fortune-teller, Žahhāk saw that all the sand had turned to jewels. With this fortune Žahhāk began building his empire. People gathered around him until finally he moved against Jamshid.

2. Once the fortune-teller helped Žahhāk, he was told that he must always obey the fortune-teller's wishes in order to continue flourishing. Žahhāk agreed. The fortune-teller told Žahhāk to move against Jamshid now that God had deserted the king.

Jamshid heard that a man had come against him with a great army. He sent his men out to defeat this man, but with the help of Iblis, the Arabs defeated the Persians. When Jamshid was notified of the battle's outcome, he had a cup brought to him from his treasury. In the cup he saw the future—that this Arab would sit in his place, would destroy Jamshid's line and would kill Jamshid.

Jamshid and Žahhāk met together on the field of battle. Because of a charm on Jamshid's life, Žahhāk could not hurt him, but he was
able to put the king to flight. Zahhak took over the throne and killed all of Jamshid's family.

One night, while Zahhak was dallying with one of Jamshid's serving girls, the fortune-teller appeared to exact the promise of obedience which Zahhak had made. He told Zahhak that he wished his own face put on the coins and wanted to be worshipped as a god by the people. Zahhak, fearing the wrath of God, refused, and Iblis disappeared in a cloud of smoke.

One day a young man came to the court to cook for the king. He assured Zahhak that he knew how to make food which had never been seen before. Zahhak made him his special cook, and every day the cook delighted the king with some new dish. One morning while Zahhak was in the bath, the cook brought a special dish for him. Zahhak was so pleased with this treat that he offered the cook any favor he wished. The cook asked to be allowed to kiss the king's bare shoulders. Zahhak granted the favor, but when the cook kissed his shoulders he made a small prick with his mouth so that his saliva entered Zahhak's body. Zahhak began to burn throughout his whole body. He asked what the cook had done. The cook announced that he was really Iblis and had done something to Zahhak which would cause the king to suffer forever in punishment of his disobedience. Then Iblis disappeared.

Zahhak screamed with pain and had doctors called to look at him. They recommended that the wound be lanced, but one hour after it was lanced the pain began again. When they looked at the wound again,
they saw that two worms were growing from the wound. The removed the worms, but after an hour two small snakes grew out of the wound. They cut off the snakes, but after an hour two larger snakes appeared on the king’s shoulders. These doctors did not know what to do, so Zahhak had the city combed for a doctor who could solve the problem.

A man came forward who said he was an apothecary and a fortune-teller and could cure anything. He came to the king, examined him and announced that the snakes could not be removed. The snakes were part of Zahhak’s body and if they were removed dragons would appear. Furthermore, he said, the snakes required the brains of two people every day or else the snakes would eat Zahhak’s own brains. First Zahhak had the doctors killed and fed their brains to the snakes who then became peaceful and stopped bothering the king. Every day the same thing was done to keep the snakes at peace.

3. [The apothecary who appeared to Zahhak was also Iblis. He could have specified two sheep’s brains, but preferred to insist on two human brains.]

Every day two people were given to the court cook who executed them and prepared their brains for the snakes. One day a youth and his father were brought in. The cook felt sorry for the young man and determined to rescue him. He killed the father and a sheep and mixed their brains for the snakes who did not seem to notice the difference. The cook knew that he could save the life of one person every day. He also knew that if these people were allowed to go home, everyone would know what he was doing. Therefore, he sent the rescued people into
the desert to live together as a tribe. [This group of people formed the Kurdish tribe.]

Žahhāk sent men out to kill all of the descendants of Jamshid. He used these men to feed the snakes. After a while there were no more descendants of Jamshid, and he began having criminals killed for the snakes. Eventually all of the criminals in the country were dead. The people became terrified of being arrested, so all discord and crime ceased in the country. Then Žahhāk brought slaves to be killed. Finally Žahhāk was forced to start executing innocent people to keep the snakes happy. A lottery was begun for the two daily victims.

Years went by and Žahhāk showed no sign of age. One day a man was brought who was the offspring of Jamshid and a village woman married by Jamshid while he was fleeing. Žahhāk ordered the man killed for the snakes.

Jamshid had been fleeing for one hundred years. One day he came to a garden wall where he sat down to rest. A servant came to the wall and began talking with him. The garden belonged to Gurang, the king of Zabol. Jamshid asked why Žahhāk had not killed Gurang and his family since they were related to the past king. The servant explained that Žahhāk's ruler in Zabol was really the Vāli of Sistan. Gurang had treated the Vāli well and given him valuable gifts so that he had allowed Gurang's family to live.

The servant brought Jamshid into the garden. Gurang's daughter was living in the garden and met Jamshid. She recognized him as being noble and ordered him given good clothes and food. After a period of
time in the garden Jamshid admitted to her that he was the king. The two were married in the garden and on the wedding night their son Tur b. Jamshid was conceived. They spent one month together in the garden, but she still had not told her parents what she had done. She was afraid that if the Vali of Sistan learned of their marriage her whole family would be killed.

One day her mother came to see her. She recognized immediately that her daughter was no longer a virgin; in the bath she saw the signs of her daughter's pregnancy. The daughter told her what had happened, leaving out that her husband was Jamshid. At home, her mother told her husband of their daughter's marriage, and he rushed off to the garden to kill them both. When he arrived at the garden he learned his son-in-law was Jamshid. They all knew that the Vali would kill them if he were to discover what had happened. Jamshid ordered Gurang to turn him over to the Vali to be taken to Zahhak. The family refused. Jamshid convinced them that he knew his fate. The only thing that would save Gurang, his family and Jamshid's unborn child was for him to go away. That hour Jamshid left.

4. Jamshid went off into the desert. [His child will be known as the son of Gurang Shāh, Tur b. Gurang, even though he is really Tur b. Jamshid. He will be the father of Shaydāsep.]

Everywhere Jamshid went, death was before him. For one hundred more years he was not found. Finally he came to a monastery in China where he hoped to be forgotten. The head monk there read his future and told him that his life was over, but one day his name would
reappear. Jamshid entrusted the symbols of rule to this man to give to his descendant when he would appear. This man hid them in the mountain. Jamshid decided to go back to Zahhak and face death. He offered himself to the first people he saw, and they took him to Isfahan to Zahhak's capital.

Jamshid told Zahhak that a charm protected his life so that he could only be killed by being sawn in two. As he was killed, Jamshid confessed his sin, and asked god for forgiveness. They carried his body to the dakhma and Zahhak was at rest from fear of Jamshid.

Years passed. One day a man and a woman were brought to the king. Zahhak was told this was the son of Jamshid and his wife. The woman asked for mercy and to be allowed to have her child. If it is a girl, it would carry no threat for Zahhak. If it would be a boy, Zahhak could do as he liked with it. Zahhak allowed her to have the child. He had the woman put in confinement until she had the child. [The child was Abtin, the father of Feridun.] They told Zahhak that the child was a boy. Zahhak ordered the child made a servant to his own women, and insisted that the boy not be allowed to marry. If the boy married, both he and his wife would be killed, along with all the wife's family. The mother agreed and took her child off to another village to be raised. She entrusted the boy to the kadkhoda of the area, Sam. This kadkhoda had a child of his own, a girl named Faranak, who was two to three years younger than Abtin. The two children grew up and played together.
When the boy was seventeen years old, the two fell in love. Faranak told Abtin that she would marry only him. Abtin asked his mother for her permission to marry but she told him that the marriage would be the ruin of them all. Then she explained his lineage. The two young people were separated hoping the love would die. At night they would see one another in secret.

One night the mother saw Jamshid in a dream at the same time the kadkhoda saw the same dream. He told them to go and dig up some treasure near there. The two of them did as the dream instructed and found a great treasure. Then the parents agreed to the marriage.

The wedding night Feridun was conceived. That night Zahhak saw a dream in which a youth came from the desert riding on a cow and holding a cow's head mace with which he struck out Zahhak's brains. The vizier said the youth was to be Zahhak's killer and had been conceived but not yet born. He would be the grandson of Jamshid, the son of Abtin and Faranak.

In the morning Zahhak went to his court and called his brother Mordad. He sent Mordad to kill everyone in Faranak's village, and bring Abtin to him alive. When the army arrived, it was night and everyone was asleep. The army killed everyone except Faranak who fled from the village under the stomach of a cow and Abtin who ran off into the mountains.

The Arabs followed Abtin to a cave in the mountains where a traveller pointed out the cave. Abtin hid in the stomach of his horse but was found by the Arabs, who bound him up and took him to Zahhak.
On the way they passed an abandoned village where Faranak was hiding. When she saw them, she colored herself with green-tinted water, threw herself on the ground and began wailing. When the Arabs saw her, they thought she was sick and stayed away.

[One session is missing.]

5. When Feridun reached one year of age under the care of the cow, Žahhāk was warned that the child was getting older. Mordād thought that he had killed the child. The mother and child had been shot at in the desert, but had not been killed. A third time Žahhāk sent his troops under Mordād into the desert. This time he told Mordād to bring the head of the cow and Feridun to make sure that they were both dead.

Faranak had come to a cave where the ascetic Hum lived. Hum said she must take the cow and child and flee. She ran toward the jungle. The Arab army followed her there. The cow attacked the army bravely while her calf fled into the jungle. Faranak found her child where the cow had been caring for him and ran. Finally an Arab soldier killed and beheaded the cow. Then the Arabs went after the woman and the child.

Faranak brought her son to the monastery. The Arabs followed her but were magically stopped from entering. Hum allowed Mordād to come in alone. When Mordād entered the cave, he explained to Hum that he had to kill the two refugees to save Žahhāk. Hum explained that the child was divine and could not be killed. He forced Mordād to do the child homage and to pledge not to harm him and to help him.
when the child came to overthrow Žahhāk. Then Hum took a rock and changed it into a replica of the child's head to be given to Žahhāk. Mordād must remain faithful to the child forever or he would die immediately. Mordād followed Hum's instructions.

The army returned and gave the head to Žahhāk who then felt that his kingdom was secure. He put the head in his treasury for safe keeping.

Hum took Feridun from Farānak and taught him great wisdom. When Feridun reached the age of fourteen, Hum took him back to his mother.

In Isfahan at this time there was a blacksmith named Kāva. He had a beautiful but poor widow for a neighbor. One day he accidentally saw her in her courtyard naked and fell in love with her. Kāva thought he could offer to help her, and then she would also fall in love with him. He knocked on her door and offered her food for her children if she would become his lover. That evening she stopped him on his way home from work and agreed to be his lover but only when they were absolutely alone. He went home and sent everyone out. She came over the roof to his house. He gave her food and clothing; then she said, "We are not alone." When he asked her meaning she said, "God and his angels are always watching." Kāva repented his sin against her. Then he helped her as a brother helps a sister.

One day Kāva spilled some iron on his apron. His four sons saw that the iron had spelled out the name of God on the apron. Some time later two Arabs came into Kāva's shop to take away one of his sons.
His sons killed the two Arab soldiers and fled. Kava addressed the people of the bazaar, showed them the apron, and told them to rebel against Zahhak. He raised an army and closed the bazaar. They marched on to Zahhak's castle. When Zahhak heard what was happening, he asked to see their leader. He made a contract with Kava sparing all the people of Isfahan and the surrounding area.

6. When the people of Isfahan learned that they were free, they carried Kava home on their shoulders. The bazaar was opened and things continued as routine until nightfall. After Kava went home he began to fear that Zahhak's men would come and take his sons away and kill them. He discovered that the apron with the name of God gave him courage to face Zahhak. In the morning he saw that some townspeople had been guarding his house all night to keep him safe.

Several days went by, then one day the dyer in the shop next to Kava came to him. He took Kava to his own shop and he saw that the colors in the dying pots had spelled out, "The era is the era of Feridun."

By that time Feridun had learned what his background was. Hum sent the child into the jungle to dig up a box in a particular place and to bring back the grown calf he would find. Feridun did these things and found Jamshid's symbols of rule in the box. Hum told Feridun that he must go against Zahhak. As Feridun put on the symbols of rule, one by one they fell from Zahhak. Zahhak sent for the head in the treasury, but when he opened the box, he found only a rock.

Feridun mounted the cow and set out. Wherever he went people
gathered behind him against Zahhāk. At the same time, Kava heard that Feridun was raising a rebellion. He closed the bazar, raised his apron as a banner and gathered people around him as an army. With money from the city's rich merchants, he armed his men. They camped outside the city waiting for Feridun.

Zahhāk sent Mordād to kill the ironsmith and put down the rebellion. Mordād was worried because he had promised to follow Feridun. The next day Gurang and the army of Zabolestan appeared to help Kava and his men. Mordād then sent a letter to Gurang asking for peace. Later, Mordād explained how it happened that Feridun was still alive and how he himself in reality was a follower of Feridun. Mordād and his brothers all joined the rebellious troops. With them two-thirds of the Arab army joined the battle against Zahhāk. Zahhāk knew that the end was coming when he heard what had happened on the battlefield.
Appendix II

Text of Story by Habib Allah

reshta-e sokhan ruz-e gozashta be-dinja rasid ka cärž kardam ta cqib-e afräsiyäb leshkar-e irân omadan ta duräha-e makrân afräsiyäb be-shahriyär-e makrân panäh âvorda bud va unam qowl dada bud ka az afräsiyäb negâhdäri konad shäh dävtälab khäst bizhan ebn-e giv boland shod goft man miram tâ ham khabar biyäram hamagar afräsiyäb o leshkarash be-makrun rafta-and shahriyär-e makrân-ra ägah säzam savär shod o harakat kard va vaqti rasid did leshkar-e afräsiyäb jelev-e makrân otraq karda êtendäi be-in leshkar-e qiyamat-asar nakard ba yek sepehr jagar ba yek donya shahamat az kenär-e in leshkar gozasht o dakhel-e shahr-e makrân shod o porsän porsän dar-e bargäh dast biyära markab piyäda shod dakhel-e bargäh shod did afräsiyäb ru takht neshast-ast shahriyär-e makrân zirdast neshast omaray-e makrâni o turâni dowers tâ be-dowr bazmîst hama cheshmâh be-bizhan bar gasht zebar be-hamd o senay-e khosrowshâh-e makrâni goshud be-afräsiyäb êtenda nakard va ba cêd az ehteräm goft shahriyär-e makrân ba dom-e shir dari bazi mikoni afräsiyâbi ka ruz-e dero va hasel-e cêmalash-a az hama gorîzî omada-ast bikhod raňash dâdi khâdib-e chîn az komakat bevay ehteraz kard man az taraf-e çala hâzrat-e irân khâdib-e kasrâkhâdam kayhosrow omadam behat begam vaqef-e koshti-e khod bâsh ka pay nakhori dom-e meqrazil az in zolf-e do tâ'î nakhori kayhosrow mara ferestâda-ast ka be-to begam ya afräsiyâb-rä az shahrat birun kon jan o mâl o
ناموسِ-کشوارتِ-و هفظ کن یا چشم به‌رَاحهِ-رژِ باد و یاکِمِ-یک بخش افراسیاب و یا یارانش سارحه‌-رَای زیر اندکِتْا بودان و بین اَقا شاخه‌مات او چگا چرا میکوناد افراسیاب داه مسْل-ِ بیزمان‌-رَای با یک یان به نه‌ی از پای دار می‌آراد امَما پوشتگریمّ او چگا چرا میکوناد یک یان بی‌یاد تیک چنین شاهِری یا مَر-ِ ژکمی-رَای تا ۲۴۶ نیشابورِ افراسیاب او گارسی‌اواز یِن یا سامت‌-ِ تورک یولو چشمِ افراسیاب آفراسیاب چا میگا شاه‌ریارِ مکران به‌بی‌زمان گفت شرم کون امیرزادا افراسیاب ولی نِم‌مات-ِ یان–اَپِّر ازَتَرکستان انست اَن در‌کُری تا ۲۴۶ هایکِل‌-ِ یان وِ نامک‌-ِ افراسیاب‌اَت گارسا گَهی‌که‌رنگان ولی ایالاتان مهِمان‌-ِ یان وِ هیچ نِم‌مار قَه یال مهْمان‌-ِ رای اُ خانش اَبِرَن ناکارد-ِ است بوْرَه بِکَی‌خیرسراو بِعَم بِش اَن اِن افراسیاب‌اَت ۲۴۶ تا‌قیب ناکون پَه‌ی اَت کر-ِ باد بخش بوْرَه بوگر نا باد می‌بینی بی‌زمان گفت هانوُز ات کَتْم‌-ِ اَدام بِرامه‌-ِ مادر . . . اَن رامه‌-ِ مادر بِءارسا-ِ وَجِد نَعُما وِ دا کا بِتَع‌مان اَن گست‌کَهی‌رای ؛بِعِکوناد گفت اوگر تانه وِ مه‌مان نابودی اَدابت میکاردام ِبی‌زمان گفت هامِه‌-ِ اَندیکا گفت وَهَل مه‌مان‌-ِ اَی گفت نیاَفُر کون مه‌مان نیستم شاه‌ریار‌-ِ مکران بِگهرامی گفت فرَزندام‌-ِ او بِعَم یاد تُلی ناکاشید بی‌زمان دید یِک یافنِ اِد دَر-ِ وَرِِگاگ دَاکِهِل شود لِبَس‌-ِ وَلی‌اَدی دار بار وِ یک شامشیرِ-ِ گَهْر۲-ِ یاف‌‌هِرَ-ِ کُتاهی دار وِیْمان بَست-ِ اَسَت اُ اُ گُر-ِ چوجاکَتی نادراد ولی یافنست اَراستا ِتَخَمیم ناِدیک-َاَت بیست سَل کِمار تی بیستَ‌بیست‌ِ اَز ِکمَراش گوز‌سِت‌ای بُسْ‌ت-ِ لاب
تازا [unintelligible] شودا هانوزاش کهانت ناراста بر بناگوش برماغ‌ه – اشکان زولفش سیاپش بیزان گفت زیرت سیدا کردی بارا ی‌ه شاهریار‌ه مکران بپسراش گفت فرزند بیزان‌رآ آدامش هک که می‌دمانی از راهی کا کم‌داری ی‌ه ور گارد یک پاپهام بیبار برو بешاهره یران بیگ افراسیاب عجیب یکشوش مکرانی هوا‌داراش‌ه کهوده شاه کایخسرو بیاد تلاد بنشاد اکتا تو ما مر ی‌ه یک نافار‌ام هاستی گوستاخی هام می‌کونی انتظار داری بژ هام بهترامی کوناب بیزان گفت فوزعلی ناکون گفت بی‌یزادن‌ه پک شرمان از افراسیاب میکنام گفت افراسیاب ساگه کیست بردو شاهشیر کاشید به‌شاهزاده‌ه مکران هاملا برود داری‌ی ه ی جام‌ی‌ه تاماشا میکناد دیره هام ئارذ کاردام افراسیاب بی‌شاهریاره مکران گفت اکتا پوستگرمیت ب‌چیه‌ا کا میگن انجا agar می‌یاد دار ام‌ن‌ی لشکر زیاد داری شاهرط مهکام‌ا پاهلان‌ه‌شایستا داری گفت اکتا یا فکری دارم افراسیاب هلا دارا هامشاع میکناد داسته بیزان به‌شامشیر یللام شود یکم کاف بر کاف باند‌داستی گرفت یهد که جلاغه افراشیاب داسته فرشورد شامشیر ای کاف به‌یان دار اماد داسته داد ب‌داسته دیگر شاست خابوند هار بولبولی کا زامما میکناد افّال ماراژه بارگه یاد میکناد بارگی کا دار خزانه‌زام استان خزان ناشد دار پوسته‌ه پاردا کاره [unintelligible] میکناد شاست کناره‌ه یار انگوسه یه دوروشت‌کشیدا یاد ای راهی گفت امیرزاده از زمین کندا گفت یاری زیره‌ی این ئیلی اکه‌ر بارگه کفازانه‌ه کهنه از دماغه ی‌ه دهان پاشید برلنیا لذ یار سارش گزار گفت یاز از هش رفت بیزان‌رآ بر داشت بورد تا هرامسرا پوسته‌ه هرامی یاهر شاه یا باغ‌ه بیزانه‌و برد دار
yekī az oṭaqhāy-e ākher-e bāgh u-rā sakht qoflband o zangīr kard
negahban-am barash gozārd bar gašt hożur-e shāh afrāsiyāb be-in
shahzāda cālaqa payda kard be-u goft saher-i cārž kard khayr farmud
agar saher nistī namitone namvar konam ka to bizhan-rā bā yek sili
az pay dar ārī cārž kard eqbāl-e shomā bud qabel nist afrāsiyāb
khayli mohabbatash kard shahriyār-e makrān porsid bā bizhan cha
kardī farzand u-rā nakoshīd dokhtarzāda-e rostam ast javān ast
ilchi-a mehman ast cārž kard u-rā garogan dar bāgh pāhanash kardam
farmud dastur bedeh nān o ābash bedand azash pāzīrā'ī konand
shāyad pashīmān shad in qażīya gozasht ruz sepahari shod shab
ghorub-e āftāb-a in shahriyār-e makrān yek dokhtar dārad khayli najīb(?)
khayli zibā dokhtarā darī bedarārash bā chand ta sarbaz hay mīrand
tu bāgh o bar migardand o gāhī nān o āb mībarand o mash'āl mībarand
az yeeki az gholaman porsid cha khabar-a goftand amīrzāda-e īrān
pesar-e dokhtar-e rostam bizhan ebn-e gīv zandānī dar ḥożur-e
afrāsiyāb ya chonin gostakhī kard va barādārat bā yek sili u-rā
bāstast o ḥāla-m tu bāgh tu folān oṭaq bastand u-rā ḥess-e konjkāvī
tācīqibāsh kard umad bebinad in zandānī cha jur basharīyā-a in dokhtar-
zāda-e rostamī ka āvāza-e inā donyā-ro por karda-ast cha farqī bā
baqiyy-e mardom dārad farqa'ī chist vaqtī rasid ka barādarash
dāsht az zandānī darī migasht barābar-e barādara ezhār-e adab kard
o porsid kojā buda-in khāhar goft umadam shenidam yek chenin zandānī
darīm mikhām bebinamash didānī nadarād sobh goft na in-o nazār
mībinam shenidam āvāza-e ishun-rā delam mikhād ya nazār-rā tamashā
konam bebinam farq-e u va mardom-e digar chist ŏcha andaza-ist goft zud var gard o be-yeki az qaravola goft dar-o baz kon ya negahi bekonad dobara dar-o beband qaravol ehteram kard shahzada ham raft nozar-e makrani raft dokhtara omad do tam sarbaz jelev-e dar pas midand qofl-o baz kardan mashcāli rowshan kardand avval shab-a partov-e mačshal nur-e mashcāli oftad tu chehra-e bizhan dokhtara cheshmash oftad tu chashmā-y-e [unintelligible] bizhan časheq shod badan-e dokhtar saropa larzid o labi be-dendan gazida fekri kard o foran bar gasht bizhanam did ka ya negābdari umad ya negahi kard o ḥarfī nazad o raft vali un cha midaned dar basta shod do tā qaravol jelev-e dar-and dokhtara omad ya qadri birun o fekri be-khatarash omad bi-yeki az in gholaman goft kay in amir-ra gereftand goftand šobh ina ka be-dast-e baradaram gereftar shoda goftand bala goft namidonam chera nakoshtand u-rā goftand akha dokhtarzada-e rostam-a amr-e pedar-e shomast sāl-e garagon bashad zendan bashad farmud khayli khub raft sačati neshast va fekr kardan cāqlash be-jay narasīd česhq sakht gereftastash va hayajānāsh dar āworda az taraf-e digar-am midunad ka agar bād-e [unintelligible] in khabar be-barādarash berasunad mikoshadash vali česhq az tars bāla zad unjā ka česhq khayma zanad āy-e čaql nist unjā ka česhq khayma zanad āy-e čaql nist ghogha bovad do padashāh andar vilayati dokhtara negāb be-chehra be-fekr-e shaytāni amad nīma-e shab-a qeravolay-e dam yek šedāy-e pay miyād īstāndand dokhtara goft āshnā nazdik shod unā shamshir be-rahnāmā-y-e mostaheq didand ay malaka-st dokhtar-e shahriyar-e makran khahar-e nozar-e ezhar-e adab kardand farmud mikhastam ba shoma sohbāt konam goftand motič-e
امیر اسماعیل بی‌بی‌ها نا به سراب در سراشیب کیا و یکی از خاندان‌های زندانیان بود. او سارباز و شفقت‌دار بود و با همکاری خود، به‌سرویس‌های زندانیان کمک می‌کرد. او نقزلی زندان را سخت و بسیار مسالمت‌آمیزی زد. او به‌عنوان یکی از همکاران شناخته شد و به‌عنوان یکی از اعضای همکاران شناخته شد.

دانشمندی‌ای که به‌عنوان یکی از همکاران شناخته شد، به‌عنوان یکی از اعضای همکاران شناخته شد.

در سال هایی بعد، او به‌عنوان یکی از همکاران شناخته شد و به‌عنوان یکی از اعضای همکاران شناخته شد.

بعد از یک زمینه سخت‌نگاری، او به‌عنوان یکی از همکاران شناخته شد و به‌عنوان یکی از اعضای همکاران شناخته شد.

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asp o asas mohayya-st savarat mikonam ya kuh-a ru be-ruy-e shahr-e makran mibaramat tu in kuh jay-e bayesta-ist ba safā nakhchir
farāvan darakht o ab-e ravan inja mīmanīm irāniyān miyānd agar irāniyān az cō soda-e makrāniya bar omadand o fath kardand man o to ham miyām qātī-e irāniyān man cheshm-o az barādar o pedar o hasti pushidam barā to agar khodāy-nakhāsta jeddat rostam az cō soda bar nayomad irāniyān shekast khordan man o to zenda bemanīm bizhan qabul
kard qowl bedeh qasam bekhør qasam khord dast-e bizhan-o baz kard o raft ya dast asleha barāy-e u āvorda ya mādeyan o ya asp āvord o az birāha dokhtara u-rā bar dasht shab-e tira o havā ka rowshan shoda az shahr medqārī dur shoda budand raftand tā be-dāstāneshun berāsim šobh qaravol omad cāvaż beshad didand sarbāzā nistand be-hevāy-e ina chand zarāi jelotar koshta ānhā-ra yāftand dar-e zendān baz-a dakhel shoda az zendānī khabari nist ghoghāy shod nowzar-e makrāni omad barā baz-juyī o baz-porsi az kanizakān o gholāmūn bebinad in kār kar-e kiy-a sar-e nakhi tā andāza'i amad dastash o behesh goftand kāharat dishab lebās hay cāvaż mikard hay mīraft tu bagh o var migasht ākher-e kār-am do tā markab o in meqdar-e asleha omad o gerefta-ast fahmid khāst be-hevāy-e u berad khabar dādand jānpahlavān qavvīhaykaltarīn nowc-e bashar jonbakhsh ba chand tā sarbāz az taraf-e shāh-e īrān darand miyānd barāy-e shahr-e makrān khoda cāqebat be-khayrat konod salavāt (salavāt) unām nāchār shoda az kāharash o bizhan cheshm bepušhad chun qowl dāda-st afrāsiyāb-rā hefzash kona jahānbakhsh rasid ru be-ruy-e shahr-e makrān ba Chand tā sarbāz angosht-shomār omada-st ya negāhī be-leshkar-e afrāsiyāb
کرد یا نام داد باری-ای شاهریار-ای مکران معنی-ای نام از نه قرار بود که مان جنبخش ابن-ای فرامرز نبوی-ای رستام-ام بیژن دیره از او که برجام مازناری دیوید بخشن مسیح و دار

کاین-ای حال دانست بنش حار که افراسیاب-را پناه داده جآن مال او اهل کایالاش دارد که نام راقت یا ساکتی به-ای جواب افراسیاب یا خوشوحش-ای مکراتی یا سدا فسار یا سرباز از شهر گردیده دیره جنبخش شاف بستا شد رستام از او که برجام می‌گفت مادبع و دار

[نامعلومی] نابرد به-ای میاراد فیل-ئ ماهمون باق باق می‌کنند شاهزاده-ای مکران امداد که یک جوان لاغر-اندام ولی

خوشسیما لباس-ی افتخار-ی دارد می‌گد بدن مکران کرد می‌گد پایگاه بیماران زن در اسراء نادراد نا شامشیر-ی افتخار-ی فاقد

ونام باری-ای زینت بستا به-ای جانبخش صالح کرد جانبخش ابن-ای فرامرز پسکه داد که سختی گفت مان پسیار-ی خوشوحش-ی مکراتی-ام امداده چند تا کلام حرف با شنما بزانام گفت اضطراب او بدار

بسیان کوتاه گفت بودن-ای مدار-ای مکران دیار می‌گوید توان تا شادار دار

هوژر-ی افراسیاب بیادابی یا استک اکی کرد مان گریفتمایش دیش-ب زندان بود از زندان به کهار-ی مان گوریکتا تا درقهول-ام

کوشش شد مکشتام تا قیب-ی انه براز مشنام مادی یاد نابینی اقا

یا شالوات بهره‌ستی (شالوات). خدا قرباب-ی والادانه ناگوند

نیکوتارین اون دیه محمد شالوات بهره‌ستی (شالوات). جانبخش

گفت ای انتگری راز گفتی قسم که کرد می‌گذاردنی بی رابط

بگی ادلت-ی اینکا افراسیاب-را راه دادا و دیار-ی خوشومات باربار-ه دولت-ی کلیاء-ی ایران به-ای هجتاز دار اوردادا چیست لبی بدانیان

گذید کاره کرد پلگاوان شنما-م کا همان حرف-را می‌گذانی افراسیاب
väli ne^mat-e mä-st shahriyar-a emperatur-e torkestan ast khub-ast
arga-nevesht (?) tang karda omada behash yeki az shahay-e khodash
panah avorda mehman-e mä-st khodäm nā-mardi ta häl mehman-o az
khanash birun karda be-doshman seporda jānbakhsh goft fozuli nakon
payghäm bebar gofta man ma^mur-am bā shoma ḥarf bezanam farmud gofti
masalan bizhan-o gerefti man bāvar konam to bizhan-o gerefti ćarż
karda agar gerefta bāsham cha shegeft o ta^ajojī darad goft magar
säher bāshi goft be-caýinam sehr namidānam farmud ḥakha ya dast-e
bizhan be-andāza-e to-st goft dar diyār-e shoma pahlavāni be-[unin-
telligible] o tanāsob-a asp-e lagher-miyan be-kārha az ruż-e
maydān na gāv-e parvārī jānbakhsh farmud man zabān-e to kutāh
mikonam bā dodama hamla bord band-e dast-o gereft jahānbakhsh bā tamām-e
qodrati ka darad did alān dastash bād neshast shamshirash dar
miyara bā dast-e digar ruy-e garīban-rā gereft u az asp payāda shod
inam az fil payāda shod ru garīban ham do gereftand talāsh-a mokhtāzarish-
o jānbakhsh-o kand sar be-kand zad zamin baqalhāy-e jānbakhsh-rā
bast dād bordand filash-am bordand rūsh kard be-in chand tā sārbāz-e
irān goft shoma ma^mur-īd ma^mur ma^çur-e man shoma-ra kāri
nadāram bar gardid be-dowlat-e irān ēttelāc bedeh dowlat-e irān
ya fekri darin bād bokonam be-kāykhosrow az zabān-e mā begid ka
afrāsiyāb mehman-a az mākrān cheshm bepush va ela inja sarzamini-st
ka ayman-e falak rafta be-bād sārbāzā raftan khabar rasid be-
kāykhosrow vo shāh farman-e kuch kard mikhāstand amiran-e irān berand
rostam sālah nādanest fekri be-khātarash omad rasidand bārābar-e
leshkar-e qiyyamat-asar-e emperatur-e tork foru shod be-māhi o bar
shod be-mah bon-e nayza vo qobba-e bargah tabl o  călam o naqqārkhāna
sar-e pā shod leshkar az har jahat ārasta nāma-e khādiv-e kasrakhadām
kaykhosrow ferestād bārā shahriyār-e makrūn nāma bācd az ēnsāh va
alqāb be-in mażmūn ka bīzhan o ānbakhsh-o beferest va cheshm be-rāh-e
ruz-e bād-e jangat bash agar na chenin o chenān khāhad shod unam
javābi ferestād rasīd dast-e shāh-e īrān bācd az mokhtāsar-e ēnsāh
va alqāb neveshtā-ast yādegar-e siyāvash bīzhan ebne gīv az zendān
gorīkhtā-st be-c̤ayināmun az u  ēttelāc nadārīm āmmā jahānbakhsh ānja
asir-e zenjīr-e zīr-e zenjīr-e māst shoma āgar ḥāzer-id bā afrāsiyāb
sōlā konīd jahānbakhsh-o midāym har nowc delkhāhash-e shoma hast
raftāri mikonim jāng bas ast afrāsiyāb bā tāmām-e showkat o eqtedārash-a
ḥāzer-e maliyāt bedeh digar cha az jānash mowemm āgar na ākher-e
hilahā shamsīr-a mijangīm kaykhosrow mikhāst nāma-e digar benevisad
rostām mānecsh shod o ruz gozasht o shab pesar-e zāl-e zarr lebās-e
shabravī dar bar o raft tu orduy-e torkestān har cha bishtar gasht
zendān-o payda nakard  āqebeit omad bārā khayma-e atābak-e ażem-e
jadid farzānd-e pīran ebn-e vaysa pīrman ebn-e pīran did farq-e in
va pīran tafavot az zamin ta āsmān-a khābidast va  ṣēday-e nafīrash-am
boland-a rostām dakhel-e khayma shod bālā sar-e u zanu zad dast ru
sīnā-e u va dast be-dasta-e khānjār ṣēdash zad in ka qābel ni
porjagartarin pahlavan rostām-o be-in  āl bebinād mitarsad zebānash
band omad bā badan-e larzan cheshma-ra bast taşvir-e marg shod
rostām delash sukhīt khangar-o dar qelāb zad benā kard u-ārā nevāzash
konad be-ḥalash āvord goft amirzāda khangar-e man be-khun-e  ādam-e
boz-deli mesl-e to rangīn namishād man bā to  kārī nadāram man faqāt.
omadam ya so'ai al azat bokonam goft befarma har cha bedanam be-
[unintelligible] afrasiyab be-arvah-e piran migam farmud bizhan-
kojast goft be-parvardegar be-towri ka migoftand dokhtar-e shahriyar-e
makran bizhan-o farari dada o ba ham raftand o do ta qaravol-o ham
koshtand bi-et'tela'at-am goft jahanbakhsh goft jahanbakhsh posht-e
in ordu dar yeki tanga'i o yek mosht sarbaz negahbanesh-and o az
 taraf-e afrasiyab ham dastur darand ka agar shab-e tira kasi nazdik
shod zendani-ra sar bebor farmud man halâ miram do ta kar bât dadam
agar awlâd-e piran ebn-e vaya hasti yeki inka delam mikhâd beri
be-afrasiyab az qowl-e man begi agar jahanbakhsh aftâb zad o azadash
nakardî farâa shab sarat-o barâ kaykhosrow mibaram yeki digar tabl-e
jang bezani ta taklif-e man be-in shahzada-e makran rowshan misha
rostam raft pirman ebn-e piran sar o pay-e barahna az tarsash david
bara khayma-e afrasiyab esm-e shab darad negahbân hast esm-e shab
goft rahash dadan omad sadr-e a'zam balâ sar-e afrasiyab bidâ rash
kard afrasiyab hasrasun parid cha khabar-a carz kard dastam be-
damanat emshab rafiqemun umada bud umad balâ sar-e man o in towri
shoda halâ mara tahdidam karda qasam khordast be-arvah-e siyâvash
agar emshab jahanbakhsh-o najat nada bered be-orduy-e irân o
tabl-e jang nazani farâa shab biyâd o sar-e shoma'-ra khoday
nakhasta afrasiyab larzid avval dastur-e tabl-e jang dad morgh o mahî
khab budand tabl-e jang hama'-ra bidar kard ba'cdam nowzar-e makrani-ra
khist o be-nowzar goft jänbakhsh-o azadash kon agar rostam-o zadî
donya-ra zada-i rostam-o agar jangash-o fath kardi megl-e inka
دُنیا روهای مان گره‌تی از **۲۵٨** حضرت رستم بر نیامدی کا

جَهان‌بخش چا تارسیدی دارد آزاد بخشاد یا بستا گفت اگه

جرامین فراموش آزم نامبندی‌انـ-بی بِه‌گاـد کا یانامـ دار کهـاـرـا

روستم یا چنین قولی دادهٔ جهنگرـه باـدی نـیمـاـه شاب آزاد

کردند فرشت‌‌دوستان حار کو جایی کا پای‌ه زرد داده داسته‌ه حاـقـ‌و

حساب دیر دوـیاد تاـبی یاد واده سماعت و اکت کا خطرـا

روستم یا چنین قولی دادهٔ آقاـه‌نـین دَنـاـه شر ducks از آزاد

کردند فرشت‌‌دوستان حار کو جایی کا پای‌ه زرد داده داسته‌ه حاـقـ‌و

جبال شاهراهان کا فرشت‌‌دوستان انجوم شوادند از بخشـم‌ه

یا قحقـه فلالگ قم شاهپور–یاجنبازی کا داده آلام زاد لشکر–ه

دریا–آلامات زامین با پاست میرفت تا قیامت میانان از جوش–ه

لشکر قات–ه به بهکا بر نامی محمدی شمیدم سیمـه آقاـه‌ا یاـنی چی

سیماب یاینی جیا اگر سما باری میانی حصاری دوـپن بسامانی بر [نامعلوم]

نجاداران حار پاست به سارسانتی حار ولاندی به ارجوماندی حار گوـشـه

بـه سرطی نشخ قلب و پاسه لشکر آراسته‌پیراـت‌ا بر ابر–ه ساقی اـبـد–ه

فارسی از میدان رفت از اسرار از نامی رفت از افراد راـست

چون دلو–ه سیدان روشن ب–نامایان اـه هما شاهباز–ه نازر دارد

آواردگاه شاهزاده مکران از سَف اجـدـه ازدَف ایزیاب به بهاین‌هی

کا میخاد رؤیء تهَریک کنون سرائش‌رو بهساد به‌ع گفت

شاهزاده اگر باهویی از صنحی پاسر–ه زال‌رم جان به‌دار

به‌باری مرج بارـه‌ه تن نست آگر ان مارد–ه یاد یونیـری به‌رای باـر

مان موسوکخار شوداـی [نامعلوم جمله] بغالی مرکب‌[نامعلوم] او نبادی به‌یاد

او [نامعلوم] از شامی ایران رستم–ه کشت باـه او پایین یا

سلوات (سلوات) چو راکنشه توسام–ه ساکر او نبادی او هامون‌گارد
chu rakhsh-e raqam az sayr-e moshtari jowlān be-gah-e raftan-e bāla
chu sho'la-e azār be-gah-e āmadan-e shib hamchu ab-e ravan rasad
be-gardash-e aklak agar beguyi hay jahad ze gombad-e gardun agar
beguyi han dom o som o badan o kāk o benagushash harīr o susen
o fulad o sormol o khażrā in qadr markab-a be jowlān [unintelligible]
o tan be-azm-e jang borid be šāhzāda c'aql-e rostam māt-a did ka
yek javānī mešl-e in ka az afsaran-e jozv-e īran lagerh-ændam lebās-e
valiahdi ya asp-e bolandi savār ast ki hastī koja buda-i goft
šāhzāda-e makrān-am shomā-ṛa khastam avval agar mishad az qowl-e
bābām peyāmat bedam omadam bet begam in charkh-e soflā ba kasi vefa
namikondad hamāntowri ka afrāsiyāb-ṛa az owj-e refcat be-khok-e
mazalat afkandā ba shomā-ma-ṛa ela 'l-akhir dorost rafort namikondad
biyā vāsetā besho khosrow-ṛa ba afrāsiyāb solh beda farμud šahzāda
in kar marbut be-man o to nis afrāsiyāb karash az solh gozashta-ast
jormash khaylī sāngin-ā kāvus bara khātāt-e in na-mard khosrow-ṛa
mikhāst bekosbād khosrow ṣām-p e valiahd-a hanūz be-maqāmi narasad
ka be-ekhtiyār-e tamām dāshta bāshad vallā be-mā bayn-e afrāsiyāb
o kaykhusrow yeki mešl-e shangal khaqān qaysar bāyad vāsetā bāshand
na man o to ay magas arsa-e simorgh na jowlān gah-e to-st ṣarzd-e khod
mibari o zahmat-e mā midārī be-rostam goft pas rast migoftand in
fetna zir-e sar-e to-st farμud yābaguyi nakn pesarak-e biadab
to ya peyāmī āvorda-i payghām bebar goft omadam ka agar har hālī
nashod bād bejangam farμud bā man c'arzd kard bala bala hamin qadr
farzandat jonbakhsh maghrur bud be-āsāni az pay dar āmad farμud
مگر بانک‌های یک کارخانه می‌گفت که می‌خواهیم به طرفی به کاری نیستیم که بله این به‌پرداخت نمی‌کنیم. 

کهام به‌طوری‌که باید یکی از اگر نامی‌کنند که می‌خواهیم به‌طوری‌که نمی‌بگذاریم و در سیستم‌های تلویزیونی و تلویزیون‌های شما در میدان، آنها در این زمینه‌ها بی‌رویشان‌اند.

با می‌خواستیم که بدانیم این اینکه یکی از این‌ها به‌پرداخت نمی‌کند، به‌طوری‌که نمی‌بگذاریم. 

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گفت مان همای-همام هامیه ناپخشیدم شمید پاس مان [عنیتیلیبل] 
میپشام از راکش پایدار شد هامیه‌را دار آورد دامان بکمجر 
زا در شاکیار باریا سار بوریان یک کمان باریا باقل بستان باریا 
کوشتی گشود طبل زادا شود رای گریبان هاملا گرهتفند رستاهم 
آغازی-کار باریا آزمایش بنا کرد بای آب نباد کناد دید هار وامها 
یا جوان-را آقاب بهاراد مصالحه یک که یک کوهی آزمای او میهد 
بیاراد خایلی وازنی-این جوان خایلی سانگین-این پاها بیزام 
چاسبیدا بایند موتافاجه شود هار واقع داست-را راست بدهد-را راست-را 
و میراساد یا-نی باغی-را راست-را در جوان-را نامیگیراد در جوان 
مال-همای-همام[عنیتیلیبل]-این دریغ ملاقات انکه یک کوهی 
هامیتار شود بزور-را بای داست-را راست گرهتفتیا دامان-این کمجر 
بای داست-را چاپ بولدانش کرد زاداهم باریا خانگر وا خانگر 
سار-را از قول-این بدایان جدایا کرد یا راین باد کارش شود لشکر-را 
قیامتی-اسار-را تورانی از یکانی از یا دار استادان جان ما نلوبا شد 
مکرینی‌ایا سیاه یا سفر کاردان داران دوربین میشدان افراسییاب 
زان او بچه‌را بای ان موسی سرزه وار داشت زاد به‌بیایون راکت 
تولی ناکشید مکران سقوت کرد دار بهاره-را در نار-سرنیک کا 
تو هارد-را کایکوسروند و بناظی بایا دوشمن نیست جوانبکشش آم 
کن-این فارمارز تامور قهبان ابن-این بورزی بورزی جانگیر فارمارز 
هار 
دل‌هاری از یا تن ممالی-را ازهدایا میبالای از لشکر-را ایران 
آن وقتی کا پوستگرمی به-این سالاران داشت باشند تکلیف‌شان 
روش‌ای-را مارد-را شهر-را مکران تولی ناکشید آل‌آن گفتند 
امله ریکتند داژا را سار نهادان رستاهم داژرا طبل-را 
مان-را یا ژانگای ژانگ تا-تلی شود دامید بایپ-این نیست براد وا ایا
ب aziyashun qatla mishan garya eltemas pir-e mard o javan omadand
qasam khordand bizhan dar miyan-e ma nist ma ettelahc nadarim
shahr-o zir o zabar kardand asari az bizhan nayaf bena kardand
savar be-atraf beferestand jasus bara orduy-e afrasiyab mabada
bizhan-ra borda bashad hamrah o mondand kayhosrow-am goft barar
khater-e bizhan be-fotuhat-e namayani ka az in amirzada sar zada
ta paydash nakonam digar taaqib-e afrasiyab namiram shod chand
kelam carz konim az bizhan helo bizhan-e giv o dokhtara raftand
tu kuhi ka rube-ruy-e shahr-a shabi ka qarar bud rostam ba shahzada-e
makran nabard konad safid-e dam bizhan ya abu did be-dokhtara goft
in abu-rah mizanam miyam kebabi dorost konim bazm-e rangin konim
ta saranjam-e in jang be-fahmin chun az unjaiy ka neshasta budand
maydan-e jang o shahr-e makran kamelan zir-e nazar bud payda bud
ya salavat-e digar (salavat) bizhan az kuh sarazir shod o be-abu
narasid o tira khatar raft o savar-e asp shod abu-rah taqib kard
dokhtaram savar shod hamrahash raft gahi bizhan mihshenid yeke jigha
mizanad sedash mizanad vali e-tena namikard miraft abu ba'ad az
paymudan-e rah-e besyar rasid tu ya risha-e kuh zad tu kuh bizhan az
asp parid payin taqib-e abu harakat kard dobara seda jigha-e zani
shenid az qafay-e sar dar kuh tanin afkand bazz-ham e-tena nakard
khasta shod sar baly-e kuh-a istad nafas taza konad did jigh-e
zani kuh-ra tanin andehhta faryad mizanad tora be-khoodye nadida
sabr kard negah kard did dokhtare shahriyar-e makran
in chera omad cha mikhad az man chera in towr parishan-e mabad
تاکیب کاردا بخشند ناحیه داست بآ کمکن خورد به نسب کارد
دوخترا رسید دوخترا گفت جوان به‌پارو و دگر آقایی فرادر
رفت به‌دیگر خجال نامشودی نیاز تلسم‌ال نیاز تلسم‌ال مکران‌ال
خوب به‌موقد راسیم در احیا سحری‌ی بوده می‌کنست تو‌رآ به‌دام
بی‌بی‌ادادی نیز مگهار تلسم‌ال هار کا دکهلی شده دیگر زنده بار
نگاهش‌اکد در اسرازی از ای پیدای ناشر‌اکد وار گارد بی‌زبان گفت
یاباغی ناکن مکوی کردام مکرودی تباهی به‌دیگر دادا مارا از
ی ای بار خزر داریم ما هلالی میزانم در احیا رآ به‌تو سابت می‌کنام
هر چا دوخترا نیچه‌زد و ایل‌ام کارد بی‌زبان دادیا با قاتد دید
حیارد تو مگهار نیاز است و تیری کامان نامی‌خاد کامران‌اکد اندک‌که
رک دکام نار آوراد ساره داست دکهلی مگهاری شود احیا رآ بآ
کامند بگیرد یک شاهی بود پا از پیش به‌دار گردی حیارد احیا
هوا ققه‌لاب گردی دیگر دوخترا داره‌ک مگهار‌اکد نادید بار گاردید سا
رژه جان که‌تم نیکا نفتا لشکر‌ی ایران پاریشان‌اکد جاسوس اطراف ای
اکناف رافتا بارا پیدا کردام‌کد بی‌زبانی شاه‌بقوی‌واران به‌سون‌ه
لشکر‌ی افرسی‌یاب با اطراف به‌کای‌خسروا گفتند یا دوخترا‌ی زیبا
شعری رفع کرده‌شیدا میو می‌کناد مکرودی خدیمات‌ی امومه شرایف‌یاب
بی‌شاد‌ی بی‌مان از بی‌زبان اتتهار دارا رآ به‌داد یاورندادش نگاه
به‌چهره‌ی‌زد چهار شرایف‌یاب گردی از انوی‌ه شاه بسید اعرز کرد
شاهری‌یاری مان دوخترا یا خسروشاه‌ی مکران‌ی آم مان بی‌زبان‌ی
ناجی‌تاش دادم مان بی‌زبان‌ی ب‌آن کوی بردام بآ یک چنین شارتی
با همان قرار‌ی اکد لاش‌تی نهادیم فلادن رزه یا احیا پیدا‌ی گردی
ده تاکیب کرد مان‌ام گردام هم‌اکد و دیدار ادارا یکرد بارا تلسم
هر چا راسیم در ایچنگا زادم و نب‌هاء تلسم‌ال نیاز تلسم‌ال این

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مادره محرر به خود نگرفته گفت ساغ اکست مان حالا در اهدارا
باراد مزانیم رفت عرفان عرفان عبارت شد و عبارت تهویه مراد و همایود
روستم اکثر زرگر امیره هما شنیدند این پای ام و شرکات ملی
اراستند نه شتند گفتند بهترشان اکتارشان اکتسنگشان اکتار
و مناجیم اکست اوردو یکی می‌داند اکتارینه وردن که
گفتند راست می‌گدید من اکسیست بی‌نام اکسیست اکسیز اکسیز
در اکسیست اکسیز نامه نه شتند اکسور ماظب اکست
کرده اکتاری اکسیر اکسیر اکسیر اکسیر اکسیر
در اکسیست اکسیز اکسیشن رابین کی‌یا اگر در
اردیغیکا که بینیست تا معا رو روانا کرم اگر در شاهره اکتار
و اکتاریکا به‌بینی بی‌نامی بی‌نامی بی‌نامی
تا پی‌داسح کرمی می‌داند تا معا رو روانا کرمی
می‌داند یکی چنین مکانی بی‌یک چنین مکامی بی‌یک
مکانی می‌داند مکامی مکامی مکامی
سیمورگ او ایزکار کرد از سیمورگ پورسید سیمورگ‌ام بی‌وای پاسکه داد
اکست بی‌نامه لوهرسپا از نسل اکسبان کوساره اکسباد
پیو لوهرسپ در هرمسارای اکسه ایران زندگی می‌کنند جوان‌یک
بیمار پسارک‌یست رانجر ولی این اکسیست بی‌داسته و شکستا خدای
شود زال اکسرب اد پی‌تکه ماراد اکسیتکه اکسیراماسی کردند
او اکسبرد اکشیراشی اکسکار اکسکار اکسکار خاست اگر بی‌نامی
گفت پی‌داسح لوهرسپ در اکسیر اکسیر اکسیر
در هرمساراسا همی نامی یا اکی کاشید اگر
بیاکسیست اکسیست اکسیست اکسیست
داستان سرآپا تویید یاژده سالش بود لوهرسپ و هم اکسیتتی زال
گفت یا چنیم پساری لوهرسپ نام تی اکسیر اکسیر اکسیر
در هرمسارا یا چاک زال اکسیریه اکسیر میدوناست گفت کیلی اکسیر
کرمی‌ای چنیم اکسیر اکسیر
یاکسیست اکسیست اکسیست

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raftand ejāza az banuvān-e ḥaram gereftand o i-ra bordandash dar ḥaram kenār-e bestar-e in pesar zāl did ya pesar bachcha'i dah yāzdah sala lāgher-andām zard chehra minalad telesm be-nām-e in-a cha kār konad in khodash-o namitonad tu bestar jamc o jur konad in mitonad berad ākher-e khāk-e torkestan telesm beshkanad simorgh-rah ch begad ka u in твори dostur dāda dar rajaz khundan-e esfandiyār dar barābar-e pesar-e zāl-e zarr rostam shajār-e nāma-e u maclūm mishad ka man pesar-e goshtasеп-am o goshtasеп pesar-e lohrāsep o lohrāsep az nasl-e kaypashin o ćosāra-e kayqobād zāl bā zanān-e ḥaram goft ka shāh be-man ya chenīn nāma'i nevesht va az man khausta-st i-ro bebaramash makrān mādar-e in pesara goft fardā tashrif biyarīd ĉemārī dorost knom bebaridash zāl-rā bordand be-mosib-khāna shab mādana kenār-e in bachcha ḥarfa-rā yādash dād uncha bayad fardām ya mosht khedmatkardār-e in bachcha inha-rā zāl var dasht o āharakat kard barā makrun tu rāh bachcha ḥalash behter shod in-o lebāsash pushāndand o āraştandash o vaqti rasīdand be-ordugāh khabar be-shāh rasīd dostur-e esteqbal dāda az zāl albata bachcha-rā ka namidonan vaqti kayhosrow āmada asārī az in bachcha vo inā nabuda chehel o panj sāl ān kuhsar jang bud un kuh-e kenobard ba'd-ām nazdik-e haft hasht sāl-a dombāl-e afrāsiyāb-an az in shahrābādiya in yāzdah sālish-a ārasta avordandash hoţur-e shāh chashm-e kayhosrow be-in pesar bachcha oftād lebās-e fakherī dar bar nimcha tāj bar sarash gozardand ā khaylī ranjur o lāgher o natavān az zāl porsid in kiy-a ĉarz kard gorbān-e khāk-e āsānat in lohrāsep az nasl-e kayqobād o
دار هرمه شوما بودست او ماجرآ را گفت کا سیمرغ بeman امر
فروما دمان اینو بیکرم بالای ی شکستان یا تلسم ی اجب ابن تلسم او
بیشکاند زال یارکرد بلاله اگر گارهسپهدا دار ان کلام پرده
بیشکاند برم اند فرق نامیکانان تلسم بنامه اینا این تلسم او
بیشکاند کاهوشرو یعیادتی بههم کهورد یا رفتند فردای
شود یا کاهوشرو فرموود این پیزارو بیکرمیداش رفتند اوورد تامامی-او
ورانگه پر ا داوری کاهوشرو این تلسم او بلکه این کرده بهم کرد یا
اگر گارشهپه دار ان کلام ی ری ی این جملت
تاکیا کردان کا ای رانجر بود یا ناتوان گش بیشدا اقاع انا کا دار
بهمسارا بزال گفتند مداوا نامیشد این ممیزت امروز یا فردای یا
hamın بکد از داوریی سلطانت یا کاهوشرو صد او بیست سال سلطنت
کرد بلکه نامورد ساکدی میگاد باس کا دار کهک تاندورستان یا دافن
کردانه زاهر کهورده نامورد کاهوشرو فرموود لوهرسپ توی یارکرد
کرد بلکه یوربان یا کهک استانات فرموود میدانی بالای چا توی را اینجا
یزحه کردانم یارکرد کرد بلکه بالاه شاهریار یا کلام دستان بالایم
گفتست فرموود یکیل داریم توی را به تلسم مکران بهرستیم
بالایی نجاتی ظهیر بیان ابک ای گیو یا ماجرا را بالایی او ناکل کردانه
یا بههش فهمهندند بهیان دار تلسم او گیوی از تو هام کاس
نامتوند این تلسم او بیشکاند این ظهیری یا نجاتی بیان یا یک کهندی
کردی یا یک تازیمی نامودا یا یارکرد کرد شاهریار یا کار ای یا یک سخت
نیست بیکرم گردر بلکه یوربان نری یا ای دیده بهمانتوی کا شنادا یی
اگر تلسم بنامه یا باچچانی یا یکی راشد پاوهوپانه یا دونی یاد
نیستند هامان باچچا تلسم او بیشکاند این تلسم بنامه توی
avval ka qābel nistam o man in kār-rā javāb namitonam bokonam o man shamshir tā hāla dar miyān na bastam o qanun-e shamshir zadan namidonam o baʿd kā fahmāndand ehtiyāj be-inā nist ham tā rāhi dar telesm telesmā mishkāni be-nām-e to-st in qerāniyā a be-dast-e to goft be-yek shart mipazīram hama raghā gardanha por shod bar gashtand in bayad eftekhār konad ya bachcha az pātakht bā un esteqbal āvordandash shāh mikhād behsh dastur bedad cha khāheshī dāra mikhād bokonad cha shartī dārād hama motavajjej shodand shāh porshīd cha shartī ārāz kard raqam-e valiāhdi benevisid be-nām-e man khod-e kaykhoṣrow hānuż sakka be-nāmāsh nazadan kāvus behsh gofta tā afrāsiyāb-o sar naborī sakka be-nāmāt namizānam hālā migad agar mayl dāri man telesm-ō beshkanam in raqam-e valiāhdi be-nāmāt benevis yek bāra kaykhoṣrow sokut kard darbār hama gholghol oftād be-ham negāh kardand rostam kam tāqatī kard injā tokhm-e kina keshta shod injā sedāsh zad o tā surata bar gasht be-samt-e rostam rostam ya nok sīlī zad o in partāb shod bisharm khāk dar dāhānāt fahmīdī cha ghalatī kardī hama-e mardomā-e irān entezār dārānd shāh bayn-e avāmerī befarmāyad bā jān o del bēpārizand to injā amada mikhāst ya kārī-rā qabul koni baʿdī khāheshī bekonī be-unām tāza khāhesh-e valiāhdiyā tā liyaqat-e in maqām-rā darīd gonjeshk bīn ka sohbat-e shāhīn eshārā mīdā partāb shod az hush raft kaykhoṣrow fārmand pesar-e zāl bikhod kardī zadīsh pahlāvān mā bizhān-ō tā najāt nedāym az injā harakat namīkonīm man-am qasam khordam inam be-towrikā mīgan āftāb labāy-e bachcha-st ya chīzī be-zebānāsh amad man minevisām kaykhoṣrow qabul kard fardī i-rā
اراستند اورداندش شاه بهباغ گفت میکهام تلهسم-ه مکران
بستگی گفت هارفام-ه میگرام راقام-ه والیادی تلهسم-ه مکران
نامیشته کایکوحسرو نعهشت آمما از هامینجا یا نگاهی به-رستام کرد
زر-ه ناز قز پرداش تلهسم-ه مکران-ها به بچه شکست [نیت‌خاگی ام]
شکستان-ه تلهسم مشهد [نیت‌خاگی ام] یه‌یی‌ی نیست
باردار گرد شد یا راکد یا بارق شد یا گهلی کهش یا دوی کوست یا
یور-ه نامیک‌ها تلهسم-ه شکست بی‌زان-ه ناجات داد به-شکرنا-ه
پردا-شودان-ه بی‌زان جاشنی گرئفتند دک‌کتار-ه شیریار-ه مکران-ها
بی‌زان دادند از انجا تا قیت افراسیاب به‌شنه از افراسیاب
پردا-پاشنه بی‌رار ابادی یا [نیت‌خاگی ام] یا قسام‌های یا یازده یا
میگرد چون میدان داه‌را نامیشته جلوه یا خواب به‌کاری ب‌که و
کش‌هاک نامیشته جلو یا رودخانه-ها بی‌بانچ میدنوا ین-ها ماقامت
نام‌تناند بکونند تا اینکا یا روز ناهار بی-پیرمان اب‌ن-ی پیران گفت
نرم پرسارک یاباک ساد-ر ازام بود چونکا گل رفتا گوستان
گرد که‌ubit یا در-ر یا چا یوجی مز یا گلاب نرم کو اوم یا ناقشا‌یا
بکش مان گحار-ن-ام قارز کرد یا چا مان به‌ام می‌پازری افراسیاب گفت
نی‌ترام قارز کرد بی-سلاه-ه کول-ه قلام-ها فرمود بگو قارز کرد
بی‌یازدان اگر هار گشوه‌ها قلام-ه بی‌ر ان‌ی‌یان یا‌ست آزت بار نامت‌روند
بورو سار-ه قبر-ه شیواش عنجا یا بنشین ماردام بارا تورباث-ه
شیواش ئیرترام میکانند کریت نادراند چارا ناداشت لشکره-ها
بار داشت یا آماد شیواشگرد یا ماردام-ه شیواشگرد گهل‌فل اگر
میدانوستند راه-را می‌بایستند بیش‌ینا کا تو شیواشگرد-ان از
افراسیاب خوش‌شان نامی‌یاد هانوز بارا شیواش داغه داراند ام‌نا
ین بی‌مووقا دقیق اک تار ب‌از یا بیترو سپاه یا لشکره-ه ا
کشوار ریختن در شهر در گزارش دارباز باستان تخت-ال پل کشیدند کخ و پر آب آفراسیاب مانند یا مدادی بافد تلهسم-ال مکران شکست شد و بیزان پدید شد و ایرانیان بیستوئی ی- افراسیاب تازا آمادند افراسیاب صاریح بود
Translation of Habib Allah's Session

Yesterday the chain of speech reached to the point which I told you. The army of Iran came to the outskirts of Makran chasing Afrasiyab. Afrasiyab took refuge with the ruler of Makran, who had promised him safety.

The shah asked for a volunteer. Bizhan b. Giv rose and said, "I will go, and bring news and if Afrasiyab and his army have gone to Makran, I will enlighten the ruler of Makran." He mounted up and left. When he arrived he saw that Afrasiyab's army had made camp outside of the city of Makran. He paid no attention to this endless army. With great bravery and a world of courage, he passed through one side of the army and entered the city of Makran. He asked as he went in order to find the court. His dismounted and entered the court. He saw Afrasiyab sitting on the throne with the ruler of Makran in a lower place, the princes of Makran and Turan all around. It is a feast. All turned to look at Bizhan.

Bizhan praised and complimented Khosrowshah of Makran, but paid no heed to Afrasiyab. After the proper courtesies, he said, "Ruler of Makran. You are playing with the tail of a lion. Afrasiyab, who has reached the day of harvesting and reaping the fruits of his actions, has come, fleeing from everyone. You had no choice but let him in. The King of China would not help you in this matter. I have come to you from the glorious Kaykhusrow, the ruler of Iran, to say that you should be more mindful of your
impending destruction, lest you be deceived or put yourself in a foolish position. Kaykhosrow has sent me to tell you that you must either turn Afrasiyab out of your city, being properly careful of your lives and wealth and the pride of your country, or else watch the road for coming trouble. Afrasiyab and his companions hung their heads.

[Look sir what courage and valor can do. Afrasiyab could knock over ten like Bizhan with one piece of straw. But what a strong backbone and real guts can do! To come alone into such a city following a poisonous snake: Afrasiyab who has made such sacrifices and given such rewards, now having fled from his homeland and come here. And now look what Bizhan says having followed Afrasiyab into a city in the presence of Afrasiyab and Garsivaz and all these Turkish heroes!]

The ruler of Makran said to Bizhan, "You should be ashamed of yourself, young prince. Afrasiyab is my leader. He is the emperor of Torkestan. My means of life are the result of his goodness. Even though he is really the ruler of this house, right now he is my guest. Up to this time, no coward has thrown a guest out of his house. Go, tell Kaykhosrow that he must stop following Afrasiyab and go about his own business. Go! If you don't, you'll be sorry."

Bizhan said, "No person has been born from a woman who can act in this haughty manner." Kaykhosrow said, "If you weren't alone, and a guest, I would teach you a lesson." Bizhan said, "None of
these people sitting around you are worth anything. What is the matter with you?"

He replied, "You are my guest now." Bizhan said, "No, pretend that I'm not a guest." The ruler of Makran spoke to a servant, "Go, tell my son to come." It wasn't long until Bizhan saw a youth come into the court. He was wearing the clothes of the heir apparent and had a short sword covered with jewels at his waist. He had no trace of courage, but he was just young, about twenty years, give or take a few. Quietly, he [unintelligible]. He had no trace of a beard and showed no sign of having knowing life.

Bizhan said, "Why did he call you? Why?" The ruler of Makran said to his son, "Son, teach Bizhan a lesson." Then he came before Bizhan and greeted him, saying to Bizhan, "Prince, you are our guest. Go back the way you have come, and take a message to the shah of Iran that Afrāsiyāb is there, as Khosrowshāh wishes. Even if Kaykhosrow were to come here himself, he would be killed. Now, you are an official. You're alone. You are acting over-proud. You're asking for it, and I am going to have to teach you proper manners."

Bizhan said, "Don't be ridiculous!"

He answered, "By God, I will protect Afrāsiyāb." He said, "Whose dog is Afrāsiyāb?" He pulled his lightening sword, and attacked the prince of Makran with a sea of people watching.

[I also told you yesterday that Afrāsiyāb had said to the ruler of Makran, "What strength do you have that you can say come here and you are safe? Do you have a large army? Is the city
strong? Do you have a great hero?" He had answered, "I just have an idea." And now Afrasiyab was sitting and watching.]

Bizhan held up his sword. The other fought with him hand to hand. Before Afrasiyab's eyes he pushed back the hand, and made Bizhan drop his sword. He reached for the other hand, then the trap was sprung.

Every nightingale who begins singing,
Remembers the suffering of the flower petals.

The petal which did not fall in the Fall,
Does [unintelligible] behind the curtain.5

He hit him with a doubled-up fist and jumped back. The prince was thrown through the air by the force of this blow to the back of the court with blood flowing from his nose and mouth, head over heels. He fainted.

They lifted Bizhan up and carried him to the haram. Behind the harem of the king there is a garden. They carried Bizhan into one of the rooms at the back of the garden and bound him up well and chained him and set guards to watch him then returned to the presence of the king. Afrasiyab was very interested in this prince. He asked, "If you aren't a magician I cannot believe that you knocked Bizhan over with one blow." He said, "That's up to you. It was nothing."

Afrasiyab developed a real interest in the boy. The ruler of Makran asked, "What have you done with Bizhan. My son, don't kill him. He is the grandson of Rostam. He's young and a servant." He said, "We are keeping him hostage in the garden."
Then he said, "Order that he be given bread and water and be cared for. Perhaps he will be sorry." All this was done.

The day passed. Nightfall came. The ruler of Makran has a daughter, very noble, very beautiful. The girl saw that her brother was coming and going into the garden, with a number of soldiers, sometimes bringing bread and water or a torch. She asked one of the slaves, "What is going on?" They said, "The prince of Iran, the nephew of Rostam, Bizhan b. Giv, is a prisoner. He acted over-proud in the presence of Afrasiyab and your brother knocked him down with one blow. Then he tied him up and now Bizhan is bound up in the garden in such and such a room.

The girl became curious and came to see what kind of man this prisoner was, this grandson of Rostam whose fame had filled up the world. What was the difference between him and the rest of the people? What is the difference? When she arrived, her brother was just leaving the prison. She came before her brother, greeted him, and he asked, "Where have you been, sister?" She said, "I've come because I heard that we have a special prisoner. I want to see." He said, "He's not worth seeing. Tomorrow." She said, "No, I'll just take a look. I have heard his fame and I want to see him, so I can see what the difference between him and the rest of the people is and how far it goes."

He said, "Come back soon." He spoke to one of the guards. "Open the door, so she can take a look, then close the door again."
The guard obeyed. The prince left — Nowzar Makrani — and the girl came up. Two soldiers were keeping watch at the door. They unlocked the door and lit a torch. It was early evening. The beam of the torch — the light of the torch — fell on Bizhan's face. The girl saw his [unintelligible] eyes. She fell in love with him, trembling from head to foot. She bit her lip in thought. Then she went away. Bizhan only saw a veiled figure come in, look at him, saying nothing, then go away. [What can he know?]

The door was shut with two guards in front of it. The girl came out a little way and began thinking. She asked one of the servants, "When did they capture this prince?" They answered, "This morning." "Is he the one who was captured by my brother?" They said, "Yes."

She asked, "I don't know why they didn't kill him." They said, "Ah! He is the grandson of Rostam. Your father has ordered this. He makes a good hostage when we need one in prison."

She said, "Very good." She went off and sat for an hour thinking. Reason did not win her over, she was so enamored. She was overcome with excitement, at the same time realizing that if a [unintelligible] breath of this should reach her brother, he would kill her. But Love overwhelmed Fear. Wherever Love sets up its tent, there is no place for Reason. Wherever Love sets up its tent, there is no place for Reason. Two rulers in one province are nothing but trouble.6

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The veiled girl began thinking devilish thoughts. In the middle of the night, the guards at the door heard a footstep. They stopped. The girl said, "Friend." She came up. They saw a sword in the hands of a worthy owner. It is the princess — the daughter of the ruler of Makran. Nowzar's sister. They bowed, and she said, "I wanted to talk to you." They answered, "At your service." With the pretense of asking such questions as who is Rostam and who is his grandson and who were they themselves who were so brave, she engaged the two guards in conversation. She gradually drew them a little way from the door of the prison, feigning that, "I don't want the prisoner to hear me or my brother to see me in the torchlight."

She took them unawares, luring them from the door of the prison ten or twenty zarcs into the darkness. Suddenly she drew her lightening sword like a female tiger, and overthrew them both. She killed the two soldiers, then ran and broke open the lock. She opened the prison, grabbed a torch and went in.

Bizhan's gaze fell upon a bloody girl, frightened, coming in. She so took him by surprise, that he yelled out, "Who are you?" The girl said, "I have come to rescue you, my prince. I am Nowzar Makrani's sister, the daughter of the ruler of Makran. Today while the guards were coming and going, bringing you food, I got curious. I took one look at you and fell in love. Now I have come to tell you, swearing by God, that your life is hanging by a hair. I have just now killed two guards for you. If you're
willing, I will free your hands and bring you whatever you need. We will go away together. I will close my eyes to my brother, my father, and even existence itself, coming with you like a serving girl. If you don't agree, I have no choice but to kill you and then myself."

Bizhan said, "If I ask you a question, will you tell me the truth?" She said, "Yes." He said, "On your faith?" She said, "On my faith." He asked, "Does your brother know magic?" She said, "No. I swear." He said, "How is it possible that he doesn't know magic and yet has such power? One of my hands is as big as he is."

She said, "I don't know anything about magic, but I do know that he doesn't know magic." The astrologers here say that the Iranians are on the rise. Come on. Listen to me! I will release you now. The horses and provisions are ready. I'll put you on a horse. There's a mountain opposite the city of Makran. I'll take you into that mountain. It's a good place, pleasant, lots of hunting, trees, flowing water. We'll stay there until the Iranians come. If the Iranians defeat the Makranians, we'll come out and join them. I will close my eyes to my brother, my father, and existence for you. If, God forbid, your grandfather Rostam doesn't defeat them and the Iranians are defeated, you and I will still be alive."

Bizhan agreed. "Swear. Take an oath." He took an oath. She released Bizhan's hands and went and brought back a suit of armor for him. She brought a horse and mare. She took him
away from the roads in the dark of night. When it became light, they were a long way from the city. They went along until we reach their story.

In the morning guards came to change off with the others. They saw that no soldiers were there. Looking around, they found the dead soldiers a few zars away. The door of the prison is open! They went in and found no trace of the prisoner. A cry went up. Nowzar Makrani came to look into the matter, asking the serving girls and slaves who had done this thing. The clues reached to the point that he finally was told, "Last night your sister came and changed her clothes. Then she went into the garden and returned. Finally, she came and took two horses and some armor." He understood. He wanted to go after her when news was brought that the strongest of all heroes, Jahān b. Faramarz, was coming toward the city from the Shah of Iran.

[That God may make your final lot good, salavat. (Salavat)]

Nowzar was forced to forget about his sister and Bizhan since he had promised to protect Afrāsiyab.

Jahān b. Faramarz arrived in front of the city of Makran with about as many soldiers as one can count on one's fingers. He took one look at Afrāsiyab's army and sent a letter to the ruler of Makran. The contents of the letter consisted of this: "I am Jahān b. Farāmarz, the grandson of Rostam. Yesterday Bizhan came here and we have had no news of him since. If you have information about him, let me know. Right now, know yourselves that whoever gives refuge to Afrāsiyab puts his life, wealth, family and people into danger."
The letter was sent. An hour later by way of answer, Afrasiyab, Khosrowshāh of Makran and hundreds of officers and soldiers came out of the city and formed a line in front of Jahanbakhsh. Jahanbakhsh understood that they were intent upon war and wanted to fight. He went into the field to arrange the [unintelligible] of war. His nimble elephant roared.

The prince of Makran came out. Jahanbakhsh saw that he was a thin young man, although good-looking, wearing the clothes of the heir. When he came out, Jahanbakhsh thought that he was coming to deliver a message because he had no armor except for a royal sword (and even that was only for decoration). He greeted Jahanbakhsh who replied, "Who are you?" Nowzar said, "I am the son of Khosrowshāh Makrani. I have come to have a few words with you."

Jahanbakhsh said, "First, so that we may know, explain where is Bizhan?" He said, "By all the people of the world, Bizhan came into the city yesterday and was rude in the presence of Afrasiyab and acted over-proud. I captured him. Last night he was in prison, but he escaped from prison with my sister. They killed two guards. I was going after them when you came."

[So that you never see any bad, send a salavat (Salavat). That God may never finish off your parents, send a better salavat than this one to Mohammed (Salavat).]

Jahanbakhsh said "Is what you are saying true?" He swore it was. He asked, "Will you go and ask your father why he has allowed Afrasiyab into his city and raised the flag of rebellion against the
government of Iran."

Nowzar bit his lip and said, "Hero, you are saying the same thing again. Afrasiyab is our leader. He is the ruler and emperor of Torkestan. He is good! Since times have become hard for him, he has come here. One of his own rulers has given him refuge. He is our guest. By God, only a coward has thrown a guest out of his house, giving the guest to his enemy." Jahānbakhsh said, "Don't be ridiculous. Just take the message." He replied, "I was sent here to talk to you." Jahānbakhsh said, "You have talked to me, telling me things like you captured Bizhan. Should I believe that you captured Bizhan?"

He said, "If I did take him, what would be so surprising?" Jahānbakhsh said, "Perhaps you are a magician." He replied, "No. I swear, I know no magic." Jahānbakhsh said, "Ah! One of Bizhan's hands is as big as you are."

Nowzar answered, "In your area, is heroism judged only by size and [unintelligible]? Give me a thin horse on the field of battle over a fatted cow." Jahānbakhsh said, "I am going to cut off your tongue."

He attacked with a double-bladed sword. Nowzar grabbed Jahānbakhsh's hand. With all the strength Jahānbakhsh had, he saw that here his hand was as useful as the wind in using his sword. He grabbed Nowzar's neck with his other hand.

The one dismounted from his horse and the other from his elephant. They both grabbed each other around the neck. It was a great struggle. To make a long story short, Jahānbakhsh was thrown

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head over heels. He hit the ground. Nowzar bound Jahanbakhsh and gave him over to the others. They took him and his elephant. Then Nowzar looked at the other Iranian soldiers. He said, "You are officials. I will forgive officials. I have nothing to do with you. Go back and tell the government of Iran that I have the urge to throw it to the wind. Tell Kaykhosrow for me that Afrasiyab is our guest. Forget about Makran. If not, remember, this is a place where the Heaven's favorite may become only air." The soldiers went away.

The news reached Kaykhosrow. He ordered them to set out. The princes of Iran wanted to go. Although Rostam was not sure what the right thing to do was, a thought came to him.

They arrived opposite the endless army of the Turkish emperor.

Down to the fish and up to the moon went the shafts of spears and the arch of the court.

The drums, flag and drum houses were set up. The army got prepared on all sides. They sent the glorious Kaykh's letter to the ruler of Makran. After proper greetings, the letter said, "Send out Bizhan and Jahanbakhsh and wait for the coming of your bad day of war. If not, such and such will happen."

The other sent back an answer which reached the shah of Iran. After short polite greetings, he had written, "Remembrance of Siyavash! Bizhan b. Giv has fled from prison. I swear we know nothing of him, but we have Jahahanbakhsh in chains here. If you are ready to make peace with Afrasiyab, we will give you back Jahanbakhsh. Whatever you want, we will allow. We have had enough war. With all
the glory and power that Afrasiyab has, he is willing to send you tribute. Why do you also insist on his life? If not, the only thing left is the sword. We will fight." Kaykhosrow wanted to send another letter, but Rostam stopped him.

One day passed. At night the son of Zal put on his night-raid clothes and went to the camp of Torkestan. As hard as he tried, he could not find the prison. Finally he came to the tent of Afrasiyab's advisor, the son of Piran b. Vaysa, Pirman b. Piran. He saw that there was as great a difference between this one and his father as there is between the earth and the sky. Pirman was asleep, snoring loudly. Rostam entered the tent and knelt next to Pirman's head. With one hand on Pirman's chest and the other on the handle of his dagger, Rostam called to Pirman.

Pirman didn't have the strength to stand the shock of seeing the bravest hero, Rostam, this way. His tongue tied in knots and he began trembling. He closed his eyes and imagined his death coming. Rostam felt sorry for him. He put away his dagger and began to soothe him, until he brought him around. He said, "Prince, my dagger won't be soiled with the blood of a goat-hearted person like you. I have nothing to do with you. I have only come to ask you a question."

He said, "Go ahead. Whatever I know, by the [unintelligible] of Afrasiyab and the spirit of Piran, I will tell you."

Rostam asked, "Where is Bizhan?" He said, "By God, it is as they told you. The daughter of the ruler of Makran rescued Bizhan and they ran away together, killing two guards. We don't know
anything about them."

Rostam said, "How about Jahanbakhsh?" He said, "Jahanbakhsh is behind the camp in a gulley with a group of soldiers watching him. They have orders from Afrasiyab that if someone comes at night, they are to cut off the prisoner's head." He said, "I am going now, but I am entrusting two things to you, if you are Piran b. Vaysa's son. One is that I want you to go to Afrasiyab and tell him, 'I promise that if the sun rises and you have not freed Jahanbakhsh, I will take your head to Kaykhosrow tomorrow.' The other is that the war drums must be beaten so that my duty will be clear to the prince of Makran."

With bare head and feet, Rostam left. Pirman b. Piran ran trembling off to Afrasiyab's tent. The guard there asked him for the password, which he gave, and they let him in. The sadr-e a'zam came up next to Afrasiyab's head and woke him up. Afrasiyab jumped up frightened. "What's the matter?" Pirman answered, "I am your slave! Tonight our friend came to me and it was this way. Now he has required something of me. He has sworn on Siyavash's spirit that if we don't free Jahanbakhsh tonight so he can go back to Iran's camp, and if you don't beat the war drums, Rostam will, God forbid, come tomorrow night for your head."

Afrasiyab shook. First he ordered the war drums beaten. All the birds and fish, who had been asleep, were awakened by the war drums. Then he sent for Nowzar Makrani and said to him, "Free Jahanbakhsh. If you can strike Rostam, you have struck the entire world. If you can defeat Rostam in battle, it would be as if you had conquered
the whole world for me. No one else matters. And if you aren't equal to Rostam, why be concerned about whether Jahanbakhsh is free or not."

Nowzar said, "He's a hostage." The other answered, "It doesn't matter." [He can't say to Nowzar, "My life is in danger. Rostam has sworn certain things."] They let Jahanbakhsh go in the middle of the night.

Wherever a strong foot is placed,  
The hand of truth and judgment flees.

The war drums rumbled. The night passed slowly. At dawn when the sons of stars are lost to the eye of Jacob of the Heavens, the trumpet for staking lives sounded and the flag went up over the sea-like army. The earth was trodden down into eternity so that a shadow fell over the sky's shoulders from the movement of the army. If mercury poured like rain... [Some people say sima instead of simab, but what does sima mean? It means "mercury."]

If mercury poured like rain,  
It would stay on the lancers' [unintelligible].

Even the lowliest thing was dizzied. The greatest things were further enhanced. Every corner was draped in red. The center, the back, and the front of the army were readied and ordered. The water-carrier clouds and the valet wind swept across the plain cleaning it of dust and dirt, clean like the heart of a sayyed, so everyone could see like a falcon in the battlefield.

The prince of Makran left the battle line. Pretending he wanted to kiss Nowzar goodbye to send him off, Afrasiyab said to him, "If you are able to save yourself from the grasp of Zal's son today,
death will never get you. If you can defeat this man, you have conquered the whole world for me. [Unintelligible phrase.]" He did the proper [unintelligible] for battle. He bragged about himself on the field and [unintelligible] from the land of Iran. He called for Rostam.

[Above and below, a salvat (Salevat)]

An unbridled Rakhsh of the desert and battlefield and plain, Rakhsh orbiting like Jupiter rushing up to the zenith, like a torch of ʿAzar, like water rushing downhill, reaching to the revolving heavens if you say hay, leaping over the arching sky if you say han. The tail and hoof and body and mane and neck, silk and lily and steel and hyacinth and green, he is such a horse in jumping [unintelligible phrase] war to the prince.

Rostam is astonished! He saw a thin youth, like one of the officers of some part of Iran, wearing the clothes of an heir, riding a large horse. "Who are you? What are you doing?" He said, "I am the prince of Makran. I called for you. First, if I may, I have a message from my father. I have come to tell you that this base wheel [of Fortune] plays false with everyone. Just as Afrāsiyāb was thrown from the pinnacle of dignity into the dust of disgrace, things won't always go well with you either. Come on! Be the instrument through which Afrāsiyāb and Khosrow may make peace."

Rostam answered, "Prince. This is not our problem. Afrāsiyāb's actions have gone beyond peace. His guilt lies heavy. Kavus has ordered Khosrow to kill this coward. He is the heir but he does not yet have total power to do what he wishes. By God, for us only a lord
or a king or a caesar may be such an instrument. Not you and I, you insect! The simorgh's heir isn't going to waste his time with you. You're just talking and wasting our time."

Nowzar replied to Rostam, "They've told the truth then. This is all your fault." Rostam said, "Don't talk nonsense, you rude child. You brought your message, now take one back."

He said, "I have come because, if everything else failed, I have to fight." Rostam asked, "With me?" He said, "Yes, ah, yes. In just this way your offspring, Jahanbakhsh was fooled, so that I threw him down easily."

Rostam said, "You defeated Jahanbakhsh?" He answered, "Yes." Rostam asked, "Do you know magic?" Nowzar said, "No." Rostam said, "In asking if you know magic, I just want you to be warned, magic has no effect on me."

Nowzar said, "I don't know any magic." Rostam asked, "Do you control a spell? Are you an enchanter?" He didn't answer. He said to Rostam, "Fight with whatever you want." Rostam remembered Bidad Castle.

[I don't know if you have heard this story from one of my masters or not. In that battle, after a long time, the provisions run out for Ashkabus and Qamus and Qarcha the Sagsar and Sava the Youth and Barta and all the royal heroes.]

[Bizhan went off dressed as a merchant to get provisions and send them back. He reaches a castle called Bidad Castle where Qafus Shah was ruler. Qafus Shah came to like Bizhan very much.]
Bizhan was still dressed as a merchant and getting provisions together by using Qafus' friendship. He was sending the provisions to the Iranian camp until one day a letter arrived. Afrasiyab had written to Qafus, "There is an Iranian prince of this description and wearing these clothes, of this height, who is sending provisions to the Iranian army. Whoever gives provisions to him is betraying his father and homeland."

He asked Bizhan, "Who are you?" Bizhan said, "Is this letter from Afrasiyab?" Qamus said, "Yes." Bizhan says, "Just as it's written in the letter, I am Bizhan." Qamus also had a son just like this boy [Nowzar]. He captures Bizhan and Giv and defeats the Iranians. Rostam comes and kills him.

Now Rostam was thinking about that day. He has a talisman in his [unintelligible]. The formula for the talisman is on a plaque.

Rostam said, "Do you know magic?" Nowzar said, "No." He said, "Do you control a spell? Are you an enchanter?" Nowzar said, "This is not the place to talk. Go on, let's get going." Rostam said, "Put on your armor." Nowzar replied, "In my whole life I have never worn armor." Rostam said, "Then I will wear [unintelligible]." He dismounted from Rakhsh and took off his armor. He tucked in his shirt and took a dagger to cut off Nowzar's head, and prepared rope for binding Nowzar up to be killed.

The drums were beaten and they lunged for one another. At first, Rostam fought with him just to try him out. He saw that however he tried to knock over this youth, it was as if he was trying to...
move a mountain. The youth is so heavy. He is very heavy. His feet adhere to the ground. Then he realized that whenever his right hand met the other's right hand, that is, when he didn't grab his right forearm, the boy is like a [unintelligible]. Then he was able to win.

It went this way. He grabbed Nowzar's arm with his right hand. With his left hand, he grabbed the end of his belt and threw him down to the ground. Then he cut off Nowzar's head with his lightening dagger. The endless Turanian army and the Iranian army rushed forward and the war began. The Makranians moved forward and back, letting some men fall. Afrasiyab took his women and children, and the handful of men and ran off into the desert.

It wasn't long until Makran fell before these lions who are in Kaykhosrow's camp. None were left to remain enemies. Jahānbakhsh, Sam b. Faramarz, Taymur, Qahban b. Borzu, Borzu, Jahangir, Faramarz — the heroes came from every direction devouring like dragons. Once the army of Iran had demonstrated their courage to these warriors, their impending destruction became clear. It wasn't long before the people of Makran cried out for peace. They threw down their armor and threw up their hands. Rostam ordered the drums beaten, signalling the end of the war. The war came to a close.

Rostam ordered them to give up Bizhan or all be killed. Crying for mercy, young and old came and swore, "Bizhan isn't here. We know nothing about him." They turned the city upside down and found no trace of Bizhan. They began sending soldiers out and spies into Afrasiyab's camp to find out if they had carried Bizhan off. They
waited. Kaykhosrow said, "Out of respect for all the victories Bizhan has brought us, we won't leave here until we find him." So they didn't leave.

Now let's say a few words about Bizhan. Bizhan b. Giv, and the young girl went into the mountain opposite the city the same night that had been set for Rostam to fight the prince of Makran. At dawn, Bizhan saw a deer. He said to the girl, "I'm going to kill that deer. Then I'll come back and cook it. We'll spend our time feasting well until we see that the war has ended." [From the place where they were staying the plain of battle and the whole city of Makran was visible.]

[Another salavat (Salavat).]

Bizhan went off down the mountain but didn't catch the deer. His arrows missed so he mounted his horse and followed the deer. The girl also mounted up to go along with him. Every once and a while Bizhan heard someone shouting, calling to him, but he paid no attention and went on.

After the deer had run a long way, it came to a crevice in the mountain and ran in. Bizhan jumped down from his horse and followed. Again he heard a woman's cry echoing from the mountain behind him, and again he paid no attention. Finally he got tired — he had been running up the mountain — and stood catching his breath. He heard the woman's cries again reverberating in the mountain. She was shouting, "I swear to you by the unseen God!" He stopped, looked around and saw that it was the girl, the daughter of the ruler of Makran.

"Why has she come? What does she want from me? Why is she so upset? Maybe they're following her."
Automatically he clutched his bow and waited. The girl caught
up with him and said, "Young man, I swear by God that if you had gone
one step further, there would have been no hope for you. There is a
spell on this place, the spell of Makran. It's a good thing I got
here in time. That deer was a magician who wanted to trap you. The
cave is under a spell. Whoever goes in, never comes out alive and no
trace is ever found of him. Turn back."

Bizhan said, "Don't try to change my mind. Food has appeared
right in front of you. We have thousands like that one. Now I am
going to kill it and show you what kind of deer it is."

No matter how the girl cried and pleaded, Bizhan ran on. She
watched as Bizhan saw that the deer had gone into the cave. This was
not the place for a bow. He threw his bow over his shoulder, grabbed
his rope and entered the cave to rope the deer. There was a pit.
First his foot fell in, then he fell into the hole himself. The
world tumbled around and the girl could no longer see the entrance to
the cave. She turned back.

The three days' war came to an end. Iran's army was at a
standstill, spies having gone all over the empire to find Bizhan and
horsemen chasing Afrasiyab and scouring the countryside.

Kaykhosrow was told, "A beautiful young girl is here. Her
face is torn and she is tearing her hair from grief. She has asked
for an audience with you. She says she has news of Bizhan."

"Send her in."

They brought her in. She looked at him and approached. She
kissed the king's knee and said, "My lord, I am the daughter of Khosrowshāh of Makran. I freed Bizhan, and took him to the mountains on the condition that we would marry. One day a deer appeared and he chased it. I went too seeing that he was about to fall under a spell. Even though I reached him and shouted that this place is under a spell, this foolish man did not stop, saying 'What kind of a dog is this? I am going to kill this deer for you.' He went and was captured by the spell. Thunder crashed and lightening flashed, and he didn't come out."

Rostam, Kudarz, the nobles and all listened. Then they organized a council meeting. They sat. They spoke. They rose and called for the astrologers and astronomers of the camp. After looking long into their sciences, they said, "She's right. That place is under a spell. It is the spell of Makran and Bizhan is in the spell."

A letter was sent to Zabol. An armed rider carried the letter from the furthest reaches of Turkestan to Zabol. Zal saw that Kaykhosrow had written, "Bizhan is caught in the spell of Makran. Find the one who can break the spell. If this person is in camp, write so we can get him going. If he is in the city or the countryside, and you are able to find him, bring him here. If not, write so we can find him. We have met such a puzzle in such a place!"

Zal summoned up the simorgh and questioned it. The simorgh answered, "The spell is in the name of Lohrasp, of the family of Pashin, descended from Kayqobād. This boy Lohrasp lives in the king's harem. He is a sick little child, a small, ill boy, but he will
break this spell."

Zāl left Zabol for the capital. He was properly greeted and entered. He called for the captain of the private quarters of the harem and said to him, "Is there a boy in the harem named Lohrāsp?"

The captain sighed and said, "If you came to cure him, I don't think he's still alive."

By god, this story of life is all one, from beginning to end. Lohrāsp was eleven years old then.

When Zāl said, "Is there a boy named Lohrāsp in this harem or not" --- and it wasn't that he knew anything about medicine --- the other said, "I don't think we can cure him, so he will surely die. The doctors have given up on him."

Zāl said, "I want to see him."

They went and got permission to enter from the ladies of the harem who brought him to the boy's bedside. Zāl saw a little boy of ten or eleven years, moaning, emaciated and yellow. The spell is in his name!

What can be done? This boy can't even get along in his bed, and he can go to the furthest reaches of Turkestan to break a spell!

And what can one say to the simorgh --- for it was the one that gave Zāl the instructions --- when Esfandiyār brags before Silver Zāl's son Rostam. A tree will appear in Lohrāsp's name so that Esfandiyār can say, "I am the son of Goshtasp and Goshtasp is the son of Lohrāsp and Lohrāsp is from the line of Kaypashin and the family of Kayqobād."

Zāl said to the women of the harem, "The king has written me a
letter asking me to bring the boy to Makran." The boy's mother said, "Come
tomorrow. We'll have a litter ready so you can take him."

They took Zal to his quarters. That night the boy's mother sat at
his bedside and taught him a speech — all that was necessary.

The next day Zal took the boy and a group of servants and left
for Makran.

On the way the boy's health improved. They dressed him and
adorned him. When they reached camp, the king heard the news and
ordered the men to go out and receive Zal.

They knew nothing of the boy, of course. When Kaykhosrow left,
there had been no boy and all. The war had waged on that mountaintop
for forty-five years, on that Kenobard Mountain. After that, they had
followed Afrasiyab around this area for close to seven or eight years.
The boy is only eleven years old.

They brought him adorned to the king's presence. Kaykhosrow's
gaze fell on the boy, wearing fine robes and a diadem on his head. Ah!
But very ill, thin and weak. He asked Zal, "Who is this?"

Zal said, "May I be sacrificed in the dust at your doorway.
This is Lohrasp, from the line of Kayqobad. He was in your harem."
Then Zal told what had happened. "The simorgh ordered me to bring
him to break the spell."

"Amazing! This one will break the spell?"

Zal said, "Yes. Even if all the Garshasps were to appear here
and try to break the spell, they would make no difference. The spell
is in this boy's name. He will break it."
Kaykhosrow laughed and the group rose together and left. The next day Kaykhosrow ordered them to bring the boy. They went and brought him. Every chair around Kaykhosrow was full, with three or four thousand Iranian nobles present. Kaykhosrow asked for Lohrasp, and he came forward and bowed with proper speeches and dignity and eloquence in speaking.

[Why did they rely on the fact that he was sick and weak -- Listen, sir! -- on the people in the harem who told Zal that Lohrasp couldn't be cured and was going to die today or tomorrow, and the like? After Kaykhosrow's reign, he ruled one hundred and twenty years. Why didn't he die? Sa'di says, "Many healthy people have died and been buried while a poisoned person lived on."]

Kaykhosrow said, "Are you Lohrasp?" He said, "Yes. I am your servant." Kaykhosrow asked, "Do you know why we have brought you here?" He replied, "Yes, king of the world. Dastan [Zal] told me." Kaykhosrow said, "We plan to send you to break the spell of Makran in order to save Bizhan b. Giv." And they told Lohrasp what had happened and explained how Bizhan was caught in a spell and, "No one but you can break that spell and save Bizhan."

He smiled and bowed low and said, "King, this business has nothing to do with me." The shah said, "Yes. Yes, light of my eyes. As you have heard, if a spell is in the name of a child, no hero in the world can break the spell -- only the child. This spell is in your name."

"In the first place, I don't have the power to take care of
this. I have never worn a sword in my life, and I don't even know how
to handle one." Then they explained that there was no need for such
things in breaking a spell. "The spell is in your name. You can
break it. This is fated for you."

Lohrasp said, "I will agree on one condition." Everyone turned
to look at him, aghast that this person should be so bold -- a child
brought like this from the capital -- when the shah wants to give him
an order. What does he want? What condition will he impose?

They all waited. The shah asked, "What is the condition?" He
said, "If you will write the order appointing me heir to the throne."
[Even Kaykhosrow doesn't really have the rule. Kavus told him, "Until
you have killed Afrasiyab, I will not give you the rule." Now
Lohrasp is saying, "If you want me to break the spell, you must appoint
me heir to the throne." ]

For a while Kaykhosrow was silent. The court was in an uproar.
They all looked at each other. Rostam lost his temper. [Here were
sown the seeds of a feud. Right here.] Rostam called Lohrasp and as
soon as Lohrasp turned to Rostam, Rostam slapped him hard across the
face. Lohrasp fell down. "Shame on you. Disgrace upon you! Do you
have any idea what a blunder you've made? The people of Iran are all
waiting to serve their shah. They accept his orders with all their
heart and soul. You come here. He makes a request of you. And
then you ask for favors for accepting. And the favor is that you
should be the heir to the throne. Until you deserve such a position,
you should watch the sparrow who defers to the speech of the hawk."
Lohrasp fell down and fainted. Kaykhosrow said, "Son of Zal, hero, you forgot yourself in striking him. We can't leave this place until we have rescued Bizhan. I have sworn that. They say that the sun no more than hits a child's lips and he begins talking. I will write that order." Kaykhosrow agreed.

The next day, they brought Lohrasp to the shah. Kaykhosrow said to him, "I want you to break the Makranian spell." Lohrasp replied, "If I don't get what I want, the spell will remain."

Kaykhosrow wrote the order. But at the same time he entrusted the affair to Rostam with a glance. This child broke the Makranian spell. He became the means by which the spell was broken.

[Unintelligible] [There is no need, brother, for dust to fly and thunder and lightening to crash and demons to be killed. All this will not break a spell.]

He freed Bizhan and in thanks for finding Bizhan they had a great feast. They gave the daughter of the ruler of Makran to Bizhan. Then they went off after Afrasiyab.

Hear what I have to say about Afrasiyab. The son of Pashang was trying to find provisions in every town or village he could, knowing that straw cannot stand up to a flood. You cannot dam up a river with thorns and kindling. He knew he couldn't stop anywhere, until one day he was forced to ask Pirman b. Piran for advice. He said, "Son, your father was my advisor.

[Once the flower is gone, the garden is ruined. Where can you find the odor of a flower except in rose water.]"
Find a way out, I'm drowning."

Pirman asked, "Will you listen to my suggestion?" Afrasiyab said, "I have no choice." He said, "It's safer than anywhere in the world." Afrasiyab said, "Tell me." He said, "By God, wherever you go in the world, the Iranians will not leave you alone. Go to Siyavash's tomb so they won't bother you."

Afrasiyab had no choice. He took his army and came to Siyavashgerd, taking the people unawares. [If they had known, they would have cut off the road to him. The people of Siyavashgerd had no liking for Afrasiyab. They even still mourn for Siyavash.] But this intruder just arrived and the door was open. The army flooded into the city. They closed the gate and drew the bridge. They filled the moat with water.

Afrasiyab stayed there a while. After the spell of Makran was broken and Bizhan appeared, the Iranians came looking for Afrasiyab. When they arrived, Afrasiyab was entrenched.
Notes

1. Kasrakhadam kaykhosrow seems to be what is on the tape. Perhaps it means "Kaykhosrow who has caesars for servants."

2. This idiom is unclear.

3. Habib Allah first says "into the womb of a mother," then corrects himself.

4. The idiom sag-e kist (lit: "Whose dog is he?") means here that Afrasiyab is a base as a dog.

5. Unidentified line of poetry in mozare meter (E.S. 4.7.14).

6. While this sounds almost metered and rhymed, it is slightly irregular in both ways.

7. This would be about three to six feet.

8. This line does not appear in Ferdowski's Shahnama.

9. Unidentified couplet in moshakel meter (E.S. 4.2.11).

10. Unidentified couplet in hazaj meter (E.S. 2.1.11).

11. This passage is made up of rhyming prose, recited rapidly.

12. A sayyed is a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed.

13. Azar is personified fire.

14. These images are all intended for sound and the visual images they evoke, combining hard and soft, living and non-living. The passage is recited rapidly to give the idea of Rakhsh rushing out to the battle-field.

15. The simorgh is a mythical bird with magical powers. It protects the heroes of Zabol. When Sām, Zāl's father, saw his son's white hair, he abandoned the baby in the mountains. The simorgh found the baby and nurtured him until Sām felt remorseful enough to come and take the boy back. Zāl and Rostam have the power to summon up the simorgh to aid them whenever necessary.
16. Literally this means "The Unjust Castle."

17. By "masters" Habib Allah is demonstrating humility. He means any other storyteller.

18. Since some of these names are unfamiliar, I cannot be sure of the spellings.

19. Lohrasp will be the king of Iran after Kaykhosrow. He is the father of Goshtasp, whose son, Esfandiyar, is killed by the hero Rostam. Esfandiyar's son, Bahman, will take revenge by destroying the house of Zabol.

20. Zal's epithet is "silver" because he was born with white hair.

21. The line is corrupt.

22. Afrasiyab killed his innocent son-in-law Siyavash who was also the son of Kaykaus. The wars which follow between Iran and Turan were in revenge for Siyavash's death.
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